



---

# THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

---

Edited by  
SANFORD B. STEEVER

*Routledge Language Family Descriptions*

---



# THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

**Other works in the series**

The Romance Languages

The Celtic Languages

The Slavonic Languages

The Germanic Languages

The Indo-European Languages

The Semitic Languages

**Forthcoming works in the series**

The Uralic Languages

The Turkic Languages

# THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

EDITED BY  
Sanford B. Steever



LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 1998  
by Routledge  
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE  
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

© 1998 Routledge  
© 1998 Editorial matter Sanford B. Steever

Typeset in 10/12 Ecological Linguistics Dravidian Translit by Peter T. Daniels

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

The Dravidian languages / edited by Sanford B. Steever.

p. cm. — (Routledge language family descriptions)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

(HB: alk. paper)

1. Dravidian languages. I. Steever, Sanford B. II. Series.

PL4601.D73 1997

494—dc21

CIP

ISBN 0-415-10023-2

---

# *Contents*

<b>List of Figures</b>	vii
<b>List of Tables</b>	viii
<b>List of Contributors</b>	xi
<b>Preface</b>	xii
<b>Linguistic Conventions</b>	xv
<b>List of Abbreviations</b>	xvi
<b>1 Introduction to the Dravidian Languages</b>	1
Sanford B. Steever	
<b>2 The Dravidian Scripts</b>	40
William Bright	
<b>Part I: South Dravidian</b>	
<b>3 Old Tamil</b>	75
Thomas Lehmann	
<b>4 Modern Tamil</b>	100
E. Annamalai and S.B. Steever	
<b>5 Kannada</b>	129
Sanford B. Steever	
<b>6 Tulu</b>	158
D.N.S. Bhat	

**Part II: South-Central Dravidian**

**7 Old Telugu** 181  
P. Ramanarasimham

**8 Telugu** 202  
Bh. Krishnamurti

**9 Koṇḍa** 241  
Bh. Krishnamurti and Brett A. Benham

**10 Gonḍi** 270  
Sanford B. Steever

**Part III: Central Dravidian**

**11 Kolami** 301  
P.S. Subrahmanyam

**12 Gadaba** 328  
Peri Bhaskararao

**Part IV: North Dravidian**

**13 Malto** 359  
Sanford B. Steever

**14 Brahui** 388  
Josef Elfenbein

**Index** 415

---

# *List of Figures*

1.1	The Dravidian languages	10
2.1	Kannada secondary consonant forms	55
2.2	Telugu secondary consonant forms	59
2.3	Malayalam secondary consonant forms	62
2.4	Word-final resonants in Malayalam	63
8.1	The regional dialects of Telugu in Andhra Pradesh (from Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985)	204
8.2	Telugu regional and social dialects	205
14.1	Brahui vowels and variants	392

---

# *List of Tables*

1.1	Proto-Dravidian vowel phonemes	13
1.2	Proto-Dravidian consonant phonemes	14
1.3	The distribution of PDr stops	16
1.4	The distribution of PDr nasals	16
1.5	The distribution of other PDr consonants	16
1.6	Permissible syllable structures in Proto-Dravidian	17
1.7	Reconstructed personal pronouns of Proto-Dravidian	21
1.8	A sample of Proto-Dravidian deictic pronouns	23
1.9	Selected lexical correspondences	27
2.1a	Indic vowels	41
2.1b	Indic occlusives	42
2.1c	Other consonants	44
2.2a	Primary vowels	47
2.2b	Secondary vowels	47
2.2c	Occlusives	48
2.2d	Sonorants and sibilants	48
2.3a	Kannada and Telugu primary vowels	50
2.3b	Kannada and Telugu secondary vowels	50
2.3c	Kannada and Telugu occlusives	51
2.3d	Kannada and Telugu non-occlusives	51
2.4a	Kannada CVs (occlusives)	52
2.4b	Kannada CVs (non-occlusives)	54
2.5a	Telugu CVs (occlusives)	56
2.5b	Telugu CVs (non-occlusives)	58
2.6a	Malayalam primary vowels	60
2.6b	Malayalam secondary vowels	60
2.6c	Malayalam occlusives	60
2.6d	Malayalam non-occlusives	61
2.7a	Malayalam CVs (occlusives)	64
2.7b	Malayalam CVs (non-occlusives)	66

2.8a	Tamil primary vowels	67
2.8b	Tamil secondary vowels	67
2.8c	Tamil occlusives	67
2.9	Tamil CVs	68
3.1	The phonemes of Old Tamil	77
3.2	Declension of the noun <i>malar</i> 'flower'	80
3.3	Personal pronouns	82
3.4	Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns	82
3.5	Imperative and optative forms of the verb <i>oḷir</i> 'shine'	83
3.6	Pronominal suffixes	85
3.7	Cumulative suffixes	85
3.8	Non-finite and nominalised forms of the verb <i>oḷir</i> 'shine'	86
4.1	The core inventory of Modern Tamil	102
4.2	Singular and plural noun declension in Modern Tamil	106
4.3	Personal pronouns of Modern Tamil	110
4.4	Conjugation of <i>piriya</i>	113
5.1	The consonants of Standard Kannada	130
5.2	Personal pronouns in Standard Kannada	133
5.3	Third person reflexive pronoun <i>tān</i> 'self'	134
5.4	Third person distal demonstrative human pronouns	134
5.5	Third person non-human pronouns	134
5.6	The verb <i>māḍu</i> 'do, make'	141
6.1	The phonemes of Tulu	160
6.2	Tulu case forms and their allomorphy	164
6.3	The North Common and North Brahmin tense markers	167
6.4	Personal endings for North Common and North Brahmin Tulu	168
7.1	Core phonemes of Old Telugu	182
7.2	Non-core phonemes of Old Telugu	183
7.3	The pronominal system in Old Telugu	194
7.4	Old Telugu deictic pro-forms	195
8.1	Phonemes of Modern Standard Telugu	206
8.2	The six paradigms of the finite verb	218
9.1	Phonemes of Koṇḍa	244
9.2	Allomorphs of the durative morpheme	257
10.1	Honorific suffixes: female nouns	275
10.2	Honorific suffixes: male nouns	276
10.3	Oblique and plural forms of some neuter nouns in Muria Gonḍi	276
10.4	Third person deixis in Gonḍi: proximal, distal and interrogative	280
10.5	Injunctive and hortative of the verb <i>oll</i> 'bend over'	285
11.1	The phonemes of Kolami	302
11.2	First and second person pronouns	309
11.3	Lexical differences among Wardha, Adilabad and Naikṛi	327
12.1	Consonant phonemes of Gadaba	329
12.2	Vowel phonemes of Gadaba	329

12.3	Two-consonant clusters	330
12.4	Labial and non-labial stems	330
12.5	Labial and non-labial suffixes	330
12.6	Inflection of labial stems	331
12.7	Inflection of non-labial stems	331
12.8	Nominal derivative suffixes	333
12.9	Plural suffixes	334
12.10	Gender distinction in the numerals 'one' to 'four'	335
12.11	Gender distinction in the numerals 'five' and above	335
12.12	Personal and reflexive pronouns	336
12.13	Deictic and interrogative pronouns	336
12.14	Case forms	337
12.15	Simple and causative verb bases	337
12.16	Verb stem alternation	339
12.17	Stem alternants of the verb 'be'	340
12.18	Formation of the past stem	341
12.19	Past tense paradigm of the Class 4 verb <i>ēnd-</i> 'play'	341
12.20	Past tense paradigm of the Class 3 verb <i>kāp-</i> 'guard'	341
12.21	Non-past stem formation	342
12.22	Sample non-past paradigm of the verb <i>adg-</i> 'dig'	342
12.23	Non-past tense paradigm of the verb <i>pōrp-</i> 'ask'	342
12.24	Progressive tense paradigm of the Class 4 verb <i>ēnd-</i> 'play'	342
12.25	Progressive tense paradigm of the Class 3 verb <i>kāp-</i> 'guard'	342
12.26	The non-past negative of <i>ēnd-</i> 'play'	343
12.27	Past negative of <i>ēnd-</i> 'play'	343
12.28	The permissive of Class 1, 2 and 4 verbs	343
12.29	The permissive of Class 3 verbs	343
12.30	Personal endings for the imperative	344
12.31	Personal endings of the first and second person	344
12.32	Personal endings of the third person non-masculine singular	345
12.33	Personal endings of the third person non-masculine plural	346
13.1	Malto consonants	360
13.2	Past affirmative/negative of <i>amb</i> 'to leave'	374
13.3	Present affirmative/negative of <i>amb</i> 'to leave'	375
13.4	Future affirmative/negative of <i>amb</i> 'to leave'	375
13.5	Past perfect affirmative/negative of <i>amb</i> 'to leave'	376
13.6	Non-past perfect affirmative/negative of <i>amb</i> 'to leave'	376
13.7	Affirmative/negative subjunctive of <i>amb</i> 'to leave'	377
13.8	Conjunctive forms in <i>-a</i> and <i>-ka</i>	380
14.1	Brahui consonants	392
14.2	Declension of personal pronouns	396
14.3	Regular conjugation of <i>tix-</i> 'put'	401

---

# *List of Contributors*

- E. Annamalai, Director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, India.
- Brett A. Benham, University of Texas at Arlington, Texas, USA.
- Peri Bhaskararao, Japan.
- D.N.S. Bhat, Mysore, India.
- William Bright, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, USA.
- Josef Elfenbein, University of Mainz, Germany.
- Bh. Krishnamurti, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, India.
- Thomas Lehmann, South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany.
- P. Ramanarasimham, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, India.
- Sanford B. Steever, Dravidian Linguistics Association and Linguistic Society of America.
- P.S. Subrahmanyam, Annamalai University, India.

---

# Preface

*The Dravidian Languages* owes its existence to another book: it grew out of a chapter on the Dravidian language family written for *The World's Major Languages* a decade ago. At that time, when theoretical work commanded the attention and resources of most linguists, *The World's Major Languages* answered a call to provide both general readers and professional linguists with accessible, concrete descriptions of various languages around the world. That volume and the mandate underlying it came to serve as the basis for Routledge's language reference series, of which *The Dravidian Languages* is the most recent instalment.

Handbooks of the Dravidian language family have appeared over the past 150 years, but virtually all of them are comparative studies geared towards the needs of specialists in historical and typological linguistics. These studies tend to juxtapose individual forms from one language to the next; in doing so, they have often lost sight of the grammatical systems in which those forms originally appeared. None of them provides self-contained descriptions of the individual Dravidian languages, their speakers, their structure and their historical development. This state of affairs reflects, in part, the fact that grammars and even raw data for the Dravidian languages are generally hard to come by, taxing the ingenuity of the most dedicated specialist. So it comes as no surprise that nothing to date has appeared in print to which the layman or linguist might turn to satisfy his curiosity about these individual languages. *The Dravidian Languages* attempts to fill in that gap in our knowledge of this language family.

The present volume contains readable descriptions of 12 of the individual languages written by internationally recognised experts. Each chapter introduces the reader to the language and its speakers, then proceeds to discuss its internal structure in sections devoted to phonology, morphology and the parts of speech, syntax and lexicon. *The Dravidian Languages* also serves the needs of historical linguistics: its design invites comparison among the various chapters. The contributors have been encouraged to depart from the general format where it would distort or diminish the prominence of a salient aspect of the language un-

der description. A general introduction to the family and to the Dravidian writing systems round out the book.

The biggest editorial challenge in designing and preparing this volume lay in the selection of languages. There are simply too many Dravidian languages to fit into a single volume: at least 23 modern languages plus three ancient ones. Furthermore, what we know about the Dravidian languages varies greatly in depth and quality from one language to the next. Just four of the languages have a substantial writing tradition, and can provide linguistic examples from before the modern era. At the other end of the spectrum, some languages are barely attested; Naiki, for example, is known primarily from word-lists. While Gadaba has been described in two grammars, only two texts totalling 450 sentences have ever appeared in print. No major publication has appeared on Kūi since the Reverend Winfield brought out his grammar in 1928. Examples may be all too easily multiplied. Some of the grammars of these languages are long out of print, some lie collecting dust in rarely visited libraries and others still exist only in manuscript form. Particularly where several of the non-literary languages are concerned and where the need for research is greatest, we lack scholars with an intimate knowledge of the language actively pursuing its study. Since this volume, as others in the language reference series, relies on the informed contributions of individual experts, some languages had to be passed over which I would otherwise have wished to include.

Given these conditions, I chose to offer as broad a selection as I could. At least two languages were chosen from each of the four major subgroups: this breadth is useful both for comparative purposes and to display the range of variation among the different languages of the family. The languages of the southern and south-central branches of the family, which include all of the literary languages of the Dravidian family, have been accorded a broader representation, with four languages each. Although each language omitted from this volume is an occasion for regret, languages from two areas are sorely missed. I would have liked to have included a chapter on the languages spoken on the Nilgiris Massif, Toda, Kota, Baḍaga and Irula, as well as one on the languages spoken in the Khondmal Hills of Orissa, Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Manḍa. Besides the intrinsic linguistic and anthropological interest of these languages, several are faced with extinction in the near term as their speech communities are dispersed and their speakers assimilated into the surrounding dominant regional languages. To appreciate the true *embarass de richesses* that these and other Dravidian languages offer, the reader can do no better than consult M.B. Emeneau's 1984 *Toda Grammar and Texts* or M. Israel's 1979 *A Grammar of the Kūvi Language*, both excellent grammars of the 'small' languages. It is my hope that *The Dravidian Languages* will serve not just as a reference volume of our current knowledge of this family of languages, but also as an inspiration for others to take up their study.

To say that this book owes its existence to another book, as I did above, is, of course, to speak figuratively. It is people, and many of them, who are responsi-

ble for the conception, writing and production of *The Dravidian Languages*. It is only fitting to thank here those who participated in and supported the preparation of this volume. The first is Bernard Comrie, who first invited me to write an article on the Dravidian languages for *The World's Major Languages*. Next is Jonathan Price at Routledge who originally commissioned me to design and edit the current volume for Routledge. During the initial stages, Murray B. Emeneau, William Bright, E. Annamalai and Peter T. Daniels gave me much valuable advice, suggestions and leads. To the individual authors whose chapters appear in this volume, I offer my deepest thanks for their patience and commitment to this project. In particular, my *guru* Bhadriraju Krishnamurti has been involved at every stage of this book's growth, advising me on its design and writing two chapters for it.

At an advanced stage of preparation, three contributors had to withdraw from the project. Since it was not possible to find suitable replacements in time to meet deadlines, I assumed the task of preparing three chapters. To minimise the decrease in the diversity of scholarship on which this volume rests, these chapters draw on the work of linguists whose work I admire and consider authoritative. While I have firsthand knowledge of Kannada, I have drawn on the scholarship of S.N. Sridhar and D.N. Shankara Bhat (the author of the chapter on Tulu) whose work is largely responsible for bringing insight and rigor to modern Kannada linguistics. Much has been written on the dialects of Gondi, but nothing to my mind approaches in insight and elegance Susie Andres' study of Muria Gondi. Finally, B.P. Mahapatra's grammar of Malto, through its alternation of linguistic and anthropological insight, has become the most valuable sourcebook for this language. The three chapters prepared for this volume rely on these sources for crucial linguistic examples that could not be obtained anywhere else. I hope these three chapters do justice to these scholars, and persuade others to give them their due recognition by consulting their work first-hand.

Routledge, the publisher, has my sincere gratitude for the commitment they have made to such a specialist volume. Many in the Routledge family have promoted the cause of this book, but three deserve special mention. I wish to thank Jonathan Price who first brought me on board several years ago. Just as important, in my mind, is Denise Rea, whose patience and determination have brought this volume to completion. She and her able colleagues, notably Sarah Hall, have provided me with invaluable help in editing and producing this book. And finally, I wish to thank Peter T. Daniels, who expertly typeset the volume. *nanri marapatu nanru anru.*

New Canaan, Connecticut  
Easter 1997

---

# *Linguistic Conventions*

The conventional transcriptions of the original languages have been preserved to the extent possible. However, certain changes have been made to enhance comparability among the various languages. For example, while vowel length in the various languages may be indicated by a macron ( $\bar{a}$ ), colon ( $a:$ ), raised dot ( $a\cdot$ ) or doubled symbol ( $aa$ ), it has been uniformly transcribed here with a macron. In transliterating Tamil I have followed the scheme of the *Tamil Lexicon* with one exception: to represent the retroflex approximant, I use  $z$  instead of  $l$ .

To clarify morphemic identities, I follow Lehmann's 1989 convention of placing a dot before certain morphophonemically automatic segments to separate them from invariant morphological material. In the transcription of the Tamil sentence *anta.p peṭṭi.y-ai.t tūkkū* 'lift<sub>3</sub> that<sub>1</sub> box<sub>2</sub>', the  $.p$  at the end of the demonstrative *anta.p* 'that' is triggered by the initial stop of the following word; the  $.y$  in *peṭṭi.y-ai* is a glide that is automatically inserted between the final vowel of *peṭṭi* 'box' and the initial vowel of the accusative case marker *-ai*; and the  $.t$  in *peṭṭi.y-ai.t* is triggered by the following voiceless stop. I have extended the use of this symbol to other Dravidian languages, as well. This use of the dot should not be confused with the marker for a syllable boundary; the immediate context should help the reader determine which usage is intended.

Dravidian etyma are identified by their numbering in *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (second edition), abbreviated as DEDR; for example, \**en* 'say' (DEDR 868). In the context of diachronic linguistics an asterisk denotes a reconstructed form; in synchronic linguistics it denotes an ungrammatical or unacceptable form.

---

# *List of Abbreviations*

The following list of abbreviations relate to the grammatical analyses of example sentences. The abbreviations used in the main text (sing., plur., etc.) need no further elaboration and in certain instances (SDr, etc.) are explained at their point of origin.

1p <sup>ex</sup>	first person plural exclusive	cnd	conditional
1p <sup>in</sup>	first person plural inclusive	cnj	conjunctive form (Brahui)
2	second person	cnt	contingent tense
3sncl	third person singular neuter clitic (Brahui)	cont	continuative
a/a	ablative-associative case (Gondi)	cplt	completive
abl	ablative	dat	dative
acc	accusative	dat/acc	dative-accusative case (Brahui)
adn	adnominal verb form	def	definite
adv	adverbial	dur	durative
aff	affective voice (Tamil)	echo	echo syllable
anp	adnominal form	eff	effective voice (Tamil)
ant	anterior	emp	emphatic
antc	anticipative	encl	enclitic
aor	aorist (Old Telugu)	ep	epicene
ass	associative	euph	euphonic particle
caus	causative	evt	eventative (Gondi)
cf	conjunctive form	expl	expletive particle
cls	classifier	f	feminine
clt	clitic	fut	future
cmp	comparative form (Gondi)	gen	genitive
		hbt	habitual
		hon	honorific
		hrt	hortative

hum	human	plhum	plural human
imp	imperative	plm	plural masculine
impf	imperfect (Gondi)	pln	plural neuter
impfc	imperfective (Brahui)	plnhum	plural non-human
imprf	imperfect	plnm	plural non-masculine
inc	increment	pn	<i>participium</i> <i>necessitatis</i> (Brahui)
incl	inclusive		
indef	indefinite	prdc	predictive (Gondi)
inf	infinitive	prf	perfect
ins/loc	instrumental-locative (Gondi)	prm	permissive
		prs	present tense
inst	instrumental	pst	past tense
int	interrogative	rlt	resultative
intr	intransitive	rsn	reason
loc	locative	s	singular
locI	locative I (Brahui)	sb	subject
locII	locative II (Brahui)	sf	singular feminine
m	masculine	sm	singular masculine
neg	negative	sml	simultaneous
nfv	non-finite verb	sn	singular neuter
nhum	non-human	snhum	singular non-human
nm	non-masculine	snm	singular non- masculine
nom	nominative case		
npst	non-past tense	soc	sociative case
obj	object	src	source case
obl	oblique	subj	subjunctive
opt	optative	sup	supine
pcl	particle	tag	tag-question marker
pdc	predictive	tpe	truncated personal ending
pe	personal ending		
pfc	perfective aspect	tr	transitive
pl	plural	vn	verbal noun

This page intentionally left blank

---

# *1 Introduction to the Dravidian Languages*

*Sanford B. Steever*

## **1.1 Background**

The Dravidian language family is, in terms of speakers, the fourth or fifth largest in the world. The family comprises at least twenty-three languages spoken primarily in South Asia by as many as 220 million people. The majority of the Dravidian languages are concentrated in southern and central India, spreading south from the Vindhya Mountains across the Deccan Plateau all the way to Cape Cormorin. Elsewhere, they are spoken in Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Outside South Asia, the Dravidian languages, particularly Tamil, are also spoken in Fiji, Indonesia, Malaysia, Martinique, Mauritius, Myanmar, Singapore, South Africa and Trinidad.

The Dravidian language family has four subgroups: South Dravidian with Baḍaga, Iruḷa, Kannada, Kodagu, Kota, Malayalam, Tamil, Toda and Tulu; South-Central Dravidian with Gonḍi, Koṇḍa, Kūi, Kūvi, Maṇḍa, Pengo and Telugu; Central Dravidian with Gadaba, Kolami, Naiki and Parji; and North Dravidian with Brahui, Kurux and Malto. Since the 1950s reports of other languages have appeared, but the lack of adequate descriptions prevents us from saying whether these are new, independent languages or merely dialects of ones already known. For South Dravidian, Bellari, Burgunḍi, Kaikuḍi, Koraga, Korava, Kuruba, Sholega, Yerava and Yerukula have been reported; for South-Central Dravidian, Āwē, Indu and Savara. Conversely, certain dialects of Gonḍi, Kolami, and Kurux could prove, under closer inspection, to be independent languages.

Apart from their intrinsic linguistic interest, the Dravidian languages constitute the single most important gateway to many aspects of Dravidian and Indic culture. They inform many facets of Dravidian culture, including literature and religion, the fine arts and philosophy. The ancient poems of love and war, the twin epics, the medieval devotional poems and magisterial Ramayana of Kampan, all landmarks of Tamil literature, are slowly coming to be known and enjoyed by a wider audience. The vacana literature of the Viraśaiva saints, composed in Middle Kannada and Middle Telugu, are also beginning to cast light on vast literatures hardly known outside of South India. In more recent times, some

of the novels of T. Pillai are being translated from Malayalam into languages more accessible to a wider audience. The oral poetry and tales of many Dravidian groups attest to the richness of literary activity of communities without a written tradition, as is revealed in reading Gonđi legends, Kota folktales or Toda songs.

Further, speakers of Dravidian languages have contributed to world thought and literature through other languages, notably Sanskrit and English. Three of India's best-known philosophers, Śaṅkarāchārya, Rāmānuja, and Mādhvāchārya, who developed the advaita, viśiṣṭa advaita, and dvaita philosophies, respectively, lived in South India, spoke Dravidian languages and wrote in Sanskrit. In modern times, we have such writers as R.K. Narayan, a speaker of Tamil, Kannada and English, writing a series of much-beloved novels in English. A fellow Mysorean, the late A.K. Ramanujan, speaking and writing in Tamil, Kannada and English, has composed hymns to Murugan in Tamil, poems in Kannada and English, and made Tamil and Kannada classics available to the larger world with his unsurpassed translations.

Religious institutions, such as the bhakti movement, the school of Saiva Siddhanta and Vīraśaivism, stand rooted in South Indian, hence Dravidian, culture. Karnatic music, as distinct from Hindustani music, originates in South India: its songs set to music verses composed in Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and, of course, Sanskrit. Classical dance forms such as Bharatanatyam and Kuchuppudi, largely shaped and preserved in the south, interpret these songs. The linguistic and cultural influence of Dravidian India on Southeast Asia is evident in the spread of writing and literacy beyond South Asia: the Pallavas, a Tamil dynasty from the early centuries of the Common Era (c. 275 to 500 CE), carried their writing system on their voyages to the east. The Pallava writing system forms the basis for several writing systems of Southeast Asia and beyond: Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Sulawesi (the Celebes) and the Philippines. While South Asia has not been politically united – the time from the Mauryan Empire to the establishment of the Indian Republic has seen diverse kingdoms, dynasties and feudatory states – it has been united culturally. Speakers of the Dravidian languages have contributed to this cultural unity in these many ways.

## 1.2 The Languages

The Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (1951) mandates the creation of states within the Indian Union along linguistic lines. Four Dravidian languages, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu, serve as the basis for establishing the four states of Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, respectively. These four languages are recognised as official languages of the Indian Union. Tamil also has the status of a national language in Malaysia, Singapore and Sri Lanka.

The number of both the Dravidian languages and their speakers have been

fraught with uncertainty. Bishop Robert Caldwell (1814–91) listed nine languages in the 1856 edition of his comparative grammar of the Dravidian language family; that number had doubled by 1940 and has nearly tripled as we enter the twenty-first century. In the early years of the twentieth century, George Grierson (1851–1941) conducted a linguistic survey of India: he listed 179 languages and 544 dialects. The survey covered all of British India except the provinces of Burma and Madras and the princely states of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. With the exception of Burma, all the regions excluded from the survey lie in South India, the heartland of the Dravidian languages. Grierson nevertheless presented descriptions of the major Dravidian languages spoken in these excluded regions, such as Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu, but omitted such others as Iruḷa and Toda.

The advance of years has done little to remove this uncertainty over numbers. The Census of India is taken in the first year of each decade; accordingly, a Census is published for 1931, 1941 and so on. In the 1951 Census, the first taken in independent India, 782 language names were returned by individuals living in India as their mother tongue. In the 1961 Census that number rose to 1,652, and in 1971 it again nearly doubled to just over 3,000. The 1981 Census, by contrast, abruptly limited the number to 105 by applying the criterion that a language should be spoken by over 10,000 individuals before it might be included. Thus, some ‘small’ Dravidian languages, such as Toda and Kota whose speakers number less than 1,000, appear in some editions of the Census but not in others. The 1981 Census includes 17 Dravidian languages, giving the combined total of speakers as 157,836,723, or 23.9 per cent of the reporting population.

The Dravidian languages enumerated in the 1981 Census include the four languages scheduled in the Indian Constitution: Kannada (26,887,837), Malayalam (25,952,966), Tamil (44,730,389) and Telugu (54,226,227). The thirteen remaining, non-scheduled languages include Gonḍi (1,954,693), Jatapu (23,366), Kisan (155,283), Kodagu (93,116), Kolami (78,500), Koṇḍa (11,062), Kondh (204,501), Koya (242,534), Kūi (507,639), Kurux (1,264,590), Malto (94,614), Parji (33,091) and Tulu (1,376,306). Even though this Census contains a more manageable set of languages, it has not eliminated some prior confusions in the identification of languages. Respondents may on occasion return the name of their community or ethnic group as a language name. As early as Grierson, Kisan was recognised as an alternate name for Kurux; the name is vague in any event since the word means ‘cultivator’. Further, many who identify themselves as Gonds speak no Gonḍi. The group that identifies itself as Gadaba speaks two distinct languages, one Dravidian (Koneḷor Gadaba) and absent from the Census, the other Munda (Gotub Gadaba) and included in it. Scholarly consensus now views Koya as a dialect of Gonḍi. Jatapu, spoken in the hills of Srikakulam District in Andhra Pradesh, as well as in the Koraput and Ganjam districts of Orissa, may well be related to Kūi and Kūvi. Kondh, spoken primarily in Orissa, may also be a variety of Kūi or Kūvi. To add to the confusion, the term Kondh has traditionally been applied to the larger ethnic community that includes both

Kūi and Kūvi speakers. Conversely, the term Kūi as reported in the 1981 Census seems not to distinguish among Kūi, Kūvi and, perhaps, Kūbi, another name for Koṇḍa. Absent from this Census are Irula, Kota and Toda from the South Dravidian languages; Baḍaga is listed as another name (dialect) of Kannada. Also missing are Kūvi, Pengo, Maṇḍa, Naiki and Gadaba (though the Munda language Gadaba is listed). Brahui is absent because it is the only Dravidian language that has no speakers living within the Indian Union. The Census of India naturally omits information on the number of speakers outside Indian territory: Kurux, Malto, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu.

The World Atlas 1991 estimates that 48 million people speak Tamil as a first language, and that 66 million speak it as a first or second language. It further estimates that 55 million people speak Telugu as a first language, and that an additional 14 million speak it as a second language. Similarly, Kannada is estimated to be the first language of 25 million, which number rises to 42 million when those who speak it as a second language are included. Malayalam is spoken, according to this source, by 34 million world wide. Thus, approximately 210 million people speak the four literary languages as a first or a second language. It should be recalled that on the Indian subcontinent, where multilingualism is the rule rather than the exception, those who speak one of the four major Dravidian languages as a second language generally speak another Dravidian language as a first language. Many speakers of Koṇḍa thus speak Telugu or Oriya as a second language, depending on whether they live in Andhra Pradesh or Orissa. Speakers of Tulu and Kodagu may also speak Kannada, the politically dominant language of Karnataka. Speakers of Toda may also speak Kota and Baḍaga, two groups with whom they have traditional economic relationships. And since Todas live in what is now Tamil Nadu, they may also speak Tamil. Speakers of Tamil in Mysore may also speak Kannada while speakers of Telugu in Tamil Nadu typically speak Tamil.

Unlike many of the better-known languages and language families of the world, e.g. Indo-European, the majority of the Dravidian languages are spoken and lack a written tradition. Only four have extensive written traditions. The first Tamil inscription dates to *c.* 254 BCE, the first Kannada inscription to *c.* 450 CE, the first Telugu inscription to *c.* 620 CE and the first Malayalam inscription to *c.* 830 CE. In each of the four, literary composition begins – more properly, begins to be committed to writing – one or two centuries after the appearance of these first inscriptions. These four thus have longer literary traditions than most of the modern languages of Europe. The first inscription in Tulu dates to the fifteenth century while literary texts begin in the eighteenth century. Apart from these five, our knowledge of the Dravidian languages is quite recent, dating from the middle of the nineteenth century. A number have only been discovered in the latter half of the twentieth century. And it seems likely that new Dravidian languages remain to be discovered, particularly in Central India.

Each of the four literary languages has evolved its own distinctive writing system. As noted in the chapter on writing systems (Chapter 2), all four writing

systems are alphasyllabic, and can be traced back to southern varieties of the Ashokan Brahmi script. The four scripts have also been used for other Dravidian languages. Tulu has been written in both Malayalam and Kannada scripts, Kodagu is written in Kannada script and Koṇḍa is written in Telugu script. Kurux is written in the Devanagari script, which is more broadly associated with Sanskrit and Hindi. Brahui, because it is spoken in Pakistan and Afghanistan, is written in the Urdu script. A number of Dravidian languages discovered since Indian Independence, such as Parji and Pengo, have been committed to writing by linguists using phonemic transcriptions based on Roman script. As noted earlier, the writing system of the Pallava dynasty (275 to 500 CE), which ruled from Kanchipuram in Tamil Nadu, forms the basis for many writing systems extending from Myanmar to the Philippines, from Sri Lanka to Java.

The Dravidian languages have shared the South Asian subcontinent with three other language families since prehistoric times: the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European, the Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic and Sino-Tibetan. The linguistic influence of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian on each other has been well studied and documented; as Burrow has shown, the influence was not just in one direction: Dravidian languages had already exerted some influence on Indo-Aryan even in prehistoric times. The long co-existence of these four language groups has resulted in linguistic cross-influence and borrowing, to the extent that South Asia is now a linguistically defined area (Emeneau 1956; Masica 1976).

In historic times, the Dravidian languages have been in contact with languages from the West. From both literature and the archaeological record, we know that Roman merchants journeyed to the Tamil coastal emporia in the early centuries of the common era to buy spices, fabrics and other luxury goods with Roman gold coins. The spread of Islam to the subcontinent in the medieval period carried with it such administrative languages as Persian and Arabic. These influences had reached as far south as Mysore in Karnataka and Tanjore in Tamil Nadu by the time the British appeared on the scene in the middle of the eighteenth century. English has had, and continues to have, an impact on the vocabulary and sound systems of Dravidian languages over the past two centuries.

Commerce and colonisation have carried a number of Dravidian languages, particularly Tamil, beyond their traditional spheres, e.g. to Myanmar, South Africa, Fiji and islands in the Caribbean. Trade links between South and Southeast Asia have been attested since the late classical period, and continue to the present day so that Tamil is an official language in both Malaysia and Singapore. Such words as *catamaran* (Tamil *kaṭṭamaram* '[boat made of] tied timbers'), *mango* (Tamil, Malayalam *māṅkāy*), *coolie* (Tamil *kūli* 'wages'), *curry* (Tamil *karī* 'meat preparation'), *mulligatawny soup* (Tamil *miḷakaittaṇṇīr* 'pepper-water') and *coir* (Tamil *kayirū* 'rope') have made their way into English from Dravidian sources.

### 1.3 The Dravidian Languages

#### South Dravidian

Tamil (*tamiḻ*), the best known of the Dravidian languages, belongs to the South Dravidian (SDr) subgroup. It is first recorded in a lithic inscription in a form of Ashokan Brahmi script which is dated to *c.* 254 BCE. It is therefore one of India's two classical languages, alongside the more widely known Indo-Aryan language Sanskrit. However, Tamil is the only one of the two with a palpable continuity between its classical and modern forms. Records of Tamil reveal three distinct historical stages: **Old Tamil** (*c.* 300 BCE to 700 CE), **Middle Tamil** (700 to 1600 CE) and **Modern Tamil** (1600 CE to the present). In all its forms, Modern Tamil consists of many geographic dialects, with the major distinction drawn between Sri Lankan Tamil and the continental dialects of India. Tamil also exhibits marked diglossia with a high and a low variety, called *centamiḻ* 'pure Tamil' and *koṭuntamiḻ* 'harsh Tamil', respectively. The high variety is used in political oratory, belletristic writing and news broadcasts while the low variety is used in virtually all face-to-face communication. But in recent times, the high variety has begun to give way to the low. There are over 50 million speakers of the language today. Within India, it is spoken in the states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, as well as the Union Territory of Pondicherry. Outside, the language is reported in Sri Lanka (3,346,000), Malaysia (274,218), South Africa (250,000), Singapore (191,200) Fiji (6,663), Thailand and Mauritius.

Between 800 and 1200 CE the western dialects of Tamil, geographically separated from the others by the Western Ghats, developed into Malayalam. The Vazappalli inscription, the first record of the language, dates to *c.* 830 CE. Malayalam has lost subject–verb agreement and has borrowed so many Sanskritic loans that the modern language now distinguishes aspirated from non-aspirated stops in its phonology. It is spoken in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, as well as Lakshadweep (the Laccadive Islands). As with the other major Dravidian languages, Malayalam has a number of geographic and caste-based dialects. With perhaps 34 million speakers, Malayalis boast the highest literacy rate in the Indian Union.

Not only do the Western Ghats separate Malayalam from Tamil, they are also home to several of the non-literary South Dravidian languages. Communities speaking Baḍaga, Kota, Iruḷa and Toda live in and around the Nilgiri Mountains, a branch of the Western Ghats that rises sharply above the Coimbatore Gap. Relatively isolated from the mainstream of traditional Indian society, the Todas, Kotas and Baḍagas have over many generations developed close economic ties, even while speaking different languages. Toda and Kota are spoken by so few people that they appear and disappear in different editions of the Indian Census. No more than 800 people speak Toda while figures returned on Kota give a population of 700. Despite the small number of speakers, these languages have attracted great anthropological and linguistic interest, starting in the nineteenth century with British adventurer Sir Richard Burton's observations on Toda. In

this century, Emeneau (1944–6) recorded four volumes of Kota texts; his 1984 analysis of Toda grammar and texts is a model of scholarship, revealing the linguistic wealth of the ‘small’ Dravidian languages. While the grammar of Toda and Kota are relatively close, the phonology of Toda is perhaps the most divergent among the Dravidian languages. Baḍaga, often treated as a dialect of Kannada, may have as many as 50,000 speakers. This language has the distinction of having one of the most extensive dictionaries of any of the non-literary Dravidian languages (Hockings and Pilot-Raichoor 1992). Iruḷa, a language with perhaps 12,000 speakers, is spoken in the hilly spurs of the Nilgiri Massif between Kerala and Tamil Nadu. It is closely related to Tamil and Malayalam. Zvelebil (1973) presents a sketch of this language. Toda and Kota, in particular, are threatened with extinction in the near term as cultural and social pressures compel their assimilation into the larger social matrix.

**Tulu** is spoken in between the Western Ghats and the coast of the Arabian Sea in western Karnataka, northern Kerala and southern Maharashtra. Although the language is not traditionally ranked as a literary language, many brahmin native speakers of Tulu have been literate in Sanskrit, Kannada and Malayalam. As a result, Tulu has been written down for nearly 250 years, first in Malayalam and then in Kannada script. Today there may be as many as three million people speaking Tulu in four or five dialects: one half speak it as a first language, the other half as a second language. Tulu appears to share several features with the South-Central Dravidian languages, so many in fact that some scholars place it in that subgroup. It may well be the first individual language to branch off of Proto-South Dravidian.

Inland in the Coorg District of Karnataka, Kodagu (*koḍava*, Coorg) is spoken by as many as 95,000 people in three dialects. It is also spoken in neighbouring regions of Tamil Nadu and Kerala. It has recently come to be written in Kannada script, although this writing system is not sufficiently differentiated to handle the rich vowel system that has evolved in Kodagu.

**Kannada** (*kannaḍa*, Kannarese, Canarese) is spoken by perhaps 25 million people throughout Karnataka and in the neighbouring states of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Written records of the language reveal three historically distinct stages: Old, Middle and Modern. It has at least four major geographical dialects, caste dialects and diglossia, although these differences do not seem as attenuated as in Tamil. For a full description of the language, see Sridhar (1990), to whose work the chapter on Kannada in this volume owes much.

Some of the isoglosses that define the southern subgroup are the general loss of \**c-* in such etyma as \**cāṛu* ‘six’ (DEDR 2485), \**cīy* ‘give’ (DEDR 2598) and \**cuppu* ‘salt’ (DEDR 2674), which in Tamil are represented by the reflexes *āṛu* ‘six’, *īy* ‘give’ and *uppu* ‘salt’. These languages have also innovated the use of the auxiliary verb *iru* ‘be’ (DEDR 480) as the perfect tense auxiliary to compensate for the loss of *man* ‘be’ (DEDR 4778) in that group (see Steever 1993: 96–102). Serial verb formations, though attested in Old Tamil and Old Kannada,

have been lost in all the modern languages of this subgroup.

### South-Central Dravidian

Telugu (*telugu*, *tenugu*, *teluṅgu*), the language spoken by the greatest number of speakers (60 million), belongs to the South-Central Dravidian (SCDr) subgroup. The history of Telugu may be divided into three stages: **Old Telugu** (600 to 1100 CE), **Middle Telugu** (1100 to 1600 CE) and **Modern Telugu** (1600 to the present). Modern Telugu has four regional dialects in Andhra Pradesh (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985): northern, southern, eastern and central. It is also spoken in Karnataka, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and as far away as Kerala. The standard language underwent a number of reforms during the nineteenth century with the result that the written and spoken varieties of the modern language do not diverge as sharply as in Tamil. Old Telugu had a two-way tense distinction, past and non-past, while Middle and Modern Telugu have a three-way distinction, past, present and future. In Middle Telugu a new past tense form developed in all areas of Andhra Pradesh except the Rayalseema which has retained the past tense form of Old Telugu to the present day.

The six remaining languages of this subgroup are non-literary languages spoken in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa. **Gonḍi** in all its forms has approximately two million speakers. Its numerous dialects form two groups: those to the northwest and those to the southeast. Koya, sometimes listed as a separate Dravidian language, appears to belong to the southeastern group of Gonḍi dialects. The Gonḍi dialect detailed in this volume is that of Muria Gonḍi, described by Andres (1977) whose work forms the backbone of the present description. Muria Gonḍi, spoken in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh, belongs to the southeast group of dialects.

**Konḍa**, also known as Kūbi, is spoken in northeast Andhra Pradesh and southern Orissa. It stands linguistically between Telugu and Gonḍi on the one hand, and the four remaining South-Central languages on the other. It appears to be the most phonologically conservative language of the group, preserving the Proto-Dravidian distinction between the tap *\*r* and the stop *\*ɽ*.

Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Maṇḍa are collectively known as the 'Kondh' languages because they are spoken primarily in the region of the Kondhmal Hills in western Orissa. They are closely related: in finer gradations, Kūi is paired with Kūvi and Pengo is paired with Maṇḍa. These four are distinct from the other three South-Central languages and, indeed, from all other Dravidian languages in having innovated a system of object-verb agreement alongside the inherited system of subject-verb agreement (see Steever 1993).

One of the most distinctive isoglosses of the South-Central group is the neutralisation of the distinction between long and short vowels in all but radical syllables. All these languages have innovated, to a greater or lesser extent, a rule of Metathesis or Apical Displacement (Krishnamurti 1961, 1978), which now permits resonants and laterals to appear word-initially, as in Telugu *rāyu/wrāyu* 'write' from *\*varay* 'draw, make lines' (DEDR 5263), Kūi *lāvenju* 'youth' and

Gondi *leyyoR* 'id.' from \**ilay-antu* 'young man' (DEDR 513). Apart from Modern Telugu, which lacks the relevant verb base, all South-Central languages have a rule that permits the truncation or total deletion of the perfect tense auxiliary verb *man* 'be'. The truncation of this auxiliary verb has led to the creation of a new present perfect tense series in Pengo (see Steever 1993).

### Central Dravidian

The Central Dravidian (CDr) languages comprise four non-literary languages: Gadaba, Kolami, Naiki and Parji. These languages are spoken in a belt that runs from northwestern Andhra Pradesh up through the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh into western Orissa. The languages are not spoken by large numbers of people; **Kolami** is spoken by approximately 90,000 people. Most of these languages are known from word-lists or a single grammar. **Gadaba**, also known as Ollari, Konekor Gadaba and Poya, is spoken in the Koraput district of Orissa and the Srikakulam District of neighbouring Andhra Pradesh. It is unusual in having been described in two grammars, Bhattacharya (1956) and Bhaskararao (1980).

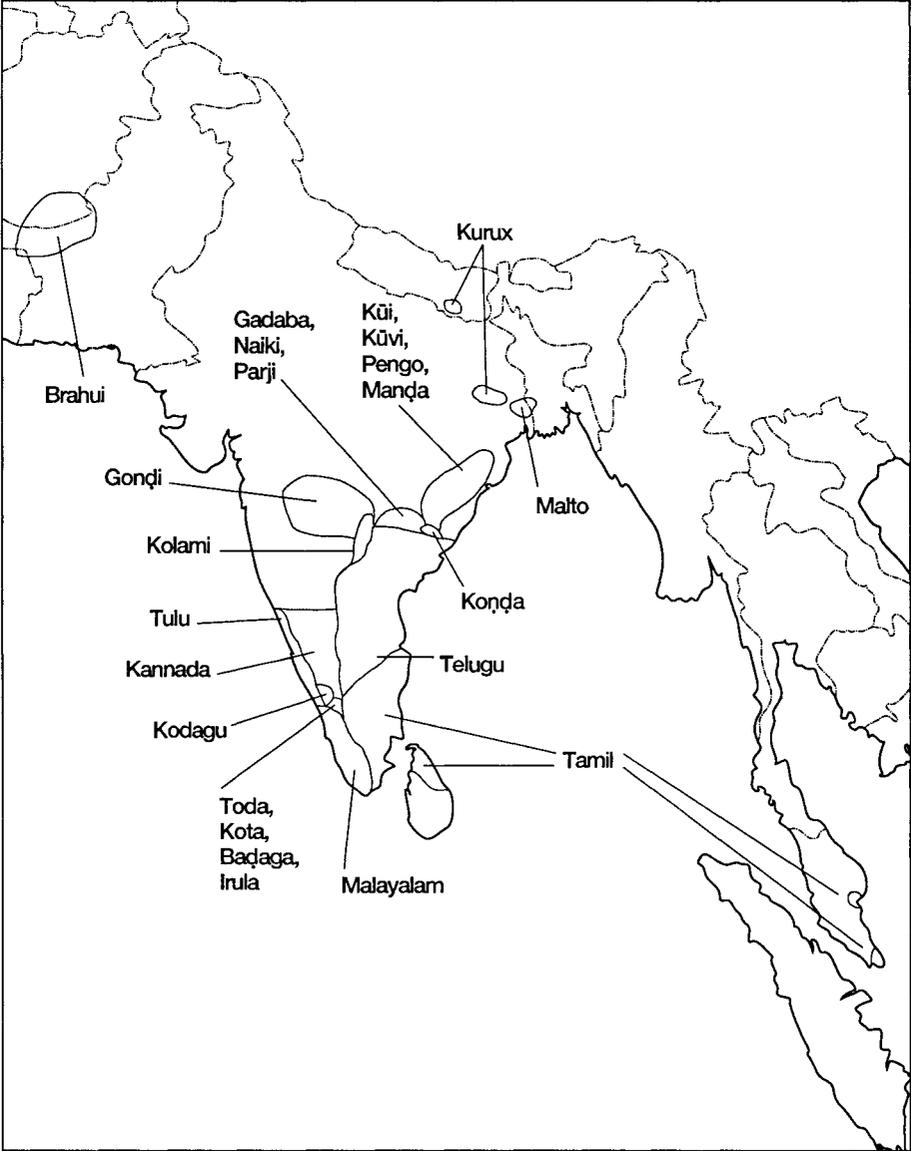
Lexical stems, both nouns and verbs, in this subgroup typically exhibit patterns of alternation between two stems, related by anaptyxis, so that the Gadaba verb *idig* 'get down!' is opposed to the basic form *idg* 'get down'. In Kolami, the noun stem *tedp-/tedep-* 'cloth' also exhibits this alternation: monosyllabic *tedp-ul* 'cloths' contrasts with disyllabic *tedep-t* 'in the cloth' and *tedep* 'cloth'. As Bhaskararao (1980) observes, when inflected, the basic forms reveal consonant and vowel harmony operating to a greater extent than elsewhere in the family (Pengo, for example, has limited consonant harmony). Even though both Gadaba and Kolami have vowel anaptyxis, they differ in the rules that determine the identity of the anaptyctic vowels. The Central Dravidian languages have not lost the perfect tense auxiliary verb *man* 'be', nor do they have rules that permit its truncation and deletion.

### North Dravidian

The North Dravidian languages include Brahui, Malto and Kurux. Spoken by nearly two million people, Kurux (*kurux*, Oraon, Uraon, Kisan) comprises several dialects spoken in India, Bangladesh and, recently, in the Terai of Nepal (where it is known as Dhangar or Jhangar). Notable in its grammar is a distinction between men's speech and women's speech, one which is present also in Malto. **Malto** (*mal saba*) is spoken by approximately 100,000 people in India and Bangladesh. It has at least three dialects distinguished according to phonology, morphology and lexicon: Kumarbhag, Malpaharia and Sawriya. Building on noun-noun compound constructions inherited from Dravidian, Malto appears to have innovated a classifier system. The chapter on Malto in the present volume is indebted to Mahapatra's 1979 authoritative grammar of the language.

**Brahui**, spoken in Baluchistan on the northwest frontier of South Asia, is so divergent from Kurux and Malto that it might well constitute its own subgroup, the first to branch off from the Dravidian proto-language. The geographic

Figure 1.1 The Dravidian languages



separation of Brahui from the remaining Dravidian languages has invited some to speculate that the Dravidian languages once blanketed the subcontinent and were broken up into linguistic islands with the advance of Indo-Aryan languages. This speculation has led, in turn, to the more remote conjecture that the language of the Indus Valley Civilisation was Dravidian. The position advanced in the chapter on Brahui in the present volume, less grand but perhaps more sober, is that the Brahuīs migrated westward from a homeland somewhere in Orissa and Bihar to their current location in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran.

With a lack of adequate descriptions, the North Dravidian group is often treated as an ‘elsewhere’ subgroup. Emeneau (1962) discusses the most common phonological isoglosses that the North Dravidian languages share, namely the uniform treatment of initial velar stops in the proto-language: *\*k* remains a voiceless velar stop before *\*i-* and *\*ī-*, and has a variety of other reflexes in other environments. The languages of the other three subgroups tend to palatalise the initial velar stop before *\*i-* and *\*ī-*.

#### 1.4 The Diachronic Dimension of the Dravidian Languages

Two basic factors shape the historical study of the Dravidian languages. First, only four of the twenty-three languages have any extensive written documentation. Second, even the earliest records occur relatively late in the development of the various languages. The diachronic study of the Dravidian languages therefore relies heavily on the comparative method to reconstruct an historical picture of the language family. During the past 150 years, linguists have applied this method to the Dravidian languages to reconstruct a proto-language, known as Proto-Dravidian (PDr). The proto-language not only embodies what is considered to be ‘Dravidian’ in a language, but it is taken as the pre-historic predecessor of all Dravidian languages. Two languages are cognate Dravidian languages – are genetically related – if both can be shown to descend from Proto-Dravidian.

The application of glottochronology and lexicostatistics suggests that Proto-Dravidian existed as a single language as late as 4000 BCE (see Zvelebil 1970: 18ff). Around that time, the PDr linguistic unity began to disintegrate with the development of distinct branches and individual languages. The development of Brahui, according to this method, started about that time. Though this method assumes a constant rate of replacement of native words with borrowed ones over time, the prolonged contact of Brahui speakers with speakers of non-Dravidian languages, as well as their bilingualism, may have accelerated this rate. The divergence of the last major branch, South-Dravidian, is calculated to have taken place around 1500 BCE, nearly twelve centuries before any Dravidian language was recorded.

To ensure that the reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian has historical plausibility, care must be taken to distinguish it from an exercise in linguistic typology. The reconstruction must accordingly be anchored in concrete Dravidian forms

and processes, and it must control for external borrowings. This is particularly important in South Asia where four language families have converged over millennia to form a linguistic area, or *Sprachbund*. For example, transitive verbs in Dravidian generally mark animate objects with an accusative case marker. At this level of generalisation, we have merely said that the Dravidian languages manifest nominative–accusative agreement, something which may be said of many languages for which no genetic affiliation may be suspected. However, many Dravidian languages mark the objects of verbs of fearing with a distinct dative case marker (\*-(k)ku). Furthermore, certain specific transitive verbs, such as \*āku ‘become’ (DEDR 333), fail to impose the accusative case marker on their direct objects. These two idiosyncratic facets of the case system are ascribed to the Dravidian proto-language rather than to typological generalities. As SOV languages, the Dravidian languages typologically resemble many other languages of the world for which no genetic affiliation can reasonably be asserted. The reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian remains fragmentary, and is subject to constant revision.

The linguistic forces that brought about the development of the individual Dravidian languages from Proto-Dravidian, as well as their continuing development through recorded history until today, include internal structural changes within the language, borrowings from other specific languages and universal tendencies of linguistic change. Some changes have arisen from within the grammatical systems of the individual languages. For example, Kūi and the other Kondh languages innovated a system of object–verb agreement when the main and auxiliary verb of a PDr benefactive construction fused into a single form (Steever 1993: 35–68). The development of a phonemic distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated stops in such languages as Malayalam may be attributed to borrowing from external, Indo-Aryan sources. And universal linguistic tendencies such as markedness relations may also influence the historical development of individual Dravidian languages (see Steever 1993: 167ff); in this instance we cannot ascribe the historical operation to a specific Dravidian or non-Dravidian structure or process.

As linguistic change overtook Dravidian speech communities, separate branches and separate languages began to emerge. The literature on the Dravidian languages contains two systems of subgrouping. Both systems agree in placing Brahui, Kurux and Malto within the northern branch and in placing Tamil, Malayalam, Iruḷa, Toda, Kota, Baḍaga, Kannada, Kodagu and Tulu in the southern subgroup; they disagree on how to group the remaining languages and on the relation of the subgroups to the proto-language. The first system recognises three groups, Southern, Central and Northern, all of which radiate directly from the proto-language. The second subgrouping (Krishnamurti 1978) organises the daughter languages into four groups: Southern, South-Central, Central and Northern. The South-Central languages include Telugu, Gonḍi, Koṇḍa, Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Maṇḍa while the Central languages include Kolami, Parji, Gadaba and Naiki. In this subgrouping, the Northern languages branched off

from the proto-language forms first, then the Central Dravidian languages branched off from the remainder and finally the South-Central and Southern groups split apart. Within each subgroup, even finer gradations of relatedness may be discerned. Within NDr, for example, Malto and Kurux are more closely related to each other than either is to Brahui. Within SCDr, Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Maṇḍa form a distinct group, and within that group, Kūi is paired with Kūvi and Pengo with Maṇḍa. Within SDr, Toda and Kota are closely related, as are Tamil and Malayalam. The second subgrouping is assumed in this volume; however, details of the subgrouping remain open to debate.

With these caveats in mind, we may proceed to examine a fragment of Proto-Dravidian grammar. This sketch outlines the basic phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic aspects of the Dravidian proto-language. It illustrates some facets of PDr grammar with reconstructions and others with examples from extant Dravidian languages; moreover, it discusses the extent to which the various daughter languages have preserved features of the proto-language or innovated new structures over time. Our goal is not to justify specific reconstructions in Proto-Dravidian, but rather to provide the reader with a framework to identify what is characteristically Dravidian about the individual languages described in the following chapters and to appreciate both the range of individual variation and the underlying unity of this language family.

### 1.5 Proto-Dravidian Phonology

The reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian phonology consists of a set of segmental phonemes and a body of rules that combine those phonemes into prosodic units such as moras and syllables. These units form the building blocks of larger linguistic structures such as metrical feet, morphemes and words. As the individual Dravidian languages have developed, their phonologies have retained some aspects of the PDr phonological system while innovating others.

The proto-language contained five pairs of vowels, with each pair containing one short and one long vowel. They are presented in Table 1.1, and are traditionally enumerated as *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō*. Some analyses propose to reduce these ten phonemes to five simple phonemes contrasting in quality plus a phoneme of length (Zvelebil 1970: 35) while others keep ten unit phonemes (Emeneau 1970: 6).

**Table 1.1 Proto-Dravidian vowel phonemes**

	<i>Front</i>		<i>Central</i>		<i>Back</i>	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	ī			u	ū
Mid	e	ē			o	ō
Low			a	ā		

The available evidence does not permit the reconstruction of tautosyllabic diphthongs, so wherever these appear in the daughter languages they are assumed to be innovations that have arisen from combinations of a vowel and a glide. For example, the Tamil diphthong *ai* descends from the PDr sequence *\*a + \*y*. Yet the prohibition against diphthongs remains relatively strong in many languages so that if a diphthong should arise through a morphological process or borrowing, a number of phonological processes are brought to bear in order to eliminate it. One strategy is to change the diphthongs into monophthongs; the Tamil diphthong *ay* is generally replaced by simple *e* in non-initial syllables in speech so that *varai* 'until' becomes *vare* 'id.'. Another strategy for dealing with a diphthong is to re-analyse it as a sequence of two syllables with a glide between them; the English monosyllabic word 'town', for example, is borrowed into Tamil as bisyllabic [tā·vuŋ].

Extensive tables of the correspondences between the vowel systems of Proto-Dravidian and the daughter languages appear in Emeneau (1970), Zvelebil (1970) and Burrow and Emeneau (1984). Changes have naturally occurred in phonological inventories of the different daughter languages. Kodagu has, for example, developed four additional vowels, mid and high back unrounded vowels, short and long. Many Toda vowels result from dissimilation so that in certain contexts *\*ō* becomes Toda *wa*. Muria Gonḍi has neutralised the phonemic distinction between short and long vowels. Even so, after such changes are accounted for, the correspondence in vowel quality is fairly transparent between the proto-language and the daughter languages. The treatment of vowel length is more involved inasmuch as the proto-language itself appears to have had several morphophonemic alternations involving vowel length (Zvelebil 1970; Rao 1973).

Proto-Dravidian appears to have sixteen or seventeen consonant phonemes, illustrated in Table 1.2.

**Table 1.2 Proto-Dravidian consonant phonemes**

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p	t	ɽ	ʈ	c	k
Nasal	m	n		ɳ	ɲ	
Lateral		l		ɭ		
Tap		ɾ				
Approximant				ʐ		
Glide	v				y	(h)

The phoneme *\*h* represents the predecessor of Old Tamil *āytam*, conventionally transliterated as *ḳ*. Recent proposals attempt to establish it as an independent phoneme in the proto-language, but it seems to have been an allophone of *\*y* that appeared in the environment V\_C. Because of the lack of consensus, it appears in brackets in Table 1.2. It is, however, not the predecessor of *h* as it

appears in many daughter languages such as Kannada *hōgu* 'go' < \**pōku* 'id.' (DEDR 4572), Gondi *hil* 'not be' < \**sil* 'id.' < \**cil* 'id.' (DEDR 2559).

The Proto-Dravidian set of stops, which persists into modern Malayalam and appears to have become even more elaborate in Toda (Emeneau 1984: 11ff), is of typological interest because it exhibits a six-way contrast in point of articulation, one that is rare among languages of the world. Some have attempted to reduce the complexity of this system by re-analysing the palatal stop as having an affricated manner of articulation rather than a full stop. In any event, the distribution of stops in the proto-language is not symmetrical: alveolars and retroflexes do not occur initially. Inspection of Table 1.2 reveals a number of facets about the PDr consonant system. First and foremost, voicing is not phonemic in Proto-Dravidian even though the majority of the daughter languages have voiced stops, and in many of those languages voiced stops phonemically contrast with their voiceless counterparts. Caldwell's Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants (1856), which holds for the proto-language and several daughter languages such as Old Tamil, observes that voiceless and voiced stops are in complementary distribution in the proto-language. This distribution is illustrated in Table 1.3. Tables 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5 indicate whether PDr consonants occur initially, medially or finally. In medial position, many consonants may appear singly, doubled or in clusters; clusters are, in fact, limited to medial position. Here, the two most common kinds of cluster are those consisting of a geminate, or doubled, stop and those formed by a homorganic nasal and a stop. According to Caldwell's Law, stops in Table 1.3 are voiced when intervocalic (row 2) or when they follow a homorganic nasal (row 4); elsewhere, they are voiceless, viz. when geminate (row 3) or initial (row 1). While stops might occur in initial and medial position, they could not appear in final position without a non-morphemic vowel, the so-called enunciative \*-u, e.g. \**nāju* 'country, cultivated land' (DEDR 3638) (row 5).

A century and a half of research has confirmed Caldwell's original insight: Proto-Dravidian has both voiced and voiceless stops, but voiced stops were allophones of their voiceless counterparts.

Voicing has become a distinctive characteristic of consonants in a number of daughter languages, often under the influence of borrowing from Indo-Aryan languages which have a phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops. In other cases, internal changes have resulted in elevating the feature of voicing to phonemic status, as in the distinction between voiced and voiceless laterals in Toda.

Apart from appearing in the clusters enumerated in Table 1.3, all nasals could appear singly or doubled (Table 1.4). While the labial and dental nasals could appear in any position, the distribution of retroflex and palatal nasals was restricted. The single retroflex nasal appears to have occurred only finally. The palatal nasal occurred initially and intervocalically; evidence for it appearing in final position is meagre (Zvelebil 1970).

**Table 1.3 The distribution of PDr stops**

Initial	p-	t-			c-	k-
Intervocalic	-p-	-t-	-ɾ-	-ʈ-	-c-	-k-
Clusters:						
Geminate	-pp-	-tt-	-ɾɾ-	-ʈʈ-	-cc-	-kk-
After nasals	-mp-	-nt-	-nɾ-	-nʈ-	-ñc-	-nk-
Final	-pu	-tu	-ɾu	-ʈu-	-cu-	-ku-

**Table 1.4 The distribution of PDr nasals**

	m	n		
	-mm-	-nn-	-ɳ	(-)ñ
			-ɳɳ-	-ññ-

**Table 1.5 The distribution of other PDr consonants**

	v-	-r	-l	-z	y
	-v-	-ɾ-	-l-	-z-	-y-
				-l	
				-l-	
	-vv-		-ll-	-ll-	-yy-
	(-v)				

Of the remaining consonants, neither *\*r* nor *\*z* could appear geminate (Table 1.5). The labial glide *\*v* appears to have occurred only marginally in final position. As noted earlier, what is known as *āytam* in Old Tamil appears to be a reflex of *\*y* that occurred before a consonant.

While these tables generally describe the distribution of consonants in Proto-Dravidian words, they more specifically describe the distribution of consonants in morphemes. Take *\*l* for example: no word reconstructable to PDr starts with this sound, nor does any morpheme. That a constraint on possible word shapes applies equally to possible morpheme shapes reflects the fact that the morphology of the proto-language was agglutinating so that words consisted of relatively transparent strings of morphemes. These constraints have naturally changed for various languages. Modern colloquial Tamil permits the reflex of *\*l* to occur both word- and morpheme-initially, e.g. *lañcam* 'bribe' (a borrowing) and *-le* the locative case marker (from earlier *-il*).

Although a conclusive demonstration has yet to be made, it seems that most, if not all, consonant clusters appear only at morpheme boundaries in the proto-language (Zvelebil 1970: 77). A consequence of this would be that no consonant clusters would occur in root morphemes. Zvelebil extends this line of reasoning to the conclusion that Proto-Dravidian lexical roots were essentially monosyllabic.

The tables indicate that no alveolar or retroflex consonant may appear word-initially in the proto-language. Metathesis, or apical displacement, has brought alveolars and retroflexes into initial position in South-Central Dravidian, with

alveolars merging with dentals or retroflexes. Borrowing has also brought retroflexes into initial position in other languages so that, going back to our earlier example, English 'town' is borrowed in Tamil as *ṭāvun*.

In a number of daughter languages, the structure of syllables has changed. Borrowing of Sanskritic words has introduced initial clusters into many of the daughter languages, as in Kannada *pṛiti* 'love'. Internal changes in many languages have also created initial clusters, so that metathesis changed \**varay* 'write, draw' into Telugu *vrāyu* 'id.'; however, the subsequent development of this Telugu form into *rāyu* 'id.' indicates that the PDr prohibition against initial clusters was still operative at some level. Muria Gondi permits many more elaborate clusters in medial position, although these may be broken up by the insertion of non-distinctive epenthetic vowels. The constraint against initial clusters is still strong in many languages; Malto has only two words with initial consonant clusters, *prani* 'life' and *praja* 'tent', both borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources.

The prosodic structure of Proto-Dravidian is quantitative rather than qualitative. There are constraints governing the permissible prosodic structure of syllables in the proto-language; Table 1.6 illustrates possible syllabic structures.

**Table 1.6 Permissible syllable structures in Proto-Dravidian**

Short	Vocalic nucleus	Long
VC		$\bar{V}$
VCC		$\bar{V}C$
CV		$C\bar{V}$
CVC		$C\bar{V}C$
CVCC		

In measuring length, each short vowel and each consonant counts as one unit; each long vowel counts as two. The minimum permissible prosodic unit is the mora (called *acai* 'a move' in Tamil): it must be two units in length, at least one unit of which must be a vowel, i.e. CV, VC,  $\bar{V}$ . The mora constitutes the minimal permissible syllable. The syllable consists of an onset, nucleus and coda. The nucleus is always a vowel; the onset may be empty or may have at most one consonant; and the coda may have at most two consonants. The nucleus and coda combined may have a maximum of three units of length. Thus in sequences such as ... $(C_1)\bar{V}_1C_2C_3V_2$ ...,  $C_3$  is always syllabified with the nucleus  $V_2$ . The mora is also the basis of Dravidian meters: moras are organised into feet and feet into meters.

Several prosodic alternations, summarised in Zvelebil (1970: 184ff), have been reconstructed to the proto-language. First  $(C_1)\bar{V}_1C_2$  alternates with  $(C_1)\check{V}_1C_2V_2$ , as reflected in Tamil *kār* 'be pungent, brackish' and *kari* 'be saltish to the taste, smart'. Second,  $(C_1)V_1C_2C_2$  alternates with  $(C_1)\bar{V}_1C_2V_2$  as in Tamil

*nacc(u)* ‘to desire’ and Tamil *nāci* ‘to desire’. Third,  $(C_1)V_1C_2V_2$  alternates with  $(C_1)\bar{V}_1C_2$  as in Tamil *meṭṭu* ‘heap’ and Tamil *mēṭu* ‘height, pile’ or Kannada *nann(anu)* ‘me’ and *nānu* ‘I’. The function of these rules is to preserve the prosodic structure of the forms, more specifically to preserve their moraic structure. According to prosodic rules, each alternant in each rule is two moras in length.

These three rules come into play when two or more morphemes combine into larger structures that might violate the prosodic constraints on the permissible structure of syllables. These three rules apply primarily in derivational morphology, as well as in limited cases of inflectional morphology such as personal pronouns. Rao (1973: 31ff) argues that in cases of derivation, these rules apply not in cross-categorical derivation, but only in same-category derivation. Thus, they apply in cases of  $N \rightarrow N$  and  $V \rightarrow V$ , but not  $V \rightarrow N$ . ( $N \rightarrow V$  is not well attested as the set of verbal bases is closed.) These rules transform phonologically impermissible sequences of phonemes into phonologically permitted ones. Such impermissible sequences may occur when, as noted above, two morphemes are joined or when a word is borrowed.

Stress occurs in many Dravidian languages, but is not distinctive. Typically, stress falls on the first syllable of a word. Emeneau (1970) and Zvelebil (1970) should be consulted for further discussion of Dravidian phonological systems.

## 1.6 Morphology and the Parts of Speech

Dravidian morphology distinguishes fundamentally between free and bound forms. The free forms are words, the bound forms are clitics. A clitic combines with its host to form a phonological word, but combines syntactically or semantically with an entire clause. The set of clitics includes a somewhat heterogeneous assortment of items, including quantifiers, conjunctions, emphatic markers, address terms and discourse markers. In this volume, clitics are distinguished from simple bound morphemes by use of the boundary marker =, as in Tamil *avan̄=ō ivan̄=ō* ‘either that man or this man’, where the sequence of clitics =ō ... =ō renders ‘either ... or’.

Dravidian morphology is agglutinating and exclusively suffixal. Words consist of two or more morphemes strung together in a linear fashion with the minimum intervention of morphophonemic processes. Morphemes appear in the order: lexical root (+derivative suffix) + inflectional suffix. In many of the daughter languages, what is called an inflectional increment in the literature may occur before an inflectional suffix, as the *-d-* in Kannada *mara-d-alli* ‘on the tree’ which appears after the noun root *mara* ‘tree’ and before locative case marker *-alli*. The derivative suffix may operate within the same category, e.g. noun to noun, or between categories, e.g. verb to noun. However, the derivational path from noun to verb is not well motivated, for the set of verbal bases appears to be closed in Proto-Dravidian. The set of N+V compounds likely took the place of denominal verbs, as they still do in those languages that preserve the closure on the set of verbal bases.

Proto-Dravidian has just two parts of speech, noun and verb, which are identified by their characteristic inflectional morphology. The closure on the set of verbs might tempt one to identify verbs by reference to their lexical roots, but two factors prevent this simple identification. First, some lexical roots function equally as noun or verb. Second, the existence of derivation paths from verb to noun derivation invalidates this simple equation. Instead, reference must be made to the inflectional categories that a form encodes in its suffixes.

The reconstruction of further parts of speech such as adjectives and adverbs to the proto-language is controversial. While some scholars have projected the category of adjective to Proto-Dravidian, many of the candidates for adjectival status appear to be defective nouns or verbs. Although the scholarly literature speaks of certain forms as having an adjectival function, viz. modifying a nominal, conclusive evidence that those forms constitute a formally distinct class is largely lacking. Further, none of the putative adjectives in Dravidian exhibits a comparative or superlative degree. These degrees are expressed instead by syntactic means, as in Tamil *rāmaṅ-ai viṭa kaṅṅan nallavaṅ* 'Kanna<sub>3</sub> (is a) better.man<sub>4</sub> than<sub>2</sub> Rama<sub>1</sub>', literally, 'leaving Raman aside, Kannan is a good man'.

Just as the category of adjectives is suspect in Proto-Dravidian, so is a formal class of participles, viz. verb forms with the formal properties of an adjective. For that reason, this volume avoids use of the term 'participle' as much as possible, and instead uses the terms 'conjunctive form' and 'adnominal form' where the literature uses the terms 'adverbial participle' and 'adjectival participle'. Some of the daughter languages, such as Gondi, appear to have innovated a category of adjectives under the influence of neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages.

Perhaps just as important from a structural point of view are those parts of speech that Proto-Dravidian lacks, notably adverbs, articles and conjunctions. The functions that we ordinarily associate with such parts of speech are commonly performed by nouns and verbs; a survey of the various daughter languages reveals that verbs bear most of the burden of these functions. The Dravidian languages typically lack adverbs, including such adverbs as English *not*. Negation is instead conveyed through verbal morphosyntax: verbs have both positive and negative forms. Further, non-finite verb forms are conspicuously deployed in the construction of complex sentences where other languages might select coordinating or subordinating conjunctions, as illustrated below in the section on syntax.

While articles are generally absent as a formal class in the Dravidian languages, their function may be conveyed through various means. The numeral 'one' may on occasion modify a noun to convey the sense of an indefinite article, e.g. Tamil *oru maṅitaṅ* 'one man, a man'; accordingly, the absence of such a numeral modifier may in many circumstances be construed as conveying definiteness, e.g. Tamil *ø maṅitaṅ* may be understood as 'the man'. Case and animacy may also interact to convey definiteness. In several Dravidian languages, an inanimate (non-human, neuter) direct object may occur with or without the

accusative case marker. If it appears in the accusative case, it is construed as a definite NP, as in Kannada *rāma pustaka.v-annu ōdida* 'Rama<sub>1</sub> read<sub>3</sub> the.book<sub>2</sub>'. If it does not appear in the accusative case, however, it is construed as an indefinite NP, as in Kannada *rāma pustaka ōdida* 'Rama<sub>1</sub> read<sub>2</sub> a.book<sub>3</sub>'. The use of demonstrative modifiers and quantifiers may also be used to convey definiteness. In the Tamil noun phrase *maṇitar cilar* 'some.ones<sub>2</sub> men<sub>1</sub>', the indefinite quantifier *cila-* 'some' stands in apposition to the plural noun *maṇitar* 'men'.

### Nouns

Nouns are inflected primarily for case and number, and secondarily for person and gender. Notionally, nouns include common nouns, proper names, numerals and pronouns, as well as certain modifiers. PDr nouns could be inflected for a variety of cases. The reconstruction of four cases is certain: nominative (\*- $\emptyset$ ), accusative (\*-*ay* ~ \**Vn*), dative (\*-(*k*)*ku*) and genitive (\*-*a* ~ \*-*in*). The nominative appears to be the least marked case form in the proto-language: it would have had such diverse functions as the citation form of a noun and the subject of a sentence. The accusative case typically marks the direct object of a transitive verb. The dative marks such diverse notions as recipient, goal and experiencer. The genitive is an adnominal case: it is the form that a noun assumes when it combines with another noun rather than with a verb. Its use is accompanied by such notions as possession and association. The reconstruction of other such cases as the sociative, instrumental, locative and ablative is less easily demonstrated. While virtually all the daughter languages have a locative case, its form varies greatly from one language to the next. Since many of the daughter languages treat animate and inanimate locatives differently, it may well reflect a distinction in the proto-language.

The case system has naturally changed in individual Dravidian languages over the course of time. The distinction between an ablative and an instrumental in Kannada has been collapsed to create a single 'source' case. In the four Kondh languages, namely Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Maṇḍa, the distinction between the accusative and dative cases has been neutralised in at least some persons in favour of what historically was the dative case. The Gadaba oblique case, which applies to all nouns except the first and second person pronouns, combines the functions of the accusative, dative and genitive. Old Tamil had a comparative case, which is absent from the modern language. Further examples may easily be multiplied; the reader may consult the individual chapters.

In addition to case markers, the Dravidian languages typically use postpositions to express more specific semantic nuances than are expressed by case markers. Postpositions follow the noun and may govern a specific case. For example, the locative typically has the meaning 'in' or 'at'; to express more specific meanings such as 'within', 'near', 'under', etc., postpositions are used. Their use is so widespread that their reconstruction to the proto-language is all but a certainty; although the postpositional construction surely formed part of the language, the exact inventory of forms in the proto-language has yet to be

determined. Some languages have borrowed prepositions under the influence of neighbouring languages; Brahui has, for example, borrowed four prepositions from Baluchi, an Indo-Iranian language.

Proto-Dravidian had two numbers, unmarked singular and marked plural. Throughout the Dravidian languages, the case markers follow the plural marker in nominal morphology. The use of the plural appears to be obligatory for human nouns, but optional for non-human nouns. At least two plural markers may be reconstructed to the proto-language, one for human nouns and one for non-human nouns, *\*-Vr* and *\*-(ñ)ka!(u)*.

Gender in Proto-Dravidian characterises the qualitative aspects of the participants in the narrated event, distinguishing primarily between human (or animate) and non-human (inanimate) nouns. Animate nouns are often further divided into masculine and feminine. Gender may be manifested in pronominal choice, nominal derivation and personal endings of verbs. Although many daughter languages further divide animate nouns into masculine and feminine genders, it is not yet clear whether and to what extent such a division existed in the proto-language (see Zvelebil 1977 for a discussion of the various different proposals).

The category of person is marked primarily in pronoun choice and secondarily in personal endings that may be suffixed to predicate nominals, as illustrated in the section on syntax. Some daughter languages such as Old Tamil and Malto preserve personal endings on predicate nominals; others such as Modern Tamil have lost them.

**Pronouns**

**Table 1.7 Reconstructed personal pronouns of Proto-Dravidian**

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>	
	Nominative	Oblique		Nominative	Oblique
First	*yān	*yan- *(y)en-	Exclusive Inclusive	*yām *nām	yam- nam-
Second	*nīn	*nin-		*nīm	nim-
Third	*tān	*tan-		*tām	tam-

The personal pronouns of Proto-Dravidian are reconstructed in Table 1.7. Note that the oblique forms of the pronouns have short vowels while the corresponding nominative forms have long vowels. Note also that the first person plural distinguishes between an inclusive plural ‘we and you’ and an exclusive plural ‘we but not you’. The exact shape of the reconstructed first person plural inclusive pronoun is uncertain; some scholars have proposed the reconstructed form as *\*ñām*. In the dissolution of Proto-Dravidian into the various daughter languages,

the shape of several personal pronouns has naturally changed. In several South Dravidian and South-Central languages, for example, the first person singular and first person plural inclusive now begin with an initial *n*, due to analogic restructuring with the first person plural inclusive and the second person pronouns so that all non-third person pronouns begin with *n*. This would have rendered the two first person plural pronouns homophonous; in fact the standard Modern Kannada pronoun *nāvu* ‘we’ does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms of the pronoun, even though the Havyaka dialect preserves reflexes of this distinction with exclusive *yeṅḡlu* (cf. Tamil *enkaḷ*, oblique base of *nānkaḷ* ‘we, not you’) and inclusive *nāvu*. In other languages, however, the first person inclusive plural was restructured in response to the potential loss of this distinction. In the development of Middle and Modern Tamil, a ‘double plural’ was formed by adding the plural marker *-kaḷ* to the plural pronoun *nām* ‘we’ pronoun or, perhaps, the singular pronoun *nān* ‘I’, giving *nānkaḷ* ‘we, not you’. The formation of double plurals in the second person is well attested in the history of Tamil: the modern second person plural pronoun *nīnkaḷ* ‘you’ historically derives from *nīr* ‘you’ and plural marker *-kaḷ*. In the northwestern dialects of Gondi, the inclusive plural, with forms such as *āplo* and *āpan*, has been borrowed from neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages to maintain the inclusive–exclusive distinction. Plurality may secondarily mark honorification, both in nouns and verbs; thus, certain kin terms take the plural suffix even though the referent is singular. The Tamil pronoun *avar* ‘he’, which functions as a third person honorific pronoun in many modern dialects, descends from an earlier human plural pronoun. A double plural, *avar-kaḷ* ‘they’, has subsequently been innovated to assume the function that *avar* formerly held, although as a human plural pronoun *avar-kaḷ* may now also be used as an honorific pronoun.

It should be noted that the Proto-Dravidian third person pronouns *\*tān* and *\*tām* function primarily as reflexive pronouns in many of the modern daughter languages. However, some of the southern dialects of Modern Tamil retain their use as third person anaphoric pronouns. By and large, series of third person pronouns, differentiated for number, gender and deixis, have taken over the function of third person anaphoric pronouns in the modern languages. Supplementing the third person pronouns are a series of deictic forms with three degrees of deixis: distal, medial and proximal. Observe that interrogative pronouns also pattern with the deictic pronouns. Table 1.8 illustrates the reconstruction of one series of masculine and neuter deictic and interrogative pronouns. Although such forms may appear at first glance to consist of a prefix and a nominal base, in direct opposition to the exclusively suffixal character of Dravidian morphology, they in fact have a different analysis. They are compounds of two nouns, the first element of which is a noun with a deictic meaning. All the deictic forms have long and short forms, e.g. *ā- ~ a-* ‘that one’, the allomorph with the long vowel tends to appear when the deictic noun freely combines with a following noun; as the two elements fuse into a single word, the allomorph with the short vowel tends to replace the allomorph with the long vowel. Compounding with these deictic

**Table 1.8 A sample of Proto-Dravidian deictic pronouns**

	Distal	Medial	Proximal	Interrogative
Masculine	*a.v-anru	*u.v-anru	*i.v-anru	*e.v-anru
Neuter	*a-tu	*u-tu	*i-tu	*e-tu

elements gives rise to a broad array of forms, e.g. *a-* ‘that one’ + *kaṭai* ‘place’ gives *a.k-kaṭai* ‘that place, there’, *a-* ‘that one’ + *paṭi* ‘step’ gives *a.p-paṭi* ‘that way, thus’ and so on.

Several languages such as Modern Kannada and Modern Tamil (except the Sri Lankan dialect) have lost the medial degree. Other languages, such as Gonḍi and Kūvi, have innovated additional degrees of deixis. Besides the three inherited deictic degrees, Muria Gonḍi has innovated an ultra-distal degree, a speaker-proximal degree and an addressee-proximal degree. The speaker-proximal forms, for example, are compounds of *ill-* (cf. Kannada *illi* ‘here’) and proximal pronouns; the form *illid* ‘this one close to me’ thus consists of *ill-* and *id* ‘this one’. This illustrates just how productive a process the compounding of deictic elements is in the formation of pronouns.

### Verbs

The Dravidian verb encodes such verbal categories as mood, tense and polarity. Proto-Dravidian distinguishes two tenses, past and non-past. It also distinguishes two kinds of polarity, affirmative and negative. These two categories are not symmetric: past and non-past are distinguished only in the affirmative.

All Dravidian verbs morphologically consist of a verb base and at least one verbal inflection. The verb base lexically identifies the verb, determining the kind of arguments and modifiers that may accompany the verb. Dravidian verb bases are simple or complex. A simple verb base consists of a morphologically indivisible verb root, e.g. *\*kaṇ-* ‘see’ (DEDR 1443) or *\*varu-* ‘come’ (DEDR 5270). A complex verb base consists of a simple verb root and a stem-forming suffix. The number of stem-forming suffixes that may be reconstructed to the proto-language is very small; the best candidates for reconstruction include suffixes which may alter a verb’s valency and which mark voice and causation. When Tulu, for example, forms the causative verb stem *bar-pa-* ‘cause to come’ by suffixing *-pa-* to the simpler verb root *baru-* ‘come’, it merely reflects an ancient Dravidian morphological process. However, several daughter languages have innovated a variety of stem formatives (see Steever 1993). In Malto, for example, one creates the intransitive-reflexive stem *nud-yr-* ‘hide oneself’ by suffixing *-yr-* to the simple verb root *nud-* ‘hide’. In Kūi, Kūvi, Maṇḍa and Pen-go, one may create the motion stem *meh-ka-* ‘go and see’ by suffixing *-ka-* to the verb root *meh-* ‘see’. And in Tulu, one creates the intensive-completive base *ben-dru-* ‘work away’ by suffixing *-dru-* to the simple verb root *ben-* ‘work’. These may not be reconstructed beyond the individual language or individual

subgroup to Proto-Dravidian; several such suffixes are the historical remnants of auxiliary verbs (Steever 1993).

The suffixes that follow the verb base specify the verb's relation to the syntactic environment and to the speech event. Suffixes that anchor a verb to its syntactic surroundings include personal endings that mark subject-verb agreement and the conditional suffix that identifies the protasis, or if-clause, of a conditional proposition. Suffixes that describe a verb's relation to the speech event include such forms as the imperative and tense markers. When a verb base combines with a following verbal suffix, a morphological adjustment may occur at the boundary between the two. For example, a number of common Dravidian verbs have two phonologically distinct alternants that are automatically conditioned by the identity of the following suffix. In some instances, the presence of negative polarity triggers one alternant over another; for example the verb *\*āku-* 'become' (DEDR 333) has the suppletive variant *\*al-* 'not become' which appears in the negative conjugation; the verb *\*varu-* 'come' (DEDR 5270) has the alternant *\*vār-* in the negative conjugation. In such daughter languages as Kota, Toda, Kūi, Kūvi and Gadaba, this kind of stem formation has become elaborate.

Many Dravidian languages have several conjugation classes, usually based on the phonological shape of the verb base. Tamil, for example, has seven conjugations while Kūi has four and Gonḍi has two. However, the phonological criteria that define the four conjugation classes in Kūi bear little obvious relation to the criteria that define the seven in Tamil. As yet, no consensus exists on the number of conjugation classes in the proto-language or their defining characteristics.

All Proto-Dravidian verbs are finite or non-finite. The distribution of finite and non-finite forms in Dravidian structures is governed by a syntactic rule (see Steever 1988). This syntactic distinction is in turn morphologically interpreted depending on the categories that a verb form encodes. Finite verbs mark subject-verb agreement and an additional category such as tense, polarity or illocutionary force; non-finite verbs do not.

Proto-Dravidian has three finite paradigms, two affirmative and one negative. The two affirmative paradigms are the past and non-past. All the forms in these paradigms consist of a verb base, tense marker and personal ending. Corresponding to these two affirmative forms is a single negative paradigm. The negative consists of a verb base, negative marker and personal ending. For example, the Tamil negative verb *kāṇōm* 'we do not see' consists of the base *kaṇ-*, the negative morpheme which lengthens the vowel of the base and the personal ending of the first person plural *-ōm*. Besides the reconstruction of these three paradigms, the reconstruction of such forms as an imperative and an optative seems probable. These forms also function as finite verbs since they mark subject-object agreement even though they lack full paradigms. While the verb base appears to function as a singular imperative in many daughter languages, the singular imperative of such common verbs as *\*tar-* 'give to you or me' and *\*var-* 'come' are not homophonous with the verb base. This simple system has

changed in the various daughter languages; several have innovated a present tense paradigm as Modern Tamil and Modern Telugu; others such as Koṇḍa have innovated a past negative paradigm. The lack of compatibility among these various paradigms prevents their reconstruction to the proto-language.

In contrast to finite forms, non-finite verb forms do not typically mark subject-verb agreement; however, some, such as the adnominal forms, may mark tense or polarity. Non-finite verbs embrace two basic sets: verb forms that combine with a following verb and those that combine with a following noun. The first set, called *viṇaiyeccam* 'forms deficient in a verb' in traditional Tamil grammar, includes the infinitive, the conditional and the conjunctive form. It should be noted that the bare verb base could function as a non-finite verb form in a variety of compound verb constructions in Proto-Dravidian; while some daughter languages such as Kūi, Malto and Old Tamil preserve this structure, most do not. What is called the conjunctive here has been called the adverbial participle in much of the literature on Dravidian languages. These forms are crucial to the construction of such complex structures as compound verbs, coordinate clauses and other complex structures, as illustrated below. Most of the modern Dravidian languages retain an infinitive, a conjunctive and a conditional form, although these have various phonological forms from one language to the next.

The second set, called *peyareccam* 'forms deficient in a noun' in traditional Tamil grammar, includes the adnominal forms, which are infelicitously called adjectival participles in the literature. Inasmuch as most Dravidian languages lack a basic category of adjectives, use of the latinized term 'participle' is inappropriate in these languages. The adnominal forms are verb forms that combine with a following noun, with or without intervening material. They are crucial to the formation of relative clauses, noun complements and adverbial clauses, as illustrated below in the section on syntax. The adnominal forms are best preserved in the South and South-Central Dravidian languages, but are more or less modified in the languages of the other subgroups under the impact of borrowing from Indo-Aryan languages.

To supplement the somewhat limited set of simple verb forms, Proto-Dravidian made use of compound verbs consisting of two independent verb forms. These constructions are not conjunctions: despite the occurrence of two lexical verbs in such compounds, there is only one set of arguments and modifiers for the entire compound verb, not one for each of its components. Lexical compound verbs supplement the lexicon by providing a complex morphosyntactic vehicle to convey those lexical meanings that are not encoded in any single lexeme of the language. For example, the Tamil lexical compound *koṇṭu vara* 'bring' consists of the conjunctive form of the verb *koḷḷa* 'hold, contain' and an inflected form of the verb *vara* 'come'. In Malto, the compound verb *ṭunḍa aqa* 'know critically' consists of two simple verbs, *ṭunḍa* 'see' and *aqa* 'know' while the compound verb *naḍa pāra* 'enjoy thoroughly' consists of *naḍa* 'dance' and *pāra* 'sing'. Auxiliary compound verbs are internally complex morphosyntactic vehicles that express those verbal categories that are not encoded in any simple

verbal morpheme of the language, e.g. perfect tense or benefactive voice. The Kannada auxiliary compound verb (*nānu bandu iddīni* 'I<sub>1</sub> have<sub>3</sub> come<sub>2</sub>') expresses the perfect tense series: it consists of the conjunctive form *bandu* 'coming' of the main verb *bara* 'come' and an inflected form of the auxiliary verb *iru* 'be'. In a number of the daughter languages, the two component verbs of compound verbs have contracted to form new lexemes or new paradigms (see Steever 1993). For example, the verb *koṇṭara* 'bring' in Modern Spoken Tamil is the contraction of the earlier lexical compound verb *koṇṭu vara* 'id.'

Proto-Dravidian contains a special family of compound verb constructions. In the serial compound verb construction, two verbs – both finite in form – combine to form a compound verb. Both verbs always have congruent personal endings: the Muria Gondī serial compound verb *ollvir atir* 'you did not bend over' consists of the tenseless negative form *ollvir* 'you did/do/will not bend over' and the past tense of *aya* 'become'. Both are finite verbs inflected with the personal ending for the second person plural, *-(v)ir*. Structurally similar, the Old Tamil serial compound verb *cel-v-ēm all-ēm* 'we will not go' consists of the main verb *cel-v-ēm* 'we will go' and the auxiliary verb *all-ēm* 'we do not become': both verbs are finite, bearing the personal ending for the first person plural, *-ēm*. Despite severe restrictions on the distribution of finite verbs in Dravidian syntactic structures, several serial compound verbs have been reconstructed to the proto-language (Steever 1993). One is the past negative paradigm, which is the predecessor of the Muria Gondī and Old Tamil forms just noted. The serial compound verb persists into several daughter languages, such as Muria Gondī and Old Telugu, but is lost in others such as Modern Tamil.

The morphology and syntax of verbs in Dravidian is generally more complicated than that of nouns. A close reading of the individual chapters in this volume will reveal just how versatile and how integral verbs are to the construction of the Dravidian sentence. Subrahmanyam (1971) should be consulted to gain an idea of the wealth of verb forms the Dravidian languages possess.

## 1.7 Lexicon

The phonological and morphological correspondences noted in the previous sections exist only because scholars recognised that words are related from one language to the next. The existence of numerous cognate words and systematic correspondences among them permitted early scholars to advance the claim that certain languages were genetically related, forming the Dravidian family. Comparative lexicon is thus one of the fundamental tools used in Dravidian linguistics. And it is the lexicon of Proto-Dravidian that has seen the greatest amount of comparative work. The pinnacle of this study is Burrow and Emeneau's magisterial *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 2nd edition (DEDR), a collection of approximately 5,750 etymological groups.

Table 1.9 gives correspondences among 22 languages for five etyma: *\*mīn* 'fish' (DEDR 4885), *\*yān* 'I' (DEDR 5160), *\*kīz* ~ *kīz* 'place below' (DEDR

**Table 1.9 Selected lexical correspondences**

Language	4885 'fish'	5160 'I'	DEDR 1619 'place below'	5270 'come'	990 'one'
Tamil	mīṇ	yān, nāṇ	kīz	varu-, vā-	oru, ōr, okka
Malayalam	mīn	ñān	kīz, kīzu	varu-, vā-	oru, ōr, okka
Irula		nā(nu)	kiye	varu-	or-
Kota	mīn	ān	kī, kīṛm	vār-, va-	ōr, o
Toda	mīn	ōn	kī	pōr-, pa-	wīr, wīd, oš
Baḍaga	mīnu	nā(nu)	kīe	bā-, bar	ondu
Kannada	mīn	nānu	kīz, keḷa	ba-, bāru-	or, ōr, ondu
Kodagu	mīni	nāni	kī, kīli	bār-, ba-	ori, ōr, oni
Tulu	mīnu	yānu, yēnu	kīlu	barpini	or, oru
Telugu	mīnu	ēnu, nēnu	kri, k(r)inda	vaccu, rā-	okka, ondu
Gonḍi	mīn	anā, nanna		vaya	or-, undi
Koṇḍa	mīn	nān(u)		vā-, ra-	or-, unṛ-
Kūi	mīnu	ānu, nānu		vāva	ro-
Kūvi	mīnu	nānu		vā-	ro-
Maṇḍa		ān		vā-	ru-
Pengo	mīn	ān, āneṇ		vā-	ro-
Kolami		ān		var-, vā	ok-
Parji	mīni	ān	kīṛi	ver-	ok-
Gadaba	mīn	ān		var-	uk-
Malto	mīnu	ēn		bare	ort-, -ond
Kurux		ēn	kiyyā	barnā-	ort-, on
Brahui		ī	ki-, kē-	bar-, ba-	asiṭ, on-

1619), \*varu ~ vā 'come' (DEDR 5270) and \*ōr- ~ or- ~ on- 'one' (DEDR 990). These correspondences illustrate the similarities and divergences among the various daughter languages. Note that reflexes of \*mīn 'fish' occur in every subgroup of the family with little change. The only notable change is the addition of a final enunciative vowel, as in Telugu *mīnu* 'fish'. Although Proto-Dravidian words could end in *-n*, some languages now require words to end in a vowel. The development of the first person singular pronoun \*yān 'I' is more complex. Note that several, but not all, South and South-Central languages now have an initial *n* in the reflexes of this form. The first person pronouns were analogically restructured in these two subgroups on the model of the second person pronouns \*ni 'thou' (DEDR 3684) and \*nīm ~ nīr 'you' (DEDR 3688), both of which began with *n*. This restructuring took place in historical times since Old Tamil has both *yān* 'I' and *nān* 'I', the former being more frequent, while the modern language has only *nān*. It would appear that the Kondh languages of the SCDr branch diverged from the rest of the subgroup before the re-analysis completely spread, as in Telugu and Koṇḍa. Reflexes of \*kīz ~ kīz 'below' also occur in all four subgroups; they function as postpositions meaning 'below, under'. Note, however, in most of the SCDr and CDr languages it has been supplanted by other Dravidian etyma or replaced by other borrowings from Indo-Aryan languages. In Muria Gonḍi, the word that means 'below' and may be used as a postposition is *addiy*

'below'. This is a reflex of \**aṭi* 'foot, base, bottom' (DEDR 472), as found in the Tamil compound noun *maratt-aṭi-niṣal* 'shadow (*niṣal*) at the base (*aṭi*) of the tree (*maratt-*)'. The etymon \**varu-* 'come' has a number of alternants that survive throughout the family. Not only does it function as a main verb in all of the daughter languages, but, in many of them, also as an auxiliary verb expressing continual aspect. Reflexes of the numeral 'one', \**ōr-*, have persisted in all of the daughter languages. This numeral could appear before or after a noun, as is still possible in Tamil. In Malto, on the other hand, the postposed form of the numeral now appears only in one restricted context: in construction with classifiers. In all other contexts, the numeral for 'one' has been borrowed from Indo-Aryan.

Proto-Dravidian words may be simple, derived or compound. The chapter on Kannada in this volume provides many examples of nominal derivation in a Dravidian language. A single word may be reduplicated to form an iterative compound; the resulting compound has a distributive, reciprocal, iterative or plural sense. Thus, the Tamil pronoun *avar* 'they' may be reduplicated as *avaravar* 'each, every man'; the conjunctive form *vantu* 'coming' may be reduplicated as *vantu vantu* 'coming again and again'. Similarly, in Gadaba, the numeral *okur* 'one (man)' may be reduplicated as *okurokur* 'one by one'.

A special subset of reduplicated compound words, applicable to nouns and verbs alike, is the echo compound. In echo compounds, the first syllable (C)VX. of the second member of the compound is replaced by the syllable \**kiX.*, instead of exactly replicating the initial syllable of the first word. The vowel of the echo syllable is long or short depending on whether the vowel of the syllable it replaces is long or short. Thus, in Tamil, the noun *pustakam* 'book' serves as the basis of the echo *pustakam-kistakam* 'books and the like', while *vīṭu* 'house' serves as the basis of the echo compound *vīṭu-kīṭu* 'houses and so forth'. In Kannada, the noun *mane* 'house' serves as the base for the echo compound *mane-gine* 'houses and the like'; in Gadaba the noun *pidir* 'name' is the base of the echo compound *pidir-gidir* 'names and such'. Echo compounds denote sets of objects or events, of which the first member of the compound represents a random example. Connotations of sarcasm, dislike and similar affective reactions often accompany the use of these compounds. And, they generally occur only in certain grammatical frames, such as in the future tense, modal verb constructions or negative polarity. Although such forms are not attested before the medieval period in the Viraśaiva literature of Middle Kannada and Middle Telugu, their distribution throughout the family assures their reconstruction to the proto-language (see Steever 1993).

The set of verb bases is closed in Proto-Dravidian; to circumvent the obstacles that such a restriction places on word-formation and borrowing, most Dravidian languages make extensive use of noun-verb compounding. In Kannada, for example, the formation of a verb from a noun is ordinarily carried out by compounding the noun with one of a handful of verbs such as *māḍu* 'do, make', *āgu* 'become' and *paḍu* 'befall'. This process is illustrated with the following pairs: *maduve* 'marriage' vs *maduve āgu* 'get married', *pās* 'passing grade' (< English)

vs *pās āgu* ‘pass an exam’, *āse* ‘desire’ vs *āse paḍu* ‘crave’, *hālu* ‘destruction’ vs *hālu māḍu* ‘destroy’, *tīrmana* ‘decision’ vs *tīrmana māḍu* ‘conclude, decide’. Further examples from Tamil reinforce this observation. For example, the compound verb *vēlai ceyya* ‘to work’ consists of the noun *vēlai* ‘work’ and the verb *ceyya* ‘do, make’; *ācai paṭa* ‘desire’ consists of *ācai* ‘desire’ and *paṭa* ‘to (be)fall’; *mōcam paṇṇa* ‘deceive’ consists of *mōcam* ‘deceit’ and *paṇṇa* ‘make’. This process works equally well with borrowed nouns: *caikkal aṭikka* ‘ride a bicycle’ consists of the borrowed noun *caikkal* ‘bicycle’ and the Tamil verb *aṭikka* ‘make a stroke’; *passu paṇṇa* ‘pass an examination’ consists of *passu* ‘passing grade’ and *paṇṇa* ‘do’; *bōr aṭikka* ‘be bored’ from *bōr* ‘bore’ and *aṭikka* ‘make a stroke’. Further examples appear in the following chapters.

## 1.8 Comparative Syntax

The Proto-Dravidian simple sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. The subject is in most instances a noun phrase in the nominative case (1a, b, 2a, b); however, daughter languages in all four subgroups have dative-subject constructions. In this kind of sentence, the subject of a verb of emotion, sensation, cognition or possession appears in the dative case (1c, d, 2c, d). Unlike datives with a purposive or an allative meaning, these datives have certain subject-coding properties that the other datives lack, such as the ability to serve as the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun. Though dative-subjects are infrequently attested in the early stages of Dravidian languages (see the chapter on Old Tamil), their broad distribution among the daughter languages strongly suggests their reconstruction to the proto-language.

### Simple Sentence

The predicate of a simple sentence may be either a finite verb (1b, d, 2b, d) or a predicate nominal (1a, c, 2a, c). Note that sentences with predicate nominals are well-formed without a copula. While some daughter languages have copular verbs, their presence may be traced to borrowing from neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages. The Wardha dialect of Kolami, for example, appears to have borrowed a copular construction from Marathi. While use of the copular construction is obligatory in the Wardha dialect, it is not obligatory in other dialects of the language.

By combining the two kinds of subjects and two kinds of predicate, four basic sentence types are generated. These four are illustrated below with examples from Tamil (1) and Koṇḍa (2). On the strength of their distribution throughout the daughter languages, these four patterns may be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian.

- (1) a. *avar eṅ āciriyaṛ.*  
he-nom my teacher-nom  
'he (is) my teacher'
- b. *avar pēc-iṅ-ār.*  
he-nom speak-pst-3shon  
'he spoke'
- c. *avar-ukku oru makaḷ.*  
he-dat one daughter-nom  
'he (has) a daughter'
- d. *avar-ukku.k kōpam va-nt-atu.*  
he-dat anger-nom come-pst-3sn  
'he got angry'
- (2) a. *māp sēna dūram-ti lōku.*  
we-nom very distance-loc people-nom  
'we (are) people from far away'
- b. *bānza rāza sur-t-an.*  
barren king-nom see-pst-3sm  
'the barren king saw'
- c. *aya guru.y-eng budi.*  
that guru-dat wisdom-nom  
'that guru (has) wisdom'
- d. *lōk-aṅ kōpam va-n-ad*  
man-dat anger-nom come-npst-3sn  
'the man gets angry'

Sentences consisting of a nominal subject and a finite verb are the most common in the Dravidian languages and show the greatest range of variation; word-order generalisations therefore are framed in terms of this fundamental sentence type. We thus speak of Tamil as a SOV, or subject–object–verb, language rather than apply the more precise and pedantic label subject–object–predicate.

Simple sentences show agreement between subject and predicate whether the predicate is a finite verb or a predicate nominal. The basic agreement pattern is nominative–accusative: a predicate, transitive or intransitive, agrees in person, number and gender with its subject. Agreement between nominative subjects and their verbal predicates survives in all the daughter languages except Malayalam, where personal endings have been lost. In the SCDr languages Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Maṇḍa, a system of object–verb agreement has been innovated (see Steever 1993). Importantly, Proto-Dravidian appears to have had agreement between a subject and a predicate nominal, with the predicate nominal bearing personal endings to mark the person, number and gender of the subject. Agreement between subjects and predicate nominals survives into many of the daughter languages, such as Old Tamil (3a) and Gonḍi (3b), but is lost in such others as Modern Tamil. In (3a), the first person singular personal ending *-ēṅ* is suffixed

to the predicate nominal *tōl* 'shoulder'; in (3b), the first person exclusive plural personal ending *-om* is suffixed to a series of predicate nominals.

- (3) a. (*yāṅ*) *tōl-ēṅ*  
 I-nom shoulder-1s  
 'I have (broad) shoulders', lit. 'I (am one with) shoulders.'
- b. *undi nattuṛ'tor-om*, *undi pen'tor-om*, *undi puttul'tor-om*.  
 one blood-gen-1pl<sup>ex</sup> one god-gen-1pl<sup>ex</sup> one offspring-gen-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 'We are of one blood, one god and one ancestral line.'

Note that in both examples the subject pronoun may be obviated due to the presence of the agreement marker on the predicate nominal.

The basic word order of Proto-Dravidian is robustly SOV, or subject, object and verb, even though the presence of case marking might otherwise suggest the possibility of free word order. But despite the morphological marking of grammatical relations, the verb is the final element in the sentence and is displaced from that position only in marked circumstances. In Tamil, for example, a subject may be postposed over the clause-final verb to the end of the sentence in order to emphasise that noun phrase. In keeping with the general head-final, SOV pattern of Proto-Dravidian, subordinate clauses precede main clauses, genitives precede the nouns they modify, main verbs precede their auxiliaries, and postpositions are used instead of prepositions.

In the evolution of the various daughter languages, some deviations from the basic SOV pattern have taken place. The North Dravidian languages have developed a modified SOV word order under the impact of neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages. In this word order type, non-sentential objects precede their verb while sentential objects and some other subordinate clauses follow the verb they are dependent on. Even so, the word order within each clause remains SOV. The North Dravidian language Malto has instances of both the typical Dravidian SOV word order and the modified SOV type. The modified SOV word order occurs only where there has existed prolonged contact between a Dravidian language and a non-Dravidian language, and must be considered an innovation within those individual languages. As further evidence of such contact, Brahui has developed four prepositions alongside of the more numerous postpositions.

### Complex Sentence

Complex sentences consist of two or more clauses: in keeping with the dominant SOV word order, dependent clauses precede main clauses. The distinction between subordination and co-ordination seems not to be well defined in Proto-Dravidian. While some evidence is available to distinguish between subordinate and co-ordinate structures, such as the possibility of backward pronominalisation into subordinate clauses, Dravidian morphosyntax appears not to make much of this distinction, often using the same morphosyntactic device in both structures.

The lack of a separate set of conjunctions in the proto-language shifts the burden of co-ordination and subordination to the two basic parts of speech, particularly verbs.

Dravidian morphology encodes a fair amount of information that in other languages would be considered syntax. Just as the case-marking of nouns contributes much to the internal syntax of the clause, verb morphology bears much of the burden of specifying the syntactic relations that may hold between two or more clauses. Dependent clauses are generally signalled by non-finite verb forms whose morphology requires them to combine with an element of the following clause. Non-finite verbs accordingly fall into one of two sets: those that combine with a following predicate and those that combine with a following nominal. The first set contains such forms as the conjunctive form (cnj), the infinitive (inf) and the conditional (cnd), illustrated again with examples from Tamil (4) and Koṇḍa (5).

- (4) a. *mazai pey-tu veyil aṭi-ttu vāṇavil*  
 rain-nom rain-cnj sunshine-nom beat-cnj rainbow-nom  
*tōṇr-i.y-atu.*  
 appear-pst-3sn  
 'It rained, the sunshine beat down and a rainbow appeared.'
- b. *avaṇ pāṭ-a avaḷ āṭ-iṇ-āḷ.*  
 he-nom sing-inf she-nom dance'  
 'As he sang, she danced.'
- c. *avaṇ poy coṇṇ-āl ammā aṭi-pp-āḷ.*  
 he-nom lie tell-cnd mother-nom beat-fut-3sf  
 'If he tells a lie, (his) mother will beat him.'
- (5) a. *ōr nēṇḍ vāz-i darmam ki?a.*  
 one day come-cnj help do-imp  
 'Come for a day, and help (us).'
- b. *anasi uṇ-ḍeṇ bas-t-an.*  
 elder.brother-nom eat-inf sit-pst-3sm  
 'The elder brother sat (down) to eat.'
- c. *embe suṭ-tiṇa nāru sil-ed.*  
 where look-cnd town-nom not.be-pst-3sn  
 'Wherever they looked, there was no town.'

The conjunctive form, often called the adverbial participle in the literature, joins two or more clauses in (4a) and (5a). While the finite verb at the end of each sentence varies in person, number and gender with its subject, the conjunctive form remains invariant no matter what its subject may be. The infinitive, perhaps the most common non-finite form in the Dravidian languages, joins two clauses in (4b) and (5b). Its uses are wide, ranging from marking a clause of circumstance (4b) to a clause of purpose (5b). The conditional, illustrated in (4c) and (5c), most

commonly marks the protasis, or 'if-clause', of a conditional proposition. That usage may be extended, as in (4c), to certain universal statements: the sentence may be interpreted as meaning, 'if one looked wherever (=anywhere), there was no town'.

The second set of non-finite verbs in Dravidian are the adnominal forms, commonly called adjectival or relative participles. These combine with a following noun to form such complex structures as relative clauses (6a, 7a), noun complements (6b) or adverbial clauses (6c). When an adnominal form combines with a pronominal head, it may create a verbal noun (6d, 7b). As before, the examples come from Tamil (6) and Koṇḍa (7).

- (6) a. *nāṅ* NP[S[ $\emptyset$ ; *anta nāvalai eḻut-iṅ-a*]<sub>S</sub> *āciryarai*]<sub>NP</sub> *canti-tt-ēṅ*.  
 I-nom that novel-acc write-pst-adn author-acc meet-pst-1s  
 'I met the author who wrote that novel.'
- b. *nāṅ* NP[S[ *āciryar va-nt-a*]<sub>S</sub> *ceyṭi*]<sub>NP</sub> *kēṭ-ṭ-ēṅ*.  
 I-nom author-nom come-pst-adn news hear-pst-1s  
 'I heard the news that the author came here.'
- c. NP[S[ *makaṅ va-nt-a*]<sub>S</sub> *pōtu*]<sub>NP</sub> *nāṅ tūṅk-iṅ-ēṅ*.  
 son-nom come-pst-adn time I-nom sleep-pst-1s  
 'When my son came home, I was sleeping.'
- d. NP[S[ *avaṅ conṅ-atu*]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> *uṅmai*.  
 he-nom say-pst-vn-nom truth-nom  
 'What he said is the truth.'
- (7) a. NP[S[ *rū-n-i*]<sub>S</sub> *guid-ed*]<sub>NP</sub> *soRad*.  
 plough-npst-adn field-loc go-pst-3sn  
 'She went to the field they plough.'
- b. *aya bōdel* NP[S[ *sur-t-ika*]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> *id<sup>o</sup>ed*.  
 that woman-nom see-pst-vn leave-neg-pst-3sn  
 'That woman did not leave (alone) what she saw.'

Proto-Dravidian had no relative pronouns as such. Instead, the adnominal forms of the verb were used to create relative clauses. In (6a), for example, the clause *āciryar anta nāvalai eḻutiṅār* 'the author<sub>1</sub> wrote<sub>4</sub> that<sub>2</sub> novel<sub>3</sub>' is embedded in the sentence *nāṅ āciryarai cantittēṅ* 'I<sub>1</sub> met<sub>3</sub> the author<sub>2</sub>' under the head noun *āciryar* 'author'. The finite verb in the subordinate clause, *eḻutiṅār* 'he wrote', is changed into the non-finite adnominal form *eḻutiṅa* 'which/who wrote' while the subject of the subordinate clause is deleted under identity with the head noun. The adnominal forms are also used in noun complements, as in (5b) where the adnominal form in a subordinate clause combines with a following head noun even though that head noun is not co-referential with any noun in the subordinate clause.

Agreement in the complex sentence is more complicated than in the simple sentence, and is best approached through a series of steps. As a first approxima-

tion, the Proto-Dravidian sentence, no matter how internally complex, has just one finite predicate, whether it is a finite verb or a predicate nominal. That predicate occurs at the right end of the sentence and closes it. All remaining verb forms in the sentence must be non-finite. All the examples of complex sentences introduced thus far follow this rule. The rule is sufficiently well represented among the daughter languages to be reconstructed to the proto-language (Steever 1988).

The restriction against multiple finite predicates in a sentence, however, makes it impossible to embed clauses with finite predicates or predicate nominals. Among the many consequences of such a restriction is a prohibition against direct discourse. To circumvent these restrictions, Proto-Dravidian had recourse to a limited number of lexical and morphosyntactic devices to embed finite predicates. First, two verbs, *\*en* 'say' (DEDR 868) and *\*āku* 'become' (DEDR 333), in all their various forms, may embed finite predicates without imposing any morphological change on them. This process is illustrated with reflexes of the verb *\*en* from Tamil (8) and Koṇḍa (9).

- (8) a.  $so[nān]_{S1}[kannaṅ \quad nallavaṅ]_{S1} \quad enru \quad niṅaikkirēṅ]_{S0}$   
 I-nom Kannan-nom good.man-nom say-cnj think-prs-1s  
 'I think that Kannan is a good man.'
- b.  $so[S1[avaṅ \quad iṅkē \quad vantaṅ]_{S1} \quad enpatu \quad uṅmai.t=tāṅ]_{S0}$   
 he-nom here come-pst-3sm say-vn truth-nom=indeed  
 'It is true that he came here.'
- (9) a.  $so[mā \quad buba \quad S1[reyna]_{S1} \quad iRan]_{S0}$   
 my father-nom beat-fut-1s say-pst-1s  
 'My father said, "I will beat (you)".'
- b.  $so[S1[una]_{S1} \quad iRiṅa \quad anam \quad siled]_{S0}$   
 eat-fut-1s say-cnd food-nom not.be-fut-3sn  
 'There is no food for me to eat', lit. 'There is no food if I say,  
 "I will eat".'

In these four examples, reflexes of the Proto-Dravidian verb *\*en*- 'say' are used to embed clauses with finite predicates: in Tamil it became *eṅa* 'id.' (8), in Koṇḍa *in* 'id.' (9). In (8a) the conjunctive form embeds a clause with a predicate nominal, in (8b) the verbal noun of this verb embeds a clause with a finite predicate. Similarly, in (9a) a finite form of the verb embeds a clause with a finite verb while in (9b) the conditional form of the verb does the same thing. Reflexes of the verb *\*āku* 'become' also embed finite predicates. The following two examples come from Kannada (10) and Parji (11), respectively.

- (10)  $so[S1[yāru \quad avana \quad edurige \quad āḍuttiralilla]_{S1} \quad ādar=ū$   
 no.one-nom he-gen with speak-pst-neg become-cnd=and

*heṅgasara mūlaka ī mātu kāveriya kivi muṭṭuttittu*]<sub>S0</sub>  
 women-gen through this word-nom Kaveri-gen ear reach-pst.prs-3sn  
 ‘Even though no one had spoken directly with him, word of this matter  
 reached Kaveri’s ears through women’s gossip.’

- (11) *so*[<sub>S1</sub>[*metted*]<sub>S1</sub> *erod penda katrano āy*]<sub>S0</sub>  
 be-pst-3sn become-cnd forest.field-nom cut-vn-nom be  
 ‘As conditions were proper, (he said), “The forest field ought to be  
 cleared”.’

Thus, the number of finite predicates in the Dravidian sentence varies directly with the number of such special verbs as *\*en* and *\*āku*.

It further appears that certain clitics such as *\*=ō* ‘or, any, whether, some’ and *\*=ē* ‘even, and’ could also embed finite predicates in such constructions as dubitative (12) and correlative clauses (13). The examples, from Tamil and Koṇḍa, respectively, illustrate reflexes of the clitic *\*=ō* ‘or, any, whether, some’.

- (12) *so*[<sub>S1</sub>[*avan varuvan*]<sub>S1</sub>=*ō enakku cantēkam*]<sub>S0</sub>  
 he-nom come-fut-3sm=*or* I-dat doubt-nom  
 ‘I doubt that he will come.’
- (13) *so*[<sub>S1</sub>[*embe nī iṣṭam kinid*]<sub>S1</sub>=*o bān id?a*]<sub>S0</sub>  
 where you desire do-fut-2s=*or* there put-imp  
 ‘Put it wherever you want to.’

While Proto-Dravidian had no relative pronouns as such, it appears to have had correlative relative clause constructions that paired interrogative and distal deictic pronouns, as in the Koṇḍa example in (13). The distribution of correlative constructions in the daughter languages, as well as the use of such clitics as *=ō* ‘or, any’ in their formation, allows us to project the correlative construction to Proto-Dravidian (Steever 1988). The correlative construction is thus not a borrowing from Indo-Aryan as some have thought.

These examples show us that the number of finite predicates in the complex sentence varies directly with these two sets of verbs and clitics (Steever 1988). This rule allows us to predict the *number* of finite predicates in the Proto-Dravidian sentence. While this might appear irrelevant at first glance, it should be recalled that the presence of finite predicates in the sentence depends on linguistic units, i.e. words and clitics, that can be enumerated rather than on those that cannot, e.g. sentences.

This system of complementation in North Dravidian and certain Central Dravidian languages has evolved under the impact of neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages. In the CDr language Gadaba, for example, the complementiser *ki* ‘that’ (14a), borrowed from Indo-Aryan, stands alongside *iñji* ‘that’ (14b), which is



distribution of finite predicates in the Dravidian sentence. Much descriptive study remains to be done on the syntax of the Dravidian languages. See Bloch (1946) and Steever (1988) for further discussion of issues in Proto-Dravidian syntax.

### 1.9 External Affiliations

During the past 150 years, attempts have been made to link the Dravidian languages or specific Dravidian languages with other languages, including Nubian, Scythian and Japanese. Three speculations in recent years include the Elamo-Dravidian hypothesis (McAlpin 1981), the Dravidian-Finno-Ugric hypothesis and the hypothesis that the language of the Indus Valley civilisation was Dravidian. No persuasive demonstrations of these proposals have been made to date. The Elamo-Dravidian hypothesis seems dubious for several reasons: systematic correspondences between Elamite and Dravidian are few; the ratio of rules to forms that is needed to justify the proposed cognates is high; those rules tend to be *ad hoc* and cumbersome, lacking transparency; and comparisons are often made directly with the modern Dravidian languages rather than with older languages or reconstructions. The Dravidian-Finno-Ugric hypothesis consists largely of typological comparisons without the phonological and morphological correspondences required to establish a genetic link. The Indus Valley hypothesis, that the language of the as yet undeciphered seals was Dravidian, is both the most tantalising and the hardest to prove. Due to the extremely short nature of the inscriptions on the seals, decipherment continues to elude scholars.

These three hypotheses falter not only because of the reasons just cited, but also because we still lack adequate descriptive studies of the individual Dravidian languages, their various dialects and their historical development. Some languages such as Naiki are known primarily through a series of word-lists. The occupational dialect dictionaries of Telugu by Bh. Krishnamurti (1962-76) should serve as models of the kind of dialect work needed for further descriptive and historical study. And much remains to do in the historical study of the literary languages. Tamil, the most intensively studied Dravidian language, still lacks a historical grammar. And although we possess what might be considered authoritative editions of the earlier texts, we still lack critical editions in the Western sense of the term. What this means for comparative Dravidian linguistics is that the reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian is preliminary and fragmentary. So until more cogent descriptive and historical work is undertaken, attempts at determining external relations will remain typological speculations. Though it may appear somewhat dismaying, this state of affairs presents the Dravidian linguist with both a challenge and an opportunity. The chapters in this volume will present the reader with an indication of the wealth of linguistic material to be found in the study of the Dravidian languages.

## References

- Andres, Susie (1977) 'A description of Muria Gondi phonology and morphology'. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Pune. (Available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.)
- Andronov, Mikhail (1970) *The Dravidian Languages*, Moscow: Nauka Publishing House.
- Bhaskararao, Peri (1980) *Konekor Gadaba, a Dravidian Language*, Pune: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.
- Bhattacharya, S. (1956) *Ollari: a Dravidian Speech*, Department of Anthropology, Memoirs No. 3. Delhi: Department of Anthropology, Government of India.
- Bloch, Jules (1946) *Structure Grammaticale des Langues Dravidiennes*, Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Burrow, Thomas and Emeneau, Murray B. (1984) *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 2nd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Caldwell, Robert (1856) *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, 1st edn, London; 3rd edn, revised by J.L. Wyatt and T. Ramakrishna Pillai, London, 1913; reprinted 1976, University of Madras Press, Madras.
- Emeneau, Murray B. (1944–6) *Kota Texts*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, 2 and 3, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- (1956) 'India as a linguistic area', *Language* 32(1): 3–16.
- (1962) *Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar*, University of California Publications in Linguistics 27, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- (1970) *Dravidian Comparative Phonology: A Sketch*. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.
- (1984) *Toda Grammar and Texts*, American Philosophical Society, Memoirs Series, 155, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Grierson, George (1914) *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 4, *Munda and Dravidian Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (1967 reprint).
- Hockings, P. and Pilot-Raichoor (1992) *A Badaga–English Dictionary*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Krishnamurti, Bh. (1961) *Telugu Verbal Bases*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- (1962–76) *Mandalika Vrittupadakōśam* (Dialect dictionary of occupational vocabularies, in Telugu), Vols. 1–5, Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi.
- (1978) 'Areal and lexical diffusion in sound change', *Language* 54(1): 1–20.
- and Gwynn, J.P.L. (1985) *A Grammar of Modern Telugu*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- McAlpin, David (1981) *Proto-Elamo-Dravidian*, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society.
- Mahapatra, B.P. (1979) *Malto – An Ethnosemantic Study*, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Masica, Colin (1976) *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rao, G. Sambasiva (1973) 'A comparative study of Dravidian noun derivatives'. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Steever, Sanford B. (1988) *The Serial Verb Formation in the Dravidian Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- (1993) *Analysis to Synthesis: The Development of Complex Verb Morphology in the Dravidian Languages*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Subrahmanyam, P.S. (1971) *Dravidian Verb Morphology*, Annamalainagar: Annamalai University Press.
- Zvelebil, Kamil (1970) *Comparative Dravidian Phonology*, The Hague: Mouton.
- (1973) *The Irula Language*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- (1977) *A Sketch of Comparative Dravidian Morphology*, Part 1, *Janua Linguarum*,

Series Practica, 180, The Hague: Mouton.

— (1990) *Dravidian Linguistics: An Introduction*, Pondicherry: Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture.

---

# 2 *The Dravidian Scripts*

*William Bright*

## 2.1 Historical Background

The major Dravidian scripts used today are those associated with the Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil languages. All these are phonologically based, and are written from left to right. Historically, they derive from a South Indian branch of the Brahmi script, used in India from around 250 BCE to write Pali (an Indo-Aryan language) as the medium for Buddhist inscriptions, carved at the orders of the Emperor Ashoka. The Brahmi script is also the ancestor of scripts used in North India to the present time, such as Devanagari (used for Sanskrit, Hindi, Nepali and Marathi); Bengali (used for Bengali and Assamese); Sinhalese (used for the Sinhala language of Sri Lanka), as well as Tibetan and many scripts of Southeast Asia, such as Burmese, Siamese (Thai), Laotian and Khmer (Cambodian).

Many Indologists follow Bühler (1895, 1896) in believing that both Kharosthi and Brahmi were derived from Semitic writing – with Brahmi perhaps based on a Semitic script like the Phoenician, rather than on Aramaic. However, the Indic systems clearly reflected the phonetic sophistication of the ancient Sanskrit grammarians. Whereas the Semitic writing systems had no systematic way of indicating vowels, the inventors of Brahmi introduced a novel method of transcribing consonants and vowels in a precise way. They did not write consonantal and vocalic phonemes as independent letters, as is done in Greek; nor did they write the vowels only with occasional diacritics added to consonant symbols, as is done in many modern Semitic writing systems. Rather, they adopted the strategy of writing each consonant–vowel (CV) syllable as a complex unit, called in Sanskrit an *akṣara*. The general characteristics of the resulting system continue to be used in the major writing systems of South and Southeast Asia.

Over the centuries, the Brahmi script evolved in a variety of ways in different parts of the Indian subcontinent, with distinctive developments in the south (Jensen 1958/1969: 398–403; Dani 1986: 193–214). Among southern scripts, the Kadamba and Cālukya of the fifth to seventh centuries CE are especially important. After about the tenth century, these types took on a homogeneous form: the Old Kanarese script, which was used across the entire Indian peninsula, in the areas where both Kannada and Telugu are now spoken. By around 1500, this script had diversified into two closely related varieties, the Kannada and Telugu

Table 2.1a Indic vowels

	Semitic	Brahmi	Old Kanarese	Kannada	Telugu	Chera	Grantha	Malayalam	Tamil
a	𐤀 (ʾ)	𑀀	𑀁	ಅ	అ	𑀁	𑀀	അ	அ
ā		𑀁		ಆ	ఆ	𑀂	𑀁	ആ	ஆ
i		𑀂		ಇ	ఇ	𑀃	𑀂	ഇ	இ
ī		𑀃		ಈ	ఈ	𑀄	𑀃	ഈ	ஈ
u		𑀄	𑀅	ಉ	ఉ	𑀅	𑀄	ഉ	உ
ū		𑀅		ಊ	ఊ		𑀅	ഊ	ஊ
r		𑀆		ಋ	ఋ		𑀆	ఋ	஋
ṛ		𑀇		ೠ	ౠ		𑀇	ౠ	ṛ
e	𐤄 (ʿ)	𑀈		ಎ	ఎ	𑀆	𑀈	എ	எ
ē		𑀉		ಏ	ఏ		𑀉	ഐ	ஐ
ai		𑀊		ಐ	ఐ		𑀊	ഐ	ஐ
o		𑀋		ಓ	ఓ		𑀋	ഓ	ஓ
ō		𑀌		ಔ	ఔ		𑀌	ഔ	ஔ
au		𑀍		ಌ	ఌ		𑀍	ഌ	஌
m		𑀎		ಞ	ఞ		𑀎	ഞ	ஞ
h		𑀏		ಋ	ఋ		𑀏	ఋ	ஹ

Table 2.1b Indic occlusives

	Semitic	Brahmi	Old Kanarese	Kannada	Telugu	Chera	Grantha	Malayalam	Tamil
k	𐤀	𑀓	𑀓	ಕ	క	𑀓	𑀓	ക	ക
kh	𐤁 (q)	𑀔	𑀔	ഖ	ఖ	𑀔	𑀔	ഖ	ഖ
g	𐤂	𑀕	𑀕	ഗ	గ	𑀕	𑀕	ഗ	ഗ
gh	𐤃 (h)	𑀖	𑀖	ഘ	ఘ	𑀖	𑀖	ഘ	ഘ
ñ	𐤄	𑀗	𑀗	ങ	ఙ	𑀗	𑀗	ങ	ങ
c	𐤅 (s)	𑀘	𑀘	ച	చ	𑀘	𑀘	ച	ച
ch	𐤆	𑀙	𑀙	ఛ	ఛ	𑀙	𑀙	ఛ	ఛ
j	𐤇 (z)	𑀚	𑀚	జ	జ	𑀚	𑀚	జ	జ
jh		𑀛	𑀛	ఝ	ఝ	𑀛	𑀛	ఝ	ఝ
ñ		𑀜	𑀜	ఞ	ఞ	𑀜	𑀜	ఞ	ఞ
t		𑀝	𑀝	ట	ట	𑀝	𑀝	ట	ట
th		𑀞	𑀞	ఠ	ఠ	𑀞	𑀞	ఠ	ఠ
d		𑀟	𑀟	డ	డ	𑀟	𑀟	డ	డ
dh		𑀠	𑀠	ఢ	ఢ	𑀠	𑀠	ఢ	ఢ
n		𑀡	𑀡	ణ	ణ	𑀡	𑀡	ణ	ణ

Table 2.1b Indic occlusives (Continued)

	Semitic	Brahmi	Old Kanarese	Kannada	Telugu	Chera	Grantha	Malayalam	Tamil
t	+	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	త	త	𑀓	ത	த
th	⊕ (t)	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔	థ	థ	𑀔	థ	ந
d		𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	ద	ద	𑀕	ദ	ப
dh	Δ (d)	𑀖	𑀖	𑀖	ఢ	ఢ	𑀖	ఢ	ம
n	𐤎	𑀗	𑀗	𑀗	న	న	𑀗	ന	
p	𐤏	𑀘	𑀘	𑀘	ప	ప	𑀘	പ	
ph		𑀙	𑀙	𑀙	ఫ	ఫ	𑀙	ഫ	
b	𐤐	𑀚	𑀚	𑀚	బ	బ	𑀚	ബ	
bh		𑀛	𑀛	𑀛	భ	భ	𑀛	భ	
m	𐤑	𑀜	𑀜	𑀜	మ	మ	𑀜	മ	



scripts; the modern forms of these were established when printing was introduced by Christian missions.

Another line of development is reflected in the Chera and Pallava scripts of South India, dating from the fifth to eighth centuries CE. This eventually took the form of the Grantha script (from a Sanskrit word meaning 'book'), which predominated especially in the Madras area. A western variety of Grantha is the ancestor of the modern Malayalam system, and an eastern variety of Grantha was formerly used to write Tamil. However, in the eighth century a competing script came into use for Tamil – probably reflecting a northern variety of Brahmi, but with strong influence from Grantha. This system, which has a reduced inventory of symbols and lacks 'conjunct' consonants (see section 2.2), is in fact better adapted to Classical Tamil phonology than is Grantha, and the newer script forms the basis for modern Tamil writing. A cursive variety of this Tamil script, called *Vatteluttu*, was used between the eighth and fifteenth centuries, and is said to be still used by the Muslim Mappillas of Malabar for writing Malayalam.

Tables 2.1a–2.1c show the basic shapes of symbols at major stages in the development of the scripts mentioned above. The order of listing is the traditional Indic order (see section 2.2, below). The first column shows probable Semitic prototypes; the original phonetic values in Semitic are given in parentheses when these are different from the values in the Brahmi adaptation. The remaining columns show forms of the Brahmi, Old Kanarese, Kannada, Telugu, Chera, Grantha, Malayalam and Tamil scripts.

## 2.2 General Characteristics

Features shared by the modern South Indian scripts are illustrated below in terms of the Malayalam system (cf. Gundert 1868).

- (a) Each consonant is represented by a basic consonantal symbol, e.g.  $\text{𑌦}$  *p*,  $\text{𑌧}$  *r*. A following short vowel *a* is considered inherent in each consonant symbol; thus, unless these letters are modified by other attached symbols,  $\text{𑌦}$  is *pa*, and  $\text{𑌧}$  is *ra*. Another way of stating the case is to say that  $\text{𑌦}$  and  $\text{𑌧}$  stand for *p* and *r* respectively, and that the short vowel *a* is represented by a 'zero symbol'.
- (b) All other vowels are written as obligatory diacritics. Some are on top of the associated consonant, some on the bottom, some on the left side, some on the right side, and some in combined positions – depending on the language. Thus, in Malayalam, the diacritic for *ā* is  $\text{𑌧}$  on the right-hand side, as in  $\text{𑌦𑌧}$  *pā*. That for *i* is  $\text{𑌧}$ , also on the right-hand side, as in  $\text{𑌦𑌧}$  *pi*. That for *u* is traditionally (for most consonants) a circle underneath, as in  $\text{𑌦𑌧}$  *pu*, but in present-day revised script it is  $\text{𑌧}$  to the right, as in  $\text{𑌦𑌧}$  *pu*. That for *e* is  $\text{𑌧}$ , written to the left of the consonant, as in  $\text{𑌧𑌦}$  *pe*. And that for *o* is a combination of  $\text{𑌧}$  on the left, with  $\text{𑌧}$  (the same as the symbol for *ā*) on the right, as in  $\text{𑌧𑌦𑌧}$  *po*.

- (c) A vowel occurring in initial position, i.e. after a space rather than after a consonant, is written not with a diacritic, but with an independent symbol; each one is considered an *akṣara* in its own right. Thus initial *a* is written  $\text{ॐ}$ , initial *ā* is  $\text{ॐ̄}$ , initial *i* is  $\text{ॐ̇}$ , and so on. (In traditional usage, 'initial' meant 'at the beginning of a sentence or line of verse'. In modern usage, it means 'at the beginning of a word', with conventionally established word-boundaries which reflect European practice.)
- (d) A consonant occurring in final position, i.e. before a space rather than before a vowel, is written with a special diacritic, in Sanskrit called *virāma*, which may be translated as 'zero vowel'; in other words, it 'kills' the vowel. Thus a final symbol  $\text{ॐ}$  would be interpreted as *ra*; but with the added diacritic,  $\text{ॐ̇}$  corresponds to *r*.
- (e) Consonants may also occur in sequence, especially in words borrowed from Sanskrit; these may involve both initial and medial clusters of two or three consonants, e.g. *ty*, *pr*, *kv*, *st*, *kṣ*, *str*, *kṣm*. In such cases, 'conjunct' symbols are used to show that only the last consonant of the sequence is followed by a vowel. In traditional usage, most such compounds are formed by writing all consonant symbols in reduced or abbreviated form except the first one in the sequence. These reduced forms are written as diacritics, typically below or to the right of the first symbol. For example,  $\text{ॐ}$  *p(a)* plus  $\text{ॐ}$  *y(a)* combine as  $\text{ॐ̇}$  *py(a)*;  $\text{ॐ}$  *k(a)* plus  $\text{ॐ}$  *r(a)* combine as  $\text{ॐ̇}$  *kr(a)*. Among the Dravidian writing systems, Tamil alone is exceptional in not using conjunct consonants (see section 2.5 below).
- (f) A few consonant sequences correspond to special conjunct symbols in which the consonant symbols have reduced forms, e.g.  $\text{ॐ}$  *k(a)* +  $\text{ॐ}$  *ṣ(a)* =  $\text{ॐ̇}$  *kṣ(a)*.

Note that, where conjunct consonants are involved, the *akṣara* does not exactly correspond to a spoken syllable: thus the sequence *alva* would be syllabified as *al* + *va* in pronunciation, but it is written with the two *akṣaras*  $\text{ॐ}$  *a* +  $\text{ॐ̇}$  *lva*. It is therefore inaccurate to refer to the Indic writing systems as syllabaries.

Writing systems of this Indic type, which indicate CV combinations by vowel diacritics obligatorily attached to consonants, have arisen only rarely in the world; the other best-known example is Ethiopic, which is known to have been derived from South Semitic sources around 350 CE. Such systems create a problem for typologies of writing systems, and for nomenclature. A system which writes consonants and vowels separately and independently, as in the Roman system, is an alphabet; a system with a unitary symbol for each (C)V combination, like Japanese *kana* or Sequoyah's Cherokee script, is a syllabary. But we need a distinctive name for the Semitic type of system, where vowels are largely neglected; and we also need a name for the Indic and Ethiopic type of system, where consonantal and vocalic elements are combined. The term neo-syllabic has been proposed (Février 1948); an alternative is alpha-syllabic, suggesting similarities to both alphabetic and syllabic systems.

The traditional order of symbols in the South Indian scripts is based primarily on articulatory phonetics, as originally developed for Sanskrit by the ancient grammarians. Implicit in the order are a series of phonological tables, organised in terms of articulatory features. First come the 'primary' vowels, i.e. those recognised as simple vowels in Sanskrit grammar, as in Table 2.2a. (The 'alphabetical', i.e. canonical, order proceeds from left to right in each of the following tables, continuing to following rows.)

**Table 2.2a Primary vowels**

	Short	Long
Low central unrounded	a	ā
High front unrounded	i	ī
High back unrounded	u	ū
Syllabic vibrant	ɾ	ṛ
Syllabic lateral	ɻ	ḷ

Among the syllabic liquids, in the last two rows of Table 2.2a, the long syllabic lateral  $\bar{l}$  in fact does not occur in Sanskrit; it was included by the phoneticians simply for symmetry. In the Dravidian writing systems, symbols for all the syllabic liquids are sometimes listed; but only one is common, namely  $ɾ$ , and that only in certain loanwords from Sanskrit, such as the name *Kṛṣṇa*. In South India,  $ɾ$  is generally pronounced as [ru] or [ri].

Next come the 'secondary' vowels which, in Sanskrit, represent historical (and descriptively underlying) diphthongs, again in long and short pairs. However, historical *ai āi au āu* of Sanskrit have come to be pronounced  $\bar{e} ai \bar{o} au$ , and symbols for these vowels were introduced at an early date for writing the Dravidian languages. But Dravidian has contrast between short *e o* and long  $\bar{e} \bar{o}$ , and this was for some time ignored in writing systems. With the introduction of printing from Europe, Christian missionaries also introduced separate symbols for the short mid vowels, giving the system shown in Table 2.2b.

**Table 2.2b Secondary vowels**

	Short	Long	Diphthongs
Front unrounded	e	$\bar{e}$	ai
Back rounded	o	$\bar{o}$	au

Next in order come two symbols which are written only after vowels, and are normally listed in combination with *a*. In Sanskrit, they represent secondarily derived phonetic features. The first, *anusvāra*, transliterated as  $\bar{m}$ , may originally have been a feature of nasalisation, co-occurring with the preceding vowel. However, in Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam (as in Devanagari), it is often

used for a nasal consonant homorganic with a following stop; e.g. in Kannada, *aṅga* 'limb' may be written *aṅga*, and *anda* as *aṃda*. When followed by other consonants, or final, it is pronounced in South India as *m*; thus *siṃha* 'lion' is pronounced *siṃha*.

After *anusvāra* comes *visarga*, transliterated *ḥ*. In Sanskrit this was an element of voiceless breath, [h]. In Dravidian languages, it occurs only in a few Sanskrit loanwords, and is usually pronounced [ha], e.g. in *punaḥ* 'again', pronounced *punaha*.

Next follow the occlusive consonants – that is, the stops and nasals of Sanskrit. (What were originally palatal stops are pronounced as palatal affricates in modern times.) The alphabetical order proceeds horizontally within each row, as shown in Table 2.2c.

**Table 2.2c Occlusives**

	<i>Voiceless stops</i>		<i>Voiced stops</i>		<i>Nasals</i>
	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated	
Velar	k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
Palatal	c	ch	j	jh	ñ
Retroflex	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
Dental	t	th	d	dh	n
Labial	p	ph	b	bh	m

Among the nasals, velar *ṅ* and palatal *ñ* are secondarily derived in Sanskrit, and have restricted occurrence in Dravidian.

There follow, again arranged from the back of the mouth towards the front, the oral sonorants and the voiceless sibilants, as shown in Table 2.2d.

**Table 2.2d Sonorants and sibilants**

	Palatal	Alveolar	Dental	Labial
Oral sonorants	y	r	l	v
Voiceless sibilants	ś	ṣ	s	

Finally comes a 'miscellaneous' category of sounds not classified in terms of articulation. In the Sanskrit prototype, this consists only of *h*, a voiced or murmured glottal fricative, and *l*, a retroflex lateral. But some of the Dravidian languages have added sonorants which are not part of the Sanskrit system; these include *z*, a retroflex approximant; *ṛ*, historically an alveolar stop, now often a trill; and *ṅ*, an alveolar nasal. The order in which these are listed varies among the different languages.

Of the four literary Dravidian languages of South India, each has its own script; but Tamil script stands apart from the others in two respects. First, it lacks

symbols for voiced or aspirated stops, which are absent as contrastive units in conservative Tamil pronunciation; thus its inventory of symbols is much reduced. Second, consonant symbols are never combined in ligatures; syllable-final consonants are uniformly marked with a superscript dot, corresponding to the *virāma* symbol of Devanagari.

In the descriptions below, it should be noted that phonological representations reflect 'reading pronunciations', used in relatively formal situations. Pronunciations used in informal, colloquial speech vary greatly, depending on social and geographical dialect.

### 2.3 Kannada and Telugu

The Kannada and Telugu scripts are closely related scripts. In the early nineteenth century, separate scripts for Kannada and Telugu were standardised under the influence of printing presses established by Christian mission organisations. Standard reference grammars of Kannada, which include descriptions of the writing system, are Kittel (1903) and Spencer (1950); for Telugu, see Arden (1937) and Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1985).

The primary vowel symbols of these scripts are shown in Table 2.3a, the secondary vowels in Table 2.3b, the occlusives in Table 2.3c, the resonants and sibilants in Table 2.3d. Equivalent Kannada and Telugu symbols are given in that order, with a slash between them.

The 'miscellaneous' category of sounds, not classified in terms of articulation, comprises ಹ/హ *h* and ಳ/ళ *l* [ʎ].

It can be seen that the Kannada and Telugu scripts have evolved in two directions not typical of other Brahmi-derived scripts. First, the shapes of most consonants, when associated with the 'inherent vowel' *a*, have an upward-turning 'headstroke' which is deleted when certain other vowel symbols are present; thus we find the headstroke in ಕ/క *ka* and ಕು/కు *ku*, but not in ಕಾ/కా *kā* or కి/కి *ki*. Second, the shapes of the aspirated stops (both voiceless and voiced) tend, though not with complete consistency, to contain a vertical stroke beneath the body of the letter; this stroke is thus almost a 'componential' marker of aspiration.

Tables 2.4a–2.4b show combinations of consonants and vowels in Kannada (omitting some theoretical possibilities which seldom or never occur); Tables 2.5a–2.5b show the corresponding combinations for Telugu. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 show some of the commonest consonant clusters of Kannada and Telugu, respectively.

**Table 2.3a** Kannada and Telugu primary vowels

	Short Initial	Diacritic	Long Initial	Diacritic
Low central unrounded	ಅ/ಆ	ಕ/ಕ	ಆ/ಆ	ಕಾ/ಕಾ
High front unrounded	ಇ/ಐ	ಕಿ/ಕಿ	ಈ/ಈ	ಕೀ/ಕೀ
High back rounded	ಉ/ಊ	ಕು/ಕು	ಊ/ಊ	ಕೂ/ಕೂ
Syllabic vibrant	ಱ	ಕೃ/ಕೃ	ಱು/ಱು	ಕೃ/ಕೃ

**Table 2.3b** Kannada and Telugu secondary vowels

	Short Initial	Diacritic	Long Initial	Diacritic	Diphthongs Initial
Front unrounded	ಎ/ಎ	ಕೆ/ಕೆ	ಏ/ಏ	ಕೇ/ಕೇ	ಏ/ಐ ai
Back rounded	ಒ/ಒ	ಕೊ/ಕೊ	ಓ/ಓ	ಕೋ/ಕೋ	ಓ/ಔ au
					ಕೈ/ಕೈ kai
					ಕೌ/ಕೌ kau

**Table 2.3c Kannada and Telugu occlusives**

	Voiceless stops		Voiced stops		Nasals
	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated	
Velar	క/క	బ/ఖ	గ/గ	ఘ/ఘ	ఙ/ఙ
Palatal	చ/చ	ఛ/ఛ	జ/జ	ఝ/ఝ	ఞ/ఞ
Retroflex	ట/ట	ఠ/ఠ	డ/డ	ఢ/ఢ	ణ/ణ
Dental	త/త	థ/థ	ద/ద	ధ/ధ	న/న
Labial	ప/ప	ఫ/ఫ	బ/బ	భ/భ	మ/మ

**Table 2.3d Kannada and Telugu non-occlusives**

	Palatal	Alveolar	Dental	Labial
	Oral sonorants	య/య	ర/ర	ల/ల
Voiceless sibilants	శ/శ	ష/ష	స/స	స

Table 2.4a Kannada CVs (occlusives)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
k	ಕ	ಕಾ	ಕಿ	ಕೀ	ಕು	ಕೂ	ಕೃ	ಕೆ	ಕೇ	ಕೈ	ಕೊ	ಕೋ	ಕೌ
kh	ಖ	ಖಾ	ಖಿ	ಖೀ	ಖು	ಖೂ	ಖ್ಯ	ಖೆ	ಖೇ	ಖೈ	ಖೊ	ಖೋ	ಖೌ
g	ಗ	ಗಾ	ಗಿ	ಗೀ	ಗು	ಗೂ	ಗೃ	ಗೆ	ಗೇ	ಗೈ	ಗೊ	ಗೋ	ಗೌ
gh	ಘ	ಘಾ	ಘಿ	ಘೀ	ಘು	ಘೂ	ಘ್ಯ	ಘೆ	ಘೇ	ಘೈ	ಘೊ	ಘೋ	ಘೌ
c	ಚ	ಚಾ	ಚಿ	ಚೀ	ಚು	ಚೂ	ಚ್ಯ	ಚೆ	ಚೇ	ಚೈ	ಚೊ	ಚೋ	ಚೌ
ch	ಛ	ಛಾ	ಛಿ	ಛೀ	ಛು	ಛೂ	ಛ್ಯ	ಛೆ	ಛೇ	ಛೈ	ಛೊ	ಛೋ	ಛೌ
j	ಜ	ಜಾ	ಜಿ	ಜೀ	ಜು	ಜೂ	ಜ್ಯ	ಜೆ	ಜೇ	ಜೈ	ಜೊ	ಜೋ	ಜೌ
jh	ಝ	ಝಾ	ಝಿ	ಝೀ	ಝು	ಝೂ	ಝ್ಯ	ಝೆ	ಝೇ	ಝೈ	ಝೊ	ಝೋ	ಝೌ
t	ಟ	ಟಾ	ಟಿ	ಟೀ	ಟು	ಟೂ	ಟ್ಯ	ಟೆ	ಟೇ	ಟೈ	ಟೊ	ಟೋ	ಟೌ
th	ಠ	ಠಾ	ಠಿ	ಠೀ	ಠು	ಠೂ	ಠ್ಯ	ಠೆ	ಠೇ	ಠೈ	ಠೊ	ಠೋ	ಠೌ
d	ಡ	ಡಾ	ಡಿ	ಡೀ	ಡು	ಡೂ	ಡ್ಯ	ಡೆ	ಡೇ	ಡೈ	ಡೊ	ಡೋ	ಡೌ
dh	ಢ	ಢಾ	ಢಿ	ಢೀ	ಢು	ಢೂ	ಢ್ಯ	ಢೆ	ಢೇ	ಢೈ	ಢೊ	ಢೋ	ಢೌ
n	ನ	ನಾ	ನಿ	ನೀ	ನು	ನೂ	ನ್ಯ	ನೆ	ನೇ	ನೈ	ನೊ	ನೋ	ನೌ

Table 2.4a Kannada CVs (occlusives) (Continued)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
t	ತ	ತಾ	ತಿ	ತೀ	ತು	ತೂ	ತ್ರ	ತ	ತೇ	ತ್ಯ	ತೊ	ತೋ	ತೌ
th	ಥ	ಥಾ	ಥಿ	ಥೀ	ಥು	ಥೂ	ಥ್ರ	ಥ	ಥೇ	ಥ್ಯ	ಥೊ	ಥೋ	ಥೌ
d	ದ	ದಾ	ದಿ	ದೀ	ದು	ದೂ	ದ್ರ	ದ	ದೇ	ದ್ಯ	ದೊ	ದೋ	ದೌ
dh	ಧ	ಧಾ	ಧಿ	ಧೀ	ಧು	ಧೂ	ಧ್ರ	ಧ	ಧೇ	ಧ್ಯ	ಧೊ	ಧೋ	ಧೌ
n	ನ	ನಾ	ನಿ	ನೀ	ನು	ನೂ	ನ್ರ	ನ	ನೇ	ನ್ಯ	ನೊ	ನೋ	ನೌ
p	ಪ	ಪಾ	ಪಿ	ಪೀ	ಪು	ಪೂ	ಪ್ರ	ಪ	ಪೇ	ಪ್ಯ	ಪೊ	ಪೋ	ಪೌ
ph	ಫ	ಫಾ	ಫಿ	ಫೀ	ಫು	ಫೂ	ಫ್ರ	ಫ	ಫೇ	ಫ್ಯ	ಫೊ	ಫೋ	ಫೌ
b	ಬ	ಬಾ	ಬಿ	ಬೀ	ಬು	ಬೂ	ಬ್ರ	ಬ	ಬೇ	ಬ್ಯ	ಬೊ	ಬೋ	ಬೌ
bh	ಭ	ಭಾ	ಭಿ	ಭೀ	ಭು	ಭೂ	ಭ್ರ	ಭ	ಭೇ	ಭ್ಯ	ಭೊ	ಭೋ	ಭೌ
m	ಮ	ಮಾ	ಮಿ	ಮೀ	ಮು	ಮೂ	ಮ್ರ	ಮ	ಮೇ	ಮ್ಯ	ಮೊ	ಮೋ	ಮೌ

Table 2.4b Kannada CVs (non-occlusives)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
y	ಯ	ಯಾ	ಯಿ	ಯೀ	ಯು	ಯೂ	ಯ್ಯ	ಯ	ಯೇ	ಯ್ಯ	ಯೊ	ಯೋ	ಯೌ
r	ರ	ರಾ	ರಿ	ರೀ	ರು	ರೂ	ರ್ರ	ರೆ	ರೇ	ರ್ರ	ರೊ	ರೋ	ರೌ
l	ಲ	ಲಾ	ಲಿ	ಲೀ	ಲು	ಲೂ	ಲ್ಲ	ಲೆ	ಲೇ	ಲ್ಲ	ಲೊ	ಲೋ	ಲೌ
v	ವ	ವಾ	ವಿ	ವೀ	ವು	ವೂ	ವ್ವ	ವ	ವೇ	ವ್ವ	ವೊ	ವೋ	ವೌ
ś	ಶ	ಶಾ	ಶಿ	ಶೀ	ಶು	ಶೂ	ಶ್ಯ	ಶ	ಶೇ	ಶ್ಯ	ಶೊ	ಶೋ	ಶೌ
ṣ	ಷ	ಷಾ	ಷಿ	ಷೀ	ಷು	ಷೂ	ಷ್ಯ	ಷ	ಷೇ	ಷ್ಯ	ಷೊ	ಷೋ	ಷೌ
s	ಸ	ಸಾ	ಸಿ	ಸೀ	ಸು	ಸೂ	ಸ್ಯ	ಸ	ಸೇ	ಸ್ಯ	ಸೊ	ಸೋ	ಸೌ
h	ಹ	ಹಾ	ಹಿ	ಹೀ	ಹು	ಹೂ	ಹ್ಯ	ಹ	ಹೇ	ಹ್ಯ	ಹೊ	ಹೋ	ಹೌ
l	ಳ	ಳಾ	ಳಿ	ಳೀ	ಳು	ಳೂ	ಳ್ಯ	ಳ	ಳೇ	ಳ್ಯ	ಳೊ	ಳೋ	ಳೌ

ಕ	k	ಕ	kk, ತ್ಕ, ಸ್ಕ
ಖ	kh	ಖ	kkh, ಸ್ಕ
ಗ	g	ಗ	gg, ದ್ಗ
ಘ	gh	ಘ	dgh
ಚ	c	ಚ	kc, ಚ್ಚ cc, ಚ್ಚ್ sc
ಛ	ch	ಛ	kch, ಚ್ಚ್ cch
ಜ	j	ಜ	jj
ಞ	ñ	ಞ	jñ
ಟ	t	ಟ	tt, ಸ್ತ st
ಠ	th	ಠ	sth
ಡ	d	ಡ	dd
ಢ	dh	ಢ	ddh
ನ	n	ನ	nn, ಣ್ಣ nn
ತ	t	ತ	kt, ತ್ತ tt, ಸ್ತ st
ಥ	th	ಥ	tth, ಸ್ಥ sth
ದ	d	ದ	dd
ಧ	dh	ಧ	bdh
ನ	n	ನ	kn, ಣ್ಣ ghn, ತ್ನ tn, ನ್ನ nn, ಸ್ನ sn
ಪ	p	ಪ	pp, ಲ್ಪ lp, ಸ್ಪ sp
ಫ	ph	ಫ	sph
ಬ	b	ಬ	bb
ಭ	bh	ಭ	dbh
ಮ	m	ಮ	km, ಗ್ಮ gm, ಮ್ಮ mm, ಸ್ಮ sm
ಯ	y	ಯ	ky, ಖ್ಯ khy, ಬ್ಯ bhy, ಯ್ಯ yy, ಲ್ಯ ly
ರ	r	ರ	kr, ಗ್ರ gr, ಪ್ರ pr, ಮ್ರ mr
ಲ	l	ಲ	kl, ಪ್ಲ pl, ಮ್ಲ ml, ಲ್ಲ ll
ವ	v	ವ	kv, ಲ್ವ lv, ವ್ವ vv
ಷ	ṣ	ಷ	ṣṣ
ಷ	ṣ	ಷ	kṣ, ಸ್ಷ
ಸ	s	ಸ	ts, ಸ್ಸ ss
ಃ	!	ಃ	!!

Figure 2.1 Kannada secondary consonant forms

Table 2.5a Telugu CVs (occlusives)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
k	క	కా	కి	కీ	కు	కూ	కృ	కె	కే	కై	కో	కౌ	కౌ
kh	ఖ	ఖా	ఖి	ఖీ	ఖు	ఖూ	ఖృ	ఖె	ఖే	ఖై	ఖో	ఖౌ	ఖౌ
g	గ	గా	గి	గీ	గు	గూ	గృ	గె	గే	గై	గో	గౌ	గౌ
gh	ఘ	ఘా	ఘి	ఘీ	ఘు	ఘూ	ఘృ	ఘె	ఘే	ఘై	ఘో	ఘౌ	ఘౌ
c	చ	చా	చి	చీ	చు	చూ	చృ	చె	చే	చై	చో	చౌ	చౌ
ch	ఛ	ఛా	ఛి	ఛీ	ఛు	ఛూ	ఛృ	ఛె	ఛే	ఛై	ఛో	ఛౌ	ఛౌ
j	జ	జా	జి	జీ	జు	జూ	జృ	జె	జే	జై	జో	జౌ	జౌ
jh	ఝ	ఝా	ఝి	ఝీ	ఝు	ఝూ	ఝృ	ఝె	ఝే	ఝై	ఝో	ఝౌ	ఝౌ
t	ట	టా	టి	టీ	టు	టూ	టృ	టె	టే	టై	టో	టౌ	టౌ
th	ఠ	ఠా	ఠి	ఠీ	ఠు	ఠూ	ఠృ	ఠె	ఠే	ఠై	ఠో	ఠౌ	ఠౌ
d	డ	డా	డి	డీ	డు	డూ	డృ	డె	డే	డై	డో	డౌ	డౌ
dh	ఢ	ఢా	ఢి	ఢీ	ఢు	ఢూ	ఢృ	ఢె	ఢే	ఢై	ఢో	ఢౌ	ఢౌ
n	ణ	ణా	ణి	ణీ	ణు	ణూ	ణృ	ణె	ణే	ణై	ణో	ణౌ	ణౌ

Table 2.5a Telugu CVs (occlusives) (Continued)

	a	ā	i	i	u	ū	r	e	ai	o	ō	au
t	త	తా	తి	తి	తు	తూ	తృ	తె	తై	తో	తో	తూ
th	థ	థా	థి	థి	థు	థూ	థృ	థె	థై	థో	థో	థూ
d	ర	రా	రి	రి	రు	రూ	రృ	రె	రై	రో	రో	రూ
dh	ఝ	ఝా	ఝి	ఝి	ఝు	ఝూ	ఝృ	ఝె	ఝై	ఝో	ఝో	ఝూ
n	న	నా	ని	ని	ను	నూ	నృ	నె	నై	నో	నో	నూ
p	ప	పా	పి	పి	పు	పూ	పృ	పె	పై	పో	పో	పూ
ph	ఫ	ఫా	ఫి	ఫి	ఫు	ఫూ	ఫృ	ఫె	ఫై	ఫో	ఫో	ఫూ
b	బ	బా	బి	బి	బు	బూ	బృ	బె	బై	బో	బో	బూ
bh	భ	భా	భి	భి	భు	భూ	భృ	భె	భై	భో	భో	భూ
m	మ	మా	మి	మి	ము	మూ	మృ	మె	మై	మో	మో	మూ

Table 2.5b Telugu CVs (non-occlusives)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ī	e	ai	o	ō	au
y	య	యా	యి	యీ	యు	యు	యో	యే	యై	యొ	యో	యా
r	ర	రా	రి	రీ	రు	రు	రో	రే	రై	రో	రొ	రూ
l	ల	లా	లి	లీ	లు	లు	లో	లే	లై	లో	లొ	లూ
v	వ	వా	వి	వీ	వు	వు	వో	వే	వై	వొ	వో	వా
s	శ	శా	శి	శీ	శు	శు	శో	శే	శై	శొ	శో	శూ
s	ష	షా	షి	షీ	షు	షు	షో	షే	షై	షొ	షో	షూ
s	స	సా	సి	సీ	సు	సు	సో	సే	సై	సొ	సో	సూ
h	హ	హా	హి	హీ	హు	హు	హో	హే	హై	హొ	హో	హూ
l	ళ	ళా	ళి	ళీ	ళు	ళు	ళో	ళే	ళై	ళొ	ళో	ళూ

క k	కృ kk, టక tk, సక sk
ఖ kh	కృkkh, టకృ skh
గ g	గృ gg, డగ dg
ఘ gh	గృఘ dgh
చ c	కృ kc, చృ cc, శృ sc
ఛ ch	కృ kch, చృ cch
జ j	జృ jj
ఞ ñ	ఞృ jñ
ట t	టృ tt, లృప st
థ th	థృప sth
డ డ	డృ డృ
ఢ dh	డృ ఢృ dh
ణ ñ	ణృ ణృ, ణృణ్ణ ññ
త t	కృ kt, తృ tt, స్త st
థ th	తృ th, స్త sth
ద d	దృ dd
ధ dh	బృ bdh
న n	కృ kn, ఘృ ghn, తృ tn, నృ nn, స్న sn
ప p	పృ pp, లృ lp, స్ప sp
ఫ ph	ఫృ sph
బ b	బృ bb
భ bh	దృ dbh
మ m	కృ km, గృ gm, మృ mm, సృ sm
య y	కృ ky, ఖృ khy, భృ bhy, యృ yy
ర r	కృ kr, గృ gr, ప్ర pr, మృ mr
ల l	కృ kl, పృ pl, మృ ml, లృ ll
వ v	కృ kv, లృ lv, వృ vv
శ ś	శృ śś
ష ṣ	కృ kṣ, పృ ṣṣ
స s	తృ ts, స్త ss

Figure 2.2 Telugu secondary consonant forms

### 2.4 Malayalam

Publications on Malayalam which contain information on the writing system include Gundert (1868) and Syamala Kumari (1972, 1981).

The primary vowel symbols of these scripts are shown in Table 2.6a, the secondary vowels in Table 2.6b, the occlusives in Table 2.6c, the resonants and sibilants in Table 2.6d.

**Table 2.6a Malayalam primary vowels**

	<i>Short Initial</i>		Diacritic		<i>Long Initial</i>		Diacritic	
Low central unrounded	അ	a	ക	ka	ആ	ā	കാ	kā
High front unrounded	ഇ	i	കി	ki	ഈ	ī	കീ	kī
High back unrounded	ഉ	u	കു	ku	ഊ	ū	കൂ	kū
Syllabic vibrant	ഋ	r	കൃ	kr	ൠ	r̄	കൃ	kr̄

**Table 2.6b Malayalam secondary vowels**

	<i>Short Initial</i>		Diacritic		<i>Long Initial</i>		Diacritic		<i>Diphthongs Initial</i>		Diacritic	
Front unrounded	എ	e	കെ	ke	ഏ	ē	കേ	kē	ഐ	ai	കൈ	kai
Back rounded	ഒ	o	കൊ	ko	ഓ	ō	കോ	kō	ഔ	au	കൌ	kau

**Table 2.6c Malayalam occlusives**

	<i>Voiceless stops</i>		<i>Voiced stops</i>		<i>Nasals</i>					
	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated		
Velar	ക	k	ഖ	kh	ഗ	g	ഘ	gh	ങ	ṅ
Palatal	ച	c	ഛ	ch	ജ	j	ഝ	jh	ഞ	ñ
Retroflex	ട	ṭ	ഠ	ṭh	ഡ	ḍ	ഢ	ḍh	ണ	ṇ
Dental	ത	t	ഥ	th	ദ	d	ധ	dh	ന	n
Labial	പ	p	ഫ	ph	ബ	b	ഭ	bh	മ	m

**Table 2.6d Malayalam non-occlusives**

	Palatal		Alveolar		Dental		Labial	
Oral sonorants	യ	y	ര	r	ല	l	വ	v
Voiceless sibilants	ശ	ś	ഷ	ṣ	സ	s		

The miscellaneous category of sounds, not classified in terms of articulation, contains the following: a voiced breath ഹ *h*, a retroflex lateral ഉ *l*, a retroflex approximant ഴ *l̠* (sometimes transcribed *z*), and an alveolar vibrant റ *r* (contrasting with the more palatalised റ *r*).

Combinations of consonant + vowel symbols are shown in Tables 2.7a–2.7b. Common conjunct consonants are shown in Figure 2.3. In many cases a two-consonant sequence can be written either with a conjunct or with *virāma* after the first member, e.g. *tv* can be ത്വ or ത്വ.

Note that, with some consonants, the vowels *u* and *ū* are written beneath the consonant symbol. When these vowels follow a consonant cluster where the second consonant is written beneath the first, the vowels are attached to the bottom of the entire combination, e.g. ടേപ്പി *tēppi* ‘tape’.

A cluster of റ *r* plus another consonant is generally realised with gemination of the second consonant. The sequence is optionally written with the *repha* symbol, which in Malayalam takes the form of a dot, over the geminate consonant; e.g., റ *r* + ക *k* gives ക്ക *rkk*, as in തർക്കം or തർക്കം *tarkkam* ‘dispute’.

Clusters of nasal plus homorganic stop are written either with the appropriate conjuncts, or with *anusvāra* ◌ to represent the nasal, e.g. ഇന്ദിര or ഇന്ദിര *indira* ‘Indira’.

When resonant consonants occur word-finally, the usual *virāma* symbol is replaced by special symbols as shown in Figure 2.4. Word-final മ *m*, however, is written with *anusvāra* ◌, as in പണം *paṇam* ‘money’.

A revised script, introduced in recent years, involves the following changes:

- (i) The varying forms of *u* and *ū* are replaced with ു and ൂ respectively; thus പൂണുക *pūṇuka* ‘to put on’ becomes പൂണുക.
- (ii) Clusters of consonant plus റ *r* are written with ് preceding the consonant; thus രാത്രി *rātri* ‘night’ becomes രാത്രി.

Correspondences of written symbols with spoken sounds involve the following special features:

- (a) A final vowel [i], contrasting with [u], is written by placing the *virāma* symbol after *akṣaras* containing the vowel ഉ *u*; thus തു is *tu*, but തു is [ti], as in അതി *ati* ‘it’.
- (b) The oral occlusives ക *k*, ച *c*, ട *t*, ത *t* and പ *p* are voiceless when initial or geminate. When intervocalic, they occur in the voiced allophones [y j r ð β]. When preceded by nasals, they are voiced occlusives *g j ḍ d b*; these

ക k	കക kk, കി nk, ക്ക ik, ക്ക sk
ഗ g	ഗഗ gg
ങ റ്	ങങ റ്
ച c	ചച cc, ചെ റ് c, ചെ sc
ചര ch	ചര cch
ജ j	ജജ jj
രയ jh	രയ jjh
ണ റ്	ണണ റ്
ട t	ട്ട tt, റ് റ് nt, റ് റ് st
ഡ d	ഡഡ dd
ണ റ്	ണ റ്, റ് റ് nn
ത t	കി kt, തത tt, നത nt, സ്ത st
ഥ th	തഥ tth, സ്ഥ sth
ദ d	ദദ dd
ധ dh	ധധ ddh
ന n	നന ghn, നന nn
പ p	പപ pp, പപ mp, പ്പ sp, പ്പ sp
ബ b	ബബ bb
മ m	മമ mm, മമ sm, പ്പ sm, സ്ഥ sm
യ y	കി ky, ചി khy, ദി bhy, യി yy
ര r	കി kr, ഗി gr, മി mr
ല l	കി kl, പി pl, ലി ll
വ v	കി kv, ലി lv, വി vv
ശ ട്	ശ ട്
ഷ ട്	കി kṣ
സ s	പ ps, സ്ഥ ss
ള l	ളള ll
റ r	ററ

Figure 2.3 Malayalam secondary consonant forms

are phonetically the same as ഗ *g*, ജ *j*, ഡ *d*, ള *d*, ബ *b*, which are used in writing loanwords from Sanskrit and foreign languages.

- (c) The series labelled as ‘voiced aspirates’ – ഘ *gh*, ഞ *jh*, ഡ ധ *dh*, ഡ ധ *dh*, ഭ *bh* – are pronounced by many Malayalam speakers either as the corresponding voiceless aspirates or the voiced stops. Thus ഭാരം *bhāram* ‘weight’ may be [pha:ram] or [ba:ram].
- (d) The conjunct ക്ഷ *kṣ* corresponds to the pronunciation [tʃ] initially, [tʃʃ] medially, e.g. ക്ഷീണം *kṣīṇam* [tʃiṇam] ‘fatigue’, പക്ഷി *pakṣi* [patʃi] ‘bird’.
- (e) The velar occlusives are pronounced with palatalisation in certain words, depending on dialect; but this is not always reflected in the writing system. Thus അമ്മക്ക് *ammakki* ‘to mother’ is sometimes pronounced [ammakʃi], and ഇങ്ങനെ *iṅṅane* ‘thus’ may be [iŋŋane].
- (f) The apical trill റ *r* historically represents a Proto-Dravidian alveolar stop *ɽ*, contrasting with the dental and retroflex stops. In Malayalam, when intervocalic, it is a trill, contrasting with the flap റ *r*; cf. കറി *kari* ‘curry’ with കരി *kari* ‘soot’. However, the cluster ന്ന *nr* is pronounced as alveolar [nd], e.g. എന്റെ *enre* [ende] ‘mine’; and geminated റ്റ *rr* is pronounced as a geminate alveolar stop [tt], e.g. മാറ്റം *māṭṭam* [ma:ttam] ‘change’.
- (g) A geminate alveolar nasal [nn], derived historically and morphophonemically from certain occurrences of *nr*, is in phonetic contrast with the geminate dental nasal ന്ന *nn* [nn]; however, both are written *nn*. Thus the nasals are written the same in പന്നി [panni] ‘pig’ and കന്നി [kanni] ‘unmarried girl’.

Consonant	Word-final form	Example
ണ <i>ṇ</i>	ൺ	മൺ <i>maṇ</i> ‘earth’
ന <i>n</i>	ൻ	അവൻ <i>avan</i> ‘he’
ര <i>r</i>	ർ	അവർ <i>avar</i> ‘they’
ല <i>l</i>	ൽ	മണൽ <i>maṇal</i> ‘sand’
ള <i>ḷ</i>	ൾ	അവൾ <i>aval</i> ‘she’

Figure 2.4 Word-final resonants in Malayalam

**Table 2.7a Malayalam CVs (occlusives)**

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
k	ക	കാ	കി	കീ	ക	കൂ	കൃ	കെ	കേ	കൈ	കൊ	കോ	കൌ
kh	ഖ	ഖാ	ഖി	ഖീ	ഖ	ഖൂ	ഖൃ	ഖെ	ഖേ	ഖൈ	ഖൊ	ഖോ	ഖൌ
g	ഗ	ഗാ	ഗി	ഗീ	ഗ	ഗൂ	ഗൃ	ഗെ	ഗേ	ഗൈ	ഗൊ	ഗോ	ഗൌ
gh	ഘ	ഘാ	ഘി	ഘീ	ഘ	ഘൂ	ഘൃ	ഘെ	ഘേ	ഘൈ	ഘൊ	ഘോ	ഘൌ
c	ച	ചാ	ചി	ചീ	ച	ചൂ	ചൃ	ചെ	ചേ	ചൈ	ചൊ	ചോ	ചൌ
ch	ചര	ചരാ	ചരി	ചരീ	ചര	ചരൂ	ചരൃ	ചരെ	ചരേ	ചരൈ	ചരൊ	ചരോ	ചരൌ
j	ജ	ജാ	ജി	ജീ	ജ	ജൂ	ജൃ	ജെ	ജേ	ജൈ	ജൊ	ജോ	ജൌ
jh	ത	താ	തി	തീ	ത	തൂ	തൃ	തെ	തേ	തൈ	തൊ	തോ	തൌ
t	ട	ടാ	ടി	ടീ	ട	ടൂ	ടൃ	ടെ	ടേ	ടൈ	ടൊ	ടോ	ടൌ
th	തര	തരാ	തരി	തരീ	തര	തരൂ	തരൃ	തരെ	തരേ	തരൈ	തരൊ	തരോ	തരൌ
d	ഡ	ഡാ	ഡി	ഡീ	ഡ	ഡൂ	ഡൃ	ഡെ	ഡേ	ഡൈ	ഡൊ	ഡോ	ഡൌ
dh	ധ	ധാ	ധി	ധീ	ധ	ധൂ	ധൃ	ധെ	ധേ	ധൈ	ധൊ	ധോ	ധൌ
ṛ	ണ	ണാ	ണി	ണീ	ണ	ണൂ	ണൃ	ണെ	ണേ	ണൈ	ണൊ	ണോ	ണൌ

**Table 2.7a Malayalam CVs (occlusives) (Continued)**

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
t	ത	താ	തി	തീ	തു	തൂ	തു	തെ	തേ	തൈ	തൊ	തോ	തൌ
th	ഥ	ഥാ	ഥി	ഥീ	ഥു	ഥൂ	ഥു	ഥെ	ഥേ	ഥൈ	ഥൊ	ഥോ	ഥൌ
d	ദ	ദാ	ദി	ദീ	ദു	ദൂ	ദു	ദെ	ദേ	ദൈ	ദൊ	ദോ	ദൌ
dh	ധ	ധാ	ധി	ധീ	ധു	ധൂ	ധു	ധെ	ധേ	ധൈ	ധൊ	ധോ	ധൌ
n	ന	നാ	നി	നീ	നു	നൂ	നു	നെ	നേ	നൈ	നൊ	നോ	നൌ
p	പ	പാ	പി	പീ	പു	പൂ	പു	പെ	പേ	പൈ	പൊ	പോ	പൌ
ph	ഫ	ഫാ	ഫി	ഫീ	ഫു	ഫൂ	ഫു	ഫെ	ഫേ	ഫൈ	ഫൊ	ഫോ	ഫൌ
b	ബ	ബാ	ബി	ബീ	ബു	ബൂ	ബു	ബെ	ബേ	ബൈ	ബൊ	ബോ	ബൌ
bh	ഭ	ഭാ	ഭി	ഭീ	ഭു	ഭൂ	ഭു	ഭെ	ഭേ	ഭൈ	ഭൊ	ഭോ	ഭൌ
m	മ	മാ	മി	മീ	മു	മൂ	മു	മെ	മേ	മൈ	മൊ	മോ	മൌ

Table 2.7b Malayalam CVs (non-occlusives)

	a	ã	i	ĩ	u	ũ	ĩ	e	ẽ	ai	o	õ	au
y	യ	യാ	യി	യി	യ്ക	യ്ക	യ്ക	യ	യേ	യൈ	യൊ	യോ	യൗ
r	ര	രാ	രി	രി	ര	ര	ര	ര	രേ	രൈ	രൊ	രോ	രൗ
l	ല	ലാ	ലി	ലീ	ല	ല	ല	ല	ലേ	ലൈ	ലൊ	ലോ	ലൗ
v	വ	വാ	വി	വീ	വ	വ	വ	വ	വേ	വൈ	വൊ	വോ	വൗ
s	ശ	ശാ	ശി	ശീ	ശ	ശ	ശ	ശ	ശേ	ശൈ	ശൊ	ശോ	ശൗ
ʃ	ഷ	ഷാ	ഷി	ഷീ	ഷ	ഷ	ഷ	ഷ	ഷേ	ഷൈ	ഷൊ	ഷോ	ഷൗ
s	സ	സാ	സി	സീ	സ	സ	സ	സ	സേ	സൈ	സൊ	സോ	സൗ
h	ഹ	ഹാ	ഹി	ഹീ	ഹ	ഹ	ഹ	ഹ	ഹേ	ഹൈ	ഹൊ	ഹോ	ഹൗ
l	ള	ളാ	ളി	ളീ	ള	ള	ള	ള	ളേ	ളൈ	ളൊ	ളോ	ളൗ
z	ഴ	ഴാ	ഴി	ഴീ	ഴ	ഴ	ഴ	ഴ	ഴേ	ഴൈ	ഴൊ	ഴോ	ഴൗ
r	റ	രാ	റി	രീ	റ	റ	റ	റ	റേ	റൈ	റൊ	റോ	റൗ

## 2.5 Tamil

Of all the Dravidian scripts, Tamil has departed most from the structural principles of Brahmi-based scripts; it is adapted to the phonological structure of Classical Tamil, with only a few extra symbols adopted to represent Indo-Aryan phonemes. The principle is retained that CV sequences are written by attaching vowel diacritics to consonant symbols. However, there are no ‘conjunct’ symbols for consonant clusters; all consonants not followed by vowels are written by placing the ‘zero vowel’ symbol over them. Furthermore, the Sanskrit contrasts of voiced vs voiceless stops, aspirated and unaspirated, are largely ignored. The writing system provides a symbol for a single obstruent phoneme in each articulatory position; in terms of pronunciation, this corresponds to stop and fricative

**Table 2.8a Tamil primary vowels**

	<i>Short</i>		<i>Long</i>	
	Initial	Diacritic	Initial	Diacritic
Low central unrounded	அ	a	கா	kā
High front unrounded	இ	i	கீ	kī
High back unrounded	உ	u	கூ	kū

**Table 2.8b Tamil secondary vowels**

	<i>Short</i>		<i>Long</i>		<i>Diphthongs</i>	
	Initial	Diacritic	Initial	Diacritic	Initial	Diacritic
Front unrounded	எ	e	கெ	ke	ஐ	ai
Back rounded	ஓ	o	கோ	ko	ஔ	au

**Table 2.8c Tamil occlusives**

	<i>Obstruent allophones</i>			<i>Nasals</i>	
	Initial/Geminate	After nasal	Intervocalic		
Velar	க	k [k]	[g]	ங	ṅ
Palatal	ச	c [ç]	[j]	ஞ	ñ
Retroflex	ட	ṭ [ɖ]	[ɖ]	ண்	ṇ
Dental	த	t [t]	[d]	ந	n
Labial	ப	p [p]	[b]	ம	m

Table 2.9 Tamil CVs

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
k	க	கா	கி	கீ	கு	கூ	கெ	கே	கை	கொ	கோ	கொள
c	ச	சா	சி	சீ	சு	சூ	செ	சே	சை	சொ	சோ	சொள
t	ட	டா	டி	டீ	டு	டூ	டெ	டே	டை	டொ	டோ	டொள
n	ண	ணா	ணி	ணீ	ணு	ணூ	ணெ	ணே	ணை	ணொ	ணோ	ணொள
t	த	தா	தி	தீ	து	தூ	தெ	தே	தை	தொ	தோ	தொள
n	ந	நா	நி	நீ	நு	நூ	நெ	நே	நை	நொ	நோ	நொள
p	ப	பா	பி	பீ	பு	பூ	பெ	பே	பை	பொ	போ	பொள
m	ம	மா	மி	மீ	மு	மூ	மெ	மே	மை	மொ	மோ	மொள
y	ய	யா	யி	யீ	யு	யூ	யெ	யே	யை	யொ	யோ	யொள
r	ர	ரா	ரி	ரீ	ரு	ரூ	ரெ	ரே	ரை	ரொ	ரோ	ரொள
l	ல	லா	லி	லீ	லு	லூ	லெ	லே	லை	லொ	லோ	லொள
v	வ	வா	வி	வீ	வு	வூ	வெ	வே	வை	வொ	வோ	வொள

Table 2.9 Tamil CVs (Continued)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
z	மு	முா	முி	முீ	முு	முூ	முெ	முே	முழ	முொ	முோ	முொள
l	ள	ளா	ளி	ளீ	ளு	ளுூ	ளெ	ளே	ளை	ளொ	ளோ	ளொள
r	ற	றய	றி	றீ	று	றுூ	றெ	றே	றை	றொ	றோ	றொள
ɳ	ன	னா	னி	னீ	னு	னுூ	னெ	னே	னை	னொ	னோ	னொள
ʃ	ஷ	ஷா	ஷி	ஷீ	ஷு	ஷூ	ஷெ	ஷே	ஷை	ஷொ	ஷோ	ஷொள
s	ஸ	ஸா	ஸி	ஸீ	ஸு	ஸூ	ஸெ	ஸே	ஸை	ஸொ	ஸோ	ஸொள
j	ஐ	ஐா	ஐி	ஐீ	ஐு	ஐூ	ஐெ	ஐே	ஐை	ஐொ	ஐோ	ஐொள
ks	க்ச	க்சா	க்சி	க்சீ	க்சு	க்சூ	க்செ	க்சே	க்சை	க்சொ	க்சோ	க்சொள
h	ஹ	ஹா	ஹி	ஹீ	ஹு	ஹூ	ஹெ	ஹே	ஹை	ஹொ	ஹோ	ஹொள

allophones, voiced and voiceless. A standard reference grammar of Tamil, which includes descriptions of the writing system, is Arden (1942).

The primary vowel symbols of these scripts are shown in Table 2.8a, the secondary vowels in Table 2.8b, and the occlusives in Table 2.8c. (The alternative allophones listed for the occlusives vary depending on geographical and social dialect.)

Three other groups of non-occlusive consonantal symbols come at the end of the canonical order. First is the class of oral resonants that occur both in Dravidian and in Sanskritic vocabulary: palatal approximant ன *y*, apical flap ற *r*, apical lateral ல *l* and bilabial approximant வ *v*. Second is a class of resonants characteristic of native Tamil vocabulary: a retroflex approximant ழ *z*, a retroflex lateral ள *l*, an apical trill ற் *r* and an alveolar nasal ன் *n*. Finally comes a class of consonantal symbols which occur only in borrowings from Sanskrit and other foreign languages: an alveo-palatal sibilant ஶ *ʃ*, an alveolar sibilant ஷ *s*, a voiced palatal affricate ஜ *j*, a consonant cluster க்ஷ *kṣ* and a glottal spirant ஹ *h*.

Combinations of all consonants with vowels are shown in Table 2.9. Note that the irregular combinations (னா) *nā*, (றா) *rā* and (னா) *nā* are now often regularised to னாற, றாற and னாற, respectively.

Correspondences of written symbols to spoken sounds include the following considerations:

- (a) Many varieties of Tamil contain loanwords which depart from the Classical Tamil phonological pattern; e.g. initial voiced stops may occur in words like *dōsai* ‘a type of pancake’, contrasting with the initial voiceless stops of native vocabulary. Tamil script, although it contains some consonantal symbols associated with loanword phonology (see above), in most cases provides no way to write such contrastive voicing; thus the written form of the above example is தோசை *tōsai*.
- (b) The retroflex approximant ழ *z* is pronounced the same as the retroflex lateral ள *l* in many dialects, or as the palatal approximant ன *y* in some; thus பழம் *paḻam* ‘ripe fruit’ is sometimes pronounced [paḻam] or [payam].
- (c) The apical trill ற் *r* corresponds to a Proto-Dravidian alveolar stop \**ɽ*, contrasting with the dental and retroflex stops. In some varieties of Tamil, when intervocalic, it maintains its identity as a trill (contrasting with the flap ற *r*), but more commonly is pronounced the same as the flap; thus அறை *aṛai* ‘room’ and அரை *arai* ‘half’ are pronounced alike. The cluster ன்ற *nr* is pronounced in some varieties as [ndr], but otherwise as dental [nd] or retroflex [ṅṅ]; e.g. கன்று *kaṅṅu* ‘calf’ is [kannu] or [kaṅṅu]. Geminated ற்ற *rr* is pronounced in some varieties as [tr], but otherwise as dental [tt]; e.g. காற்று *kaṛṛu* ‘wind’ is [ka:tru] or [ka:ttu].

## Bibliography

- Arden, A.H. (1937) *A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, 4th edn, Madras: Christian Literature Society.
- (1942) *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil*, 5th edn, revised by A.H. Clayton, Madras: Christian Literature Society.
- Bühler, G. (1895) *On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet* (Indian Studies, 3), Vienna: Tempsky. Reprinted, Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1963.
- (1896) *Indische Palaeographie von circa 350 a. Chr. – circa 1300 p. Chr.* (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, ed. G. Bühler, 1: 11), Strasburg: Trübner. Translated as *Indian Palaeography*, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 33, Appendix, 1904. Reprinted, Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1980.
- Dani, A.H. (1986) *Indian Paleography*, 2nd edn, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Février, J.-G. (1948) *Histoire de l'écriture*, Paris: Payot.
- Gundert, Hermann (1868) *A Grammar of the Malayalam Language*, Mangalore: Plebst & Stolz.
- Jensen, H. (1958/1969) *Die Schrift in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 3rd edn, Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften. Translated as *Sign, Symbol and Script*, London: Allen & Unwin; New York: Putnam.
- Kittel, F. (1903) *A Grammar of the Kannada Language in English*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Book and Tract Repository.
- Krishnamurti, Bh., and Gwynn, J.P.L. (1985) *A Grammar of Modern Telugu*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Spencer, H. (1950) *A Kanarese Grammar*, revised by W. Perston, Mysore: Wesley Press.
- Syamala Kumari, B. (1972) *Malayalam Phonetic Reader* (CIIL Phonetic Reader Series, 2), Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- (1981) *An Intensive Course in Malayalam* (CIIL Intensive Course Series, 4), Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.

## Further Reading

- Burnell, A.C. (1878) *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, 2nd edn, London: Trübner.
- Daniels, Peter T. and Bright, William (eds) (1996) *The World's Writing Systems*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pandey, R.B. (1957) *Indian Palaeography*, 2nd edn, Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am greatly indebted for the helpful comments of P. Bhaskararao, Bh. Krishnamurti, K.P. Mohanan, H.P. Schiffman and S.N. Sridhar.

This page intentionally left blank

PART I  
SOUTH DRAVIDIAN

This page intentionally left blank

---

# 3 Old Tamil

Thomas Lehmann

## 3.1 Background and History

Of all the Dravidian languages Tamil has the longest literary tradition, covering more than two thousand years. The earliest records are cave inscriptions from the second century BCE; the earliest extant literary text is the grammar *Tolkāppiyam* (100 BCE), which describes the grammar and poetics of Tamil during that period. During its two-thousand-year uninterrupted history, Tamil distinguishes three different stages: Old Tamil (300 BCE to 700 CE), Middle Tamil (700 CE to 1600) and Modern Tamil (1600 CE to the present), each with distinct grammatical characteristics.

Causation, for example, is expressed lexically in Old Tamil, morphologically in Middle Tamil and syntactically in Modern Tamil. Old Tamil has verb bases whose causative stem is idiosyncratic and must be listed in the lexicon, e.g. *iru* 'sit' and *iruvu* 'make sit', *akal* 'disappear' and *akarru* 'make disappear'. In Middle Tamil causative stems are productively formed by suffixing *-vi*, *-pi* or *-ppi* to a verb base where the suffix chosen depends on the phonology of the base, e.g. *cey* 'do' and *cey-vi* 'make do', *aru* 'cut' and *aru-ppi* 'make cut'. And in Modern Tamil causation is expressed periphrastically by means of the auxiliary verbs *vaikka* 'place', *ceyya* 'do' and *paṇṇa* 'make' following the infinitive of the main verb, e.g. *aṟukk-a vaikka* 'make cut'. The techniques used to form causatives in Middle and Modern Tamil occur sporadically in Old Tamil, e.g. *cēr-vi* 'make join' (*pari* 12.74) and *vāz-a.c cey* 'make live' (*puṛa* 367.10). Thus, despite the grammatical individuality of each stage of the language, many features of Middle and Modern Tamil are anchored in Old Tamil, demonstrating a grammatical continuity from the old to the modern language.

During the period of Early Old Tamil (100 BCE to 400 CE), the Pāṇṭiya, Cēra and Cōzā dynasties ruled over much of South India. These kings and other chieftains patronised many bardic poets. Two anthologies of love and heroic poems composed by these bards survive: they contain 2,381 poems ranging in length from 3 to 782 lines. Totalling 32,000 lines, this corpus is known as *Caṅkam* ('academy') literature. During this period, with the propagation of Jainism and Buddhism in South India, a number of Prakrit and Sanskrit borrowings entered Old Tamil and appear in the *Caṅkam* anthologies. The literature of Late Old Tamil (400 CE to 700) comprises the two epics *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*,

several ethical texts and certain poems conventionally included in the *Caṅkam* anthologies. The language of Old Tamil is thus embodied in a fixed corpus of poetic texts; conversely, poetic usage characterises the grammar of the language.

From its beginnings in *Tolkāppiyam*, traditional Tamil language study has linked grammar (*ilakkaṇam* ‘that which characterises’) and literature (*ilakkiyam* ‘that which is characterised’) so closely that the texts and their commentaries have become symbiotic. As noted later, these texts are not readily accessible without the help of commentaries written during the ancient and medieval periods. Although the *Caṅkam* corpus is ancient, many texts and commentaries were only recently rediscovered in the last century through the efforts of such scholars as U. Ve. Cāmināthaiyar. So, paradoxically, the modern study of Old Tamil grammar is quite new.

### Abbreviations of Example Sources

ācār	ācārakkōvai
aiṅk	aiṅkurunūru
aka	akanāṅūru
kali	kalittokai
kuṛi	(pattupāṭṭu) kuṛiṅciippāṭṭu
kuṛu	kuṛuntokai
naṛri	naṛriṅai
pari	paripāṭal
pati	patirrupattu
peri	periyapurāṇam
puṛa	puṛanāṅūru

### 3.2 Phonology and Orthography

The traditional Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* describes phonetic, phonological and orthographic aspects of the Old Tamil sound system without distinguishing these three aspects as is done in modern linguistics. The phonemic inventory of the language consists of ten vowels and seventeen consonants (see Table 3.1).

Old Tamil has ten vowels, five short and five long: /a/, /ā/, /i/, /ī/, /u/, /ū/, /e/, /ē/, /o/, /ō/. The seventeen consonants include six stops: /k/, /c/, /t/, /t̪/, /t̪/, /p/; five nasals: /ñ/, /ṅ/, /ṇ/, /n/, /m/; two laterals: /l/, /l̪/; two glides /y/, /v/; one tap /r/; and one approximant /z/. The articulatory descriptions in *Tolkāppiyam* are often incomplete: they do not, for example, distinguish between retroflex and non-retroflex consonants, leading some scholars (e.g. Meenakshisundaram 1965: 55) to speculate that retroflexes were distinguished from alveolars and dentals only at later stages of Tamil. However, comparative Dravidian phonology indicates the presence of distinct dental, alveolar and retroflex series in the proto-language.

In addition to these phonemes, traditional Tamil grammar recognises two more vowels and two more consonants. The two diphthongs /ai/ and /au/,

**Table 3.1 The phonemes of Old Tamil**

	High Short	Long	Mid Short	Long	Low Short	Long
Front	i	ī	e	ē		
Central					a	ā
Back	u	ū	o	ō		

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stops	p	t	ɽ	ʈ	c	k
Nasals	m	n	ɳ	ɳ̠	ɲ	(ṅ)
Laterals		l		ɭ		
Glides	v				y	
Taps			r			
Approximants				z		

Note: ( ) = allophone

grouped with vowels, are combinations of /a/ and /i/ and /a/ and /u/. In the case of other possible vowel combinations, e.g. \*/ai/, \*/ei/, \*/oi/, the final /i/ is treated as the glide /y/. Old Tamil thus has only two diphthongs. The two additional consonants are merely allophones of other consonants but are represented by separate graphemes. With one exception cited below, /yāñṇanam/, the velar nasal /ṅ/ is an allophone of other nasals and occurs only before the velar stop /k/. The fricative /h/, called *aytam* and transliterated as *k*, occurs only between a short vowel and a stop, e.g. *aḱtu* ‘it, that’: it may be regarded as an allophone of /y/ since /y/ is the only consonant that does not occur in this context.

These phonemes have the following distribution. All vowels and the diphthong /au/ occur word-initially. All vowels and diphthongs occur after all consonants except /ṅ/ and /ḳ/. There is, however, one occurrence of /a/ after /ṅ/: *yāñṇanam* ‘in which way’ (*aka* 27.12). All vowels and /au/ occur word-finally. Long vowels and /ai/ may be elongated for metrical purposes: this consists in the addition of a short vowel to a long vowel. For example, *elām* ‘everything’ (*kali* 65.8) may be elongated as *elāam* ‘id.’. This process may be repeated: a short vowel can be added to an already elongated vowel, as in *ciṛār* ‘small ones’ (*pari* 3.6) becoming *ciṛāar* (*aka* 107.17) and further *ciṛāaar* (*puṛa* 291.2). Only the nine consonants /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/, /m/, /n/, /ṅ/, /y/, and /v/ occur word-initially. Only the ten consonants /m/, /n/, /ṅ/, /ɳ̠/, /l/, /ɭ/, /y/, /v/, /r/ and /z/ occur word-finally.

Internal and external sandhi processes involve deletion, insertion or assimilation either when a suffix is added to a stem or when two words are compounded or stand in a particular syntactic relation. A stem-final /u/ that follows a long vowel, a consonant or two syllables, traditionally called ‘extra-short u’, is deleted when followed by a vowel-initial suffix, as in *nāṭu* ‘country’ + *iṅ* > *nāṭiṅ* (*pari* 2.55), *karpu* ‘chastity’ + *iṅ* > *karpiṅ* (*aka* 6.13), *varaku* ‘coming’ + *iṅ* > *varakiṅ*

(aka 194.9). When a stem-final vowel, except extra-short /u/, is followed by a vowel-initial suffix, a glide is inserted, e.g. *pala* + *iṅ* > *palaviṅ* (aka 7.20), *mozi* + *iṅ* > *moziyiṅ* (aka 13.8). When a stem-final retroflex consonant is followed by a dental-initial suffix, for example, that dental assimilates to a retroflex place of articulation, e.g. *kāṅ* + *ti* > *kāṅṭi* (*pari* 6.64).

The earliest records of Tamil are written in a southern version of the Aśokan Brahmi script (254 BCE), an alpha-syllabic form of writing (see Chapter 2). It was adapted to Tamil phonology in two respects: graphemes for non-occurring phonemes such as aspirated stops were omitted and graphemes for characteristic Tamil phonemes such as /z/ were added. From the second century BCE to the third century CE, there appear to have been three different versions of Tamil Brahmi script (see Mahadevan 1990); the third and last system was assumed as early as *Tolkāppiyam*. The principles of this writing system were maintained when Tamil Brahmi script evolved into Modern Tamil script, in which the *Caṅkam* texts are conventionally printed. This script has moved toward an alphabet in one respect: the conjunct consonant symbols have been replaced by strings of consonant symbols (see Steever 1996).

### 3.3 Morphology and Parts of Speech

In what follows ‘morph’ refers to the parts into which a word form can be segmented and ‘morpheme’ to the lexical or grammatical meaning these morphs have. Old Tamil utilises six morphological operations: suffixation, incorporation, compounding, cliticisation, ‘doubling’, and stem mutation. The most frequent process is suffixation. Up to four inflectional suffixes may be added to a stem, as in the verbal noun *aṭai-nt-ar-ku* ‘because of what happened’ (*narrī* 372.9) where the following suffixes are added to the verb stem *aṭai-* ‘happen’: the past tense marker *-nt-*, euphonic increment *-aṅ-* (*-ar-* by sandhi), nominalising suffix *-atu* and dative case marker *-ku*. A number of words in Old Tamil are formed by means of incorporation where this is defined as the morphological collocation of two adjacent lexemes, with each retaining its independent syntactic function. All cases of incorporation in Old Tamil involve the incorporation of a pronominal head by its immediately preceding modifier, which may be an attributive verb, noun or adjective. For example, in the participial noun *ari.y-um-ōṅ* ‘he who knows’ (*puṛa* 137.4) the head nominal is incorporated as the pronominal suffix *-ōṅ* ‘he’ by the predicate of the preceding relative clause, the adnominal form *ariy-um* ‘who knows’ (< *ari-* ‘know’). There are some instances of ‘doubling’ and stem mutation. Depending on the phonology of the noun stem, many nouns form an oblique stem when they are marked for case or function as a genitive attribute. Nouns ending in *ṭu* and *ṛu*, such as *kōṭu* ‘branch’ and *eyiṛu* ‘tooth’, form oblique stems by doubling the consonant of the final syllable, as *kōṭṭu* and *eyiṛṛu*. Stem mutation (vowel shortening) applies in the formation of oblique stems of the personal pronouns (e.g. *nām* ‘we’ > *nam-*) and in the formation of certain verb forms (e.g. *kāṅ-ōm* ‘we do not see’ vs *kaṅṭu* ‘seeing’).

Cliticisation occurs when certain grammatical morphemes, realised by bound morphs, are cliticised to fully inflected words, nouns and verbs, but not adjectives. For instance, the interrogative morpheme =*ō* and the co-ordinating morpheme =*um* are expressed by postclitic particles. When suffixation, incorporation and cliticisation co-occur, still longer chains of bound morphs may be created. Thus up to five bound morphs can be added to a stem: *puṇar-nt-icin-ōr-kk=ē* ‘even to those who united’ (aka 367.16) consists of the verb stem *puṇar-* ‘unite’, past tense marker *-nt-*, inflectional increment *-icin-*, pronominal suffix *-ōr*, dative case *-kk(u)* and emphatic clitic =*ē*.

Old Tamil morphology is on the whole agglutinating, with a one-to-one correspondence between morpheme and morph. The noun form *kiḷai-kaḷ-ōṭu* ‘with the herds’ (*kali* 25.8), for example, consists of the three morphs *kiḷai* ‘herd’, *-kaḷ-* and *-ōṭu* which correspond to the three morphemes ‘herd’, ‘plural number’ and ‘sociative case’. The morphology also has certain fusional characteristics in which two morphemes are conveyed by a single morph as in the verb form *cey.y-um* ‘he/she/they do’ where the two morphemes of non-past tense and third person agreement are expressed by the single morph *-um*. As the earlier example of pronominal incorporation indicates, Old Tamil morphology also exhibits some mild polysynthesis wherein several syntactic elements of a noun phrase occur as one phonological word.

Old Tamil has two major parts of speech: noun and verb. Most lexical stems belong to one of these two classes; some stems have a double categorial status such as *col* (DEDR 2855) which can be the verb stem ‘say’ or the noun stem ‘word’. A small number of words behave grammatically unlike nouns or verbs, and may be assigned to two minor classes – adjectives and adverbs.

Nouns are classified according to semantic and formal criteria. Traditional Tamil grammar divides nouns into *uyartiṇai* ‘rational’ and *aḱriṇai* ‘non-rational’. The first consists of nouns denoting rational beings such as humans and gods, the second consists of all other nouns, including those denoting children. This classification is relevant to the distribution of plural suffixes, noted below.

Nouns inflect for number and case. Singular number is opposed to plural, with plural being formally marked by a suffix. Case is expressed by bound suffixes or by postpositions, as in the locative case. Apart from number and case markers, two kinds of semantically empty morphs, called inflectional increments, occur in noun inflection: suffixes to form oblique stems and optional euphonic increments.

Where a noun is inflected only for case, the case suffix or postposition is suffixed to the oblique stem, where available; otherwise, directly to the noun stem.

- |     |    |   |    |                                       |
|-----|----|---|----|---------------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>uḷḷa-ttu-kku</i> ( <i>kuṛu</i> 60.6) | b. | <i>aṇṇai-kku</i> ( <i>aiṅk</i> 249.1) |
|     |    | heart-obl-dat                           |    | mother-dat                            |
|     |    | ‘for the heart’                         |    | ‘to (the) mother’                     |

The euphonic increment *-iṇ-* (*-iṛ-* by sandhi) optionally occurs before a case suffix.

- (2) *naṭṭ-ir-ku* (*puṛa* 236.6)  
 friendship-euph-dat  
 ‘for friendship’

Where a noun inflects only for number, a plural marker is suffixed to the noun stem. Where a noun inflects for number and case, the case marker is suffixed to the plural marker.

- (3) a. *peṇṭ-ir* (*aiṅk* 271.3)                      b. *peṇṭ-ir-kku* (*aka* 98.22)  
       woman-pl    woman-pl-dat  
       ‘women’    ‘for the women’

Old Tamil nouns may also take pronominal suffixes: *peṇṭ-ir-ēm* ‘we (are) women’ (*puṛa* 246.10) consists of the plural noun *peṇṭ-ir* ‘women’ and the first person plural agreement marker *-ēm* ‘we’. While it would thus seem that Old Tamil nouns inflect for person as well as number and gender class, this is a matter of incorporation rather than inflection.

Traditional Tamil grammar recognises eight cases, labelled serially with numbers or by their characteristic suffix. Western grammarians later applied latinate terms to the cases. Table 3.2 presents the Old Tamil case system in the form of a paradigm. Only singular forms are cited since plural forms inflected for case, as in (3b), occur very seldom. The various case markers occur with all nouns, rational and non-rational, unlike Modern Tamil where the choice of locative and ablative case marker depends on the class of the noun. In Old Tamil only the choice of plural marker depends on the class of the noun.

**Table 3.2 Declension of the noun *malar* ‘flower’**

Nominative	<i>malar</i>
Accusative	<i>malar-ai</i>
Sociative-instrumental	<i>malar-oṭu</i> , <i>malar-ōṭu</i> , <i>malar-āṅ</i> , <i>malar-āl</i>
Dative	<i>malar-kku</i>
Equative-ablative	<i>malar-iṅ</i>
Genitive	<i>malar-atu</i>
Locative	<i>malar-il</i> , <i>malar-kāṅ</i> , etc.

The nominative, or first case is formally unmarked; hence a noun in the nominative is identical with the noun stem. However, since case markers are frequently elided, a noun in its stem form need not convey nominative case. The third, or instrumental-sociative case, has two case markers, each with two allomorphs: *-oṭul-ōṭu* and *-āṅ/-āl*. Both markers convey an instrumental meaning but whereas *-oṭul-ōṭu* frequently expresses a sociative meaning, *-āṅ/-āl* often has causal and locative meanings. The fifth, or equative-ablative case, marked by *-iṅ*, is peculiar to Old Tamil in that its characteristic marker did not survive into later stages of Tamil. Its predominant function is to mark the object of an

equation ('like, as').

- (4) *mayil-iṅ olku-v-aṅ-aḷ* ... (aka 158.5)  
 peacock-abl walk-npst-euph-3sf  
 'She walks like a peacock.'

In Modern Tamil this function is assumed by postpositions. Other functions of the fifth case are causal, instrumental and locative. Locative is expressed by the case suffix *-il* or by one of more than twenty postpositions. These latter are grammaticalised forms of various nouns with a locative meaning, e.g. *kaṅ* 'place', *kāl* 'proximity', *akam* 'interiority'. Depending on the phonology of the noun, the vocative case is marked by lengthening the final vowel, deleting the final consonant or adding the clitic =*ē*.

Traditional Tamil grammar sanctions the use of one case marker with the meaning of another. For example, in (5) the fifth case marker *-iṅ* marks direct object, a function usually reserved for the second case suffix *-ai*.

- (5) *niṅṅ-iṅ viṭ-āa niṣal* (kali 61.8)  
 you-abl leave-neg+adn shadow  
 'the shadow which does not leave you'

Case markers and plural markers alike are often deleted so that the noun occurs in its stem or oblique form even though case has been syntactically assigned to it. Sandhi changes, such as a doubling of the initial stop of the following word, may indicate case marker deletion. In (6) the noun *ūr* 'place' indicates the goal of motion from which the dative case marker has been deleted while in (7) it signals the source of motion from which the ablative case marker has been deleted.

- (6) *num ūr.c cel-kam* (aiṅk 236.4)  
 you(obl) place go-npst+1pl  
 'we are going to your place'
- (7) *num ūr ... var-al aruvi* (aiṅk 251.3-4)  
 you(obl) place come-vn waterfall  
 'the waterfall which comes from your place'

Old Tamil has four plural suffixes, *-kaḷ*, *-ar*, *-ir*, *-mār*, whose distribution depends on noun class. While *-kaḷ* occurs with non-rational nouns, e.g. *kaṅ* 'eye' > *kaṅkaḷ* 'eyes' (kali 29.42), the other three occur only with rational nouns, e.g. *arivi* 'woman' > *arivi.y-ar* 'women' (pati 68.19), *peṅṭu* 'woman, girl' > *peṅṭ-ir* 'women' (aiṅk 271.3), girls', *taṅṅai* 'elder brother' > *taṅṅai-mār* 'elder brothers' (pura 342.15). In Late Old Tamil *-kaḷ* also occurs with rational nouns, e.g. *peṅ* 'girl' > *peṅ-kaḷ* 'girls' (cila 30.50), and together with the plural suffixes of rational nouns as a double plural suffix, e.g. *peṅṭ-ir-kaḷ* 'women, girls' (ācār 99.1).

Such double plurals with rational nouns occur generally in Middle Tamil, e.g. *maṭantai* ‘woman’ > *maṭantai.y-ar-kaḷ* (*peri* 65.4).

Old Tamil has three kinds of pronouns: personal, demonstrative and interrogative, and indefinite pronouns. Personal pronouns mark person and number, but not gender. The first person plural, however, distinguishes an inclusive plural, which includes the addressee, from an exclusive plural, which does not. See Table 3.3.

**Table 3.3 Personal pronouns**

	Singular	Plural
First	yāṇ, nāṇ	yām (exclusive) nām (inclusive)
Second	nī	nīr, nīyir
Third	tāṇ	tām

Old Tamil demonstrative pronouns mark a three-way distinction with three demonstrative stems: proximal *i-* ‘this’, distal *a-* ‘yon’ and intermediate *u-* ‘that’. There are also two interrogative stems, *yā-* and *e-*, which pattern like the demonstrative stems. A range of pronouns is formed by adding to these stems third person pronominal suffixes which distinguish number and gender, as noted in Table 3.4.

**Table 3.4 Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns**

	Proximal	Medial	Distal	Interrogative
<b>SINGULAR</b>				
Masculine	i.v-aṇ	u.v-aṇ	a.v-aṇ	yā.v-aṇ
Feminine	i.v-aḷ	u.v-aḷ	a.v-aḷ	yā.v-aḷ
Neuter	i-tu/i.ḷ-tu	u-tu/u.ḷ-tu	a-tu/a.ḷ-tu	yā-tu/yā.v-atu
<b>PLURAL</b>				
Epicene	i.v-ar	u.v-ar	a.v-ar	yār
Neuter	i.v-ai	u.v-ai	a.v-ai	yā.v-ai/yā

Most often demonstrative pronouns function as anaphoric pronouns, freely varying with third person pronouns. Indefinite pronouns distinguish rational and non-rational forms: the non-rational pronoun *oru* ‘one, something’ contrasts with three rational pronouns *oru.v-aṇ/ottan* ‘some male person’, *oru-tti* ‘some female person’ and *oru.v-ar* ‘one person’ (epicene).

Verbs are marked for illocutionary force, tense, subject–verb agreement, and the relational categories of complementation and nominalisation. They are also marked for negative polarity. Old Tamil verb forms are syntactically classified as finite, non-finite and nominalised, based on their syntactic function in the

sentence. Non-finite and nominalised verbs play an important role in complex structures: they function as the predicate of an embedded clause or the first verb in a compound verb construction. Finite verbs are classified by illocutionary force into imperative, optative and indicative. Of these three, indicative forms are overtly marked for tense and subject–verb agreement, which marks the person, number and, in the third person, gender of the subject. Finite, non-finite and nominalised verbs have both positive and negative forms. Table 3.5 shows forms of the imperative and optative, with allomorphs.

**Table 3.5 Imperative and optative forms of the verb *oḷir* ‘shine’**

	Singular	Singular/Plural
Imperative	oḷir, oḷir-āy	oḷir-mati, oḷir-miṇ, oḷir-m
Negative imperative	oḷir-al, oḷir-ēl, oḷir-ati	oḷir-aṇ-miṇ
Optative		oḷir-i, oḷir-īya, oḷir-iyar, oḷir-ka, oḷir-mō

Imperatives are correlated with the second person; unless a verb stem itself functions as an imperative, in which case an irregular verb like *varu* ‘come’ has a stem alternant (viz. *vā*), second person suffixes are added to the stem. Some of these suffixes are indifferent to number. And, on occasion, second person indicative forms are interpreted as imperative, as in *va-nt-ai* ‘come-pst-2s’ (*kali* 63.12). The optative occurs in all persons; there are five suffixes for this category, displaying rich allomorphic variation.

Positive indicative verbs consist of three parts: stem, tense marker and personal ending. This tripartite structure is not always reflected, however, in the verb’s phonological realisation. There are four structural possibilities at the phonological level. First, positive indicative verbs may directly mirror this tripartite structure with three morphs for the three morphemes.

- (8) *cey-t-āṇ* (*kali* 51.16)  
do-pst-3sm  
‘(he) did’

Second, positive indicative forms may also include a euphonic particle – an empty morph that serves as an inflectional increment – before or after the tense suffix.

- (9) a. *cey-t-aṇ-ai* (*aiṅk* 294.3)      b. *cey-ku-v-am* (*aiṅk* 288.2)  
do-pst-euph-2s                              do-euph-npst-1pl  
‘(you) did’                                      ‘(we) do’

Third, tense and subject–verb agreement may be marked by a single

portmanteau morph.

- (10) *cey.y-um* (*aiṅk* 244.4)  
do-npst+3s  
'(it) will do'

Finally, in some instances the slot for the subject–verb agreement marker is filled by a pleonastic element, an expletive suffix, and the person it denotes is interpreted according to context, e.g. as first person singular in (11).

- (11) *va-nt-iciṅ* (*pati* 64.15)  
come-pst-expl  
'I came'

Among the various inflectional suffixes, tense and the personal endings have a relatively rich allomorphy. Old Tamil has two tenses, past and non-past. There are five allomorphs for past tense, *-t-*, *-nt-*, *-iṅ-*, *-i-*, *-tt-*, and three for non-past tense, *-v-*, *-p-*, *-pp-*. These are lexically conditioned so that a verb stem selects a particular tense suffix. One class of verbs realises the past tense by doubling the consonant in the final syllable of the verb stem, e.g. *toṭu* 'touch' > *toṭ.t-āṅ* 'he touched' (*kali* 55.19).

A system of three tenses develops in Middle Tamil when a series of present tense forms emerge and the inherited non-past assumes the function of the future tense. There are two suffixes for the innovated present tense, *-āniṅ-* and *-kiṅ-*. While they flourish in Middle and Modern Tamil, they first appear in Old Tamil, *var-āniṅ-aṅ-aḷ* 'come-prs-euph-3sf' 'she comes' (*aiṅk* 397.3) and *cēr-kiṅ-a* 'join-prs-adn' 'due to joining' (*pati* 22.35). Diachronically, both forms are periphrastic constructions (see Steever 1989, 1993: 167ff). The suffix *-āniṅ-* historically consists of the non-finite durative suffix *-ā* and the past stem *nin-ru* of the verb *nil* 'stand' while *-kiṅ-* is historically the past stem of *kil* 'be able'.

Personal endings of verbs have up to four allomorphs in Old Tamil; their distribution is conditioned by the preceding tense or euphonic suffix, as noted in Table 3.6. All personal endings except the third person neuter have two allomorphs, one with a short and one with a long vowel. As Akattiyaliṅkam (1983) notes, those with short vowels predominate in Early Old Tamil while those with long vowels predominate in Late Old Tamil, making this one possible criterion for subdividing the language into Early and Late Old Tamil.

Characteristic of Old Tamil is the number of portmanteau, or cumulative, morphs which realise both tense and subject–verb agreement in a single morph (Table 3.7). In such instances, the tense morpheme is always non-past. For example, *-ku* simultaneously expresses non-past tense and first person singular agreement, as in *ēttu-ku* '(I) praise' (*kali* 40.9).

Negation is expressed exclusively by verb forms in Old Tamil, either morphologically through verb inflection, lexically by means of negative verb stems or

**Table 3.6 Pronominal suffixes**

	Singular	Plural
First	-eṇ, -ēṇ, -al, -aṇ	-am, -ām, -em, -ēm
Second	-ai, -āy, -ōy	-ir, -īr
Third: Masculine	-an, -ān, -ōn	Epicene -ar, -ār, -ōr
Feminine	-aḷ, -āḷ, -ōḷ	
Neuter	-tu, -ttu, -atu	-a

**Table 3.7 Cumulative suffixes**

	Singular	Plural
First	-ku/-kku	-tum, -kum, -kam
Second	-ti, -tti	-tir
Third	-um	-um
Epicene		-pa, -mār

syntactically with auxiliary verb constructions. For verb inflection there are three negative allomorphs, *-āt-*, *-ā-* and a zero morph. *-ā-* and the zero morph occur in finite forms between the verb stem and personal ending, that is, where the tense suffix occurs. Due to this complementarity, negative verbs never mark tense. The suffix *-ā-* occurs only in the third person neuter, e.g. *vār-ā-tu* ‘it didn’t/doesn’t/won’t come’, while the zero morph occurs everywhere else in the paradigm, e.g. *vār-ēṇ* ‘I didn’t/don’t/won’t come’ (*pati* 61.11). Old Tamil has two lexical negative verbs, *al* ‘not be/become’ and *il* ‘not be’. Both are defective and occur only with copular and existential functions.

Importantly, they also function as negative auxiliaries in compound verb constructions. They may occur bound to the stem of the main verb, e.g. *vāz-al-aḷ* ‘live-be.not-3sf’ = ‘(she) doesn’t live’ (*aka* 12.4), *uṇṇ-il-aṇ* ‘know-be.not-3sm’ = ‘(he) doesn’t know’ (*pura* 310.6), or freely after a non-finite form of the main verb, in which case past tense is conveyed, e.g. *va-nt-il-ar* ‘come-nfv-be.not-3pl-hump’ = ‘(they) didn’t come’ (*pari* 9.25). Further, the negative auxiliary *al* ‘not become’ may also combine with a finite form of the main verb in a serial verb formation (Steever 1988). Here the main verb marks tense and the auxiliary negation, e.g. *varu-v-ai all-ai* ‘come-npst-2s not.be-2s’ = ‘(you) don’t come’ (*aiṅk* 233.1) and *aṇi-nt-aṇ-aḷ all-aḷ* ‘know-pst-euph-3sf not.be-3sf’ = ‘(she) didn’t know’ (*aka* 98.6).

Non-finite verbs in Old Tamil are classified as primary and secondary non-finite verb forms. Primary non-finite forms are generated by adding a suffix to the verb stem or, rarely, to the tensed stem. Secondary forms are generated by adding a clitic to a primary non-finite form. Both are illustrated in Table 3.8.

Old Tamil has four primary non-finite verb forms: the conjunctive, infinitive, conditional and adnominal forms. The suffixes for the conjunctive and the

**Table 3.8 Non-finite and nominalised forms of the verb *oḷir* ‘shine’**

Conjunctive	oḷir-ā, oḷir-ū, oḷir-ntu, oḷir-pu
Negative conjunctive	oḷir-ā, oḷir-ā-tu, oḷir-ā-mal, oḷir-ā-mai
Infinitive	oḷir-ā, oḷir-iya, oḷir-iyar, oḷir-mār, oḷir-vāṅ
Conditional	oḷir-iṅ, oḷir-nt-āl
Adnominal: Past	oḷir-nt-a
Non-past	oḷir-um
Negative adnominal	oḷir-ā, oḷir-ā-ta
Causal	oḷir-nt-eṅa
Equative	oḷir-nt-āṅku
Concessive conditional	oḷir-iṅ-um, oḷir-nt-āl-um
Factive concessive	oḷir-a.v-um
Tenseless verbal noun	oḷir-al, oḷir-kai, oḷir-tal, oḷir-pu, oḷir-vu
Tensed verbal noun: Past	oḷir-nt-a-mai, oḷir-nt-atu
Non-past	oḷir-v-atu
Negative verbal noun	oḷir-ā-mai

conditional have several allomorphs occurring in free variation. The infinitive comprises five subtypes with various semantic functions. The adnominal form has two tensed and two negative forms. The four secondary non-finite forms combine a primary form with a suffix or clitic: the causal (< conjunctive in *-ntu* + *eṅa*), the equative (< conjunctive in *-ntu* + *āṅku*), the concessive conditional (< conditional + *=um*) and the factive concessive (< infinitive + *=um*).

Nominalised verb forms or verbal nouns are divided into tensed and tenseless verbal nouns. The latter have five variants. As the predicate of a nominalised clause, verbal nouns are inflected for case according to context. Some verbal nouns, such as those with *-pu*, never mark case.

Old Tamil has two small sets of words that semantically encode various qualities and differ grammatically from nouns and verbs. The first includes *aru* ‘difficult’ (DEDR 221), *nal* ‘good’ (DEDR 3610), *putu* ‘new’ (DEDR 4275) and *peru* ‘big’ (DEDR 4411). Morphologically, these are uninflected words; syntactically, they do not behave like nouns or verbs in that they neither occur as subject or object nor subcategorise verbal arguments or assign case. They occur only as adnominal attributes with an adjectival function.

The second and smaller set of uninflected words occurs only as attributes of verbs, nouns and adjectives, and lacks the grammatical properties of these other three classes. Words such as *uru* (DEDR 711), *naṅi* and *tava* (DEDR 3106), all meaning ‘much’, are classified as adverbs. Some word forms are grammaticalised as adverbs with a particular lexical meaning, e.g. the conjunctive form *azi-ttu* from *azi* ‘finish’ idiomatically means ‘again’.

Old Tamil has several clitics which may be added to noun and verbal forms, but not adjectives. Although they morphologically combine with a noun or verb, their scope is an entire phrase or clause, whose head is that noun or verb. The clitic *=um* ‘and’ co-ordinates noun phrases and non-finite clauses; *=ō* and *=kol* mark a clause as an interrogative one; and *=ē* ‘even’ indicates emphasis.

### 3.4 Syntax

Old Tamil, like other Dravidian languages, displays the general properties of head-final languages. As head of a clause, a verbal predicate generally occurs in final position. Non-finite verbs, for instance, mark the end of an embedded or adjoined clause and must therefore be the final element in a clause. Old Tamil also has postpositions since these express the semantic relation between the preverbal NP arguments and the clause-final verbal predicate. Similarly, the nominal head of NPs occurs finally with all adnominal attributes and modifiers preceding it. Auxiliaries follow a main verb in a compound construction which is derived from a structure in which the main verb is a complement of the auxiliary (Steever 1983). Subordinate and dependent clauses precede main clauses.

#### Phrase and Compound

In noun phrases the nominal head element may be modified at the word level by a verb in root form, a noun in stem form and an adjective. None of these three types of modifier is morphologically marked in any way; they function as adjectival attributes simply by juxtaposition, as the following examples show.

- (12) [V N]<sub>NP</sub>  
*malar tār* (aka 82.18)  
 be.wide garland  
 'wide garland'

- (13) [N N]<sub>NP</sub>  
*vaya nāy* (aka 182.5)  
 strength dog  
 'strong dog'

- (14) [Adj N]<sub>NP</sub>  
*nal mā* (aink 221.3)  
 good mango  
 'good mango'

Such uninflected modifiers may occur in any order.

- (15) Adj V                      N                      N  
*peru matar                      mazai.k      kaṇ* (kuri 248)  
 big be.cheerful coolness eye  
 'big, cheerful, cool eyes'

At the phrase level, a noun phrase may function as an adnominal attribute. The attributive noun phrase is either marked for genitive case, marked with the inflectional increment *-iṅ* or occurs unmarked in its oblique or stem form. Whereas an attributive noun phrase marked for genitive case always has a pos-

sessive or partitive function, one that is either unmarked or marked with the increment *-iṅ* can additionally have a locative, equative or appositive function.

- (16) a. *koṭicci kural* (*aiṅk* 289.1) b. *kāṅa maṅcai* (*kuṛu* 38.1)  
 girl voice forest peacock  
 'the girl's voice' 'the peacock in the forest'  
 c. *tāmarai.k kaṅ* (*kali* 39.2) d. *tēm pali* (*aiṅk* 259.4)  
 lotus eye honey food  
 'eye like a lotus' 'the food which is honey'

If the head of a NP is pronominal, a special kind of compounding occurs, namely incorporation. In such a case two adjacent syntactic elements, the modifier and the pronominal head of the NP, are morphologically collocated while retaining their separate syntactic functions. Thus in the relative construction  $N \Rightarrow [S'] \text{ PRO}$ , the verbal predicate of the relative clause  $S'$  incorporates the pronominal head  $\text{PRO}$ , resulting in a word form commonly known as a participial noun. Recall from the earlier example *ari.y-um-ōṅ* 'he who knows' (*puṛa* 137.4) that the head pronominal element *-ōṅ* is incorporated by the adnominal form *ari.y-um*. Depending both on the form and person of the pronominal head and on the form of the adnominal verb, four morphologically distinct variants of the participial noun may realise the same syntactic structure. First, an adnominal verb incorporates a pronominal suffix, as in the preceding example. Second, a verb in its tensed or negative stem incorporates a pronominal suffix, e.g. *ari.y-āt-ēṅ* 'know-neg-1s', 'I, who do not know' (*kali* 37.19). Third, a verb in its stem form with the non-past suffix *-(u)ṅ*, which occurs only in this construction, incorporates a pronominal suffix, as *ari.y-uṅ-ar* 'know-npst-3hon', 'he who knows' (*narri* 309.7). And fourth, a verb in its tensed or negative stem form incorporates a remote demonstrative pronoun, as *ari-p-avar* 'know-npst-they', 'they who know' (*kali* 125.3).

In the structure  $\text{NP} \Rightarrow [\text{NP}] \text{ PRO}$ , an attributive noun phrase incorporates a pronominal head, yielding a word form called an appellative or personal noun, e.g. *vill-aṅ* 'bow-3sm', 'he with the bow' (*aka* 48.12), *tōl-ēṅ* 'shoulder-1s', 'I, with (broad) shoulders' (*aka* 82.18), *kūntal-āy* 'hair-2s', 'you, with the hair' (*kali* 64.6). Finally, an adjective may incorporate a pronominal head, resulting in what has been called an adjectival noun, e.g. *nall-āy* 'good-2s' 'you who are good' (*kali* 39.30) and *peri.y-aṅ* 'great-3sm', 'he who is great' (*aka* 100.2). The process is recursive; in *putu.v-ōr-ttu* 'the one with the new ones' (*kuṛu* 385.7), the adjective *putu* 'new' incorporates the pronominal head *-ōr* '3pl', resulting in *putu.v-ōr* 'new ones'. This intermediate form in turn incorporates the pronominal head *-ttu* '3sn', giving rise to *putu.v-ōr-ttu* 'new-3pl-3sn', 'the one with the new ones'.

Verbs combine with each other to form several types of syntactic compound verb constructions,  $V_0 \Rightarrow V_1 + V_2$ , which are distinct from the lexical compound verbs discussed in section 3.5. These constructions consist of a lexical verb  $V_1$

in its stem, conjunctive or infinitive form, followed by an auxiliary verb  $V_2$  – often a bound form – inflected according to context. These auxiliaries are lexical verbs which function non-lexically in this context. The passive auxiliary verb *paṭu* ‘experience, suffer’, for example, governs the infinitive of the main verb, e.g. *eṅ-a-p paṭu-tal* ‘say-inf-experience-nom’, ‘being said’ (*kuru* 263.5). The verb *kil* ‘be able’ is the only verb that functions with its literal meaning as a modal auxiliary; it governs the stem form of the main verb, e.g. *kara-kir-p-eṅ* ‘hide-be.able-npst-1s’, ‘I am able to hide’ (*kali* 39.40). In most instances, however, the function of Old Tamil auxiliary verbs is not well understood today. Subrahmanya Sastri (1934: 152) even claims that they are used without any special sense. Examples are the verbs *taru* ‘give’, *iṭu* ‘put’ and *ī* ‘bestow’. *taru* occurs after the stem form of the main verb, e.g. *puku-ta-nt-āṅ* ‘enter-give-pst-3sm’, ‘(he) entered’ (*kali* 40.32), while *ī* occurs after the conjunctive form of the main verb, e.g. *va-nt-ī-m* ‘come-cnj-bestow-imp’, ‘come’ (*aka* 218.22).

### Simple Sentence

The subject of a clause is a NP in the nominative case. While there are dative-subject constructions in many Dravidian languages, including Modern Tamil, so that such a construction might be projected to the proto-language, inspection of the Old Tamil corpus reveals that the subject of a clause is almost always a noun phrase in the nominative case. Only a few examples may be cited which are probable instances of a dative-subject construction, as in (17).

- (17) *niṅ-akk=ō ari.y-un-aḷ* (*narri* 44.5)  
 you-dat-int know-npst-3sf  
 ‘Do you know her (lit.: is she one known to you)?’

The predicate may be verbal or nominal. A nominal predicate may occur alone (18) or with the copular verb *āku* ‘become’ (19).

- (18) *turukal piṭi.* (*aiṅk* 239.2)  
 stone female.elephant  
 ‘The stone (is) a female elephant.’
- (19) *tōḷ ... aṅaṅku āk-um* (*kali* 56.50-52)  
 shoulder distress be-npst+3sn  
 ‘(Your) shoulder ... is a distress (to me).’

Adjectives cannot baldly function as predicates, but must first be pronominalised in predicate position so that they incorporate a pronominal head coreferential with the subject.

- (20) *kāmam per.i-tu (kuru 18.5)*  
 passion great-3sn  
 ‘Passion (is) a great thing.’

Predicates agree with their subjects in person, number and gender. In the case of verbal predicates, only finite verbs are marked for subject–predicate agreement.

- (21) *aṇṇai ... aṛi-nt-aṇ-aḷ (aiṅk 236.1)*  
 mother know-pst-euph-3sf  
 ‘Mother ... knew (it).’

Predicate nominals show full agreement only for pronominalised nouns and adjectives, as in (22); otherwise agreement is restricted to the category of number. However, this often goes unmarked since the subject NP is not marked for plural number, as in (23).

- (22) *yām ... ōr uyir-am. (aka 12.4–5)*  
 we one breath-1pl  
 ‘We (are) of one breath.’

- (23) *iṇṇam ... ari.y-a. (aka 2.10)*  
 pleasure rare-3pln  
 ‘Pleasures (are) rare (things).’

Due to the poetical nature of the *Caṅkam* corpus, which imposes metrical and other constraints, any sentence element can be deleted, not just the subject or object but the verbal predicate of a clause as well. Thanks to subject–predicate agreement, the subject NP can readily be omitted in a clause with a verbal or a nominal predicate. The complex sentence in (24) illustrates both possibilities: both the subject *avaḷ* ‘she’ of the embedded clause and the subject *avar* ‘they’ of the main clause are deleted, leaving tell-tale agreement features on their respective predicates.

- (24)  $\emptyset$  [ $\emptyset$  *nall-aḷ ...*] *eṇ-pa. (aiṅk 204.4)*  
 good-3sf say-npst+3pl-hum  
 ‘(They) say that (she) (is) (a) good woman.’

The direct object of a transitive construction may also be deleted.

- (25) *eṇṇai tāṇum  $\emptyset$  malai-nt-āṇ. (aiṅk 201.1-2)*  
 my lord he-incl wear-pst-3sm  
 ‘My lord himself also wore (it = a garment of leaves).’

Any sentence element, nominal or verbal, can be marked with any of the three interrogative clitics =*ō*, =*kol* or =*kol.l=ō* to form a yes–no question from a declarative sentence.

- (26) *vēlaṅ ... kēṅmai ... aṟi.y-um=ō ...* (*aiṅk* 241.2-4)  
 priest friendship know-npst-3spl=int  
 ‘Does the priest know friendship?’
- (27) *itu-v=ō niṅ cemmal* (*aka* 306.9)  
 this=int your greatness  
 ‘Is this your greatness?’

Question words are formed by means of an interrogative pro-form, morphologically marked with one of the two interrogative stems *e-* (28a) or *yā-* (28b).

- (28) a. *iktu ottan e-vaṅ perāṅ* (*kali* 61.1)  
 this someone what get-neg-3sm  
 ‘What did this person not get?’
- b. *ivar yā-r ...* (*puṛa* 201.1)  
 these.people who-nom  
 ‘Who are these people?’

Optionally, one of the three interrogative clitics marks may co-occur with a *wh*-question word in a question.

- (29) *yāṅ eṅ cey-k=ō* (*aka* 50.14)  
 I what do-npst+1s=int  
 ‘What shall I do?’

Old Tamil word order is relatively free: argument NPs and adverbial adjuncts may occupy any position to the left of the predicate. As a rule, the predicate generally stands at the end of the sentence. However, any NP or adverbial adjunct may for stylistic reasons be moved to the right of sentence-final finite verb. In (30) the locative NP is postposed over the finite verb.

- (30) *pōy-āka vīṅ-nt-ēṅ [avaṅ mārp-iṅ]* (*kali* 37.12)  
 deceit-adv fall-pst-1s he-obl breast-loc  
 ‘I fell on his breast in a deceitful manner.’

The constraint against arguments and adjuncts being postposed to the right of a non-finite verb, because it marks a right clause boundary, is often relaxed in the poetic usage of Old Tamil. In (31) the non-finite clause is postposed over the finite clause; moreover, the subject NP *tiṅai* ‘millet’ of the non-finite clause is also postposed over its non-finite predicate.

- (31) *kīli* *ōpp-al-ar* ... [*viḷai-nt-eṇa tinai*]<sub>NP</sub> (*aiṅk* 260.4)  
 parrot chase-be.not-3pl ripen-cnj-caus millet  
 'Because the millet has ripened, they will no longer chase the parrots  
 away.'

In the poetic usage of Old Tamil, stylistic word movements can even separate a head NP from its normally adjacent modifier. Although the NP *nāṭu* 'country' in (32) is the head of a relative clause, it has been separated from the adnominal verb form it combines with and moved from its conventional position  $t_1$  to the end of the sentence.

- (32) *kāntaḷ nār-um t<sub>1</sub>* ... *cel-v-ar* ... *nāṭ.t=ē* (*aiṅk* 254.2-4)  
 flower smell-npst+adn go-npst-3hon country-obl=emp  
 'He goes to his country, where the flowers smell.'

### Complex Sentence

The formation of complex sentences in Old Tamil always involves embedding or adjoining. A clause may be embedded in a sentence as an adverbial or complement clause, as an adnominal complement or as a nominalised clause. Otherwise a clause is adjoined to another sentence as an adverbial or conjunctive complement of that sentence. There is, however, no co-ordination of two finite clauses; only two or more non-finite clauses may be conjoined.

Old Tamil has several strategies to mark an embedded or adjoined clause. The basic strategy is to use non-finite and nominalised verb forms to mark the end of an embedded or adjoined clause. Some non-finite verbs that function adverbially, such as the conditional or causative form, express one particular concept such as conditionality or cause.

- (33) [*pakal var-iṇ*] *kavvai aṅcu-tum* (*aka* 118.6)  
 day come-cnd rumour fear-npst+1pl  
 'If (you) come during the day, we will be afraid of the rumours.'
- (34) [*mā maṟai viṟ-nt-eṇa*] *aruvi iyamp-um* (*kuru* 42.2)  
 great rain fall-cnj-cause waterfall roar-npst+adn  
 'Because a great rain fell, the waterfall is roaring.'

The infinitive, by contrast, expresses many semantic functions such as purpose, time, cause, circumstance or result, as in (35).

- (35) [*mēṇi* ... *nalam tolai.y-a*] ... *tuyarum cey-t-ōṇ* (*aka* 278.13-14)  
 body beauty lose-inf distress do-pst-3sm  
 '(He) gave (her) distress so that her body lost its beauty.'

Annamalai (1980) shows that all these semantic functions persist in Modern

Tamil so that the infinitive in *-a* evidences the continuity from the old to the modern language.

To conjoin two or more propositions with temporal or non-temporal ‘and’, Old Tamil eschews co-ordinate structures of two or more finite clauses. Instead, one or more non-finite clauses in the conjunctive are adjoined to a finite clause. Where the subjects are identical, the finite verb form governs the preceding conjunctive forms with respect to tense, mood and subject–verb agreement.

- (36) *nāṭ-aṇ ... nōy ta-ntu ... nalam koṇ-ṭ-aṇ-aṇ* (*aiṅk* 278.4–5)  
country-3sm suffering bring-cnj beauty take-pst-euph-3sm  
‘The man of the country brings suffering and takes beauty away.’

- (37) *aṇṇai ... eṇ mukam nōkk-i ... nak-ūu ... peyar-nt-ōḷ ...*  
mother my face look.at-cnj laugh-cnj depart-pst-3sf  
‘(Her) mother looked at my face, laughed and went away.’  
(*aka* 248.14–16)

Old Tamil has a particular form not mentioned so far, the finite conjunctive form. Called *murreccam* in traditional grammar, it is a formally finite verb (*murru*) that functions in a non-finite (*eccam*) capacity. The *murreccam* always takes the form of the positive or negative verb on which it depends and thus marks concord with the governing verb. In the following example, despite its finite form, *marantaṇaṇ* functions as a non-finite verb, the conjunctive form *marantu* ‘forgetting’, and varies freely with it.

- (38) *nāṭ-aṇ mara-nt-aṇ-aṇ ... eṇ nī-ṭṭ-ōṇ.* (*aiṅk* 265.3–4)  
country-3sm forget-pst-euph-3sm I-obl leave-pst-3sm  
‘The man of the country forgot (me) and left me.’

A *murreccam* occasionally functions as a purposive infinitive.

- (39) *ira-kku vār-ēṇ.* (*pati* 61.11)  
beg-npst+1s come-neg-1s  
‘I am not coming to beg.’

The *murreccam* is an instance of the widespread serial verb formation (Steever 1988) in the Dravidian languages, not a peculiarity of Old Tamil.

The adnominal form, traditionally called a relative participle, is used to embed a clause as the complement of a noun or noun phrase. Adnominal clauses include relative (40) and appositive clauses (41).

- (40) [*nīram pāy-nt-a*] *kaṇai ...* (*kali* 57.14)  
breast pierce-pst-adn arrow  
‘the arrow which pierced (his) breast’

- (41) [*pantu eri-nt-a*]      *ayā ...* (*kali* 40.22)  
 ball    throw-pst-adn fatigue  
 'the fatigue from throwing a ball'

In relative clause formation the head NP governs a co-referential NP within the relative clause, triggering its deletion. Old Tamil relative clauses with such an NP gap allow certain morphological variations in the embedded predicate. A simple verb root may occur in place of the adnominal form (42) or, occasionally, a nominalised verb form in *-al* may take its place (43).

- (42) [*mañcai arai īṇ*]      *muṭṭai ...* (*kuru* 38.1)  
 peacock rock breed-vs egg  
 'the egg which the peacock lays on the rock'
- (43) [*nirai cel-al*] ... *koṇmū ...* (*kuri* 50)  
 row    wander-vn cloud  
 'the clouds which wander in rows'

Old Tamil has another strategy for forming relative clauses, correlative clauses which are widely used in Indo-Aryan languages. As Ramasamy (1981) shows, the correlative strategy is used where a variety of constraints prohibit use of the adnominal strategy. It is thus an integral part of Tamil syntax. In correlative clauses a demonstrative head NP, marked by the distal deictic stem *a-* 'that', subordinates a relative clause that contains a finite predicate and a co-referential NP, marked by the interrogative stem *e-* or *yā-* 'which'. The correlated NPs *e-vazi* 'which place' and *a-vazi* 'that place' in (44) mark the correlative construction. Note that the correlative strategy must be used here because the subordinate predicate *āṭavar* 'men', as a predicate nominal, lacks the adnominal form, a verb form, used in the adnominal strategy.

- (44) [*e-vazi    nall-avar    āṭavar*]    *a-vazi    nall-ai...* (*pura* 183.3–4)  
 which.place good-3plm men-3plm that.place good-2s  
 'You (are) good in a place where the men are good.'  
 Lit.: 'At which place men are the good ones, at that place you are good.'

In this correlative construction a finite clause is directly embedded under a head NP without any embedding device; later in Modern Tamil, a correlative clause must be embedded with a clitic such as *=ō* or *=ē*.

When a clause functions as a noun phrase within a higher clause, as in (45), it is nominalised, taking the form of a verbal noun.

- (45) [*kuvalai ... malar-tal*]    *ari-tu.* (*aiṅk* 299.2–4)  
 flower    blossom-nom rare-3sn  
 'It is rare for the *kuvalai* flower to blossom.'

Nominalised clauses may be inflected with various case markers; the dative in (46) expresses purpose.

- (46) [puravi paṇṇ-ar-ku] virai-ti. (pura 304.3–4)  
 horse make.ready-vn-dat hurry-npst+2s  
 ‘(You) are hurrying to make the horses ready.’

The use of non-finite and nominalised verbs to form complex sentences has certain limitations. No clause with a predicate nominal can be so embedded because, as a noun form, it lacks verbal morphology, finite or non-finite. Nor can finite clauses be embedded for the purposes of direct discourse. Old Tamil uses another strategy to embed such clauses, complementising verb forms. The verbs *eṇ* ‘say’ (DEDR 868), *āku* ‘become’ (DEDR 333), *pōl* ‘resemble’ (DEDR 4517) and, to a lesser extent, *ōr* ‘know’ (DEDR 1059) have the non-lexical function of marking complements. In this capacity these verbs can embed a finite clause. As a complementiser, *eṇ* embeds the complement of cognitive verbs.

- (47) [varai-nt-aṇ-ai nī eṇ-a] kēṭ-ṭu yāṇ (aiṅk 280.4)  
 marry-pst-euph-2s you say-inf hear-cnj I-nom  
 ‘I heard that you are marrying her.’

Not only does *āku* embed complements of cognitive verbs, in its conditional and nominalised forms, where the latter is inflected for the ablative, it embeds a finite clause as an adverbial clause.

- (48) [koḷli āram ā-tal-iṇ] am pukai tavaz-um ...  
 firewood sandalwood become-vn-abl beauty smoke spread-npst+3spl  
 ‘Because the firewood was sandalwood, a beautiful smoke spread.’  
 (pura 108.2–3)

The verb *pōl* marks an embedded finite clause as a hypothetical comparison.

- (49) [aiyaṇ-ai ēttu-v-ām pōl-a] ... pāṭu-v-ām ... (kali 43.5–7)  
 Murugan-acc praise-npst-1pl resemble-inf sing-npst-1pl  
 ‘(We) are singing as if praising Murugan.’

Less frequently, *ōr* ‘know’ appears in root form in relative or appositive clauses to embed a nominalised clause of the *-atu* type under a head noun.

- (50) [nāṭ-aṇ ... varu-v-atu ōr] kālai. (kuru 252.2–3)  
 country-3sm come-npst-nom know time  
 ‘The time at which the man of the country comes.’

Finally, Old Tamil has the conjunctive verb *cettu* ‘thinking’, unattested in other

forms, which embeds a finite clause as in *turukal piṭi cettu* ‘thinking the rock (*turukal*) was a female elephant (*piṭi*)’ (*aiṅk* 239.2). This form is cognate with the Old Kannada form *gettu* ‘thinking’ (Steever 1988: 27), which has a similar function.

Apart from complementising verbs, Old Tamil has complementising nouns that can embed a clause. In such instances the head noun, which combines with the adnominal form of the embedded verb, lacks a strict lexical function, having instead the grammatical function of a complementiser. Such a complementising noun may have a semantic function, temporal or conditional, echoing its original lexical meaning. The noun *kāl* ‘time’ in (51), for example, combines with an adnominal verb form to create a conditional rather than a temporal clause. Similarly, the noun *māru* ‘manner’ in (52) marks a clause with a causal rather than a circumstantial adverbial function.

- (51) *nāṭ-aṅ maṇṇ-v-ā.k kāl=ē ...* (*aka* 292.15)  
 country-3sm marry-neg-adn time=emp  
 ‘if the man of the country does not marry (her)’

- (52) *verp-aṅ va-nt-a māṟ=ē ...* (*aka* 42.13)  
 mountain-3sm come-pst-adn manner=emp  
 ‘because the man of the mountains came’

Co-ordination in Old Tamil, in the sense of conjoining two or more elements of the same category with ‘and’, is restricted to noun phrases and to non-finite and nominalised clauses. Adjectives and adverbs cannot be conjoined, neither can finite clauses. Where nouns are co-ordinated, they represent full noun phrases. The clitic =*um* is used in Old Tamil after each element of the conjunction, as illustrated by the conjoined object NPs in (53) and the conjoined infinitival clauses in (54).

- (53) *nāṭ=um kuṇṟ=um oruṅku ī.y-um ...* (*puṟa* 109.18)  
 country=co hill=co also bestow-npst-+3spl  
 ‘He also bestows countries and hills.’

- (54) *niṅ meṅ tōḷ ṅekiz-a.v=um tiru nutal*  
 your body shoulder grow.thin-inf=co beauty forehead  
*paca.pp-a.v=um ...* (*aiṅk* 230.3)  
 get.pale-inf=co  
 ‘so that your soft shoulders grow thin and your beautiful forehead pale’

The co-ordinator =*um* is frequently deleted in Old Tamil, resulting in asyndetic parataxis. In the relative construction in (55), for example, the co-ordinate NPs are conjoined without benefit of =*um*.

- (55) [vāzai=Ø òñk-i.y-a vazai=Ø] amai cilamp-il ... (narri 222.7)  
 banana.tree rise-pst-adn tree have-vs hill-loc  
 'on the hill which has banana trees and high vazai trees'

Old Tamil possesses at least two syntactic rules that move a sentence element to the right of the sentence-final verb for emphasis: one is Scrambling, illustrated earlier in (31) and (32), which moves a sentence element over a finite verb; the other is Clefting which simultaneously moves a sentence over the sentence-final verb and nominalises that verb.

- (56) yāñ oru-pp-atu numar-ai. (kali 58.20)  
 I punish-npst-nom relation-acc  
 'It is the relations whom I punish.'

The transformation of Raising to Object Position, postulated for Tamil by Steever (1981), is already attested in Old Tamil. It raises the subject NP of an embedded clause into a higher clause, changing its case from nominative to accusative.

- (57) vēñkai.y-ai atu eña uñar-ntu ... (kali 49.5-6)  
 tree-acc this say-inf think-cnj  
 'thinking this to be a venkai tree'

### 3.5 Lexicon

At the time Old Tamil literature was composed, nouns were an open set, which permitted the borrowing of Prakrit and Sanskrit words. Even *Tolkāppiyam*, which describes the earliest stage of the language, recognises 'northern words' as part of Old Tamil vocabulary. Moreover, specific rules were stipulated for borrowing those words: they had to conform to Tamil phonology and undergo assimilation where necessary. Examples of Prakrit borrowings in Old Tamil include *pākuṭam* 'gift' < Pkt *pāhuḍa* 'id.', *kavaṇai* 'sling' < Pkt *khavaṇa* 'eject', *kaccai* 'girdle' < Pkt *kacchā* 'girdle, loin cloth', *tōṇi* 'boat' < Pkt *dōṇi* 'id.', *paḷinku* 'crystal' < Pkt *phalika* 'id.' and *naṭṭa* 'dance' from Pkt *naṭṭa* 'id.'. Examples of Sanskrit borrowings include *nakar* 'town' < Skt *nagara* and *pūtam* 'demon' < Skt *bhūta* 'id.'.

Old Tamil has at least two productive processes of noun derivation. The suffix *-mai* creates abstract nouns from verbs, adjectives and other nouns, e.g. *il* 'not be' > *iñ-mai* 'non-existence', *aru* 'difficult' > *aru-mai* 'difficulty' and *āñ* 'male' > *āñ-mai* 'manliness'. Rational nouns are derived from non-rational by means of third person suffixes, e.g. *kātal* 'love' suffixes masculine *-āñ* to form *kātal-āñ* 'male lover' and with feminine *-i* to form *kātal-i* 'female lover'.

Nominal compounds in Old Tamil are distinct from noun phrases which, like compounds, may also consist only of lexical stems. Nominal compounds are defined in this context as the formation of lexemes whose meaning is not just the sum of the meaning of their constituents (Zvelebil 1967: 40, 103). A verb,

adjective or noun stem may combine with a noun stem to form a nominal compound: *uyar* ‘be high’ + *nilai* ‘state’ > *uyarnilai* ‘world of gods’, *kaṭu* ‘wild’ + *mīṇ* ‘fish’ > *kaṭumīṇ* ‘shark’, and *āṇ* ‘male’ + *talai* ‘head’ > *āṇṭalai* ‘cock’.

Verb stems, consisting of native stems, form a closed set in Old Tamil. Middle Tamil admitted borrowed verb stems but the set is once again closed in Modern Tamil. As noted earlier, the causative of some verbs is idiosyncratic and must be listed in the lexicon. Lexical compound verbs consist of a noun or verb plus a verb stem. Certain verb stems, such as *uru* ‘experience’, are added to nouns to create compound verbs, e.g. *pētu* ‘bewilderment’ + *uru* > *pēturu* ‘be bewildered’. There are also some verb–verb compounds where the second stem appears to have no function, adding nothing tangible to the meaning of the first stem, e.g. *tuyal* ‘swing’ + *vara* ‘come’ > *tuyal-vara* ‘swing’.

### 3.6 Special Features

One prominent feature of Old Tamil is the frequent omission of morphological or syntactic material which marks semantic relations, such as case markers, coordinators, attributive markers, etc. This often gives rise to strings of uninflected words, mainly noun and verb stems, as discussed earlier. For example, the verb root may occasionally stand in place of any inflected verb form, be it finite, non-finite or nominalised. Its use in place of the adnominal form in relative clauses is illustrated in (42). The verb root *il* ‘not be’ in (58) functions as a finite verb that subcategorises a nominalised subject clause while the verb root *urai* ‘stay’ functions as a verbal noun in (59), specifically as the object of the conditional verb *nīṭ-iṇ*.

(58) *vāzkkai ... eḷi-tu āk-al il ...* (aka 208.8–9)  
 living easy-3sn be-nom be not  
 ‘it is not (the case) that living is easy’

(59) *avaṇ urai nīṭ-iṇ ...* (aiṅk 269.3)  
 that.place stay prolong-COND  
 ‘if he prolongs (his) staying in that place’

Because of this, in many instances the syntactic and semantic relations between words, phrases and clauses can only be determined by referring to commentaries of the texts which contain fully inflected paraphrases.

### Bibliography

- Agesthalingom, S. (1977) *A Grammar of Old Tamil with Special Reference to Patirrupattu*, Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.  
 Akattiyalīnkam, Ca. (1983) *Caṅkat Tamiz I, II, III*, Annamalainagar: Aṅgattintiyat Tamiz Moziyiyar Kazakam. [Both the phonology and verb morphology of Old Tamil are described in this work.]

- Andronov, M. (1969) *A Standard Reference Grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil*, Madras: New Century Book House. [This text includes examples of both old and modern Tamil, but is not a historical grammar of the language.]
- Annamalai, E. (1980) 'Structural homonymy and its diachronic differentiation', In S.V. Subramaniam and K.M Iruppalan (eds), *Heritage of the Tamils – Language and Grammar*, Madras: International Institute of Tamil Studies.
- Israel, M. (1973) *The Treatment of Morphology in Tolkāppiyam*, Madurai: Madurai Kamaraj University. [This is a fine description of the morphology of Old Tamil from the point of view of traditional Tamil grammar based on *Tolkāppiyam*, with a modern evaluation.]
- Lehmann, Thomas (1994) *Grammatik des Alt tamil*, Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag. [This is a description of the linguistic structure of Old Tamil, the first to analyse syntax; an enlarged version in English is in preparation.]
- Mahadevan, I. (1990) 'Orthographic systems in early Tamil writing', *Journal of Asian Studies* 8(1): 35–47.
- Meenakshisundaram, T.P. (1965) *A History of the Tamil Language*, Poona: Deccan College. [This is the first step in presenting a historical grammar up to early Middle Tamil.]
- Natarajan, T. (1977) *The Language of Sangam Literature and Tolkāppiyam*, Madurai: Madurai Publishing House. [This is more a list of word forms exemplifying various categories.]
- Rajam, V.S. (1992) *A Reference Grammar of Classical Tamil Poetry*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. [This is a detailed grammar of Old Tamil, concentrating on morphology. It contains a wealth of examples of the various categories and includes a detailed introduction to Tamil prosody.]
- Ramasamy, K. (1981) 'Correlative relative clauses in Tamil', in S. Agesthalingom and N. Rajasekharan Nair (eds), *Dravidian Syntax*, Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.
- Steever, Sanford (1981) 'The pragmatic exploitation of raising to object position', in S. Agesthalingom and N. Rajasekharan Nair (eds), *Dravidian Syntax*, Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.
- (1983) 'A study in auxiliatio: the grammar of the indicative auxiliary verb system of Tamil', PhD dissertation, Chicago: Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago.
- (1988) *The Serial Verb Formation in the Dravidian Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas.
- (1989) 'On the etymology of the present tense in Tamil', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109(2): 237–54.
- (1993) *Analysis to Synthesis: the Development of Complex Verb Morphology in the Dravidian Languages*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (1996) 'Tamil writing', in Peter T. Daniels and William Bright (eds), *The World's Writing Systems*, New York: Oxford University Press, 426–30.
- Subrahmanya Sastri, P.S. (1934) *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil*, Madras: Journal of Oriental Research.
- Zvelebil, Kamil (1967) 'The language of Perunkunrur Kilar', in K. Zvelebil, J.J. Glazov and M. Andronov (eds), *Introduction to the Historical Grammar of the Tamil Language*, Moscow: Nauka Publishing House. [This contains a tagmemic description of a few selected poems of Old Tamil.]

---

# 4 Modern Tamil

*E. Annamalai and S.B. Steever*

## 4.1 Background and History

Tamil (*tamiḻ*) belongs to the South Dravidian subgroup of languages. Spoken in southern India and northeastern Sri Lanka from prehistoric times, Tamil literature and other documents reveal three distinct historical stages of the language: Old Tamil (300 BCE to 700 CE), Middle Tamil (700 to 1600 CE) and Modern Tamil (1600 CE to the present). This chapter treats the modern language.

Lehmann (Chapter 3) traces both continuities and discontinuities from one stage to the next in the historical development of Tamil. Greater continuity may be observed between Old Tamil and modern Sri Lankan Tamil than between the old language and the modern mainland dialects spoken in India. Sri Lankan Tamil preserves the medial deictic series in *u-*, as in *u-vaṇ* ‘man in between’, and the synthetic present perfect in *-aṇ-*, as in *con.ṇ-āṇ-āṇ* ‘I have said’. The mainland dialects have lost these forms. Modern Sri Lankan Tamil has also resisted the borrowing of contrastive voiced stops in the spoken register: mainland *dōcai* ‘rice pancake’ corresponds to Sri Lankan *tōcai* ‘id.’.

Although Old Tamil lacked a present tense form, Middle Tamil developed two: one with the present tense marker *-(k)kiṛ-/--(k)kiṇṛ-*, the other with the marker *-āniṇṛ-*. Only the first survives in Modern Tamil, and has been phonologically reduced to *-(k)kr-* in several dialects (Steever 1993). The negative synthetic verb survived into Middle Tamil, e.g. *vār-ēm* ‘we did/do/will not come’, but is lost in Modern Tamil, surviving only in such stock phrases as *avaṇai.k kāṇōm* ‘he is not around’ (lit. ‘we.don’t.see<sub>2</sub> him<sub>1</sub>’). Old Tamil stands alongside Sanskrit as one of India’s two classical languages, but Tamil alone has a recognisable continuity with a modern Indic language.

The best known of the Dravidian languages, Tamil is spoken today as a first language by approximately 50 million people. During its history, but especially during the Chola Empire and the British Raj, it was transplanted to Malaysia, Mauritius, Myanmar, Guyana and Martinique. In the modern world it is an official language in India, Malaysia, Singapore and Sri Lanka. The Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (1951) recognises Tamil as one of India’s eighteen constitutional languages. The Tamil Nadu Language Act (1956) accords Tamil the status of first official language within the state of Tamil Nadu, with English as the second.

Of the four literary languages, Tamil has the oldest history, dating from about 300 BCE. The earliest records, inscriptions in Ashokan Brahmi script, date to c. 254 BCE. Its literature, preserved on palm-leaf manuscripts, in copper-plate inscriptions and by rote memory, covers 2,000 years. Three stages of Tamil appear in these records: old (300 BCE to 700 CE), medieval (700 to 1600 CE) and modern (1600 CE to the present). Its closest relatives are Malayalam, spoken in neighbouring Kerala, and Irula, a tribal language spoken in the Nilgiris District of Tamil Nadu.

Apart from the historical variation just noted, Tamil varies along three other dimensions: geography, society and diglossia. The major geographical distinction is between conservative Sri Lankan Tamil and relatively innovating continental Tamil. Sri Lankan Tamil preserves the three-way deictic distinction found in the ancient and medieval forms of the language, e.g. *ivaṇ* 'this man', *uvaṇ* 'that man nearby', *avaṇ* 'that man yonder', whereas the continental dialects have eliminated the medial degree *uvaṇ* 'that man nearby'. Continental Tamil itself comprises several geographical dialects. Caste dialects cross-cut the geographical ones and distinguish primarily between brahmin and non-brahmin dialects, although finer gradations exist and are easily recognised. A brahmin speaker will, for example, say *āttukku vāṅkō* 'come<sub>2</sub> to.the.house<sub>1</sub>' while a non-brahmin will say *vīṭṭukku vāṅka* 'id.'. Finally, Tamil exhibits diglossic variation: *centamiṇ*, a 'high', formal variety, and *koṭuntamiṇ*, a 'low', informal variety, which are discussed at the end of this chapter.

The central dialect spoken by educated non-brahmins around the cities of Tanjore (Tam. *tañcāvūr*), Trichy (Tam. *tiruccirāppaḷli*) and Madurai (Tam. *maturai*) is considered to be the basis for the standard dialect.

## 4.2 Phonology and Orthography

Lacking an adequate phonology of modern Tamil, linguists take the transcription of the written language as the underlying phonological representation – simultaneously the output of the syntax and the input to the phonology – and the corresponding spoken form as the surface representation. The rules that convert one into the other are considered to be the content of Tamil phonology. While inadequate in some respects, particularly in overlooking diglossic variation, this practice offers a good view of Tamil phonology because the transparent, agglutinating morphology of the language inhibits the development of complex morphophonemic patterns.

Modern Tamil phonology has a native core and a borrowed periphery, as indicated in Table 4.1. The core inventory contains twelve vowels and sixteen consonants.

The five simple vowel qualities, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, occur short or long. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are treated as phonemes because they have the length of short vowels. Borrowed vowels include *æ* and *ʌ*. Apart from the fact that long vowels tend to be tense and their short counterparts lax, the ten simple vowels have no

**Table 4.1 The core inventory of Modern Tamil**

		<i>Consonants</i>						
		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops								
	Voiceless	p	t		ʈ	c	k	
	Voiced	(b)	(t)		(d)	(j)	(g)	
	Tap		r					
	Flap			[ɾ]				
	Nasal	m	n	[ɳ]	ɳ	ɲ	[ŋ]	
	Lateral		l		ɭ			
	Approximant				ʒ			
	Glide	v				y		(h)
		<i>Vowels</i>						
		<i>Front</i>		<i>Mid</i>		<i>Back</i>		
		Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	
High		i	ī			u	ū	
Mid		e	ē	(ʌ)		o	ō	
Low			(æ)	a	ā			
Diphthongs		ai, au						

significant positional variants, except *u*, which is unrounded and further shortened in word-final position. Word-initial front vowels are pronounced with a preceding *y*; word-initial back vowels with a preceding *v*. Word-final combinations of vowel plus nasal consonant are replaced in speech by corresponding nasalised vowels, e.g. /avan/ ‘that man’ becomes [avã] ‘id.’.

The core contains sixteen consonants in three groups: stops: *k, c, ʈ, t, p*; nasals: *ṅ, ŋ, n, m*; and liquids: *y, r, l, v, ɾ, z, ɭ*. The periphery includes the additional consonants *b, d, ɖ, j, g, s, f, h*. These additional consonants come largely from Indo-Aryan, Perso-Arabic and English sources.

Vowel sequences do not occur in simple words. Vowels occur initially, medially and finally; however, initial *e-* and *o-* are always preceded by their respective onglides, *y-* and *v-*. Minimal and near-minimal pairs, indicating distinctive sounds capable of distinguishing lexemes and grammatical forms, are as follows: *kal* ‘stone’ vs *kāl* ‘leg’ vs *kai* ‘hand’; *nil* ‘stand’ vs *nīla* ‘blue’; *pukai* ‘smoke’ vs *mūlai* ‘brain’; *eʒuttu* ‘letter’ vs *ēʒu* ‘seven’; *oru* ‘one’ vs *ōram* ‘edge’ vs *vauval* ‘bat’.

In the native core, all consonants may occur medially; all consonants except alveolars occur initially; only nasals and liquids occur finally. Initial retroflexes are lexically restricted to native onomatopoeia, e.g. *ṅaṅ* ‘sound of a coin’, and borrowed words, e.g. *ṭāvun* ‘town’. All consonants except *r* and *z* can occur doubled; phonemic /ɳ/ occurs double only in a few bimorphemic words, e.g.

*aṅṅānam* ‘that manner’. Consonant clusters are restricted in native words: there are no clusters in word-initial or word-final position. Medial clusters are restricted to combinations of liquids and/or nasal plus stops, and these occur only in syllable offsets.

Clusters in loanwords are removed by deletion (Skt *jñāna* > *ñānam* ‘knowledge’) or epenthesis (Skt *vyābhara* > *viyāparam* ‘business’ in standard dialects, *yāparam* in the Nagercoil area). Reflecting Caldwell’s Law, the core stops are voiced when following a homorganic nasal or when occurring intervocallically; otherwise, they are voiceless. Additionally, intervocalic stops tend to be spirantised, e.g. *adu* ‘that thing’ > [aḍu], *kācu* ‘coin’ > [kaśu]. Native onomatopoeic words often violate the phonotactic constraints, e.g. the word [ṇaṅ], which represents a metallic sound, such as a dropped coin, starts with a retroflex and ends with a velar nasal.

In the spoken language, virtually all words end in vowels, while in the literary language, words may end in certain nasals and liquids as well. The mainland dialects also permit voiced stops in word-initial position. Minimal and near-minimal pairs include *kavitai* ‘poetry’ vs *gavaṇam* ‘attention’; *caṇi* ‘Saturn’ vs *jaṅṅal* ‘window’ vs *ñānam* ‘wisdom’; *ṭāvun* ‘town’ (< English town) vs *dāppā* ‘container’; *pāvam* ‘sin, shame’ vs *bāvam* ‘facial expression’.

In rapid, unguarded speech, sounds of the periphery are assimilated to sounds of the core, so that *ā* in *bēṅku* ‘bank’ becomes either *ā* or *ē*; /film/ ‘film (for a camera)’ becomes [pilim]. Diphthongs tend to be reduced to simple vowels in non-initial syllables.

When morphemes or words combine, certain morphophonemic changes occur. These include the loss of final segment (*pāṭṭu* ‘song’ plus *-āl* instrumental case > *pāṭṭ-āl* ‘by song’, *maram* ‘wood’ + *vītu* ‘home’ > *mara-vītu* ‘wooden home’); doubling a consonant at the boundary (e.g. *kal+āl* > *kal.l-āl* ‘by stone’, *tamiḥ+pāṭṭu* > *tamiḥ.p-pāṭṭu* ‘Tamil song’); assimilation (*vil+ttu* > *virru* ‘having sold’, *pal+poṭi* > *paṇpoṭi* ‘tooth powder’); and glide insertion, e.g. *katti+āl* > *katti.y-āl* ‘by knife’. Such processes had broader application in earlier stages of the language, but are now more limited. They are obligatory with a bound morpheme, less frequent between members of a compound and least frequent when the combination does not result in a compound.

Like other South Asian languages, Tamil is written alpha-syllabically with a writing system that descends from the southern branch of Ashokan Brahmi script (see Chapter 2). It is adequate to represent the core phonology of the language. It contains some non-phonemic symbols, e.g. *ṇ* for the non-contrastive velar nasal and *ṅ* for a non-contrastive alveolar nasal. Some peripheral consonants, as well as core consonants occurring in non-traditional positions in loanwords, e.g. *s*, *j* and *h*, are represented by the so-called *grantha* letters. Others, such as initial *b*, *g*, *d*, lack separate symbols. No new vowel symbol is used to represent foreign vowels in borrowed words, the [æ] in English bank is written as *ē* or *ā*, but read as [æ] by literate speakers. Finally, the symbol for a velar glide which occurred in Old Tamil (see Chapter 3) is now prefixed to stops to represent the

homorganic fricative, as in *fail* (< Eng. file) *jīrāks* (< Eng. 'xerox').

In terms of suprasegmentals, Tamil is a quantitative language whose basic prosodic elements are *acai* 'mora'. Stress in Tamil is non-contrastive, and falls upon the first syllable of a word. Intonation patterns in Tamil have yet to be studied satisfactorily. A change in an intonation pattern can, for example, change a declarative sentence into an interrogative.

### 4.3 Morphology and Parts of Speech

Tamil morphology is agglutinating and suffixal: inflections are marked by suffixes attached to a lexical base, which may be augmented by derivational suffixes. Allomorphy is comparatively simple so that complex morphophonemic alternations are limited.

Tamil grammar distinguishes primarily between free forms, i.e. parts of speech, and bound forms, i.e. clitic particles. Clitic particles are postclitic: they appear to the right of their host and form part of the phonological word; for example, the interrogative clitic =*ā* suffixed to *avan* 'that man' in *avan=ā* 'is it that man?' blocks the nasalisation of the preceding vowel and subsequent loss of *ŋ* in word-final position. Although realised on words, clitics often bear a semantic relation to a whole clause. Clitics rarely distinguish between the two basic parts of speech as bound desinences do; one exception, =*um* 'and, all', does not combine with finite verb forms. Certain clitics are general between conjunctions and quantifiers, e.g. =*ō* can mean 'or' as in *kamala.v=ō carōja.v=ō* 'either Kamala or Saroja' or 'some' as in *yār=ō* 'someone' (< *yār* 'who' and =*ō*). At one level of abstraction, conjunctions and quantifiers are equivalent, being differentiated in accordance with how they apply to sets that are enumerated by definite description (conjunctions) or set description (quantifiers). Clitics also play an important role in the construction of complex sentences.

The two basic parts of speech, noun and verb, are mutually distinguished by their grammatical inflections. What the literature calls 'indeclinables', embracing such categories as adjective, adverb and postposition, appear formally to be defective nouns or verbs. Inflectional morphology appears to be more highly developed in Tamil than derivational morphology. Cross-categorical derivation is highly restricted; its function is instead borne by compounding. For example, after being open in Middle Tamil, the set of verb bases is now closed so that N→V or V→V derivational paths do not exist in the modern language. Both nouns and verbs occur in simple and compound forms.

### 4.4 Nominal Morphology

Nominals in Tamil serve a variety of functions. As in many other languages, they generally correspond to arguments in logical structure, may be associated with referential indices and may be used in address. Importantly, a noun in the nominative case may also function as a predicate nominal. Case marking serves

three purposes: it represents grammatical relations, helps form certain compounds and introduces adjuncts (roughly, NPs without  $\theta$ -roles) into clauses. The accusative case suffix *-ai* in (1a) marks the direct object of the verb. The nominative case noun *vātam* ‘discourse’ in (1b) is the form this lexeme takes when it is compounded. The nominative case NP *anta nā!* ‘that day’ in (1c) introduces an adverbial adjunct.

- (1) a. *avaṇ* NP[*paiyaṇ-ai*] *aṭi-tt-āṇ*.  
 that.man-nom boy-acc beat-pst-3sm  
 ‘He beat (the) boy.’
- b.  $\vee$ [<sub>N</sub>[*vātam*]<sub>N</sub> *cey.y-a*]<sub>V</sub>  
 discourse-nom make-inf  
 ‘to debate’
- c. *avaṇ* ADV[*anta nā!*] *va-nt-āṇ*.  
 that.man-nom that day-nom come-pst-3sm  
 ‘He came (on) that day.’

Nouns grammatically mark gender, number and case. Unlike Old Tamil, predicate nominals are not inflected to agree with their subjects. Gender is based on natural, not grammatical, classes. The two basic genders are *uyartiṇai* ‘rational’ and *aḱṛiṇai* ‘non-rational’, roughly corresponding to human and non-human. Human nouns are further classified as masculine, feminine or honorific. Gender determines, for example, the choice between the human locative case marker *-iṭam* and the non-human *-il* (in spoken Tamil, *-kiṭṭe* and *-le*). Gender is also relevant to the selection of verbs: the verb ‘take’ has different interpretations according to gender. Non-human objects select the compound verb *koṇṭu vara* ‘bring’ (lit. ‘hold and come’) while human objects select the compound *azaittu.k koṇṭu vara* ‘bring’ (lit. ‘call, hold and come’).

Tamil nouns distinguish singular and plural number in eight cases: nominative ( $\emptyset$ ), accusative (*-ai*), dative (*-(k)ku*), sociative (*-ōṭu*), genitive (*-uṭaiya*), instrumental (*-ā!*), locative *-iṭam/-il*, and ablative *-iṭamiruntul/-iliruntu*. Formally, the morphemes combine in the order noun stem, number and case. Singular is the unmarked number, nominative the unmarked case. In the singular, the non-nominative cases combine with an oblique stem, which in some cases is the same as the nominative. From one perspective, Modern Tamil has a single declension: once the gender and the phonological shape of a noun are known, all its remaining forms can be determined. As an example, four nouns are declined in Table 4.2.

The nominative case serves as the subject of a sentence, as in (2a). As the unmarked case, it serves several other functions. Predicate nominals appear in the nominative case (2b), as do indefinite inanimate direct objects (2c) and adverbial adjuncts (2d).

**Table 4.2 Singular and plural noun declension in Modern Tamil**

	Singular <i>maṇitaṅ</i> 'man'	<i>kālam</i> 'time'	<i>nāṭu</i> 'country'	<i>ī</i> 'fly'
Oblique stem	<i>maṇitaṅ-</i>	<i>kālatt-</i>	<i>nāṭt-</i>	<i>ī-y-</i>
Nominative	<i>maṇitaṅ</i>	<i>kālam</i>	<i>nāṭu</i>	<i>ī</i>
Accusative	<i>maṇitaṅ-ai</i>	<i>kālatt-ai</i>	<i>nāṭt-ai</i>	<i>ī-y-ai</i>
Dative	<i>maṇitaṅ-ukku</i>	<i>kālatt-ukku</i>	<i>nāṭt-ukku</i>	<i>ī-kku</i>
Sociative	<i>maṇitaṅ-ōṭu</i>	<i>kālatt-ōṭu</i>	<i>nāṭt-ōṭu</i>	<i>ī-y-ōṭu</i>
Genitive	<i>maṇitaṅ-ūṭaiya</i>	<i>kālatt-ūṭaiya</i>	<i>nāṭt-ūṭaiya</i>	<i>ī-y-ūṭaiya</i>
Instrumental	<i>maṇitaṅ-āl</i>	<i>kālatt-āl</i>	<i>nāṭt-āl</i>	<i>ī-y-āl</i>
Locative	<i>maṇitaṅ-iṭam</i>	<i>kālatt-il</i>	<i>nāṭt-il</i>	<i>ī-y-il</i>
Ablative	<i>maṇitaṅ-iṭamiruntu</i>	<i>kālatt-iliruntu</i>	<i>nāṭt-iliruntu</i>	<i>ī-y-iliruntu</i>
	Plural <i>maṇitar-kaḷ</i>	<i>kālaṅ-kaḷ</i>	<i>nāṭu-kaḷ</i>	<i>ī-k-kaḷ</i>
Nominative	<i>maṇitar-kaḷ</i>	<i>kālaṅ-kaḷ</i>	<i>nāṭu-kaḷ</i>	<i>ī-k-kaḷ</i>
Accusative	<i>maṇitar-kaḷ-ai</i>	<i>kālaṅ-kaḷ-ai</i>	<i>nāṭu-kaḷ-ai</i>	<i>ī-k-kaḷ-ai</i>
Dative	<i>maṇitar-kaḷ-ukku</i>	<i>kālaṅ-kaḷ-ukku</i>	<i>nāṭu-kaḷ-ukku</i>	<i>ī-k-kaḷ-ukku</i>
Sociative	<i>maṇitar-kaḷ-ōṭu</i>	<i>kālaṅ-kaḷ-ōṭu</i>	<i>nāṭu-kaḷ-ōṭu</i>	<i>ī-k-kaḷ-ōṭu</i>
Genitive	<i>maṇitar-kaḷ-ūṭaiya</i>	<i>kālaṅ-kaḷ-ūṭaiya</i>	<i>nāṭu-kaḷ-ūṭaiya</i>	<i>ī-k-kaḷ-ūṭaiya</i>
Instrumental	<i>maṇitar-kaḷ-āl</i>	<i>kālaṅ-kaḷ-āl</i>	<i>nāṭu-kaḷ-āl</i>	<i>ī-k-kaḷ-āl</i>
Locative	<i>maṇitar-kaḷ-iṭam</i>	<i>kālaṅ-kaḷ-il</i>	<i>nāṭu-kaḷ-il</i>	<i>ī-k-kaḷ-il</i>
Ablative	<i>maṇitar-kaḷ-iṭamiruntu</i>	<i>kālaṅ-kaḷ-iliruntu</i>	<i>nāṭu-kaḷ-iliruntu</i>	<i>ī-k-kaḷ-iliruntu</i>

- (2) a. *avaṅ va-nt-āṅ.*  
that.man-nom come-pst-3sm  
'He came.'
- b. *avaṅ nalla maṇitaṅ.*  
that.man-nom good man-nom  
'He is a good man.'
- c. *avaṅ oru pustakam vāṅk-iṅ-āṅ.*  
that.man-nom one book-nom buy-pst-3sm  
'He bought a book.'
- d. *avaṅ mūṅru nāḷ taṅk-iṅ-āṅ.*  
that.man-nom three day-nom stay-pst-3sm  
'He stayed three days.'

The accusative case marks the direct object of a verb. When the direct object is human, the accusative case marker is obligatory (3a). When the object is non-human, as in (3b), the presence of the accusative case marker signals definiteness.

- (3) a. *nāṇ avaṇ-ai.p pāṛ-tt-ēṇ.*  
 I-nom that.man-acc see-pst-1s  
 'I saw him.'
- b. *nāṇ anta.p pustakatt-ai vāṅk-iṇ-ēṇ.*  
 I-nom that book-acc buy-pst-1s  
 'I bought that book.'

The dative case marks the indirect object of a transitive verb (4a). It also marks the subject of a clause in certain constructions (4b–c); while these dative subjects do not control subject–verb agreement, they may serve as the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun, a capacity other datives – and, indeed, all other oblique case forms – lack.

- (4) a. *nāṇ avaṇ-ukku anta.p pustakatt-ai.k koṭu-tt-ēṇ.*  
 I-nom that.man-dat that book-acc give-pst-1s  
 'I gave that book to him.'
- b. *avaṇ-ukku oru makaṇ.*  
 that.man-dat one son-nom  
 'He has a son.'
- c. *avaṇ-ukku caṅkītam piṭi-kk-um.*  
 that.man-dat music-nom like-fut-3sn  
 'He likes music.'

The sociative case conveys the general notion of accompaniment or instrument.

- (5) *nāṇ avaṇ-ōṭu aṅkē pōy iru-kkiṛ-ēṇ.*  
 I-nom that.man-soc there go-cn timer be-prs-1s  
 'I have gone there with him.'

The genitive case signals possession and similar notions. It is a purely adnominal case: it marks the relation of one noun phrase to another rather than to a verb or clause.

- (6) *nāṇ avaṇ-uṭaiya vīṭṭukku.p pōy va-nt-ēṇ.*  
 I-nom that.man-gen house-dat go-cn timer come-pst-1s  
 'I came back from his house.'

The instrumental case marks an instrument or cause. In passive sentences (7b), it marks the demoted subject.

- (7) a. *avaṅ oru pārkkar pen.n-āl anta.k kaṭitattai*  
 that.man-nom one Parker pen-inst that letter-acc  
*eḻut-iṅ-āṅ.*  
 write-pst-3sm  
 'He wrote that letter with a Parker Pen.'
- b. *rāvaṇaṅ rāmaṅ-āl aṭikka.p pāṭ-ṭ-āṅ.*  
 Ravana-nom Rama-inst beat-inf befall-pst-3sm  
 'Ravana was beaten by Rama.'

The locative case, as its name suggests, conveys location. The gender of the noun determines the case marker: *-il* for non-human, *-iṭam* for human. Possessive constructions such as (8b) appear to have locative subjects, but without more study of their subject-coding properties, this proposal remains speculative.

- (8) a. *avaṅ anta.k kōyil-il uṭkār-nt-āṅ.*  
 that.man-nom that temple-loc sit-pst-3sm  
 'He sat in that temple.'
- b. *eṅ-iṭam paṇam iru-kkiṛ-atu.*  
 I-loc money-nom be-prs-3sn  
 'I have money (on me).'

The ablative case marks the source of a motion. As the ablative is a composite form in Tamil, incorporating the locative case marker, it has one form for non-human nouns, *-iliruntu*, and another for human, *-iṭamiruntu*.

- (9) a. *rāmaṅ ūr-iliruntu varu-v-āṅ.*  
 Raman-nom town-abl come-fut-3sm  
 'Raman will come from (his) village.'
- b. *nāṅ rāmaṅ-iṭamiruntu paṇam vāṅk-iṅ-ēṅ.*  
 I-nom Raman-abl money-nom get-pst-1s  
 'I received some money from Raman.'

The vocative case, used in address, may be formed in several ways. One common method is to add a clitic particle, e.g. =*ē*, to the nominative or oblique stem of the noun, *kaṭaikkāraṅ=ē* 'O shopkeeper'. Another is to drop the final *-n* of a masculine noun and lengthen the final vowel, e.g. nom. *kaṅṅaṅ* 'Kannan' and voc. *kaṅṅā* 'O Kannan'.

In addition to case, Tamil uses postpositions to signal more specific relations between nouns and other components of a clause. These historically derive from independent nouns or verbs: *pārttu* 'towards' in (10a) is the conjunctive form of the verb *pārka* 'look at'. Like the verb from which it derives, it governs the accusative case of the noun it combines with; unlike the source verb, it cannot subcategorise its own subject or adverbial modifiers. The postposition *varaikkum* 'until, up to' in (10b) comes from the dative case of the noun *varai* 'limit,

boundary' and the inclusive clitic =um 'all, and'.

- (10) a. *avaṅ* NP[kōyil-ai.p pārttu.p] pōy iru-kkir-āṅ.  
 that.man-nom temple-acc towards go-cnj be-prs-1s  
 'He has gone towards the temple.'
- b. *avaṅ* NP[ēzu maṇi varaikkum] vēlai cey-kir-āṅ.  
 that.man-nom seven o'clock until work-nom do-prs-3sm  
 'He works until seven o'clock.'

Modern Tamil has no formal class of articles; other grammatical devices serve their function. The numeral *oru* 'one' may serve as an indefinite article. Further, by way of contrast, the absence of *oru* with a human noun may convey the notion of a definite article, e.g. [*oru manitaṅ*] 'a man' vs [*Ø manitaṅ*] 'the man'. The distal deictic adjective *anta* 'that' may also combine with a noun to signal definiteness, e.g. *anta manitaṅ* 'that man'. Non-human direct objects are interpreted as indefinite when they occur in the nominative case, e.g. *nāṅ maram pārttēṅ* 'I<sub>1</sub> saw<sub>3</sub> a tree<sub>2</sub>', but as definite when they occur in the accusative *nāṅ maratt-ai.p pārttēṅ* 'I<sub>1</sub> saw<sub>3</sub> the tree<sub>2</sub>'.

The personal pronouns of Modern Tamil appear in Table 4.3. This system formalises the distinction between first person inclusive and exclusive plural. The personal pronouns of Tamil exhibit a fair degree of variation. For example, the first person inclusive plural may be pronounced as *nāmpa* or *nāma*. The genitive is marked by a variety of cases and postpositions, including a zero marker: *eṅ*, *eṅṅuṭaiya*, *eṅṅiṅ*, and *eṅṅōṭa* all mark the first person singular genitive, viz. 'my'. While the phonological shape of most pronouns in spoken Tamil can be transparently derived from their written counterparts, the locative and ablative cases for human nouns cannot. In written Tamil the locative and ablative case markers for human nouns are *-iṭam* and *-iṭamiruntu*, while in spoken Tamil they are *-kiṭte* and *-kiṭteruntu*.

Some dialects, particularly those centred on Tinnevely, include a second person honorific pronoun *nīr*, which was a plural in Old Tamil. The reflexive pronouns typically require an antecedent in the third person, although the antecedent need not be in the same clause as the pronoun. However, the reflexive plural may also serve as a second person honorific pronoun. The remaining third person pronouns illustrated below are deictic, and are more precisely translated as 'that man', 'that woman', 'those people', etc. All of them have counterparts that mark proximal deixis, e.g. *ivaṅ* 'this man', *ival* 'this woman', *ivar* 'these people', *itu* 'this thing', etc. The third person neuter plural pronouns are largely absent from spoken Tamil.

The more common interrogative pronouns include *yār* 'who', *eṅṅa* 'what', *eṅkē* 'where', *eṅ* 'why', *eppaṭi* 'how', *evaṅ* 'which man', *eval* 'which woman'. Third person pronouns are reduplicated to indicate distribution, as in *avaṅavaṅ* 'various men', *yāryār* 'who all', etc. Indefinite pronouns are formed by joining clitics to third person pronouns: in *yār=um vara.v illai* 'no one came' the

**Table 4.3 Personal pronouns of Modern Tamil**

<i>First person</i>			
	Singular	Exclusive plural	Inclusive plural
Nominative	nāṇ	nāṅkaḷ	nām
Accusative	eṇṇ-ai	eṅkaḷ-ai	namm-ai
Dative	eṇa-kku	eṅkaḷ-ukku	namakku
Sociative	eṇṇ-ōṭu	eṅkaḷ-ōṭu	namm-ōṭu
Genitive	eṇṇ-uṭaiya	eṅkaḷ-uṭaiya	namm-uṭaiya
Instrumental	eṇṇ-āl	eṅkaḷ-āl	namm-āl
Locative	eṇṇ-iṭam	eṅkaḷ-iṭam	namm-iṭam
Ablative	eṇṇ-iṭamiruntu	eṅkaḷ-iṭamiruntu	namm-iṭamiruntu
<i>Second person</i>			
	Singular	Plural	
Nominative	nī	nīṅkaḷ	
Accusative	uṇṇ-ai	uṅkaḷ-ai	
Dative	uṇa-kku	uṅkaḷ-ukku	
Sociative	uṇṇ-ōṭu	uṅkaḷ-ōṭu	
Genitive	uṇṇ-uṭaiya	uṅkaḷ-uṭaiya	
Instrumental	uṇṇ-āl	uṅkaḷ-āl	
Locative	uṇṇ-iṭam	uṅkaḷ-iṭam	
Ablative	uṇṇ-iṭamiruntu	uṅkaḷ-iṭamiruntu	
<i>Third person reflexive</i>			
	Singular	Plural	
Nominative	tāṇ	tāṅkaḷ	
Accusative	taṇṇ-ai	taṅkaḷ-ai	
Dative	taṇ-akku	taṅkaḷ-ukku	
Sociative	taṇṇ-ōṭu	taṅkaḷ-ōṭu	
Genitive	taṇṇ-uṭaiya	taṅkaḷ-uṭaiya	
Instrumental	taṇṇ-āl	taṅkaḷ-āl	
Locative	taṇṇ-iṭam	taṅkaḷ-iṭam	
Ablative	taṇṇ-iṭamiruntu	taṅkaḷ-iṭamiruntu	
<i>Third person deictic</i>			
	Masculine singular	Feminine singular	Human plural
Nominative	avaṇ	avaḷ	avar
Accusative	avaṇ-ai	avaḷ-ai	avar-ai
Dative	avaṇ-ukku	avaḷ-ukku	avar-ukku
Sociative	avaṇ-ōṭu	avaḷ-ōṭu	avar-ōṭu
Genitive	avaṇ-uṭaiya	avaḷ-uṭaiya	avar-uṭaiya
Instrumental	avaṇ-āl	avaḷ-āl	avar-āl
Locative	avaṇ-iṭam	avaḷ-iṭam	avar-iṭam
Ablative	avaṇ-iṭamiruntu	avaḷ-iṭamiruntu	avar-iṭamiruntu
<i>Third person deictic</i>			
	Neuter singular		Neuter plural
Nominative	atu		avaikaḷ
Accusative	at-ai		avaikaḷ-ai
Dative	at-ukku		avaikaḷ-ukku
Sociative	at-ōṭu		avaikaḷ-ōṭu
Genitive	at.aṇ-uṭaiya		avaikaḷ-uṭaiya
Instrumental	at.aṇ-āl		avaikaḷ-āl
Locative	at.aṇ-il		avaikaḷ-il
Ablative	at.aṇ-iliruntu		avaikaḷ-iliruntu

universalising clitic =*um* ‘and, all’ is joined to *yār* ‘who’; in *yār=āvatu* the clitic =*avatu* ‘or’ (in modal contexts) is joined to *yār* ‘who’; in ‘someone’, *ēṇ=ō* ‘some reason or other (lit. somewhy)’ =*ō* ‘or, some’ is joined to *ēṇ* ‘why’.

### 4.5 Verb Morphology

Tamil verbs formally consist of a lexical stem and a set of bound suffixes. The stem consists of a base and, optionally, a set of stem-forming suffixes. Bases typically correspond to predicates in logical structure, while verb suffixes correspond to such morphosyntactic functions as agreement, co-ordination or subordination. As noted below, some verbs, particularly *āka* ‘become’ and *ēṇa* ‘say’, have lost their lexical meaning and now serve primarily syntactic functions.

The set of verb bases in Modern Tamil is effectively closed so that a form might be identified as a verb by reference to the base it incorporates. However, the existence of a derivational path from verb to noun – the opposite path, from noun to verb, is not well motivated – makes this criterion only necessary, but not sufficient, for identifying a verb form. Reference must also be made to the suffixes accompanying the stem and the grammatical categories they represent.

All verb forms encode the verbal category of mood: this category qualifies the narrated event as either actual (indicative) or potential (modal). The past and present finite and non-finite forms, as well as the conjunctive, are indicative; all other forms are modal. Mood is a cryptotype: while there is no specific morpheme for either indicative or modal forms, certain syntactic phenomena are sensitive to this distinction. For example, the indefinite quantifiers *yār=ō* ‘someone’ and *yār=āvatu* ‘someone’ respond to this category: *yār=ō* co-occurs only with indicative forms, *yār=āvatu* only with modal forms.

Fully 60 per cent of all verb bases have two related stems, one weak, the other strong. This distinction corresponds to a semantic one: weak stems encode what Paramasivam (1979) calls affective voice; strong stems, effective voice. The distinction is not one of transitivity or valence: there are numerous minimal pairs of transitive verbs, one affective and the other effective. An affective verb characterises the action of the verb as affecting the subject (11a); an effective verb characterises the action of the verb as being directed or carried out by the subject (11b). Further, effective verbs do not behave like true causative forms. The affective verb in (11a) is signalled by the ‘weak’ *-k-*; the effective verb in (11b), by the ‘strong’ *-kk-*.

- (11) a. *vaṇṭi pātai.y-iliruntu vila+k-i.y-atu.*  
 cart-nom path-abl separate+aff-pst-3sn  
 ‘The cart moved off the path.’
- b. *avaṇ vaṇṭi.y-ai pātai.y-iliruntu vila+kk-iṅ-āṇ.*  
 that.man-nom cart-acc path-abl separate+eff-pst-3sm  
 ‘He moved the cart off the path.’

The modern language also includes some causative stems which are formed by suffixing *-vi/-ppi* to a verb stem. As Lehmann observes (Chapter 3), the morphological causative is restricted in the modern language whereas the syntactic causative (12), consisting of a compound verb, is in general use.

- (12)  $so[ācīriyar \quad māṇavaṅ-ai \quad S_1[veḷiyil \quad niṟ-ka]_{S_1} \quad vai-tt-ār]_{S_0}$   
 teacher-nom student-acc outside-loc stand-inf place-pst-3hon  
 'The teacher made/caused the student to stand outside.'

A handful of stems exhibit morphophonemic variation under the influence of a following negative morpheme, e.g. *iru-* 'be located' vs *il-* 'not be located'.

Tamil grammarians recognise seven morphophonemically distinct conjugational patterns, which are largely predictable by the phonological shape of the root and by its voice, viz. whether it is affective or effective, so that the number of classes may ultimately be reduced. Table 4.4 gives the conjugation of the affective verb *piriya* 'separate'; it is paired with the effective verb *pirikka* 'separate'.

Inflected verbs in Tamil are finite or non-finite. Finite verbs mark both tense and subject-verb agreement; non-finite verbs do not. Finite verbs occur only in restricted contexts in the syntactic structure of a sentence; they typically mark the end of a sentence. All other verbs must be non-finite.

Subject-verb agreement does not mechanically copy inherent features of a subject onto a finite verb. Consider the polite request *tāṅkaḷ vārunkaḷ* 'please come', whose subject *tāṅkaḷ* 'self' is a third person plural reflexive pronoun and whose verb is a second person plural imperative. The referent here is clearly second person and singular. The verb agrees with the underlying (intended) person but with the surface number. This and other examples show that subject-verb agreement in Tamil actually comprises a family of closely related rules (see Steever 1981, Chapter 6).

Non-finite verbs divide into two broad sets according to their combinatoric properties. The first set, called *viṅaiyeccam* 'verbs that anticipate another verb' in traditional grammar, includes those non-finite verbs that combine with a following verb, with or without other intervening grammatical material: the conjunctive (*piri-ntu*), the infinitive (*piri.y-a*), the conditional (*piri-ntāl*), the negative (*piri.y-āmall/piri.y-ātu*), and the negative conditional (*piri.y-āviṅṅāl*). Their use implies the existence of another verb – more generally, a predicate – elsewhere in the sentence with which the non-finite forms are construed.

The second set of non-finite verbs, called *peyareccam* 'verbs that anticipate a noun', includes those verb forms that combine with a following nominal to form a variety of structures. When these adnominal forms combine with a following noun, a number of structures may be formed, including relative clauses, e.g. *va-nt-a maṅṅitaṅ* '(the) man<sub>2</sub> who.came<sub>1</sub>', factive clauses, e.g. *vanta ceyti* '(the) news<sub>2</sub> that.X.came<sub>1</sub>' and adverbial adjuncts, e.g. *vanta pōtu* '(the) time<sub>2</sub> when.X.came<sub>1</sub>', all of which use the adnominal form *va-nt-a* 'which.came'.

**Table 4.4 Conjugation of *piriya***

**Finite verb forms**

	Past	Present	Future	Future negative
1 sing.	piri-nt-ēṇ	piri-kiṛ-ēṇ	piri-v-ēṇ	piriyā māṭṭ-ēṇ
2 sing.	piri-nt-āy	piri-kiṛ-āy	piri-v-āy	piriyā māṭṭ-āy
3 sing. (hon.)	piri-nt-ār	piri-kiṛ-ār	piri-v-ār	piriyā māṭṭ-ār
3 sing. (masc.)	piri-nt-āṇ	piri-kiṛ-āṇ	piri-v-āṇ	piriyā māṭṭ-āṇ
3 sing. (fem.)	piri-nt-āl	piri-kiṛ-āl	piri-v-āl	piriyā māṭṭ-āl
3 sing. (neut.)	piri-nt-atu	piri-kiṛ-atu	piri.y-um	piri.y-ātu
1 plur.	piri-nt-ōm	piri-kiṛ-ōm	piri-v-ōm	piriya māṭṭ-ōm
2 plur.	piri-nt-irkaḷ	piri-kiṛ-irkaḷ	piri-v-irkaḷ	piriya māṭṭ-irkaḷ
3 plur. (hum.)	piri-nt-ārkaḷ	piri-kiṛ-ārkaḷ	piri-v-ārkaḷ	piriyā māṭṭ-ārkaḷ
3 plur. (neut.)	piri-nt-aṇa	piri-kiṛ-aṇa	piri.y-um	piri.y-ātu

Non-future negative: *piriya.v illai* for all persons, numbers and genders.

	Imperative	Neg. imper.	Optative
Singular	piri	piri.y-ātē	
Plural (hon.)	piri.y-unkaḷ	piri.y-ātirkaḷ	piri-ka

**Non-finite verb forms**

	Past	Present	Future	Negative
Adnominal form	piri-nt-a	piri-kiṛ-a	piri.y-um	piri.y-āta
Verbal noun	piri-nt-atu	piri-kiṛ-atu	piri-v-atu	piri.y-āta
Infinitive	piri.y-a			
Conjunctive	piri-ntu			
Neg. verbal form	piri.y-āmal			
Conditional	piri-ntāl			
Neg. conditional	piri-āvittāl			
Deverbal nouns	piri-tal, piri-kai, piri-vu			

Non-finite forms serve two primary functions, illustrated in the section on syntax. With the severe restriction on the number and position of finite verbs in a sentence, they are instrumental in joining two or more phrases to create complex structures. And within a single clause, they serve to form compound verbs.

Beside simple verb forms, Tamil also possesses periphrastic forms consisting of two or more verb forms. Compound verbs syntactically combine two simple verb forms into a unit that functions as a single verb within the syntactic frame; despite the multiplicity of individual verb forms within a compound, there is just one set of arguments and modifiers for the entire compound, not one set for each of its components. The rich system of compound verbs has developed in response to three structural properties of Tamil: it extends the somewhat limited set of simple verb forms, compensates for the dearth of parts of speech and overcomes the virtual closure on the set of verb bases.

Tamil has two kinds of compound verb construction: auxiliary compound

verbs and lexical compound verbs. Auxiliary compound verbs extend the verbal resources of the language: the compound conveys grammatical categories that are not expressed by any simple verbal inflection of the language. For example, in the mainland dialects, the perfect tense is conveyed by periphrastic verb forms, e.g. *avaṅ vantu irukkīrāṅ* 'he<sub>1</sub> has<sub>3</sub> come<sub>2</sub>'. While Old Tamil had a synthetic negative conjugation, e.g. *vār-ēm* 'we do not come', the modern language expresses negation through compound verbs, e.g. *vara māṭṭ-āṅ* 'he.will.not<sub>2</sub> come<sub>1</sub>'. In fact, periphrastic verbs often compensate for the lack of a category of adverbs: Tamil lacks a negative adverb such as English *not*.

A variety of auxiliary compound verbs appear below: they mark such categories as tense, aspect, voice and mood. The auxiliary verb combines with the conjunctive form of the main verb in (13) and (14), but with the infinitive of the main verb in (15). In (13a) the auxiliary *irukka* 'be' marks perfect tense. The auxiliary *viṭa* 'leave, depart' marks temporal disjunction in (13b): one event ends before another begins. In (13c), however, it marks epistemic disjunction: the event named by the main verb contrasts with what the speaker expects. The auxiliary *koḷḷa* 'hold, contain' in (13d) marks conjunctive taxis: the occurrence of two events is represented as overlapping in time. The auxiliary *talḷa* 'push' in (13e) indicates that the activity named by the main verb occurs at an accelerated rate. And the auxiliary *koṭukka* 'give' in (13f) marks benefactive voice: the subject carries out an activity for someone else.

- (13) a. *ācīriyar anta.p putu kataiyai* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*eḻuti*]<sub>V2</sub> *irukkīrār*]<sub>V1</sub>  
author-nom that new story-acc write-cn j be-pr s-3hon  
'The author has written that new story.'
- b. *avaṅ* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*pāṭi*]<sub>V2</sub> *viṭtu.k*]<sub>V1</sub> *kuḷittāṅ*.  
he-nom sing-cn j leave-cn j bath-pst-3sm  
'After he sang, he bathed.'
- c. *tiruṭaṅ nakaiyai ellām* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*viṭtu*]<sub>V2</sub> *viṭtu.p*]<sub>V1</sub> *pōṇāṅ*  
thief-nom jewels-acc all leave-cn j leave-cn j go-pst-3sm  
'The thief went, leaving behind all the jewels.'
- d. *avaṅ* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*kuḷittu.k*]<sub>V2</sub> *koṇṭu*]<sub>V1</sub> *pāṭināṅ*.  
he-nom bathe-cn j hold-cn j sing-pst-3sm  
'While bathing, he sang.'
- e. *avaḷ oru mātatil reṇḍu nāvalai* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*eḻuti.t*]<sub>V2</sub> *talḷināḷ*]<sub>V1</sub>  
she-nom one month-loc two novel-acc write-cn j  
push-pst-3sf  
'She wrote two novels in one month!'
- f. *amma kuzantaikku.k kari* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*meṇru*]<sub>V2</sub> *koṭuttāḷ*]<sub>V1</sub>  
mother-nom child-dat meat chew-cn j give-pst-3f  
'The mother chewed the meat for the child.'

The auxiliary verbs illustrated in (14) mark the verbal category of attitude,

which characterises the speaker's subjective evaluation of the narrated event. In short, these auxiliaries convey the speaker's opinion – usually a pejorative one – about the subject-matter of the sentence. The auxiliary *tolaiya* 'be lost' in (14a) signals the speaker's antipathy towards the activity named by the main verb. The auxiliary *oziya* 'purge' in (14b) conveys not only the speaker's antipathy towards an event, but also terminative aspect. These two semantic elements combine in the one auxiliary to convey the speaker's relief that the event is over. Auxiliary *kizikka* 'tear' in (14c) combines the speaker's negative attitude towards an activity with an element of tense. Its use indicates the speaker's opinion that the event cannot be accomplished, or carried through, and in this, it is the antithesis of the perfect tense series. Annamalai (1982) and Steever (1983) discuss these and other auxiliaries in detail.

- (14) a. *avan* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*vantu*]<sub>V2</sub> *tolaintāṇ*]<sub>V1</sub>  
 he-nom come-cnj lose-aff-pst-3sm  
 'He came here, damn it.'
- b. *vīṭṭu tarakan* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*pōy*]<sub>V2</sub> *ozintāṇ*]<sub>V1</sub>.  
 house broker-nom go-cnj purge-pst-3sm  
 'The real estate broker left (whew, am I ever glad).'
- c. *kutirai* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*ōṭi.k*]<sub>V2</sub> *kizittatu*]<sub>V1</sub>.  
 horse-nom run-cnj tear-pst-3n  
 'The horse can't run well, sure it can't.'

The auxiliary verbs in (15) all combine with the infinitive form of the main verb, and all convey mood. In (15a), auxiliary *irukka* 'be' expresses prospective tense. In (15b), auxiliary *kūṭātu* 'should not' expresses prohibition and in (15c) auxiliary *vēṇṭam* 'must not' conveys necessity.

- (15) a. *avan aṅkē* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*pōka*]<sub>V2</sub> *irukkirāṇ*]<sub>V1</sub>  
 he-nom that.place go-inf be-prs-3sm  
 'He is to go there.'
- b. *aṭikkiraveyilil* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*naṭantu pōka*]<sub>V2</sub> *kūṭātu*]<sub>V1</sub>  
 beating.sunshine-loc walk-cnj go-inf should-neg-3sn  
 'One should not walk in the beating sunshine.'
- c. *appaṭi* <sub>V1</sub>[<sub>V2</sub>[*colla*]<sub>V2</sub> *vēṇṭam*]<sub>V1</sub>  
 that.way speak-inf must.neg-3sn  
 'One must not speak that way.'

Lexical compound verbs make up for the virtual closure on the set of verb bases in the language. They are complex morphosyntactic vehicles, consisting of two or more verbs, that encode lexical meanings not encoded in any single lexeme. The lexical compound *kiṭṭa vara* 'approach' consists of an inflected form of *kiṭṭa* 'be near' and the verb *vara* 'come', viz. 'come so that one is near'. The compound verb *koṇṭu vara* 'bring', noted earlier, consists of an inflected form of the

verb *koḷḷa* ‘hold’ and *vara* ‘come’. Further, extensive N + V compounding enlarges the set of verbs. The compound *vēlai ceyya* ‘work’ consists of the noun *vēlai* ‘work, job’ and the verb *ceyya* ‘do, make’; the compound *caikkiḷ aṭikka* ‘to bicycle’ consists of the noun *caikkiḷ* ‘(bi)cycle’ and the verb *aṭikka* ‘beat, stroke’; the compound *mukam malara* ‘smile’ consists of the noun *mukam* ‘face’ and the verb *malara* ‘bloom’.

The imperative and optative are finite verb forms. While for the majority of verbs, the verb base is homophonous with the singular imperative, a number of verbs have a distinct imperative form, e.g. the verb ‘come’ has the verb base *varu-*, but the singular imperative *vā* ‘come’. The imperative has four basic forms: singular, plural, negative singular and negative plural. A number of other individual finite verb forms may be listed here, such as the hortative in *-alām*, e.g. *pōk-alām* ‘let’s go’ and the permissive in *-aṭṭum*, e.g. *pōk-aṭṭum* ‘let him/her/ them/it go’.

#### 4.6 Minor Parts of Speech

When enumerating the parts of speech, all grammars of Tamil readily list nouns and verbs; but beyond this, consensus rapidly deteriorates. Different grammars present different parts of speech, including, almost haphazardly, such parts of speech as adjective, adverb, conjunction, particle and postposition. Many forms included in these minor parts of speech transparently derive from nouns or verbs: the so-called adverb *ippōtu* ‘now’ is formally a compound noun consisting of *i-* ‘this thing’ and *pōtu* ‘time’ while the putative subordinating conjunction *enru* ‘saying’ is formally the conjunctive form of the verb *ena* ‘say’. While recognising this fact, some grammars argue that such forms are specialised uses of lexemes that have over the course of time come to be frozen in a given form. In short, these are words with defective morphology, incapable of participating in the full range of nominal or verbal inflection. Yet, to say that a form is a defective noun or verb is still to say that it is a noun or verb.

The putative category of adjectives illustrates this debate. In the NP *oru nalla nāl* ‘a/one<sub>1</sub> good<sub>2</sub> day<sub>3</sub>’, the form *nalla* ‘good’ is taken to be an adjective because it cannot directly bear nominal inflections. Alternatively, it can be analysed as the defective noun *nal-* ‘good thing’, one that must occur in a compound but never as the head, viz. in a position where it must bear inflectional morphology. The form *nalla* ‘good’ is thus a combining form of the noun. The form *nal-* does participate in nominal derivational morphology, as in *nal.l-avan* ‘good man’, *naṅ-mai* ‘goodness’. It is of typological interest that the forms commonly listed among ‘adjectives’ are words indicating colour, size and basic qualities.

To say that Tamil lacks such formally defined parts of speech as conjunctions and adverbs is not to say that the language lacks grammatical devices that perform the functions traditionally associated with such forms in Western European languages. Non-finite verb forms figure prominently among the devices used to perform functions that, in English or German, would be carried out with a

conjunction or adverb.

Clitic particles also perform functions that quantifiers and conjunctions perform in other language types. Clitics are not free forms, but must occur bound to their host as part of the phonological word. Unlike the words they are bound to, Tamil clitics are generally monomorphemic. They are exclusively postclitic, and serve many important syntactic and pragmatic functions, from conjunction and subordination to emphasis. Consider the clitic =*ō* ‘or, whether, some’ in the examples below. In (16a), it serves as a co-ordinating conjunction between two NPs, in (16b) it functions as a subordinating conjunction in a dubitative construction and in (16c) it combines with a single interrogative pronoun to form an indefinite NP.

- (16) a. NP<sub>1</sub>[NP<sub>2</sub>[*kamala.v*]NP<sub>2</sub>=*ō* NP<sub>3</sub>[*carōja.v*]NP<sub>3</sub>=*ō*]NP<sub>1</sub> *varu-v-āḷ*.  
           Kamala-nom=or Saroja-nom=or                    come-fut-3sf  
           ‘Either Kamala or Saroja will come.’
- b. S<sub>1</sub>[S<sub>2</sub>[*avan*                    *varu-v-āḷ*]S<sub>2</sub>=*ō* *eṇakku.t*  
           that.man-nom come-fut-3sm=or I-dat  
           *teriyātu*]S<sub>1</sub>.  
           be.known-neg-fut-3sn  
           ‘I don’t know whether he will come.’
- c. *yār=ō*                    *va-nt-āṇ*.  
           who-nom=or come-pst-3sm  
           ‘Someone (or other) came.’

### 4.7 Syntax

Tamil constituent structure is head-final and left-branching so that, for example, a complement clause precedes its matrix instead of following it. Syntactic categories are not as elaborate as in many other languages, due partly to the dearth of basic lexical categories and partly to the system of verbal inflections. Tamil is a non-configurational language: no compelling evidence has been presented for structures such as a VP which may be used to define grammatical relations such as ‘object of’. As the discussion of morphology above suggests, Tamil deploys its morphological and lexical devices to perform certain grammatical functions where other languages use syntactic devices. Explicit case marking of nouns conveys information which in English is conveyed by word order or syntactic category; non-finite verb forms such as the conjunctive and adnominal forms encode information which in other languages is expressed by such devices as conjunctions or relative pronouns.

The basic order of constituents in the Tamil clause is subject–object–predicate. Although predicates may be either nouns or verbs, word-order generalisations are expressed in terms of verbs because these show the greatest variety in subcategorisation features among predicates; hence, the basic order is SOV. In conformity with robust SOV typology, the following harmonic general-

isations apply: genitives precede the nouns they modify, postpositions are used instead of prepositions, auxiliaries follow main verbs and matrix clauses follow their complements. Though explicit noun morphology allows some freedom in word order, verbs remain at the right end of their clause: since they mark the clause boundary, they are displaced from that position only in marked circumstances.

The Tamil noun phrase minimally consists of a nominal, optionally preceded by a variety of modifiers. The nominal in head position, i.e. at the extreme right, bears the inflections imposed by the syntactic context. Modifiers are distinguished according to function, rather than form, and include quantifiers, demonstratives and adjectives. Certain quantifiers may be postposed after the noun they modify; thus, the quantifier *ellā* ‘all’ in (17a) may be optionally postposed rightward over the adjective and noun, as in (17b).

- (17) a. *ellā nalla puttakaṅkaḷ=um*  
 all good book-pl=and  
 ‘all good books’  
 b. *nalla puttakaṅkaḷ ellā=m*  
 good book-pl all=and  
 ‘all good books’

Since such quantifiers are formally nouns – they take case endings – the basic rule of noun-last is preserved. The claim that Tamil lacks the formal category of adjective, discussed earlier, bears on the internal structure of noun phrases: it suggests that many Tamil NPs are in fact large compound nouns. Contrary to this proposal is the fact that the order of modifiers is often fixed, suggesting that ‘adjective’ is functionally defined by position, rather than by form.

The verbal group minimally consists of a verb, simple or periphrastic. No evidence has been adduced that Tamil has a verb phrase constituent, one that combines a noun and a verb and so defines such notions as ‘object of’. Adverbs, a functional not a formal category, are treated as adjuncts of a clause or phrase rather than adjuncts of a verb.

The simple sentence in Modern Tamil consists of a subject and predicate. The subject may appear in the nominative or dative case; the predicate may be nominal or verbal. Combining the two kinds of subject with the two kinds of predicate gives rise to four basic sentence types, illustrated below. Note that predicate nominals have the same distribution as finite verb forms in the Tamil sentence.

- (18) a.  $s[{}_{NP1}[avan]{}_{NP1} {}_{NP2}[manitan]{}_{NP2}]_S$   
 that.man-nom man-nom  
 ‘He is a man.’  
 b.  $s[{}_{NP}[avan]{}_{NP} v[va-nt-ān]_V]_S$   
 that.man-nom come-pst-3sm  
 ‘He came.’

- c. S[NP<sub>1</sub>[*avan-ukku*]<sub>NP1</sub> NP<sub>2</sub>[*oru makan*]<sub>NP2</sub>]<sub>S</sub>  
 that.man-dat one son-nom  
 'He has a son.'
- d. S[NP<sub>1</sub>[*avan-ukku.k*]<sub>NP1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>[*kōpam*]<sub>NP2</sub> V[*va-nt-atu*]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>S</sub>  
 that.man-dat anger-nom come-pst-3sn  
 'He got angry.'

The most common type, represented in (18b), has a subject in the nominative case and a verbal predicate. This type also exhibits the greatest syntactic flexibility and variation, thanks primarily to the extensive variety of subcategorisation and selection features exhibited by verbs. As this type is the least marked, generalisations concerning Tamil word order are stated in terms of subject, object and verb, as above.

Speech acts, such as declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives and the like, are not syntactically differentiated. They are instead realised by modifying the four basic sentence types through phonological, morphological or lexical means. A rising intonation at the end of a sentence can signal an interrogative sentence (19a). Questions may also be formed by the use of a clitic particle, such as =*ā* (19b), or an interrogative pronoun (19c). The use of an imperative verb form may signal an order (19d).

- (19) a. *rāman nālaikku varu-v-ān*↑  
 Raman-nom tomorrow come-fut-3sm  
 'Will Raman come tomorrow?'
- b. *avan nērru va-nt-ān=ā*?  
 that.man-nom yesterday come-pst-3sm=int  
 'Did he come yesterday?'
- c. *kaṇṇan eppoḻutu varu-kir-ān*?  
 Kannan-nom when come-prs-3sm  
 'When is Kannan coming?'
- d. *oru kāppi koṭuṅka*l.  
 one coffee give-imp-pl  
 'Give (me) a coffee.'

Tamil is a pro-drop language. As finite verbs indicate the person, number and gender of the subject, the subject may be obviated without recourse to pronominal substitutes. Pleonastic subjects are rarely used so that the pattern *iṭṭikiratu* 'it thunders' without a nominal subject is far more common than the pattern *ā! varrāṅka* 'someone<sub>1</sub> is.coming<sub>2</sub>' with a 'dummy subject'.

Finiteness is an essential ingredient of the Tamil sentence. Although our earlier discussion of verbs divides them morphologically into finite and non-finite forms, finiteness is primarily a syntactic property of the Tamil sentence (Steever 1988). As a first approximation, each sentence has one finite predicate, which occurs rightmost and highest in the syntax structure, c-commands all other

predicates and is itself c-commanded by none. All other predicates are non-finite. Finite predicates are then morphologically interpreted according to their basic lexical category. Verbs take tense/negation and subject–verb agreement markers. Nouns take the nominative case, although in Old Tamil they also bore subject–predicate concord markers. This rule, while unremarkable for simple sentences, has important consequences for the structure of complex sentences.

#### 4.7.1 Complex Sentences

Tamil lacks a separate lexical category of conjunctions. Subordination and co-ordination are carried out by verb morphology. All complex structures are formed using such non-finite verb forms as the conjunctive, infinitive or conditional. These forms mark dependent clauses; they anticipate another predicate.

- (20) a.  $s_0[s_1[mazai \text{ } pey\text{-}tu]_{S1} \text{ } s_2[veyil \text{ } a\dot{t}i\text{-}ttu]_{S2} \text{ } s_3[v\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}vil$   
rain-nom pour-cnj sunshine-nom beat-cnj rainbow-nom  
 $t\ddot{o}n\ddot{r}\text{-}i.y\text{-}atu]_{S3}]_{S0}$   
appear-pst-3sn  
‘It rained, the sun shone and a rainbow appeared.’
- b.  $s_0[n\ddot{a}n \text{ } s_1[kum\ddot{a}r \text{ } k\ddot{a}r \text{ } \ddot{o}t.t\text{-}i.p]_{S1} \text{ } p\ddot{a}r\text{-}tt\text{-}\ddot{e}n]_{S0}$   
I-nom Kumar-nom car-nom drive-cnj see-pst-1s  
‘I saw Kumar driving a car.’
- c.  $s_0[n\ddot{a}n \text{ } avan\text{-}ai \text{ } s_1[vara.c]_{S1} \text{ } con\text{-}n\text{-}\ddot{e}n]_{S0}$   
I-nom that.man-acc come-inf tell-pst-1s  
‘I told him to come.’
- d.  $s_0[s_1[makan \text{ } kall\ddot{u}rikku.c \text{ } cel.l\text{-}a]_{S1} \text{ } s_2[app\ddot{a} \text{ } vayil\text{-}il$   
son-nom college-dat go-inf father-nom field-loc  
 $p\ddot{a}tupa.t\text{-}t\text{-}\ddot{a}r]_{S2}]_{S0}$   
toil-pst-3hon  
‘As the father toiled in the field, his son went to college.’  
‘The father toiled in the field so his son could go to college.’
- e.  $s_0[s_1[avan \text{ } an\ddot{k}\ddot{e} \text{ } p\ddot{o}n\text{-}\ddot{a}l]_{S1} \text{ } n\ddot{a}n \text{ } avan\text{-}ai$   
that.man-nom there go-cnd I-nom that.man-acc  
 $canti\text{-}pp\text{-}\ddot{e}n]_{S0}$   
meet-fut-1s  
‘If he goes there, I will meet him.’
- f.  $s_0[s_1[evva\dot{l}avu \text{ } k\ddot{e}.t\text{-}t.\ddot{a}l=um]_{S1} \text{ } r\ddot{a}man \text{ } on\ddot{r}um \text{ } ceyya$   
how.much ask-cnd=and Raman-nom nothing do-inf  
 $m\ddot{a}t\ddot{t}\ddot{a}n]_{S0}$   
fut-neg-3sm  
‘No matter how much Raman is asked, he will do nothing.’

The conjunctive form is used twice in (20a) to form a co-ordinate structure; it is used to form a subordinate structure in (20b). In (20c) the infinitive marks the complement of a verb of ordering. In (20d) it has two interpretations: the first

marks a circumstantial clause, the second a purposive clause. The conditional form in (20e) marks the protasis of a conditional sentence; and in (20f) it combines with the clitic =*um* 'and, all' to form a concessive conditional.

The adnominal form appears in such complex nominal structures as relative clauses (21a), factive clauses (21b) and adverbial clauses (21c). The adnominal combines with a following noun, and consists of a verb base, a tense marker and the adnominal suffix *-a*. The construction differs from a simple compound in that other grammatical material, e.g. a demonstrative or quantifier, may occur between the adnominal verb form and the head noun, e.g. (21a). At an abstract level, verbal nouns that mark tense may be treated as the composite of an adnominal verb form and a pronominal head, as in (21d).

- (21) a. NP[S[t<sub>i</sub> *nērru va-nt-a*]<sub>S</sub> *anta.p paiyan*]<sub>NP</sub>  
 yesterday come-pst-adn that boy-nom  
 'that boy who came yesterday'
- b. NP[S[*mantiri nērru va-nt-a*]<sub>S</sub> *ceyti*]<sub>NP</sub>  
 minister-nom yesterday come-pst-adn news  
 'the news that the minister came yesterday'
- c. N[S[*mantiri ceṇṇai.k-ku.p pō-ṇ-a*]<sub>S</sub> *pōtu*]<sub>N</sub>  
 minister-nom Madras-dat go-pst-adn time  
 'when the minister went to Madras'
- d. SO[nāṇ NP[S<sub>1</sub>[*mantiri va-nt-at-ai*]<sub>S1</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> *pār-tt-ēṇ*]<sub>SO</sub>  
 I-nom minister-nom come-pst-vn-acc see-pst-1s  
 'I saw the minister coming.'

These examples of complex structures all obey the constraint against more than one finite predicate per sentence. But this constraint poses several syntactic and pragmatic problems. It rules out the possibility of embedding a simple sentence with a predicate nominal: as a noun, a predicate nominal lacks the requisite non-finite verb morphology. Furthermore, it prevents the formation of direct discourse, since verb forms such as imperatives, etc., must be altered when embedded under verbs of communication, as was done in (20c). To circumvent these problems, Tamil makes use of certain lexical and morphological devices to embed finite predicates within a complex sentence (see Steever 1988). The number of finite predicates consequently varies directly with these devices. Two transitive verbs, *eṇa* 'say' and *āka* 'become', may take as their direct objects expressions of any category and internal complexity without imposing any morphological conditions on those objects. This allows them to embed finite predicates, as in (22a) and (22b).

- (22) a. SO[nāṇ S<sub>1</sub>[*avan nallavan*]<sub>S1</sub> *eṇ-ru ninai-kkir-ēṇ*]<sub>SO</sub>  
 I-nom that.man-nom good.man-nom say-cn timer think-prs-1s  
 'I think that he is a good man.'

- b.  $so[S_1[avan\quad va-nt-\bar{a}n]_{S_1}\quad \bar{a}n-\bar{a}l\quad n\bar{a}n\quad p\bar{a}rkka.v$   
 that.man-nom come-pst-3sm become-cnd I-nom see-inf  
*illai.]\_{S\_0}*  
 not-be  
 'Although he came (here), I did/do not see (him).'

Besides these verbs, there is also a set of clitic particles that may embed finite predicates. Clitic particles are well suited to this function because while they combine with their hosts to form a phonological word, they impose no morphological conditions on the host. This set includes = $\bar{o}$  'some, or, whether', which occurs in dubitative constructions (23a) and correlative relative clauses (23b), and = $\bar{e}$  'even, and', which occurs in correlative constructions (23c, d).

- (23) a.  $so[S_1[r\bar{a}man\quad n\bar{a}l\bar{a}ikku\quad varu-v-\bar{a}n]_{S_1}=\bar{o}\quad e\bar{n}akku$   
 Raman-nom tomorrow come-fut-3sm=or I-dat  
*cant\bar{e}kam]\_{S\_0}*  
 doubt-nom  
 'I doubt whether Raman will come tomorrow.'
- b.  $so[S_1[y\bar{a}r_i\quad \bar{a}nk\bar{e}\quad mutalil\quad vantu\quad ceru-v-\bar{a}r]_{S_1}=\bar{o}\quad avar_i$   
 who-nom there first come-cnj arrive-fut-3pl=or they-nom  
*\bar{i}kke\bar{t}tu\quad v\bar{a}nkal\bar{a}m]\_{S\_0}*  
 ticket-nom buy-prm  
 'Let whoever reaches there first buy the tickets.'
- c.  $so[S_1[t_i\quad n\bar{e}r\bar{r}u\quad va-nt-\bar{a}n]_{S_1}=\bar{e}\quad avan-\bar{a}i_i\quad n\bar{a}n$   
 yesterday come-pst-3sm=and that.man-acc I-nom  
*p\bar{a}r-tt-\bar{e}n]\_{S\_0}*  
 see-pst-1s  
 'I saw him, the man who came yesterday.'
- d.  $so[S_1[kuppan\quad c\bar{a}ppit\bar{t}\bar{a}n]_{S_1}=\bar{e}\quad \bar{a}tai.p\quad p\bar{a}rttu\quad n\bar{a}n\quad payandu$   
 Kuppan eat-pst-3sm=even it-acc see-cnj I-nom be.shocked  
*vi\bar{t}-t-\bar{e}n]\_{S\_0}*  
 leave-pst-1s  
 'I was shocked seeing Kuppan eat.'

While these two verbs and two clitics serve these functions in all registers of Tamil, in the colloquial language other verbs and other clitics may on occasion combine with finite predicates to form complex structures. The verbs typically include verbs of propositional attitude and perception, as in (24).

- (24)  $so[S_1[n\bar{i}\quad e\bar{n}na\quad ce\bar{n}cu\quad irukka-\bar{n}um]_{S_1}\quad teriyum=\bar{a}?]_{S_0}$   
 you-s what do-cnj be.must know-fut-3sn=int  
 'Do you know what you must do?'

Transformational patterns appear less elaborately developed in Tamil than in

Western European languages. Passivisation and Relative Clause Formation, for example, involve no movement, but are executed through morphological means. Transformations tend to involve the permutation of nominal constituents within a clause, as with the rule of Scrambling (Annamalai 1969). The four basic sentence patterns in (18) act as filters for certain transformational patterns, as illustrated below by the rule of Clefting.

- (25) a. *nāṇ maturai.y-il pira-nt-ēṇ.*  
 I-nom Madurai-loc be.born-pst-1s  
 'I was born in Madurai.'
- b.  $s[_{NP1}[nāṇ \text{ pira-nt-atu}]_{NP1} NP2[ \text{maturai}(-y.il)]_{NP2}]_S.$   
 I-nom be.born-pst-vn-nom Madurai-nom(-loc)  
 'Madurai is where I was born.'

Sentence (25b) is the clefted version of (25a): the clefted noun *maturai(y.il)* '(in) Madurai' is postposed to the right of the verb. Simultaneously the verb *pirantēṇ* 'I was born' is transformed into a verbal noun *pirantatu* 'being born'. In the clefted sentence, the locative case marker *-il* is optional and is frequently substituted by the nominative. The resulting syntactic structure corresponds to the basic sentence type in (18a): it consists of a subject in the nominative case, here the verbal noun *pirantatu*, and a predicate nominal, *maturai*, also in the nominative case.

Most 'long-distance' phenomena involve anaphoric relations, rather than movement. Relative Clause Formation is unbounded: the head noun may bind a position embedded indefinitely deep within a relative clause, subject to island constraints. The so-called reflexive pronoun *tāṇ* 'self' may occur indefinitely deep within a structure, separated from its antecedent by any number of clause boundaries.

- (26)  $so[_{NP}[s_2[s_1[t_i \text{ nērru vanta}]_{S_2} \text{ nāṇ pārtta}]_{S_1} \text{ } \emptyset_i \text{ yesterday come-pst-adn I-nom see-pst-adn } \text{ maṇitan}_i]_{NP} \text{ oru mantiri}]_{S_0}$   
 man<sub>i</sub>-nom one minister-nom  
 'The man who I saw who came yesterday is a minister.'

### 4.8 Lexicon

The lexicon of Tamil consists of a native Dravidian core and borrowings from numerous, predominantly Indo-European, sources. The noun *lāpam* 'profit' is borrowed from Sanskrit *lābha*; *vakkil* 'lawyer' from Perso-Arabic; *mēcai* 'table' from Portuguese *mesa*; *bassu* 'bus' from English; (*h*)*artāl* 'demonstration' from Hindi *hartal*. At the beginning of this century, a movement called the *taṇi.t taṇiṇ iyakkam*, or 'Pure Tamil Movement', was initiated to remove Sanskritic elements from Tamil vocabulary and replace them with Tamil ones. This movement coincided with the rediscovery of Old Tamil texts and the Dravidian socio-

political movement. As a result, much of today's bureaucratic terminology makes new use of Old Tamil roots in administrative vocabulary.

The set of nouns is open, but the set of verbs is not. To compensate for the virtual closure on the set of verb bases in modern Tamil, N+V compounding is used. For example, the compound *vēlai ceyya* 'to work' consists of the noun *vēlai* 'work' and the noun *ceyya* 'do, make'; *ācai paṭa* 'to desire' consists of *ācai* 'desire' and *paṭa* 'to (be)fall'; *mōcam paṇṇa* 'to deceive' consists of *mōcam* 'deceit' and *paṇṇa* 'make'. Borrowed nouns also occur in this frame: *caikkiḷ aṭikka* 'to ride a bicycle' consists of the borrowed noun *caikkiḷ* 'bicycle' and the Tamil verb *aṭikka* 'make a stroke'; *pās paṇṇa* 'to pass an examination' consists of *pās* 'passing grade' and *paṇṇa* 'do'; *bōr aṭikka* 'to be bored' from *bōr* 'bore' and *aṭikka* 'to make a stroke'. This process is highly productive, and the resulting N+V compound has distinct grammatical properties. The noun in such a construction generally cannot be modified by adjectives, demonstratives or quantifiers; it cannot take the accusative case marker; it cannot be extracted from the compound by means of relative clause formation; nor can it be questioned, clefted or passivised.

Further, the meaning of many common compounds tends not to be compositional, viz. they have become idiomatic as in *ais vaikka* 'to flatter' which consists of the noun *ais* 'ice' and the verb *vaikka* 'place', or *mukam malara* 'to smile' which comes from *mukam* 'face' and *malara* 'bloom'. A list of some common idiomatic N+V compounds would also include: *aṭaiyālam kāṭṭa* 'identify' from *aṭaiyālam* 'mark' and *kāṭṭa* 'to show'; *īṭu koṭu* 'to keep up with' from *īṭu* 'compensation' and *koṭu* 'give'; *ucci kuḷira* 'to feel happy' from *ucci* 'top of the head' and *kuḷira* 'to be cool'; *kayiru tirikka* 'to spin a yarn' from *kayiru* 'rope' and *tirikka* 'to twist'; *kuzai aṭikka* 'to please someone' from *kuzai* 'margossa leaf' and *aṭikka* 'to strike'; *talai iṭa* 'to interfere' from *talai* 'head' and *iṭa* 'place'; *pulaṅ vicāri* 'to investigate' from *pulaṅ* 'perception' and *vicāri* 'to enquire'; *moṭṭai aṭikka* 'to rob' from *moṭṭai* 'bald head' and *aṭikka* 'to strike'; *vāzi kāṭṭa* 'to guide' from *vāzi* 'path' and *kāṭṭa* 'to show'; *vāl piṭikka* 'to be a yes-man' from *vāl* 'tail' and *piṭikka* 'please'.

One of the most basic kinds of compounding in Tamil is the reduplication of a word. The noun *vīti* 'street' is reduplicated as *vīti vīti* 'each, every street'; the interrogative pronoun *yār* 'who' is reduplicated as *yāryār* 'which different persons'; the conjunctive form *azutu* 'crying' is reduplicated as *azutu azutu* 'sobbing'. As is common in languages with such a process, reduplicated compounds may have a distributive, intensive, or universalising sense. Tamil has a special subset of reduplicating compounds in which the second member of the compound 'echoes' the first, rather than exactly replicating it. In echo compounds, the second member of the compound – the echo word – partially duplicates the first word. The echo word substitutes the first CV of the echoed word with the syllabic nucleus *ki-*, which is short or long depending on the length of the vowel of the echoed word. Thus, the noun *pustakam* 'book' serves as the basis of the echo compound *pustakam kistakam* 'books and the like' and the noun *cāppāṭu*

'meal' serves as the basis of the echo compound *cāppāṭu kippāṭu* 'meals and the like'. Words that begin in *ki-* use another echo syllable to avoid homophony with simple reduplicating compounds: the alternative echo syllable is *hi-*. Thus, *kiḷi* 'parrot' is echoed as *kiḷi hiḷi* 'parrots and the like'. (However, [h] is an allophone of *k*.) While pronouns do not participate in echo compound formation, verbs do.

- (27) *anta.t tēnkāyai uṭaittāy kiṭaittāy eṇṇāl amma*  
 that coconut-acc break-pst-2s echo say-cnd mother-nom  
*uṇṇai aṭippāl.*  
 you-acc beat-fut-3sf  
 'If you broke that coconut or did any such thing, mother will beat you.'

In (27) the finite verb *uṭaittāy* 'you broke' serves as the basis for the echo compound *uṭaittāy kiṭaittāy* 'you broke or did any such thing'. Echo compounds typically occur in rhetorically marked settings, which include such modal forms as the future tense or the conditional, as in (27). Echo compounds express two components of meaning. First, they have a distributive meaning so that the compound conveys the notion 'entities or actions, of which the echoed word refers to a random example from a general range'. Thus, the echo compound *māṭu kiṭu* 'cattle and the like', based on *māṭu* 'cattle', could refer to a group of domestic animals, part of a dowry or traffic obstacles. Second, echo compounds convey a pejorative nuance to the effect that the speaker does not care enough about the entity or action to specify it. The echo compound formation is found in many Dravidian languages with natural variations in phonology: in Kannada (see Chapter 5) the echo syllable is *gi-*. In many respects, echo compounds in Tamil resemble those in Yiddish English where the echo word is made with *shm-*, e.g. *fancy-shmancy*.

#### 4.9 Diglossia

As noted earlier, Tamil has diglossia: it possesses two functionally complementary varieties. The low variety, called *koṭuntamiḷ* 'harsh Tamil', is used in virtually all face-to-face communication, while the high variety (*centamiḷ* 'pure Tamil') is used in formal situations, e.g. radio broadcasts, formal lectures, political oratory, belletristic writing. The high and low varieties are functionally complementary: low and high form a privative opposition in which low is unmarked. Over the years, the high *centamiḷ* variety has lost some ground to *koṭuntamiḷ*. In particular, *koṭuntamiḷ* has found a permanent place in fiction. The distinction between the two varieties is not just a difference between the spoken and written varieties of the language, for although education generally increases one's active command of the high variety, most illiterate speakers have some degree of competence in *centamiḷ*.

The distinction between the diglossic varieties impacts most strongly on lexicon, morphology and phonology, viz. components of grammar organised accord-

ing to markedness relations. Syntax and semantics by contrast seem less susceptible to variation. Consider the plural imperative of the verb *varu-* 'come'. In *centamiḻ*, it has the form *vāruṅkaḷ* 'please come', while in *koḻuntamiḻ* it may have several forms depending on caste and region, e.g. brahmin *vāṅkō* 'please come' and non-brahmin *vāṅka* 'id.'. This morphological difference also illustrates a phonological one: while *centamiḻ* words may end in consonants, virtually all *koḻuntamiḻ* words end in vowels. A command of *centamiḻ* includes the ability to block those phonological processes, such as nasalisation of final vowel–nasal sequences into nasalised vowels, that eliminate final consonants in *koḻuntamiḻ*. It also blocks the lowering of high vowels before a sequence of a single consonant and low vowel, e.g. the *centamiḻ* noun *vilai* 'price' corresponds to *koḻuntamiḻ vele* 'id.'. In noun morphology, for example, the locative case markers exhibit diglossic variation. In *centamiḻ*, the locative is *-il* and *-iṭam* for inanimate and animate nouns, respectively; but in *koḻuntamiḻ*, *-le* and *-kiṭṭe*, respectively. While it might be possible to derive the *koḻuntamiḻ* form *-le* from *-il* through phonological processes, this is not possible for *centamiḻ -iṭam* and *koḻuntamiḻ -kiṭṭe*.

Several putative examples of syntactic diglossia are best treated lexically. Britto (1986) claims that the two varieties differ: *centamiḻ* uses the copular verb *āka* 'become' (28a) while *koḻuntamiḻ* does not (28b). In fact both varieties have both patterns: the copular sentence attributes an accidental property to the subject, the non-copular an essential property. The difference is that in *koḻuntamiḻ* the verb *āka* 'become' has no personal forms; thus the 'dummy' verb *irukka* 'be located' is syncategorematically inserted into the construction to bear personal endings for which *āka* 'become' lacks appropriate morphology. This gives rise to (28c) where *āka* 'become' appears in a non-personal form, the infinitive.

- (28) a. *itu avaciyam ākum.*  
 this-nom necessity-nom become-fut-3sn  
 'This is necessary.'
- b. *itu avaciyam.*  
 this-nom necessity-nom  
 'This is necessary.'
- c. *itu avaciyam āka irukkum.*  
 this-nom necessity-nom become-inf be-fut-3sn  
 'This is necessary.'

Certain infinitival constructions have been claimed to belong to *centamiḻ*, but not to *koḻuntamiḻ* (Britto 1986): *marukka* 'refuse' governs the infinitive in *centamiḻ* (29a) but not in *koḻuntamiḻ*, which uses a circumlocution to express the same content (29b). However, the constraint is lexical, not syntactic: *ārampa* 'begins' governs the infinitive in both varieties, as in (29c). Although both verbs do not appear in both varieties, the infinitival construction does.

- (29) a. *avaṇ aṅkē pōka maru-kkiṛ-āṇ.*  
 that.man-nom there go-inf refuse-pst-3sn  
 'He refuses to go there.'
- b. *avaṇ aṅkē pōka māṭṭēṇ eṅkiṛāṇ.*  
 he-nom there go-inf fut-neg-1s say-prs-3sn  
 'He refuses to go there' (lit. 'It is said of him, "I will not go there"').
- c. *mantiri caṭṭācapaiyil pēc-a ārampi-tt-ār.*  
 minister-nom assembly-loc speak-inf begin-pst-3hon  
 'The minister began to speak in the assembly.'

Passive voice occurs primarily in *centamiṇ*, but is largely absent from *koṭuntamiṇ*. The alternation between active and passive is shown in (30a) and (30b): in passivisation, the notional patient of the action is promoted to subject, marked by the nominative case, while the notional agent is demoted to the instrumental case. The simple active verb is replaced by a compound verb in which the verb that denotes the action appears in the infinitive while the auxiliary verb *paṭa* '(be)fall' bears tense and personal endings. The absence of the passive in *koṭuntamiṇ* may be directly traced to the lexical entry of the auxiliary *paṭa* '(be)fall': it does not govern the infinitive in *koṭuntamiṇ*, and so cannot form the passive. Again, the difference between the two varieties is lexical, rather than syntactic.

- (30) a. *rāmaṇ kaṇṇaṇ-ai aṭi-tt-āṇ.*  
 Raman-nom Kannan-acc beat-pst-3sm  
 'Raman beat Kannan.'
- b. *kaṇṇaṇ rāmaṇ-āl aṭi-kka.p paṭ-ṭ-āṇ.*  
 Kannan-nom Raman-inst beat-inf befall-pst-3sm  
 'Kannan was beaten by Raman.'

Certain constructions and expressions that appear in *koṭuntamiṇ* are absent from *centamiṇ* because they are characteristic of conversational interchanges, not a formal narrative. Neither the *ki*-echo compound nor the attitudinal auxiliaries occur in *centamiṇ*: both are informal forms of discourse. The diglossic varieties of the language thus respond to differences between formal and informal social intercourse in a society that has traditionally been highly stratified.

The standard dialect of Tamil is a result of dropping stereotypes (in Labov's sense) of regional and dialect features; when a non-stereotype alternative is not available a form hybridised from formal Tamil is used. For this reason, the standard dialect is closer to *centamiṇ* than regional and social forms. Thus, aspects of *centamiṇ* appear to be drawn into the standard spoken language because this variety does not emphasise the social and regional differences that distinguish many dialects of the language. Nonetheless, diglossia appears to be a stable feature of the Tamil grammatical system.

**References**

- Andronov, Mikhail (1969) *A Standard Grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil*, Madras: New Century Book House.
- Annamalai, E. (1969/1977) 'Adjectival clauses in Tamil', Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- (1980) 'Some syntactic differences between spoken and written Tamil', in Bh. Krishnamurti, C.P. Masica and A.K. Sinha (eds), *South Asian Languages: Structure Convergence and Diglossia*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 289–93.
- (1985) *The Dynamics of Verbal Extension in Tamil*, Trivandrum: Dravidian Linguistics Association.
- Asher, R.E. (1985) *Tamil* (Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars), London: Routledge.
- Britto, Francis (1986) *Diglossia: A Study of the Theory with Application to Tamil*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Lehmann, Thomas (1989) *A Grammar of Modern Tamil*, Pondicherry: Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture.
- Paramasivam, Kumar (1979) *Effectivity and Causativity in Tamil*, Trivandrum: Dravidian Linguistics Association.
- (1983) *ikkāla.t tamiz marapu* [Modern Tamil usage], Sivagangai.
- Schiffman, Harold (1979) *A Grammar of Spoken Tamil*, Madras: Christian Literature Society.
- Steever, Sanford (1981) *Selected Papers in Tamil and Dravidian Linguistics*, Maturai: Muttu Patippakam.
- (1983) 'A study in auxiliatiion: the indicative auxiliary verb construction in Tamil'. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Chicago, University of Chicago, Department of Linguistics.
- (1987) 'Tamil and the Dravidian languages', in Bernard Comrie (ed.), *The World's Major Languages*, London: Croom Helm.
- (1988) *The Serial Verb Formation in the Dravidian Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

---

# 5 *Kannada*

*Sanford B. Steever*

## 5.1 Introduction

Kannada (*kannaḍa*) belongs to the southern branch of the Dravidian languages. First attested in an inscription found near Halmidi village in Hassan District dating to *c.* 450 CE, Kannada has a continuous literary tradition from the ninth century CE to the present. It is one of the four literary Dravidian languages; only Tamil has a longer literary tradition.

The Eighth Schedule to the Indian Constitution, which mandates the creation of states along linguistic lines, lists Kannada among the official languages of the Indian Union. It is spoken today by over 25 million people throughout the state of Karnataka, where it is the official language. While most inhabitants of Karnataka speak Kannada as a first language, it is also the second language of many whose first language is Kodagu or Tulu.

Kannada varies along several dimensions: historical, geographic, social and register. The language shows three historically distinct stages: Old Kannada dates from 450 CE to 1200, Middle Kannada from 1200 to 1700 and Modern Kannada from 1700 to the present.

Kannada includes four major dialect areas, which may be subdivided according to finer gradations. The southern dialect area includes the varieties spoken in and around the major cities of Bangalore and Mysore (Bright 1958; Sridhar 1990). The northern dialect area is centred on the city of Dharwar (Hiremath 1980; McCormack 1966); the western dialect in Mangalore District; and the northeastern in and around Bijapur. For example, the northern and northeastern dialects show the influence of neighbouring Marathi, an Indo-Aryan language.

The existence of caste dialects in Kannada reflects the historical fact that much traditional social and economic interaction respected caste structures. The primary distinction appears to be among brahmin, non-brahmin and harijan varieties of the language. As Sridhar (1990) observes however, under the influence of modern trends, one of which is the propagation of universal education, social dialect differences are shifting from caste-based to class-based lines.

Finally, Kannada exhibits diglossia (Nayak 1967), although the differences between the two varieties appear not to be as prominent as in, say, Tamil. Examples of diglossic variation are given below in the finite verb paradigms. The variety of Kannada presented here, Standard Colloquial Kannada, reflects the

speech of educated speakers in and around the two southern cities of Bangalore and Mysore. This standard is historically based on the speech of brahmin Kannadigas. Though it differs from Standard Literary Kannada, it remains somewhat closer to the literary form than, say, the northern and northeastern dialects.

## 5.2 Phonology and Orthography

Standard Kannada has eleven vowels: *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō, ā̄*; and thirty-four consonants (shown in Table 5.1). Of these sounds *ā̄, f* and *z* occur only in loanwords; in other dialects *ā̄* occurs in native etyma. The five aspirated and five breathy voiced stops occur only in loanwords, principally those borrowed from Sanskrit. Many of these are completely assimilated in Modern Kannada: in rapid speech, and in some dialects, these modified stops have been assimilated to their unmodified counterparts.

**Table 5.1 The consonants of Standard Kannada**

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop					
Voiceless	p	t	ʈ	c	k
Aspirated	ph	th	ʈh	ch	kh
Voiced	b	d	ɖ	j	g
Breathy voiced	bh	dh	ɖh	jh	gh
Fricative					
Voiceless	f	s	ʂ	ʃ	h
Voiced		z			
Nasal	m	n	ɳ		
Lateral		l	ɭ		
Glide	v			y	
Tap		r			

Virtually all native words end in vowels. While loanwords may end in a consonant, they often take an enunciative vowel, *u* or *i*, as in *bassu* ‘bus’ (< English). All consonants except retroflex *ɭ* and *ɳ* may occur initially. Initial clusters do not occur in Dravidian etyma, but the influx of foreign words has introduced clusters in initial position. Even so, in uneducated speech, epenthetic vowels may be inserted to break up clusters, e.g. *pṛiti* ‘love’ (< Skt) becomes [pɪriti].

A variety of sandhi changes may occur when two morphemes or two words come together. While one of several outcomes can occur when two vowels abut, the changes that do occur prevent the creation of diphthongs, whose presence is limited in the modern language. The sequence  $V_1 + V_2$  may become  $V_2$ , as when *hōguvudu* ‘coming’ + *illa* ‘is not’ join to become *hōguvudilla* ‘does not come’. A glide, *-y-* or *-v-*, may be inserted: *huli* ‘tiger’ and the source case marker *-inda* ‘from’ combine as *huli.y-inda* ‘from the tiger’ while *hū* ‘flower’ and the source case marker combine as *hū.v-inda* ‘from the flower’. In some spoken varieties,

a sequence of two short vowels across a morpheme boundary may be replaced by a single long vowel: while *mane* 'house' combines with the locative *-alli* to form *mane.y-alli* 'in the house' in both the literary language and careful speech, the result may be pronounced as *manēlli* 'id.' in spoken Kannada.

Consonants may also undergo sandhi. The initial voiceless stop of a word may be voiced when it is compounded with a preceding word that ends in a vowel, so that *hosa* 'new' and *kannaḍa* 'Kannada' combine as *hosagannaḍa* 'modern Kannada' while *keḷa* 'lower' and *tuḷi* 'lip' combine as *keḷaduḷi* 'lower lip'. Further changes involve assimilation, as when *her* 'big' and *kāḍu* 'forest' combine as *heggāḍu*.

One of the most common phonological processes in spoken Kannada is the syncope of a short vowel the *a* second syllable of words of three or more syllables, so that literary *hesaru* 'name' becomes *hesru* 'id.', *nanage* 'to me' becomes *nange* 'id.', *kelasa* 'work, job' becomes *kelsa* 'id.', *ādare* 'if one becomes' becomes *ādre* 'id.'. Bright (1958) uses this process as an indirect argument for the existence of prefixes in Kannada. The syncopated, allegro pronunciation of the verb *prakaṭisu* 'publish' is *prakaṭsu*, which implies the analysis /pra+kaṭisu/ with an internal boundary, instead of the ungrammatical \**prakṭisu* which would come from a form without an internal boundary. Sridhar (1990) gives additional, morphological evidence to support the existence of prefixes in the language.

Suprasegmental phenomena in Kannada include non-contrastive word stress, which falls on the first syllable of every word. Intonation patterns have yet to be studied adequately.

Kannada is written in the modern form of the Kannada–Telugu script. The script is adequate to the representation of the language. Where graphs do not exist to represent borrowed or innovated sounds, certain writing conventions have arisen, so that *æ* in /bæṅku/ 'bank', for example, is represented by a combination of the conjunct graph for *y* and the graph for *ā*.

### 5.3 Morphology and Parts of Speech

Kannada morphology fundamentally distinguishes between words and postclitic particles. Words are independent forms, clitics are dependent. Independent words may be pronounced in isolation; they are polymorphemic forms with a lexical base and one or more inflections. Clitics always combine with a host to form a phonological word; however, they make take an entire constituent in their scope. Further, they are generally monomorphemic.

Kannada morphology is agglutinating and primarily suffixal. Unlike the majority of Dravidian languages, however, Kannada has developed productive patterns of prefixation due to the influx of loanwords which have been resegmented into prefix and base, as suggested below under the section on the Kannada lexicon.

Kannada has two major parts of speech: noun and verb. There are also indeclinable words, which include what have been called adjectives and adverbs.

## Nouns

Nouns in Kannada mark case, number and gender. The language has seven cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, source (which combines instrumental and ablative functions) and vocative. Unmarked singular contrasts with marked plural number. Gender is marked in pronoun choice, declensional patterns and, secondarily, certain derivational patterns.

Kannada recognises a primary gender division between human and non-human (neuter) nouns. The class of human nouns is further divided into masculine and feminine. This classification is supported by verbal morphology: whereas neuter nouns have a distinct plural suffix, all human nouns, masculine and feminine, share a common plural suffix. Gender is natural, not grammatical. Supernatural beings and planetary bodies, which figure in traditional mythology, are treated as human, e.g. *sūrya* 'sun', *candra* 'moon' and the names of planetary bodies are masculine.

Nouns ending in *-a* take a gender-based inflectional augment under specific conditions. Traditionally, when the nominative case marker *-u* of written Kannada is used, the augment *-n-* is used for masculine nouns, *-l-* for feminine nouns and *-Ø-* for neuter nouns, e.g. *huḍuga.n-u* 'boy', *kamala.l-u* 'Kamala', *mara.v-u* 'tree'. In both the written and spoken varieties, these augments precede such clitics as the inclusive  $=\bar{u}$  'all, and', e.g. (*avaḷu*) *sundara.l=ū buddhivānta.l=ū* 'she<sub>1</sub> (is) beautiful<sub>2</sub> and intelligent<sub>3</sub>'.

Number marking is obligatory for human nouns but optional for non-human nouns, particularly if modified by a quantifier. Most human nouns take the plural suffix *-aru*: *huḍugaru* 'boys' (sing. *huḍuga*), *jāne.y-aru* 'smart girls' (sing. *jāne*), *vidhave.y-aru* 'widows' (sing. *vidhave*). Kinship terms ending in a final *-a* have plurals in *-andiru*: *aṅṅ-andiru* 'elder brothers' (sing. *aṅṅa*), *akk-andiru* 'elder sisters' (sing. *akka*), *mav-andiru* 'fathers-in-law' (sing. *mava*). All other nouns form plurals in *-gaḷu*: *mara-gaḷu* 'trees' (sing. *mara*), *kivi-gaḷu* 'ears' (sing. *kivi*), *svāmi-gaḷu* 'pontiffs' (sing. *svāmi*), *mēṣṭru-gaḷu* 'teachers' (sing. *mēṣṭru*). Note that some human nouns take *-gaḷu*; foreign words, in particular, are pluralised with *-gaḷu* whether they denote humans or not, e.g. *āstronāṭ-gaḷu* 'astronauts' (sing. *āstronāṭu*).

The order of morphemes in a noun is lexical base, number and case. The lexical base may be a simple root or may consist of a root and derivative suffix (see below). Though the nominative of many nouns is the form to which other case markers are added, certain nouns have a separate oblique stem in specific contexts. The inflectional increment *-n-* is added after masculine and feminine nouns ending in *a*, e.g. nominative *huḍuga* 'boy' contrasts with accusative *huḍuga.n-annu*, while nominative *akka* 'elder sister' contrasts with the dative *akka.n-ige*. The increment *-d-* is added after neuter nouns ending in *-a* for the genitive, source and locative cases. Compare nominative *kāla* 'time' with locative *kāla.d-alli* 'in time', nominative *mara* 'tree' with genitive *mara.d-a*, nominative *pustaka* 'book' with source *pustaka.d-inda* 'from the book'. The increment *-in-* is used for nouns that end underlyingly in consonants or in *-u* for

the same three cases. Compare nominative *kālu* (*/kāl/*) 'foot' with source *kāl.in-da*, nominative *duhka* 'sorrow' with genitive *duhka.d-a*. Finally, the increment *-ar-* is used for the same three cases for numerals ending in *-u* and for neuter singular de-adjectival nominals such as *hosadu* 'new thing' (< *hosa* 'new'), *doḍḍadu* 'big thing' (< *doḍḍa* 'big'), *aṣṭu* 'that much', *elladu* 'all the things'. Compare nominative *doḍḍadu* 'big thing' with locative *doḍḍad.ar-alli* 'in the big thing', nominative *mūru* 'three' with locative *mūr.ar-alli* 'in the three (things)'.

The declension of nouns is regular: given the phonological shape of the noun and its gender, all other forms may be easily derived. Consider the three nouns *mara* 'tree', *mane* 'house' and *huḍuga* 'boy'. The distribution of the oblique is not uniform across cases; for *mara* 'tree', it is used in only the genitive, locative and source cases, while for *huḍuga* 'boy', the oblique occurs in all non-nominative cases.

SINGULAR			
Nominative	<i>mara</i>	<i>mane</i>	<i>huḍuga</i>
Oblique	<i>mara.d-</i>	<i>mane-</i>	<i>huḍuga.n-</i>
Accusative	<i>mara.v-annu</i>	<i>mane.y-annu</i>	<i>huḍuga.n-annu</i>
Dative	<i>mara.kke</i>	<i>mane.ge</i>	<i>huḍuga.n-ige</i>
Genitive	<i>mara.d-a</i>	<i>mane.y-a</i>	<i>huḍuga.n-a</i>
Locative	<i>mara.d-alli</i>	<i>mane.y-alli</i>	<i>huḍuga.n-alli</i>
Source	<i>mara.d-inda</i>	<i>mane.y-inda</i>	<i>huḍuga.n-inda</i>
PLURAL			
Nominative	<i>mara-gaḷu</i>	<i>mane-gaḷu</i>	<i>huḍuga-ru</i>
Accusative	<i>mara-gaḷ-annu</i>	<i>mane-gaḷ-annu</i>	<i>huḍuga-r-annu</i>
Dative	<i>mara-gaḷ-ige</i>	<i>mane-gaḷ-ige</i>	<i>huḍuga-r-ige</i>
Genitive	<i>mara-gaḷ-a</i>	<i>mane-gaḷ-a</i>	<i>huḍuga-r-a</i>
Locative	<i>mara-gaḷ-alli</i>	<i>mane-gaḷ-alli</i>	<i>huḍuga-r-alli</i>
Source	<i>mara-gaḷ-inda</i>	<i>mane-gaḷ-inda</i>	<i>huḍuga-r-inda</i>

### Pronouns

The personal pronouns are given in Table 5.2. Unlike many other Dravidian languages, Kannada makes no distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive pronouns.

**Table 5.2 Personal pronouns in Standard Kannada**

	<i>First</i> Singular	Plural	<i>Second</i> Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>nānu</i>	<i>nāvu</i>	<i>nīnu</i>	<i>nīvu</i>
Accusative	<i>nannannu</i>	<i>nammannu</i>	<i>ninnannu</i>	<i>nimmannu</i>
Dative	<i>nanage</i>	<i>namage</i>	<i>ninage</i>	<i>nimage</i>
Genitive	<i>nanna</i>	<i>namma</i>	<i>ninna</i>	<i>nimma</i>
Locative	<i>nannalli</i>	<i>nammalli</i>	<i>ninnalli</i>	<i>nimmalli</i>
Source	<i>nanninda</i>	<i>namminda</i>	<i>ninninda</i>	<i>nimminda</i>

The reflexive pronoun *tān* 'self' comes from the Proto-Dravidian third person anaphoric pronoun *\*tān* 'self'. It patterns like the first and second person pronouns (Table 5.3).

**Table 5.3 Third person reflexive pronoun *tān* 'self'**

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	tānu	tāmu
Accusative	tannannu	tammannu
Dative	tanige	tamige
Genitive	tanna	tamma
Locative	tannalli	tammalli
Source	tanninda	tamminda

Kannada also has demonstrative pronouns that commonly function as third person anaphoric pronouns. The modern language has a proximal series marked with *i-* 'this' and a distal series marked with *a-* 'that'. It is the distal series which is unmarked and appears in contexts of neutralisation, e.g. the head of a relative clause. Old Kannada had a medial series, now lost, which was identified by the characteristic vowel *u-*, e.g. *udu* 'this one in between'. The language exhibits a great variety of third person pronouns. Besides those noted in Tables 5.4 and 5.5 are the pronouns *ātanu* 'that male' and *āke* 'that female', which have direct counterparts in Telugu.

**Table 5.4 Third person distal demonstrative human pronouns**

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
	Masculine	Feminine	
Nominative	avanu	avaḷu	avaru
Accusative	avanannu	avaḷannu	avarannu
Dative	avanige	avaḷige	avarige
Genitive	avana	avaḷa	avara
Locative	avanalli	avaḷalli	avaralli
Source	avaninda	avaḷinda	avarinda

**Table 5.5 Third person non-human pronouns**

	<i>Distal</i>		<i>Proximal</i>	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	adu	avu	idu	ivu
Accusative	adannu	avannu	idannu	ivannu
Dative	adakke	avakke	idakke	ivakke
Genitive	adara	avugaḷa	idara	ivugaḷa
Locative	adaralli	avalli	idaralli	ivalli
Source	adarinda	avugaḷinda	idarinda	ivugaḷinda

Interrogative pronouns include the following, which appear in their nominative case form: *yāru* 'who', *yāvudu* 'which (thing)', *entha* 'what kind', *ēnu* 'what', *yāke* 'why' (literary *ēke* 'id.'). These may be combined with certain quantifiers to form indefinite pronouns, e.g. *yāru* combines with =*ō* 'or, any' to form *yār=ō* 'someone'.

When using pronouns to refer, a speaker's choice is governed not merely by the quantity of the referents but also by notions of status and intimacy. The second person plural pronoun may be used to show respect to a singular addressee. In addressing persons of high rank, such as a judge or cabinet minister, various epithets may be used, usually a noun phrase in the third person combined with a verb in the second person plural. In example (1), a special honorific term is used to address a religious figure: (*nimma*) *pāda*, literally 'your foot'. The development of this particular euphemism may be an extension of the logic that gave rise to the animate postpositional complex *-kai.y-alli* 'in the hand' which functions as a locative or dative case for animate nouns. Apparently, greater deference is shown the further one moves away from the addressee's face.

- (1) *īga eraḍu-mūra tiṅgaḷinalli tānē pāda hosa baṭṭe tagonḍu*  
 now two-three month-pl-loc just foot-nom new clothes get-ant.cnj  
*hōgidar=alla, īga iṣṭu bēga ...*  
 go-pst-3pl-hon=tag now this.much speed  
 'Why now (do you want new clothes) so soon, you who just two or three  
 months ago got new clothes?'

The nominative case is both the unmarked and the citation form of a noun. A noun in the nominative marks the subject of an intransitive (2a) or transitive (2b) sentence. Many NPs, particularly those without a  $\theta$ -role, often appear in the nominative case, as does the temporal noun in (2c). Importantly, the nominative is also the case form in which a predicate nominal appears (2d). As examples below indicate, inanimate direct objects may also occur in the nominative case when they appear in their canonical position just before the verb (4a).

- (2) a. *avanu ḍḍihō-d-a.*  
 he-nom run.away-pst-3sm  
 'He ran away.'
- b. *avaḷu ā pustaka.v-annu cennāgi bare-d-aḷu*  
 she-nom that book-acc well write-pst-3sf  
 'She wrote that book well.'
- c. *avaḷu nāḷe hālēbīd-ige hōg-utt-ālē*  
 she-nom tomorrow-nom Halebid-dat go-npst-3sf  
 'She's going to Halebid tomorrow.'
- d. *avaru olḷeya mēṣṭru*  
 he-nom good teacher-nom  
 'He (is) a good teacher.'

The accusative case marks an animate (3a) or inanimate (3b) direct object. It also marks the nexus of certain postpositional phrases, noted further below.

- (3) a. *nānu avan-annu nōḍ-id-e.*  
I-nom he-acc see-pst-1s  
'I saw him.'
- b. *avaru eraḍu pustaka-gaḷ-annu bare-d-arū.*  
he-nom two book-pl-acc write-pst-3hon  
'He wrote two books.'

The accusative case may be omitted when an inanimate direct object lacks definite reference. However, it must occur when the direct object, animate or not, is moved from its canonical position next to the verb (4b).

- (4) a. *rāma pustaka oḍ-id-a*  
Rama-nom book-nom read-pst-3sm  
'Rama read a book.'
- b. *pustaka.v-annu avaḷu mane.y-alli biṭṭu biṭ-ṭ-aḷu.*  
book-acc she-nom house-loc leave-ant.cnj leave-pst-3sf  
'She left the book in the house.'

The dative case marks such various notions as indirect object (5a), goal (5b) or reason. It also marks the subject in dative-subject constructions (5c, d). The dative also serves as the nexus of certain postpositional constructions.

- (5) a. *nānu avar-ige ondu ciṭṭi.y-annu bare-d-e.*  
I-nom he-gen one letter-acc write-pst-1s  
'I wrote a letter to him.'
- b. *avara tandetāyi tīrthayātre-ge hōgiddare.*  
they-gen parents-pl-nom pilgrimage-dat go-prs.prf-plhon  
'Their parents have gone on a pilgrimage.'
- c. *avar-ige adu gottu.*  
he-gen that-nom knowledge-nom  
'He knows that.'
- d. *huḍuga.n-ige hedarike āyitu.*  
boy-dat fear-nom become-pst-3sn  
'The boy was frightened.'

The genitive case is strictly adnominal: it marks a relation between two nominals. The relation expressed is not limited to possession but includes a wider semantic field. The genitive also functions as the nexus for a broad range of postpositions.

- (6) a. *avana tandetāyi kaḍe.y-inda bar-utt-āre.*  
 he-gen parents-nom store-src come-npst-3pl  
 'His parents are coming from the store.'
- b. *nanna-avana snēhita*  
 I-gen-he-gen friendship-nom  
 'the friendship between him and me' ('his and my friendship')
- c. *kari sīreya heṅgasu*  
 black saree-gen woman-nom  
 'a woman in a black saree'
- d. *maisūr.in-alli mane-gaḷ-a bele jāsti.*  
 Mysore-loc house-pl-gen price-nom excess-nom  
 'The price of houses in Mysore is high.'

The locative case marks such notions as 'in' and 'at'. Though the distinction between human and non-human locative case markers is not as obligatory as in Tamil, certain postpositional phrases are commonly used with human nouns in preference to the plain locative case, e.g. verbs of motion towards a human may have such a locative form as *avana kaḍe* 'to him, near him', while verbs of communication mark a human recipient with such constructions as *nanna kai.y-alli* 'to me', *nanna hattira* 'near me'.

- (7) a. *hudugi mane.y-alli hāḍu hād-utt-āḷe*  
 girl-nom house-loc song sing-npst-3sf  
 'The girl is singing songs in the house.'
- b. *jōsi eraḍu gaṅṅe.y-alli ūru talup-utt-āne*  
 Joshi-nom two hour-loc town-nom reach-npst-3sm  
 'Joshi will reach (his) town in two hours.'

What is called the source case in this chapter combines functions normally served by the instrumental and ablative cases in other South Dravidian languages. It appears to descend from an earlier ablative case marker.

- (8) a. *īga tānē sabhe.y-inda ba.n-d-e*  
 now just meeting-src come-pst-1s  
 'I came from the meeting just now.'
- b. *kall.in-inda eṅṅe tege.y-alu sādhyā.v=ē?*  
 stone-src oil-nom take-inf possible-nom=emp  
 'Is it possible to extract oil from a stone?'
- c. *śāṅkara kōl.in-inda jhari.y-annu ett-id-a.*  
 Shankara-nom stick-src centipede-acc lift-pst-3sm  
 'Shankara lifted the centipede with a stick.'
- d. *avaḷu avana māt.in-inda tallanis-id-aḷu.*  
 she-nom he-gen word-src wince-pst-3sf  
 'She winced at his words.'

Kannada has an impressive range of postpositions which supplement the case system: they express more specific semantic relations than the simple case forms do. Postpositions historically descended from nouns or non-finite verb forms govern specific cases. Certain postpositions, such as *kai.y-alli* (lit. 'in the hand'), govern the genitive case (9a); others, such as *-inta* 'than' (9b) or *-ōskara* 'for the sake of' (9c), govern the dative. As bound forms, the latter two postpositions form part of the nouns they combine with, and are separated here just to illustrate the constituent structure of the NPs.

- (9) a. *avaḷu* NP<sub>1</sub>[NP<sub>2</sub>[*avana*]NP *kai.y-alli*]NP *mātinā-d-aḷu*.  
 she-nom he-gen hand-loc speak-pst-3sf  
 'She spoke with him.'
- b. *ninna carma* NP<sub>1</sub>[NP<sub>2</sub>[*ameya cipp-ig(e)*]NP-*inta*]NP *dappa*.  
 you-gen skin-nom tortoise-gen shell-dat than thick  
 'Your skin is thicker than a tortoise shell.'
- c. *tāyi* NP<sub>1</sub>[NP<sub>2</sub>[*maga.n-ig(e)*]NP-*ōskara*]NP *bahaḷa kaṣṭa*  
 mother-nom son-dat sake much difficulty  
*paṭṭaḷu*.  
 befall-pst-3sf  
 'Mother suffered much hardship for the sake of her son.'

Certain postpositions such as *biṭṭu* 'without, apart from' (10a) and *togonḍu* 'with' (10b) historically descend from non-finite verb forms; they typically govern the accusative case. The postposition *biṭṭu* 'without' is homophonous with the anterior conjunctive form of *biḍu* 'leave'; the postposition *togonḍu* (10a) is in fact a contraction of two non-finite verb forms (*tegedu konḍu* 'having taken'). Certain other postpositions derived from verbs, such as *illade* 'without', combine with nouns in the nominative (10c). While these constructions might historically descend from clauses consisting of a noun phrase and verb, they have been reduced to the status of a complex NP in the modern language.

- (10) a. NP<sub>1</sub>[NP<sub>2</sub>[*avan-annu*]NP *biṭṭu*]NP *ēke ba.n-d-iri?*  
 he-acc without why come-pst-2pl  
 'Why did you come without him?'
- b. *avanu* NP<sub>1</sub>[NP<sub>2</sub>[*guddali*]NP *togonḍu*]NP *nela age-d-a*.  
 he spade with ground dig-pst-3sm  
 'He dug the ground with a spade.'
- c. *avanu aval-annu* NP<sub>1</sub>[NP<sub>2</sub>[*utsāha.v*]NP *illade*]NP *cumbis-id-a*.  
 he she-acc enthusiasm-nom without kiss-pst-3sm  
 'He kissed her without enthusiasm.'

Many postpositions may themselves be inflected for case forms to form complex postpositional phrases with yet more specific meanings. In example (11b), the locative postposition *oḷage* 'within', which governs a noun in the genitive, is

itself inflected for the source case to yield the complex meaning 'from within X'.

- (11) a. *nānu* NP1[NP2[*maisūr.in-a*]<sub>NP</sub> *kaḍe.y*]<sub>NP</sub>-*inda* *baruttiddīni*  
 I-nom Mysore-gen side-src come-prs.cnt-1s  
 'I am coming from the vicinity of Mysore.'
- b. NP1[NP2[*mane.y-a*]<sub>NP</sub> *oḷag.in*]<sub>NP</sub>-*inda* *jagaḷa* *kēḷisitu*.  
 house-gen within-src quarrel hear-pst-3sn  
 'A quarrel was heard (coming) from within the house.'

Numerals and proper nouns also fall within the set of nominals. Lists of numerals may be found in most handbooks of the language.

### Verbs

Kannada verbs are those forms that mark such verbal categories as tense and mood. The verb consists of a lexical base and a set of suffixes. The lexical base may contain a simple root, or a root and a suffix such as the causative marker *-isu*.

#### Conjugational Patterns

Kannada has two basic conjugations: the first includes most verbs whose stem ends in *-u*, e.g. *māḍu* 'do, work'; the second includes most verbs whose stem ends in *-e* or *-i*, e.g. *kare* 'call', *kuḍi* 'drink'. Kannada also has a number of irregular verbs; as noted below, their irregularity is localised primarily in the formation of their past stems.

All inflected verb forms in Kannada are based on two basic forms: the primary stem and the past stem. The past stem forms the basis of the past tense paradigm, the contingent paradigm, the anterior conjunctive, the past adnominal and the conditional; the primary stem serves as the basis of all other forms. The past stem shows great allomorphic variation; the more important patterns are illustrated here with the anterior conjunctive form, sometimes called a gerund or an adverbial participle. The anterior conjunctive form of regular verbs presents two major allomorphs: first conjugation verbs, viz. those ending in *-u*, add the suffix *-i*, as in *māḍ-i* 'having done, made'; all other verbs add *-du*, e.g. *kare-du* 'having called', *kuḍi-du* 'having drunk'. Compare these forms with the past tense forms *māḍ-id-a* 'he did', *kare-d-a* 'he called', *kuḍi-d-a* 'he drank'; the contingent forms *māḍ-i.y-āru* 'they may do', *kare-d-āru* 'they may call' and *kuḍi-d-āru* 'they may drink'; and the conditional forms *māḍ-id-are* 'if one does', *kare-d-are* 'if one calls' and *kuḍi-d-are* 'if one drinks'.

Some verbs form a past stem with *-tu*: *kali-tu* 'having learned', *kali-t-are* 'if one learns' (*kali-* 'learn'). Others ending in *-u* take the past formative *-du* or *-tu*: viz. *andu* 'having said', *an-d-a* 'he said' (*annu-* 'say'); *tindu* 'having eaten', *tin-d-anu* 'he may eat' (*tinnu-* 'eat'); *mēy-du* 'having grazed', *mēy-d-a* 'which grazed' (*mēyu-* 'graze'); *taḷir-tu* 'having sprouted', *taḷir-t-are* 'if it sprouted' (*taḷiru-* 'sprout'). These verbs ended in consonants in Old Kannada and conse-

quently took past stems in *-du* (or *-tu*); while the root-final *-u* was subsequently added so that they now resemble first conjugation verbs, they have retained their Old Kannada past stems. Certain verbs lose a stem-final consonant in the past stem, e.g. *ā-du* ~ *āy-du* ‘having chosen’, *ā-d-a* ‘he chose’ (*āyu-* ‘choose’); *sō-tu* ‘having lost’ (*sōlu-* ‘lose, be defeated’). In certain other verbs, the consonants at the morpheme boundary undergo sandhi changes: *iddu* ‘having been’, *idde* ‘I was’ (*ir-* ‘be’), *eddu* ‘having risen’ (*eḷu-* ‘rise’), *konḍu* ‘having taken’ (*koḷḷu-* ‘take’). In a handful of verbs, a long vowel in the root is shortened: *nondu* ‘having ached’ (*nōyu-* ‘ache’), *ittu* ‘having given’ (*īyu* ‘give’), *sattu* ‘having died’ (*sāyu-* ‘die’). Finally, disyllabic verbs ending in *-du* or *-gu* with a short initial syllable form the past stem by geminating and devoicing the final consonant: *aṭṭu* ‘having cooked’ (*aḍu-* ‘cook’), *neṭṭu* ‘having planted’ (*neḍu-* ‘plant’), *nakku* ‘having laughed’ (*nagu-* ‘laugh’), *mikku* ‘having abounded’ (*migu-* ‘abound’).

### *Finite and Non-finite Forms*

Verb forms in Kannada are finite or non-finite. Finite forms mark tense/mood and subject–verb agreement. As noted below, their distribution in the Kannada sentence is strictly limited; the majority of forms are non-finite. Modern Literary Kannada has five finite paradigms: past, present, future, contingent and negative. The first three convey tense, the second two mood. The corresponding spoken register has three: past, non-past and contingent. The future finite paradigm is largely absent from the spoken language; the literary present formally corresponds to the spoken non-past. One important exception to this neutralisation of present and future is the auxiliary verb *iru* ‘be’ which retains three tenses in the spoken language (*idde* ‘I was’, *iddīni* ‘I am’, *iruttīni* ‘I will be’), and is instrumental in the formation of several compound tense forms. The negative paradigm is replaced in the spoken register by compound verbs. To express the past negative, the infinitive in *-al* of the main verb is combined with *illa* ‘not be’, the negative form of *iru* ‘be’ (12a); to express the non-past negative, the verbal noun in *-uvudu* is combined with *illa* ‘not be’ (12b). Unlike the literary negative paradigm, these forms do not vary for person, number or gender.

- (12) a. *nānu allige hōg-al-illa.*      b. *avanu allige hōg-uvud-illa.*  
 I-nom there go-inf-not.be      he-nom there go-vn-not.be  
 ‘I didn’t go there.’      ‘He isn’t going there.’

These developments in the tense system are not uniform throughout Karnataka; for example, the present perfect, which is a compound verb formation in the standard dialect, has contracted into a simple finite verb form in the Dharwar dialect. These paradigms are illustrated in Table 5.6 with the verb *mādu* ‘do, make’. Note that in all paradigms there is one form for the third person human plural.

In modern spoken Kannada, forms of the synthetic negative occur primarily in certain proverbial sayings; however, a few verbs, among them the modal

**Table 5.6 The verb *māḍu* ‘do, make’**

	<i>Literary past tense</i>		<i>Colloquial past tense</i>	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	māḍidenu	māḍidevu	māḍide	māḍidivi
2	māḍidenu	māḍidiri	māḍide	māḍidiri
3 masculine	māḍidanu	māḍidaru	māḍida	māḍidaru
feminine	māḍidaḷu	māḍidaru	māḍidaḷu	māḍidaru
neuter	māḍitu	māḍidavu	māḍitu	māḍidavu
	<i>Literary present tense</i>		<i>Colloquial non-past tense</i>	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	māḍuttēne	māḍuttēve	māḍuttīni	māḍuttīvi
2	māḍuttiye	māḍuttīri	māḍuttiya	māḍuttīra
3 masculine	māḍuttāne	māḍuttāre	māḍuttāne	māḍuttāre
feminine	māḍuttāḷe	māḍuttāre	māḍuttāḷe	māḍuttāre
neuter	māḍuttāde	māḍuttave	māḍatṭe	māḍuttave
	<i>Literary future tense</i>		<i>Contingent</i>	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	māḍuvenu	māḍuvevu	māḍ(iy)ēnu	māḍ(iy)ēvu
2	māḍuve	māḍuveru	māḍīye	māḍīri
3 masculine	māḍuvanu	māḍuvaru	māḍiyānu	māḍiyāru
feminine	māḍuvaḷu	māḍuvaru	māḍiyāḷu	māḍiyāru
neuter	māḍuvudu	māḍuvavu	māḍīṭu	māḍiyāvu
	<i>Negative</i>			
	Singular	Plural		
1	māḍe(nu)	māḍevu		
2	māḍe	māḍari		
3 masculine	māḍa(nu)	māḍaru		
feminine	māḍaḷu	māḍaru		
neuter	māḍadu	māḍavu		

auxiliary *ār-* ‘can, be able’, retain a full negative paradigm, e.g. *adannu māḍ-al ār-en* ‘I cannot<sub>3</sub> do<sub>2</sub> it<sub>1</sub>’, *nīvu hōg-al ār-iri* ‘you<sub>1</sub> cannot<sub>3</sub> go<sub>2</sub>’.

The contingent form is modal, conveying the likelihood or unlikelihood that an event may occur. When it is embedded in a subordinate clause, it often expresses the meaning conveyed by the English adverb ‘lest’.

- (13) a. *kaśi.y-annu nānu yāvāga kāṇ-ḍ-ēnu?*  
Kasi-acc I-nom when see-cnt-1s  
‘When am I ever to see Benares?’
- b. *ī kaḍe tale hāk-gīk-ī-ya!*  
this side-nom head-nom put-echo-cnt-2s  
‘Don’t dare show your head here.’

- c. *joke*, *tapp-ī-ri*  
 care-nom err-cnt-2pl  
 'Careful, (lest) you might be wrong.'

Besides these full paradigms, Kannada has other finite forms, among them the imperative, the optative and the hortative. The imperative has familiar and polite forms, *māḍ-u* 'do, make' and *māḍ-iri* 'please do', respectively. Further gradations of politeness can be expressed by the addition of certain clitics to these two forms. Modern Kannada lacks a simple negative imperative, resorting instead to compound forms in which such modal auxiliaries as *bēḍa* 'must not' or *bāraḍu* 'should not' combine with a non-finite form of the main verb, as *māḍa bēḍa* 'don't do, make', *māḍa bāraḍu* 'one shouldn't do, make'. The optative adds the suffix *-ali* to the verb stem, e.g. *māḍ-ali* 'may it be done, made/it should be done, made'; the hortative adds *-ōṇa*, as in *māḍ-ōṇa* 'let us do, make'. As with the imperative, the negative of the optative and hortative are also compound verbs.

Non-finite verbs encompass two sets of forms: those that combine with a following verb and those that combine with a following nominal. The first set includes the conjunctive, the infinitive and the conditional forms; the second set includes the adnominal forms and certain verbal nouns.

Non-finite verb forms that combine with a following verb appear in complex structures such as compound verb constructions and complex clause structures. There are two conjunctive forms: the anterior conjunctive suffixes *-i* and other allomorphs to the verb stem, e.g. *māḍ-i* 'having done, made', *kare-du* 'having called'; the simultaneous conjunctive suffixes *-(u)ttā* to the verb stem, e.g. *māḍ-uttā* 'while doing, making', *kare.y-uttā* 'while calling'. These forms mark taxis, or relative tense, not absolute tense. Corresponding to these two positive forms is a single negative conjunctive form which suffixes *-ade* to the verb stem, e.g. *māḍ-ade* 'not doing, making'.

The simple infinitive in modern literary Kannada suffixes *-al(u)* to the verb stem, e.g. *māḍ-al(u)* 'make'; it is one of the most common non-finite forms in the literary language and occurs in a variety of contexts discussed below. Its occurrences, however, are somewhat narrower in spoken Kannada, e.g. it appears in compound verbs *māḍ-al āren* 'I.cannot<sub>2</sub> do, make<sub>1</sub>', *hōg-al illa* '(one) didn't go'. Spoken Kannada often suffixes the dative case marker *-ikke* to the simple infinitive, e.g. *tar-al-ikke* '(in order) to bring', in purpose constructions. Another form that suffixes *-vudakke* to the verb stem also occurs, e.g. *māḍ.u-vudakke* 'make'. This form, commonly pronounced as *-ōdakke* or even *-ōkke*, formally consists of the verb stem *māḍ(u)-*, the future verbal noun formative *-v.udu* and the dative case marker *-kke*.

The conditional verb form, which marks the protasis of a conditional proposition, suffixes *-are* to the past stem, e.g. *māḍ-id-are* 'if one does, makes', *kare-d-are* 'if one calls'. The negative conditional is a compound verb that consists of the negative conjunctive of the main verb and the conditional of the auxiliary *iru* 'be located', e.g. *māḍ-ade idd-are* 'if one does not do, does not make'. When the

auxiliary *hōgu* 'go' replaces *iru* 'be' in this context, it conveys the speaker's negative attitude towards the event, e.g. *adannu māḍ-ade hōd-are* 'if one does not do it'. When the clitic =*ū* 'and' combines with the conditional, it creates a concessive conditional so that *kared-ar=ū* 'even if one calls' consists of *kared-are* 'if one calls' and =*ū* 'and'.

The adnominal forms distinguish between the past and the non-past, e.g. *māḍ-id-a* 'which did, made', *kare-d-a* 'which called', *māḍ-u.v-a* 'which does, makes', *kare.y-u.v-a* 'which calls'. There is but one simple negative form corresponding to both: *māḍ-ada* 'which didn't/doesn't do, make', *kare.y-ada* 'which didn't/doesn't call'. As the discussion on Kannada syntax shows, adnominal forms are instrumental to the formation of relative clauses, adverbial clauses and noun complements.

Besides these simple verb forms, Kannada makes extensive use of periphrastic verb forms, some of which are discussed here. Auxiliary compound verbs express those verbal categories that are not expressed by any simple verbal suffix of the language, such as perfect tense or benefactive voice. The verb *iru* 'be' and its negative suppletive variant *illa* 'not be', noted earlier, function as auxiliaries in several constructions. *iru* combines with the anterior conjunctive form of the main verb to create a perfect tense series (14). Here the existence of a distinct future tense form for *iru* 'be' in spoken Kannada permits the formation of a future perfect series. Auxiliary *iru* also combines with the simultaneous conjunctive form to create a progressive tense series (15).

- (14) a. *ninne akka jātrege*  $v_1[v_2[hōg(i)]v_2]$   
 yesterday elder.sister-nom fair-dat go-ant.cnj  
 $v_3[id-d-aḷu]v_3]v_1$ .  
 be-pst-3sf  
 'Yesterday, (my) elder sister had gone to the fair.'
- b. *avanu allige*  $v_1[v_2[hōg(i)]v_2 v_3[iddāne]v_3]v_1$ .  
 he-nom there-dat go-ant.cnj be-prs-3sm  
 'He has gone there.'
- c. *nīvu eḷu.v-aṣṭa.r-alli nānu*  $v_1[v_2[hōg(i)]v_2]$   
 you-nom get.up-adn-that.much-loc I-nom go-ant.cnj  
 $v_3[irutīni]v_3]v_1$ .  
 be-fut-1s  
 'By the time you get up, I will have gone.'
- (15) *nānu īga.l=ē kuvempunagara-kke*  $v_1[v_2[hōguttā]v_2]$   
 I-nom now=emp Kuvempunagara-dat go-sml.cnj  
 $v_3[iddīni]v_3]v_1$ .  
 be-prs-1s  
 'I am going to Kuvempunagara right now.'

Additional auxiliaries that combine with the anterior conjunctive form include

*biḍu* ‘leave’, *hōgu* ‘go’, *koḍu* ‘give’ and *hāku* ‘put’, among many others. Auxiliary *biḍu*, like its Tamil counterpart *viṭa* ‘leave’, may indicate that the action of the main verb is completed or is unexpected relative to the context (16). The auxiliary *koḍu* ‘give’ indicates that the action is done for the benefit of someone other than the subject (17).

- (16) *eraḍu nimiṣadalli eṇṇu mayli* v<sub>1</sub>[v<sub>2</sub>[*ōḍi*]<sub>v2</sub> v<sub>3</sub>[*biṭṭa*]<sub>v3</sub>]<sub>v1</sub>.  
two minute-loc eight mile run-ant.cnj leave-pst-3sm  
‘He ran eight miles in two minutes! (it was unexpected).’
- (17) *śrīpati baṭṭe* v<sub>1</sub>[v<sub>2</sub>[*ogedu*]<sub>v2</sub> v<sub>3</sub>[*koṭṭa*]<sub>v3</sub>]<sub>v1</sub>.  
Sripati-nom clothes-nom wash-ant.cnj give-pst-3sm  
‘Sripati washed the clothes (for someone else).’

A number of modal auxiliaries govern the infinitive of the main verb, *bēku* ‘must, must, want’ (18a), *bahudu* ‘be possible’ (18b) being two of the more common ones.

- (18) a. *nīvu allige jarurāgi* v<sub>1</sub>[v<sub>2</sub>[*hōga(l)*]<sub>v2</sub> v<sub>3</sub>[*bēku*]<sub>v3</sub>]<sub>v1</sub>.  
you-nom there-dat urgently go-inf must-prs-3sn  
‘You must go there urgently.’
- b. *lakṣmi manege* v<sub>1</sub>[v<sub>2</sub>[*hōga*]<sub>v2</sub> v<sub>3</sub>[*bahudu*]<sub>v3</sub>]<sub>v1</sub>.  
Lakshmi-nom house-dat go-inf be.possible-prs-3sn  
‘Lakshmi can/may go there.’

### Indeclinables

The question of whether Kannada contains a class of adjectives that is distinct from nouns is still debated in the literature (Spencer 1950: 239ff; see Sridhar 1990: 248ff for a summary). In the examples below, the so-called adjective *tunṭa* ‘naughty’ functions predicatively or attributively. As a predicate, it behaves like a noun in that it agrees with its subject in number and gender, but as an attribute, it is invariant.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (19) a. <i>avanu tunṭa(nu).</i><br>he-nom naughty-m<br>‘He’s (a) naughty boy.’ | a’. <i>ā tunṭa huḍuga</i><br>that naughty boy-nom<br>‘that naughty boy’        |
| b. <i>avaḷu tunṭaḷu.</i><br>she-nom naughty-f<br>‘She’s (a) naughty girl.’     | b’. <i>ā tunṭa huḍugi</i><br>that naughty girl-nom<br>‘that naughty girl’      |
| c. <i>avaru tunṭaru.</i><br>they-nom naughty-pl<br>‘They’re naughty persons.’  | c’. <i>ā tunṭa huḍugaru</i><br>that naughty boy-pl-nom<br>‘those naughty boys’ |

The majority of scholars treat *tunṭa* as a noun meaning ‘naughty person’

which has an invariant form when it occurs attributively. While some have countered that such prenominal modifiers cannot host the emphatic clitic particle = $\bar{e}$  'even', this restriction appears to be syntactic in nature, not an argument for a separate part of speech.

There is also a small set of words which seem to function as adverbs. The form *bēga* 'quickly' in *avanu bēga banda* 'he<sub>1</sub> came<sub>3</sub> quickly<sub>2</sub>' functions adverbially here, but in other contexts behaves like a noun meaning 'speed' as in the phrase *avanu banda bēga* 'the speed<sub>3</sub> with which he<sub>1</sub> came<sub>2</sub>'. Many forms that are translated into English as adverbs end in *-āgi*, which is historically the anterior conjunctive form of *āgu* 'become', e.g. *huṣar-āgi* 'carefully'. A form such as *tumba* 'very', as in the phrase *tumba jorar-āgi* 'very<sub>1</sub> loudly<sub>2</sub>', is historically the infinitive of *tumbu* 'fill'. These so-called indeclinables, adjectives and adverbs, may be treated as defective verbs or nouns; their number is, in any event, very small in the language.

### Clitics

All clitics in Kannada are postclitic: they attach at the extreme right of their host constituent. While they form a phonological word with their host, they often take a full constituent, clause or sentence in their scope. Their functions range from emphasis, to quantification, to discourse markers. Perhaps the most common one in Kannada is the interrogative clitic = $\bar{a}$ , which makes a yes–no question out of a declarative sentence (20a) when it appears at the end of the sentence (20b). When a particular constituent within the sentence (21a) is questioned, the clitic is attached to the questioned constituent and the sentence is transformed into a clefted structure (21b). The finite verb of the unclefted sentence becomes a verbal noun in its clefted counterpart.

- (20) a. *avanu maneyalli iddāne.*  
 he-nom house-loc be-prs-3sm  
 'He is in the house.'
- b. *avanu maneyalli iddān= $\bar{a}$ ?*  
 he-nom house-loc be-prs-3sm=int  
 'Is he in the house?'
- (21) a. *rāṅgana ī pustaka koṇḍa*  
 Rangana-nom this book buy-pst-3sm  
 'Rangana bought this book.'
- b. *rāṅgan= $\bar{a}$  ī pustaka koṇḍiddu*  
 Rangana-nom=int this book buy-pst-vn  
 'Is it Rangana who bought this book?'

The clitic = $\bar{e}$  is attached to a constituent for emphasis; it often indicates that the information conveyed by its host is salient or unexpected in the current context, e.g. *maneg= $\bar{e}$  hōgōṇa* 'let's go home (not somewhere else)'. It attaches to all

types of constituents except demonstrative adjectives, e.g. *ā* ‘that’, and prenominal adjectives, e.g. \**kull̥=ē huduga* ‘a very short boy’.

Two clitics appear to be general between quantifiers and conjunctions. The clitic =*ū* ‘and, all’ may conjoin two noun phrases, e.g. *nān=ū nīv=ū ā sinima nōdidevu* ‘both.you<sub>2</sub> and.I<sub>1</sub> saw<sub>5</sub> that<sub>3</sub> movie<sub>4</sub>’. It combines with the conditional verb form to generate a concessive form, so that *ōdidar=ū* ‘even though one reads’ may be interpreted as ‘in all cases where one reads’. The clitic =*ō* ‘some, or’ may express alternation, uncertainty or indefiniteness. It conjoins two NPs in *nān=ō nīv=ō* ‘either.you<sub>2</sub> or.I<sub>1</sub>’. In a common usage, it combines with interrogative pronouns to derive indefinite pronouns, e.g. *yār=ō* ‘somebody’ (cf. *yār* ‘who’), *ellige=ō* ‘somewhere’ (cf. *ellige* ‘where’). As a quantifier, it also functions in such complex structures as dubitative constructions and correlative relative clauses (see below). In some dialects, it has also assumed the function of the general interrogative clitic =*ā*.

The tag-question clitic, =*allavā*, =*alla*, has two functions. When it attaches to the end of a sentence, it is a request for confirmation, e.g. *avanu ninne banda.n=allava?* ‘he<sub>1</sub> came<sub>3</sub> yesterday<sub>2</sub>, didn’t he?’ It also appears in appositional and correlative constructions to subordinate a clause to a head noun. This latter function is confined predominantly to the spoken language.

## 5.4 Syntax

Kannada is a left-branching, head-final language. The canonical word order is subject, object, verb, which forms the basis of several word order permutations. In keeping with basic SOV word order, complements precede matrix clauses, genitives precede their nouns and main verbs precede their auxiliaries.

The simple sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. The subject may occur in the nominative case (22, 23) or, under specific conditions, the dative case (24). The predicate may be a finite intransitive or transitive verb (23a–b, 24b). In another important pattern, the predicate may be a predicate nominal without any copula (22a, 24a). A sentence with a predicate nominal such as (22a) is negated with the verb form *alla* ‘not become’ (22b), the negative of the verb *āga* ‘become’. The most common simple sentence, however, consists of a nominative subject and a finite verb as predicate (23); this is the structure in terms of which constituent structure generalisations are framed. The dative-subject construction aside, the agreement pattern in Kannada is nominative-accusative.

- (22) a. *avaru oḷḷeya mēṣṭru*  
 he-hon-nom good teacher-nom  
 ‘He (is) a good teacher.’  
 b. *avaru oḷḷeya mēṣṭru alla.*  
 he-hon-nom good teacher-nom not.become  
 ‘He (is) not a good teacher.’

- (23) a. *nānu ninne manege bande.*  
I-nom yesterday house-dat come-pst-1s  
'I came home yesterday.'
- b. *nīvu ā pustakav.-annu tōrisuttīr=ā?*  
you-pl that book-acc show-npst-2pl=int  
'Will you show (me) that book?'
- (24) a. *avaḷannu kaṇḍu āḷuḷaḷige kutūhāla.*  
she-acc see-ant.cnj man-pl-dat curiosity-nom  
'Seeing her, the men were curious.'
- b. *adu nanage sariyāgi tiḷiyal illa.*  
that-nom I-dat really know-inf be.not  
'I didn't really know that.'

A complex sentence consists of two or more clauses. Aside from parataxis, Kannada has three sets of morphosyntactic devices to form complex clauses. In order of increasing markedness, they are non-finite verb forms, finite predicate embedding operators and independent conjunctions. Unless specific conditions are met, there is only one finite verb per sentence: it occurs rightmost in the structure and c-commands all other verbs. The occurrence of more than one finite predicate in a sentence is, by contrast, relatively marked; additional finite predicates, if any, occur under well-defined conditions.

The marked status of independent conjunctions in Kannada renders the conjunction of two or more finite predicates marked, as well. Nouns, by contrast, may be conjoined through the use of clitics such as =*ū* 'and, all' and =*ō* 'or, some' (25a). Nouns may also be compounded to create conjoined NPs; these *dvandvā* compounds are so productive that pronouns may be compounded in this way (25b).

- (25) a. *nān=ū nīn=ū hōdavarṣa ā sinima nōḍidevu.*  
I-nom=and you-nom=and last.year that movie see-pst-1pl  
'You and I saw that movie last year.'
- b. *nanna-avaḷa sambandha enthadu?*  
I-gen-she-gen relation-nom what.kind-3sn  
'What kind of relationship was there between me and her?'

The three conjunctive forms, the anterior (26a–c), the simultaneous (27) and the negative (28), are often used to link two clauses in a complex structure.

- (26) a.  $s_0[s_1[nēravāgi\ maisūrige\ hōg-i]s_1\ s_2[avanann=ē\ nōḍa]s_2$   
directly Mysore-dat go-cnj he-acc=even see-inf  
 $bēku\ enisitu]s_0.$   
must think-caus-pst-3sn  
'She felt that she should go directly to Mysore and see him.'

- b.  $s_0[s_1[\bar{i}$  *hosa ālanu kaṇḍu*] $s_1$   $s_2[\bar{ā}lugaḷige$  *kutūhāla*] $s_2$ ] $s_0$ .  
 this new man-acc see-ant.cnj man-pl-dat curiosity-noun  
 ‘The men saw this new man, and were curious.’
- c.  $s_0[s_1[maḷe$  *bandu*] $s_1$   $s_2[hole$  *heccitu*] $s_2$ ] $s_0$ .  
 rain-nom come-ant.cnj river-nom increase-pst-3sf  
 ‘The rain fell and the river rose.’
- (27)  $s_0[s_1[\bar{ā}kāśada$  *kaḍe nōduttā* *naḍedare*] $s_1$  *guṇḍi.y-alli* *bīluttīya*] $s_0$ .  
 sky-gen side watch-sml.cnj walk-cnd hole-loc fall-npst-2s  
 ‘If you walk while staring at the sky, you’ll fall in a hole.’
- (28)  $s_0[s_1[tarakariḡa-annu *toḷe.y-ade*] $s_1$  *tinna* *bāradu*] $s_0$ .  
 vegetable-pl-acc wash-neg.cnj eat-inf must-neg  
 ‘One should not eat vegetables without washing (them).’$

The infinitive in *-al* (spoken *-alikke*) may also link two clauses (29a–d). As example (29) shows, it may also subordinate a clause to a noun.

- (29) a.  $s_0[mādhura_i$   $s_1[\emptyset_i$  *bombāy-ige* *hōḡalu*] $s_1$  *nirakaris-id-aḷu*] $s_0$   
 Madhura Bombay-dat go-inf refuse-pst-3sf  
 ‘Madhura refused to go to Bombay.’
- b.  $s_0[mādhura$  *ansige\_i*  $s_1[\emptyset_i$  *patre* *toḷeyalu*] $s_1$  *hēḷ-id-aḷu*] $s_0$   
 Madhura-nom Ansi-dat dishes wash-inf tell-pst-3sf  
 ‘Madhura told Ansi to wash the dishes.’
- c.  $s_0[s_1[rāju$  *janakige* *hana* *koḍalu*] $s_1$  *ellar=ū*  
 Raju-nom Janaki-dat money give-inf all-nom=and  
*cappaḷe taṭṭidarū*] $s_0$ .  
 applause strike-pst-3hon  
 ‘As Raju gave Janaki the money, everybody applauded.’
- d.  $s_0[amma$   $s_1[tarakari$  *taral-ikke*] $s_1$  *aṅḡad-ige* *hōḍaḷu*] $s_0$ .  
 mother-nom vegetables get-inf-dat shop-dat go-pst-3sf  
 ‘Mother went to the shop to get vegetables.’
- e.  $s_0[\bar{ā}dare$  *yāriḡ=ū*  $s_1[bāyi$  *biṭṭu* *āḍalu*] $s_1$  *bhāya*] $s_0$ .  
 but who-dat=and mouth open-ant.cnj speak-inf fear-nom  
 ‘But everyone was afraid to open his mouth and speak.’

The simple conditional verb form marks the prosthesis in a conditional proposition (30a). A counterfactual conditional is formed by a compound verb in which the main verb appears in the anterior conjunctive form and the auxiliary *iru* ‘be’ appears in the conditional (30b). Also, a concessive conditional is formed by cliticising *=ū* ‘and’ to the conditional form (30c).

- (30) a.  $s_0[s_1[cennāgi \quad \acute{o}did-are]_{S_1} \quad o\ddot{l}le \quad kelasa \quad sigatte]_{S_0}$ .  
 well study-cnd good job-nom get-npst-3sn  
 'If one studies well, one will get a good job.'
- b.  $s_0[s_1[nanage \quad avakāśa \quad v_0[v_1[kott(u)]_{V_1} \quad v_2[iddare]_{V_2}]_{V_0}]_{S_1}, \quad \acute{i}$   
 I-dat chance give-ant.cnj be-cnd this  
*sāṅghada mugavann=ē badalāyisi biḍutt(u)*  
 association-gen face-acc=even change-ant.cnj leave-ant.cnj  
*idde]\_{S\_0}*.  
 be-pst-1s  
 'Had I been given the chance, I would have changed the entire complexion of this association.'
- c.  $s_0[s_1[hoṭṭege \quad hiṭṭu \quad v_0[v_1[illad(e)]_{V_1} \quad v_2[iddar]_{V_2}]_{V_0}=\acute{u}]_{S_1}$   
 stomach-dat flour not.be-cnj be-cnd=and  
*juṭṭige mallige hū*.  
 hair-dat jasmine flower  
 'Even though he has no flour (i.e., bread) for his stomach, (he wants) jasmine for his hair.'

Adnominal verb forms subordinate a clause to a head noun, forming such structures as relative clauses (31a), adverbial phrases (31b) and nominal complements (31c-e). Certain verbal nouns may be analysed as adnominal forms with incorporated pronominal heads (32a, b); they commonly occur in cleft sentences (32c).

- (31) a.  $s_0[NP[S_1[nīvu \quad \acute{o}di-d-a]_{S_1} \quad pustaka.v-annu]_{NP} \quad aval-ige$   
 you-nom read-pst-adn book-acc she-dat  
*koḍi]\_{S\_0}*.  
 give-imp-pl  
 'Give her the book that you have read.'
- b.  $s_0[Adv[S_1[maḷe banda]_{S_1} \quad mēle]_{Adv} \quad hoḷe \quad bandu$   
 rain come-pst-adn after river come-ant.cnj  
*ide.y=ē nōḍōna]\_{S\_0}*  
 be-prs-3sn=emp see-hrt  
 'Let us see whether the river is rising after the rain came.'
- c.  $s_0[Adv[S_1[nīvu \quad \acute{i} \quad caṭa \quad biḍ-a-da]_{S_1} \quad horatu]_{Adv}$   
 you-nom this habit leave-neg-adn unless  
*nannannu muṭṭalu biḍuvudilla]\_{S\_0}*.  
 I-acc touch-inf allow-npst-neg  
 'Unless you give up this habit, I won't let you touch me.'
- d.  $s_0[NP_1[S_1[śiva \quad mandirada \quad munde \quad basavaṅṅa \quad maṅṅapa$   
 Siva temple-gen before Nandi-gen pavilion-nom  
*iruvudu]\_{S\_1}]\_{NP\_1} \quad NP\_2[S\_2[ellariḡ=ū \quad gott(u) \quad iru-v-a]\_{S\_2}  
 be-vn-nom all-dat=and know be-npst-anp*

*saṅgati*]<sub>NP2</sub>]<sub>S0</sub>

fact

‘It’s a fact known to everyone that a Nandi hall stands before a Siva temple.’

- e. *N*[*S*[*magaḷ-ige gaṇḍa huḍuk-uva*]<sub>S</sub> *kaṣṭa*]<sub>N</sub> ...  
 daughter-dat husband find-npst-adn difficulty  
 ‘(the) difficulty in finding a husband for his daughter’

- (32) a. *S0*[*S1*[*tintīni ānd(a)re*]<sub>S1</sub> *NP1*[*S2*[*avaru kēḷiddu*]<sub>S2</sub>]<sub>NP1</sub>  
 eat-npst-1s say-cnd he-nom ask-pst-vn

*koḍi*]<sub>S0</sub>.

give-imp

‘If he wants to eat, give him what he asks for.’

- b. *S0*[*NP1*[*S1*[*bālya innū hintirugade iruvudu*]<sub>S1</sub>]<sub>NP1</sub>  
 Balya yet return-neg.cnj be-npst-vn-nom

*NP2*[*āścārya*]<sub>NP2</sub>]<sub>S0</sub>.

surprise-nom

‘It’s a surprise that Balya hasn’t returned yet.’

- c. *S0*[*NP1*[*S1*[*avaḷu illige bandiddudu*]<sub>S1</sub>]<sub>NP1</sub> *itihāsavanna*  
 she-nom here come-pst-prf-vn history-acc

*nōḍalu*]<sub>S0</sub>.

see-inf

‘What she came here for, is to see history.’

The complex sentences above obey the constraint against multiple finite predicates in the Kannada sentence. Such a constraint, however, prevents the formation of a variety of structures, including direct discourse and complex sentences with embedded predicate nominals. To overcome such limitations, certain operators – verbs and clitics – may embed finite predicates within complex structures. The most common verb form functioning in this capacity is *anta* ‘saying’ (33a), the simultaneous conjunctive of the verb *annu/ennu* ‘say’; its literary counterpart is *endu* ‘having said’ (33b), the anterior conjunctive form. As is common in other Dravidian languages, certain other verbs of communication, perception or cognition may on occasion enter this set, such as *nōḍu* ‘see’ (31b, 33c). In fact, the Dharwar and Havyaka dialects have largely replaced *anta* with *hēḷi* ‘having said’, the anterior conjunctive form of *hēḷu* ‘say’ (33d).

- (33) a. *S0*[*śāstrigaḷu piṣumāṭinalli* *S1*[*ēnu āḍa bēḍi. yāra*  
 Sastri-nom whisper-loc anything say-inf must.neg who-gen  
*kiviḡ=ādarū biḍḍītu*]<sub>S1</sub> *endu eccarisidaru*]<sub>S0</sub>.  
 ear-dat=some fall-cnt-3sn say-ant.cnj warn-pst-3hon  
 ‘Sastri warned (her) in a whisper, “You mustn’t say anything. It might fall in someone’s ear”.’

- b.  $s_0$ [*nenne ella kāde*,  $s_1$ [*nīvu āspatre kaḍe bartīr=ā*  
yesterday all wait-pst-1s you hospital side come-npst-2pl=int  
*anta*] $s_1$ ] $s_0$ .  
say-sml.cnj  
'I waited all day yesterday, wondering whether you would come to  
the hospital.'
- c.  $s_0$ [ $s_1$ [*samsāra sāgarad(a) oḷege bidde*] $s_1$  *nōḍa*] $s_0$   
rebirth ocean-gen within fall-pst-1s see-imp  
'See how/that I fell into the ocean of rebirth.'  
(*akkana vacanagaḷu*, 44.1)
- d.  $s_0$ [ $s_1$ [*marne dina beḷigge abbā-hatrā akka bānju*,  
next day morning mother-near sister-nom come-ant.cnj  
*yēn kajjaya māḍte*] $s_1$  *hē(i) kēḷda*] $s_0$ .  
what special.dish make-prs-2s say-ant.cnj ask-pst-3sm  
'The next morning he asked his mother, "Now that sister has come,  
what special dish are you going to make?"'

Forms of the verb *āgu* 'become' may also embed finite predicates. Certain verbs are defective: the modal *bēku* 'must' in (34a) and the past perfect negative compound verb *āḍuttiraila* 'had not spoken' in (34b) both lack conditional forms; both are embedded in a protasis with *ādare* 'if X becomes', the conditional form of *āgu*.

- (34) a.  $s_0$ [ $s_1$ [*avarige ī pustaka aṣṭu ārjēntāgi bēk(u)*] $s_1$   
he-dat this book that.much urgently want-prs-3sn  
*ādare nān=ē hōgi taruttēne*] $s_0$ .  
become-cnd I=emp go-ant.cnj bring-npst-1s  
'If he needs this book so urgently, I'll go and get it myself.'
- b.  $s_0$ [ $s_1$ [*yāru avana edurige āḍuttiralilla.v*] $s_1$  *ādarū*  
who=and he-gen opposite speak-pst-prf-neg become-cnd=and  
*heṅgasara mūlaka ī mātu kāvēriya kivi*  
women-gen through this word-nom Kaveri-gen ear  
*muṭṭuttittu*] $s_0$ .  
reach-pst-prf-3sn  
'Even though no one had spoken directly to him (about this), word of  
this matter had reached Kaveri's ears through women's gossip.'

Certain clitics may also be used to embed finite predicates. Two of the most common clitics are =*ō* 'some, or' and =*alla* 'isn't it'. Both =*ō* (35a–c) and =*alla* (35d) form correlative relative clauses; a greater variety of NPs are accessible on these strategies than are accessible on the adnominal strategy.

- (35) a.  $so[S_1[ellige \quad hōdan]_{S_1}=\bar{o} \quad yārig=\bar{u} \quad gott(u)$   
 where-dat go-pst-3sm=or who-dat=and knowledge-nom  
 $illa]_{S_0}$ .  
 not.be  
 'No one knew where he went to.'
- b.  $so[S_1[brāhmanar \quad āga \quad bēk(u) \quad anta \quad yāruyārige$   
 brahmin-nom become-inf want say-cnj who-who-dat  
 $āśe \quad ide.y]_{S_1}=\bar{o} \quad avarella \quad brāhmanaru]_{S_0}$ .  
 desire-nom be-prs-3sn=or they-nom-all brahmin-pl-nom  
 'Everyone is a brahmin who has the desire to become a brahmin.'
- c.  $so[S_1[S_2[yāvud-annu_i \quad huḍukalu]_{S_2} \quad nīvu \quad iṣṭu \quad kaṣṭa$   
 which.one.acc seek-inf you-nom such difficulty  
 $paṭṭir]_{S_1}=\bar{o} \quad ā \quad pustaka_i \quad ill=\bar{e} \quad ide]_{S_0}$ .  
 befall-pst-2pl=or that book here=just be-prs-3sn  
 'The book, looking for which gave you such trouble, is right here.'
- d.  $NP[S[\bar{a} \quad hāvugaḷu \quad band(a) \quad āga \quad itu]_S]=alla \quad hāge]_{NP}$ .  
 that snake-pl come-pst-adn time be-pst-3sn=tag that.manner  
 'the way it was when those snakes came'

The conjunctions *mattu* 'and' and *athava* 'or' may conjoin also two finite clauses (36). Their use is more marked than that of the non-finite forms, but they permit greater syntactic flexibility. For example, Sridhar (1990) shows that co-ordinate constructions with conjunctions such as *mattu* 'and' permit greater flexibility than those with such clitics as  $=\bar{u}$  'and, all': one can question one member of a conjunct when *mattu* conjoins the two (37b), but not when just the clitic is used (37a). The conjunctions *mattu* 'and' (38a) and *athava* 'or' (38b) may conjoin two adnominal forms.

- (36)  $so[S_1[dineśa \quad tiṇḍi \quad tiṇḍa]_{S_1} \quad mattu \quad S_2[hālu \quad kuḍida]_{S_2}]_{S_0}$ .  
 Dinesh-nom snack eat-pst-3sm and milk drink-pst-3sm  
 'Dinesh ate a snack and drank some milk.'
- (37) a.  $*rāju \quad beṅgalūr-ig=\bar{u} \quad ell-g=\bar{u} \quad hōda$   
 Raju Bangalore-dat=and where-dat=and go-pst-3sm  
 'Where did Raju go to Bangalore and?'
- b.  $gauḍa \quad kār-ann=\bar{u} \quad mattu \quad ēn-ann=\bar{u} \quad koṇḍiddane$ .  
 Gowda car-acc=and and what-acc=and buy-prs.prf-3sm  
 'What did Gowda buy a car and?'
- (38) a.  $so[gumpu \quad sēri \quad NP_0[S_1[maḍikeri.y-inda \quad hora \quad hōguva]_{S_1}$   
 crowd-nom join-ant.cnj Mercara-src outside go-npst-adn  
 $mattu \quad S_2[baruva]_{S_2} \quad NP_1[ella \quad bassugaḷannu]_{NP_1}]_{NP_0}$   
 and come-npst-adn all bus-pl-acc



noun to derive personal nouns; its use seems to be restricted to 'institutional' contexts (see Sridhar 1990: 265). Note the following pairs: *jamīnu* 'land' and *jamīn-dāra* 'land-owner'; *balake* 'use' and *balake-dāra* 'consumer'; *bāḍige* 'rent' and *bāḍige-dāra* 'tenant'; *uddime* 'enterprise' and *uddime-dāra* 'entrepreneur'. The suffix *-kāra/-gāra* derives an agentive noun; the feminine form is *-gārti*. Note in the following pairs that this suffix, which is probably of Indo-Aryan origin, combines first with a Sanskritic noun and then with a Dravidian noun: *kate* 'story' and *kate-gāra* 'storyteller', *mātu* 'talk' and *mātu-gāra* 'conversationalist'. The suffixes *-kōra* and *-kōri*, both from Persian *khora*, also form agentive nouns, but they additionally convey a pejorative connotation: *lañca* 'bribe' vs *lañca-kōra* 'bribe-taker', *daga* 'cheating' vs *daga-kōra* 'a cheat'. The suffix *-īkarana*, from Sanskritic sources, helps to create translation equivalents of English nouns in *-isation*: *nagara* 'city' vs *nagar-īkarana* 'urbanisation', *nava* 'new' vs *nav-īkarana* 'modernisation', *islam* 'Islam' vs *islam-īkarana* 'Islamisation'.

The Sanskritic prefix *apa-* derives the negative counterparts of the nouns to which they are attached: *khyati* 'fame' vs *apa-khyati* 'disgrace', *nambike* 'trust' vs *apa-nambike* 'mistrust'. In the second instance, the Sanskritic prefix has been joined to a Dravidian base. The prefix *ati-* derives nouns with the meaning 'excessive' or 'over-': *āṣe* 'desire' vs *ati-āṣe* 'greed', *indriya* 'sense organ' vs *ati-indriya* 'extra-sensory'. The prefix *prati-* creates derivatives with the sense of 'opposite', 'counterpart' or 'contrary': *mātu* 'speech' vs *prati-mātu* 'retort', *kriye* 'action' vs *prati-kriye* 'reaction'. It should be noted that *prati* has also become an independent noun in Kannada meaning 'copy, offprint, imitation'. It may therefore be possible to re-analyse these forms as common N+N compounds, following the prevalent Kannada pattern.

The suffix *-tana* (cf. Tamil *-taṇam*) forms abstract derivatives. From *oḷeya* 'good', we derive *oḷeya-tana* 'goodness', from *huccu* 'craze', *huccu-tana* 'craziness'. This suffix may even be attached to phrases to form delocutive nouns, e.g. the compound *appane-mahāsvāmi-tana* 'yes-my-lord-ism', 'yes-man-ism' creates an abstract noun from the phrase *appane mahāsvāmi* 'yes, lord'. Similarly, the phrase *dina nānu* 'humble I' may combine with this suffix to form *dina-nānu-tana* 'humble-me-ness', viz. 'inferiority complex'. This suffix may also attach to echo compound formations, e.g. *-tana* may be suffixed to *kaḷḷa-giḷḷa* 'theft and the like' to form *kaḷḷa-giḷḷa-tana* 'crimes such as theft' (see below).

The derivation of verbs from nouns is more restricted, reflecting the inherited closure on the set of verb bases in Dravidian. The suffix *-isu* (cf. Telugu *-incu*) is used increasingly to derive verbs from nouns, as in *patra-isu* 'write letters' (*patra* 'letter') and *prayātm-isu* 'try' (*prayātma* 'attempt'). It is used extensively with loans from Sanskritic and other sources, sometimes with a truncation of the lexical base as in *mand-isu* 'propose' (*mandane* 'proposition') and *cunāy-isu* 'elect' (*cunāvāṇe* 'election' < Marathi). Further, the suffix *-isu* may be used to increase the valence of a verb: it makes a transitive verb out of an intransitive, and a causative verb out of a transitive. Consider the following pairs: *tinnu* 'eat'

vs *tinn-isu* 'feed', *kali* 'learn' vs *kal-isu* 'teach', *kollu* 'kill' vs *koll-isu* 'cause to kill'. The creation of verbs from nouns is most commonly achieved through compounding a noun with one of a handful of verbs such as *māḍu* 'do, make', *āgu* 'become', and *paḍu* 'befall'. Consider the following pairs: *maduve* 'marriage' vs *maduve āgu* 'get married', *pās* 'passing grade' (< English) vs *pās āgu* 'pass an exam', *āśe* 'desire' vs *āśe paḍu* 'crave', *hālu* 'destruction' vs *hālu māḍu* 'destroy', *tirmāna* 'decision' vs *tirmāna māḍu* 'conclude, decide'.

Compounding is used in many other instances. The following noun–noun compounds consist of two members, the first of which is often a hyponym of the second, as in *bēsiḡe kāla* 'summer season', *māvina kāy* 'mango unripe.fruit', *baṭṭe aṅgaḍi* 'cloth shop'. The process is recursive so that complex compounds may be formed, as in *are-tale-nōvu* 'half head ache' and *nere-mane-suddi* 'neighbouring house news'.

Kannada has productive *dvandvā* compounding in which two nouns of equal status combine to signify the set that contains both. Only the second member is inflected for nominal morphology. The compound *tande-tāyi* 'parents' consists of *tande* 'father' and *tāyi* 'mother', *kaṅṅu-mūgu* 'facial features' consists of *kaṅṅu* 'eye' and *mūgu* 'nose', *bassu-kāru* 'vehicles' consists of *bassu* 'bus' and *kāru* 'car', both nouns borrowed from English. The process is so productive that even pronouns participate, e.g. *nanna-avaḷa snēhita* 'the friendship between me and her'. Similar to this are reduplicating compounds, as in *manusya-manusya.ra sambandha* 'the relationship between men', *bīdi-bīdi* 'every, any street' (*bīdi* 'street'). Reduplication is not, however, restricted to nouns; verbs may also be reduplicated as in *attu attu* 'crying and crying'.

Kannada, like many other Dravidian languages, has an echo compound formation which applies to nouns and verbs alike. These resemble reduplicating compounds, but the first syllable of the second member of the compound is replaced by an 'echo' syllable, *gi-*, *pa-*, or, in Havyaka, *bi-*. The echo syllable has the same length as the first syllable of the echoed word. Such compounds give the meaning '...and the like'; they tend to appear in affective contexts such as modal forms, the contingent, the negative and the conditional. Their use is frequently emotionally charged, indicating that the speaker does not care to specify the subject matter further. Consider *hallu-gillu* 'teeth and the like' (*hallu* 'tooth'), *āṭa-gīṭa* 'games and the like' (*āṭa* 'game'), *snēhitaru-gīhitaru* 'friends and the like' (*snēhitaru* 'friends'). If the word to be echoed begins in *gi-* or *gī-*, however, the echo syllable used is *pa-*, otherwise the echo compound would be indistinguishable from an ordinary reduplicating compound, e.g. *giḍa-paḍa* 'plants and the like' (*giḍa* 'plant'), *gīṭu-pātu* 'lines and the like' (*gīṭu* 'lines'). However, the syllable *pa-* is frequently substituted for *gi-*: *eṅṅalu-paṅṅalu* 'pollution and the like' (*eṅṅalu* 'pollution, filth'), *suḷḷu-paḷḷu bēḍa* 'lies and the like (are) unnecessary', *kālij-pālij* 'college and the like'. Both (40b) and (40c) echo the dative noun *holakke* 'to the field' in (40a); note that in (40a) the dative case suffix attaches to the entire compound while in (40b) it attaches to each member of the compound. While echo compounds are attested in the medieval *vacana*

literature, they come from the spoken register of the language. In the Havyaka dialect, they have lost much of the emotional connotation their use carries and are often mere variants of ordinary reduplicating compounds.

- (40) a. *avanu hola-kke hōg(i) ira bahudu.*  
 he-nom field-dat go-ant.cnj be-inf be.possible-prs-3sn  
 'He may have gone to the field or some place.'
- b. *avanu hola-gila-kke hōg(i) ira bahudu.*  
 he-nom field-echo-dat go-ant.cnj be-inf be.possible-prs-3sn  
 'He may have gone to the field or some place.'
- c. *avanu hola-kke gila-kke hōg(i) ira bahudu.*  
 he-nom field-dat echo-dat go-ant.cnj be-inf be.possible-prs-3sn  
 'He may have gone to the field or some place.'

In the two examples below, a contingent verb form serves as the basis of the echo compound: in (41a) only the past stem, the basis of the contingent form, is echoed while in (41b) the entire contingent form is echoed.

- (41) a. *nīvu yāra kailādarū bāyi biṭṭ-giṭṭ-īra, huṣāru.*  
 you-nom who-gen hand-loc-any mouth open-echo-cnt-2plcare-nom  
 'Take care lest you tell anyone, or do any such thing.'
- b. *cikkappannu biṭṭu giṭṭu ellādarū hōdīye*  
 uncle-acc leave-ant.cnj echo-ant.cnj anywhere go-cnt-2s  
*gīdīye.*  
 echo-cnt-2s  
 '(Be careful lest) you might get separated from your uncle or something, and might go off somewhere or something.'

The productivity of word-formation in Kannada is yet another illustration of the extent to which the Dravidian languages make use of their morphological and lexical processes. As noted in the section on syntax, morphology and lexicon figure prominently in the construction of complex structures. Even though Kannada has borrowed such phenomena as prefixes and conjunctions, it has more or less assimilated them to the core Dravidian processes in the language.

## Bibliography

- Andronov, Mikhail (1969) *The Kannada Language*, Moscow: Nauka Publishing House.
- Bhat, D.N.S. (1978) *Kannada vākyagaḷu: antarika racane mattu ardhavyāvasthe* [Kannada Sentences: A Study of Syntax and Semantics], Mysore: Geetha Book House.
- Bright, William (1958) *An Outline of Colloquial Kannada*, Pune: Deccan College.
- Hiremath, R.G. (1980) *The Structure of Kannada*, Dharwad: Prasaranga.
- Kittel, F. (1903) *A Grammar of the Kannada Language*; reprinted in 1982, Delhi: Asian Educational Service.
- McCormack, William (1966) *Kannada, A Cultural Introduction to the Spoken Styles of the*

*Language*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Nayak, H.M. (1967) *Kannada Literary and Colloquial: A Study of Two Styles*, Mysore: Rao and Raghavan.

Schiffman, Harold (1983) *A Reference Grammar of Spoken Kannada*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Shastri, K.G. (1971) *The Havyaka Dialect of North Kanara*, Dharwar: Karnatak University.

Spencer, Harold (1950) *A Kannada Grammar*, Mysore: Wesley Press.

Sridhar, S.N. (1990) *Kannada*, London: Routledge.

---

# 6 Tulu

*D.N.S. Bhat*

## 6.1 Background and History

### Introduction

Tulu (*tuḷu*) is spoken by more than three million people, half as their mother tongue and half as a second language. Its use is confined to a discrete area including most of the South Kanara district (except the north) in Karnataka and Kasaragod Taluk in the north of neighbouring Kerala. Tulu speakers have also migrated within India in pursuit of commercial opportunities; they are consequently found in most major cities even though the Census of India generally counts them as Kannada speakers.

Tulunad (*tuḷunāḍū*), where Tulu is traditionally spoken, is geographically and sociolinguistically compact. Its geographic compactness derives from the natural boundaries that enclose it: the rivers Suvarna and Chandragiri form its northern and southern boundaries while the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea set its eastern and western boundaries. Tulunad thus lies wholly on the coastal belt of Karnataka and Kerala. Its sociolinguistic compactness comes from the fact that throughout the region there is a uniform, two-layered system of communication consisting of two common languages, Tulu and Kannada. People who speak different mother tongues, including Tulu with its different dialects, Kannada (Havyaka, Gowda and Baira dialects), Konkani, Marathi, Malayalam and Koraga, all use a common variety of Tulu for informal communication, as in business, and standard Kannada for formal communication, as in education.

Tulunad was administratively cohesive when it formed part of the Madras Presidency; but the reorganisation of Indian states in 1956–57 disrupted this with the accession of Kasaragod Taluk in the southwest of Kerala. The remainder of the area joined Karnataka.

### Dialect Variation

The Netravati river divides Tulunad into two nearly equal parts, a division that has produced distinct north and south dialect areas. Several phonological and morphological isoglosses coincide with this division, and are discussed later. There are also several social and cultural differences between the two divisions. As a result of closer contacts now being established across the Netravati, how-

ever, these differences appear to be gradually diminishing.

One notable distinction between these two areas is the relative prestige accorded to Tulu as a *lingua franca*. In the north Tulu commands high prestige so that even educated people with different mother tongues use it to communicate. In the south, however, it has less prestige and educated people prefer Kannada for mutual communication. Even so, the rise of Tulu in novels, drama, cinema, and political and cultural forums has recently enhanced the language's status in the south, where its use in formal communication is gaining ground.

This spread of Tulu as a *lingua franca* has also had the effect of establishing a standard dialect, one used in writing and on formal occasions through the entire Tulu-speaking region. Because of the lead taken by northern Tulu speakers in this movement, Common Tulu of the north appears to be emerging as the standard throughout Tulu Nadu.

Geographical distinctions among Tulu dialects are further compounded by social ones based on caste distinctions: the result is an extremely complex network of dialects. A preliminary survey of this network is reported in D.N.S. Bhat (1970), and detailed research based on data for the Tulu Lexicon Project appears in Padmanabha (1990). Monographs of individual dialects (D.N.S. Bhat 1970; S.L. Bhat 1971; Rama 1978), taken together, provide a fairly good picture of Tulu dialects.

Bhat (1970) divides the Tulu-speaking region into four geographical areas: northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest. Padmanabha (1990) postulates an additional south-central area. There are in each area several caste groups which distinguish primarily among three major divisions: brahmin (Sivalli and Shiva), common (including such castes as Bunt, Billava, Gowda, Mogavira) and the rest (Harijans and tribals). There is a tendency among speakers of the third group to abandon their own caste dialects and adopt the common variety of their area, particularly in the north (Padmanabha 1990: 5). Brahmins, at the other end of the social spectrum, generally maintain their distinctive caste dialect, and use Common Tulu only for communicating with other, non-brahmin Tulu speakers.

The geographical distinction between north and south and the social distinction between brahmin and common thus give rise to four major dialects: South Brahmin (SB), North Brahmin (NB), South Common (SC) and North Common (NC). This chapter describes primarily North Common Tulu, which is apparently becoming the standard variety for the entire region. The examples given here come from that dialect unless otherwise stated.

### History and Proto-history

The earliest record of Tulu is an inscription dated to the fifteenth century CE. The seventeenth century saw the composition of two epic poems, *Srī Bhāgavato* and *Kāvēri*. The language did not subsequently produce much literature save the folk genre called *pāḍḍana* and oral forms such as stories, riddles and proverbs. With the arrival of Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century, Tulu saw a revival of written forms through publication of Bible translations and related writings.

Brigel's grammar of Tulu appeared in 1872, Männer's Tulu-English dictionary in 1886 and Paniyadi's grammar of Tulu, written in Tulu after the Paninian tradition, in 1932.

A further resurgence of Tulu writing began twenty years ago and continues to the present. During this period, authors have written novels, collections of poems, stories and dramas in Tulu. An excellent lexicon of Tulu in six volumes is under way; four volumes have already appeared. The lexicon emphasises spoken Tulu, displaying its rich geographical, social and historical variants and copiously illustrating word usage with forms from speech and writing, from the epics and folk literature.

The prehistory of Tulu, particularly its relation with other Dravidian languages, is disputed. According to Subrahmanyam (1968), Tulu belongs to South Dravidian whereas Rao (1982) places it closer to Central Dravidian. Subrahmanyam does concede that Tulu branched off from Proto-South Dravidian earlier than the other South Dravidian languages.

## 6.2 Phonology

### Introduction

Tulu has twenty-one consonants and fourteen vowels, seven short and seven long, given in Table 6.1. This core system is variously enlarged or reduced in different dialects.

**Table 6.1 The phonemes of Tulu**

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	
<b>CONSONANTS</b>						
<b>Stop</b>						
Voiced	p	t	ʈ	c	k	
Voiceless	b	d	ɖ	j	g	
<b>Sonorant</b>						
Nasal	m	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
Oral	v			y		
Lateral		l				
Trill		r				
Fricative		s		ʃ		
	Front		Back		Long	
	Short	Long	Short	Unrounded	Round	Unrounded
			Round			
<b>VOWELS</b>						
High	i	ī	u	ɯ	ū	ū̄
Mid	e	ē	o		ō	
Low	ɛ	ē	a		ā	

The Brahmin dialects add a retroflex lateral *l* and two fricatives, *ʃ* and *h*. It also includes a series of aspirated stops; however, these freely vary with their unaspirated counterparts, mostly in Sanskritic borrowings. The phonological core is reduced in the Koraga and Holeya dialects of the south where, for example, *s* and *ʃ* merge with *c*. (While the Koraga community speaks a separate Dravidian language, some parts of it have abandoned that language in favour of a distinct Koraga dialect of Tulu.) The core is enlarged in the South Common dialect which preserves the earlier contrast between *l* and *l̥*.

A number of automatic processes occur. Word-initial *i* and *e* take an automatic *y*- onglide and word-initial *u* and *o* take an automatic *w*- onglide. Short vowels are slightly long in word-final position. *c* and *j* are affricates rather than plosives; the labiodental glide *v* has the bilabial allophone *w* after rounded vowels and before consonants; and single consonants are slightly longer before glides or trills.

### Phonotactic Constraints

Initial consonant clusters are rare in Tulu, occurring mainly in Sanskritic borrowings. There are no vowel clusters – no diphthongs – as such. Palatals occur before other palatals or before *v*, *y*, or *r*, but not before other consonants. A voiceless stop may never precede a voiced stop. Three-consonant clusters occur only medially; most consist of a nasal, homorganic stop and sonorant. Among the nasals, *ɳ* and *ɳ̥* occur only medially; *ɳ̄*, *ɳ̥̄* and, in the North Common dialect, *ɳ̄* occur only in homorganic clusters in medial position.

The occurrence of *ε* and *u*, short and long, is restricted. Diachronically, *ε* derives principally from *\*ay*; *u* from the split of *u* into *u* and *u* in medial and final positions. The pairs *e/ε* and *u/u* now contrast in all dialects: *kēḍu* ‘jealousy’ (NB) vs *nēḍu* ‘pain’, *batte* ‘he came’ vs *batte* ‘I came’, *aluve* ‘mouth of a river’ vs *aluve* ‘I weep’, *pattu* ‘it will catch’ vs *pattu* ‘catch!’. *ε* generally occurs word-finally. *u* does not occur after labial consonants or, in the northern dialects, rounded vowels.

### Basic Phonological Processes

All noun and verb bases are either light or heavy, a classification that is central to Tulu morphophonemics. Light bases include monosyllabic bases and disyllabic bases with the shape (C)VCV; heavy bases, all others. Several suffixes such as dative *-gu*, genitive *-da*, and locative *-ḍu* have the voiceless alternants *-ku*, *-ta*, and *-ṭu* after light bases: light *pū-ku* ‘to the flower’ vs heavy *kombu-gu* ‘to the horn’, *mara-ta* ‘of the tree’ vs *kallu-da* ‘of the stone’, *mara-ṭu* ‘on the tree’ vs *kallu-ḍu* ‘on the stone’. Further, in northern dialects the plural suffix *-kulu* follows light bases and *-lu* heavy bases: *pū-kulu* ‘flowers’ vs *kombu-lu* ‘horns’. Note that the reduced form *-lu* occurs only in the northern dialects.

The distinction between light and heavy bases also governs the allomorphy of several verbal suffixes. However, among (C)VCV verb bases, only those ending in *i* and *e* are counted light; those ending in *u* or *u* are heavy. For example, the non-past suffix has the allomorph *-p-* after light bases and *-v-* after heavy: *pō-p-e*

'he goes', *bare-p-e* 'he writes', *ōdu-v-e* 'he reads' (NB). The present perfect has the allomorph *-t-* after light bases and *-d-* or *-tud-* after heavy: *pō-t-e* 'he has gone', *bare-t-e* 'he has written', *ōdu-d-e* 'he has read'. Unlike noun morphophonology, disyllabic bases of the form (C)VC are treated as heavy: *kaṭ-v-e* 'he ties', *kaṭ-ud-e* 'he has tied'.

Several irregular formations and dialectal variations complicate the allomorphy of verbal suffixes. For example, (C<sub>1</sub>)VC<sub>2</sub>V bases where C<sub>2</sub> is a nasal, such as *tinu* 'eat' and *unu* 'dine', though heavy from what was said above, take the 'light' suffixes *-p-* for the non-past and *-t-* for the present perfect: *tin-p-e* 'he eats', *tin-t-e* 'he has eaten'.

Tulu does not permit diphthongs to arise either in internal sandhi, where suffixes combine with stems, or in external sandhi, where words are juxtaposed. Elision of one of the vowels or insertion of a glide between the two effectively prevents this. Elision generally occurs where both vowels have the same quality or where the first vowel is *u* or *uu*. Elsewhere an interesting contrast is seen: in internal sandhi *y* is generally inserted if the first vowel is *i* or *ī*, otherwise *v* is inserted: *mugi- + -ontu* yields *mugi.y-ontu* 'finishing', *pō- + -arē* yields *pō.v-arē* 'in order to go', *kaḷe- + -aḍu* yields *kaḷe.v-aḍu* 'let him spend'.

In external sandhi the first vowel is generally retained and the second deleted: *icce* 'desire' + *itnu* 'was' yields *iccetnu* 'had a desire', *kalleda* 'of stone' + *onji* 'one' yields *kalledonji* 'one of stone', *kinni* 'small' + *uppuna* 'being' yields *kin-nippuna* 'being small', *duḍḍu* 'money' + *iddi* 'is not' yields *duḍḍuddi* 'there is no money'. The precise rules that underlie these and other sandhi changes affecting vowel combinations are rather complex.

### Writing System

Tulu has been written in two orthographic systems. Tulu script is an early adaptation of Malayalam script used by Tulu brahmins travelling to Kerala to study Sanskrit texts (Upadhyaya 1988). Inscriptions in Tulu script have recently been discovered and dated to the fifteenth century CE. The two epics, *Srī Bhāgavato* and *Kāvēri*, both from the seventeenth century, were originally set down in this script. Save these and some other writings, Tulu script has been primarily used by brahmins to transcribe Sanskrit texts, a practice that continues to the present. It is otherwise no longer used for writing or publishing Tulu texts.

During the early nineteenth century, Christian missionaries introduced Kannada script for Bible translations and related religious material (see Chapter 2). This practice continues and is followed in Brigel's (1872) Tulu grammar, Männer's (1886) dictionary of Tulu and Paniyadi's (1932) Tulu grammar. The renaissance of Tulu writing in the twentieth century has further consolidated the practice of using Kannada script for Tulu.

In adapting Kannada script for Tulu, writers use the unvocalised consonant graph to represent the combination of consonant + *u*; this is possible because Tulu lacks consonant-final words as such. Specifically, a diacritic called *tale-kaṭṭu*, which suppresses the inherent vowel *a*, is added to the basic consonant

graph (see Chapter 2). The contrast between *e* and *ε*, however, is generally left unmarked. Paniyadi used a special convention to differentiate these vowels in his 1932 grammar, which Upadhyaya uses in his 1988 Tulu Lexicon: this is the addition of two *talekattus* to the basic consonant graph.

### 6.3 Morphology and Parts of Speech

Tulu has three morphologically distinct word classes: nouns, verbs and indeclinables. The language has only two types of inflectional suffixes: nominal suffixes marking number and case, and verbal suffixes marking such categories as causative, reflexive, completive; tense and mood; and person, number and gender. Indeclinables, including what have been called adjectives and adverbs, generally take no inflections when they are used to modify nouns and verbs.

#### Nouns

Noun morphology is simpler than verb morphology. Nouns mark a singular-plural number distinction, with singular unmarked. Plurality is conveyed by the suffixes *-ruu*, *-allu* and *-kulu*. *-ruu* occurs primarily with animate nouns ending in *e* (*e* marks masculine gender in some of these nouns): *kalve* ‘thief’ becomes *kalve-ruu* ‘thieves’; *kudke* ‘fox’, *kudke-ruu* ‘foxes’. *-allu* (~ *aḍlu*) occurs with kinship terms: *ajje* ‘grandfather’ becomes *ajj-aḍlu/ajj-allu* ‘grandfathers’; *atyε* ‘sister-in-law’, *atyε-ḍlu/atyε-llu* ‘sisters-in-law’. This North Common suffix has the counterparts *aḍikḷu* in South Common and *aḍikḷu* in North and South Brahmin. *-kulu* occurs elsewhere. The full form *-kulu* occurs after light bases (i.e. monosyllables and disyllables with the shape (C)(C)VCV, and has the reduced form *-lu* elsewhere: *eli* ‘rat’ becomes *eli-kulu* ‘rats’ while *kūli* ‘tooth’ becomes *kūli-lu* ‘teeth’. However, the reduced form *-lu* appears not to occur in the southern dialects (Padmanabha 1990: 195).

#### Case

Tulu has eight cases, of which the nominative is unmarked. The remaining seven are signalled by case markers suffixed directly to the nominal base in the singular and to the plural marker in the plural. Accusative case is signalled by *-nuu*, which may in some contexts be left unmarked. There are two directional cases, dative *-guu* and ablative *-ḍdu*, and two locative suffixes, *-ḍu* ‘in, on, with’ and *-ḍε* ‘at, through’. Finally, *-ḍa* marks sociative case and *-da* genitive case. The genitive case has the allomorph *-na* with nouns denoting humans, other nouns ending in *e* and plural nouns.

Case suffixes that begin with a voiced stop, except ablative *-ḍdu*, have allomorphs with the corresponding voiceless stop after light bases. These suffixes also exhibit dialectal variation: for example, the Brahmin dialects have the ablative suffix *-ttuul/-tuu*, and insert a nasal increment between nouns ending in *a* or *o* and case suffixes beginning with a stop.

Some nouns undergo certain changes before case suffixes, usually substitut-

ing one vowel for another. For example, before case markers base-final  $\epsilon$  regularly becomes  $e$  and base-final  $e$  becomes  $a$ : the nominative form *ir $\epsilon$*  ‘leaf’ has the accusative *ire-nu* ‘leaf’, dative *ire-ku* ‘leaf’, and genitive *ire-ta* ‘leaf’ while nominative *kudke* ‘fox’ has accusative *kudka-nu* and dative *kudka-gu*. (Base-final  $\epsilon$  derives from \**ay* and base-final  $e$  from \**an*.) In numerals, all final vowels change to  $e$  before case suffixes, even if the final vowel is the  $u$  or  $u$  of the plural or the  $u$  in the feminine singular suffix *-lu*; *oñji* ‘one’ has accusative *oñjenu*, dative *oñje-gu* and genitive *oñje-ta* while *ālu* ‘she’ has accusative *āle-nu* and sociative *āle-da*. Table 6.2 illustrates the case forms and their allomorphy.

**Table 6.2 Tulu case forms and their allomorphy**

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>mara</i> ‘tree’	<i>mara-kulu</i>	<i>mage</i> ‘son’	<i>maga.l-lu</i>
Accusative	<i>mara-nu</i>	<i>mara-kul-enu</i>	<i>maga-nu</i>	<i>maga.l-l-enu</i>
Dative	<i>mara-ku</i>	<i>mara-kul-egu</i>	<i>maga-ku</i>	<i>maga.l-l-egu</i>
Ablative	<i>mara-ḍdu</i>	<i>mara-kul-eḍdu</i>	<i>maga-ḍdu</i>	<i>maga.l-l-eḍdu</i>
Locative 1	<i>mara-ṭu</i>	<i>mara-kul-eṭu</i>	<i>maga-ṭu</i>	<i>maga.l-l-edu</i>
Locative 2	<i>mara-ṭe</i>	<i>mara-kul-eḍe</i>	—	—
Sociative	<i>mara-ṭa</i>	<i>mara-kul-eḍa</i>	<i>maga-ṭa</i>	<i>maga.l-l-eḍa</i>
Genitive	<i>mara-ta</i>	<i>mara-kul-ena</i>	<i>maga-na</i>	<i>maga.l-l-ena</i>
Nominative	<i>kallu</i> ‘stone’	<i>kallu-lu</i>	<i>pū</i> ‘flower’	<i>pū-kulu</i>
Accusative	<i>kallu-nu</i>	<i>kallu-l-enu</i>	<i>pū-nu</i>	<i>pū-kul-enu</i>
Dative	<i>kallu-gu</i>	<i>kallu-l-egu</i>	<i>pū-ku</i>	<i>pū-kul-egu</i>
Ablative	<i>kallu-ḍdu</i>	<i>kallu-l-eḍdu</i>	<i>pū-ḍdu</i>	<i>pū-kul-eḍdu</i>
Locative 1	<i>kallu-ṭu</i>	<i>kallu-l-eṭu</i>	<i>pū-ṭu</i>	<i>pū-kul-eṭu</i>
Locative 2	<i>kallu-ḍe</i>	<i>kallu-l-eḍe</i>	<i>pū-ṭe</i>	<i>pū-kul-eḍe</i>
Sociative	<i>kallu-ḍa</i>	<i>kallu-l-eḍa</i>	<i>pū-ṭa</i>	<i>pū-kul-eḍa</i>
Genitive	<i>kallu-da</i>	<i>kallu-l-ena</i>	<i>pū-ta</i>	<i>pū-kul-ena</i>

Nouns also have a vocative form which is formed by changing base-final vowels: for example,  $e$  becomes  $\bar{a}$ , *bāve* > *bāvā* ‘brother-in-law!’;  $i$  >  $ye$ , *taṅgaḍi* > *taṅgaḍye* ‘younger sister!’; and  $u$  >  $\bar{o}$ , *arasu* > *arasō* ‘king!’. In plural nouns final  $u$  becomes  $\bar{e}$ , *arasulu* > *arasulē* ‘kings!’.

In addition to case markers, postpositions may follow fully inflected nouns, especially in the genitive, to indicate more specific case relations. Examples include *mittu* ‘above’, *tirtu* ‘below’, *ulayi* ‘inside’, and *pideyi* ‘outside’: *gudde-da mittu* ‘on the hill’ (*mittu* governs the genitive), *āle-ḍdu dumbu* ‘before her’ (*dumbu* governs the ablative).

#### *Pronominal Distinctions*

Pronouns, particularly first and second person, have irregular inflections. The first person singular, *yānu* (*ēnu* in dialects other than North Common), has the oblique stem *en-* before case suffixes. The first person plural distinguishes two forms, exclusive *enkulu* ‘we (not you)’ and inclusive *nama* ‘we (and you)’, but the corresponding verb morphology supplies only one form for both. The second

person singular is *ī* (oblique stem *ni-*); its plural, *nuwgulu*. In the third person, Tulu pronouns mark a proximal-distal spatial distinction as well as a masculine–feminine–neuter gender distinction.

The proximal pronouns have two alternants, one starting with *i*, the other with *u*, which are not semantically distinct; the feminine singular has a third alternant, *mōlu*, derived through loss of the initial vowel and simplification of the resulting cluster. The forms are listed below.

	Proximal	Distal
Masculine	<i>imbe/umbe</i>	<i>āye</i>
Feminine	<i>imbolu/umbolu/mōlu</i>	<i>ālu</i>
Neuter (non-human)	<i>indu/undu</i>	<i>avu</i>

Corresponding to the proximal and distal pronouns, singular and plural, masculine and feminine, there is a single interrogative form, *ēru* ‘who’. For non-humans, there is singular *ovu* ‘which thing’ and plural *oyikulu* ‘which things’. There is also a third person anaphoric pronoun, often called a reflexive: *tānuu* (obl. *tan-*, plur. *taṅkulu*). The Common dialects, but not the Brahmin, distinguish honorific singular and plural in the second and third persons by adding *-ru* in the singular and *-kulu* in the plural to the pronominal base: singular *ī* ‘you’, singular honorific *īru* ‘you’, and plural *nugulu* ‘you’; singular *āye* ‘he’, singular honorific *āru* ‘he’, and plural *agulu* ‘they’.

### Verbs

Tulu is a tense-prominent language in which verbal inflections fundamentally denote tense distinctions. Distinctions of mood and aspect are conveyed by auxiliary verb constructions or by secondary usages of tense markers. Tense marking is thus obligatory and pervasive in the language while modal and aspectual marking may be optional. This distinction characterises finite and non-finite verbs alike.

The Tulu finite verb consists of a verb base, tense suffix and personal ending. The base may incorporate such suffixes as the transitive (restricted), causative, reflexive-continuative or completive. The tense markers involve a primary opposition between past and non-past. The past marks a secondary opposition to the simple past and the present perfect; the non-past, between a present-future and a subjunctive. Personal endings mark the person (first, second or third), number (singular or plural) and gender of the subject. Gender marking occurs only in the third person, distinguishing human and non-human in the plural and masculine, feminine and neuter in the singular (i.e. the singular further divides human into masculine and feminine).

Finite verbs have a restricted, but special distribution in Tulu. With a set of important, principled exceptions, every Tulu sentence generally has one finite predicate, usually a finite verb. All other verbs are non-finite. The position of

finite predicates within the Tulu sentence, as with other South and South-Central Dravidian languages, is governed by syntactic rules.

Verb bases belong to three groups: group I includes monosyllabic bases, (C)VCV bases ending in *i* or *e*, and causative stems; group II includes bases ending in *-pu*, whether it marks transitivity or not; group III includes all other bases. The allomorphy of verbal suffixes is sensitive to this classification of bases. The formative *-pu* of group II bases is generally dropped when certain suffixes are added.

### Stem Formation

Various verb stems are formed by suffixing the causative, reflexive-continuative or completive marker to a verb base. The causative has two allomorphs. *-pā* occurs after group I bases and some group III bases; *-ā*, elsewhere: *bar-pā* 'cause to come' (< *baru* 'come'), *pāḍ-ā* 'cause to put' (< *pāḍu* 'put'), *malp-ā* 'cause to do' (< *malpu* 'do') as in *malpāye* 'he caused (someone) to do it'. The reflexive-continuative has two allomorphs. *-onu* occurs after group I and III bases: *koyy-onu* 'pluck oneself' (< *koy* 'pluck'), *nāḍ-onu* 'search oneself' (< *nāḍu* 'search'). *-tonu* occurs after group II bases: *oy-tonu* 'pull oneself' (< *oypu* 'pull'), *mal-tonu* 'do oneself' (< *malpu* 'do') as in *maltonbe* 'he may do (it) himself'. The reflexive-continuative also conveys continuity, as *un-ton-ḍ-eruu* 'they were standing', and there are several irregularities in this form. The completive has two allomorphs. *-ru* occurs with group III bases, *-truḷ-dru* with all others: *ōḍ-ru* 'read away' (< *ōḍu* 'read'), *oy-truḷ* 'pull away' (< *oypu* 'pull'), *sū-dru* 'finish looking' (< *sū* 'look'), *ben-dru* 'work away' (< *ben* 'work') as in *bendre* 'he may work away'. The reflexive-continuative and completive suffixes appear to historically derive from earlier auxiliary verbs (see Steever 1993): the *t* and *d* in the second allomorphs of the reflexive-continuative and completive suffixes appear to be the remnants of earlier conjunctive forms.

### Tense Suffixes

The allomorphy of tense markers is broadly outlined in Table 6.3. The first part of this table gives the allomorphs of the markers while the second part gives tense forms in the third person masculine singular for three different bases. These forms come from the North Common and North Brahmin dialects.

Several irregularities and dialect variations affect the allomorphy of tense markers. When, for example, a verb base ends in a nasal and *u* or *u*, the immediate past suffix is *d* or *ḍ*, as in *tin-d-e* 'he ate', *uṅ-ḍ-e* 'he dined'. It also has a zero allomorph after group I and III bases in the third person neuter singular, as in *pōnu* 'it went', *ōḍunu* 'it read'. The non-immediate past has devoiced alternants *-tut-* and *-t-* in the southern dialects (*bat-tut-e* 'he has come', *ōḍu-t-e* 'he has read'). In the southern dialects, the indefinite non-past suffix is *-v-* after group III bases, as well.

**Table 6.3 The North Common and North Brahmin tense markers**

Bases	Past	Present perfect	Non-past	Subjunctive
<b>NC TENSE MARKERS</b>				
Group I pō 'go'	-y- pō-y-e 'he went'	-t- pō-t-e 'he has gone'	-p- pō-p-e 'he goes'	-v- pō-v-e 'he may go'
Group II kalpu 'learn'	-t- kal-t-e 'he learned'	-d- kal-d-e 'he has learned'	-v- kalpu-v-e 'he learns'	-Ø- kalp-e 'he may learn'
Group III pāteru 'speak'	-y- pāter-y-e 'he spoke'	-d- pāter-d-e 'he has spoken'	-v- pāter-v-e 'he speaks'	-Ø- pāter-e 'he may speak'
<b>NB TENSE MARKERS</b>				
Group I pō 'go'	-y- pō-y-e 'he went'	-t- pō-t-e 'he has gone'	-p- pō-p-e 'he goes'	-v- pō-v-e 'he may go'
Group II balipu 'run'	-t- bali-t-e 'he ran'	-tud- bali-tud-e 'he has run'	-v- balip-v-e 'he runs'	-Ø- balip-e 'he may run'
Group III odu 'read'	-y- ōd-y-e 'he read'	-d- ōdu-d-e 'he has read'	-v- ōdu-v-e 'he reads'	-Ø- ōd-e 'he may read'

*Personal Endings*

Personal endings are suffixed to the tensed stems described earlier, and show little allomorphic variation: only the third person neuter singular endings exhibit any. Likewise, dialect differences occur mainly between North Common Tulu and the other dialects. Table 6.4 illustrates these suffixes for North Common Tulu with the past tense of *kalpu* 'learn' and North Brahmin Tulu with the past tense of *kaṭuu* 'tie'.

The neuter singular suffix has the allomorph *-nuu* in the immediate and non-immediate past (*kaṭnuu* 'it tied', *kaṭudnuu* 'it has tied'), *-uṇu* in the definite non-past (*kattuṇu* 'it ties') and *-u* in the indefinite non-past (*kaṭtu* 'it may tie'). This holds for the Brahmin dialects; the Common dialects have the allomorphs *-uṇḍu*, *-uṇḍu* and *-u*, respectively, in these contexts. Besides these alternants, North Common Tulu has *-a* for the first person plural and the third person plural non-human, so that *kaṭya* means 'we tied' or 'those things tied'. This dialect has *-olu* for the third person feminine singular: *barpolu* 'she comes'.

*Other Finite Forms*

Besides these four paradigms, Tulu also forms a counterfactual paradigm by suffixing the non-past suffix *-(u)v-* to the present perfect stem, which is then inflected for personal endings (*pō-t-v-e* 'he would have gone', *bat-tud-v-e* 'he would

**Table 6.4 Personal endings for North Common and North Brahmin Tulu**

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
NORTH COMMON				
I	-ε	-a	kalt-ε	kalt-a
II	-a	-aru	kalt-a	kalt-aru
III Masc.	-e	-eru	kalt-e	kalt-eru
Fem.	-olu		kalt-olu	
Neut.	-uṇḍu	-a	kalt-uṇḍu	kalt-a
NORTH BRAHMIN				
I	-ε	-o	kaṭy-ε	kaṭy-o
II	-a	-aru	kaṭy-a	kaṭy-aru
III Masc.	-e	-eru	kaṭy-e	kaṭy-eru
Fem.	-alu	-eru	kaṭy-alu	kaṭy-eru
Neut.	-nu	-o	kaṭ-nu	kaṭy-o

have come', *pāḍ-udu-v-olu* 'she would have put'). This suffix has a zero allomorph in the third person neuter singular (*pōtu* 'it would have gone').

Corresponding to these five finite affirmative paradigms are five negative finite paradigms. There are two primary negative suffixes: *-ji* and *-ay/-and*. *-ji* follows the tense marker in the immediate past, present perfect and non-past, and suffixation of personal endings in these paradigms is optional: *pidāḍijolu/pidāḍiji* 'she did not start', *pidāḍijolu/pidāḍiji* 'she has not started', *pidāḍujolu/pidāḍuji* 'she does not start' (< *pidāḍ* 'start'). *-ay/-and* follows the tense suffix in the subjunctive and counterfactual negative paradigms: *pidāḍayolu* 'she would not start', *pidāḍvayolu* 'she would not have started'. The allomorph *and* occurs in the third person neuter singular: *pidāḍandu* 'it will not start'.

#### *Forms Signalling Illocutionary Acts*

Tulu also has partial finite paradigms such as the imperative, prohibitive, hortative, assertive (past and non-past), prospective and permissive. The latter three apparently derive from earlier periphrastic constructions whose second member is now reduced to suffixal status.

Tulu has two main types of imperative. The first suffixes singular *-la* and plural *-le* to the verb base: *ben-la* 'you (sing.) work!', *ben-le* 'you all work!'. The second uses the bare base for the singular and suffixes *-i* for the plural: *kalpu* 'study (sing.)!', *kalpi* 'you all study!'. The second type is restricted, however. It is not available for monosyllabic bases, except *po* 'go' and some others, nor does the plural suffix *-i* occur after (C)VCV bases ending in *i* or *e* or after causative bases (Padmanabha 1990). Prohibitives suffix singular *-da* and plural *-de* to the verb base: *para-da* 'don't drink (sing.)!', *para-de* 'don't drink (plur.)!'.

Rama (1978: 267) observes that South Common Tulu has different imperative suffixes to indicate the addressee's caste, gender or social status: *-be* is used for

a male servant or boy (*pōlam-be* 'you go!'), *-di* for a maidservant or girl (*tinladi* 'you eat!'), *-ya* for servants (*panleya* 'you do!'), *-ga* for male Harijans (*kāpulega* 'you wait!') and *-gaḷe* for female Harijans (*tuttulagaḷe* 'you wear (it)!').

The hortative suffixes singular *-ge* and plural *-ga* to the verb base: *oppuge* 'let me agree', *oppuga* 'let us agree'. After group I bases the initial stop of these suffixes is devoiced: *barkē* 'let me come'. The southern dialects use only a plural hortative, whose form is *-go*.

The assertive suffix *-oḍu* and the prospective suffix *-oli* are added directly to the verb base or the present perfect stem. Those formed on the present perfect stem have an irrealis meaning: *pōvoḍu* 'should go' vs *pōtoḍu* 'should have gone', *pōvoli* 'could go' vs *pōtoli* 'could have gone'. The permissive and negative permissive suffix *-aḍu* and *-oḍci* (Brahmin *-otri*), respectively, to the verb base: *pōvaḍu* 'let (him) go', *pōvoḍci* 'let him not go'.

### Non-finite Verb Forms

Some non-finite forms make temporal distinctions that resemble those noted earlier: the conjunctive, adnominal, conditional and verbal nouns. However, these distinctions are relative (taxis) rather than absolute (tense). Further, the system of temporal distinctions differs in non-finite forms: the adnominal and infinitive forms distinguish non-past, past and present perfect; the conditional forms, anterior and posterior. Conjunctive forms, on the other hand, use wholly different formations to distinguish anterior, simultaneous and posterior. Finally, for each set of these non-finite forms, there is only a single negative form.

Since the distribution of finite predicates is restricted, and since there is no formal class of conjunctions in Tulu, non-finite forms figure prominently in the formation of complex sentences. They also function in the formation of compound verbs.

Adnominal forms suffix *-ī* to the definite non-past, past and present perfect stems: *malp-ī* 'who does', *malt-ī* 'who did', *maltud-ī* 'who has done'. The lone negative adnominal form suffixes *-andī* directly to the verb base: *malp-andī* 'who does not do/did not do/has not done'. All adnominal forms, with certain exceptions, may have extended forms that additionally add *-na* (which resembles the genitive suffix): *malpuna* 'who does', *maltina* 'who did', *maltudina* 'who has done', *malpandina* 'who has/did/does not do'.

Verbal nouns resemble the extended adnominal forms; however, they add *-ni* instead of *-na*: *maltini* 'doing', *maltudini* 'having done', *malpandini* 'not doing'.

The anterior and posterior conditional forms suffix *-ṇḍa* (*-ṇṭa* in southern dialects) to the past and non-past stems, respectively: *pōṇḍa* 'if (one) went', *pōpūṇḍa* 'if (one) goes'. There is no simple negative conditional: it is expressed by cliticising *=ḍa* (*=ṭa* in southern dialects) to the appropriate negative finite form, *popujje=ḍa* 'if he does not go', *potujje=ḍa* 'if he did not go'. Besides the simple conditional form, the affirmative conditional may also be conveyed by cliticising *=ḍa/=ṭa* to the appropriate affirmative finite form, e.g. *pōpe=ḍa* 'if he goes', *pōye=ḍa* 'if he went'.

The anterior conjunctive suffixes *-u* to the past stem: *pāḍud-u* ‘having put’. The posterior conjunctive, also called the purposive, suffixes *-arε* (*-ara* in southern dialects) directly to the bare base: *pāḍ-erε* ‘for putting’. The simultaneous conjunctive has a complex form, one homophonous with the past conjunctive of the reflexive-continuative form: *pāḍ-ondu* ‘(while) putting’. The negative conjunctive suffixes *-andε* directly to the verb base: *pāḍ-andε* ‘without putting’. This last form shows that the final vowel of the conjunctive is rounded by a round vowel in a preceding syllable, as seen in the anterior conjunctive forms *tūdu* ‘having seen’ and *ūndu* ‘having dined’.

### Clitics

Tulu clitics signal diverse notions: dubitative = *ḍo* (South Common *korte* ‘he has given’, *korte=ḍo* ‘he might have given’); conditional = *ḍa* (*barpe* ‘he comes’, *barpe=ḍa* ‘if he comes’); additive = *la* ‘also’ (*baredu=la* ‘having also written’); interrogative = *ā* (*yānu baroḍ=ā* ‘shall I come?’); and emphatic = *ē* (*āyen=ē baradu* ‘let him come himself’). Extra emphasis can also be added to a word by lengthening particular segments: Brahmin *itte* ‘now’ vs *ittte* ‘right now’, *ūcu* ‘good’ vs *ūucu* ‘very good’.

As in other southern languages, Tulu uses clitics in the formation of some complex sentences.

## 6.4 Syntax

Tulu sentences consist of a subject and a predicate. Subjects are noun phrases in the nominative or dative case; predicates may be either nominal or verbal. Sentences with nominal predicates typically consist of two noun phrases and express relations such as characterisation: *avu kempu* ‘it (is) red’; equation: *āye arasu* ‘he (is) king’; location: *nama ūru ā puḍeḍu* ‘our village (is) on that side’; possession: *eṅku mūji jōkulu* ‘I have three children’; and experience: *āyagu kōpa* ‘he (is) angry’. Note these last two examples have subjects in the dative case.

Sentences with verbal predicates obligatorily have a finite verb and, optionally, a set of associated noun phrases. Such sentences tend to denote events rather than relations, and are further classified into action and non-action sentences, where action sentences, but not non-action sentences, involve volitionality. Tulu has two general verbs, *malpu* ‘do, make’ and *ā* ‘become’ which represent action and non-action predicates, respectively. They paraphrase specific predicates, i.e. *unasu malpe* ‘he does dining’, viz. ‘he dines’ paraphrases the action predicate *unpe* ‘he dines’. These two verbs also form action and non-action predicates when combined with borrowed words: *stōpu malte* ‘he stopped (it)’ and *stōpu āṅḍu* ‘it stopped’ create a Tulu action and non-action predicate respectively based on the English word ‘stop’.

Postulation of grammatical relations such as subject, direct object and indirect object is unnecessary: Tulu does not grammaticalise its case markers, nor does it conflate representations of semantic relations such as actor, undergoer,

experiencer and the like with representations of pragmatic relations such as topic and focus. Semantic relations are conveyed by case marking while pragmatic relations are conveyed by word order, emphasis and clitics (see Bhat 1991).

In action sentences, for example, nominative denotes the actor, accusative the undergoer and dative the experiencer. The undergoer may go unmarked when it is an inanimate object, but may be marked for the accusative when emphasised: the object *kelasa* 'work' is not emphasised in *ālu kelasa maltolu* 'she did some work' but is in *ālu kelas-an=lā maltolu* 'she did the work also'. The undergoer appears in the nominative only in non-action sentences, that is, in sentences without an actor. Use of case suffixes such as locative, sociative and ablative is also conditioned exclusively by semantic factors. The crucial point is that Tulu does not distinguish between core and non-core arguments as far as case suffixes are concerned.

Word order is free in Tulu in that any NP to the left of a finite verb can be moved to sentence-initial or preverbal position without affecting the semantic role it represents: *āye mara(-nuu) kaḍpuve* 'he cuts trees' may be transformed into *mara-nuu āye kaḍpuve* 'trees, he cuts'. This movement does affect pragmatic role, however, as the translations indicate. The sentence-initial NP is generally regarded as topic and the NP immediately preceding the verb as focus. A NP may also move rightwards over the finite verb to focus it more strongly; but during this clefting, the verb becomes a verbal noun: *mara kaḍpuni āye* 'it is he who cuts trees'. The position of the question word in interrogative sentences also depends on the notions of topic and focus. It appears sentence-initially only if emphasised: the neutral question *illadeḡu yēru pōyeru* 'who went home?' is emphasised as *yēru illadeḡu pōyeru* 'who is it that went home?'

Within the NP, modifiers such as adjectives, numerals, possessive nouns and adnominal verbs precede the head noun. There is no agreement between the modifiers and head noun, and only the head is inflected for number and case: *boldu nāyi* 'white dog', *mūji nāyi-le-gu* 'for three dogs', *ālṇa nāyi* 'her dog', *jeydina nāyi-gu* 'for the dog which has lain down'.

Verbal modifiers, including adverbial words and conjunctive verbs, tend to precede the nuclear verb: *bēga batte* 'he came quickly', *tinduu pōyolu* 'after eating, she went', *kanare pōye* 'he went to bring (something)'. Tulu also uses compound verb constructions to express certain aspectual and modal notions. For example, an inflected form of auxiliary *buḍu* 'leave' combines with the anterior conjunctive of the main verb to denote completion of an event: *āye mārduu budye* 'he sold (them) off' (cf. Tamil *viṭu* 'leave', Kannada *biḍu* 'id.').

Complex sentences are commonly formed by using non-finite verb forms such as the adnominal, conjunctive forms, conditionals and verbal noun. Relative clauses are formed in Tulu by replacing the finite verb of a sentence by one of the four adnominal forms: non-past, *yānuu parpi pēru* 'milk that I drink', *madmeguu pōpi āñjovu* 'man who goes to the marriage', *kelasoguu barpi poñjovu* 'woman who comes for work'; past, *kelasoguu batti poñjuvu* 'woman who came for work', *kōneḍuu sāmānuu pāḍi(na) parabbe* 'old man who put luggage in the

room'; present perfect, *kelasogu baydi poñjuvu* 'woman who has come for work', *ālu naḍti mara* 'tree that she has planted'; or negative, *kelasogu barandi poñjuvu* 'woman who does/did not come for work', *pada kalpandi bāle* 'boy who did not learn the song'.

Conjoined sentences may be formed by using the conjunctive forms: anterior, *āye santegu pōdu pustaka kanate* 'he has gone to the market and bought a book'; simultaneous, *āye jōkulenu lesundu sālegu pōye* 'he went to school taking the children along'; posterior, *ālu parndu tinare idegu battolu* 'she came here to eat fruit'; and negative, *āye sālegu pōvande oytena untude* 'he is standing somewhere without going to school'. These conjunctive forms, however, can only be conjoined with clauses containing verbal predicates, not nominal ones. Further, if they are agentive, the clause they combine with must have a co-referential subject.

Sentences may also be combined using such words as *bokka* 'and, afterwards' or *ijjanḍa* 'or' (lit. 'if not'): *āye illegu batte bokka jette* 'he came home and lay down', *nigulu idegu balle ijjanḍa yānu aḍegu barpe* 'you come here or I will come there'. Certain clitics such as =*lā* 'and' may also be used to conjoin noun phrases or nominalisations, but not independent clauses: *rāju=lā hari=lā sālegu pōyeru* 'Raju and Hari went to school', *ālu pōpini=lā ī barpini=lā sama āṇḍu* 'her coming and your going coincided' (lit. 'were the same').

Conditionals are formed by using the conditional verb form in *-ṇḍa* or by cliticising =*ḍa* to a finite verb form: *nigulu aḍegu pō-ṇḍa* 'if you go there', *ī ḍudu-ṇḍa* 'if you have read', *yānu aḍegu barpe=ḍa* 'if I come there', *ālu aḍegu pōtal=ḍa* 'if she goes/went there', *avenu kanatuja=ḍa* 'if you have not brought it'.

Verbal nouns are used primarily in cleft sentences, as in the non-past *aḍegu pōpini yānu* 'it is I who go there', past *aḍegu pōyini yānu* 'it is I who went there', past perfect *idegu battudni āye* 'it is he who had come here'. Verbal nouns also occur in questions (e.g. *aḍegu pōpini ēru* 'who is it that goes there?'). Verbal nouns are also used to form nominalisations of sentences and can therefore function as predicate nominals or as arguments with case markers, e.g. *āye panpinedu arto iji* 'there is no meaning in what he says', *onji pakki bultonu pōpunenu kēṇḍe* 'I heard a bird going singing'.

The complementiser =*ndu* 'that' (< \**en+tu* 'saying') is also used to subordinate finite clauses within a sentence: [*āye [katε muginḍu=ndu] panḍe*] 'he said that the story is over'.

## 6.5 Lexicon

Derivational suffixes in Tulu pertain primarily to nouns: several suffixes are used to derive nominal bases from verbal bases, from other nominal bases, as well as from other forms. Verbal derivation, on the other hand, involves only two suffixes, *-pu* and *-su*. In some cases *-pu* transforms intransitive into transitive stems, as in *ori* 'remain' vs *ori-pu* 'preserve' and *bigi* 'be tight' vs *bigi-pu*

'tighten', but in others it is only a meaningless inflectional increment, as in *kodil/koḍipu* 'sprout'. *-su* occurs in just a few bases, as in Brahmin *bōḷu* 'be shaved' vs *bōḷi-su* 'shave', apparently a borrowing from Kannada.

The most frequent nominal derivational suffixes are *-elū*, *-ke/-ge* and *-ne/-ṅe*. These serve to derive nouns from verbal bases: Brahmin *jappu* 'descend' + *-elū* yields *jappelū* 'ebb tide', *biri* 'crack' + *-ke* yields *birike* 'a crack', *tirgu* 'turn' + *-ṅe* yields *tirgaṅe* 'screw'; or from non-verbal bases: Brahmin *koṇḍi* 'hook' + *-elū* yields *koṇḍelū* 'wasp', *gaṭṭi* 'hard' + *-ge* + *-e* 'masc.' yields *gaṭṭige* 'clever fellow'. Also common are the feminine suffixes *-i* and *-ti*: Brahmin *keppe* 'deaf man' vs *kepp-i* 'deaf woman' and *ācāri* 'carpenter' vs *ācār-ti* 'carpenter's wife'.

The Brahmin dialects differ from the others in having more Sanskritic borrowings: compare Brahmin *rāmmani* 'wife' with Common *boḍedi* 'id.', Brahmin *puruṣe* 'husband' with Common *kaṇḍani* 'id.', Brahmin *turṣe* 'thirst' with Common *aṅgadane* 'id.' and Brahmin *vastra* 'cloth' with Common *kuṇṭu* 'id.'. The southern dialects, particularly in the west, show more Malayalam borrowings than the others.

## 6.6 Special Features

### Relation with Other Dravidian Languages

As noted earlier, the position of Tulu within the Dravidian language family is under dispute. Subrahmanyam (1968) argues that it is a South Dravidian language, one that branched off from this subgroup earlier than the other languages. Rao (1982), however, claims it is closer to the South-Central Dravidian languages. The debates in the specialist literature generally focus on ways in which Tulu phonology and morphology differ from those of other Dravidian languages. But the most solid conclusion one may draw from many of these arguments is that these differences represent independent innovations within Tulu rather than shared innovations with the South-Central languages. The further question of affiliating Tulu to a specific subgroup requires a greater understanding of the history and synchrony of languages which are at present only fragmentarily understood. Hence, arguments for subgrouping cannot be considered decisive at our current state of knowledge; as the languages involved come to be known in greater detail and clarity, this issue can be more adequately debated.

### Comparison of Dialects

The history of Tulu has to be written primarily on the basis of its dialect differences and on comparison with other Dravidian languages. Its written history is neither long nor extensive. The epic form differs only slightly from modern spoken forms: it preserves \**z* as distinct from \**l* and \**r* whereas this sound merges with \**l* in Brahmin dialects and with \**r* in Common dialects, Epic *azu* 'cry', Brahmin *aḷu* 'id.', Common *aru* 'id.'; Epic *aḷedu* 'bowl (cattle)', Brahmin *aḷeddu* 'id.', Common *aredu* 'id.'

As noted earlier, spoken Tulu shows two major types of dialect distinctions: a geographical one between north and south, and a caste-based one between Brahmin and Common. These two distinctions crosscut each other, giving rise to the four major dialects: North Brahmin, North Common, South Brahmin and South Common. The most linguistically innovative appears to be North Common, the most conservative South Brahmin.

*Characteristics of North Common Tulu*

Several changes have affected only North Common Tulu but not the other three dialects, helping to distinguish it from the others (Padmanabha 1990). The mid vowels *e* and *o* are raised to *i* and *u*, respectively, when they precede a single consonant followed by *a* or *e*. The retroflex sonorants *ʎ* and *ɳ* merge with dental *l* and *n*, respectively. The following table illustrates some of the differences that polarise North Common from the remaining dialects.

North Common	Other dialects	Gloss	Phenomenon
<i>isalu</i>	<i>esaʎu</i>	'petal'	Vowel raising
<i>kileñji</i>	<i>kelenji</i>	'housefly'	Vowel raising
<i>pusatu</i>	<i>posat(t)u</i>	'new'	Vowel raising
<i>puli</i>	<i>puʎi</i>	'tamarind'	<i>ʎ</i> to <i>l</i>
<i>ballu</i>	<i>baʎlu</i>	'rope'	<i>ʎ</i> to <i>l</i>
<i>ānu</i>	<i>āɳu</i>	'male'	<i>ɳ</i> to <i>n</i>
<i>kannu</i>	<i>kaɳnu</i>	'eye'	<i>ɳ</i> to <i>n</i>

A notable change is the loss of  $V_1$  in words of the type  $V_1C_1V_2C_2C_3V_3$ - where  $C_1$  is retroflex and  $C_2C_3$  is a geminate or nasal+stop cluster. Consequent upon this is the change of the retroflex to a dental consonant. This occurs regularly in North Common but only sporadically in South Common or North Brahmin.

North Common	Other dialects	Gloss
<i>dakku</i>	<i>aɖak(k)u</i>	'throw'
<i>lappu</i>	<i>aʎap(p)u</i>	'measure'
<i>nuṅgu</i>	<i>nuṅɳgu</i>	'dry'
<i>dekkāru</i>	<i>eɖekkāru</i>	'space between the legs'
<i>laccilu</i>	<i>oʎac(c)ilu</i>	'pasture'

The voicing of intervocalic or postnasal voiceless stops is a frequent innovation in North Common Tulu, less frequent in South Common and least of all in North Brahmin. In the intermediate South Common dialect, it is optional in several instances. For example, the substitution of voiced stops for voiceless in case suffixes when they attach to heavy bases occurs in both northern dialects, is optional in South Common and absent in South Brahmin. Similarly, the non-immediate past suffix is *-tuud-* after group II bases in both the northern dialects, *-tuud-*/

*-tut-* in South Common, and *-tut-* in South Brahmin. The hortative suffix exhibits a similar pattern; but the conditional suffix undergoes voicing only in the northern dialects.

Voicing occurs only in North Common Tulu in such suffixes as the negative conjunctive in *-nte/-nde*, the non-immediate past when suffixed to group I bases, the feminine derivative suffixes *-rti/-rdi* and *-ti/-di* and the plural marker *-kulul/-gulu* when suffixed to the second and third person human pronouns.

North Common Tulu also tends to syncopate  $V_2$  in words of the type  $(C_1)V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3$  whereas the other dialects do not: North Common *kajpu* 'curry' vs *kajip(p)u* elsewhere; North Common *nalpu* 'dance' vs *nalip(p)u* elsewhere; and North Common *kurḍe* 'blind' vs *kurude* elsewhere.

### *North–South Dialect Differences*

The North–South split is further marked by several important isoglosses. Words with the shape  $(C_1)V_1C_2V_2C_3C_4V_3$  in southern dialects regularly degeminate to  $(C_1)V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3$  in northern dialects: southern *naḍatte* 'character' vs northern *naḍate*, southern *pelakkāyi* 'jackfruit' vs northern *pelakāyi*. This pattern also applies when certain suffixes attach to (C)VCV bases: southern *ireṭṭu* 'on the leaf' vs northern *ireṭu*, southern *maratta* 'of the tree' vs northern *marata*, southern *pilikkū* 'to the tiger' vs northern *pilikū*, and southern *naḍutte* 'he has planted' vs northern *naḍute*. One exception to this rule is a set of words of the type VCVCCV- where North Common Tulu has lost the initial vowel (see above); in these words North Common, but not South Brahmin which generally preserves the initial vowel, preserves the cluster: southern *aḷappu* 'measure' corresponds to North Brahmin *aḷapu* and North Common *lappu*.

Another important North–South isogloss is the correspondence of southern nouns ending in *o* to northern ones ending in *a*: southern *anyāyo* 'injustice' vs northern *anyāya*, southern *nugo* 'yoke' vs northern *nuga/niga*, southern *tiyo/siyo* vs northern *tiga*. Further, the change of word-final *u* to *u* after back vowels has occurred in the southern dialects but not the northern: southern *ūru* 'village' vs northern *ūru*, southern *uṇṭu* 'having dined' vs northern *uṇṭu/undu*.

Certain irregular changes also differentiate northern dialects from southern: the loss of the nasal between long vowels and stops in southern dialects: southern *ōḷe* 'reed' vs northern *ōṇṭe*, southern *pāte* 'moth' vs northern *pānte*; the optional change of *tt* to *ss* in northern dialects: southern *ottu* 'press' vs northern *ottu/ossu*; and the absence of the reduced plural marker *-lu* in southern dialects.

### *Brahmin–Common Dialect Differences*

The social distinction between Brahmin and non-Brahmin (Common) is reflected linguistically in several isoglosses. The most prominent is the retention of the distinction between *\*c-* and *\*t-* in Brahmin dialects as against their merger in the Common dialects. Brahmin dialects change *\*c-* to *s-* and preserve *t-* unchanged while the Common dialects merge the two as *t-* in northern dialects and as *s-* in southern: Brahmin *sappu* 'leaf' corresponds to North Common *tappu* and South

Common *sappu* (\*c-, DEDR 2673); Brahmin *seṭṭu* 'decay', to North Common *teṭṭu* and South Common *seṭṭu* (\*c-, DEDR 2426); Brahmin *tare* 'head', to North Common *tare* and South Common *sare* (\*t-, DEDR 3103); and Brahmin *tiṅgaḷu* 'month', to North Common *tiṅgolu* and South Common *siṅgolu* (\*t-, DEDR 3213).

The merged consonant has several realisations in the Common dialects, depending on caste and region. It becomes *h-* in northeastern Common,  $\emptyset$  in southeastern Common and *c-* in the Koraga and Holeya dialects of the southeast: compare northeastern Common (Jain) *happu* 'leaf', *hare* 'head', and *heṭṭu* 'decay' with southwestern Common *appu* 'leaf', *are* 'head', *eṭṭu* 'decay' and Koraga *cappu* 'leaf', *care* 'head', *ceṭṭu* 'decay'.

Another important isogloss concerns the fate of PDr \*z which, while preserved in Epic Tulu, becomes *l* in Brahmin dialects and *r* in Common dialects: compare Brahmin *oḷi* 'remain' with Common *ori*; Brahmin *kōḷi* 'fowl' with Common *kōri*. Further, in some words initial *d* in the Common dialects corresponds to *j* in the Brahmin dialects when followed by a palatal vowel: compare Brahmin *jekku* 'wash' with Common *dekku* and Brahmin *jiṅju* 'fill' with Common *diṅju*.

Several morphological and lexical differences further characterise the Brahmin–Common dialect split. The vowel *ā* of the causative suffix is *ō* in the Brahmin dialects: compare Common *tinpā* 'make eat' with Brahmin *tinpō*. Nouns ending in *ā* (*ō* in southern dialects) take a nasal increment in Brahmin, but not Common dialects. Finally, as noted earlier, the Common dialects, but not the Brahmin, make an honorific-plural distinction in the second and third person pronouns.

## Bibliography

- Bhat, D.N.S. (1966) 'Studies in Tulu', *Bulletin of the Deccan College* 25: 11–31.  
 — (1967) *Descriptive Analysis of Tulu*, Poona: Deccan College. [This work also provides descriptions of the North Brahmin dialect.]  
 — (1970) 'Age-grading and sound change', *Word* 26: 262–70.  
 — (1991) *Grammatical Relations: The Evidence against their Necessity and Universality*, London: Routledge.  
 Bhat, S.L. (1971) 'A grammar of Tulu', PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. [This work also provides descriptions of the North Brahmin dialect.]  
 Brigel, J. (1872) *A Grammar of the Tulu Language*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository.  
 Devi, A.U. (1978) 'A note on Tulu tense forms', *Osmania Papers in Linguistics* 4: 35–42.  
 Krishnamurti, Bh. (1958) 'Alternations of *i/e* and *u/o* in South Dravidian', *Language* 34: 458–68.  
 Männer, A. (1886) *Tulu–English Dictionary*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository.  
 Padmanabha, K. (1990) 'A comparative study of Tulu dialects', PhD dissertation, Mangalore University. [This is an excellent study of the dialect variations found in Tulu; it provides details regarding phonological, grammatical and lexical distinctions between the four major dialects.]  
 Paniyadi, S.U. (1932) *Tuḷu Vyākaraṇa* (in Tulu), Udipi.

- 
- Rama, M. (1978) 'Structural description of Tulu – Kulala (Kumbara) dialect', PhD dissertation, University of Kerala. [The essay also includes a detailed description of the South Common dialect.]
- Rao, B.R. (1982) 'Inter-relation of Tulu with other Dravidian languages', *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 11: 244–52.
- Shetty, R.T. (1986) *Varṇanātmaka Tuḷu Vyākaraṇa* (in Kannada), Puttur: Kannada Sangha, Vivekananda College. [The work also gives a detailed description of the South Common dialect.]
- Steever, Sanford (1993) *Analysis to Synthesis: The Development of Complex Verb Morphology in the Dravidian Languages*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Subrahmanyam, P.S. (1968) 'Position of Tulu in Dravidian', *Indian Linguistics* 29: 47–66.
- Upadhyaya, U.P. (ed.) (1988) *Tulu Lexicon*, vol. 1, Udupi: Rashtrakavi Govinda Pai Research Centre.

This page intentionally left blank

PART II

SOUTH-CENTRAL  
DRAVIDIAN

This page intentionally left blank

---

# 7 Old Telugu

*P. Ramanarasimham*

## 7.1 Introduction

Old Telugu belongs to the South-Central branch of the Dravidian languages. All the languages of this subgroup underwent the phonological change of metathesis or apical displacement whereby certain resonants and sonants which in Proto-Dravidian (PDr) occurred only in the offset of a syllable now appear in the onset. The PDr verb \**varay* ‘sketch, draw, write’ becomes *varai* ‘id.’ in Tamil, but becomes first *vrāyu* ‘id.’ then *rāyu* ‘id.’ in Telugu. While the six non-literary languages of this subgroup have contrastive vowel length only in initial syllables, Telugu words may have contrastive length in any syllable. Of the seven languages of this subgroup, it is the only one with a written literary tradition. Old Telugu and Gondi retain serial verb constructions in the negative, while the other languages, including Modern Telugu, have lost them.

Linguistic evidence divides Telugu into three historical stages. The Old Telugu period runs from the seventh century CE to about 1100; the Middle Telugu period runs from 1100 to 1600; and the Modern Telugu period runs from 1600 to the present. Our knowledge of the language before the twentieth century comes from two basic corpora: inscriptions and literary works. Beginning with the seventh century CE, Old Telugu first appears in inscriptions; and from 1100 onwards in a much larger literary corpus. The language stages in these two corpora do not coincide in time: the inscriptional corpus is the more innovating of the two, the literary corpus is more conservative and, indeed, resolutely archaizing. Nannaya, writing in the early medieval period, uses forms attested in Old Telugu inscriptions and avoids the more innovating forms attested in contemporaneous inscriptions. With the exception of Vīraśaiva literature introducing colloquialisms into the language of medieval devotional texts, the literary language generally lagged behind the spoken language as reflected in inscriptions until the early twentieth century when the spoken form finally took precedence (see Chapter 8 on Modern Telugu). Literary forms of the early medieval period are often cited as instances of Old Telugu because they are more abundant, more cohesive and deliberately archaic.

The keystone of classical literature is the epic *Āndhramahābhārata* (c. eleventh century CE to fourteenth century) written by three authors (*kavitraya* ‘trinity of poets’): Nannaya (eleventh century), Tikkana (thirteenth century) and Errana

(fourteenth century). While establishing a division between Old Telugu and Middle Telugu remains somewhat problematic in view of the discontinuity between the inscriptional and literary varieties, the latest date ascribed to Old Telugu is the fourteenth century. Around this time, literary genres diversify to include the *vacana* literature (thirteenth century onwards), influenced by the Vīraśaiva movement that began in Karnataka. This introduces a more colloquial diction into the literature. The *prabandha* literature of the sixteenth century retains – perhaps self-consciously – many features of the epic language. The classical period, which includes both Old and Middle Telugu, begins to wind down in the late nineteenth century when reforms are initiated to write and print Telugu in a manner that more closely matches the language spoken in Andhra Pradesh.

### 7.2 Phonology

On the basis of inscriptional evidence and literary texts, the phonemes in Table 7.1 can be established for the native core of Old Telugu. Of particular note in this table is the development of a voiced series of stops alongside the voiceless stops inherited from Proto-Dravidian.

**Table 7.1 Core phonemes of Old Telugu**

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>CONSONANTS</b>							
Stop	p b	t d		ʈ ɖ		k g	
Affricate					c j		
Nasal	m		n	ɳ		ŋ	
Lateral			l	ɭ			
Spirant			s				h
Flap			r				
Trill			ɽ				
Approximant				ʐ			
Glide	v				y		
	Front			Back			
<b>VOWELS</b>							
High	i	ī			u	ū	
Mid	e	ē			o	ō	
Low			a	ā			

With the great influx of Indo-Aryan loanwords into Old Telugu, the aspirated stops and sibilants given in Table 7.2 are attested in the phonological periphery of the old language.

**Table 7.2 Non-core phonemes of Old Telugu**

Labial	Dental-Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
ph	th	ṭh	ch	kh
bh	dh	ḍh	jh	gh
		ṣ	ṣ	

While these sounds are attested in literature, they may well have never spread down into certain spoken dialects. Today, uneducated speakers of Modern Telugu typically assimilate aspirated stops to their unaspirated counterparts; even educated speakers do so in rapid, unguarded speech.

Traditional grammars include two diphthongs in their enumeration of Old Telugu sounds: *ai* and *au*. In poetry these two diphthongs have two treatments. In words that belong to the native core of the language they are treated as disyllables, rhyming with VCV sequences; in words that belong to the Sanskritic element they are treated as monosyllables, rhyming with long vowels.

Very little is known about Old Telugu phonetics. It appears to have been in a state of flux. The phoneme /z/, attested in early inscriptions, had already fallen together with /d/ and /r/ in complementary environments by the literary period of the eleventh century. While /r/ and /ṛ/ minimally contrast in early Old Telugu, /arugu/ ‘go’ vs /aṛugu/ ‘decay’, this distinction began to collapse during the early literary period.

The development of nasals in Old Telugu is of interest. Before stops and affricates, nasals are largely predictable: most are homorganic to the following stop. However, *koṅku* ‘hesitate’ with a velar nasal contrasted with *kānka* ‘gift’ with a dental nasal, although the latter has variants *kānuka* and *kinuka* ‘id.’ where an epenthetic vowel separates the dental nasal from the velar stop. In the writing system, a single symbol borrowed from Devanagari, *anusvāra*, represents homorganic nasals before stops and affricates. Further, in sequences of long vowel and nasal, the nasal was invariably lost by the early literary period so that /ēṅgu/ ‘go’ in ninth-century inscriptions corresponds to /ēgu/ ‘id.’ in eleventh-century Telugu. In sequences of a short vowel and nasal, the nasal was optionally lost: inscriptional /kalaṅgu/ ‘be disturbed’ became either /kalaṅgu/ or /kalagu/ in early literary Old Telugu. To represent this phenomenon, Old Telugu script adapted a new symbol, called *ardhānusvāra* ‘half an *anusvāra*’ or *arasunna* ‘half circle’, which is transcribed here as /N/.

The phonemes /ṅ ṇ ḷ y/ do not occur word-initially. While the glide /v/ never occurs before /u o/, all remaining consonants may occur initially before all vowels. The frequency of the various classes of consonants that may occur in initial position, in descending order of frequency, are voiceless stops, nasals, /v/, voiced stops, trills, laterals and spirants. The only consonant clusters permitted in initial position consist of one of /p t k b d g m v s/ and /r/. These clusters never

occur medially in native words.

Old Telugu was written in a script that developed out of southern versions of the Ashokan Brahmi script (see Chapter 2).

### 7.3 Morphology and the Parts of Speech

Old Telugu, like other Dravidian languages, is an agglutinative language whose morphemes may be segmented and identified with relative ease. Despite the influence of Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages on it, Old Telugu lacks prefixes and infixes, using only suffixes. As early as the Old Telugu stage, many original Proto-Dravidian suffixes were being replaced by innovated suffixes. Several new suffixes are historically traced to independent words: the locative suffix *-lōN*, for example, probably derives from the noun base *\*ul* 'interior' (DEDR 698), which in turn is related to the verb base *\*ul-* 'be (within)' (DEDR 697). The inflectional morphology is well enough developed in the language to permit flexible word order.

Old Telugu lexical bases are traced to native Dravidian sources or to borrowed Indo-Aryan sources. Noun bases were borrowed more freely than verb bases; the closure of the set of verbal bases, inherited from Proto-Dravidian, inhibited the borrowing of verb bases. However, this constraint became somewhat relaxed in Old Telugu; Sanskrit verbal bases were introduced into the language, particularly through the use of the suffix *-incu*. Towards the end of the Classical period, with the incursions of the Mughals into Central India, borrowings from Perso-Arabic sources began to appear in the language, mainly in the administrative vocabulary.

Most native lexical bases in Old Telugu are either noun or verb bases. Other parts of speech, such as adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions, are not well defined formally. As elsewhere in Dravidian, nouns and verbs are mutually distinguished by their inflectional morphology and their syntax. Nouns mark case, number and gender; verbs mark tense and mood.

Most native noun bases in Old Telugu can function as free forms and do not explicitly mark gender, e.g. *anna* 'older brother', *amma* 'mother', *tala* 'head'. Of the two numbers, singular and plural, singular is the unmarked member of the opposition. While bare verb bases in many Dravidian languages function as free forms signalling an imperative, verb bases in the early Old Telugu period were not free forms. The imperative is marked by the suffix *-mu*. In the texts of the late Old Telugu period, the use of the bare verb base as an imperative is occasionally recorded and is, in fact, the prevalent usage in the modern language.

### 7.4 Nouns

Nouns are forms that take case suffixes. They may also mark number and gender. As noted earlier, singular number is unmarked, plural number marked. Gender, where it is overtly expressed, is largely natural, not grammatical.

Gender markers combine with a noun base to form a stem to which the number and case suffixes are subsequently added.

Old Telugu nouns are classified into several different varieties. As noted earlier, a noun base may itself serve as a free form, e.g. *taṇḍri* 'father', *talli* 'mother', *eddu* 'ox', *illu* 'house'. Certain nouns consist of a bound noun base and gender marker, with *-Nḍu* for masculine, *-alu* for feminine and *-mu* for neuter gender, as in *manuma-Nḍu* 'grandson', *kōḍ-alu* 'daughter-in-law' and *anda-mu* 'beauty'. The gender suffixes may, on occasion, combine with a free form, as in *ill-ālu* 'housewife' which suffixes the feminine marker *-ālu* to the free form *illu* 'house'. In certain circumstances, inflectional increments automatically appear between the noun base and gender marker, as in *pēda.r-ālu* 'poor woman' and *vilu.kā-Nḍu* 'archer'. The increment *.kā-*, likely a reflex of the verb *\*āku* 'become' (DEDR 333), appears to be an innovation in South-Central Dravidian and is attested elsewhere in the subgroup, as in Koṇḍa *negi.k-an* 'good man'.

Some nouns appear to consist of an adjectival base and nominalising suffix, e.g. *nalla-na* 'blackness' consists of the adjective *nalla* 'black' and the nominalising suffix *-na* (cf. Old Tamil *naṇ-mai* 'goodness' consisting of *nal-* 'good' and the nominalising suffix *-mai*); *oka-Nḍu* 'one man' consists of the numeral adjective *oka* 'one' and the masculine gender marker. In some instances, an increment appears in these nouns, as when the abstract suffix *-tanamu* 'the property of' is suffixed to *nalla* 'black' in *nalla.N-danamu* 'blackness'. As in all Dravidian languages, there are cases of V⇒N derivation so that the verb base *pāḍu* 'sing' combines with the nominalising suffix *-ṭa* to form *pāṭa* 'song'. Further, the verb base *caduv-* 'read' combines with the nominalising suffix *-u* to yield *caduv-u* 'reading' which, in turn, may combine with the agentive suffix *-ari* to form *caduv-ari* 'reader'. Such deverbal nouns may participate further in noun derivation by taking a gender marker, as in *pāṭa.kā-Nḍu* 'a (male) singer'. The noun *kall-ar-iNḍu* '(male) liar' thus consists of the noun base *kalla* 'lie', the agentive suffix *-ari* and the masculine gender marker *-iNḍu*.

Old Telugu nouns, based on stem formation patterns, are classified as native and borrowed. Native nouns include those inherited from Dravidian and nativised forms that are borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources along with changes adapting them to the Old Telugu phonological system. Borrowed nouns come largely from Sanskrit and Prakrit nominals to which Old Telugu suffixes are added.

Most of the primary native nouns in Old Telugu do not overtly mark gender. The first layer of derivative suffixes mark gender only occasionally, such as the neuter nouns with the marker *-mu*. All nominalised forms, and some of the second layer of derivative suffixes, mark gender.

Noun classes, as distinct from noun stem classes, are distinguished according to semantic criteria as common nouns, proper nouns and pronouns. Common count nouns distinguish between singular and plural number while common mass nouns do not. Common count nouns include such examples as *talupu* 'door', *puli* 'tiger' and *koḍuku* 'son'. According to the lexical identity of the

noun, mass nouns may trigger singular agreement, e.g. *uppu* ‘salt’, *telivi* ‘intellect’, or plural agreement, e.g. *pālu* ‘milk’, *biyyamu* ‘rice’. Proper nouns typically occur only in the singular; some trigger plural agreement to mark honorification.

Masculine gender is marked by *-Nḍu*, suffixed directly to the primary stem of nouns. These generally include kin terms and social relations, e.g. *maga-Nḍu* ‘husband’, *allu-Nḍu* ‘son-in-law’, *ballidu-Nḍu* ‘strong man’, *gaṇḍa-Nḍu* ‘id.’, *miṇḍa-Nḍu* ‘paramour’, *kurra-Nḍu* ‘lad’, *bāNpa-Nḍu* ‘brahmin’, *biḍḍa-Nḍu* ‘male child’, *golla-Nḍu* ‘man of the Golla tribe’, *bōya-Nḍu* ‘man of the Boya tribe’. Otherwise, *-Nḍu* is suffixed to a secondary stem, one with an inflectional increment, e.g. *vilu.kā-Nḍu* ‘archer’ (cf. *vilu* ‘bow’), *banis.ī-Nḍu* ‘male slave’.

The suffixes that mark feminine gender include *-ta*, *-eta*, *-tiya* (~ *-te*), *-Nḍi*, *-alu* and *-ālu*. All except *-alu* are suffixed to secondary stems, viz. those with inflectional increments. The suffix *-alu* tends to occur with kin terms, e.g. *kōḍ-alu* ‘daughter-in-law’, *celiy-alu* ‘younger sister’ and *marad-alu* ‘younger brother’s wife’. *-ālu* also occurs in such nouns as *ill-ālu* ‘housewife’ (cf. *illu* ‘house’). It further occurs with secondary stems with the formatives *r* or *y*, e.g. *bīda.r-ālu* ‘poor woman’ and *vela.y-ālu* ‘courtesan’. The suffix *-Nḍi* occurs with secondary stems with the formative *ā*, e.g. *vannel.ā-Nḍi* ‘fashionable woman’ (cf. *vannelu* ‘fashions’). The free variants *-tiya* and *-te* occur with secondary stems with the formatives *-kat* or *-gat*, e.g. *celi-kat-tiya*, *celi-kat-te* ‘confidante’, *anda-gat-tiya*, *anda-gat-te* ‘beautiful woman’ (cf. *anda-mu* ‘beauty’). The suffix *-eta* occurs with a few stems, e.g. *cenc-eta* ‘woman of the Cencu tribe’, *gubb-eta* ‘full-breasted woman’ (cf. *gubba* ‘breast’). The suffix *-ta* occurs with a few caste names, e.g. *sale-ta* ‘woman of the weaver caste’.

Neuter gender is marked by *-mu*, in free variation with *-mmu* and *-mbu*. It occurs with nominal bases explicitly marked for neuter gender; abstract derivatives marked with the suffixes *-tana* and *-arika* (~ *-rika*); and the primary derivative suffixes *-pa* and *-aka*. Examples include *alla-mu/alla-mmu/alla-mbu* ‘ginger’, *manci-tana-mu* ‘goodness’ (<*manci* ‘good’), *pedda-rika-mu* ‘eldership’ (<*pedda* ‘big’), *muri-pa-mu* ‘joy’, and *add-aka-mu* ‘dyeing’. There is one instance where *-mu* marks a human singular noun: *cuṭṭa-mu* ‘a relative’.

Whether or not an Old Telugu noun overtly incorporates a gender suffix, it signals gender indirectly in three ways: first, by the personal ending it triggers on a finite verb (1), by the concord marker it triggers on a predicate nominal (2), or by the pronoun it selects (3). Consider the following examples.

- (1) a. *taṇḍri vacc-in-āNḍu.* b. *taṇḍru-lu vacc-in-āru.*  
 father-nom come-pst-3sm father-pl-nom come-pst-3plhum  
 ‘The father came.’ ‘The fathers came.’  
 c. *talli vacc-in-adi.* d. *tallu-lu vacc-in-āru.*  
 mother-nom come-pst-3snm mother-pl-nom come-pst-3plhum  
 ‘The mother came.’ ‘The mothers came.’

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>e. <i>āvu vacc-in-adi.</i><br/>cow-nom come-pst-3sm<br/>'The cow came.'</p> | <p>f. <i>āvu-lu vacc-in-avi</i><br/>cow-pl-nom come-pst-3plnhum<br/>'The cows came.'</p> |
|--|--|

The primary gender opposition in the singular is masculine as against non-masculine while in the plural it is human as against non-human. A similar pattern occurs in the concord markers on predicate nominals.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(2) a. <i>taṇḍri manci.vā-Nḍu.</i><br/>father-nom good.one-3sm<br/>'The father (is a) good man.'</p> | <p>b. <i>taṇḍru-lu manci.vā-ru.</i><br/>father-pl-nom good.one-3plhum<br/>'The fathers (are) good men.'</p> |
| <p>c. <i>talli manci-dī.</i><br/>mother-nom good.one-3sm<br/>'Mother (is a) good woman.'</p>            | <p>d. <i>tallu-lu manci.vā-ru.</i><br/>mother-pl-nom good.one-3plhum<br/>'Mothers (are) good women.'</p>    |
| <p>e. <i>baṇḍi manci-dī.</i><br/>cart-nom good.one-3sm<br/>'The cart (is a) good one.'</p>              | <p>f. <i>baṇḍ-ḷu manci-vi.</i><br/>cart-pl-nom good.one-3plnhum<br/>'The carts (are) good ones.'</p>        |

Although the pronominal system also reflects this split-gender system, so that in the singular feminine and neuter nouns pattern together over against masculine nouns, independent feminine singular pronouns such as *āme* 'she' are also available.

- |  |
|--|
| <p>(3) a. <i>vāNḍu nā tammu-Nḍu.</i><br/>that-3sm my younger.brother-3sm<br/>'He (is) my younger brother.'</p>     |
| <p>b. <i>vāru nā tammu-lu.</i><br/>that-3plhum my younger.brother-3plhum<br/>'They (are) my younger brothers.'</p> |
| <p>c. <i>adilāme nā cellelu.</i><br/>that-3sn/that-3sf my sister-nom<br/>'She (is) my sister.'</p>                 |
| <p>d. <i>vāru nā cell-eṇḍru.</i><br/>that-3plhum my sister-3plhum-nom<br/>'They (are) my sisters.'</p>             |
| <p>e. <i>adi āvu.</i><br/>that-3sn cow-3sn-nom<br/>'That one/it (is a) cow.'</p>                                   |
| <p>f. <i>avi āvu-lu.</i><br/>that-3pln cow-3pln<br/>'Those ones (are) cows.'</p>                                   |

Finally, in the case of numeral and interrogative predicate nominals, there are separate feminine forms, viz. *okkate* 'one (female)' and *evvate* 'which (female)'.

The neuter singular forms *onḍu* ‘one (thing)’ and *ēmi* ‘which (thing)’ may not be substituted here, as was possible in (3c) above.

- (4) a. *rāmu-Nḍu oka-Nḍu.*                      b. *rāmu-Nḍu eva-Nḍu?*  
       Rama-3sm one-3sm-nom                      Rama-3sm who-3sm  
       ‘Rama (is) one man (i.e. alone).’        ‘Who (is) Rama?’  
   c. *lata okka-te.*                                d. *lata evate?*  
       Lata-3sf one-3sf                              Lata-3sf who-3sf  
       ‘Lata (is) one woman (i.e. alone).’    ‘Who is Lata?’  
   e. *ī mokka onḍu.*                              f. *ī mokka ēmi?*  
       this plant-3sn one-3sn                      this plant-3sn which-3sn  
       ‘This plant (is) one.’                        ‘What/which one (is) this plant?’

For the purposes of agreement and concord, all nouns denoting male persons are masculine, all those denoting female persons are feminine and all others neuter. The only major exceptions to this are the borrowed nouns *sūryu-Nḍu* ‘sun’, *candru-Nḍu* ‘moon’ and the names of the planets, which are treated as masculine. These planetary bodies figure in traditional Hindu mythology and astrology, and are personified as agents capable of governing human destiny. As such, they were probably borrowed into the language as proper names as well as common nouns.

Old Telugu has a two-way number distinction: singular and plural. All noun stems other than those that are inherently plural are singular. Count nouns may take the plural number suffix which is added to the noun stem. The plural of feminine and neuter nouns suffixes the plural marker directly to the noun stem with the gender marker: thus, the feminine singular noun *andaga.t-te* ‘beautiful woman’ has the plural *andaga.t-te-lu* ‘beautiful women’ while the neuter singular noun *anda-mu* ‘beauty’ has the plural *anda-mu-lu* ‘features of beauty’. The plural of masculine nouns, on the other hand, adds the plural marker to the noun stem, obviating the masculine gender marker so that the masculine singular noun *andagā-Nḍu* ‘handsome man’ has the plural *andagā-ṅḍru* ‘handsome men’.

The basic plural marker is *-lu* with the allomorphs *-lu*, *-ru*, *-ṛu*, *-ṅḍlu*, *-ṅḍru*. The allomorph *-ṅḍru* pluralises such masculine nouns as *gaṅḍaNḍu* ‘strong man’ and *miṅḍaNḍu* ‘paramour’; stems ending in *-kāNḍu* and *-gāNḍu*; and feminine stems ending in *-alu* and *-ālu*. Examples include *gaṅḍa-ṅḍru* ‘strong men’; *vilukā-ṅḍru* ‘archers’, *bēraga-ṅḍru* ‘buyers’; and *kōḍa-ṅḍru* ‘daughters-in-law’ (sing. *kōḍalu*), *illā-ṅḍru* ‘housewives’ (sing. *illālu*).

The marker *-ṅḍlu* pluralises the stems *rēNḍu* ‘king’, *vṛēNḍu* ‘shepherd’, as well as stems with the formative *-ī*, stems with the canonical pattern (C)ṽ*lu*, and stems with the canonical pattern XCṽ*li* where X is any phonemic sequence other than (C)ṽ. In this last pattern, *-ṅḍlu* varies with *-lu*. Examples include *rē-ṅḍlu* ‘kings’, *mokkali-ṅḍlu* ‘obstinate men’, *iṅḍlu* ‘houses’ (sing. *illu* ‘house’). The marker *-ru*, in free variation with *-ṅḍru*, pluralises noun stems with the formative

suffix *-kā*: thus *vilukā-ru* ‘archers’ alternates with *vilakā-ṅdru* ‘id.’. The plural marker *-ru* occurs with a small set of nouns: *pagatu-ru* ‘enemies’, *mārtu-ru* ‘id.’, *allu-ru* ‘sons-in-law’, *neyyu-ru* ‘friends’.

The plural marker *-lu* occurs elsewhere. The corpus shows a certain amount of variation in the preceding stem. In some nouns an *-i* in the stem is harmonised to the *-u* of the plural marker, in others a stem final vowel is lost, and in still others sandhi takes place between the stem-final consonant and the *-l* of the plural marker. Often the same lexeme shows several variants in this corpus. Examples include *pulu-lu* ‘tigers’ (sing. *puli*); *balumu-lu* ‘strengths’ (sing. *balimi*); *baṅḍu-lu/baṅḍ-lu* ‘carts’ (sing. *baṅḍi*); *piḍikiḷu-lu/piḍikiḷu-lu/piḍikiḷ-lu* ‘fists’ (sing. *piḍikiḷi*); *trāḍu-lu/trāḷu-lu/trāḷ-lu* ‘ropes’ (sing. *trāḍu*); *kālu-lu/kalu-lu/kal-lu* ‘legs’ (sing. *kālu*); *ūru-lu/ūr-lu/ūlu-lu/ū-lu* ‘villages’ (sing. *ūru*); *ēṅḍu-lu/ēṅḍ-lu* ‘years’ (sing. *ēṅḍu*); *anaṅḍu-lu/anaṅḍ-lu* ‘plantains’ (sing. *anaṅḍi*); *oḍḍu-lu/oḍ-lu* ‘river banks’ (sing. *oḍḍu*). The noun stems *cēnu* ‘corn field’, *pēnu* ‘louse’ and *mīnu* ‘fish’ drop their final *-nu* before the plural marker, yielding the plural forms *cēlu*, *pēlu* and *mīlu*, respectively.

### Case

In formal terms, case markers are added to noun stems. Case markers appear at the outer layers of noun morphology, and are suffixed to plural markers. Thus the structure of the Old Telugu noun is lexical stem (+ gender marker) + number marker + case marker. Most Old Telugu stems suffix case markers directly without the augmentation of an oblique marker. Oblique stems are noun forms that require augmentation by an inflectional increment before taking a case suffix. The most common oblique formatives are *-i*, *-ni*, *-aṭi*, *-i(n)ṭi*, *-ṭi*, *-ṅṭi*, and *-a*. As with plural suffixes, individual lexemes in this corpus may have several oblique forms.

The oblique marker *-a* occurs with the noun *pālu* ‘milk’ and plural number stems. Examples include the oblique stems *pāla-* ‘milk’, *bommala-* ‘dolls’ (nom. plur. *bomma-lu*), *allura-* ‘sons-in-law’ (nom. plur. *alluru*) and *illāṅḍra-* ‘housewives’ (nom. plur. *illāṅḍru*). The oblique marker *-ṅṭi* occurs with *pagalu* ‘daytime’ (*paḡaṅṭi-*) and nouns of the canonical shapes (C)Ṃlu and (C)Ṃnu, e.g. *ilu* ‘house’ and *kanu* ‘eye’ have the oblique forms *iṅṭi-* and *kaṅṭi-* respectively. The oblique marker *-ṭi* occurs with *ēmi* ‘what’ (*ēmiṭi-* ~ *ēṭi-*), *modalu* ‘first’ (*modaṭi-*), *pagalu* ‘daytime’ (*paḡaṭi-*), *nosalu* ‘forehead’ (*nosaṭi-*), *reṅḍu* ‘two’ (*reṅṭi*), *mūṅḍu* ‘three’ (*mūṅṭi-*), neuter nouns ending in *ḍu* such as *trāḍu* ‘rope’ (*trāṭi-*), some *ruḷu* ending nouns such as *nōru* ‘mouth’ (*nōṭi*) and *ēru* ‘river’ (*ēṭi*), and stems with the shape XCṂli where X is other than (C)Ṃ. Examples of this last group include *koḍavaṭi-* ‘sickle’ (nom. *koḍavali*) and *āNkaṭi-* ‘hunger’ (nom. *āNkali*). In all these cases the oblique markers *-ṅṭi* and *-ṭi* replace the final CV of the stem, except in *ēmi* ‘what’ which optionally drops its final CV before the marker.

The oblique marker *-i(n)ṭi* occurs with *modalu* ‘first’ (*modali(n)ṭi-*), *pagalu* ‘daytime’ (*paḡali(n)ṭi-*) and *pekku* ‘many’ (*pekki(n)ṭi-*). It also occurs with the

deictic forms *anni* 'this much' (obl. *anni(ṅ)ṭi-*), *inni* 'this much', *enni* 'how much' and *konni* 'a few', as well as all numerals except *oṅḍu* 'one'. Examples include *reṅḍi(ṅ)ṭi-* 'two' (nom. *reṅḍu*) and *nalugi(ṅ)ṭi-* 'four' (nom. *nalugu*). The oblique marker *-aṭi* occurs with such nouns as *krindu* 'lower surface' (obl. *krindaṭi-*), *mīNdu* 'upper surface', *mundu* 'foreground', *māpu* 'evening', *rēpu* 'morning, tomorrow'. It also occurs with the triad *appuḍu* 'that time', *ippuḍu* 'this time' and *eppuḍu* 'what time', which all drop *-ḍu* before the marker, e.g. *ippaṭi-i* 'this time'.

The oblique marker *-ti* occurs with the nouns *cēyi* 'hand' (obl. *cēti-*), *gōyi* 'pit', *nēyi* 'ghee', *nūyi* 'well', *vāyi* 'mouth', *dāyi* 'work bench, anvil', *rōyi* 'stake' and *rāyi* 'stone', which all drop *-yi*. It also occurs with stems ending in *-rṛu* which change to *-ri*, as in *aṛiti-* 'neck' (nom. *arṛu*). The oblique marker *-ni* occurs with masculine nouns ending in *-Nḍu*, and replaces the gender marker when forming the oblique stem. For example, *magani-* 'husband' (nom. *maga-Nḍu*). The oblique marker *-i* occurs with all other nouns ending in *tu*, *nu*, *ru*, and *lu*: *cōti-* 'space' (nom. *cōtu*), *mrāni-* 'tree' (nom. *mrānu*), *ūri-* 'town' (nom. *ūru*), *kāli-* 'leg' (nom. *kālu*).

In declension, certain nouns exhibit a pattern of stem alternation which is based on the canonical shape of the noun. Nouns with the shape (C)Vlu alternate with (C)Vllu. The former occurs before the plural suffix *-ṅḍu* and the oblique marker *-ṅṭi* while the latter occurs before the plural suffix *-lu*. Elsewhere both forms vary freely although the former tends to occur mainly in compounds; the latter mainly in free forms. Thus *ilu* 'house' alternates with *illu* 'id.' and *iṅḍlu* 'houses' with *illulu* 'id.'. Similarly, *mulu* 'thorn' ~ *mullu*, *palu* 'tooth' ~ *pallu* 'id.', *vilu* 'bow' ~ *villu*. These come from Proto-Dravidian nouns that ended in *l* or *ʃ*. The fusion of the enunciative vowel *u* to the noun base, characteristic of so many Telugu nouns, would have resyllabified the root-final consonant to the next syllable obscuring the lexical identity of the root. Gemination of the root-final consonant effectively prevents that reanalysis from occurring. The geminate forms are standard in the modern language. Stems with the canonical shape (C)Vnu similarly alternate with (C)Vnnu. The former occurs mainly before the oblique marker *-ṅṭi* and in compounds, the latter occurs in free forms. Both vary freely before the plural marker *-lu*. The form *kanu* 'eye' varies with *kannu* 'id.', as in *ka-ṅṭi* 'of the eye', *kanu-cūpu* 'eyesight', *kanulu* 'eyes' and *kannulu* 'id.'. Other words that exhibit this pattern are *minu* 'sky' ~ *minnu* 'id.' and *manu* 'earth' ~ *mannu* 'id.'.

The nominative forms *cēyi* 'hand', *gōyi* 'pit', *nēyi* 'ghee', *nūyi* 'well', *vāyi* 'mouth', *dāyi* 'anvil, work bench' and *rōyi* 'stake' all replace final *yi* with *tu* before the plural marker *-lu*, as in *cētu-lu* 'hands', *nūtu-lu* 'wells', etc. By contrast the nouns *rēyi* 'night', *vēyi* 'thousand', *rāyi* 'stone', *vrāyi* 'letter of the alphabet', *dōyi* 'pair' and *prāyi* 'hard seed of a plant' drop the final *yi* before the plural marker; hence, *vē-lu* 'thousands', *vrā-lu* 'alphabet'.

Certain nouns ending in *nu* replace this final syllable with *Nku* obligatorily before the plural marker and optionally elsewhere, as in *kolanu* 'pond' and

*kolaNku-lu* ‘ponds’, *mrānu* ‘tree’ and *mrāNku-lu* ‘trees’. Other nouns in this set are *kalanu* ‘war’, *kelanu* ‘side’, *koṛānu* ‘hedge’, *gavanu* ‘gate of a fort’, *nerānu* ‘secret’, *varānu* ‘intricacy’, *valānu* ‘direction’. Certain other nouns ending in *nu* replace their final syllable with *Ngu* under the same conditions as the first set, as in *gōnu* ‘hemp plant’ and *gōNgu-lu* ‘hemp plants’. Another example is *rēnu* ‘zizyphus jujuba’. It is tempting to see in this increment the remnants of the Proto-Dravidian plural suffix *\*(-ñ)kaḷ*.

The noun stems *āvu* ‘cow’ and *pūvu* ‘flower’ optionally drop their final *vu* before the plural marker so that *āvulu* ‘cows’ alternates with *ālu* ‘id.’ and *pūvulu* ‘flowers’ with *pūlu* ‘id.’. The final *vu* in both is an innovation within Telugu, and cannot be reconstructed to the proto-forms of these two words.

Old Telugu has a nominative-accusative case system. As elsewhere in Dravidian, cases are supplemented by a system of postpositions that, in general, express more specific semantic relations than a case marker. Further, case is conditioned by gender: certain cases occur only with neuter nouns. Such gaps in the declension of human nouns are filled by combinations of nouns and postpositions. Old Telugu has six cases: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental and locative. The so-called sociative, ablative and purposive cases may be analysed as postpositions or composite expressions in which a postposition governs a specific case form of a noun, such as the dative or locative.

The nominative case is the unmarked case form in Old Telugu. It marks variously the subject of a sentence, an indefinite inanimate object, a predicate nominal, or an adverbial function. It also serves as the citation form of the noun.

The accusative case, signalled by the addition of the marker *-N* to the oblique base, marks the direct object of a verb. The oblique marker *-ni* is optionally dropped before the accusative case marker. The masculine noun *tammu-Nḍu* ‘younger brother’ has the oblique base *tammu-ni-* and the various accusative case forms *tammuni-N*, *tammuni*, *tammuni-n(i)* and *tammu-N*. The feminine noun *atīva-lu* ‘women’ has the oblique form *atīval-a-* and the accusative forms *atīvala-N* and *atīvala-nu*. The neuter noun *kukka* ‘dog’ has the accusative forms *kukka-N* and *kukka-nu*, but inanimate direct objects often appear in the nominative case.

The dative case is marked by the allomorphs *-kuN* and *-kiN*. The form *-kiN* occurs after a base ending in *i* or *ī*, except for the second person pronouns; *-kuN* occurs elsewhere. Examples include *vāri-kiN* ‘for them’, *gōḍa-kuN* ‘to the wall’, *nī-kuN* ‘to you’. The base to which the dative case marker is suffixed may show some variation. Nominative bases ending in *-u* optionally take the inflectional increment *-na* before the dative suffix, as in *camuru.na-kuN* ‘for oil’ (nom. *camuru*). Nouns ending in *-mu* may take the increments *-na* or *-āni* which replaces the final *mu*, giving rise to the dative case forms *kayyamu.na-kuN* ‘for war’ and *kayy.āni-kiN* ‘id.’ (nom. *kayyamu*). Although prescriptive grammars consider the use of the increment *-na* to be standard, the texts of canonical authors contain datives that omit it: *tāku-kuN* ‘for an attack’, *kavnu-kuN* ‘to the waist’, *koluvu-kuN* ‘to the court’ and *ākasambu-kuN* ‘to the sky’. Masculine nouns ending in

-*Ndu* take the increment *-na*, not *-ni*, before the dative, as in *tammu.na-kuN* ‘to the younger brother’.

The genitive case is not marked by an explicit suffix in Old Telugu. Syntactically, it always precedes another noun. Morphologically, the oblique base of a noun functions as the genitive form of a noun, as in *vāni pēru* ‘his<sub>1</sub> name<sub>2</sub>’. Where the noun has no distinct oblique form, the nominative functions as the genitive form, as in *puli tōlu* ‘the tiger’s<sub>1</sub> skin<sub>2</sub>’.

The instrumental/sociative case occurs only with inanimate nouns, and signals such notions as instrument and accompaniment. This is marked by *-aN ~ -N*. The allomorph *-N* occurs with nouns that lack a distinct oblique base, as in *kōla-N* ‘with an arrow’ (nom. *kōla*), *balimi-N* ‘with strength’ (nom. *balimi*), while *-aN* occurs with nouns that have a distinct oblique base, as in *gōr-aN* ‘with the nail’ (nom. *gōru*, obl. *gōri-*), *cētan* ‘with the hand’ (nom. *cēyi*, obl. *cēti-*). Nominal bases that end in *u* insert the inflectional increment *-na* before the instrumental/sociative suffix, for example, *ammu.na-N* ‘with an arrow’. A postpositional phrase with *mayN ~ meyiN* may be substituted for the instrumental case of abstract nouns only on the sociative reading, as in *dappi-mayN* ‘with thirst’ and *jāgarūkata-meyiN* ‘with care’.

Two additional postpositions may be used to convey the meaning of the instrumental/sociative case: *-tō(ḍa)N ~ -tōḍutaN* and *-cē(ta)N*. The first comes from a noun that means ‘companion’ (\**tōzan*, DEDR 3563), the second from a noun that means ‘hand’ (DEDR 2023), and both survive in Modern Telugu as *-tō* ‘with’ and *-cēta* ‘with’. The first conveys either an instrumental or a sociative meaning, as in *katti-tō(ḍa)N* ‘with a knife’ and *vēḍka-tō(ḍa)N ~ vēḍka-tōḍutaN* ‘with joy’, while the second conveys only an instrumental meaning, as in *katti-cē(ta)N* ‘with a knife’. The second postposition also occurs with animate nouns. In this capacity it marks a demoted subject in passive and certain causative constructions, where that subject is the agent of the action. The passive sentence *baṇḍi vāni-cētaN naḍupaN baḍinadi* ‘the cart<sub>1</sub> was<sub>4</sub> driven<sub>3</sub> by him<sub>2</sub>’ marks the agent with the postposition *-cētaN*.

The locative case is marked by several suffixes: *-(a)N*, *-lō(na)N (~ -lōpalaN)*, and *andu*. The distribution of *-(a)N* is the same as the instrumental case suffix *-(a)N*, as in *aḍavi-N* ‘in the forest’, *iṅṭ-aN* ‘in the house’ (nom. *ilu*), *mukku.na-N* ‘in the nose’, *iṅṭi-lō(na)N* ‘in the house’, *iṅṭi-lōpalaN* ‘id.’. The form *andu*, though listed with suffixes, is an independent word and, hence, does not undergo internal sandhi. Nouns whose nominative form ends in *u* insert the increment *-na* or *-n* before *andu*. Examples include *vāri.y-andu* ‘in them’ (nom. *vāru*) and *kaḍupu-n-andu* ‘in the stomach’ ~ *kaḍupu-na.y-andu* ‘id.’.

The ablative case is represented by the forms *-(a)N*, *-(a)Nunḍi*, *-(a)NgōleN* and *valanaN (~ vallaN)*. The distribution of *-(a)N* is the same as the locative case *-(a)N*, e.g. *oḍal-aN* ‘from the body’. Such examples are in fact ambiguous, with the meaning of the more general locative case including the more specific instrumental. The other ablative markers appear to be composite forms consisting of the locative case marker and an independent word. The infrequent form

-(a)NgōleN occurs with temporal nouns, and consists of the locative case marker -(a)N and the form -kōleN (possibly related to *kōlana* ‘elongation’, DEDR 2237). The ablative form *nāṅtangole* ‘from that day’ (nom. *nāNḍu*) is morphologically parsed as *naNḍi-* + *-(a)m-* + *-kōleN*. The form -(a)Nunḍi appears to be a composite of the locative form -(a)N and *unḍi*, as in *ūr-an-unḍi* ‘from the village’ (nom. *ūru*). This form undergoes reanalysis in the history of Telugu so that later it appears to consist of the accusative case marker -N and *unḍi*, a non-finite verb form of *unḍu* (< \*uḷ) ‘be within’ (DEDR 697), as in the form *ūrinunḍi* ‘from the village’ (< *ūri-ni-unḍi* < *ūru* + *-ni* + *unḍi*). Finally, by the seventeenth century, inscriptions show that it has been reanalysed as *-nunci*, the ablative case marker in Modern Telugu. The ablative marker *-vallaN*, as in *calimala-vallaN* ‘from the Himalayas’ (sixteenth century) comes from earlier *-valanaN* through the intermediate stage *-valnaN* (which appears in the thirteenth century). While the ablative case appears not to have been a simple, monomorphemic form in Old Telugu, it is so in the modern language.

Some further examples of common postpositions include *poṅṅeN*, *-kay(i)* and *-koṛakuN*, all with a purposive meaning. The form *-poṅṅeN* dates to the earliest period of Old Telugu and occurs predominantly with inanimate nouns, as in *neyyamu poṅṅeN* ‘for (the sake of)<sub>2</sub> friendship<sub>1</sub>’. The other forms emerge late: *-koṛakuN* first appears in the thirteenth century, but is attested only twice in fourteenth-century inscriptions, as in *nākoṛakuN* ‘for me, for my sake’. It appears to be a reanalysis of the noun *koṛa* ‘use’ (DEDR 2161) and the dative case marker *-kuN*. The form *-kay(i)* is similarly a reanalysis of the dative case marker *-ku* and the conjunctive form *ayi* of the verb *agu* ‘become’ and is structurally analogous to the Tamil purposive for *-(k)kāka* ‘in order to’. Examples include *vāni-kay(i)* ‘for him, for his sake’ and *caidyuna-kay* ‘for Chaidya’ (eleventh century). The inflectional increment *-na* occurs before the purposive marker in the same circumstances where it would occur before the dative case marker.

### Pronouns

The pronominal system marks person, number and gender. Table 7.3 shows that the first and second person pronouns mark the categories of person and number, but not gender as such. The first person plural distinguishes between inclusive *manamu*, which includes the addressee as well as the speaker, and exclusive *ēmu*, *mēmu*, which does not. The second person plural pronouns, *īru*, *īralu*, *mīru*, *mīralu*, may on occasion signal honorification when applied to a referent denoting an individual. The reflexive pronouns, singular *tānu* ‘self’ and plural *tāmu*, are reflexes of Proto-Dravidian forms; their antecedents must be third person nominals. As the contrast between nominative forms with long root vowels and oblique forms with short root vowels demonstrates, they pattern with the first and second person pronouns.

Third person pronouns include demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinites and reflexives. Demonstratives and interrogatives pattern similarly, as in other South and South-Central Dravidian languages.

**Table 7.3 The pronominal system in Old Telugu**

	Nominative	Oblique	Accusative
1 singular	ēnu/nēnu	nā-	nan/nan(n)uN
1 plural (excl.)	ēmu/mēmu	mā-	mam(m)uN/mammulaN
1 plural (incl.)	manamu	mana-	manalaN
2 singular	ivu/nīvu	nī-	nin/nin(n)uN
2 plural	īru/īralu/mīru/mīralu	mī-	mim(m)uN/mimmulaN
3 singular reflexive	tānu	tana-	tannuN/tanaN
3 plural reflexive	tāmu/tāru	tama-	tammuN/tamaN

The oblique marker *-a* occurs with the plural pronouns ending in *lu* and *ru*, as well as the reflexive pronouns *tānu* ‘self’ and *tāmu* ‘selves’ (the root vowels shorten before the oblique marker). Examples include the oblique forms *vārala-* ‘they’ (nom. *vāralu*), *kondāra-* ‘some people’ (nom. *kondāru*), *tana-* ‘self’ and *tama-* ‘selves’. The oblique marker *-ni* occurs with masculine pronouns ending in *-Nḍu*, replacing the gender marker, as in *vāni-* ‘he’ (nom. *vāNḍu*). The deictic forms *adi* ‘that one’, *idi* ‘this one’, *ēdi* ‘which one’, *avi* ‘those ones’, *ivi* ‘these ones’ and *ēvi* ‘which ones’ have the oblique forms *dāni-*, *dīni-*, *dēni-*, *vāni-*, *vīni-*, *vēni-*, respectively. The oblique marker *-i* occurs with deictic forms ending in *ru* and *ḍa*, as in *vāri-* ‘they’ (nom. *vāru*) and *akkāḍi-* ‘that place’ (nom. *akkāḍa*).

Table 7.4 presents a sample of Old Telugu deictic pro-forms, including pronominal, adjectival and adverbial forms.

## 7.5 Verb

Old Telugu verbs are forms that mark such verbal categories as tense and mood. These categories are suffixed to verb bases; the stems so formed are subsequently inflected with suffixes that indicate a variety of syntactic relations.

Old Telugu verbal bases divide into native and borrowed. Native bases are subdivided into simple, complex and compound bases. Simple bases are monomorphemic forms incapable of further segmentation; complex bases are formed by suffixing a transitive or causative marker to a simple base; and compound bases are periphrastic forms consisting of two independent bases. Compound bases include auxiliary compound verbs. Simple bases are inherently intransitive, e.g. *vacc-* ‘come’, *pōv-* ‘go’, or transitive, e.g. *tin-* ‘eat’, *āḍ-* ‘play’.

Complex verb bases include derived transitive stems and causative stems. Derived transitive bases are formed by adding such suffixes as *-p-*, *-c-*, *-inc-* and *-pinc-* to intransitive bases, e.g. intransitive *atuk-* ‘get stuck’ becomes transitive *atik-inc-* ‘paste’ while intransitive *mrōy-* ‘ring’ becomes transitive *mrōy-inc-* ‘ring’; intransitive *dāNḡ* ‘hide’ becomes transitive *dāN-c* ‘hide’ while intransitive *tēl* ‘float’ becomes transitive *tēl.u-c* ‘float’; and intransitive *naḍac* ‘walk’ becomes transitive *naḍa-p* ‘drive’ while intransitive *āNḡ* ‘stop’ becomes transitive *āN-p* ‘id.’.

Table 7.4 Old Telugu deictic pro-forms

	Distal	Proximal	Interrogative	Indefinite
<b>PRONOMINAL</b>				
Singular				
Masculine	<i>vāNḍu, ātaNḍu, ataNḍu</i>	<i>vāNḍu, ītaNḍu, itaNḍu</i>	<i>evaNḍu</i>	<i>okaNḍu</i>
Feminine	<i>āme, ābiḍa, āke, āpe</i>	<i>īme, ibiḍa, īke, īpe</i>	<i>evvate</i>	<i>okate</i>
Neuter/Fem.	<i>adi</i>	<i>idi</i>	<i>ēdi</i>	<i>oṇḍu</i>
Plural				
Human	<i>vāru, vāralu</i>	<i>vīru, vīralu</i>	<i>evaru</i>	<i>kondaṛu</i>
Neuter	<i>avi</i>	<i>ivi</i>	<i>ēvi</i>	<i>konni</i>
<b>ADJECTIVAL</b>				
Mass*	<i>anta</i> 'that much'	<i>inta</i> 'this much'	<i>enta</i> 'how much'	<i>konta</i> 'some'
Count*				
Human	<i>andaṛu</i> 'that many'	<i>indaṛu</i> 'this many'	<i>endaṛu</i>	<i>kondaṛu</i>
Neuter	<i>anni</i> 'that many'	<i>inni</i> 'this many'	<i>enni</i>	<i>konni</i>
Demonstrative	<i>ā</i> 'that'	<i>ī</i> 'this'	<i>ē, ēmi</i> 'which'	<i>oka</i> 'one, a'
Kind	<i>aṭṭi</i> 'that kind of'	<i>iṭṭi</i>	<i>eṭṭi</i>	
<b>ADVERBIAL</b>				
Temporal*	<i>appudu</i> 'then'	<i>ippudu</i> 'now'	<i>eppudu</i> 'when'	
Spatial*	<i>a(cc)ataN, akkada, anduN</i> 'there'	<i>i(cca)taN, ikkada, induN</i> 'here'	<i>e(cca)taN, ekkada, enduN</i> 'where'	
Directional	<i>atu</i> 'in that way, thence'	<i>iṭu</i> 'in this way, hence'	<i>eṭu</i> 'in which way'	
Manner	<i>aṭṭu</i> 'in that manner'	<i>iṭṭu</i> 'in this manner'	<i>eṭṭu</i> 'in which manner'	
Reason	<i>andukuN</i> 'for that'	<i>indukuN</i> 'for this'	<i>endukuN</i> 'why'	

\*These adjectival and adverbial forms also serve as proforms.

Causative bases are formed through the suffixation of *-inc-* ~ *-ipinc-* to a transitive base. This process is lexically conditioned as certain bases do not take the causative suffix, e.g. *panc-* ‘divide’, *kōr-* ‘ask’. A small set of verbs form their causative with *-ipinc-*: *an-* ‘say’, *kan-* ‘see’, *tin-* ‘eat’, *vin-* ‘listen to’, *mān-* ‘give up’, e.g. *an-ipinc-* ‘make someone say’. All other forms take the causative suffix *-inc-*, including on occasion *mān-* ‘give up’, e.g. *kott-* ‘beat’ becomes causative *kott-inc-* ‘cause to beat’.

Denominal verbs may be formed in Old Telugu by suffixing *-ginc-* to a nominal base. Thus *adda-mu* ‘obstruction’ becomes *adda-ginc-* ‘obstruct’. This suffix freely varies with *-inc-* which occurs with such nouns as *appa-na* ‘permission’ and *oppa-na* ‘giving’, so that *appa-na* ‘permission’ becomes the verb *appaginc-* ‘entrust’ or *appinc-* ‘id.’. Such denominal verbs are by and large transitive.

To the various stems, simple or complex, basic or derived, are added suffixes that signal a syntactic relation of the verb to some part of the sentence. These forms may function as independent words. A personal ending signals the verb’s syntactic relation to the subject of the clause, an adnominal suffix signals the verb’s relation to a following noun, etc.

Old Telugu verb forms are finite or non-finite. The finite verb consists of a verbal base, a tense or mood suffix, and a personal ending. The personal ending marks subject–predicate agreement with the subject NP of the sentence.

Old Telugu has three full finite paradigms: past, non-past and negative. It also has four other finite forms which are restricted by person. The classical language has two past tense forms. The first appears in the earliest inscriptions and oldest texts. The past tense marker for this paradigm has three allomorphs: *-iti-*, *-i-*, *-e-*. This is illustrated below with the verb *cepp-* ‘tell, say’. The verb forms are underdifferentiated in comparison to the pronominal system: there is a single first person plural form for the inclusive and exclusive pronouns, and there is a single form for the third person singular masculine, feminine and neuter forms, as well as for the third person neuter plural form.

	Singular	Plural
First	cepp-iti-ni	cepp-iti-mi
Second	cepp-iti-vi	cepp-iti-ri
Third: Human	cepp-e-nu	cepp-i-ri
Neuter	cepp-e-nu	cepp-e-nu

The second past tense form appears from the thirteenth century onwards. The third person exhibits a more elaborate system. The masculine singular is now formally differentiated from the other third person singular form, which embraces feminine and neuter, while the neuter singular is differentiated from the plural.

	Singular	Plural
First	cepp-inā-nu	cepp-inā-mu
Second	cepp-inā-vu	cepp-inā-ru
Third: Human		cepp-inā-ru
Masculine	cepp-inā-Nḍu	
Feminine	cepp-ina-di	
Neuter	cepp-ina-di	cepp-ina-vi

The second past tense form did not merely supersede the first. The first has persisted into the Rayalseema dialect of Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985: 181–2). It is only now that this form is being replaced by the past tense paradigm of the standard Coastal dialect, e.g. *cepp-ā-nu* ‘I told’, *cepp-ā-ru* ‘they told’, etc. The second form of the past tense also survives, with minor modifications, in the Telangana and Rayalseema dialects of Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985: 151). The past tense form for ‘I told’ is *ceppænu* in the Coastal dialect, *ceppinānu* in the Rayalseema dialect and *ceppinā* in the Telangana dialect.

The non-past finite verb, also called an indefinite aorist in the literature, refers to non-past time reference; it also has a habitual meaning. This form has two basic allomorphs: *-eda-* which freely varies with *-du-*, and *-u-* which freely varies with *-eḍi-*. This form makes the same formal distinctions as the first past tense form.

	Singular	Plural
First	cepp-eda-nu, ceppu-du-nu	cepp-eda-mu, ceppu-du-mu
Second	cepp-eda-vu, ceppu-du-nu	cepp-eda-ru, ceppu-du-ru
Third: Human	cepp-eḍi-ni, cepp-u-nu	cepp-eda-ru, ceppu-du-ru
Neuter	cepp-eḍi-ni, cepp-u-nu	cepp-eḍi-ni, cepp-u-nu

While this paradigm has been displaced in Modern Telugu by such forms as *cepp-t-ānu* ‘I will tell’, some of its forms persist into the modern language (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985: 175ff). It occurs with certain durative-stative verbs (5a), polite imperatives (5b) and in certain counterfactual conditionals (5c). All these uses are slowly giving way to other forms.

- (5) a. *nēnu mī tātagārini erugu-du-nu.*  
 I-nom your father-h-acc know-aor-1s  
 ‘I know your father.’
- b. *kūrcōṇḍi, tarawāta pō-du-ru gāni.*  
 sit-imp-pl later go-aor-2pl pcl  
 ‘Please be seated, you can go later.’

- c. *wādu cebitē, nēnu cē-ddu-nu.*  
 he-nom tell-cnd I-nom do-aor-1s  
 'If he told me, I would do it' or 'If he had told me, I would have done it' implying 'but he did not tell me'.

The negative finite paradigm is presented below. It is marked by the morph *-a-*. This form does not distinguish between past and non-past time reference. It persists into the modern language as negative future and habitual with only minor changes to some personal endings.

	Singular	Plural
First	cepp-a-nu	cepp-a-mu
Second	cepp-a-vu	cepp-a-ru
Third: Human		cepp-a-ru
Masculine	cepp-a-Ndu	
Feminine	cepp-a-du	
Neuter	cepp-a-du	cepp-a-vu

Besides these three full paradigms, Old Telugu has additional finite forms: the hortative, imperative, negative imperative and optative. The hortative consists of a verb base, hortative suffix *-da-*, and the first person plural suffix *-mu*, as in *ceppu-da-mu* 'let us tell'. This form seems to have a first person plural inclusive reference. The imperative has second person reference: the verb base takes *-mu* in the singular and *-Ndu* in the plural, as in *ceppu-mu* 'you tell' and *ceppu-Ndu* 'you all say'. The negative imperative inserts the suffix *-aku-* between the verb base and the second person ending, as in *cepp-aku-mu* 'don't tell' and *cepp-aku-Ndu* 'don't tell'. The optative, which is also called the benedictive in the literature, consists of the verb base, optative suffix *-eḍu-* (*~ -ta-*) and the third person neuter suffix *-nu*, as in *kalugu-ta-nu* 'may it happen' *~ kalig-eḍu-nu* 'id.'. The change in the verb is due to sandhi.

Old Telugu has a series of non-finite verbs with a variety of uses: they help form complex syntactic structures and periphrastic verb forms. Non-finite verbs are dependent forms that necessarily combine with a following predicate, usually another verb form, with or without other material intervening.

There are three conjunctive forms, called adverbial participles in the literature: simultaneous, anterior and negative. The simultaneous conjunctive form, indicating that the action of the dependent clause and of the main clause overlap in time, suffixes *-cun* to the verb base, as in *ceppu-cun* 'while telling'. The anterior conjunctive, indicating that the action of the dependent form temporally precedes that of the main clause, suffixes *-i* to the verb base, as in *cepp-i* 'having told'. The negative conjunctive, serving as the negative form of both affirmative conjunctive forms, suffixes *-aka* to the verb base, as in *cepp-aka* 'not telling, not having told'.

The conditional form, which marks the protasis of a conditional sentence, suffixes *-inan* to the verb base, e.g. *cepp-inan* 'if (X) tells'. The post-action form suffixes *-dun* to the verb base, as in *ceppu-dun* 'after telling'.

Old Telugu has three adnominal forms, commonly known as adjectival participles. These dependent verb forms combine with a following noun to form relative clauses, factive clauses, adverbial clauses and similar noun-headed structures. The past adnominal form suffixes *-ina* to the verb base: *cepp-ina* 'which told'. The non-past and habitual form suffixes *-edu* (~ *-edi* ~ *-u*) to the verb base, as in *cepp-edu* 'which tells, will tell', *cepp-edi* 'id.' and *cepp-u* 'id.'. The negative adnominal suffixes *-ani* to the verb base: *cepp-ani* 'which did, does not tell'.

The Old Telugu infinitive is a component of certain complement constructions, as it is in the modern language. Thus, *vaṇḍ-aN gōritini* 'I wished to cook' and *vaṇḍ-aN ēgitini* 'I went to cook' both incorporate the infinitive *vaṇḍ-aN* 'cook'. However, in Old Telugu, it also functions adverbially to mark a clause of circumstance. It suffixes *-aN* to the verb base, as in *cepp-aN* 'as X tells'. In this function it is superseded by the verbal noun in *-aṭam* in the modern language.

The Old Telugu gerund, a verbal noun, suffixes *-ṭa* to the verb base, e.g. *ceppu-ṭa* 'telling'.

Several non-finite forms appear in compound verbs. The present tense form is transparently a periphrastic formation in Old Telugu. In Nannayya (eleventh century), the present tense combines the simultaneous conjunctive form in *-cun-* or *-c-* of the main verb with a verbal noun based on the defective auxiliary *un-* 'be'. The verbal noun itself consists of the adnominal form *unna* 'being' and the noun *vāNḍu* 'person' which, like other nouns in Old Telugu, may bear concord markers to signal agreement with its subject. Thus, the construction in (6a), for example, consists of the simultaneous conjunctive form *ceyu-cun* 'doing' and the verbal noun *unna-vāNḍu* 'he is (the) doer'. The entire compound is interpreted as 'he is one who is in the process of doing'.

- (6) a. *cēyu-cun + unna-vā-Nḍu* (Mbr 3, 2, 26)  
do-sml-be-vn-3sm  
'He is doing, he is the doer.'
- b. *cēyu-c-unna-vā-Nḍu* (Mbr 1, 7, 36)  
do-sml-be-vn-3sm  
'He is doing, he is the doer.'
- c. *perugu-c-unnadi* (Mbr 1, 3, 93)  
grow-sml-be-vn-3sn  
'She is growing, the one who is growing.'
- d. (*āpaday*) *āpādincu-c-unna-vāNḍ-avu* (Mbr 2, 2, 44)  
hardship become-cause-sml-do-vn-2s  
'You are causing hardship.'

- e. *navayu-c-unna-vāNḍ-anu* (*Mbr* 3, 4, 119)  
 suffer-sml-be-vn-1s  
 'I am suffering.'

The form begins to contract over the course of time, with forms in *-cun* becoming rarer than those in *-c*. Two centuries later in Tikkana's portion of the *Mahābhārata* we find further coalescence of the compound verb through the loss of the *v* of *vāNḍu*.

- (7) a. *nopp-incu-c-unnāNḍu* (*Mbr* 2, 5, 44)  
 pain-caus-sml-be-vn-3sm  
 'He is afflicting (someone).'  
 b. *pōvu-cun-unnāru* (*Mbr* 4, 3, 138)  
 go-sml-be-vn-3pl  
 'They are going.'  
 c. *cēyu-c-unnāNḍavu* (*Mbr* 11, 2, 81)  
 do-sml-be-vn-2s  
 'You are doing.'

This form ultimately becomes the present tense form in the modern language.

While the simple negative conjugation does not specify any tense by itself, a serial verb formation is used to specify a past negative finite verb (Steever 1993). This compound verb consists of two verb forms: the negative conjugation of the main verb and the past tense form of the auxiliary *agu* 'become', both forms inflected with congruent personal endings. The compound verb *ceppan(u) āytini* 'I did not tell' consists of *ceppanu* 'I did/do not tell' and *āytini* 'I became'.

	Singular	Plural
First	cepp-a-n(u) ay-ti-ni	cepp-a-m(u) ay-ti-mi
Second	cepp-a-v(u) ay-ti-vi	cepp-a-r(u) ay-ti-ri
Third: Human		cepp-a-r(u) ay-i-ri
Masculine	cepp-a-Nḍ(u) ayy-e-N	
Feminine	cepp-a-d(u) ayy-e-N	
Neuter	cepp-a-d(u) ayy-e-N	cepp-a-v(u) ayy-e-N

As the earlier past tense form disappeared from the language, so did this serial verb; its cognate remains in Muria Gonḍi and, in contracted form, in Koṇḍa. It was replaced by a past negative compound verb consisting of the infinitive of the main verb and the invariant negative auxiliary *lēdu* 'it is not'; thus *ceppaN lēdu* means 'I, you, we, they, he, she, it did not tell'. It is paralleled by a non-past negative compound verb consisting of the verbal noun of the main verb and the negative auxiliary *lēdu*; thus, *ceppuṭa lēdu* 'I, you, we, etc., are not telling'.

As earlier discussion of the past and non-past tense forms indicates, an understanding of Old Telugu grammar proves to be essential to an explanation of the

diversification of the language into the modern dialects. Many changes in the verbal system from Old to Modern Telugu consist in innovated forms displacing inherited ones, particularly among the finite paradigms. As shown earlier, these displaced forms do not always disappear but are often reinterpreted to serve in more restricted functions within the various modern dialects. There is thus a fair degree of continuity between the various stages of Telugu.

### **Bibliography**

- Krishnamurti, Bh. (1961) *Telugu Verbal Bases*, Berkeley: University of California Press.  
— and Gwynn, J.P.L. (1985) *A Grammar of Modern Telugu*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.  
Mahadeva Sastri, K. (1969) *Historical Grammar of Telugu, with Special Reference to Old Telugu, 200 BC–1000 AD*, Anantapur: Sri Venkateswara University Post-Graduate Centre.  
Steever, Sanford (1993) *From Analysis to Synthesis: The Development of Complex Verb Morphology in the Dravidian Languages*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

---

# 8 Telugu

*Bh. Krishnamurti*

## 8.1 Background and History

Telugu, a literary Dravidian language, is spoken by 54.2 million people (1981 census) and is the official language of Andhra Pradesh. Its literary texts date from the eleventh century CE onwards. Telugu (*telūgu* < *telungu*) is also known as Tenugu (*tenūgu* < *tenungu*) and Āndhram. On comparative grounds, Telugu belongs to the South-Central subgroup of South Dravidian. Its other close sisters are Gonḍi, Koṇḍa, Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Maṇḍa spoken to its north and north-east. Culturally it has had closer links for centuries with the other two literary languages to its south and west, i.e. Tamil and Kannada.

South Dravidian (SDr) and South-Central Dravidian (SCDr) must have split from Proto-South Dravidian (PSDr) several centuries BCE. This is illustrated by (1) the change *\*avant* > *\*avan* (loss of *-tu* 'he' in SDr, and (2) the development of a sound change called 'apical displacement' in SCDr, viz. *\*(C)VL-V-* > *\*(C)LV-* (L = non-nasal apical liquid or stop, i.e., *\*r, \*l, \*l̥, \*l̥ [r], \*t, \*z*), which produced word-initial apicals and consonant clusters. Both SDr and SCDr share two innovations: (1) *\*ñān/\*ñan* (backformed from *\*ñām* 'we (incl.)') besides Proto-Dravidian (PDr) *\*yān/\*yan*, of which the latter occurs in all branches, and (2) the sound change PDr *\*i, u > e, o / # (C) \_\_ C-a*, a change not shared by Central or North Dravidian.

Palatalisation of PSDr *\*k* before front vowels (*ĩ, ě*), change of radical vowels *i, u* to *e, o* before *C-a*, and apical displacement are prehistoric changes, already attested in early Telugu place names, e.g. *ceruwu* 'tank' (< *\*keru*-), *\*pozal* place name suffix (> *pzōlu*).

Three stages can be traced within the history of Telugu. The early stage (second to tenth century) is marked by such sound changes as *l, n > l̥, n̥* (between vowels and in gemination), *l̥ [r]* (alveolar trill) > *r* (flap) intervocally and initially; *tt̥* (geminate alveolar stop) > *tt̥* (retroflex); *n̥l̥ [n̥r]* > *n̥d̥*, and the retention of PDr *\*z̥* (retroflex frictionless continuant) in writing although it started merging with *ḍ* and *r*; for example, *ēl̥ > ēlu* 'to rule' -*koni* > -*koni* (REFX V PPL), *wānru* > *wānḍu* > *wāḍdu* 'he', *ēzu* > *ēḍdu* 'seven', *kzocce* '(one) engraved' (> *krocce*). The *anuswāra* [o] progressively replaced homorganic nasals in writing following the Sanskrit writing tradition. Already the preconsonantal nasal was becoming nasalisation of the preceding long vowel, for example, *wāḍdu* > *wāḍ̣du*.

Middle Telugu (1100–1599 CE) was marked by the merger of \*z with r and ḍ in complementary environments and its eventual loss from writing. Word-initial ḍ- (< -z, -t- through apical displacement) merged with d- (< t- sporadically); C[V]ḍ- (< \*-t-) completely merged with C[V]r- (< \*r); word-initial consonant clusters formed through apical displacement were getting simplified, Cr- (< \*Cr-, \*Cḍ-, \*Cz-) > C-, for example, *mrānu* (< \**maram*) > *mānu* ‘tree’. A major morphosyntactic change was the change of a NP predicate (verbal adj+pronoun) with subject agreement to a finite verb, for example, *waccinawāḍu* ‘he who came’ > *waccināḍu* ‘he came’. The late medieval period saw the replacement of the non-past verb forms like *waccedanu* (old) ‘I will come’ > *waccēnu* (medieval) ‘id.’ by the spoken form *wastānu*, which was attested in the colloquial language since the twelfth century. The classical durative *-cu(n)* was replaced by *-tū* from the spoken stream even by the Middle Telugu period. A large number of loanwords of Arabic and Persian origin like *trāsu* ‘balance’, *ḍōlu* ‘drum’ were absorbed into Telugu from the thirteenth century onwards.

During the Modern Telugu period (1600–1900 CE), many spoken Telugu forms excluded from earlier written literature started surfacing, for example, *īyaka* > *iyyaka* ‘not giving’; *rāyaṇṇi* (*rāyaḍi+ni*) ‘king’ (acc.) (lit. *rāyani*), *cēstimī* ‘we did’ (lit. *cēsitimi*), *naḍacēnu* (lit. *naḍaceḍunu*) ‘he will behave’, and so on. The literary language of the poetic works continued to remain archaic from the beginning until the early part of the twentieth century. The evolution of Modern Telugu is, therefore, traceable to the usage found in prose inscriptions and medieval devotional songs meant for the common people (see Krishnamurti 1974).

### Dialects and Standard Language

There were two styles, literary and colloquial, even during the period of early Telugu. The differences between them became pronounced from the eleventh century onwards: the poets maintained the archaic literary style while prose inscriptions, some commentaries, chronicles and devotional songs reflected the spoken form.

Modern prose writings in the form of essay, fiction, play, criticism, etc., started mainly from the nineteenth century under the influence of English. At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a prolonged battle between the classicists who wanted the grammar of the literary language used for prose and modernists who wanted it closer to the educated speech. Finally, Modern Telugu became the vehicle of all prose from 1940 onwards, with the model set by creative writers, newspapers and radio.

Modern Telugu has four regional dialects: Northern (nine districts of Telangana), Southern (four districts of Rayalasima, Nellore and Prakasam), Eastern (Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram and Visakhapatnam) and Central (East and West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur) (see Figure 8.1). There are many social dialects, based on the level of education and sensitivity to standard written form. The educated speech has a larger inventory of phonemes, less variation in grammatical marking, and more borrowings from Sanskrit and English. Modern Standard

Figure 8.1 The regional dialects of Telugu in Andhra Pradesh (from Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985)

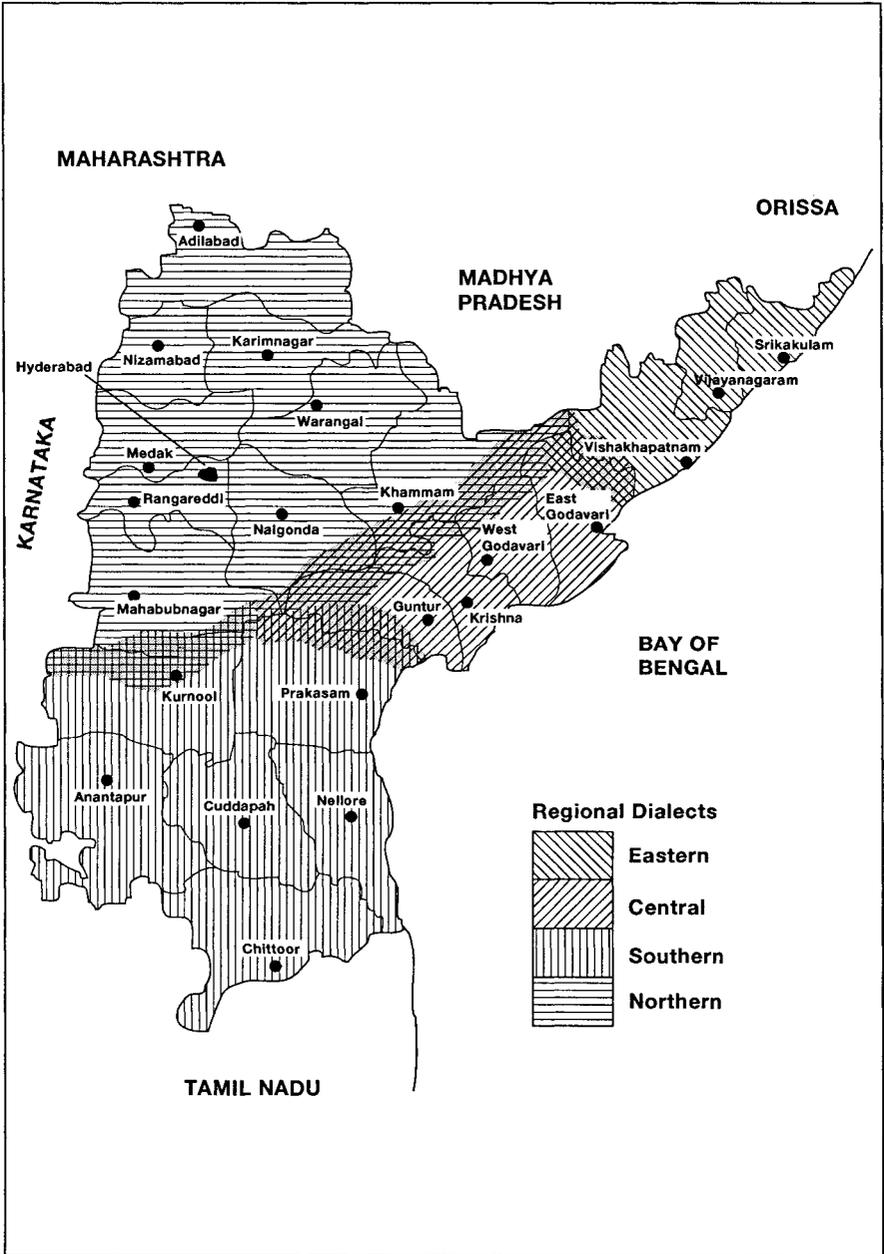
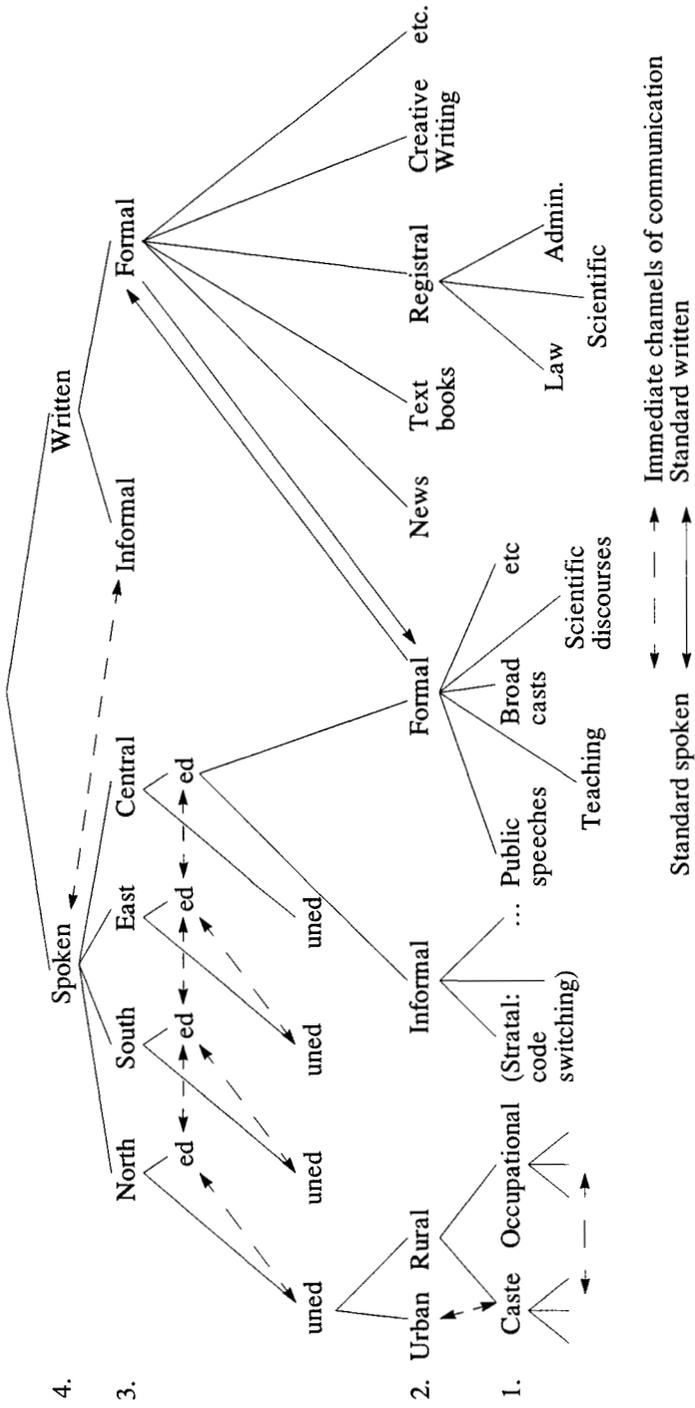


Figure 8.2 Telugu regional and social dialects



Telugu (MST) has evolved from the writings of educated speakers of the central dialect. The geographical base of MST is far more widespread than that of standard Bengali (Calcutta based) or standard Marathi (Pune based) and thus its evolution is unlike that of English and many other modern European languages (see Figure 8.2).

## 8.2 Phonology and Orthography

### Phonology

MST has thirty-three consonant phonemes and eleven vowel phonemes (see Table 8.1).

**Table 8.1 Phonemes of Modern Standard Telugu**

	Labial	Dental-Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
<b>CONSONANTS</b>					
Stop: Voiceless	p ph	t (th)	ʈ ʈh	c ch	k kh
Voiced	b bh	d dh	ɖ ɖh	j jh	g gh
Fricative	f	s	ʃ	ʃ	h
Nasal	m	n	ɳ		
Flap		r			
Lateral		l	ɭ		
Semi-vowel	w		y		
	Front		Back		
<b>VOWELS</b>					
High	i ī		u ū		
Mid	e ē		o ō		
Lower mid	æ				
Low		a ā			

In standard Telugu, /tʰ/ tends to merge with /dʰ/ except after /s/. Sanskrit and Prakrit loanwords, found from the earliest historic period of Telugu, introduced the aspirated consonants and the sibilants ʃ and ʃ. Persian and Arabic loanwords occur from the thirteenth century onwards and loanwords from English from the eighteenth century. The phoneme /f/ is traceable to these sources. Non-standard speakers replace aspirated stops by the corresponding unaspirated ones; similarly, they replace /ʃ ʃ/ by /s/ and /f/ by /p/. The lower mid /æ/ is found mainly in the standard speech of coastal districts.

Consonantal segments /ɭ ɳ y/ do not begin a free form (word), and only /m w y/ end words. Most Telugu words end in short vowels (except /o/). Final long vowels occur mostly in loanwords, e.g. *sōfā* 'sofa' (E), *ḍabbā* (n) 'can' (Urdu).

Native words do not have word-initial clusters. Two-consonant clusters in V\_\_V position are either geminates, or homorganic nasal + stop; other kinds of clusters occur in loanwords.  $C_1C_2C_3$  in V\_\_V environment have  $C_1$  = nasal and  $C_3$  = lateral or trill; e.g. *tandri* ‘father’, *peṇḍli* ‘marriage’. Many other clusters occur in non-native vocabulary. A morpheme has one to four syllables of V, CV (long or short vowel) type. The frequent types are (C)V̄CV, (C)VCCV, (C)VCVCV, e.g. *kālu* ‘leg’, *āṭa* ‘game’, *nakka* ‘fox’, *palaka* ‘slate’, *tiragali* ‘grinding stone’, etc. After a long vowel CC does not occur in single morphemes. There are a few fused compounds which permit this sequence, e.g. *nānna* ‘father’ (< *nā* + *anna* ‘my father’), *bāmma* ‘grandmother’ (dial.).

All stops (voiced and voiceless) have lenis articulation in intervocalic position within a word, e.g. *moguḍu* [ɣ ɾ], *talupu* [ϕ], *jalubu* [β], *caduwu* [ð], etc.; they are fortis initially and in gemination. /m/ is [w] finally, between vowels and before /w s h/; elsewhere it is [m]. /c j/ have two articulations each: [ts dz] (alveolar affricates) before non-front vowels /ã, ü, õ/, and [tʃ dʒ] (alveolo-palatal affricates) before front vowels /ĩ, ě, æ/, e.g. [ts] for /c/ in *cali* ‘cold’, *cāpa* ‘mat’, *cukka* ‘droplet’, *cūpu* ‘sight’, *cokkā* ‘shirt’, *cōṭu* ‘place’; [dz] for /j/ in *jalleḍa* ‘sieve’, *jāli* ‘pity’, *juṭṭu* ‘hair’, *jūdam* ‘gambling’, *jonna* ‘millets’, etc. In *cilaka* ‘parrot’, *cīpuru* ‘broom’, *ceṭṭu* ‘tree’, *cēra* ‘open palm’, *jila* ‘itch’, *jīra* ‘stripe’, *jelaga* ‘leech’, *jēnā* ‘span’ /c j/ are [tʃ dʒ] respectively. Sanskrit words spelled with a word-initial *ča*, *ja* are pronounced as *ce*, *je*, e.g. Skt *čandra* ‘moon’ : Te. /cendruḍu/.

Word-initial front vowels /i e æ/ are pronounced with a non-distinctive [y] on-glide, and those with rounded vowels /u o/ with a non-distinctive [w] on-glide. All root vowels (i.e. #(C)V<sub>1</sub> ...) whether long or short, have lowered allophones when followed by a low vowel in the following syllable, e.g. *pilla* [pɪllɘ] ‘a girl’, *pilli* [pɪlli] ‘cat’, *gōḍa* [gōḍɘ] ‘wall’, *gōḍu* [gōḍu] ‘worry’. Sometimes a final short vowel is lost in sandhi, but the lowered allophone of the preceding vowel persists, e.g. *gōḍ(a)-ekkaḍa?* [gōḍɘ-ekkaḍa?] ‘where is the wall?’, *gōḍ-ekkaḍa?* [gōḍɘ-ekkaḍa?] ‘where is the worry?’.

### Sandhi

MST has both internal (intra-word) and external (inter-word) sandhi. Some rules apply to the whole language, and others to particular parts of speech, such as nouns, verbs, etc.

### General Rules

(‘#’ = word boundary; ‘+’ = morpheme boundary)

1. [+ V, – long] → Ø /\_\_ {<sub>#</sub>} [+ V]

A short vowel is lost before another vowel (short or long) across a morpheme or word boundary. The rule is optional between words, but obligatory within a word.

*ammu* ‘to sell’ + *i* (perf. ppl.) → *amm-i*;

- $wādu^1 ekkada^2 unnādu^3 \rightarrow wād^1 ekkad^2 unnādu^3?$  'where<sup>2</sup> is<sup>3</sup> he<sup>1</sup>?'  
 2.  $C_1C_1 \rightarrow C_1 / \_ + C$   
 A geminate is simplified before another consonant across a morph boundary.  
*ceṭtu* 'tree' + *lu* (plural marker)  $\rightarrow$  *ceṭ-lu* 'trees'; (high vowel loss by another rule).

This rule operates where two of the three consonants are obstruents:

- $nc + t \rightarrow st$   
*cēy-inc-* 'to cause to do' + *tū* (durative suffix)  $\rightarrow$  *cēy-is-tū* 'doing'  
 3.  $c \rightarrow s / \_ + t$   
 An affricate becomes a sibilant before a stop.  
*wacc* 'to come' + *tū* (durative suffix)  $\rightarrow$  *was-tū* 'coming'  
 (*wacc* + *tū*  $\rightarrow$  \**wac-tū*  $\rightarrow$  *was-tū*)  
*piluc* 'to call' + *tū* (durative suffix)  $\rightarrow$  *pilus-tū* 'calling'

Although restricted to verbs, this is a phonological process which is phonetically motivated, i.e. \**ct* is an impossible sequence in MST.

4.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} +V \\ +high \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ round}] / (C)VC\_C\_ + \left[ \begin{array}{l} +V \\ +high \\ \alpha \text{ round} \end{array} \right]$

In morphemes or words of three or more syllables, the non-root vowels, if they are high, have to be either [+round] *u...u*, or [-round] *i...i*, e.g.

- adugu* 'to ask', *aḍig-i* 'having asked', *gadi* 'room', *gadu-lu* 'rooms',  
*enimidi* 'eight', *enumudu-lu* 'eights'  
 5.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} V \\ -long \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / C_1\_ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \\ \# \end{array} \right\} C_2$

(Condition  $C_1 = C_2$  in point of articulation or  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  are both coronal/apical, i.e. /l r n ŋ ʈ d/ or  $C_1 =$  coronal sonorant and  $C_2$  is a dental, apical or palatal obstruent /t d c j/, e.g.

- ceruku # gaḍa*  $\rightarrow$  \**ceruk-gaḍa* 'a sugar-cane'  
*bādu* 'to flog' + *tū* (durative suffix)  $\rightarrow$  *bād-tū* 'flogging'  
*pāla* 'white' # *rāyi* 'stone'  $\rightarrow$  *pāl # rāyi* 'a marble stone'  
 6.  $[+ \text{obstruent}] \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ voice}] / \_ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{obstr} \\ \alpha \text{ voice} \end{array} \right\}$

An obstruent (stop) is assimilated to the voicing feature of the following consonant across a word or morpheme boundary.

- ceruku # gaḍa*  $\rightarrow$  *cerug-gaḍa* 'a sugar-cane'  
*lāgu* 'to pull' + *kō* (refl. imp. sg.)  $\rightarrow$  *lāk-kō* 'pull it yourself'  
 7.  $y \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ + C$   
 A morph final semi-vowel /y/ is lost before another consonant, e.g.  
*mēy* 'to graze' + *ta*  $\rightarrow$  *mēta* 'fodder'  
*kōy* 'to cut' + *ta*  $\rightarrow$  *kōta* 'a cut'  
*wēy* 'thousand' + *lu* (plural marker)  $\rightarrow$  *wēlu* 'thousands'

*Particular Rules*

Sandhi rules restricted to nouns or verbs:

8. [am, em] → [ā, ē] /\_\_ + lu

Noun stems ending in *-am* and *-em* replace these by *ā* and *ē* in plural formation, e.g.

*pustakam* 'book' + *lu* → *pustakā-lu* 'books'

*pandem* 'bet' + *lu* → *pandē-lu* 'bets'

- 9a. V → [+ low] /\_\_C +  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} + V \\ + \text{low} \end{array} \right]$

In three syllable stems, the medial vowel becomes low when the following vowel is low, e.g.

*aḍugu* 'to ask' + *an* (inf.) → *aḍag-an* 'to ask, asking'

*aḍugu* + *a* (neg.) + *ḍu* (3rd per. masc. sing.) → *aḍag-a-ḍu* 'he will not ask'

*aḍugu* + *āli* → *aḍag-āli* 'one must ask'

- 9b. V →  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} - \text{back} \\ + \text{high} \end{array} \right]$  / #(C)VC\_\_C +  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} + V \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right]$

When a non-back vowel occurs in the third syllable, the vowel of the second syllable must be *i* (high front), e.g.

*aḍugu* + *i* → *aḍig-i* 'having asked'

*aḍugu* + *ē* (past) + *ḍu* → *aḍig-ē-ḍu* 'he asked'

*aḍugu* + *ē* (non-past adj.) → *aḍig-ē* 'asking'

Certain non-productive phonological processes occur only in compound formation, e.g.

*palle+ūru* → *palle-ṭ-ūru* 'small village'

*uppu+ēru* → *uppu-ṭ-ēru* 'salt stream'

*mūḍu+pāwu* → *mūḍu-m-bāwu* 'three and one quarter'

*bomma+illu* → *bomma-r-illu* 'doll's house'

**Orthography**

Telugu script is derived from the Ashokan Brahmi with modifications introduced in the Southern varieties for short and long *e*, *o* in vowels. New symbols for *r* (alveolar trill) and *z* (retroflex fricative) were innovated. Modern Telugu has no symbols for *ē* (represented by *ā*) or *f* (represented by *ph*); native speakers can identify these by lexical and grammatical information.

Consonants and vowels have primary and secondary forms. The primary forms (see Chapter 2) occur word-initially. In the postconsonantal position, only the secondary forms of vowels and consonants occur. The Telugu writing system is alphasyllabic, each syllable of the type V, CV, CCV, CCCV.

Therefore, all orthographic syllables end in vowels. Telugu characters are round in shape, probably conditioned, originally, by the writing medium (dried palm leaves) and the instrument (iron stylus).

### 8.3 Morphology

Telugu has five main parts of speech: nouns (including pronouns, numerals, adverbs of time and place), verbs, adjectives, adverbs and clitics. Grammatical relations within a word are expressed by suffixation; there are no prefixes or infixes. In some cases, such suffixes are historically traceable to earlier words, e.g. *-āli* ‘must, should’ obligative suffix derives from an older defective verb *walayū(nu)* ‘is needed’.

#### Nouns

Nouns are distinguished for number and gender and are inflected for case. Pronouns, numerals and adverbs of time and place which carry case inflexion are treated morphologically as subclasses of nouns. Adverbs of time and place lack number and gender; first and second person pronouns lack gender.

A nominal stem can be simple, complex or compound, e.g. *bomma* ‘a doll’, *manci-di* ‘a good one’ (non-masc.), *bommāl(a)-āṭa* ‘a dolls’ play’. There are two numbers: singular and plural. Singular is unmarked, while plural is formed by adding the suffix *-lu/-ḷu*, e.g. *bomma-lu* ‘dolls’, *guḷḷu* (← *guḍi + lu*) ‘temples’. The variant *-ḷu* occurs when a stem-final high vowel (*i, u*) is lost between a coronal consonant and the plural marker, e.g. *kālu* ‘leg’, *kāḷḷu* ‘legs’; *pandiri* ‘pandal’, *pandiḷḷu* ‘pandals’; *gōru* ‘fingernail’, *gōḷḷu* ‘fingernails’. Irregular plurals include *cēyi/cēyyi* ‘hand’, *cētulu* ‘hands’; *cēnu* ‘field’, *cēḷu* ‘fields’; *kannu* ‘eye’, *kaṇḍḷu/kaḷḷu* ‘eyes’; *illu* ‘house’, *iṇḍḷu/iḷḷu* ‘houses’, etc. A geminate consonant is simplified after high vowel loss in the plural, e.g. *ceṭṭu* ‘tree’, *ceṭḷu* ‘trees’; *guḍḍu* ‘egg’, *guḍḷu* ‘eggs’. Synchronically, it would facilitate description if *-ḷu* was taken as the basic form of the plural suffix, and *-lu* (the more commonly used form) could then be derived when there is no consonantal sandhi, e.g. *\*bomma-ḷu* → *bomma-lu*. A human plural suffix *-ru* survives in certain human pronouns: *wāru* ‘they, he (polite)’, *anda-ru* ‘that many’, *inda-ru* ‘this many’, and *enda-ru* ‘how many?’, and in the numeral classifier *-guru* (*mu-gguru* ‘three persons’, *nalū-guru* ‘four persons’, etc.).

There are two genders: masculine (masc.) vs non-masculine (non-masc.) in the singular and human vs non-human in the plural. Gender is largely natural, e.g. *taṇḍri* (masc.) ‘father’, *talli* (non-masc.) ‘mother’, *anna* (masc.) ‘elder brother’, *akka* (non-masc.) ‘elder sister’. The third person pronouns reflect the above distinction. Gender manifests in the substitution of demonstrative pronouns for nouns, in numerals and in finite verb agreement with the subject noun phrase.

#### Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>nēnu</i> ‘I’	<i>mēm(u)</i> ‘we’ (excluding the speaker addressed) <i>manam(u)</i> ‘we’ (including the speaker addressed)

2	<i>nīwu/nuwwu</i> 'you'	<i>mīru</i> 'you'
3 masculine	<i>wāḍu</i> 'he' (polite forms: <i>atanu, āyana, wāru</i> )	<i>wāṇḍḷu/wāḷḷu</i> 'they' (human)
3 non-masculine	<i>adi</i> 'she/it' (polite forms: <i>āme, āwiḍa, wāru</i> 'she')	<i>awi</i> 'they' (non-human)

Politeness is expressed by the appropriate choice of pronouns in reference or address: *nuwwu* 'you' (sing.) informal, *mīru* 'you' (plur.) also honorific singular. In the third person, there is a four-way distinction in male human and a three-way distinction in female human, viz. *wāḍu/atanu/āyana/wāru* 'he', *adi/āme/wāru* 'she' (from low to high politeness). In reference and address, personal names and kinship terms carry *-gāru* as a respect marker. The choice of the appropriate level of politeness is conditioned by the age, education, social setting and intention of the speaker *vis-à-vis* the hearer.

### Numerals

Cardinal numerals (cited free forms) are non-masculine; the human forms are derived by suffixing *-guru ~ -mandi* to the adjectival bases of the numerals.

Cardinals (non-masc., non-human)		Masculine and human	
<i>okaṭi</i> '1 thing', <i>okate</i>	'1 woman'	<i>okaḍu</i> '1 man', <i>okaru</i>	'1 person'
<i>reṇḍu/ronḍu</i>	'2 things'	<i>id-daru</i> (< <i>ir-daru</i> )	'2 persons'
<i>mūḍu</i>	'3 things'	<i>mu-gguru</i>	'3 persons'
<i>nālugu</i>	'4 things'	<i>nalu-guru</i>	'4 persons'
<i>aydu</i>	'5 things'	<i>aydu-guru</i>	'5 persons'
<i>āru</i>	'6 things'	<i>āru-guru</i>	'6 persons'
<i>ēḍu</i>	'7 things'	<i>ēḍu-guru</i>	'7 persons'
<i>enimidi</i>	'8 things'	<i>enimidi-mandi</i>	'8 persons'
<i>tommidi</i>	'9 things'	<i>tommidi-mandi</i>	'9 persons'
<i>padi</i>	'10 things'	<i>padi-mandi</i>	'10 persons'
<i>pada-konḍu</i>	'11 things'	<i>pada-konḍu-mandi</i>	'11 persons'
<i>pan-nenḍu</i>	'12 things'	<i>pan-nenḍu-mandi</i>	'12 persons'
<i>pada-mūḍu</i>	'13 things'	<i>pada-mūḍu-mandi</i>	'13 persons'
<i>padh-nālugu</i>	'14 things'	<i>padh-nālugu-mandi</i>	'14 persons'
<i>padih-ēnu</i>	'15 things'	<i>padih-ēnu-mandi</i>	'15 persons'
<i>padah-āru</i>	'16 things'	<i>padah-āru-mandi</i>	'16 persons'
<i>padih-ēḍu</i>	'17 things'	<i>padih-ēḍu-mandi</i>	'17 persons'
<i>paddh-enimidi</i>	'18 things'	<i>paddh-enimidi-mandi</i>	'18 persons'
<i>pajjh-enimidi</i> (dialectal)			
<i>pan-dhommidi</i>	'19 things'	<i>pan-dhommidi-mandi</i>	'19 persons'
<i>ira-way</i>	'20 things'	<i>ira-way-mandi</i>	'20 persons'
<i>mu-pphay</i>	'30 things'	<i>mu-pphay-mandi</i>	'30 persons'
<i>nala-bhay</i>	'40 things'	<i>nala-bhay-mandi</i>	'40 persons'
<i>ē-bhay</i>	'50 things'	<i>ē-bhay-mandi</i>	'50 persons'
<i>ara-way</i>	'60 things'	<i>ara-way-mandi</i>	'60 persons'
<i>ḍe-bbhay</i>	'70 things'	<i>ḍe-bbhay-mandi</i>	'70 persons'
<i>ena-bhay</i>	'80 things'	<i>ena-bhay-mandi</i>	'80 persons'
<i>tom-bhay</i>	'90 things'	<i>tom-bhay-mandi</i>	'90 persons'
<i>nūru, wanda</i>	'100 things'	<i>wanda-mandi</i>	'100 persons'
<i>weyyi</i>	'1,000 things'	<i>weyyi-mandi</i>	'1,000 persons'
<i>wēlu</i>	'thousands'		

Note the lexically conditioned variants of the morpheme meaning '10'. This is the only native word which carries aspiration in the form of *h* and *ph/bh*; *-guru* is from *\*war* (underlying *\*awar* 'they') with *w* → *g* / *V*\_\_*V* and vowel harmony; *-mandi* 'persons' is originally a free form; *-daru* must be another older form meaning 'persons' in SCDr (cf. Koṇḍa *dōru* 'people').

### Adverbs of Time and Place

Distant	Proximate	Interrogative
<i>appuḍu</i> 'then'	<i>ippuḍu</i> 'now'	<i>eppuḍu</i> 'when?'
<i>annāllu</i> 'that many days'	<i>innāllu</i> 'this many days'	<i>ennāllu</i> 'how many days?'
<i>akkaḍa</i> 'there'	<i>ikkaḍa</i> 'here'	<i>ekkaḍa</i> 'where?'

Also the non-deictic ones: *rēpu* 'tomorrow'; *elluṇḍi* 'day after tomorrow'; *ninna* 'yesterday'; *monna* 'day before yesterday', *niruḍu* 'last year', etc.

### The Oblique Stem

All nouns have an oblique stem to which the case suffixes are added. In the plural, the oblique stem is formed uniformly by adding *-a*, e.g. *bomma-lu* 'dolls', *bomma-l-a* 'dolls' (obl.); *iṇḍ-ḷu* 'houses', *iṇḍ-l-a* 'houses' (obl.); *wāllu* 'they', *wāll-a* 'they' (obl.). The human numeral plurals form the oblique by the addition of *-i*, e.g. *nalu-gur-i* '4 persons' (obl.); *aydu-gur-i* '5 persons' (obl.); etc. In the singular, the oblique stem has several grammatically conditioned allomorphs, viz.  $\emptyset$ , *-i*, *-ti*, *-ṭi* (also *-aṭi*), *-(i)ṇṭi*, *-ni*. An oblique stem, when no case suffix follows, can function as a noun in the genitive, e.g. *iṇṭi<sup>1</sup> kappu<sup>2</sup>* 'roof<sup>2</sup> of a house<sup>1</sup>'; *iṇṭi-ki* 'to the house'.

- Human nouns ending in *-ḍu*, *-ru*, *-nu*, *-lu*, and adverbs of place take *-i* in the oblique, e.g. *tammuḍu* 'younger brother', *tammuḍ-i*; *kūturu* 'daughter', *kūtur-i*; *cellelu* 'younger sister', *cellel-i*; *wāḍu* 'he', *wāḍ-i*; *akkaḍa* 'there', *akkaḍ-i*.
- Some non-human nouns ending in *-l* or *-r* preceded by a long vowel take *-i* in the oblique, e.g. *kālu* 'leg', *kāl-i*; *ūru* 'village', *ūr-i*.
- Disyllabic nouns ending in  $\bar{V}yi$  (where  $\bar{V}$  = non-low vowel) form the oblique by adding *-ti*, e.g. *cēyi* 'hand', *cē-ti*; *nūyi* 'well', *nū-ti*; etc. */y/* is lost before a consonant by a general phonological rule.
- Disyllabic stems in  $\bar{V}\dot{d}u$  replace *-ḍu* by *-ṭi* (*-ḍ + ti* → *ṭi*) in the oblique, e.g. *gūḍu* 'nest', *gūṭi*; *tāḍu* 'rope', *tāṭi*.
- A few non-human nouns ending in  $\bar{V}ru$  replace the final *-ru* by *-ṭi* (*-r + ti* → *ṭi*; here the *r* goes back to Early Telugu  $\underline{r}$  from SCDr  $*\underline{r}$ ), e.g. *ēru* 'river', *ēṭi*; *nōru* 'month', *nōṭi*; etc. A number of polysyllabic forms with final *-ri* or *-li* also replace the final syllable by *-ṭi*, e.g. *nāgali* 'plough', *nāgaṭi*; *pandiri* 'pandal', *pandiṭi*; etc., but several others are migrating to the  $\emptyset$  oblique class, e.g. *tiragali* 'grinding stone', earlier *tiragaṭi*, but now

- tiragali-ki* 'to grinding stone', etc.
- (f) A small set of stems ending in final *-llu*, *-l̥lu* and *-nnu* replace these by *-ṅṅi*, e.g. *illu* 'house', *iṅṅi*; *oḷlu* 'body', *oṅṅi*; *kannu* 'eye', *kaṅṅi*.
- (g) Cardinal numerals add *-iṅṅi/-iṅṅi* in the oblique, e.g. *reṅḍu* 'two', *reṅḍ-iṅṅi/-reṅḍ-iṅṅi*. Indefinite pronouns of number (non-human) form the oblique by the addition of *-iṅṅi/-iṅṅi*, e.g. *anni* 'that many', *ann-iṅṅi/ann-iṅṅi*; *inni* 'this many', *inn-iṅṅi/inn-iṅṅi*; *enni* 'how many', *enn-iṅṅi/enn-iṅṅi*.
- (h) Adverbs of time and place form the oblique stem by suffixing *-aṅṅi*, e.g. *ninna* 'yesterday', *ninn-aṅṅi*; *monna* 'day before yesterday', *monn-aṅṅi*; *rēpu* 'tomorrow', *rēp-aṅṅi*; *-aṅṅi* replaces the final syllable *-uḍu* in *appuḍu* 'then', *app-aṅṅi*; *ippuḍu* 'now', *ipp-aṅṅi*; *eppuḍu* 'when', *epp-aṅṅi*.
- (i) All noun stems ending in  $\check{V}m$  take *-ni* in oblique formation; the final *-am/-em* are replaced by *-ā/-ē* as in the case of plural formation, e.g. *pustakam* 'book', *pustakā-ni*; *pandem* 'bet', *pandā-ni*. In this subclass, the changed oblique stem occurs only before accusative and dative cases. The unchanged stem occurs elsewhere; *pustakā-ni-ki* 'to the book', *pustakam-lō* 'in the book', *pustakam<sup>1</sup> dhara<sup>2</sup>* 'the price<sup>2</sup> of the book<sup>1</sup>'.
- (j) All stems ending in *-a*, *-e* (non-high vowel) or a long vowel and those stems ending in *-u* preceded by consonant clusters or geminates (excluding those in subclass (f) above) form the oblique by  $\emptyset$  in the singular, i.e. there is no overt oblique marker. Such stems have genitive meaning in attributive position, e.g. *ceṭṭu- $\emptyset$ -ku* 'to the tree', *ceṭṭu<sup>1</sup> komma<sup>2</sup>* 'branch<sup>2</sup> of a tree<sup>1</sup>'.
- (k) The oblique stems of personal pronouns.

	Nominative	Oblique (Accusative)	(Other cases)
1 singular	nēnu	nan-	nā
1 plural (excl.)	mēm(u)	mammal(a)-	mā
1 plural (incl.)	manam(u)	manal-(a)-	mana
2 singular	nīwu/nuwwu	nin-	nī
2 singular	mīru	mimmal-(a)-	mī
3 singular (masc.)	wāḍu	wāḍ-i	
	atanu	atan-i	
3 plural (human)	wāru	wār-i	
	wāṅḍu/wāḷḷu	wāṅḍ-i-a/wāḷḷ-a	
3 sing. (non-masc.) adi		dā-ni	
3 pl. (non-human) awi		wāṭ-i (wā-ṭi)	

### Cases and Postpositions

The nominative is the unmarked case. A noun in the nominative as the head of a noun phrase (NP) denotes that the NP is the subject of the sentence. Other case markers are: accusative *-nu/-ni*; dative *-ku/-ki*; instrumental-committative *-tō*; ablative *-nunci/-ninci*; locative *-lō*, *-a*, *-na*. There are many postpositions which

function like cases syntactically, e.g. *-walla* ‘because of’, *-kaṅṅe* ‘than’, *-guṅḍā* ‘though’, *-cēta* ‘through the agency of’, *-dākā* ‘up to, until’, *-lōpala* ‘inside’, *daggara* ‘near’, *wenaka* ‘behind’, *mundu* ‘in front’, *mīda* ‘above’, *kinda* ‘below’, etc. Complex cases are formed by combining bound case morphemes with post-positions in a variety of meanings, e.g. *iṅṅi-mīdi-ki* ‘to the top of the house’, *iṅṅi-lō-nunci* ‘from inside the house’.

The direct object of a transitive verb takes the accusative case suffix *-nu/ -ni* if it is [+Animate]; [-Animate] NPs take a  $\emptyset$  accusative; e.g. *rāmuḍu<sup>1</sup> rāvaṅṅunni<sup>2</sup> (-ḍi + ni) campāḍu<sup>3</sup>* ‘Rama<sup>1</sup> killed<sup>3</sup> Ravana<sup>2</sup>’; *nēnu<sup>1</sup> pūlu<sup>2</sup> kōsānu<sup>3</sup>* (not *pūl-a-nu*) ‘I<sup>1</sup> plucked<sup>3</sup> the flowers<sup>2</sup>’. A transitive verb that requires an inanimate instrument uses the instrumental case, e.g. *koṅṅ-* ‘to beat’, *kōs-* ‘to cut’, *rās-* ‘to write’, *campu* ‘to kill’, *koluc* ‘to measure’, *tuḍuc* ‘to sweep’, marks the NP with the suffix *-tō*, e.g. *rāmu<sup>1</sup> karratō<sup>2</sup> pāmunu<sup>3</sup> campāḍu<sup>4</sup>* ‘Rama<sup>1</sup> killed<sup>4</sup> the snake<sup>3</sup> with a stick<sup>2</sup>’. The comitative or sociative case *-tō* marks an NP which occurs as a complement of verbs of motion, e.g. *donga<sup>1</sup> ḍabbulasancitō<sup>2</sup> pariḡettāḍu<sup>3</sup>* ‘the thief<sup>1</sup> ran away<sup>3</sup> with the money bag<sup>2</sup>’. Certain stative NPs take *-tō* with such verbs as ‘to be’, ‘to suffer’, etc., e.g. *kamala<sup>1</sup> ākalitō<sup>2</sup> undi<sup>3</sup>* ‘Kamala is hungry’ (lit. Kamala<sup>1</sup> is<sup>3</sup> with hunger<sup>2</sup>). With verbs meaning ‘join’, ‘meet’, ‘fight’, ‘wrestle’, etc., requiring two participants, the non-topic NP adds *-tō*, e.g. *amerikā<sup>1</sup> wiyatnāmtō<sup>2</sup> yuddhamcēsindi<sup>3</sup>* ‘America<sup>1</sup> fought<sup>3</sup> with Vietnam<sup>2</sup>’. With verbs meaning ‘speak’, ‘tell’, the NP specifying the recipient takes *-tō*, e.g. *āyana<sup>1</sup> nātō<sup>2</sup> teluḡulō<sup>3</sup> mātlāḍutāḍu<sup>4</sup>* ‘He<sup>1</sup> speaks<sup>4</sup> with me<sup>2</sup> in Teluḡu<sup>3</sup>’.

The dative case marker *-ku* (*-ki* after stems ending in a front vowel) is added to the complement NP to denote: a goal (with motion verbs); a recipient (with verbs of giving, telling, etc.); an experiencer (with stative verbs); a natural cause (rain, sun, wind) of a sudden action specified by the verb; e.g. *nēnu<sup>1</sup> mā ūriki<sup>2</sup> weltānu<sup>3</sup>* ‘I<sup>1</sup> will go<sup>3</sup> to my village<sup>2</sup>’; *wāḍu<sup>1</sup> nāku<sup>2</sup> ḍabbu<sup>3</sup> iccāḍu<sup>4</sup>* ‘he<sup>1</sup> gave<sup>4</sup> me<sup>2</sup> the money<sup>3</sup>’; *nānnaku<sup>1</sup> kōpam<sup>2</sup> waccindi<sup>3</sup>* ‘father got angry’ (lit. ‘to father<sup>1</sup> anger<sup>2</sup> came<sup>3</sup>’); *ā ceṅṅu<sup>1</sup> ḡāliki<sup>2</sup> paḍipōyindi<sup>3</sup>* ‘that tree<sup>1</sup> fell down<sup>3</sup> because of the wind<sup>2</sup>’. Further uses include: a purpose, a focal point in time, adnominal relationship, etc., e.g. *rāmu<sup>1</sup> kamalaku<sup>2</sup> bharta<sup>3</sup>* ‘Rama<sup>1</sup> (is) Kamala’s<sup>2</sup> (lit. to Kamala) husband<sup>3</sup>’; *ā wulu<sup>1</sup> mētaku<sup>2</sup> wellāy<sup>3</sup>* ‘the cows<sup>1</sup> have gone out<sup>3</sup> to graze<sup>2</sup>’ (lit. for fodder); *nēnu<sup>1</sup> ayduḡaṅṅalaku<sup>2</sup> wastānu<sup>3</sup>* ‘I<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>3</sup> at 5 o’clock<sup>2</sup>’.

The purposive suffix *-kōsam* is added to a complement NP to denote purpose, e.g. *wāḍu<sup>1</sup> panikōsam<sup>2</sup> waccāḍu<sup>3</sup>* ‘He<sup>1</sup> came<sup>3</sup> for work<sup>2</sup>’; *nēnu<sup>1</sup> mandukōsam<sup>2</sup> ikkada<sup>3</sup> āḡāli<sup>4</sup>* ‘I<sup>1</sup> must stop<sup>4</sup> here<sup>3</sup> for medicine<sup>2</sup>’. The comparative *-kanna*, *-kaṅṅe* marks the NP that serves as the standard of comparison, e.g. *mīru<sup>1</sup> nākaṅṅe<sup>2</sup> cālā<sup>3</sup> poḍuḡu<sup>4</sup>* ‘you<sup>1</sup> (are) very<sup>3</sup> tall<sup>4</sup> compared to me<sup>2</sup>’.

The ablative suffix *-nunci/-ninci* is added to a complement NP in the sense of ‘from’, e.g. *āyana<sup>1</sup> iṅḍiyānunci<sup>2</sup> waccāru<sup>3</sup>* ‘he<sup>1</sup> has come<sup>3</sup> from India<sup>2</sup>’.

The locative *-lō*, *-lōpala* ‘in, inside’ marks a NP in construction with the verbs ‘to be’, ‘to exist’, or in specifying one out of many, e.g. *ramārāw<sup>1</sup> iṅṅlō<sup>2</sup> unnāḍā<sup>3</sup>?* ‘is<sup>3</sup> Ramarao<sup>1</sup> home<sup>2</sup>? (lit. in the house<sup>2</sup>)’, *mīlō<sup>1</sup> ewaru<sup>2</sup> peddawāḍu<sup>3</sup>?* ‘who<sup>2</sup> (is)

the older<sup>3</sup> among you<sup>1</sup>?'. A fixed number of nouns of time and place take *-a* or *-na* as the locative suffix, e.g. *rēpupoddu-na* 'tomorrow morning', *tūrpu-na* 'in the east', *paḍamaṭ-a* 'in the west', *oḍḍu-na* 'on the bank', etc.

The postpositions *-kūrci*, *-gurinci* and *-baṭṭi* (past participles of archaic verbs *\*kūrcu*, *\*gurincu* and *\*paṭṭu*) follow NPs already inflected in the accusative case, e.g. *wāḷḷu<sup>1</sup> mimmal-ni gurinci/gūrci<sup>2</sup> ceppāru<sup>3</sup>* 'they<sup>1</sup> told<sup>3</sup> (us) about you (pl.)<sup>2</sup>', *mī-māṭal(a)ni baṭṭi<sup>1</sup> āyana sangati<sup>2</sup> māku<sup>3</sup> telisindi<sup>4</sup>* 'from your words (on the basis of your words)<sup>1</sup>, we<sup>3</sup> came to know<sup>4</sup> about him<sup>3</sup> (lit. his news).' The other postpositions *-dwārā*, *-guṇḍā* 'through', *-dākā* 'until, up to', *-daggara* 'near', and all those denoting directions, i.e. *-mīda* 'above', *-kinda* 'below', *-mundu* 'before', *-wenaka* 'behind', occur with oblique stems. Most also occur with verbal adjectives, e.g. *iṅṅidākā* 'up to the house' vs *waccēdākā* 'until (somebody comes)'.

The declension of three nouns and one pronoun is given below.

(1)	<i>bomma</i> 'doll'	Singular	Plural
	Nominative	<i>bomma</i>	<i>bomma-lu</i>
	Oblique	<i>bomma-Ø</i>	<i>bommal-a</i>
	Accusative	<i>bomma-Ø</i>	<i>bomma-lu-Ø/bommal-(a)-nu</i>
	Instrumental-sociative	<i>bomma-tō</i>	<i>bommal-a-tō</i>
	Dative	<i>bomma-ku</i>	<i>bommal-a-ku</i>
	Ablative	<i>bomma-nunci</i>	<i>bommal-(a)-nunci</i>
	Locative	<i>bomma-lō</i>	<i>bommal-(a)-lō</i>
	Genitive	<i>bomma cōkkā</i>	<i>bommal-a cōkkā</i>
		'a shirt of a doll/	'a shirt of dolls/dolls' shirt'
		doll's shirt'	
(2)	<i>tammuḍu</i> 'younger brother'	Singular	Plural
	Nominative	<i>tammuḍu</i>	<i>tammul-ḷu/tammu-lu</i>
	Oblique	<i>tammuḍ-i</i>	<i>tammul-a</i>
	Accusative	<i>tammunṅi</i>	<i>tammul-a-nu</i>
		( <i>tammuḍi + ni</i> )	
	Instrumental-sociative	<i>tammuḍ-i-tō</i>	<i>tammul-a-tō</i>
	Dative	<i>tammuḍ-i-ku</i>	<i>tammul-a-ku</i>
	Ablative	<i>tammun-ṅinci</i>	<i>tammul-a-ṅinci</i>
	Locative	<i>tammuḍ-i-lō</i>	<i>tammul-a-lō</i>
	Genitive	<i>tammuḍi cōkkā</i>	<i>tammul-a cōkkālu</i>
		'younger brother's	'younger brothers' shirts'
		shirt'	
(3)	<i>illu</i> 'house'	Singular	Plural
	Nominative	<i>illu</i>	<i>iṅḍ-lu/i-ḷu</i>
	Oblique	<i>iṅṅi</i>	<i>iḷ-a</i>
	Accusative	<i>illu/iṅṅi-ni</i>	<i>i-ḷu-Ø/iḷ-a-nu</i>
	Instrumental-sociative	<i>iṅṅi-tō</i>	<i>iḷ-a-tō</i>

Dative	<i>iṅṅi-ki</i>	<i>iḷḷ-a-ku</i>
Ablative	<i>iṅṅi-ninci</i>	<i>iḷḷ-a-nunci</i>
Locative	<i>iṅṅ(i)-lō</i>	<i>iḷḷ-a-lō</i>
Genitive	<i>iṅṅi kappu</i> 'roof of a house'	<i>iḷḷ-a kappulu</i> 'roofs of houses'

With postpositions, *iṅṅi-daggara* 'near the house', *iṅṅi-mundu* 'in front of the house', *iṅṅi-lō-ninci* 'from inside the house', *iṅṅi-dākā* 'up to the house', etc.

(4)	<i>adi</i> 'she/it'	Singular	Plural
	Nominative	<i>adi</i>	<i>awi</i>
	Oblique	<i>dān-i</i>	<i>wāṅ-i</i>
	Accusative	<i>dān(i)-ni</i>	<i>wāṅi-ni</i>
	Instrumental-sociative	<i>dān(i)-tō</i>	<i>wāṅi-tō</i>
	Dative	<i>dāni-ki</i>	<i>wāṅi-ki</i>
	Ablative	<i>dān(i)-ninci</i>	<i>wāṅ(i)-ninci</i>
	Locative	<i>dān(i)-lō/dānṅ-lō</i>	<i>wāṅi-a-lō</i>
	Genitive	<i>dāni pani</i> 'its/her work'	<i>wāṅi pani</i> 'their (non-human) work'

### Verbs

Verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, mood and mode. A verb stem can be simple, complex or compound, e.g. simple: *kāgu* 'to boil', *waṅḍu* 'to cook'; complex: *kā-c* (v.t.) 'to boil', *kāy-inc* 'to cause to boil', *waṅḍ-inc* 'to cause to cook'; compound: *kāgabett* (v.t.) 'to put (something) to boil' (-*petṭ* 'to put' is used as a voice marker), *nidrapō* 'to go to sleep'. Inflected verbs are finite or non-finite. Finite verbs have the structure Stem + Tense-mode + Person. The personal suffixes agree with the subject in gender, number and person.

### Voice

Verbs are inherently transitive or intransitive. Transitives are also formed by derivation – e.g. inherent intransitives: *uḍuku* 'to cook', *pō* 'to go', *paḍu* 'to fall', *uṅḍu* 'to be', etc.; inherent transitives: *ammu* 'to sell', *waṅḍu* 'to cook (something)', *tin* 'to eat'. A transitive stem is derived from an inherent intransitive by adding *-c(u)*, *-nc(u)*, *-pu*, *-mpu*. In several cases, these suffixes replace the final consonant + vowel of the intransitive.

	Intransitive	Transitive
(a)	<i>kālu</i> 'to burn' <i>dūru</i> 'to enter'	<i>kālu-c</i> 'to burn' <i>dūru-c</i> 'to insert'
(b)	<i>kāgu</i> 'to boil'	<i>kā-c</i> 'to boil'
(c)	<i>āgu</i> 'to stop'	<i>ā-pu</i> 'to prevent'
(d)	<i>cacc</i> 'to die'	<i>ca-mpu</i> 'to kill'
(e)	<i>taḍus</i> 'to get wet'	<i>taḍu-pu</i> 'to soak'

The most productive process is the addition of *-inc* to intransitive stems of the types (C)VCCV, (C)VCVCV, e.g. *aṅṅu* ‘to stick’ : *aṅṅ-inc* ‘to join’; *ekku* ‘to climb’ : *ekk-inc* ‘to raise’. Causative stems are derived by adding *-inc* to transitive stems, e.g. *camp-inc* ‘to cause (somebody) to be killed (by another agent)’, *kāy-inc* ‘to cause (something) to be boiled (by somebody)’. Syntactically causative verbs require three arguments: agent<sup>1</sup> (causer), agent<sup>2</sup> (causee), object, e.g. *sugrīwuḍu*<sup>1</sup> *rāmuḍi cēta*<sup>2</sup> *wālini*<sup>3</sup> *campincāḍu*<sup>4</sup> ‘Suriwa<sup>1</sup> got<sup>4</sup> Wāli<sup>3</sup> killed<sup>4</sup> by Rama<sup>2</sup>’. Compare this sentence with the intransitive: *wāli*<sup>1</sup> *caccāḍu*<sup>2</sup> ‘Wāli<sup>1</sup> died<sup>2</sup>’ and the transitive *rāmuḍu*<sup>1</sup> *wālini*<sup>2</sup> *campāḍu*<sup>3</sup> ‘Rama<sup>1</sup> killed<sup>3</sup> Wāli<sup>2</sup>’.

In MST, certain auxiliary verbs are added to the infinitive stems of intransitive verbs to form compound transitive stems with various shades of meaning, e.g. *koṭṭ* ‘to beat’ is added to stems such as *pagulu* ‘to break’ → *pagal-a goṭṭ* ‘to break up violently’; *rālu* ‘to drop off’ → *rāl-a goṭṭ* ‘to fell (leaves, fruit)’; *paḍu* ‘to fall down’ → *paḍ-a goṭṭ* ‘to fell down’; *peṭṭ* ‘to put’ is added to stems such as *nānu* ‘to become wet’ → *nān-a beṭṭ* ‘to soak’; *kālu* ‘to burn’ → *kāl-a beṭṭ* ‘to burn down’; *wēs* ‘to throw’ is added to stems such as *paḍu* ‘to fall’ → *paḍ-a wēs* ‘to fell’. Note that the underlying form of the infinitive morpheme is *-an*; a voiceless obstruent becomes voiced after the infinitive *-an*; the final *n* is lost before a consonant. These rules are ordered as (1) *p, t, c, k* → *b, d, j, g* / [inf.jan + \_\_ and (2) *n* → Ø / \_\_ + C. *koṭṭ* and *wēs* are added to verb roots denoting a sudden change of state; *peṭṭ* is added to verb roots meaning a gradual change of state.

A reflexive auxiliary *-kon/-kun* is added mainly to transitive and causative stems to denote that the result of the action in question goes to the agent. As a main verb, *kon* means ‘to buy’. It is also used to denote reciprocal action, e.g. ‘to kick one another’, ‘to talk among -selves’, etc. Reflexive uses include *pōs* ‘to pour (water)’, *nīḷlu pōs-u kon* ‘to pour water on oneself, i.e. to bathe’; *waṇḍu* ‘to cook’, *waṇḍ-u kon* ‘to cook for oneself’; *nērcu* ‘to learn’, *nērc-u kon* (mostly reflexive) ‘to learn by/for oneself’; *cēs* ‘to do’, *cēs-u kon* ‘to do for oneself’. Reciprocal uses include *māṭlāḍu* ‘to speak’, *māṭlāḍ-u kon* ‘to speak among -selves’; *koṭṭ* ‘to beat’, *koṭṭ-u kon* ‘to beat each other’; etc. Historically, *kon* is added to the perfective participles formed by adding *-i*, e.g. *pōs-i kon*, *waṇḍ-i kon*, etc. In modern Telugu, *-i* has been harmonised to *-u* by the rounded vowel in *kon*.

The morphology of the *-kon* auxiliary differs from that of the main verb *kon*. The infinitive of the auxiliary is *kō-n* (< *kō* + *an* < *kon* + *an*); that of the main verb, *kon-an*. Its perfective form *kon-i* often contracts to *-ku*, e.g. *tīs-u koni welllu* ‘take it and go’ is realised as *tīsuku welllu* or even *tīsukellu* (*w* is lost in some verbs). In causative reflexive stems, *-kon* follows *-inc*, but never precedes it, e.g. *cepp-* ‘to tell’, *cepp-u kon* ‘to appeal’, *cepp-inc* ‘to cause (something) to be told by somebody’, *cepp-inc-u kon* ‘to have a recommendation made by somebody’. In the lexical expansion of a verb stem, *kon* marks the last constituent, e.g. *pagala-goṭṭ-inc-u kon* ‘to have something broken for/by oneself’.

Some transitive stems develop inchoative meanings by adding *-kon*, e.g. *gucu* ‘to pierce’, *gucc-u kon* ‘to pierce like a needle/thorn’; *teruc* ‘to open’, *teruc-u kon* ‘(door) to open by itself’. A few transitive and intransitive stems develop id-

**Table 8.2 The six paradigms of the finite verb**

	Singular	Plural
(1) <i>Past</i>		
1	<i>amm-ā-nu</i>	<i>amm-ā-m(u)</i>
2	<i>amm-ā-wu</i>	<i>amm-ā-ru</i>
3 masc.	<i>amm-ā-ḡu</i>	<i>amm-ā-ru</i>
3 non-masc.	<i>amm-in-di</i>	<i>amm-ā-y(i)</i>
(2) <i>Non-past (future-habitual)</i>		
1	<i>ammu-tā-nu</i>	<i>ammu-tā-m(u)</i>
2	<i>ammu-tā-wu</i>	<i>ammu-tā-ru</i>
3 masc.	<i>ammu-tā-ḡu</i>	<i>ammu-tā-ru</i>
3 non-masc.	<i>ammu-tun-di</i>	<i>ammu-tā-y(i)</i>
(3) <i>Imperative</i>	<i>amm-u</i>	<i>amm-anḡi</i>
(4) <i>Hortative</i>		<i>amm-dā-m(u)</i>
(5) <i>Negative (future-habitual)</i>		
1	<i>amm-a-nu</i>	<i>amm-a-m(u)</i>
2	<i>amm-a-w(u)</i>	<i>amm-a-ru</i>
3 masc.	<i>amm-a-ḡu</i>	<i>amm-a-ru</i>
3 non-masc.	<i>amm-a-du</i>	<i>amm-a-w(u)</i>
(6) <i>Negative imperative</i>	<i>amm-ak-u</i>	<i>amm-ak-anḡi</i>

‘we sold’  
‘you sold’  
‘they (hum.) sold’  
‘they (non-hum.) sold’

‘we (will) sell’  
‘you (will) sell’  
‘they (hum.) (will) sell’  
‘they (non-hum.) (will) sell’

‘sell!’

‘let us sell’

‘we will/do not sell’  
‘you will/do not sell’  
‘they (hum.) will/do not sell’  
‘they (non-hum.) will/do not sell’

‘don’t sell!’

iomatic meanings with the addition of *-kon*, e.g. *an-* ‘to say’, *an-u kon* ‘to think’; *paḍu* ‘to fall’, *paḍ-u kon* ‘to lie down’; *naḍuc* ‘to walk’, *naḍuc-u kon* ‘to behave’; *ūr-u kon* ‘to remain quiet’ does not have other inflected forms with *\*ūr-*. In the two complex stems *kūrcon/kūrcun* ‘to sit’ and *nilcon/nilcun* (dial. *nuncon/nuncun-*) ‘to stand’ the final element *-con/-cun* morphologically behaves like *kon/-kun-* ‘reflexive’, e.g. *kūrcō* ‘sit down!’, *kūrcō-nu* ‘I will/do not sit’, *kūrcunnāḍu* ‘he is/was seated’. Here there is possible contamination between *-kon* reflexive and *un-* ‘to be’. In two verbs, *-kon/-kun* has an initial consonant geminate, e.g. *kon-u-kkon* ‘to buy for oneself’, *kan-u-kkon* ‘to find out’ (*\*kan-* ‘to see’ is archaic).

### Finite Verbs

The finite verb, e.g. *ammu* ‘to sell’, has six paradigms: past, non-past (future-habitual), imperative, hortative, negative (future-habitual) and negative imperative (Table 8.2).

The verb *un-* ‘to be’ and its negative counterpart *lē* ‘not to be’ are inflected as follows:

1	<i>un-nā-nu</i>	‘I am/was’	<i>un-nā-m(u)</i>	‘we are/were’
2	<i>un-nā-wu</i>	‘you are/were’	<i>un-nā-ru</i>	‘you are/were’
3 masc.	<i>un-nā-ḍu</i>	‘he is/was’	<i>un-nā-ru</i>	‘they (hum.) are/were’
3 non-masc.	<i>un-na-di</i>	‘she/it is/was’	<i>un-nā-y(i)</i>	‘they (non-hum.) are/were’
1	<i>lē-nu</i>	‘I am/was not’	<i>lē-m(u)</i>	‘we are/were not’
2	<i>lē-wu</i>	‘you are/were not’	<i>lē-ru</i>	‘you are/were not’
3 masc.	<i>lē-ḍu</i>	‘he is/was not’	<i>lē-ru</i>	‘they (hum.) are/were not’
3 non-masc.	<i>lē-ḍu</i>	‘she/it is/was not’	<i>lē-w(u)</i>	‘they (non-hum.) are/were not’

These are the only two verbs with both present and past tense meanings as against future and habitual meanings. Morphologically *{-nā- (~ -na-)}* (restricted to stems of (C)Vn- type) signals past tense as an allomorph of *{-ā- (~ -in-)}*. In the rest of the verbs, *{-ā- ~ -in-}* signals past as opposed to *{-tā- ~ -tun-}* non-past (future and habitual). A present continuous or durative finite verb with present and past meanings is formed by adding the finite inflection of *un-* to any verb stem + *-t-* (non-past), e.g.

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ammu-t-unnānu</i> ‘I am/was selling’	<i>ammu-t-unnām(u)</i> ‘we are/were selling’
2	<i>ammu-t-unnāw(u)</i> ‘you are/were selling’	<i>ammu-t-unnāru</i> ‘you are/were selling’
3 masc.	<i>ammu-t-unnāḍu</i> ‘he is/was selling’	<i>ammu-t-unnāru</i> ‘they (hum.) are/were selling’
3 non-masc.	<i>ammu-t-unnadi</i> ‘she is/was selling’	<i>ammu-t-unnāy(i)</i> ‘they (non-hum.) are/were selling’

This form is a compound verb, since it has two constituent verb roots, i.e. *ammu-t-un-*. The negative of such forms adds *lēḍu* ‘it is not’ (3rd person singular

non-masculine) to the gerund of the main verb by adding *-aṭam* or *-aḍam*, e.g. *amm-aṭam lēdu* ‘(all persons and numbers) are/were not selling’. The negative of the past finite adds *lēdu* to the infinitive of the main verb, e.g. *amm-a lēdu* ‘(all persons and numbers) did not sell’.

### Non-finite Verbs

Non-finite verbs mark subordinate clauses and consist of two elements: stem + tense-mode. There are four kinds: conjunctive forms, adnominal (relative) forms, infinitive and gerund.

#### (1) Conjunctive forms

##### Affirmative

(a)	Perfective	<i>amm-i</i>	‘having sold’
(b)	Durative	<i>ammu-tū</i>	‘selling’
(c)	Conditional	<i>amm-itē</i>	‘if one sells/sold’
(d)	Concessive	<i>amm-inā</i>	‘even if one sells/sold’

##### Negative

(e)	Perfective	<i>amm-aka</i>	‘not having sold, without selling’
(f)	Durative	<i>amm-ak-uṇḍā</i>	‘not selling, without selling’
(g)	Conditional	<i>amm-aka-pō-tē</i>	‘if one does/did not sell’
(h)	Concessive	<i>amm-aka-pōy-inā</i>	‘even if one does/did not sell’

Note that the conditional and concessive forms of the verb are periphrastic forms with the auxiliary *pō* ‘to go’ added to the perfective negative in *-aka*.

#### (2) Adnominal forms

(i)	Past	<i>amm-ina</i>	‘that which sold/is or was sold’
(j)	Non-past	<i>amm-ē</i>	‘that which sells’
(k)	Negative	<i>amm-ani</i>	‘that which does/did not sell’
(3)	Infinitive	<i>amm-a(n)</i>	‘to sell’
(4)	Gerund (nominal)	<i>amm-aṭam/-aḍam</i>	‘selling, the act of selling’

The infinitive occurs in the formation of compound verbs with modal auxiliaries. Some modals are also built on the past conjunctive.

### Compound Verbs with Modal Auxiliaries

The examples in (b), (c), (g), and (h) illustrate only the first person singular cell. All cases are based on stem + infinitive *-an*.

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| (a) | Obligative<br>(in all persons and numbers) | infinitive + <i>-āli-wāli</i><br><i>amm-āli</i> ( <i>amm-(a) + āli</i> ← <i>amm-an + wāli</i> ) ‘(one) must/should sell’,<br><i>rā-wāli</i> ‘(one) must/should come’; |
| (b) | Capabilitative                             | infinitive + <i>kala</i> + person ( <i>kala</i> ‘to be’ is an archaic verb)<br><i>amm-a gala-nu</i> ‘I can sell’;   |

(c) Non-capabilitative	infinitive + <i>lē</i> + person <i>amm-a lē-nu</i> 'I cannot sell';
(d) Probabilitative (in all persons and numbers)	infinitive + <i>waccu</i> ( <i>wacc</i> 'to come') <i>amm-a waccu</i> 'one may/can sell';
(e) Prohibitive (in all persons and numbers)	infinitive + <i>kūḍ-a-du</i> (* <i>kūḍu</i> '*is allowed') <i>amm-a gūḍ-a-du</i> 'one may/should not sell';
(f) Prohibitive  (2nd person singular only)	infinitive + <i>waddu</i> (* <i>wal(a)du</i> < * <i>walayu</i> , an archaic verb) <i>amm-a waddu</i> 'don't sell/(you) must not sell';
(g) Inceptive	infinitive + <i>pō</i> + tense + person <i>amm-a bō-tā-nu</i> 'I am about to sell', <i>amm-a bōy-ā-nu</i> 'I was about to sell';
(h) Permissive	infinitive + <i>icc</i> + tense + person ( <i>icc</i> 'to give') <i>amm-an-is-tā-nu</i> 'I will let (somebody) to sell', <i>amm-an-icc-ā-nu</i> 'I let (somebody) to sell', <i>amm-an-iyy-il-iww-u</i> 'let me/him sell' <i>amm-an-iyy-aṅḍil-iww-aṅḍi</i> 'let us/them sell'
(i) Passive	infinitive + <i>paḍu</i> + tense + person ( <i>paḍu</i> 'to fall') <i>amm-a baḍu-tun-dī</i> 'it will be sold'.

Note that (d), (e) and (f) are not tense-based; they lack non-finite forms. Examples (b) and (c) have auxiliaries *kala* and *lē*, which include two morphemes each: stem + non-past tense. They have suppletive non-finite verbs with some restrictions, e.g. *amm-a galig-i* 'having been able to sell', *amm-a lē-ka* 'not being able to sell'. Examples (g), (h) and (i) have compound stems which are inflected like simple verb stems to give finite and non-finite constructions. Example (a) also has certain non-finite forms with suppletive variants of *-āli-wāli*, e.g. *amm-āls-i* '(it) having been necessary to sell', *amm-āls-in-dī* 'one should have sold (it)'.

### *Morphophonemic Classification of Verb Stems in Inflection*

#### Suffixes

All verb suffixes that combine with verb roots can be divided into three groups: (A) suffixes whose main variants begin with a consonant (*t*, *d*); (B) suffixes whose main variants begin with a front vowel (*i*, *ē*, *ā*); and (C) suffixes whose main variants begin with a back vowel (*a*, *ā*, *u*).

(A)	Grammatical category	Suffix	Environment
	1. Durative participle	<i>tū/ṭū</i>	before a pause (marking a subordinate clause)
	2. Durative	<i>t/ṭ</i>	before <i>un-</i>
	3. Future-habitual	<i>tā/ṭā</i> <i>~tun/ṭun</i>	before all personal suffixes except <i>-di</i> before third person singular neuter suffix <i>-di</i>
	4. Conditional	<i>tē/ṭē</i>	after consonant-ending roots and before

5. Hortative	<i>dā</i>	a pause before <i>-m</i> (first person plur.)
--------------	-----------	--

The variants beginning with *ɿ* occur after roots of Class V (below), i.e. those ending in *-n* preceded by a short vowel.

(B)	Grammatical category	Suffix	Environment
	1. Past conjunctive	<i>i</i>	before a pause
	2. Past tense	<i>ā</i> ~ <i>in</i> ~ <i>nā</i> ~ <i>na</i> ~ <i>dā</i> ~ <i>da</i>	before all personal suffixes except <i>-di</i> before third person singular neuter suffix <i>-di</i> after <i>n</i> -final roots: before all personal suffixes except <i>-di</i> after <i>n</i> -final roots: before third person singular neuter suffix <i>-di</i> after <i>paḍ-</i> 'fall', <i>ceḍ-</i> 'be spoiled': before all personal suffixes except <i>-di</i> after <i>paḍ-</i> 'fall', <i>ceḍ-</i> 'be spoiled': before third person singular neuter suffix <i>-di</i>
	3. Past adnominal	<i>ina/na</i>	before a noun or pronoun
	4. Concessive	<i>inā/nā</i>	before a pause
	5. Future-habitual adnominal	<i>ē</i>	before a noun or pronoun
	6. Conditional	<i>itē</i>	after vowel-ending roots and before a pause
(C)	Grammatical category	Suffix	Environment
	1. Infinitive	<i>an/a/∅</i> ~ <i>a/nu</i>	before another verb in compound verbs sentence finally as admonitive
	2. Negative tense	<i>a/∅</i>	before all personal suffixes
	3. Negative conjunctive	<i>aka/ka</i> <i>akuṅḍā/</i> <i>kuṅḍā</i>	before another verb before a pause
	4. Negative adnominal	<i>ani/ni</i>	before a noun or pronoun
	5. Negative imperative	<i>aku/ku</i>	before a sentence-final pause
	6. Imperative plural	<i>aṅḍi/ṅḍi</i>	before a sentence-final pause
	7. Imperative singular	<i>u/i/∅</i>	before a sentence-final pause

The phonological conditions for the variation in the above suffixes can be found in Krishnamurti (1961).

### Stem Classes

Telugu verbs are divided into several conjugations, of which Classes I, II and III contain two, four and four subclasses respectively. Class VI consists of irregular verbs.

Class I verb roots end in *-u*, which remains before (A) suffixes but is regularly

lost before B and C suffixes:

Subclass	Basic root	(A) Suffixes	(B) Suffixes	(C) Suffixes
(a)	<i>ammu</i> 'sell'	(1-5) <i>ammu-</i>	(1-6) <i>amm-</i>	(1-7) <i>amm-</i>
(b)	<i>aḍugu</i> 'ask'	(1-5) <i>aḍugu-</i>	(1-6) <i>aḍig-</i>	(1-6) <i>aḍag-</i> (7) <i>aḍug-</i>

Class II verb roots end in *-c* or *-s*, which regularly become *-w* or *-y* before (C) suffixes:

Subclass	Basic root	(A) Suffixes	(B) Suffixes	(C) Suffixes
(a)	<i>piluc</i> 'call'	(1-3) <i>pilus-</i> (4) <i>pilis-</i> (5) <i>pilud-</i>	(1-6) <i>pilic-</i>	(1-6) <i>pilaw-</i> (7) <i>piluw-</i>
(b)	<i>kalus</i> 'meet'	(1-3) <i>kalus-</i> (4) <i>kalis-</i> (5) <i>kalud-</i>	(1-6) <i>kalis-</i>	(1-6) <i>kalaw-</i> (7) <i>kaluw-</i>
(c)	<i>tīs</i> 'take'	(1-4) <i>tīs-</i> (5) <i>tīd-</i>	(1-6) <i>tīs-</i>	(1-7) <i>tīy-/tīyy-</i>
(d)	<i>wāc</i> 'swell'	(1-4) <i>wās-</i> (5) <i>*wād-</i>	(1-6) <i>wāc-</i>	(1-7) <i>wāy-</i>

Class III verb roots end in *-c*, which remains unmodified before (B) and (C) suffixes:

Subclass	Basic root	(A) Suffixes	(B) Suffixes	(C) Suffixes
(a)	<i>cāc</i> 'stretch out'	(1-4) <i>cās-</i> (5) <i>cād-</i>	(1-6) <i>cāc-</i>	(1-7) <i>cāc-</i>
(b)	<i>kāluc</i> 'burn (tr.)'	(1-3) <i>kāluc-</i> (4) <i>kālīs-</i> (5) <i>kālud-</i>	(1-6) <i>kālc-</i>	(1-7) <i>kālc-</i>
(c)	<i>kuduruc</i> 'settle'	(1-3) <i>kudurus-</i> (4) <i>kudiris-</i> (5) <i>kudurud-</i>	(1-6) <i>kudirc-</i>	(1-6) <i>kudarc-</i> (7) <i>kudurc-</i>
(d)	<i>cūpinc</i> 'show'	(1-3) <i>cūpis-</i> (5) <i>cūpid-</i>	(1-6) <i>cūpinc-</i>	(1-7) <i>cūpinc-</i>

Class IV verb roots end in *-ṭṭ* (and one in *-pp*) preceded by a short vowel; the final consonant group is modified before (A) suffixes:

Subclass	Basic root	(A) Suffixes	(B) Suffixes	(C) Suffixes
(a)	<i>koṭṭ</i> 'beat'	(1-5) <i>koḍa-/koḍu-</i>	(1-6) <i>koṭṭ-</i>	(1-7) <i>koṭṭ-</i>
(b)	<i>cepp</i> 'say'	(1-5) <i>ceba-/cebu-</i>	(1-6) <i>cepp-</i>	(1-7) <i>cepp-</i>

Class V verb roots end in *-n* preceded by a short vowel:

Subclass	Basic root	(A) Suffixes	(B) Suffixes	(C) Suffixes
(a)	<i>win</i> 'hear'	(1-4) <i>wiṅ-</i> (5) <i>win-</i>	(1-6) <i>win-</i>	(1-7) <i>win-</i>

Class VI are irregular verbs as follows:

Subclass	Basic root	(A) Suffixes	(B) Suffixes	(C) Suffixes
(a)	<i>icc</i> 'give'	(1-4) <i>is-</i> (5) <i>id-</i>	(1-6) <i>icc-</i>	(1-7) <i>iww-</i> (1-7) <i>iyy-</i> (dial.)
(b)	<i>cacc</i> 'die'	(1-4) <i>cas-</i> (5) <i>cad-</i>	(1-6) <i>cacc-</i>	(1-7) <i>cāw-</i>
(c)	<i>tecc</i> 'bring'	(1-4) <i>tes-</i> (5) <i>ted-</i>	(1-6) <i>tecc-</i>	(1-5) <i>tā-</i> (6-7) <i>tē-</i>
(d)	<i>wacc</i> 'come'	(1-4) <i>was-</i> (5) <i>wad-</i>	(1-6) <i>wacc-</i>	(1-7) <i>rā-</i>
(e)	<i>aw</i> 'become'	(1-3, 5) <i>aw-</i> (4) <i>ay-</i>	(1, 3, 4, 6) <i>ay-</i> (2, 5) <i>ayy-</i>	(1-7) <i>awa-</i> (1-7) <i>kā-</i> (dial.)
(f)	<i>pō</i> 'go'	(1-5) <i>pō-</i>	(1) <i>pōy-</i> (2, 5) <i>pōy-/poyy-</i> (3, 4) <i>poy-/pōy-</i>	(1-7) <i>pō-</i>
(g)	<i>cūc/cūs</i> 'see'	(1-4) <i>cūs-</i> (5) <i>cūd-</i>	(1-6) <i>cūc-/cūs-</i>	(1-7) <i>cūd-</i>
(h)	<i>lēc</i> 'rise'	(1-4) <i>lēs-</i> (5) <i>lēd</i>	(1-6) <i>lēc-</i>	(1-5) <i>lāw-</i> (6-7) <i>le-llē-</i>
(i)	<i>tann</i> 'kick'	(1-5) <i>tan-</i>	(1-6) <i>tann-</i>	(1-7) <i>tann-</i>
(j)	<i>welḷ</i> 'go'	(1-5) <i>wel-</i>	(1-6) <i>welḷ-</i>	(1-7) <i>welḷ-</i>
(k)	<i>pad</i> 'go'			(6) <i>pad-aṇḍi</i> (7) <i>pad-a</i>

### Adjectives

Most adjectives are syntactically nouns in the genitive. Morphologically, adjectives are either basic or derived. Basic adjectives are those which are generally used as attributives to nouns or NP heads. They include determiners, e.g. remote *ā* 'that', proximate *ī* 'this', interrogative *ē* 'which', *oka* 'one', *prati* 'each', etc. They also include descriptive adjectives, which may be classified semantically.

(a)	Dimension	<i>pedda</i> 'big' <i>poḍugu</i> 'tall' <i>lāwu</i> 'stout' <i>ekkuwa</i> 'more'	<i>cinna</i> 'small', <i>poṭṭi</i> 'short', <i>sanna</i> 'lean', <i>takkuwa</i> 'less';
(b)	Position	<i>ekkuwa</i> 'high' <i>goppa</i> 'socially high' <i>kuḍi</i> 'right'	<i>takkuwa</i> 'low', <i>takkuwa</i> 'socially low', <i>eḍama</i> 'left';
(c)	Physical property	<i>gaṭṭi</i> 'hard' <i>baruwu</i> 'heavy' <i>moddu</i> 'coarse' <i>pacci</i> 'raw' <i>taḍi</i> 'wet' <i>cikka</i> 'thick' <i>wecca</i> 'hot'	<i>metta</i> 'soft', <i>tēlika</i> 'light', <i>sannam</i> 'fine', <i>paṇḍu</i> 'ripe', <i>poḍi</i> 'dry', <i>palaca</i> 'thin', <i>calla</i> 'cold';
(d)	Taste	<i>tiyya</i> 'sweet' <i>cēdu</i> 'bitter'	<i>pulla</i> 'sour', <i>uppa</i> 'salty';
(e)	Colour	<i>nalla</i> 'black'	<i>tella</i> 'white',

		<i>erra</i>	'red'	<i>pacca</i>	'green-yellow';
(f)	Age	<i>pedda</i>	'old'	<i>cinna</i>	'young',
		<i>pāta</i>	'old'	<i>kotta</i>	'new';
(g)	Value	<i>manci</i>	'good'	<i>ceḍḍa</i>	'bad'.

Determiners always function as adjectives in attributive position to nouns, e.g. *ā illu* 'that house', *oka illu* 'one house', *prati illu* 'each house'. Descriptive adjectives have the following properties:

- (1) By adding *-tanam/-danam*, abstract nouns are derived, e.g. *pedda-tanam* 'old age/respectability', *nalla-danam* 'blackness', *tiyya-danam* 'sweetness', etc.
- (2) Most members of the semantic types (c), (d) and (e) have derived adjectives, abstract nouns, adverbs and inchoative verbs through suffixation, e.g.

Adjective	Abstract noun	Adverb	Inchoative verb
<i>metta-ṭil-ni</i> 'soft'	<i>metta-na</i> 'softness'	<i>metta-gā</i> 'softly'	<i>metta-baḍu</i> 'soften'

Those meaning 'size' add *-āṭi* to derive adjectives used attributively in Adj + N phrases: *poḍugu* 'long/tall', *poḍug-āṭi* 'tall'; *lāwu* 'stout', *lāw-āṭi* 'fat'; etc. The adjectival roots of 'taste' and 'colour' occur in compounds and derived nominals, e.g. *nallawāḍu* 'a black man', *tellawāḍu* 'a white man', *tiyyamāmiḍi* 'sweet mango'. Derived adjectives with *-ṭi* occur in phrases, e.g. *nallaṭi maniṣi* 'a dark person', *tellaṭi maniṣi* 'a fair-complexioned person'.

- (3) When adjectives occur in the predicate position, they are derived nominals, e.g. *ī illu tellana/telupu* 'this house is white', *ī paṇḍu tiyyana/ṭipi* 'this fruit is sweet'. Most of them occur without change, e.g. *wāḍu poḍugu* 'he is tall', *ī pustakam tēlika* 'this book is light'. We infer from this behaviour that most of the adjectives also function as nominals. They become marked adjectives in Adj + N phrases by adding *-ayna* 'that which is' (from *aw* 'to be'), e.g. *baruw-ayna* 'heavy', *tellan(a)-ayna* 'whitish', *tēlik(a)-ayna* 'that which is light', etc. Numeral adjectives (ordinals) are derived by adding *-ō* to numerals, e.g. *reṇḍ-ō* 'second', *ayid-ō* 'fifth', *iraway-ō* 'twentieth'.

When more than one adjective occurs in a noun phrase, their order is determiner + numeral + descriptive + N, e.g. *ā<sup>1</sup> reṇḍu<sup>2</sup> manci<sup>3</sup> kotta<sup>4</sup> tellaṭi<sup>5</sup> pedda<sup>6</sup> pustakālu<sup>7</sup>* 'those<sup>1</sup> two<sup>2</sup> good<sup>3</sup> new<sup>4</sup> white<sup>5</sup> big<sup>6</sup> books<sup>7</sup>'. Endocentric compounds are more common than exocentric ones in Telugu. The names of plants and plant products have the structure specific + generic, e.g. *malle<sup>1</sup> ceṭṭu<sup>2</sup>* 'jasmine plant', *māmiḍi<sup>1</sup> paṇḍu<sup>2</sup>* 'mango fruit', *pacci<sup>1</sup> mirapa<sup>2</sup> kāya<sup>3</sup>* 'green chili fruit', *tōṭa<sup>1</sup> kūra<sup>2</sup>* 'garden leaf (spinach)'. Names of towns and villages are also N<sub>1</sub> + N<sub>2</sub> type endocentric compounds in which N<sub>1</sub> is specific and N<sub>2</sub> is generic, e.g. *guni(a)<sup>1</sup> +*

$\bar{u}ru^2 \rightarrow gun\bar{t}\bar{u}ru$  'a pit-town',  $g\bar{a}ndh\bar{i}^1 nagar^2$  'gāndhī nagar' (*nagar* 'settlement', *gāndhī* 'name of a national leader'). Surnames and personal names also fit this pattern.

### Adverbs

Adverbs of time and place are inflected for case (but not number or gender), e.g. *appaṭiki* 'by then', *ninnaṭinunci* 'since yesterday'. They are therefore treated morphologically as a subclass of nouns. Adverbs of manner are generally derived by adding *-gā* to an adjective, e.g. *pedda-gā* 'loudly', *tinna-gā* 'smoothly', *bā-gā* 'well' (< \**bāgu-gā*); also *alā(gā)* 'that way', *ilā(gā)* 'this way', *elā(gā)* 'which way'. These occur as complements to the verb. Expressives or echo expressives function as adverbs, e.g. *gaḍagaḍa* 'fast in talking or drinking a liquid', *gajagaja* 'shivering', *galagala* 'jingling', *gaṇagana* 'ringing (of a bell)', *jarajara* '(snake) crawling fast', etc.

Postpositions are mostly adverbial nouns denoting time and place, e.g. *daggara* 'near', *lōpala* 'inside', *mīda* 'above', *kinda* 'below', *pay* 'above', *pakka* 'beside', *mundu* 'front', *wenaka* 'behind'; *dākā* 'up to' and *waraku* 'until' are two inflected words which are used adverbially, e.g. *rēpaṭi waraku/dāka* 'until tomorrow', *iṅṭi dāka/waruku* 'up to the house'.

### Clitics

Clitics are bound forms added to any major grammatical category other than Adj or AdjP (except numerals), viz. S, NP, VP, AdvP, N, V, Adv. Clitics express certain presuppositions on the part of the speaker towards the hearer and the speech act. Clitics modify the meaning of the constructions to which they are added in specialised ways.

The grammatical properties of clitics are: they have greater mobility in a sentence as opposed to morphological affixes, whose occurrence is restricted to particular word classes; they lack the 'freedom' of words, but the hosts to which they are added are free and grammatically well-formed; their meaning is co-determined by the meaning of the constituents to which they are affixed.

The following are the most commonly used clitics in MST, e.g. (1) =*ē* (emphatic), (2) =*ā* (interrogative), (3) =*kadā/gadā*, =*kadū/gadū*, =*gā* (tag question, related to *kādu* 'it is not' + *ā* interrogative, meaning 'is it not?'), (4) =*aṭa*, =*ṭa*, =*aṅ-ṭa* (presumptive), (5) =*lē/leṅḍi* (declarative), (6) =*ō* (indefinite). The following sentences illustrate the use of clitics (emphasised constituents are shown in **bold** type):

- (1) a. *adi<sup>1</sup> nā pustakam<sup>2</sup>*. 'That<sup>1</sup> is my book<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. *adē<sup>1</sup> nā pustakam<sup>2</sup>*. '**That**<sup>1</sup> is my book<sup>2</sup>.'  
 c. *adi<sup>1</sup> nā pustakamē<sup>2</sup>*. 'That<sup>1</sup> is my **book**<sup>2</sup>.'

Clitics occur together with the infinitive in emphatic constructions.

- d.  $wāḍu^1 rān = \bar{e}^2 waccāḍu^3$  ( $rān \leftarrow rā-n \leftarrow rā+an$ ).  
 'He<sup>1</sup> has come<sup>3</sup> **indeed**<sup>2</sup>.'
- e.  $wāḍu^1 ā māṭa^2 ceppan = \bar{e}^3 cebutāḍu^4$ .  
 'He<sup>1</sup> will say<sup>4</sup> that matter<sup>2</sup> **anyway**<sup>3</sup>.'

Note that infinitives without  $\bar{e}$  cannot occur in such constructions. These are consequently treated as a special kind of compound verbs. Any constituents can be questioned with  $=\bar{a}$ , e.g.

- (2) a.  $kamala^1 moguḍitō^2 sinimāku^3 wellindi^4$ .  
 'Kamala<sup>1</sup> went<sup>4</sup> to a movie<sup>3</sup> with her husband<sup>2</sup>.'
- b.  $kamala^1 moguḍitō^2 sinimāku^3 wellind = \bar{a}^4$ .  
 'Has<sup>4</sup> Kamala<sup>1</sup> gone to a movie<sup>3</sup> with her husband<sup>2</sup> ?'
- c.  $kamal = \bar{a}^?$  'Is it Kamala that ...?'
- d.  $moguḍitōn = \bar{a}^?$  'with her husband?'
- e.  $sinimāk = \bar{a}^?$  'to a movie?'
- (3) a.  $idi^1 mī^2 illu^3$ . 'This<sup>1</sup> (is) your<sup>2</sup> house<sup>3</sup>.'
- b.  $idi^1 mī^2 illu^3 gadū^4$ . 'This<sup>1</sup> (is) your<sup>2</sup> house<sup>3</sup>, **isn't it**?'
- c.  $idi^1 gadū^2 mī^3 illu^4$ . 'Isn't<sup>2</sup> **this**<sup>1</sup> your<sup>3</sup> house<sup>4</sup>?'
- (4) a.  $cakrawarti^1 wastāḍu^2$ . 'Chakrawarti<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>2</sup>.'
- b.  $cakrawarti^1 wastāḍu^2 = \bar{t}a^3$ . '**It seems**<sup>3</sup> Chakrawarti<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>2</sup>.'

A tag question particle can follow presumptive  $\bar{t}a/\bar{a}ṭa$ , but not conversely.

- (5)  $nuwwu^1 ipani^2 ceyyalēwu^3 lē^4$ .  
 'You<sup>1</sup> cannot do<sup>3</sup> this work<sup>2</sup> (**to be sure**)<sup>4</sup>.'
- (6) a.  $ewaru^1 wastāru^2?$  'Who<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>2</sup>?'
- b.  $ewar = \bar{o}^2 wastāru^3$ . '**Someone**<sup>1,2</sup> will come<sup>3</sup>.'
- c.  $ewaru^1 wastār^2 = \bar{o}^3?$  'Who<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>2</sup>? (**I don't know**)<sup>3</sup>.'

The clitic  $=\bar{o}$  is added to interrogative words to derive indefinite words; when added to a whole clause,  $=\bar{o}$  makes the meaning of the clause indefinite. For a detailed treatment of clitics, see Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1985).

## 8.4 Syntax

Telugu, like other Dravidian languages, has sentences with the verb in the final position (SOV). Sentences can be simple, complex or compound. A simple declarative sentence has two constituents: NP (topic); Pred (comment). The predicate may be a noun phrase (NP) or a verb phrase (VP). Equative sentences have NP as predicates.

## NP Predicates

- (1) a. *āyana*<sup>1</sup> *peddamaṇiṣi*<sup>2</sup>. 'He<sup>1</sup> (is) a gentleman<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. *Rāmayya*<sup>1</sup> *ḍāḱṭaru*<sup>2</sup>. 'Ramayya<sup>1</sup> (is) a doctor<sup>2</sup>.'  
 c. *wāḍu*<sup>1</sup> *nāku*<sup>2</sup> *tammuḍu*<sup>3</sup>. 'He<sup>1</sup> (is) my (to me)<sup>2</sup> younger brother<sup>3</sup>.'
- (2) a. *wāḍiki*<sup>1</sup> *piccikōpam*<sup>2</sup>.  
 'He (to him)<sup>1</sup> (is) terribly angry (maddening anger)<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. *āmeku*<sup>1</sup> *nāmīda*<sup>2</sup> *āpekṣa*<sup>3</sup>.  
 'She (is) fond of me (lit. to her<sup>1</sup> fondness<sup>3</sup> on me<sup>2</sup>).'

In the sentences above, the topic can be a NP in the nominative or dative; the predicate is a NP in the nominative with or without a complement. An equative sentence thus has the structure NP + NP or PP (postpositional phrase, i.e. NP + postposition) + NP. In equative sentences, the predicate is always a stative, denoting 'being' (a state) and not 'doing' (an action).

The equative sentences with the subject NP (nominative) can be negated by adding *kādu* 'it is not' (3 non-masc. neg. of *aw* 'to become'); thus the negatives of (1a–c) are (3a–c).

- (3) a. *āyana*<sup>1</sup> *peddamaṇiṣi*<sup>2</sup> *kādu*<sup>3</sup>. 'He<sup>1</sup> is not<sup>3</sup> a gentleman<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. *rāmayya*<sup>1</sup> *ḍāḱṭaru*<sup>2</sup> *kādu*<sup>3</sup>. 'Ramayya<sup>1</sup> is not<sup>3</sup> a doctor<sup>2</sup>.'  
 c. *wāḍu*<sup>1</sup> *nāku*<sup>2</sup> *tammuḍu*<sup>3</sup> *kādu*<sup>3</sup>. 'He<sup>1</sup> is not<sup>3</sup> my<sup>2</sup> younger brother<sup>3</sup>.'

It can then be argued that sentences (1a–c) have an affirmative form of the copula *aw* 'to be/to become' which is dropped in the surface structure in affirmative. Sentences (2a) and (2b) can optionally have a verb *undi* 'it is' (3 non-masc. sing. of *un* 'to be') and they may be negated by adding *lēdu* 'it is not', as in (4a) and (4b):

- (4) a. *wāḍiki*<sup>1</sup> *piccikōpam*<sup>2</sup> *undi*<sup>3</sup>.  
 'He<sup>1</sup> has<sup>3</sup> terrible anger<sup>2</sup> (lit. to him<sup>1</sup> maddening anger<sup>2</sup> there is<sup>3</sup>).'  
 b. *wāḍiki*<sup>1</sup> *piccikōpam*<sup>2</sup> *lēdu*<sup>3</sup>.  
 'He<sup>1</sup> does not have<sup>3</sup> terrible anger<sup>2</sup> (lit. to him maddening anger<sup>2</sup> there is not<sup>3</sup>).'

Notice that in NP<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub> type of sentences, NP<sub>2</sub> agrees with NP<sub>1</sub> in gender–number–person and they are co-referential. The predicate NP can also carry first and second person suffixes, e.g.

- (5) a. *nēnu*<sup>1</sup> *peddamaṇiṣi-ni*<sup>2</sup>. 'I<sup>1</sup> (am) a gentleman<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. *mēm(u)*<sup>1</sup> *peddamaṇuṣul-am*<sup>2</sup>. 'We<sup>1</sup> (are) gentlemen<sup>2</sup>.'  
 c. *nīwu*<sup>1</sup> *peddamaṇiṣi-wi*<sup>2</sup>. 'You<sup>1</sup> (are) a gentleman<sup>2</sup>.'  
 d. *mīru*<sup>1</sup> *peddamaṇuṣulu*<sup>2</sup>. 'You<sup>1</sup> (pl.) (are) gentlemen<sup>2</sup>.'

A sub-type of verbless sentences has NPs with abstract noun heads as predicates. They do not agree with the subject, e.g.

- (6) a. *ā<sup>1</sup> koṇḍa<sup>2</sup> cālā<sup>3</sup> ettu<sup>4</sup>.*  
 ‘That<sup>1</sup> hill<sup>2</sup> (is) very<sup>3</sup> high<sup>4</sup>.’  
 b. *mā<sup>1</sup> tammuḷlu<sup>2</sup> ār aḍugula<sup>3</sup> poḍugu<sup>4</sup>.*  
 ‘My<sup>1</sup> brothers<sup>2</sup> (are) six-feet<sup>3</sup> tall<sup>4</sup>.’

### Verbal Predicates

In a simple declarative sentence, the verb phrase consists of an inflected finite verb, optionally preceded by one or more PPs (postpositional phrases) occurring as complements; an AdvP of manner may also occur as part of the VP. An AdvP referring to time may occur either as a sentential adverb or as a constituent of the VP depending on its meaning.

- (7) a. *subbārāwu<sup>1</sup> [NP subj] rēpu<sup>2</sup> [Adv time] wastāḍu<sup>3</sup> [V fin].*  
 ‘Subbarao<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>3</sup> tomorrow<sup>2</sup>.’  
 b. *subbārāwu<sup>1</sup> [NP subj] rēpu<sup>2</sup> [Adv time] [wimānamlō<sup>3</sup> [PP loc]  
 madrāsununcu<sup>4</sup> [PP abl] haydarābāduku<sup>5</sup> [PP dat] wastāḍu<sup>6</sup> [V fin]  
 VP]*  
 ‘Subbarao<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>6</sup> to Hyderabad<sup>5</sup> by plane<sup>3</sup> from Madras<sup>4</sup>  
 tomorrow<sup>2</sup>.’

There is no strict word order in Telugu. In the unmarked order, the verb takes the final position. The phrase which receives the ‘focus’ of information is placed just before the finite verb; any one of the arguments can be focused by shifting it to the preverbal position. Any of the arguments becomes the topic by placing it in the sentence-initial position. In unmarked word order, the subject NP occurs as the first constituent of a sentence.

Interrogative sentences are formed by adding the interrogative particle =*ā* at the end of the declarative sentence (see yes/no type above), or by replacing any of the NPs or PPs by a corresponding question word, e.g.

- (8) a. *subbārāwu<sup>1</sup> rēpu<sup>2</sup> wastāḍ=*ā*<sup>3</sup>?*  
 ‘Will<sup>3</sup> Subbarao<sup>1</sup> come<sup>3</sup> tomorrow<sup>2</sup>?’  
 b. *subbārāwu<sup>1</sup> rēpu<sup>2</sup> madrāsununci<sup>3</sup> wastāḍ=*ā*<sup>4</sup>?*  
 ‘Will<sup>4</sup> Subbarao<sup>1</sup> come<sup>4</sup> tomorrow<sup>2</sup> from Madras<sup>3</sup>?’
- (9) a. *ewaru<sup>1</sup> rēpu<sup>2</sup> wastāru<sup>3</sup>?* (*ewaru* ‘who’ always requires plural agreement with the finite verb.)  
 ‘Who<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>3</sup> tomorrow<sup>2</sup>?’  
 b. *subbārāwu<sup>1</sup> eppuḍu<sup>2</sup> wastāḍu<sup>3</sup>?*  
 ‘When<sup>2</sup> will<sup>3</sup> Subbarao<sup>1</sup> come<sup>3</sup>?’

- c. *subbārāwu*<sup>1</sup> *rēpu*<sup>2</sup> *ekkaḍininci*<sup>3</sup> *wastāḍu*<sup>4</sup>?  
 ‘From where<sup>3</sup> will<sup>4</sup> Subbarao<sup>1</sup> come<sup>3</sup> tomorrow<sup>2</sup>?’

Cleft sentences are formed in Telugu by changing the finite verb into a corresponding nominal, i.e. adnominal form + *di* (non-masc. sing.), e.g. *wastāḍu*, *wastānu*, *wastāmu* (non-past finite), etc. → *waccē* (non-past adnominal) + *di*. The sentence is then divided into two parts: ‘given’ (non-final) and ‘new’ (final). Each argument can then be put in the ‘new’ position as follows:

- (10) a. *rēpu*<sup>1</sup> *madrāsununci*<sup>2</sup> *haydarābāḍuku*<sup>3</sup> *waccēdi*<sup>4</sup> *subbārāwu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 ‘(It is) Subbarao<sup>5</sup> who will come<sup>4</sup> from Madras<sup>2</sup> to Hyderabad<sup>3</sup> tomorrow<sup>1</sup>.’  
 b. *subbārāwu*<sup>1</sup> *madrāsununcu*<sup>2</sup> *haydarābāḍuku*<sup>3</sup> *waccēdi*<sup>4</sup> *rēpu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 ‘(It is) tomorrow<sup>5</sup> that Subbarao<sup>1</sup> comes<sup>4</sup> from Madras<sup>2</sup> to Hyderabad<sup>3</sup>.’

Similarly, *madrāsununci* ‘from Madras’, *haydarābāḍuku* ‘to Hyderabad’, *wimānamlō* ‘by plane’ can be placed in the ‘new’ position. Sentences of this kind are negated by the addition of *kādu* ‘it is not’, e.g.

- (11) *rēpu*<sup>1</sup> *subbārāwu*<sup>2</sup> *wimānamlō*<sup>3</sup> *haydarābāḍuku*<sup>4</sup> *waccēdi*<sup>5</sup> *madrāsununci*<sup>6</sup> *kādu*<sup>7</sup>.  
 ‘It is not<sup>7</sup> from Madras<sup>6</sup> that Subbarao<sup>2</sup> will come<sup>5</sup> tomorrow<sup>1</sup> to Hyderabad<sup>4</sup> by plane<sup>3</sup>.’

This clefting also works with interrogative sentences in which the question word can be placed in the ‘new’ position, e.g.

- (12) *rēpu*<sup>1</sup> *wimānamlō*<sup>2</sup> *waccēdi*<sup>3</sup> *ewaru*<sup>4</sup>.  
 ‘Who is it<sup>4</sup> that will come<sup>3</sup> by plane<sup>2</sup> tomorrow<sup>1</sup>?’

In interrogative sentences, the non-past finite verb (e.g. *wastāḍu*, *wastunnāḍu*) can also be replaced by a nominal form in *-aṭam/-aḍam* (*rāwaṭam/rāwaḍam* ‘coming’), which has the same grammatical privileges as the *-di* form, e.g.

- (13) *subbārāwu*<sup>1</sup> *madrāsununci*<sup>2</sup> *rāwaṭam*<sup>3</sup> *eppuḍu*<sup>4</sup>?  
 ‘When is it<sup>4</sup> that Subbarao<sup>1</sup> will come/is coming<sup>3</sup> from Madras<sup>2</sup>?’

The nominalised verb can occur in the sentence-final position, if a clitic is attached to any of the non-final constituents of the sentence thereby shifting the focus to that element, e.g.

- (14) *rēpu*<sup>1</sup> *ṭa-gaḍā*<sup>2</sup> *subbārāwu*<sup>3</sup> *waccēdi*<sup>4</sup>.  
 ‘(I believe) it is tomorrow<sup>1</sup> (is it not?)<sup>2</sup> that Subbarao<sup>3</sup> is coming<sup>4</sup>.’

*Transitive and Causative Verbs*

The following sentences illustrate the composition of VPs with transitive and causative finite verbs:

- (15) a. *nīllu<sup>1</sup> kāgāy<sup>2</sup>.*  
 'The water<sup>1</sup> boiled<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. *kamala<sup>1</sup> nīllu<sup>2</sup> kācindi<sup>3</sup>.*  
 'Kamala<sup>1</sup> boiled<sup>3</sup> the water<sup>2</sup>.'  
 c. *rāmu<sup>1</sup> kamalacēta<sup>2</sup> nīllu<sup>3</sup> kāyincāḍu<sup>4</sup>.*  
 'Ramu<sup>1</sup> got<sup>4</sup> the water<sup>3</sup> boiled<sup>4</sup> by Kamala<sup>2</sup>.'

Note that the causative verb requires three minimal arguments, viz. agent<sub>1</sub> = causer (*rāmu*), agent<sub>2</sub> = causee (*kamala*), and object (*nīllu*). An adverb like *salasalā* 'to a boiling point' can occur in any of the three sentences. But it apparently refers to the underlying intransitive verb *kāgu* 'to boil'.

- (16) a. *nīllu<sup>1</sup> salasalā<sup>2</sup> kāgāy<sup>3</sup>.*  
 'The water<sup>1</sup> boiled<sup>3</sup> seethingly<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. *kamala<sup>1</sup> salasalā<sup>2</sup> nīllu<sup>3</sup> kācindi<sup>4</sup>.*  
 'Kamala<sup>1</sup> boiled<sup>4</sup> the water<sup>3</sup> to a boiling point<sup>2</sup>.'  
 c. *rāmu<sup>1</sup> kamalacēta<sup>2</sup> nīllu<sup>3</sup> salasalā<sup>4</sup> kāyincāḍu<sup>5</sup>.*  
 'Ramu<sup>1</sup> got<sup>4</sup> the water<sup>3</sup> boiled<sup>5</sup> seethingly<sup>4</sup> by Kamala<sup>2</sup>.'

It is not necessary to express the direct object in a transitive sentence, or the causee agent in a causative sentence, since this information is already coded in the verb form.

**Compound Sentences**

Clause and phrase co-ordination is illustrated below. (Final vowels of the co-ordinated phrases are lengthened.)

Nominal predications (NP + NP):

- (17) a. *kamalā<sup>1</sup> wimalā<sup>2</sup> poḍugu<sup>3</sup>.*  
 '(Both) Kamala<sup>1</sup> and Wimala<sup>2</sup> (are) tall<sup>3</sup>.'  
 b. *āmeku<sup>1</sup> mogapillawāḍ<sup>2</sup>(ā)<sup>3</sup>, (āmeku) āḍapill<sup>4</sup>-ā<sup>3</sup>?*  
 'Does<sup>3</sup> she<sup>1</sup> have<sup>3</sup> a male child<sup>2</sup> or a female child<sup>4</sup>?'

Dative subject deletion and repetition of question.

Compound verbal predications (NP + VP) using non-finite verbs:

- (18) *rāmu<sup>1</sup> iṅṅiki<sup>2</sup> weḷḷi<sup>3</sup> pēparu<sup>4</sup> caduwutāḍu<sup>5</sup>/cadiwāḍu<sup>6</sup>.*  
 'Ramu<sup>1</sup> goes (having gone)<sup>3</sup> home<sup>2</sup>, reads<sup>5</sup>/read<sup>6</sup> the newspaper<sup>4</sup>.' Or:  
 'Ramu goes home and reads the newspaper.'

Clause co-ordination by replacing *we!tāḍu/we!lāḍu* ‘he goes/went’ by the participle *we!li*. Note the lengthening of the final vowels of the subject NPs.

- (19) a. *rāmu<sup>1</sup> kamalā<sup>2</sup> iṅṅiki<sup>3</sup>we!lāru<sup>4</sup>.*  
 ‘Ramu<sup>1</sup> and Kamala<sup>2</sup> went<sup>4</sup> home<sup>3</sup>.’  
 b. *rāmu<sup>1</sup> iṅṅikī<sup>2</sup> kamalā<sup>3</sup> bajārukū<sup>4</sup> we!lāru<sup>5</sup>.*  
 ‘Ramu<sup>1</sup> went<sup>5</sup> home<sup>2</sup> and Kamala<sup>3</sup> (went<sup>5</sup>) to the bazaar<sup>4</sup>.’

Co-ordinated phrases have lengthened final vowels, verb deletion, and change in number marking of the finite verb. In (20b) the question is repeated and the second identical subject is deleted. In (20c) and (21a) the co-ordination is expressed by juxtaposition of questioned object phrases.

- (20) a. *mīku<sup>1</sup> ṅī<sup>2</sup> kāwāl(i)<sup>3</sup>-ā<sup>4</sup>, (mīku) kāṅṅī<sup>5</sup> kāwāl(i)<sup>6</sup>-ā<sup>7</sup>?*  
 ‘Do<sup>4</sup> you<sup>1</sup> want<sup>3</sup> tea<sup>2</sup> or do<sup>7</sup> (you) want<sup>6</sup> coffee<sup>5</sup>?’  
 b. *mīku<sup>1</sup> ṅī<sup>2</sup> nā<sup>3</sup> kāṅṅī<sup>4</sup> nā<sup>5</sup> kāwālī<sup>6</sup>?*  
 ‘You<sup>1</sup> want<sup>6</sup> tea<sup>2,3</sup> or coffee<sup>4,5</sup>?’  
 c. *mīwāru<sup>1</sup> iṅṅilō<sup>2</sup> unnār<sup>3</sup>-ā<sup>4</sup> lēr<sup>5</sup>-ā<sup>6</sup>?*  
 ‘Is<sup>3,4</sup> your husband<sup>1</sup> home<sup>2</sup> or (is he) not<sup>5,6</sup>?’
- (21) a. *nēnu<sup>1</sup> rēp(u)<sup>2</sup>-ō<sup>3</sup> elluṅḍ(i)<sup>4</sup>-ō<sup>5</sup> tirigiwastānu<sup>6</sup>.*  
 ‘I<sup>1</sup> will return<sup>6</sup> either<sup>3</sup> tomorrow<sup>2</sup> or<sup>5</sup> the-day-after<sup>4</sup>.’

The complementiser =*ō* is attached to co-ordinated phrases in ‘either or’ relationship; alternatively, *rēp-aynāl-annā*, *elluṅḍi-aynāl-annā*.

- b. *āyana<sup>1</sup> rēpu<sup>2</sup> wastāḍ<sup>3</sup>=ō<sup>4</sup> rāḍ<sup>5</sup>=ō<sup>6</sup>!*  
 ‘Maybe<sup>4</sup> he<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>3</sup> tomorrow<sup>2</sup>, maybe<sup>6</sup> he will not (come)<sup>5</sup>.’

*ō* ... *ō* is attached to clause final verbs in dubitative constructions; *wastāḍu* ‘he will come’, *rāḍu* ‘he will not come’. Alternatively, the second clause can be replaced by *lēḍō* uniformly, irrespective of the subject.

Some idiomatic co-ordinate phrases – for example, *telisī teliyaka* ‘knowing and not knowing’, i.e. ‘with half-knowledge’; *waccī rāni bhāṣa* ‘language come and not come’, i.e. ‘not fully acquired language’; *cālī cālani jītālu* ‘sufficient and not-sufficient income’, i.e. ‘moderate income’ – do not seem to be derivable from underlying independent clauses.

### Complex Sentences

Subordinate clauses are formed from simple sentences by changing the finite verb into a conjunctive or adnominal form or by adding complementisers. In the following examples, conjunctive forms replace finite verbs in the subordinate clauses. This can alternatively be treated as a co-ordinate clause (see above), as shown in (22b–f).

- (22) a. *nēnu*<sup>1</sup> [*laybrariki*<sup>2</sup> *weḷḷi*<sup>3</sup>] *pustakam*<sup>4</sup> *testānu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 ‘Having gone<sup>3</sup> to the library<sup>2</sup>, I<sup>1</sup> will bring<sup>5</sup> the book<sup>4</sup>.’ (perfective conjunctive)
- b. *wāḍu*<sup>1</sup> *pustakam*<sup>2</sup> [*cūstū*<sup>3</sup>] *caduwutunnāḍu*<sup>4</sup>.  
 ‘He<sup>1</sup> is reading<sup>4</sup>, looking<sup>3</sup> (into) the book<sup>2</sup>.’ (durative conjunctive)
- c. *abbāyi*<sup>1</sup> [*annam*<sup>2</sup> *tinakuṇḍā*<sup>3</sup>] *weḷḷēḍu*<sup>4</sup>.  
 ‘The boy<sup>1</sup> has gone<sup>4</sup> without eating<sup>3</sup> food<sup>2</sup>.’ (negative of perfective and durative)
- d. *wāḍu*<sup>1</sup> [*sarigā*<sup>2</sup> *tinaka*<sup>3</sup>] *cikkipoyēḍu*<sup>4</sup>.  
 ‘Not eating<sup>3</sup> well<sup>2</sup>, he<sup>1</sup> became thin<sup>4</sup>.’ (negative adnominal in subordinate clause denoting cause)
- e. [*wāṇalu*<sup>1</sup> *kuristē*<sup>2</sup>], *paṇṭalu*<sup>3</sup> *paṇḍutāy*<sup>4</sup>.  
 ‘If it rains (lit. if rains<sup>1</sup> fall<sup>2</sup>), crops<sup>3</sup> will grow<sup>4</sup>.’ (conditional clause marked by *tē*)
- f. [*mīru*<sup>1</sup> *weḷḷinā*<sup>2</sup>], *nēnu*<sup>3</sup> *rānu*<sup>4</sup>.  
 ‘Even if<sup>2</sup> you<sup>1</sup> go<sup>2</sup>, I<sup>3</sup> will not come<sup>4</sup>.’ (concessive clause marked by *inā*)

#### Adnominal Form

A relative clause is formed by replacing a finite verb by an adnominal form (verbal adjective) and shifting the whole string to the attributive position of the noun head that it qualifies. A relative clause can function as a subject NP, an object NP or a complement NP in the predicate phrase, or as an adverbial of time or place.

- (23) a. *rāmu*<sup>1</sup> [*kamala*<sup>2</sup> *pāḍina*<sup>3</sup> (*pāṭa*)] *pāṭa*<sup>4</sup> *winnādu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 ‘Ramu<sup>1</sup> listened to<sup>5</sup> the song<sup>4</sup> that<sup>3</sup> Kamala<sup>2</sup> sang<sup>3</sup>.’
- b. [*pāṭa*<sup>1</sup> *pāḍina*<sup>2</sup>] *kamala*<sup>3</sup> *rāmu waypu*<sup>4</sup> *cūsindi*<sup>5</sup>.  
 ‘Kamala<sup>3</sup> who sang<sup>2</sup> the song<sup>1</sup> looked<sup>5</sup> at Ramu<sup>4</sup>.’
- c. [*nēnu*<sup>1</sup> *teccina*<sup>2</sup> (*paṇḍlu*)] *paṇḍlu*<sup>3</sup> *ballamīda*<sup>4</sup> *unnāy*<sup>5</sup>.  
 ‘The fruit<sup>3</sup> that I<sup>1</sup> have brought<sup>2</sup> are<sup>5</sup> on the table<sup>4</sup>.’

A head noun can be replaced by the corresponding demonstrative pronoun to form a verbal noun, e.g. *pāḍina pāṭa* → *paḍin(a)di* ‘the thing sung’, *teccina paṇḍlu* → *teccinawi* ‘the ones brought’, etc.

- (24) a. [*āyana*<sup>1</sup> *waccin(a)*<sup>2</sup> *appuḍu*<sup>3</sup>] *nātō*<sup>4</sup> *ceppu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 ‘Tell<sup>5</sup> me<sup>4</sup> when<sup>3</sup> he<sup>1</sup> came/comes<sup>2</sup>.’
- b. [*mīru*<sup>1</sup> *weḷḷinā*<sup>2</sup> *cōḷu*<sup>3</sup>] *mancidi*<sup>4</sup> *kādu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 ‘The place<sup>3</sup> you<sup>1</sup> had gone<sup>2</sup> is not<sup>5</sup> good<sup>4</sup>.’

Many adnominal forms combine with temporal postpositions to form predicate complements, e.g. *mundu* ‘before’, *tarwāta* ‘after’, *waraku/dākā* ‘until/up to’, *antawaraku* ‘up to that point (time/place)’, etc.

Another type of nominal complement takes *aṭṭu* 'that event/that manner' as head/complementiser, e.g.

- (25) a. [nēnu<sup>1</sup> ceppin(a)<sup>2</sup> aṭṭu<sup>3</sup>] ceyyi<sup>4</sup>.  
 'Do<sup>4</sup> as<sup>3</sup> I<sup>1</sup> have said<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. mīku<sup>1</sup> [nēnu<sup>2</sup> waccin(a)<sup>3</sup> aṭṭu<sup>4</sup>] ewaru<sup>5</sup> ceppāru<sup>6</sup>?  
 'Who<sup>5</sup> told<sup>6</sup> you<sup>1</sup> that<sup>4</sup> I<sup>2</sup> came<sup>3</sup>?'

An abstract noun denoting 'thought', 'idea', 'intention', 'necessity', etc., can be the head of a relative clause. Only the habitual relative participle occurs here, e.g.

- (26) nāku<sup>1</sup> [sigareṭṭu<sup>2</sup> tāgē<sup>3</sup> alawāṭ(u)<sup>4</sup>] uṇḍēdi<sup>5</sup>.  
 'I<sup>1</sup> used to have<sup>5</sup> the habit<sup>4</sup> of smoking<sup>3</sup> cigarettes<sup>2</sup>.'

Correlative clauses are only used rhetorically in writing and in public speeches, e.g.

- (27) eppuḍu<sup>1</sup> ākali<sup>2</sup> aytē<sup>3</sup> appuḍu<sup>4</sup> tināli<sup>5</sup>.  
 'When<sup>1</sup> (one) feels<sup>3</sup> hungry<sup>2</sup>, then<sup>4</sup> (one) must eat<sup>5</sup>.'

A noun functioning as head of a relative clause can be replaced by an appropriate pronoun, e.g.

- (28) a. mīru<sup>1</sup> ceppina<sup>2</sup> māṭa<sup>3</sup> nāku<sup>4</sup> telusu<sup>5</sup>.  
 'I<sup>4</sup> know<sup>5</sup> the matter<sup>3</sup> that you<sup>1</sup> have told (me)<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. mīru<sup>1</sup> ceppina-di<sup>2</sup> nāku<sup>3</sup> telusu<sup>4</sup>.  
 'I<sup>3</sup> know<sup>4</sup> what<sup>2</sup> you<sup>1</sup> have told (me)<sup>2</sup>.'

#### *Gerundive or Action Clause*

Any sentence can be embedded in another sentence as a subordinate clause by changing the finite verb into a corresponding gerundive, viz. by adding *-aṭam/-aḍam* to the verb stem. Such an embedded clause can function as a subject NP, object NP or a complement NP.

- (29) a. mīru<sup>1</sup> udyōgam<sup>2</sup> rājīnāmā ceyy-aṭam<sup>3</sup> eppuḍu<sup>4</sup>.  
 'When<sup>4</sup> (are) you<sup>1</sup> resigning<sup>3</sup> (your) job<sup>2</sup>? (lit. 'you<sup>1</sup> job<sup>2</sup> resigning<sup>3</sup> when<sup>4</sup>?')'  
 b. āḥṣar<sup>1</sup> lēkapōwaṭam<sup>2</sup> walla<sup>3</sup> gumāstālu<sup>4</sup> pani<sup>5</sup> ceyyaṭam<sup>6</sup>  
 mānēsāru<sup>7</sup>.  
 'Because<sup>3</sup> of the officer<sup>1</sup> not being (there)<sup>2</sup>, the clerks<sup>4</sup> stopped<sup>7</sup>  
 doing<sup>6</sup> the work<sup>5</sup>.'

Certain interrogative sentences can be embedded in the matrix sentence by adding *-ō* as complementiser.

- (30) a. [wāru<sup>1</sup> ewar-ō<sup>2</sup>] nāku<sup>3</sup> telusu<sup>4</sup>.  
 'I<sup>3</sup> know<sup>4</sup> who<sup>2</sup> he (is)<sup>1</sup>.'  
 b. [āme<sup>1</sup> elā<sup>2</sup> und(i)-ō<sup>3</sup>] cūsi<sup>4</sup> rā<sup>5</sup>.  
 'See<sup>4</sup> how<sup>2</sup> she<sup>1</sup> is<sup>3</sup> and come (back)<sup>5</sup>.'

*ēm-ō* 'whether/if' replaces the interrogative marker *ā* as a complementiser:

- c. [āyana<sup>1</sup> māmsam<sup>2</sup> tiṅṅād(u)-ēm-ō<sup>3</sup>] kanukkō<sup>4</sup>.  
 'Find out<sup>4</sup> if<sup>3</sup> he<sup>1</sup> will eat<sup>3</sup> meat<sup>2</sup>.'

The perfective conjunctive of the verb *an-* 'to say' (i.e. *ani*) is used as a complementiser in forming quotative and causal clauses, e.g.

- (31) a. *nēnu*<sup>1</sup> [rēpu<sup>2</sup> wastān(u)<sup>3</sup> ani<sup>4</sup>] ceppānu<sup>5</sup>.  
 'I<sup>1</sup> said<sup>5</sup> that<sup>4</sup> (I) will come<sup>3</sup> tomorrow<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. *āyana*<sup>1</sup> [rēpu wastāwā<sup>3</sup> ani<sup>4</sup>] aḍigāḍu<sup>5</sup>.  
 'He<sup>1</sup> asked<sup>5</sup> (me) if<sup>4</sup> I will come<sup>3</sup> tomorrow<sup>2</sup>.' (lit. 'tomorrow<sup>2</sup> will you come<sup>3</sup> so<sup>4</sup>')  
 c. *oṅṅiki*<sup>1</sup> *mancidi*<sup>2</sup> *kād(u)*<sup>3</sup> ani<sup>4</sup> *sigareṭlu*<sup>5</sup> *tāgaṭam*<sup>6</sup> *manēsānu*<sup>7</sup>.  
 '(I) quit<sup>7</sup> smoking<sup>6</sup> cigarettes<sup>5</sup> because<sup>4</sup> (it) is not<sup>3</sup> good<sup>2</sup> for health<sup>1</sup>.'

When an imperative singular sentence is followed by the quotative complementiser *-ani*, the imperative singular suffix *-u/-i* is replaced by *-am/-amm*, e.g.

- (32) a. *wāḍu*<sup>1</sup> "nuwwu<sup>2</sup> weḷḷu<sup>3</sup>" ani<sup>4</sup> ceppāḍu<sup>4</sup>.  
 'He<sup>1</sup> said<sup>5</sup> "you<sup>2</sup> go<sup>3</sup>!"' [direct speech]  
 b. *wāḍu*<sup>1</sup> *nannu*<sup>2</sup> *weḷḷ-am*<sup>3</sup> ani<sup>4</sup> ceppāḍu<sup>5</sup>.  
 'He<sup>1</sup> told<sup>5</sup> me<sup>2</sup> to<sup>4</sup> go<sup>3</sup>.' [indirect speech]

Historically, the imperative *-u* is derived from an older *-um*, which lost the final consonant in sentence final position. The vowel was later harmonised to *a* in *ani*. The morphophonemic retention of *m* has become a feature of indirect speech as opposed to direct speech with accompanying change in the case marking of the subject of the embedded imperative sentence. *ani* is also used as a complementiser subordinating a simple sentence as the direct object of such verbs as 'write, intend, guess, know, imagine, think, believe, find out, hesitate, fear', etc., which belong to the domain of knowledge and perception.

- (33) [[*adi*<sup>1</sup> *elā*<sup>2</sup> *ceyyāl(i)-ā*<sup>3</sup>] ani<sup>4</sup>] *digulupaḍutunnānu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 '(I) am worried<sup>5</sup> – how<sup>2</sup> should (I) do<sup>3</sup> it<sup>1</sup>.'

- (34) *mīru*<sup>1</sup> *peddamanuṣulu*<sup>2</sup> ani<sup>3</sup> *nāku*<sup>4</sup> *telusu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 'I<sup>4</sup> know<sup>5</sup> that<sup>3</sup> you<sup>1</sup> (are) a gentleman<sup>2</sup>.'

Another use of *ani* is as a complementiser of desiderative clauses in which the obligative is attached to a main clause with the finite verb *undi* 'it (a desire) is', 'one wants to ...'. The subject NP occurs in the dative.

- (35) a. *nāku*<sup>1</sup> *amerikā*<sup>2</sup> *weḷḷāl(i)*<sup>3</sup> *ani*<sup>4</sup> *undi*<sup>5</sup>.  
 'I<sup>1</sup> have a desire<sup>5</sup> (lit. to me it is) that<sup>4</sup> (I) should go<sup>3</sup> to America<sup>2</sup>.'  
 b. *nāku*<sup>1</sup> *amerikā*<sup>2</sup> *weḷḍām*<sup>3</sup> *ani*<sup>4</sup> *undi*<sup>5</sup>.  
 'I want to go to America.'<sup>5</sup> (lit. to me<sup>1</sup> – America<sup>2</sup> – let us go<sup>3</sup> – so<sup>4</sup> it is<sup>5</sup>)

In almost all cases, (35a) and (35b) are synonymous.

Similarly, *aṅṅē* 'if' and *annā* 'even if' are used as complementisers of conditional and concessive clauses. A finite verb + *aṅṅē* = verb stem + conditional suffix *-tē/-itē*. Therefore, (36b) is synonymous with (36a).

- (36) a. [*wādu*<sup>1</sup> *wastāḍu*<sup>2</sup>] *aṅṅē*<sup>3</sup> *nēnu*<sup>4</sup> *weḷṭānu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 'If<sup>3</sup> [he<sup>1</sup> comes<sup>2</sup>], I<sup>4</sup> will go<sup>5</sup>.'  
 b. [*wādu*<sup>1</sup> *wastē*<sup>2</sup>] *nēnu*<sup>3</sup> *weḷṭānu*<sup>4</sup>.  
 '[[If<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup> comes<sup>2</sup>], I<sup>3</sup> will go<sup>4</sup>.'

In sentences of the type *X* means *Y*, or *X* is *Y*, *aṅṅē* is used as a conditional complementiser to conjoin the two phrases or clauses, e.g.

- (37) 'Book<sup>1</sup> *aṅṅē*<sup>2</sup> *telugulō*<sup>3</sup> *pustakam*<sup>4</sup>.  
 "'Book<sup>1</sup>" means<sup>2</sup> *pustakam*<sup>4</sup> in Telugu<sup>3</sup>.'  
 (38) 'J.F. Kennedy<sup>1</sup> *aṅṅē*<sup>2</sup> *okappuḍu*<sup>3</sup> *amerikā*<sup>4</sup> *adhyakṣuḍu*<sup>5</sup>.  
 "'J.F. Kennedy<sup>1</sup>" means<sup>2</sup> the President<sup>5</sup> of America<sup>4</sup> at sometime (in the past)<sup>3</sup>.'

### Interjections and Vocatives

These can be treated as minor sentences without internal structure.

- (39) a. *ayyō!*<sup>1</sup> *āyana*<sup>2</sup> *canipōyārā*<sup>3</sup>? 'Alas!<sup>1</sup> has he<sup>2</sup> passed away<sup>3</sup>?'  
 b. *ōhō!*<sup>1</sup> *mīrā*<sup>2</sup>? 'Oh!<sup>1</sup> is it you<sup>2</sup>?'  
 (40) a. *orēy!* 'Hey!' (Informal, addressing a male person younger or lower in social status than the speaker.)  
 b. *osēy!* 'Hey!' (Informal, addressing a female person; now considered derogatory.)  
 c. *ēmaṅḍi!* 'Hello!' (Polite, formal, addressing a man or woman.)  
 d. *ēm amma!* 'Hello!' (Polite, addressing a woman.)

The examples above and many others of that kind occur mainly at the beginning

of utterances to signal the topic of discourse (39a and 39b) and to establish a formal or informal relationship between the speaker and the hearer. (For a fuller treatment of minor sentences, see Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985.)

## 8.5 Lexicon

### Borrowings

The earliest borrowed vocabulary in Telugu is from Sanskrit and Prakrit. Assimilated loanwords (called *tadbhavas*) conform to Telugu phonology, e.g. Skt *maryādā* ‘ocean shore’ > OTe. *mariyāda* ‘etiquette’; Skt *nidrā* > Te. *niddura* ‘sleep’; Skt *ratha*- > OTe. *aradam* ‘chariot’. Aspirated consonants of Sanskrit and Prakrit are de-aspirated, e.g. Skt *akṣara*-, Pkt *akkhara*- > OTe. *akkaramu* ‘a letter, syllable’; Skt *udghāṭana*, Pkt *ugghāḍana* > Te. *uggaḍana* ‘exhortation’. The Sanskrit sibilants ś and ṣ are replaced by *s* or assimilated to the adjacent consonant, e.g. Skt *viṣṇu*-, Pkt *viṇhu*- > Te. *wennūḍu* ‘God Vishnu’, Skt *śikhā*, Pkt *sikhā* > Te. *seka*, *sega* ‘flame’. Progressive assimilation of consonant clusters is common, e.g. Skt *pūrṇimā*, Pkt *puṇṇimā* > Te. *punnama* ‘full moon’. Even by the eleventh century, unassimilated Sanskrit words and compound constructions find place in Telugu literature. Structural borrowing of Sanskrit grammatical features like the use of passive voice and correlative constructions follows in the final phase of prolonged contact. Borrowed vocabulary from Sanskrit and Prakrit accelerated the development of a contrast between voiced and voiceless obstruents in early Telugu.

During the Moslem rule of South India (thirteenth century to nineteenth century), a number of Perso-Arabic words, mainly relating to administration, entered Telugu through Urdu, e.g. U(rdu) *zīlā* > Te. *jillā* ‘district’; U. *ẓapt* > Te. *japtu* ‘auction’; U. *xarīd*, *xarc* > Te. *kharīdu* ‘price’, *kharcu* ‘expenditure’. The agentive suffix *-dār* as in U. *fauzdār* ‘army chief’ has become quite productive in Telugu, even in native constructions, e.g. *pettandāru* ‘elderly person’; *konuḡōludāru* ‘a buyer’ (lit. buying person). Phonological changes include the replacement of Urdu fricatives by corresponding stops (see above): *z x y f* → *j k (kh) g p*, and *q* → *k*, etc.

Portuguese was the first European language to influence Telugu. The Portuguese had trade relations with the Vijayanar rulers from the early sixteenth century CE. The Portuguese brought red chilies, tomatoes, cabbage, papaya, etc., to India, leading to Telugu words like *ṭomātō* ‘tomato’, *gōbi* ‘cabbage’, *boppāyi* ‘papaya’. Other loanwords include *istrī* ‘ironing’, *kamīz* ‘shirt’, *bālcī* ‘bucket’, *sabbu* ‘soap’, *mējā* ‘table’, etc. There is no limit to the number of English words and phrases which have entered Telugu from the eighteenth century onwards, including such high-frequency items as *kāfi* ‘coffee’, *āfīsu* ‘office’, *ṭelīfōnu* ‘telephone’, etc. In newspaper language, we notice many instances of Anglicisation of Telugu syntax (Krishnamurti and Mukherjee 1984).

Most of the borrowed words happen to be nouns. Sanskrit nouns add *-inc-* in

verbalising, e.g. Skt *santōṣa* 'joy', Te. *santōṣam* 'joy', *santōṣ-inc-* 'to be glad'. Hindi-Urdu causal verbs in final long vowels also add *-inc-* in Telugu, e.g. U. *dabānā* 'to press down', Te. *dabāy-inc-* 'to protest, to question'.

## Word Formation

### Derivation

New words are formed by adding derivational suffixes to nouns, adjectives, or verbs or by compounding. Abstract nouns are derived from adjectives and verbs. Only a few suffixes are productive.

- (a) De-adjectival nouns:  $X]_{Adj} + tanam]_N$ , e.g. *manci-tanam* 'goodness', *tella-danam* 'whiteness', *goppa-danam* 'greatness', *tiyya-danam* 'sweetness', etc.
- (b) Deverbal adjectives:  $X]_V + uḍu]_{Adj}$ , e.g. *pemp-uḍu* 'tamed, domesticated', *egu-ḍu* 'rising' (\**egu* is archaic), *digu-ḍu* 'descending', etc.
- (c) Denominal adjectives:  $X]_N + eḍu]_{Adj}$  where *eḍu* is added to words of measurement, e.g. *cēr(a)-eḍu* 'palmsful', *dōs-eḍu* 'two palmsful', (*dōsili* 'two palms held together'), *jēn-eḍu* 'span-long' (*jēna* 'a span of stretched fingers'), etc.
- (d) Deverbal nouns:  $X]_V + \check{V}ka/rikam/akam]_N$ , e.g. *kōr-ika* 'desire' (*kōru* 'to wish'), *tīr-ika* 'leisure' (*tīru* 'to be finished'), *paḍ-aka* 'bed' (*paḍu* 'to lie down'), *pedda-rikam* 'elderliness', *cinna-rikam* 'being youthful', *pamp-akam* 'sending' (*pampu* 'to send'), etc.
- (e) Denominal nouns:  $X]_N + kāḍu$  'man'/*katte* 'woman']<sub>N</sub>, e.g. *anda-gāḍu* 'a handsome man', *anda-gatte* 'a handsome woman' (*andam* 'beauty'); *wēṭa-gāḍu* 'a huntsman', *wēṭa-gatte* 'a hunter woman' (*wēṭa* 'hunting'), etc.

### Compounds

Nominal compounds are extensively used in Telugu. Compound formation is more productive and frequent than creating new words by adding derivational suffixes. Most compounds are endocentric; i.e. the entire compound belongs to the same grammatical category as the head. Co-ordinate compounds (co-compounds) with more than one head are also common. Exocentric compounds are rare. A few typical patterns of compounding are illustrated below, taking two words, A and B in each case.

### Attributive Compounds

1. A is a descriptive adjective and B is a noun (head), e.g. *manci<sup>1</sup>maṭa<sup>2</sup>* 'good<sup>1</sup> word<sup>2</sup>', *tella<sup>1</sup>dora<sup>2</sup>* 'white<sup>1</sup> ruler<sup>2</sup>' (idiom), *cinna<sup>1</sup>pilla<sup>2</sup>* 'small<sup>1</sup> child<sup>2</sup>'.

2. *A* is a noun used attributively to *B* (head). *A* carries an oblique marker which makes it genitive, e.g. *ēṭi<sup>1</sup>gaṭṭu<sup>2</sup>* 'bank<sup>2</sup> of a stream<sup>1</sup>' (*ēru* 'stream'), *cēti<sup>1</sup>gaḍiyāram<sup>2</sup>* 'wrist<sup>1</sup> watch<sup>2</sup>' (lit. hand's clock: *cēyi/ceyyi* 'hand').
3. *B* refers to a specific (proper) item of class *A* (common) in the names of flora and fauna, e.g. *gulābi<sup>1</sup>puwvu<sup>2</sup>* 'rose<sup>1</sup> flower<sup>2</sup>', *cinta<sup>1</sup>ceṭṭu* 'tamarind<sup>1</sup> tree<sup>2</sup>', *māmiḍi<sup>1</sup>paṇḍu<sup>2</sup>* 'mango<sup>1</sup> fruit<sup>2</sup>'. Most place names belong to this type, e.g. *gunṭ(a)<sup>1</sup> + ūru<sup>2</sup>* lit. 'pit<sup>1</sup>-town<sup>2</sup>', *cinta<sup>1</sup>palli<sup>2</sup>* lit. 'tamarind<sup>1</sup> village<sup>2</sup>'.
4. *B* is made of *A*, e.g. *maṭṭi<sup>1</sup>bomma<sup>2</sup>* 'clay<sup>1</sup> doll<sup>2</sup>', *weṇḍi<sup>1</sup>kancam<sup>2</sup>* 'silver<sup>1</sup> plate<sup>2</sup>'.
5. *A* is the contained, *B* is the container, e.g. *pāla<sup>1</sup>cembu<sup>2</sup>* 'milk<sup>1</sup> vessel<sup>2</sup>', *nēti<sup>1</sup>ginne<sup>2</sup>* 'ghee<sup>1</sup> cup<sup>2</sup>'.
6. *A* is the cause, *B* is the result, e.g. *katti<sup>1</sup>debba<sup>2</sup>* 'knife<sup>1</sup>-wound<sup>2</sup>' (wound caused by a knife), *pāmu<sup>1</sup>kāṭu<sup>2</sup>* 'snake<sup>1</sup>bite<sup>2</sup>'.
7. *B* is in or on *A*, e.g. *bāwi<sup>1</sup>nīru<sup>2</sup>* 'well<sup>1</sup>water<sup>2</sup>', *koṇḍa<sup>1</sup>rāyi<sup>2</sup>* 'hill<sup>1</sup> stone<sup>2</sup>' (a stone taken from a hill).
8. *B* is characterised by *A*, e.g. *jari<sup>1</sup>cīra<sup>2</sup>* 'a sari<sup>2</sup> with a border in silver/gold thread<sup>1</sup>', *galla<sup>1</sup>duppai<sup>2</sup>* 'a bedsheet<sup>2</sup> with square design<sup>1</sup>'.

#### Co-compounds

*annadammulu* 'elder and younger brothers' ([*anna + tammuḍu*] + *lu*), *kūragāyalu* 'leaves and vegetables' ([*kūra + kāya*] + *lu*), *sītārāmu-lu* 'Sita and Rama' ([*sita + rāmuḍu*] + *lu*). Such compounds are established in usage and few new ones are created.

Telugu has many expressive compounds like *galagala* 'jingling', *dadadaḍa* 'thumping', *gajajaja* 'shivering' which are used adverbially. A limited number of iterative interjected compounds occur as minor sentences, e.g. *ayy(ō)-ayyō* 'Alas' (expresses pity), *ōh(ō)-ōhō*, *āh-āhā* 'Hoh, Hah' (expresses surprise). There is a type of echo compound (of the co-compound type) in which the first member is a true free form while the second is assigned meaning only in the compound, e.g. *pillājellā* 'children, etc.', *kūrāgaṭrā* 'vegetables, etc.' (*jellā* and *gaṭrā* do not occur as free forms.)

#### Bibliography

- Arden, A.H. (1937) *A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, 4th edn, Madras: Christian Literary Society.
- Krishnamurti, Bh. (1957) 'Sandhi in modern colloquial Telugu', *Indian Linguistics* 17: 178–88.
- (1961) *Telugu Verbal Bases: A Comparative and Descriptive Study* (UCPL 24), Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- (1971) 'Causative construction in Indian languages', *Indian Linguistics* 32: 18–35.
- (1974) (ed.) *telugu-bhāṣa-caritra* [A History of the Telugu Language], 2nd edn, 1979, Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi.

- (1975) 'Verbs of cognition in Telugu', *Osmania Papers in Linguistics (OPIL)* 1: 1–15.
- (1978) 'Language planning and development: the case of Telugu', *Contributions to Asian Studies* 11: 37–56, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- (1993) 'Complex predicates in Telugu', in Manindra K. Verma (ed.), *Complex Predicates in South Asian Languages*, New Delhi: Manohar, 135–56.
- (1994) 'Stative expressions in Indian languages: some semantic and syntactic aspects', *Osmania Papers in Linguistics (OPIL)* 16/17: 39–71.
- and Gwynn, J.P.L. (1985) *A Grammar of Modern Telugu*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- and Mukherjee, Aditi (eds) (1984) *Modernization of Indian Languages in News Media*, Hyderabad: Dept of Linguistics, Osmania University.
- Lisker, L. (1963) *Introduction to Spoken Telugu*, New York: American Council of Learned Societies.
- Ramarao, C. (1974) *telugu wākyam* [The Telugu Sentence], Hyderabad: A.P. Sahitya Akademi.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank the University of Texas at Arlington, Program in Linguistics, for assistance in the typing and duplication of this chapter. My sincere thanks are due to my graduate student Brett Benham, who has imaginatively typed, edited and formatted this chapter on a computer at UTA.

---

# 9 Koṇḍa

*Bh. Krishnamurti and Brett A. Benham\**

## 9.1 Background and History

Koṇḍa belongs to the South Central Dravidian languages; its sisters are Telugu, Gonḍi, Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Maṇḍa. Its speakers number about 34,000 (1971 Census) and live in the Agency tracts of Visakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam districts. They are known by various names: Koṇḍa Dora (lit. Hill lord), Koṇḍa Kāpu, Ōja, Pāṇḍava Raytu. They call themselves Koṇḍeṇ or Kūbiṅ (-ṅ plural suffix) and their language Kūbi. *Koṇḍa* means 'hill' in Telugu, the dominant regional language. Koṇḍa speakers, particularly men, are bilingual in Telugu or Oriya, depending on where they live. This chapter is based on Bh. Krishnamurti (1969), which consists of texts, grammar and lexicon. The main informants for the data come from Araku Valley, about 80 miles northwest of Visakhapatnam. However, lexical variants for a number of items have also been taken from other dialects.

Koṇḍa comprises several local dialects representing variations which do not affect mutual intelligibility to any degree. The most important isogloss, an alteration of *r/l* (< PDr \*l), separates the western and northwestern areas of Araku as the *r*-zone, from the southern and southeastern areas as the *l*-zone, e.g. *āru* ~ *ālu* 'wife'. Other minor variations include the following: a nasal plus stop (Sova) vs a stop (Araku), e.g. *zanta* : *zata* 'a grinding mill', *gampa* : *gapa* 'a basket'; and metathesis of the first two syllables (Sova) vs its absence (Araku), e.g. *mrānu* : *maran* 'tree', *prēl* : *perel* 'to explode'.

Krishnamurti (1969) notes that a distinct dialect boundary runs between the Koṇḍa dialects spoken to the east of Kāsīpatnam (for instance, in Gūri, close to the Telugu-speaking area) and the rest of the Koṇḍa-speaking dialects extending from Anantagiri far into Orissa. Between these two groups of dialects, mutual intelligibility is very low, even though there is adequate evidence to show that they are still dialects of the same language. The main distinguishing fea-

---

\*This chapter is based on Krishnamurti (1969). Brett Benham is a graduate student in linguistics at the University of Texas at Arlington. He has summarised most of the chapters of the grammar of Krishnamurti (1969) for this article, under the guidance of Krishnamurti, and both authors are responsible for the presentation. Krishnamurti is responsible for the data and analysis.

tures between the Gūri dialect and the remaining Koṇḍa dialects are as follows:

	Pre-Koṇḍa	Other Koṇḍa dialects	Gūri dialect
1. 'hill'	*goṛon	goṛon, grōnu	goṛo
2. 'tree'	*maran	maran, mrānu	maṛa
3. 'bullock'	*saṛanu	rānu	saṛa, saṛanu
4. 'burning piece of coal'	*tiṛimbu	rīmbu	tiṛimbu
5. 'daughter'	*magaḷ, *makaḷsi	gālu, gāru	makasi
6. 'pig'	*paṅṛi	paṅṛi	paṛi
7. 'he'	*vāṅṛu	vāṅṛu	vāṛ
8. 'ear'	*kibi	gibi	kibi
9. 'two men'	*river	ri <sup>?</sup> er	river
10. 'three men'	*muver	mu <sup>?</sup> er	muṛer
11. 'you eat' (2nd sing. imp.)	*uṅvu	uṅ <sup>?</sup> a	unu
12. 'winnowing basket'	*sēṛri	sēRi	sēṛi
13. 'suspended net'	*urri	uRi	urī
14. 'eye'	*kaṅ	kaṅu, kaṅka (plur. kaṅku)	kanu

These examples are diagnostic for the phonological variations that separate the two areas. The Gūri dialect retains pre-Koṇḍa initial syllables as against their loss in all the northern dialects (items 3–5); it also retains intervocalic *-v-*, reduced to a glottal stop elsewhere (items 9–11). By contrast, the northern dialects preserve the difference between sequences *\*nr̥* and *\*r̥r̥* as *nr̥* and *R*, whereas they fell together with *r̥* (< *r̥r̥*) in the Gūri dialect. Furthermore, the Gūri dialect changes an older *n̥* to *n*, which is retained elsewhere. Practically, the morphology of both the dialects is identical. The first split probably occurred between these two groups of dialects; the further minor dialectal changes, resulting from the migration of Koṇḍas from their original centre, are mainly confined to the northern dialects. However, these variations are not many and significant for intercommunication, because a speaker from 'Goṛṣa Guṛa' in Araku can understand a Koṇḍa speaker from 'Sova' or 'Sembli Guṛa' without much difficulty. The Gūri people are separated from the other Koṇḍas by over fifty miles and they all rarely meet since they have no common market centres.

All Koṇḍa dialects, including Gūri, possess a common phonetic feature: they accent the second syllable of a word pronounced in isolation. This feature seems to have intensified in the dialects north of Gūri leading to metathesis and vowel contraction followed by a subsequent loss of the initial syllable, e.g. *\*saṛānu* > *\*sṛānu* > *rānu* 'bull'; *\*magāḷ* > *\*mgāḷ* > *gāru/gālu* 'daughter'. However, this development is not uniform throughout the north and west, and the change seems to be still in process. The Araku dialect recorded by Krishnamurti at Goṛṣa Guṛa has *maran*, *peṛel*, etc., corresponding to the Sova speakers' *mrānu*, *peṛēl*. But no dialect has yet developed *\*rānu* and *\*ṛēl* as might be expected with loss of the initial syllable. In the Araku dialect, items like *rānu* and *gālu* – where loss of initial syllables follows metathesis, beside forms like *maran*, *peṛel*, etc. where no metathesis has yet occurred (as in the Gūri dialect) – may provide a clue to the original home of the Koṇḍa Doras and the direction in which migration has taken place. The original home of these people was probably in the Koraput hills along

the present Andhra–Orissa border. People in Gūri and the surrounding hamlets must have been the first to migrate at a time when accentuating the second syllable of a word was prevalent. Subsequent emigrants to the north and west of Gūri bear evidence to the operation of this phonetic change, as attested by the universal occurrence of *rānu* ‘bull’ in all dialects of KoŇda except that of Gūri. However, migration in waves must have begun where the phonetic change in question was still in operation at a time when it had not completely affected all the forms vulnerable to the shift. Thus, for instance, the KoŇda Dora ancestors of the present Gorra Guṛa dialect were pronouncing *rānu* ‘bull’ but only *maran* ‘tree’ when they migrated from the metathesis zone, which is around Sova on the Andhra–Orissa border, where the word for ‘tree’ is now *mrānu* anticipating a further change to *\*rānu*.

KoŇda is linguistically quite interesting within South-Central Dravidian. It is the only language to preserve the Proto-Dravidian alveolar obstruents *\*ɭ*, *\*tɭ* and *\*nɭ* as *ɽ*, *R* (voiceless alveolar trill) and *nɽ* which most of the other languages of all branches have merged with the reflexes of *\*r*, *\*tɽ/\*tt*, *\*nd/\*nd*. KoŇda also shows no change of *s* to *h* as found in Gonḍi, Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Maṇḍa. In this respect, it is closer to Telugu, which also does not attest the change within the historic period. It shares with the other languages of the subgroup the morphological process of forming transitive stems by changing intransitive (N)B [nasal + voiced stop] to (P)P [single or geminate voiceless stop] from similar underlying sequences of Proto-Dravidian, a pattern now lost in Telugu. It also shares the structure of the negative past tense form found in Old Telugu.

## 9.2 Phonology

KoŇda has twenty-three consonant and ten vowel phonemes (see Table 9.1).

All consonants are more sharply articulated in initial position than in final. Single stops are markedly fortis when they occur between two short vowels and the second vowel bears phonetic stress. /ɽ/ is a voiced apico-alveolar trill, distinguished from flap /r/ by the number of apical taps. /R/ is the corresponding voiceless trill, sounding phonetically as a trilled voiceless [h].

Consonants are obstruents or sonorants. Obstruents carry voiced/voiceless contrast: stops (except /ʔ/), spirants and trills. Sonorants are always voiced flaps, nasals, liquids, semi-consonants and /ʔ/ which is always voiceless. Clusters of voiced and voiceless obstruents are rare; but any obstruent can cluster with a sonorant. All consonants except /ʔ R ɳ ɳ/ occur word-initially, and all of them occur intervocally and in clusters; however, /R/ is never the second member of a cluster, and /ʔ/ is never the first member of a cluster. Voiceless obstruents are much more common finally than voiced obstruents.

Consonant clusters occur frequently between vowel peaks. Clusters are very rare in word-initial position. Clusters may consist of two or three consonants. Two-consonant clusters occur in four classes: Obstruent + Obstruent, Sonorant + Obstruent, Sonorant + Sonorant, Obstruent + Sonorant. Within a morpheme or

**Table 9.1 Phonemes of Koṇḍa**

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
<b>CONSONANTS</b>						
<i>Obstruents</i>						
Stop	p b	t d		ʈ ɖ	k g	ʔ
Fricative			s z			(h)
Trill			R ɽ			
<i>Sonorants</i>						
Flap			r	ɽ		
Nasal	m		n	ɳ	ŋ	
Lateral			l			
Semi-consonant	v		y			
	Front		Back			
<b>VOWELS</b>						
High	i ī		u ū			
Mid	e ē		o ō			
Low		a ā				

lexical root, clusters involving two obstruents are infrequent, while those involving at least one sonorant are frequent. Obstruent + Obstruent clusters which do occur, usually have identical voicing between the two consonants. Triliteral clusters are usually Sonorant + Obstruent + Sonorant, and nasal sonorants tend to be homorganic with the following obstruent. Many derivational and inflectional morphemes are consonant initial. Therefore, two- and three-consonant clusters often occur in derived or inflected words. Across a morpheme boundary, it is not uncommon for the consonants of Obstruent + Obstruent clusters to have disparate voicing, nor is it uncommon for nasals to be followed by non-homorganic consonants (the initial consonant of the affixed morpheme).

All short vowels contrast with long vowels, but only in the first syllable. Phonetically stressed, phonemically long vowels /i ē ō ū/ have higher tongue positions than the corresponding unstressed short vowels. Stressed and long /ā/ = [á:à] is lower and more central than its corresponding short unstressed /a/ = [ʌ]. Final /u/ of disyllabic and trisyllabic words has an occasional free variant [i], particularly after stop consonants; in many cases, it is non-morphemic.

A phonological word in Koṇḍa consists of one to five syllables of the following types: open, (C)ṽ; closed, (C)ṽC, (C)ṽCC. Monosyllabic words of the open type are only CV, e.g. *su, le, ge*, etc. (all clitics). ṽ, ṽC, ṽCC, Cṽ, CṽC, and CṽCC only occur word-initially; the remaining types occur initially, medially or finally.

In words of two or more syllables, if the initial syllable contains a long vowel, it receives primary stress. But if the initial syllable contains a short vowel, the

second syllable receives primary stress. Non-initial stressed syllables receive secondary stress. Stress patterns alternate stressed and unstressed syllables, e.g. /aɾbazinad/ = [ʌɾ.bá.zɪ.nàd].

The final short vowel of a phonological word is always phonetically half-long.

Konđa has no diphthongs. Two vowels in sequence only occur across word boundaries.

### Morphophonemics

External sandhi is infrequent in Konđa. Word-final /u/, which occurs in slow narration or before a pause, occasionally alternates with Ø. The final consonant of the stem or affix does not seem to be a conditioning factor for the omission of /u/, since most consonants may occur word-finally. Final /u/ seems to be non-morphemic and tends to aid in (re)syllabification after derivational and inflectional morphemes have been added. Similarly, word-final /i/ optionally alternates with Ø in running speech, after *r*, *ɹ*, *l* and *y*. Word-final /i/ of the genitive morpheme {ti ~ di ~ Ri} is sporadically lost before another vowel across word boundaries. Word-final /a/ of the conjunctive verb form *-enda* alternates with Ø in some cases.

Internal sandhi is more common in Konđa, but it is mostly non-automatic. Sandhi rules for vowels involve elision. (Morphophonemic transcription is enclosed within ‘// //’, and phonemic within ‘/ /’.)

Rule 1: 
$$// \dots \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{U} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right\} + \text{ku} // \rightarrow / \dots \emptyset + \text{ku} /$$

Word-final non-morphemic vowels /u/, /i/ and rarely /a/ are commonly lost before the plural morpheme //ku//. Such vowels appear in parentheses in the texts.

Sandhi rules for consonants mainly involve assimilation of voicing; simplification of geminates and sonorant clusters; and occasionally elision of dissimilar consonants.

#### Assimilation

Rule 2:  $// \dots (\text{N}) \text{B}^1 + \text{P}^2 // \rightarrow / \dots \text{P}^1 + \text{P}^2 /$

Voiced obstruents (optionally preceded by homorganic nasals) become devoiced before voiceless obstruents, e.g.

//rāz(U) + ku// → //rāz + ku// → /rāsku/ ‘kings’

//paṇḍ(U) + ku// → //paṇḍ + ku// → /paṭku/ ‘fruits’

//suɹ + t// → /suɹt/ ‘to roast’ (past tense stem)

Rule 3:  $// \dots \text{P}^1 + \text{B}^2 // \rightarrow / \dots \text{P}^1 + \text{P}^2 /$

Initial voiced obstruents of the suffix are devoiced after voiceless obstruents of the stem, e.g.

//kap + zi// → /kapsi/ ‘having covered’

//ḍāṭ + du// → /ḍāṭtu/ 'jump!'  
 //ūs + bis-// → /ūs̄pis-/ 'to cause to apply (oil, etc.)'

To account for certain sandhi changes in certain lexical items, it is necessary to set up the morphophonemes  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  which behave differently from phoneme /l/. Historically,  $L_1$  was a root final alveolar and  $L_2$  was a retroflex.

Rule 4: (i) //... $\check{V}$   $\left\{ \begin{matrix} L_1 \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} + d // \rightarrow /... \check{V}nḡ/$   
 (ii) //...  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} L_2 \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} + d // \rightarrow /...nḡ/$   
 //ni $L_1$  + du// → /ninḡu/ 'stop!'      //man + du// → /manḡu/ 'stay!'  
 //mū $L_2$  + du// → /mūnḡu/ 'urinate!'      //uṇ + du// → /uṇḡu/ 'eat!'

Rule 5: (i) //... $L_1$  + n// → //...n + n//  
 (ii) //... $\left\{ \begin{matrix} L_2 \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} + n// \rightarrow /...n + nḡ/$   
 //ni $L_1$  + n-// → //ninn-//  
 //mū $L_2$  + n-// → //mūnḡ-//      //uṇ + n-// → //uṇḡ-//

#### Simplification

Rule 6: //C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>// → /C<sup>1</sup>/  
 Two identical consonants in sequence (except /t/) become a single consonant.  
 //lōk(U) + ku// → //lōk + ku// → /lōku/ 'men'  
 //ni $L_1$  + n + an// → //nin + n + an// → /ninan/ 'he will stop'  
 //mū $L_2$  + n + an// → //mūn + n + an// → /mūnan/ 'he will urinate'  
 //as + zi// → //as + si// → /asi/ 'having held'

Rule 7: (i) //...  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} L_1 \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} + t-// \rightarrow /...R-/$   
 (ii) //...  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} L_2 \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} + t-// \rightarrow /...ṭ-/$   
 //ni $L_1$  + t-// → /niR-/      //ven + t-// → /veR-/  
 //ko $L_2$  + t-// → /koṭ-/      //uṇ + t-// → /uṭ-/

#### Elision

Rule 8: //...C + ku// → /...Ø + ku/  
 The final consonant of certain noun stems is lost before the plural morpheme //ku//, e.g.  
 //ṛān(U) + ku// → //ṛān + ku// → /ṛāku/ 'bulls'  
 //bōḍel + ku// → /bōḍek/ 'young women'

Koṇḍa lacks its own orthography. Literacy among the Koṇḍa Dora tribe is being promoted through the adoption of the Telugu writing system with certain modifications proposed by Krishnamurti in 1969 (pp. 26–8).

### 9.3 Nouns

Nouns are words whose stems are inflected for one or more of the categories of gender, number and case. Pronouns, numerals and adverbs of time and place are subclasses of nouns. Pronouns are distinguished for number and inflected for case. Numerals are distinguished for gender and number and inflected for case. Adverbials are not distinguished for gender and number, but are inflected for case. The order of morphemes in nouns is stem + gender-number + case. A nominal stem can be simple (root), complex (root + one or more derivatives) or compound (multiple roots).

Konḍa has two genders, masculine and non-masculine. Gender is generally determined by meaning, i.e. male persons belong to the masculine gender, and all others – female persons, non-persons (plants and animals) and inanimate objects – belong to the non-masculine gender, e.g. *anasi* ‘elder brother’ (masc.) vs *bībsi* ‘elder sister’ (non-masc.). Gender is specified by substituting appropriate third person pronouns for nouns, and by numeral and verbal agreement, e.g. *anasi* (or *vānru*) *vātan* ‘the elder brother (or he) came’, *bībsi* (or *adi*) *vātaḍ* ‘the elder sister (or she/it) came’, *riʔer anasir* ‘two elder brothers’, *riʔek bībsik* ‘two elder sisters’.

There are two numbers, singular and plural. Singular is unmarked; plural is marked by two groups of suffixes, one exclusively for masculine nouns, and the other mainly for non-masculine nouns.

The common plural morpheme  $\{(k \sim ku) \sim sku \sim (\eta \sim \eta u)\}$  is suffixed to non-masculine nouns. *-k* and *-η* are added to those with final morphemic vowels; *-ku* ~ *-ηu* to noun stems ending with final consonants (stems whose free forms end in non-morphemic /u/). A final non-morphemic vowel of the stem is deleted; a non-morphemic vowel is inserted to aid syllabification if addition of the plural marker creates a consonant cluster.

A final non-morphemic vowel (if any) in the singular is lost in the plural. The final consonant cluster of the stem is not altered in the case of voiceless obstruents and sonorants; simplified and devoiced in the case of nasal + homorganic voiced obstruents; devoiced in the case of voiced obstruents; devoiced and simplified in the case of /r̥g/; simplified in the case of velar obstruents; deleted in the case of a few lexical forms; e.g.

	Singular	Plural
(a) ‘braid of hair’	kopu	kop-ku
(b) ‘arrow’	ambu	ap-ku
(c) ‘king’	rāzu	rās-ku
(d) ‘thigh’	kuṛgu	kuR-ku
(e) ‘person’	lōku	lō-ku
(f) ‘bull’	rānu	rā-ku

Many disyllabic, and a few trisyllabic, stems ending in morphemic short vowels add *-k* in the plural. The final vowel is altered to /e/ in the case of /a/, not

altered in the case of the remaining vowels, and a few forms ending in consonants have the final consonant deleted, but add /k/ instead of /ku/; e.g.

	Singular	Plural
(a) 'head'	tala	tale-k
(b) 'wife'	ālsi	ālsi-k
'wife'	ālu	ālu-k
'which one?'	aye	aye-k
'child' (female)	koṛo	koṛo-k
(c) 'bride'	bōdel	bōde-k

One compound stem forms its plural with *-sku*, e.g. 'a nursing mother' *koṛonali* (sing.), *koṛonal-sku* (plur.).

Another class of non-masculine nouns forms its plural with *-ŋ(u)*. Stems of this class generally end in morphemic vowels or semi-vowels. The final vowel is usually altered to /e/ in the case of /a/; not altered in the case of the remaining vowels; and many disyllabic stems ending in *-y*, *-l(i)*, *-r(i)* and *-r(u)* add *-ŋ(u)* in the plural. In the last example, the non-morphemic vowel may be retained, in which case the plural morph is *-ŋ*; or the non-morphemic vowel in the singular may be freely lost in the plural, in which case the plural morph is *-ŋu*. Therefore, there is free variation between the two formations. For example, *-a*: stem-final *-a* becomes *-e* in the plural (except *kūra/kūla*), e.g.

	Singular	Plural
(a) 'heap'	kupa	kupe-ŋ
(b) 'rice'	kūli	kūli-ŋ
'joint'	atku	atku-ŋ
'field'	gude	gude-ŋ
'crab'	rēto	rēto-ŋ
(c) 'plan'	upay	upay-ŋu
'rabbit'	kundeli	kundeli-ŋ, kundel-ŋu
'central pole'	kuraṛ(u)	kuraṛu-ŋ, kuraṛ-ŋu

Many nouns exhibit several variants, e.g.

	Singular	Plural
'daughter'	gālu	gāl-ku, gālu-k
'old woman'	ḍokri	ḍokri-k, ḍokri-ŋ
'terrace'	kapu	kap-ku, kapu-ŋ
'torch'	koṛoy	koṛoy-ku, koṛoy-ŋu

Phonological complementation among two sets of plural allomorphs, *-k(u)* and *-ŋ(u)*, could have been established but for several unpredictable cases, e.g.

	Singular	Plural
'fruit'	paᅇᅇu	paᅇ-ku
'ball'	seᅇᅇu	seᅇᅇu-ᅇ
'fowl'	koᅇu	koR-ku
'tank'	seᅇu	seᅇu-ᅇ
'eyeball'	guᅇu	guᅇu-k
'stick'	ᅇuᅇu	ᅇuᅇu-ᅇ, etc.

Nevertheless, the following generalisations apply to plural formation.

- All nouns ending in *-m*, all disyllabic stems ending in *p, t, ᅇ, l, r, ᅇ*; and *s* with a final non-morphemic *-u*, and all disyllabic stems ending in voiceless obstruents (other than *k*) take *-ku*.
- Stems ending in a short vowel preceded by a consonant cluster (other than a nasal + homorganic voiced obstruent) and almost all nouns ending in *-i* and *-e* (other than those which refer to persons) take *-ᅇ*.
- Nouns ending in *-i* or *-a* referring to non-masculine persons take *-k*.

The plural marker *-r* is added to masculine nouns exclusively (although some masculine nouns take the common plural marker).

Stems ending in vowels suffix *-r*:

'elder brother'	anasi	anasi-r
'male friend'	ᅇᅇᅇᅇa	ᅇᅇᅇᅇa-r

In one compound stem, the final *-i* is changed to *-e* in the plural, viz.

'wife and husband'	ālu + māsi	ālmase-r
--------------------	------------	----------

Where the singular noun bears the gender-number marker *-n/-an*, *-r* replaces the final *-n* in the plural, e.g.

'which man'	aye-n	aye-r
'the man who ate'	uᅇᅇᅇ-an	uᅇᅇᅇ-ar

A few masculine nouns take the common plural marker, e.g.

'king'	rāzu	rās-ku, rāzu-ᅇ
'god'	dēvuᅇ	dēvuᅇ-ku
'teacher'	guru	guru-ᅇ

Some nouns referring to persons distinguish gender in the plural according to their plural markers, e.g.

'friend' (male)	ᅇᅇᅇᅇa	ᅇᅇᅇᅇa-r
-----------------	-------	---------

'friend' (female)	tōṇḍa	tōṇḍe-k
'relative' (male)	kūla	kūla-r
'relative' (female)	kūla	kūla-ṇ

Case establishes relationships between nouns and other words, particularly verbs. Koṇḍa has five cases: nominative, oblique-genitive, accusative-dative, instrumental-ablative and locative. The nominative is unmarked.

Nouns in singular or plural which are unmarked for case are said to be nominative. As a consequence, there are a few temporal adverbial nouns that never occur in the nominative case. Nouns in the nominative case function as the subject of a clause.

The stem of the noun used before case inflexions is called the oblique stem. The oblique stem usually differs from the nominative stem. The oblique stem is also usually formally identical to the stem of a noun used in the genitive as an attribute to the following noun. The oblique of non-masculine stems is usually formed by adding *-di* in the singular and *-a* in the plural, e.g.

Singular	Nominative	Oblique	Plural	Nominative	Oblique
'bride'	bōdel	bōdel-di-	'brides'	bōde-k-	bōde-k-a-
'wing'	reka	reka-di-	'wings'	reke-ṇ	reke-ṇ-a-

Some stems have unmarked oblique stems: *ḍokri* 'old woman', *gudeli* 'pick-axe', *goṛeli* 'axe', *gumeṇḍi* 'pumpkin'.

The oblique of masculine stems (and all kinship terms ending in *-si* regardless of gender) in the singular is identical with the unmarked nominative stem. In the plural, masculine stems add *-i* after the *-r* plural marker, e.g.

'elder brother'	anasi	anasi	'elder brothers'	anasi-r	anasi-r-i-
'male child'	koṛo	koṛo	'male children'	koṛo-r	koṛo-r-i-

The following are the oblique stems of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns:

- (a) Non-masculine:
 

'that one/she/it'	adi	dan-i-	'those (ones)/they'	avi	van-k-a-
'this one/she/it'	idi	den-i-	'these (ones)/they'	ivi	ven-k-a-
'which one?'	ayedi	?	'which ones, who?'	ayeivi	?
- (b) Masculine:
 

'that man/he'	vāṅru	van-i-	'those men/they'	vār(u)	var-i-
'this man/he'	vēṅru	ven-i-	'these men/they'	vēr(u)	ver-i-
'which man?'	ayen	ayen-i-	'which men, who?'	ayer	ayer-i-

The genitive stem is ordinarily identical with the oblique stem. Thus, the genitive marker is {di ~ ti ~ iti ~ Ri ~ ni ~ ṇi ~ Ø} in the singular, and {i ~ a ~ e} in the plural. Genitive forms in *-ṇi* denote a special type of genitive, with the relations of possession and location combined in one, e.g.

<i>abe-ŋi/bā-ŋi</i>	'belonging there, of that place'
<i>ibe-ŋi/bē-ŋi</i>	'belonging here'
<i>eme-ŋi</i>	'belonging where?'
<i>inro-ŋi<sup>1</sup> savkari<sup>2</sup></i>	'the merchant <sup>2</sup> in and of the house <sup>1</sup> '

The accusative-dative suffixes *-ŋ* to the oblique stem ending in final {*di ~ ti ~ Ri ~ ni ~ i ~ Ø*} in the singular, and {*i ~ a*} in the plural. The range of meanings of this case is 'to, for, because of, for the sake of', 'goal/object', 'purpose', 'cause' and 'direction'.

When inanimate nouns are used as objects, use of the accusative-dative morpheme is optional. Thus, its form is often indistinguishable from that of the unmarked nominative. The accusative-dative use of such nouns is determined only on syntactic grounds. There is no formal contrast between the marked accusative-dative and the other marked non-nominative cases in the plural.

The instrumental-ablative case suffixes {*aŋd ~ ŋ*} to the oblique stem ending in {*di ~ ti ~ Ri*} in the singular. The final /i/ of the oblique stem in the singular is lost before the vowel-initial marker of this case. The general meaning of this case is 'by, by means of, with'; when added to noun stems denoting 'time' or 'place', it means 'from, since'. There is only one type of exclusive ablative formed by adding *-ŋ* to oblique stems ending in *-ŋi*.

Use of instrumental-ablative in the plural is rare.

The locative case suffixes {*d ~ du ~ t ~ tu ~ R ~ Ru ~ do ~ to ~ ro ~ to ~ i*} to the nominative stem in the singular. The locative plural is indistinguishable from the accusative-dative, and is rarely used. The morphophonemic distribution of the allomorphs of the locative does not parallel the distribution of the allomorphs of the oblique stem, e.g.

	Nominative	Oblique stem	Acc.-dat.	Locative
'bank'	<i>gaŋu</i>	<i>gaŋu-di-</i>	<i>gaŋu-di-ŋ</i>	<i>gaŋ-tu</i>
'lap'	<i>gātu</i>	<i>gātu-di-</i>	<i>gātu-di-ŋ</i>	<i>gā-tu</i>
'night'	<i>reyu</i>	<i>reyu-di-</i>	<i>reyu-di-ŋ</i>	<i>rey-tu</i>
'mouth'	<i>veyu</i>	<i>veyu-di-</i>	<i>veyu-di-ŋ</i>	<i>vey-du</i>
'house'	<i>ilu</i>	<i>ilu-di-</i>	<i>ilu-di-ŋ</i>	<i>in-ro</i>
'village'	<i>nāru</i>	<i>nāru-di-</i>	<i>nāru-di-ŋ</i>	<i>nā-to</i>
'cave'	<i>sālam</i>	<i>sālam-ti-</i>	<i>sālam-ti-ŋ</i>	<i>sālam-i</i>

### Noun Derivation

Complex noun stems consist of one root morpheme and one or more derivational suffixes. Complex stems behave like simple stems with regard to inflectional morphemes representing gender, number, and case. All complex derived stems fall under the following classes.

One class of nouns consists of pairs of stems, in which the roots refer to persons, and the derivative suffixes {*a ~ yen*} and {*i ~ ŋi ~ ni*} refer to the gender of the person.

<i>*kaṇ</i>	'blind person'	<i>kaṇ-a</i>	'blind man'	<i>kaṇ-i</i>	'blind woman'
<i>guru</i>	'priest'	<i>guru-yen</i>	'priest'	<i>guru-ni</i>	'female priest'
<i>kaṭka</i>	'miserly person'	<i>kaṭka-yen</i>	'miserly man'	<i>kaṭki-ni</i>	'miserly woman'

Some complex noun stems are derived from noun or verb roots through primary derivative suffixes, viz. *-ki*, *-uṇ*, *-ku*, *-u*, *-pu*, etc., e.g.

<i>ēru</i>	'water'	<i>ēR-ki</i>	'thirst'
<i>nēnz</i>	'to breathe'	<i>nēnz-uṇ</i>	'breath'
<i>mūl</i>	'to urinate'	<i>mūl-ku</i>	'urine'

The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are a subclass of nouns with complex stems derivable from demonstrative and interrogative roots by suffixing gender-number markers or certain suffixes denoting time or place.

Remote	Proximate	Interrogative			
<i>a-di</i>	'that one' (non-masc. sing.)	<i>i-di</i>	'this one'	<i>aye-d</i>	'which one, who?'
<i>vā-nru</i>	'that man' (masc. sing.)	<i>vē-nru</i>	'this man'	<i>aye-n</i>	'who?'
<i>a-vi</i>	'those' (non-masc. plur.)	<i>i-vi</i>	'these'	<i>aye-k</i>	'which ones, who?'
<i>vā-r(u)</i>	'those men' (masc. plur.)	<i>vē-r(u)</i>	'these men'	<i>aye-r</i>	'who?'
<i>a-tal</i>	'that side' (AdvPl)	<i>i-tal</i>	'this side'	<i>e-tal</i>	'which side?'
<i>a-be</i>	'that place, there' (AdvPl)	<i>i-be</i>	'this place, here'	<i>e-mbe</i>	'which place/where?'
<i>na-so-k</i>	'that many' (non-masc. sing.)	<i>ni-so-k</i>	'this many'	<i>e-so-k</i>	'how many?'

Kinship terms, when used in the third person reference, acquire a suffix *-si*, along with certain other morphophonemic changes, e.g.

	Root	Derived singular Plural	
'younger brother'	<i>tamberi</i>	<i>tamber-si</i>	<i>tamber-si-r</i>
'older brother'	<i>dāda</i>	<i>dād-si</i>	<i>dād-si-r</i>
'elder brother'	<i>ana</i>	<i>ana-si</i>	<i>ana-si-r</i>
'wife'	<i>ālu</i>	<i>āl-si</i>	<i>āl-si-k</i>
'younger sister'	<i>taṅi</i>	<i>taṅi-si</i>	<i>taṅi-si-k</i>
'elder sister'	<i>bībi</i>	<i>bīb-si</i>	<i>bīb-si-k</i>
'son'	<i>maṛin</i>	<i>maṛi-si</i>	<i>maṛi-si-r</i>
'daughter-in-law'	<i>korya</i>	<i>koṛe-si</i>	<i>koṛe-si-k</i>
'mother'	<i>yāya</i>	<i>ay-si</i>	<i>ay-si-k</i>
'father'	<i>buba</i>	<i>apo-si</i>	<i>apo-si-r</i>

One productive type of complex noun derivation suffixes gender-number to bound adjectives. All adjectives, basic and derived, add a stem formative *-k* before the gender-number suffixes *-an*, *-ar*, *-a(d)*, and *-eṅ*, e.g.

Adjective	Masc. sing.	Masc. plur.	Non-masc. sing.	Non-masc. plur.
	<i>-an</i> (man)	<i>-ar</i> (men)	<i>-ad</i> (one)	<i>-eṅ</i> (ones)
'that'	<i>a-k-an</i>	<i>a-k-ar</i>	<i>a-k-a(d)</i>	<i>a-k-eṅ</i>
'another'	<i>āʔi-k-an</i>	<i>āʔi-k-ar</i>	<i>āʔi-k-a(d)</i>	<i>āʔi-k-eṅ</i>

'good'	negi	negi-k-an	negi-k-ar	negi-k-a(d)	negi-k-eᅇ
'red'	eᅇa-ni	eᅇani-k-an	eᅇani-k-ar	eᅇani-k-a(d)	eᅇani-k-eᅇ
'near'	ᅇaᅇru	ᅇaᅇu-Ri-k-an	ᅇaᅇu-Ri-k-ar	ᅇaᅇu-Ri-k-a(d)	ᅇaᅇu-Ri-k-eᅇ
'stupid'	veᅇi	veᅇi-di-k-an	veᅇi-di-k-ar	veᅇi-di-k-a(d)	veᅇi-di-k-eᅇ
'there'	abe	abe-ᅇi-k-an	abe-ᅇi-k-ar	abe-ᅇi-k-a(d)	abe-ᅇi-k-eᅇ

Compound noun stems contain two or more roots or stems and act as a single morphological nucleus, which can be replaced grammatically in context by a single noun stem. Compounds cannot be expanded by inserting other material between their constituents.

Endocentric compounds consist of two morphemes each. The first is a noun or adjective acting as an attribute to the following noun head.

- Both constituents may occur as free forms with the attribute describing the head, e.g. *ilu<sup>1</sup> ālu<sup>2</sup>* 'house<sup>1</sup>wife<sup>2</sup>', *rāmbi<sup>1</sup> bala<sup>2</sup>* 'attic<sup>1</sup> plank<sup>2</sup>'; the attribute may mark sex, e.g. *āᅇᅇu<sup>1</sup> nukuᅇi<sup>2</sup>* 'female<sup>1</sup> dog<sup>2</sup>', *pōtu<sup>1</sup> nukuᅇi<sup>2</sup>* 'male<sup>1</sup> dog<sup>2</sup>'; or it may be a specific subclass of the generic class of the head, e.g. *beza<sup>1</sup> kāya<sup>2</sup>* 'tomato<sup>1</sup> fruit<sup>2</sup>', *beza<sup>1</sup> kusa<sup>2</sup>* 'tomato<sup>1</sup> leaves/greens<sup>2</sup>', *beza<sup>1</sup> dolu<sup>2</sup>* 'tomato<sup>1</sup> plant<sup>2</sup>', *moli<sup>1</sup> pūᅇu<sup>2</sup>* 'jasmine<sup>1</sup> flowers<sup>2</sup>', *damᅇa<sup>1</sup> sara<sup>2</sup>* 'whip<sup>1</sup> snake<sup>2</sup>', *pāvra<sup>1</sup> poᅇi<sup>2</sup>* 'pigeon<sup>1</sup> (bird)<sup>2</sup>', etc.
- One constituent may occur as a free form, while the other may have limited distribution, e.g. *piᅇu* 'rain', *darᅇa piᅇu* 'hail-storm'; *kālu* 'leg', *maᅇma kālu* 'heel'; *ᅇaska* 'finger', *moᅇᅇa ᅇaska* 'thumb'; *saᅇin* 'son-in-law', *saᅇin kōᅇᅇli* 'nephew'; *puᅇa* 'ant-hill', *puᅇa kūᅇu* 'white-ant ant-hill'.
- Both constituents occur only in the compounds, e.g. *nīᅇ putᅇivar* 'a couple without children'; *putᅇo zanaᅇ* 'male children', etc. These are apparently borrowed wholesale from Oᅇiya.
- Co-ordinate compounds contain two nuclei which may occur as free forms, but they occur without an overt connective, e.g. *yāya* 'mother', *buba* 'father', *yāya buba* 'parents'; *sōᅇu* 'salt', *miᅇaᅇ* 'pepper', *sōᅇu miᅇaᅇ* 'salt and pepper', etc.
- Fused compounds contain two roots; one or both of the roots may exhibit unique morphophonemic variants in the fused compound, e.g. *ālu* 'wife', *māsi* 'husband', *āᅇmaser* 'husband and wife'; *ᅇeyu* 'night', *zāy* 'day', *ᅇeyzal* 'day and night', etc.

One class of noun stems, simple as well as derived, denotes time and place. They do not distinguish number or gender, but bear certain case suffixes. The oblique stems function adjectivally before other nouns.

		Oblique
'yesterday'	iᅇen	iᅇeRi-
'tomorrow'	vige	vigeRi-
'bottom, below'	aᅇᅇi	aᅇᅇiRi-
'above'	musku	muskuRi-
'before, in front'	muᅇᅇaᅇ	muᅇᅇaᅇRi-

'here'	ibe/bēn	ibeṇi-/bēṇi-
'there'	abe/bān	abeṇi-/bāṇi-, etc.

Personal pronouns of the first and second persons distinguish number (but not gender), and are inflected for case. Personal pronouns of the third person are derived from demonstrative and interrogative stems, and are inflected for number, gender and case.

	Nominative	Oblique-genitive	Accusative=dative
1 sing. 'I'	nān(u)	nā	na-ṇi
2 sing. 'you'	nīn(u)	nī	ni-ṇi
1 plur. (excl.) 'we'	māp(u)	mā	ma-ṇi
1 plur. (incl.) 'we'	māṭ(u)	mā	ma-ṇi
2 plur. 'you'	mīr(u)	mī	mi-ṇi

Numerals are inflected for number, gender and case. Koṇḍa has native numerals for 1 to 7; other numerals are borrowed. All simple numerals belong to the non-masculine gender and are used both as nouns in the nominative and as attributes to following nouns. The numerals 1 to 4 have bound variants which occur with certain bound noun stems, classifiers and other derivative suffixes.

	Simple	Complex	
'1'	uṅṛi	or-en	'one man'
'2'	ruṅḍi	ri- <sup>?</sup> er	'two men'
'3'	mūṅṛi	mu- <sup>?</sup> er	'three men'
'4'	nāḷgi	nāl- <sup>?</sup> er	'four men'
'5'	aydu	aydu-guru	'five men'
'6'	āru	āru-guru	'six men'
'7'	ēru	ēṛ-guru	'seven men'

## 9.4 Verbs

Verbs are inflected for tense and/or mode. The nucleus of a verb form is a verb stem. Verb stems are either simple, complex or compound. Simple stems consist of a single root, and have the following shapes: (C)V, (C)V̄, (C)VC, (C)V̄C, (C)VCC, (C)V̄CC, (C)VCV, (C)V̄CV, (C)VCCV, (C)V̄CCV, (C)V̄CVCC, (C)VC-*is*, (C)V̄C-*is*, (C)V̄C-*pa*. (Stems of the last three types appear to consist of a root and a derivative suffix; however, the apparent roots do not appear without the suffix.) Most roots in Koṇḍa are monosyllabic and end in consonants, i.e. (C)V, (C)V̄, (C)VC, (C)V̄C, (C)VCC, (C)V̄CC.

Complex stems have two constituents: a simple root and derivative suffix. The derivative suffixes are usually those which form transitive/causative or reflexive stems.

A transitive/causative stem most commonly suffixes the transition/causation

morpheme {s ~ is ~ pis ~ bis} to the root. *-s* is suffixed after roots ending in *-i*, e.g. *nalŋi-* ‘be crushed’, *nalŋi-s-*. *-is* is suffixed to (C)ŶCC roots in which the final consonant cluster involves a flap or trill, e.g. *uRk-* ‘run’, *uRk-is-*; *ōrp-* ‘cleanse hair with water’, *ōrp-is-*; *-is* is also suffixed to (C)ŶC roots ending in flaps or trills, e.g. *ūr-* ‘be over-boiled’, *ūr-is-*; *toR-* ‘build’, *toR-is-*; *tōr-* ‘appear’, *tōr-is-*. *-is* is also suffixed to some (C)ŶC roots ending in other obstruents, e.g. *ūz-* ‘crawl’, *ūz-is-*; *maṭ-* ‘trample’, *maṭ-is-*. *-is* occurs in free variation with *-pis* after some (C)ŶC roots ending in voiceless obstruents, e.g. *kaṭ-* ‘bite’, *kaṭ-is-*/*kaṭ-pis-*; *kīs-* ‘scrape’, *kīs-is-*/*kīs-pis-*.

*-pis* is suffixed to (C)ŶC roots ending in single voiceless obstruents, e.g. *kāk-* ‘open up’, *kāk-pis-*; *dōs-* ‘plunder’, *dōs-pis-*. *-pis* also occurs after (C)ŶC roots ending in sonorants *n*, *n*, and *v*, e.g. *uŋ-* ‘drink’, *ūt-pis-*; *tin-* ‘eat’, *tīR-pis-*; *nāv-* ‘cross (a river)’, *nā-pis-*. *-pis* also occurs after (C)ŶCs roots in which the final *-s* is deleted, e.g. *ūrṣ-* ‘sweep’, *ūr-pis-*; *bals-* ‘grow stout’, *bal-pis-*. *-bis* is suffixed to a few roots ending in *i* or *y*, e.g. *\*iy-* ‘bathe’, *iy-bis-*; *ki-* ‘do’, *ki-bis-*; *sī-* ‘give’, *sī-bis-*; and after *riṣ-* ‘release’, *ri-bis-*.

A transitive/causative stem can also be formed by suffixing a transitive/causative morpheme /p/ to the root, e.g. *mur-* ‘be lost’, *mur-p-* ‘lose’; *kūr-* ‘join’, *kūr-p-* ‘attach’; *nērs-* ‘learn’, *nēr-p-* ‘teach’; *ḍig-* ‘descend’, *ḍi-p-* ‘bring down’; *niḷ-* ‘stand’, *niḷ-p-* ‘set up’; *son-* ‘go, pass’, *sol-p-* ‘lose’; *sā-* ‘die’, *sa-p-* ‘kill’; etc. A transitive/causative stem can also be formed in (C)ŶC and (C)ŶCC(i) roots by simplifying and/or devoicing the final consonant cluster, e.g. *tev-* ‘be cut off’, *tep-* ‘cut’; *imb-* ‘fly off’, *ip-* ‘let fly’; *ūd-* ‘get wet’, *ūt-* ‘soak’; *marzi-* ‘learn’, *mars-* ‘teach’; *kinz-* ‘be torn’, *kis-* ‘tear’; *ninri-* ‘be filled’, *niR-* ‘fill’; *mūg-* ‘be closed’, *mūk-* ‘close’; *muṛg-* ‘sink’, *muṛk-* ‘dip’; *ḍaŋ-* ‘be beaten’, *ḍak-* ‘beat’; *toṛŋi-* ‘be spilt’, *toṛk-* ‘spill’; etc.

A plural action (or frequentative) stem is formed by suffixing {pa ~ ba} to the transitive root, e.g. *ūs-* ‘apply oil’, *ūs-pa-* ‘apply a lot of oil’; *nor-* ‘wash (utensils/hands/feet)’, *nor-ba-* ‘wash one’s own hands or feet frequently’; etc. Some stems occur only with {pa ~ ba}, e.g. *iy-ba* ‘to bathe’, *aṛ-ba* ‘to cry’, etc.

The infinitive is the natural form of elicitation in KoŇda. It functions as a verbal noun and as a finite verb in the obligative mood, e.g. *anasi*<sup>1</sup> ... *uṇḍeŋ*<sup>2</sup> *baṣan*<sup>3</sup> ‘the elder brother<sup>1</sup> sat down<sup>3</sup> to eat<sup>2</sup>’; *malu*<sup>1</sup> *uṇḍeŋ*<sup>2</sup> *sonreŋ*<sup>3</sup> ‘(we) must go<sup>3</sup> to eat<sup>2</sup> the wedding dinner<sup>1</sup>’. (This second example illustrates both predicative and infinitive uses.) The infinitive is formed by adding {deŋ ~ deŋ ~ reŋ ~ eŋ ~ teŋ} to the stem. The distribution of the allomorphs of the infinitive morpheme is presented in Table 9.2. Obligative verbs denoting ‘must’ or ‘should’ are identical in form with the infinitive. This mode is therefore treated as a predicative function of the infinitive.

All verbs in KoŇda fall into two categories, finite and non-finite, on morpho-syntactic grounds. Syntactically, finite verbs function as predicates, and non-finite verbs function as heads of subordinate phrases or clauses. Morphologically, finite verbs possess person-reference, while non-finite verbs do not. (The only exception to this is the predicative use of the infinitive, which lacks person-

reference.)

There are nine finite verb types in *Koṇḍa*: past affirmative, non-past affirmative, past negative, non-past negative, durative, imperative, prohibitive (negative imperative), desiderative, and obligative. Past and non-past affirmative and negative are temporal, the durative is aspectual, and the remaining types are modal.

The past, non-past, negative non-past, durative and desiderative verbs have three constituents: stem + tense/modal affix + personal suffix. The negative past has four constituents: stem + negative affix + tense affix + personal suffix. Imperative and prohibitive verbs have two constituents: stem + modal and person suffix. Obligative verbs consist of two constituents: stem + modal (undistinguished for person).

Affirmative finite verbs suffix the following personal endings after the tense/aspect morpheme, which is added to the verb stem.

	Singular	Plural
1	-a	-ap (exclusive) -aṭ (inclusive)
2	-i ~ -id[-V	-id-er
3 masculine	-an ~ -anṛ-	-ar
non-masculine	-ad	-e

Past tense verbs suffix the past morpheme {t ~ it} to the stem, followed by the personal suffixes. The distribution of the allomorphs of the past tense morpheme appears in Table 9.2. The past tense conjugation of two typical verbs, *ki-* 'to do' and *ḍig-* 'to get down, descend', is as follows.

	Singular	Plural
1	ki-t-a	ki-t-ap (excl.) ki-t-aṭ (incl.)
2	ki-t-i ~ ki-t-id[V	ki-t-ider
3 masculine	ki-t-an ~ ki-t-anṛ[V	ki-t-ar
non-masculine	ki-t-ad	ki-t-e
1	ḍig-it-a	ḍig-it-ap (excl.) ḍig-it-aṭ (incl.)
2	ḍig-it-i ~ ḍig-it-id[V	ḍig-it-ider
3 masculine	ḍig-it-an ~ ḍig-it-anṛ[V	ḍig-it-ar
non-masculine	ḍig-it-ad	ḍig-it-e

The past stems of *noṛ-* 'to wash': *noR-t-*; *in-* 'to say': *iR-*; *niL<sub>1</sub>-* 'to stand': *niR-*; *uṇ-* 'to eat': *uṭ-*; *mūL<sub>2</sub>-* 'to urinate': *mūṭ-ḍ-* illustrate allomorphic variations of the past tense morpheme.

The non-past refers to a habitual or future action. Non-past verbs suffix the non-past morpheme {n ~ Ø} to the stem, followed by personal suffixes, e.g.

*ki-n-an* 'he does', *man-Ø-an* 'he is, lives', etc. The distribution of the allomorphs of the non-past tense morpheme appears in Table 9.2.

The durative paradigm refers to an action in progress in the past or non-past time. Durative verbs suffix the durative morpheme {zin ~ sin ~ in} to the verb stem, followed by personal suffixes, e.g. *ki-zin-an* 'he is/was doing', *kūk-sin-an* 'he is/was calling', *as-in-an* 'he is/was holding'. The durative morpheme appears to have developed through the contraction of a complex form (see Steever 1993: 91). The distribution of the allomorphs of the durative morpheme appears in Table 9.2.

**Table 9.2 Allomorphs of the durative morpheme**

Stems ending in	Infinitive	Past	Non-past	Durative
k, t, ʈ, p, R, Ṽ]r, Ṽ]r				
ī, ū, ē, ō	teŋ	t	n	sin
s	teŋ	t	n	in
y; ā, i	deŋ	t	n	zin
Ṽ]r	deŋ	r + t → Rt	n	zin
Ṽ]d	deŋ	d + t → tt	n	zin
Ṽ]n, Ṽ]L <sub>1</sub>	n/L <sub>1</sub> + deŋ → n]reŋ	n/L <sub>1</sub> + t → R	n/L <sub>1</sub> + n → n	zin
Ṽ]n, Ṽ]L <sub>2</sub>	n/L <sub>2</sub> + deŋ → n]deŋ	n/L <sub>2</sub> + t → †	n/L <sub>2</sub> + n → n	zin
ŋ, m, v, Ṽ]r, l, r				
g, d, b, Ṽ]r	deŋ	it	n	zin
z	deŋ	it	n	in
d	eŋ	it	n	zin

The non-past negative suffixes the non-past negative tense morpheme /ʔ/ to the verb stem before the negative personal suffixes, which differ slightly from those for affirmative tenses. A few verbs have suppletive stems for negative paradigms.

	Singular	Plural
1	-ʔ-e	-ʔ-ep (excl.) -ʔ-eŋ (incl.)
2	-ʔ-i ~ -ʔ-id[V	-ʔ-ider
3 masculine	-ʔ-en ~ -ʔ-enŋ[V	-ʔ-er
non-masculine	-ʔ-ed	-ʔ-u

Thus, a sample paradigm of non-past negative for *ki-* 'to do':

	Singular	Plural
1	ki-ʔ-e	ki-ʔ-ep (excl.) ki-ʔ-eŋ (incl.)

2		ki-ʔ-i ~ -ʔ-id[V]	ki-ʔ-ider
3	masculine	ki-ʔ-en ~ -ʔ-en[V]	ki-ʔ-er
	non-masculine	ki-ʔ-ed	ki-ʔ-u

Note that the non-past negative stem of *man-*ʔ-, but *sil-* which encodes both the root and negation. *vānrū*<sup>1</sup> *inrō*<sup>2</sup> *man-Ø-an*<sup>3</sup> 'he<sup>1</sup> is<sup>3</sup> home<sup>2</sup>', *vānrū*<sup>1</sup> *inrō*<sup>2</sup> *sil-en*<sup>3</sup> 'he<sup>1</sup> is not<sup>3</sup> home<sup>2</sup>' (not \**man-*ʔ-*en*). *sile sile* 'no, no' is frequently used as an expletive in conversation and negation.

The past negative paradigm suffixes the affirmative past tense morpheme /t/ and personal suffixes after the negative marker as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1	-ʔ-e-t-a	-ʔ-e-t-ap (excl.) -ʔ-e-t-aṭ (incl.)
2	-ʔ-i-t-i ~ -ʔ-id[V]	-ʔ-i-t-i-der
3	masculine -ʔ-e-t-an ~ -ʔ-e-t-an[V]	-ʔ-e-t-ar
	non-masculine -ʔ-e-t-ad	-ʔ-u-t-e

The formation of the past negative can be analysed in a number of ways: (1) the past negative morpheme has three variants {ʔet ~ ʔit ~ ʔut}; (2) the negative personal suffixes are discontinuous morphemes, which have an embedded past tense morpheme with the following variants {ta ~ ti ~ te}, i.e. third person masculine is stem-ʔ-*E-ta-N* (the discontinuous negative personal suffix in capitals); (3) the past negative is formed by suffixing the (affirmative) past tense and personal suffixes after the non-past negative and personal suffixes, and the negative personal suffixes are collapsed, retaining only their initial vowels, i.e. third person masculine -ʔ-*en-t-an* > -ʔ-*e-t-an*. Steever (1993) explained with adequate evidence that these forms were derived historically from two serial finite verbs, of which the second was a copula, e.g. \**kiʔen#ā-tan* → *kiʔen+ātan* → *kiʔen+tan* → *kiʔe-t-an*.

Imperative verbs suffix /ʔa/ and {*du* ~ *ḍu* ~ *ru* ~ *u* ~ *tu*} in the second person singular and plural, respectively, e.g. *ki-ʔa* 'do!' (2 sing.), *ki-du* 'do!' (2 plur.). The verb *sī-/si-* 'to give' has two imperatives: with first person object, *si-da* (subj. sing.) 'give me!', *si-da-t* (subj. plur.) 'give me!'; and *si-ʔa* 'give! (sing.) (to third party)', *si-du* 'give! (plur.) (to third party)'. The distribution of the allomorphs in the plural is parallel to the distribution of the infinitive allomorphs {*deŋ* ~ *ḍeŋ* ~ *reŋ* ~ *eŋ* ~ *teŋ*}.

Prohibitive, or negative-imperative, verbs suffix /ma/ and /maṭ/ in the second person singular and plural respectively, e.g. *ki-ma* 'don't do!' (sing.), *ki-ma-t* 'don't do!' (plur.), etc.

Desiderative-permissive verbs denote a wish or permission. They have non-past time reference, although there is no tense marker. They have three constituents, viz. stem + desiderative + personal suffixes. The desiderative morpheme {*i* ~ *pi*} is *-i* after consonant final stems and *-pi* after vowel final stems. The personal suffixes that are attested in the data are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
2	-i	
3 masculine	-n	-r
non-masculine	-d	-v

Examples: *bitek<sup>1</sup> korodij<sup>2</sup> et-i-n<sup>3</sup>* 'let<sup>3</sup> Bitek<sup>1</sup> take up (look after)<sup>3</sup> the child<sup>2</sup>', *uñga<sup>1</sup> uñ-i-d<sup>2</sup>* 'let it eat<sup>2</sup>, if it wanted to eat<sup>1</sup>'.

Morphologically, non-finite verbs do not bear personal endings; syntactically, they are adverbial or adjectival and do not occur as predicates. Non-finite verbs are classified as tense-based, i.e. past, non-past, durative or negative) or aspect-based (i.e. infinitive, imperfective/incomplete, and simultaneative).

Imperfective verbs suffix {zi ~ si ~ i} to the verb stem. The distribution of the imperfective allomorphs parallels the distribution of the durative {zin ~ sin ~ in}. These verbs denote actions that are just completed and antecedent to or are simultaneous with the action denoted by the following verb in a sequence, e.g. *vaniñ<sup>1</sup> reyzi<sup>2</sup> rebazi<sup>3</sup> doRkistar<sup>4</sup>* 'having searched<sup>2,3</sup> for him<sup>1</sup>, they found him<sup>4</sup>'.

Simultaneative verbs suffix {pu ~ bu} to the verb stem. Stems with *teñ* in the infinitive have *-pu* in the simultaneative, and the others take *-bu*. These verbs are used in the sense of 'as soon as' or 'at the time of' with two simultaneous actions, e.g. *koRku<sup>1</sup> kerepu<sup>2</sup> niñitan<sup>3</sup>* 'he got up<sup>3</sup> as the cock<sup>1</sup> was crowing<sup>2</sup>'.

There are four categories of tense-based non-finite verbs: resultative/perfective *-iñ*, conditional *-iña*, and extensive *-eñda*, and adnominal *-i*. One of these relational morphemes is added after the appropriate allomorph of the tense morpheme, i.e.

Tense	Adnominal	Resultative	Conditional	Extensive
(a) Past	t -t-i	-t-iñ	-t-iña	-t-eñda
(b) Non-past	n -n-i	-n-iñ	-n-iña	-n-eñda
(c) Durative	zin *-zin-i	-zin-iñ	*-zin-iña	*-zin-eñda
(d) Negative	? -?-i	-?-iñ	*-?-iña	-?-eñda
(e) Negative past	?it *-?it-i	-?it-iñ	*-?it-iña	*-?it-eñda

(\*Forms marked with asterisks are not found in the data, but seem to be grammatically possible.)

When two actions are related as cause and effect or occur in a plausible chronological order, the verb denoting the first action occurs in the resultative. Thus, the resultative is used in the sense of 'after, soon after, as soon as', etc.

- (a) *koRku<sup>1</sup> kere-t-iñ<sup>2</sup> zāy<sup>3</sup> ātaad<sup>4</sup>*.  
'After the cocks<sup>1</sup> crowed<sup>2</sup>, the day<sup>3</sup> broke<sup>4</sup>.'
- (b) *vaniñ<sup>1</sup> vā-n-iñ<sup>2</sup> marī<sup>3</sup> unñi<sup>4</sup> sōpta<sup>5</sup> manan<sup>6</sup>*.  
'(He) hardly came back<sup>2</sup> to him<sup>1</sup>, (when) he had already pulled<sup>5</sup> yet<sup>3</sup> another (corpse)<sup>4</sup> out<sup>5</sup>.'
- (c) *dinami<sup>1</sup> nān<sup>2</sup> būd ki-zin-iñ su<sup>3</sup> nēñru<sup>4</sup> inikad o<sup>5</sup> niñitad<sup>6</sup>*.  
'Because<sup>3</sup> I<sup>2</sup> have been bathing<sup>3</sup> (here) daily<sup>1</sup>, something<sup>5</sup> emerged<sup>6</sup> today<sup>4</sup> (to

- kill me).’
- (d) *poṭa*<sup>1</sup> *panz-ʔ-iṅ* *su*<sup>2</sup>, *veyu*<sup>3</sup> *kākta manar*<sup>4</sup>.  
‘Because<sup>2</sup> (their) stomachs<sup>1</sup> are not filled<sup>2</sup>, (they) have opened<sup>4</sup> (their) mouths<sup>3</sup>.’
- (e) *nin*<sup>1</sup> *ke-ʔit-iṅ*<sup>2</sup> *māp*<sup>3</sup> *soRap*<sup>4</sup>.  
‘Because<sup>2</sup> you<sup>1</sup> did not agree<sup>2</sup>, we<sup>3</sup> left<sup>4</sup>.’

Conditional verbs mark subordinate clauses that serve as the protasis of a conditional proposition. Thus, the conditional is used in the sense of ‘if, when’ for affirmative verbs, and ‘if not’ for negative verbs.

- (a) *uṅḍeṅ*<sup>1</sup> *bas-t-iṅa*<sup>2</sup>, *uṅḍeṅ*<sup>3</sup> *basinad*<sup>4</sup>.  
‘If (when) he sat down<sup>2</sup> to eat<sup>1</sup>, she would also sit<sup>4</sup> to eat<sup>3</sup>.’
- (b) *ḍiḡ-n-iṅa*<sup>1</sup> *ḍiḡʔa*<sup>2</sup> *iRanr e*<sup>3</sup> *aylidiṅ*<sup>4</sup> *ḍiptan*<sup>5</sup>.  
‘“If you get off<sup>1</sup>, get off<sup>2</sup>” he said<sup>3</sup> and he put<sup>5</sup> the girl<sup>4</sup> down<sup>5</sup>.’
- (c) *inika*<sup>1</sup> *doRk-ʔ-iṅa*<sup>2</sup>, *vāḍeṅ*<sup>3</sup> *enda ne*<sup>4</sup>.  
‘If<sup>2</sup> nothing<sup>1</sup> is found<sup>2</sup>, why<sup>4</sup> (to) come<sup>3</sup>?’

The extensive denotes that an action will not or should not occur until some condition occurs, or that an action will continue to occur until some condition occurs.

- (a) *terka*<sup>1</sup> *rē-t-eṅḍa*<sup>2</sup> *manʔa*<sup>3</sup>.  
‘Wait<sup>3</sup> until (I) opened<sup>2</sup> the door<sup>1</sup>.’
- (b) *nān*<sup>1</sup> *vā-n-eṅḍa*<sup>2</sup> *bāga*<sup>3</sup> *mēpsi*<sup>4</sup> *manʔa*<sup>5</sup>.  
‘Keep<sup>5</sup> grazing<sup>4</sup> (the cattle) well<sup>3</sup>, until<sup>2</sup> I<sup>1</sup> come<sup>2</sup>.’
- (c) *inriṅ*<sup>1</sup> *tap-ʔ-eṅḍa*<sup>2</sup> *būlatad*<sup>3</sup>.  
‘It roamed<sup>3</sup> without missing<sup>2</sup> a single house<sup>1</sup>.’

Adnominal forms function syntactically as attributes to a following noun or adverbial heads.

- (a) *kīdu*<sup>1</sup> *as-t-i*<sup>2</sup> *perku*<sup>3</sup>.  
‘The rice<sup>3</sup> which (he) held<sup>2</sup> in (his) hand<sup>1</sup>.’
- (b) *rū-n-i*<sup>1</sup> *gudeḍ*<sup>2</sup> *soRad*<sup>3</sup>.  
‘She went<sup>3</sup> into the field<sup>2</sup> which they plough<sup>1</sup>.’
- (c) *kāki*<sup>1</sup> *kār*<sup>2</sup> *in-ʔ-i*<sup>3</sup> *bān*<sup>4</sup>.  
‘A place<sup>4</sup> where (even) a crow<sup>1</sup> does not say<sup>3</sup> “caw”<sup>2</sup>.’

Compound verbs are morphological constructions containing more than one verb stem. They can be divided into iterative and non-iterative compounds. Non-iteratives can be subdivided into co-ordinate and subordinate compounds. Subordinate compounds may be intensive, aspectual or reflexive. The final constituent of a compound nucleus is inflected in the same manner as a simple nucleus.

Iterative compounds repeat a non-finite verb to express intensity or amplification of the action. The most common iteratives are the perfective (*-zi*), resultative (*-tiṅ*) and simultaneative (*-pu*), e.g. *nēnz-* ‘to breathe’, *nēnzi*<sup>1</sup> *nēnzi*<sup>1</sup>

*vāzinider*<sup>2</sup> ‘you are coming<sup>2</sup> breathing<sup>2</sup> hard<sup>1</sup>’; *son-* ‘to go’, *āRu*<sup>1</sup> *soRiṅ*<sup>2</sup> *soRiṅ*<sup>2</sup> ‘as he kept going<sup>2</sup> for a long time<sup>2</sup> like that<sup>1</sup>’; *veR-* ‘to say’, *veRpu veRpu* ‘as (he) was still saying ...’.

Co-ordinate compound verbs are used to express a sequence of multiple successive actions, e.g. *vāta surtan* ‘he came and saw’, *surta vātan* ‘he saw and came’, *iḍta pōsta vāta* ‘I left it, forgot and came’. The entire compound can be replaced by a simple verb with any one of the co-ordinate stems as the simple nucleus; furthermore, the following characteristics distinguish co-ordinate compounds:

- (a) The form of the final verb ( $S_2$ ) governs the form of the preceding verbs ( $S_1$ ), e.g. *vāta surtan* ‘he came and saw’, *vāti surti* ‘you (sing.) came and saw’, *vāte surte* ‘they came and saw’.
- (b) Only past and non-past affirmative tenses occur in co-ordinate compounds.
- (c) The different verbs of the compound should be in the same tense.
- (d) The vowel following the tense morpheme of  $S_1$  is identical to the vowel following the tense morpheme of  $S_2$ .
- (e) Any two verb stems may enter into co-ordination; reversal of the order results only in the corresponding reversal of the actions in time.
- (f) Each co-ordinate stem in the compound has equal privileges to perform this substitution.

Co-ordinate compounds may also occur as non-finite verbs, e.g. *maRti*<sup>1</sup> *bēstiṅ*<sup>2</sup> ... ‘as (he) turned<sup>1</sup> back and looked<sup>2</sup> ...’, *ēru*<sup>1</sup> *loti*<sup>2</sup> *sitiṅa*<sup>3</sup> ... ‘if (you) took out<sup>2</sup> and gave<sup>3</sup> (them) water<sup>1</sup> ...’.

In subordinate compounds  $S_1$  is the main carrier of meaning, while  $S_2$  modifies it in some manner. Unlike feature (f) for co-ordinate compounds, only  $S_1$  has the privilege of substituting for the subordinate compound, in which case  $S_1$  will bear the finite or non-finite inflection of  $S_2$ .

Intensive compounds have the same structural features as (a)–(d) of co-ordinate compounds. Regarding feature (e),  $S_1$  may be any simple or complex stem; however,  $S_2$  must be from a small set of simple auxiliary verbs that serve to intensify the meaning of  $S_1$ , e.g. *ekta rista* ‘I climbed it up’, *egrita soRad* ‘it flew away’, *ḍipta sitad* ‘she took it down’, etc.; and as non-finite verbs: *sāti soRiṅ* ... ‘as they had died ...’, *vēnru*<sup>1</sup> *visirti*<sup>2</sup> *ristiṅ*<sup>3</sup> ... ‘as he<sup>1</sup> threw<sup>2</sup> (it) away<sup>3</sup> ...’.

Aspectual compounds are the most numerous verb compounds. They possess features (a) and (d). Regarding (b), the compound may be inflected for past, non-past and imperative; regarding (e),  $S_1$  may be any stem, but  $S_2$  must be *man-* ‘to be’; regarding (c), the two stems may be inflected for disparate tenses with the following aspectual meanings:

	$S_1$	$S_2$ ( <i>man-</i> )	Aspectual meaning
(1)	past (- <i>t</i> )	past ( <i>maR-</i> )	past perfect
(2)	past (- <i>t</i> )	non-past ( <i>man-</i> )	present perfect
(3)	non-past (- <i>n-</i> )	durative ( <i>manzin-</i> )	non-past continuous
(4)	incompletive (- <i>zi</i> )	past ( <i>maR-</i> )	past continuous

Examples: (1) *soRa maRan* ‘he had gone’; (2) *soRa manar* ‘they have gone’; (3) *nān iḍna manzina* ‘I shall keep (them)’; (4) *vāzi maRa* ‘I was coming’; and as non-finite verbs: *dāṅṅiti maRiṅ...* ‘as he remained hidden...’; *karzizi maRiṅ ...* ‘as they were playing ...’.

Reflexive compounds are transitive verb stems that suffix *-ay* to the stem and then add the auxiliary verb *ā* ‘to become’, e.g. *dūs-* ‘to comb’, *dūs-ay ā-* ‘to get one’s hair dressed’; *toR-* ‘to tie’, *toR-ay ā-* ‘to tie oneself’; *pas-* ‘to scratch’, *pas-ay ā-* ‘to scratch oneself’, etc.; and as non-finite verbs: *tōr-ay ā-?eṅḍa* ‘without being noticed’.

A small subclass of reflexive compounds, denoting reciprocal action, suffixes *-as* to the stem and the addition of the auxiliary verb *ā* ‘to become’, e.g. *kat-* ‘cut’, *kat-as ā-* ‘to cut each other’; *eR-* ‘throw, fling’, *eR-as ā-* ‘to shoot each other’, etc.

### Noun–Verb Compounds

A number of noun stems may be verbalised when followed by a small set of verb roots (*ā-* ‘become’, *ki-* ‘do’, *son-* ‘go’, etc.). These constitute compound morphological constructions with idiomatic meanings, e.g.

<i>ā-</i> ‘become’	‘happiness’	<i>sarda</i>	<i>sarda ā-</i>	‘be happy’
	‘anger’	<i>kōpam</i>	<i>kōpam ā-</i>	‘be angry’
<i>ki-</i> ‘do’	‘bath’	<i>būḍ</i>	<i>būḍ ki-</i>	‘to bathe’
	‘sin, crime’	<i>sani</i>	<i>sani ki-</i>	‘to commit sin’
<i>son-</i> ‘go’	‘sharpness’	<i>tevgu</i>	<i>tevgu son-</i>	‘to become blunt’
	‘flower, cataract’	<i>puyu</i>	<i>puyu son-</i>	‘to develop cataract’
<i>rey-</i> ‘beat, strike’	‘rain’	<i>piṛu</i>	<i>piṛu rey-</i>	‘to rain’
	‘whip’	<i>saboki</i>	<i>saboki rey-</i>	‘to whip’, etc.

## 9.5 Adjectives

Adjectives function syntactically as attributes to the nouns they modify. Adjectives may be simple, complex, or compound. Adjectives may be monomorphemic words that function solely as adjectives, or they may be derived from other adjectives, nouns, or derived from verbs.

Simple adjectives are all monomorphemic words that function as attributes to nouns. These include the demonstrative and interrogative adjectives *aya* ‘that’, *yā* ‘this’, *aye* ‘what?’. These have bound variants as well. Simple adjectives also include descriptive adjectives: *kuṛi* ‘short’, *niṛi* ‘tall’, *izri* ‘small’, *peri* ‘big’, *pina* ‘young’, *parya* ‘old’, etc.

The numeral adjectives 1, 2, and 3 have bound variants used in compounds, e.g. *or-* ‘one’: *or neṅḍ* ‘one day’; *ri-* ‘two’: *ri neṅḍe* ‘two days only’; *mu-* ‘three’: *mu neṅḍe* ‘three days only’; *or-*, *ri-*, *mu-* and *nāl-* can also occur bound to the derivative suffixes *-en* ‘man’ and *-?er* ‘men’ or as pronominal suffixes in derived pronominals, e.g. *ri-?er* ‘two men’.

Certain bound adjectives occur in restricted co-occurrence with certain noun heads in compounds, e.g. *bānz raza* ‘barren king’; *bānz raṅi* ‘barren queen’; *sir*

*narun(d)* ‘frail human’; etc.

Complex adjectives consist of a single root with additional morphemes. Certain derivative suffixes are added to bound or free adjectival roots to derive complex adjectives, e.g. *na-ni* ‘that sort of’, *ni-ni* ‘this sort of’, *na-so* ‘that much’, *ni-so* ‘this much’, *e-so* ‘how much?’; \**era-* ‘red’: *era-ni*, \**tiya-* ‘sweet’: *tiya-ni*, *mis-* ‘superior’: *mis-ti*, *mansi* ‘good’: *mansi-di*, etc. To form the oblique-genitive stems of nouns, the derivative suffixes *-ti*, *-di*, *-Ri*, *ni*, *-i* are added in the singular, and *-i*, *-a*, *-ani* in the plural, e.g. *goro-ti*<sup>1</sup> *koŇda*<sup>2</sup> *dēvun*<sup>3</sup> ‘the KoŇda<sup>2</sup> God<sup>3</sup> of the hills<sup>1</sup>’; *kaŇka-di*<sup>1</sup> *pāpam*<sup>2</sup> ‘sin<sup>2</sup> of the eyes<sup>1</sup>’; *itaRi*<sup>1</sup> *kaŇer*<sup>2</sup> ‘tears<sup>2</sup> of this side<sup>1</sup>’; *var-i* ‘of those men’; *ver-i* ‘of these men’; *vank-a*<sup>1</sup> *pāteŇ*<sup>2</sup> ‘their<sup>1</sup> (women’s) clothes<sup>2</sup>’; *ēru*<sup>1</sup> *gorok-ani*<sup>2</sup> *namil poŇiŇ*<sup>3</sup> ‘the peafowls<sup>3</sup> of the seven<sup>1</sup> hills<sup>2</sup>’. A small class of nouns denoting measures become adjectives by the addition of *-eŇd*, e.g. *kuŇda* ‘pot’: *kuŇd-eŇd*<sup>1</sup> *ēru*<sup>2</sup> ‘potful<sup>1</sup> of water<sup>2</sup>’; *muŇi* ‘fist’: *muŇ-eŇd*<sup>1</sup> *iska*<sup>2</sup> ‘handful<sup>1</sup> of sand<sup>2</sup>’. Verbal stems with past, non-past, and negative tense-mode morphemes become adjectives by suffixing *-i*, e.g. *avi*<sup>1</sup> *ros-t-i*<sup>2</sup> *batem*<sup>3</sup> ‘the provision<sup>3</sup> that they<sup>1</sup> collected<sup>2</sup>’; *nīn*<sup>1</sup> *so-n-i*<sup>2</sup> *sari ne*<sup>3</sup> *ra*<sup>4</sup> *a*<sup>4</sup> ‘come<sup>4</sup> the same way<sup>3</sup> that you<sup>1</sup> go<sup>2</sup>’; *eseŇ*<sup>1</sup> *re-?*<sup>2</sup> *dēsem*<sup>3</sup> ‘a place<sup>3</sup> which (I) have never<sup>1</sup> visited<sup>2</sup>’.

Syntactically free adjectives, simple or complex, acquire a stem formative *-k-* when they add personal suffixes, e.g. *negi-* ‘good’: *negi-k-a* ‘I am good’, *negi-k-ider* ‘you (plur.) are good’, etc. A few complex adverbs in final *-Ň* take *-ti* or *-di*, to which the formative *-k-* is added before personal suffixes, e.g. *sala* ‘cold’: *sala-Ň* ‘being cold’: *sala-Ň-di-k-ad* ‘that which is being cold’, etc.

Many words that are fundamentally nouns function as adjectivals in endocentric compounds with noun heads, e.g. *rāzu*<sup>1</sup> *gālsin*<sup>2</sup> ‘king’s<sup>1</sup> daughters<sup>2</sup>’, *sēru*<sup>1</sup> *rāku*<sup>2</sup> ‘oxen<sup>2</sup> (tied to) plough<sup>1</sup>’, etc. Numerals with masculine or non-masculine classifiers can occur as either nouns or attributes to nouns, e.g. *unri*<sup>1</sup> *māta*<sup>2</sup> ‘one<sup>1</sup> word<sup>2</sup>’, *ri?*<sup>er</sup><sup>1</sup> *maŇisir*<sup>2</sup> ‘two<sup>1</sup> sons<sup>2</sup>’, etc.

Compound adjectives found in the data are generally iterative adjectives or iterative nouns used attributively, e.g. *kogri*<sup>1</sup> *kogri*<sup>2</sup> *pāseŇ*<sup>3</sup> ‘small<sup>1</sup> small<sup>2</sup> pieces of cloth<sup>3</sup>’, *daŇru*<sup>1</sup> *daŇru*<sup>1</sup> *poŇiŇ*<sup>2</sup> ‘the birds<sup>2</sup> very nearby<sup>1</sup>’, etc.

## 9.6 Adverbs

Adverbs syntactically function as sentence-complements or modifiers of verbs. Adverbs are simple, complex or compound. Morphologically, a small class of forms occur exclusively as adverbs of time or manner, e.g. *ēl* ‘now’, *maŇi* ‘then’, *velaru* ‘all day long’, *aŇa* ‘separately’, *gadem* ‘suddenly’, etc. Complex adverbs are derived from adjectives, verbs and nouns by the addition of adverbial suffixes, e.g. *ā* ‘that’, *ī* ‘this’, *e-* ‘which’ (all adj.): *ā-Ru* ‘that manner’, *ī-Ru* ‘this manner’, *e-lag* ‘which manner’; *kūr* ‘to join’: *kūr-aŇa* ‘together’, *negi* (adj.): ‘good, fine’: *neg-eŇd(a)* ‘nicely’, *ako* (n.) ‘distance’: *ako-Ňd* ‘distantly’. Compound adverbs are mainly reduplicated expressions denoting onomatopoeia or manner, e.g. *tuŇku tuŇku* ‘imitation of drops of rain on dried leaves’, *tuveŇ tuveŇ* ‘throbbing like pulse’, *aŇe biŇe* ‘in an ill-formed manner, zig-zag’.

Many adverbs of time and place are morphologically nouns with case but not gender or number. They are classifiable as simple, complex and compound. Simple: *nēnru* 'today', *saṅem* 'a moment', *podu* 'day', *ako* 'distance', *pasa* 'behind', *veli* 'outside'; complex: *i-ʔen* 'yesterday', *o-ʔen* 'day before yesterday', *a-tal* 'that side', *i-tal* 'this side'; compound: *es neṅḍ* 'any day', *nis neṅḍ* 'these many days', *or neṅḍ* 'one day', *ri neṅḍ* 'two days', *embe vare* 'which side?'

Certain suffixes or particles are added to nouns, verbs and adjectives to derive adverbial phrases, e.g. *uRku laka* 'one each', *ruṭku laka* 'two each' (< Telugu *lekka* 'count, sum'), *mī lakeṅḍa* 'like you', *piru<sup>1</sup> vāni lakeṅḍa<sup>2</sup>* 'as if<sup>2</sup> rain<sup>1</sup> will come<sup>2</sup>', *nī ban* 'to you', *embe ban* 'which place?', *goron<sup>1</sup> reyni ban<sup>2</sup>* 'at the place of clearing<sup>2</sup> the woods<sup>1</sup>'.

## 9.7 Clitics

Clitics are a class of syntactic affixes consisting of one or two syllables which occur in construction with words, phrases or clauses. They are always phonologically bound to free forms. They signal many modalities like interrogation, emphasis, concession, probability, surprise, etc. Clitics have forms that are invariant or phonologically conditioned.

Interrogative {a ~ na} (*a* after a consonant, *na* after a vowel):

*niṅi<sup>1</sup> lōku<sup>2</sup> manar<sup>3</sup> a sile na<sup>4</sup>?* 'Do<sup>3</sup> you<sup>1</sup> have<sup>3</sup> folks<sup>2</sup> or no<sup>4</sup>?'

Emphatic {e ~ ne} (*e* after a consonant, *ne* after a vowel) 'only, self':

*ambu<sup>1</sup> soRi<sup>2</sup> saṅi ne<sup>3</sup> sona<sup>4</sup>.* 'Let us go<sup>4</sup> only the way<sup>3</sup> the arrow<sup>1</sup> had gone<sup>2</sup>.'  
*daniṅ e<sup>1</sup> ona<sup>2</sup>.* 'I will carry<sup>2</sup> that only<sup>1</sup>.'

Additive *ba* 'also, even':

*naṅi ba<sup>1</sup> tinad le<sup>2</sup>.* 'It will eat<sup>2</sup> me, too<sup>1</sup>.'  
*niktiṅa ba<sup>1</sup> niṅ<sup>2</sup>er<sup>2</sup>.* 'Even when woken up<sup>1</sup>, they do not wake up<sup>2</sup>.'

A question word followed by *ba* acquires an indefinite meaning, e.g. *ayer* 'who?', *ayer ba* 'anybody', *inika* 'what?', *inika ba* 'anything'. The concessive *apidam* means 'at least, even', as in

*kōḍiṅ<sup>1</sup> apidam<sup>2</sup> asna<sup>3</sup>.*  
 'Let us<sup>3</sup> at least<sup>2</sup> get hold of<sup>3</sup> some cattle<sup>1</sup> (to graze).'  
*unri<sup>1</sup> kaṅer<sup>2</sup> apidam<sup>3</sup> kina<sup>4</sup>.*  
 'Let us<sup>4</sup> at least<sup>3</sup> drop<sup>4</sup> one<sup>1</sup> tear<sup>2</sup>.'

There is a class of exclamatory, vocative and declarative clitics which occur in construction with whole phrases or clauses with a variety of subtle meanings. Exclamatory *koṭe* expresses sudden surprise, e.g.

*aba gaṅḍe<sup>1</sup> nores<sup>2</sup> koṭe<sup>3</sup>.* 'O terrible!<sup>1,3</sup> it is a tiger<sup>2</sup>!  
*aya<sup>1</sup> ḍipa<sup>2</sup> vātaa<sup>3</sup> koṭe<sup>4</sup>.* 'That<sup>1</sup> ḍipa (shell)<sup>2</sup> has come<sup>3</sup>, how?<sup>4</sup>!

*gade* marks a tag question with surprise:

*ohe re<sup>1</sup> yā sir narun<sup>2</sup> vātān<sup>2</sup> e<sup>3</sup> nela runḍi neleṅ<sup>4</sup> ātad<sup>5</sup> gade<sup>6</sup>.*  
 ‘Oh<sup>1</sup>, it has been<sup>5</sup> (already) a month or two<sup>4</sup> since<sup>3</sup> this human<sup>2</sup> has come<sup>3</sup>; isn’t it<sup>6</sup>?’

Most disyllabic kinship terms of the type (C)ṽCV have cliticised variants with the loss of the first syllable (C)ṽ, e.g. *yāya* ‘mother’: *ya in ō ya ō ya* ‘O mother, mother’; the clitic *re* is used when addressing a familiar person or personified animal, e.g.

*naṅi<sup>1</sup> sidaṭ re<sup>2</sup>.* ‘Give<sup>2</sup> me<sup>1</sup> (also) some<sup>2</sup>.’  
*surḍu re<sup>1</sup> yā aylī<sup>2</sup>.* ‘Hey, look<sup>1</sup> at this girl<sup>2</sup>.’

A class of eight monosyllabic particles occurs in declarative and imperative sentences in construction with whole phrases or clauses, viz. *le, me, ni, lu, li, ta, ge, su*; *le* means ‘somehow, no doubt, then, never mind, etc.’, e.g.

*naṅi<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> tinad<sup>3</sup> le<sup>4</sup> su<sup>5</sup>; nān<sup>6</sup> elag<sup>7</sup> āna<sup>8</sup> le<sup>9</sup>.*  
 ‘It will eat<sup>3</sup> me<sup>1</sup> also<sup>2</sup>, see<sup>5</sup> I’m sure<sup>4</sup>; how<sup>7</sup> will<sup>8</sup> I<sup>6</sup> be<sup>8</sup>, then<sup>9</sup>?’  
*sa<sup>1</sup> lu<sup>2</sup> sonaṭ<sup>3</sup>.*  
 ‘Get along<sup>1</sup>, dear<sup>2</sup>, let us go<sup>3</sup>.’  
*nēnru<sup>1</sup> sona<sup>2</sup> sūna<sup>3</sup> ge<sup>4</sup>...*  
 ‘I shall go<sup>2</sup> and see<sup>3</sup> today<sup>1</sup>, then<sup>4</sup>.’

*ge* often occurs as a narrative marker in story telling.

## 9.8 Syntax

Vocatives and interjections are syntactically autonomous and can be treated as minor sentences. They may be followed by major (or normal) sentences with which they are related only at the discourse level. Personal names, descriptive titles, kinship terms may be optionally preceded by certain bound or free forms (simple or iterative) which can be called pre-vocatives, e.g. *ō, ē, ōr, ore, ale*, etc. Some of these signal the gender of the addressee. Kinship terms become enclitics losing the initial syllable (C)ṽ, e.g. *ō ya ō ya* ‘O mother, mother’ (*yāya* ‘mother’), *ō ba ō ba* ‘O father, father’ (*buba* ‘father’), *atek na* ‘Brother Atek’ (*na* from *ana*), *ale ma ale mi* ‘hello uncle, hello aunt’ (*māma* ‘uncle’, *mīmi* ‘aunt’), *ore ore* (in addressing a male person), *Bitek* ‘hey, Bitek’, *ore bābu guruṅu* ‘O sir Priest’.

Interjections can be more than one word. Sometimes, kinship terms occur as the first constituent of interjectional expressions, e.g. surprise: *aba gaṅḍe, ana gaṅḍe*; sorrow: *ōho, pāpam* (lit. ‘sin, pity’), *rām rām* ‘O God!’; anger: *nores labam!* ‘tiger’s prey’, *sigu sigu* ‘shame, shame’; endearment: *ale (ale)*; attention drawing: *o<sup>2</sup>o* ‘yes’ (in listening to a story), *sile sile* ‘no no’.

A sentence can be simple, complex or compound. A simple sentence has one main clause; a complex sentence has one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses; a compound sentence has more than one main clause connected by conjunctions. A simple sentence has the following phrase structure:

1.  $S \rightarrow NP + (\text{Adv-time}) + (\text{Adv-place}) + \text{Pred} + (\text{Cl})$
2.  $\text{Pred} \rightarrow (\text{Comp}) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{VP} \end{array} \right\}$
3.  $\text{Comp} \rightarrow \text{NP} \approx \text{Case}$
4.  $\text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{Adv-manner}) + \text{V}$
5.  $\text{V} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{NP-obj.}) \approx \text{V}_{\text{tr}} \\ \text{V}_{\text{int}} \end{array} \right\}$
6.  $\text{Cl} \rightarrow e, le, li, lu, su, \text{ etc. (see clitics above)}$

These rules generate two kinds of sentences, verbal predications and nominal predications. Nominal predications, often called equative sentences, have the structure NP + NP in which the second NP functions as predicate, e.g. *vani*<sup>1</sup> *pēru*<sup>2</sup> *soṭa*<sup>3</sup> 'his<sup>1</sup> name<sup>2</sup> [NP] (is) Soṭa<sup>3</sup>[NP]'. A verb phrase develops into an optional string of adverbial of manner and finite verb; if the finite verb is transitive, it has an optional string of direct object, i.e. NP carrying accusative-dative case, otherwise it is intransitive. A complement is a NP with any non-nominative case and it occurs as a predicative complement conditioned by the selectional restrictions imposed by the finite verb or the predicate NP. There can be more than one complement in a simple sentence but with different case relations. The symbol '+' indicates flexible ordering of the element that it follows, but '≈' represents stringent ordering. Rules of clitic movement have not been formulated.

7.  $\text{NP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{AdjP}) \approx \text{Nn} \\ \text{Pron} \end{array} \right\}$

A noun phrase can be a noun preceded optionally by an adjectival phrase or a pronoun.

8.  $\text{AdjP} \rightarrow (\text{Det}) \approx (\text{Num}) \approx (\text{Quan}) \approx (\text{Poss}) \approx (\text{Des})$

(At least one of the elements must be non-null.)

9.  $\text{AdvP-time} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ time} \\ - \text{ count} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{Adv-time} \end{array} \right\}$
10.  $\text{AdvP-place} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ place} \\ - \text{ count} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{Adv-place} \end{array} \right\}$

$$11. \text{ AdvP-manner} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{AdjP} \} \\ \{ \text{NP} \} \\ \text{Adv-manner} \end{array} \right\} \approx \text{lakenḍa}$$

An adjectival phrase is developed into a maximum of five elements which occur in a particular order. An adverbial of time or place can be a NP marked for the semantic features time or place, or an adverb of time or place which cannot occur as subject or object NP. The features [+time] and [+place] may be realised as postpositions of time and place, if the head noun of NP does not carry these semantic features lexically. An NP with a count noun as head, such as *ruṇḍi dēsemku* ‘two countries’, can occur as subject NP unlike adverbs of time and place.

**Examples of Phrases**

NP:	<i>ruṇḍi<sup>1</sup> muṭiṅ<sup>2</sup> pūṅu<sup>3</sup></i>	‘two <sup>1</sup> handfuls <sup>2</sup> of flowers <sup>3</sup> ’
	<i>mā<sup>1</sup> yāya<sup>2</sup> buba<sup>3</sup> mokom<sup>4</sup></i>	‘faces <sup>4</sup> of my <sup>1</sup> mother <sup>2</sup> and father <sup>3</sup> ’
	<i>aya<sup>1</sup> maṛisi<sup>2</sup></i>	‘that <sup>1</sup> son <sup>2</sup> ’
	<i>kogri<sup>1</sup> kogri<sup>2</sup> pāseṅ<sup>3</sup></i>	‘small <sup>1</sup> small <sup>2</sup> waist clothes <sup>3</sup> ’ ( <i>pāseṅ</i> from Telugu <i>pance</i> ).

AdvP-time may be any NP carrying a postposition of time or a simple adverb of time, e.g. *niso<sup>1</sup> sikaṭ-daka<sup>2</sup>* ‘until it<sup>2</sup> got this<sup>1</sup> dark<sup>2</sup>’, *dinami* ‘daily’.

AdvP-place may be any NP inflected in the locative or carrying a postposition denoting direction or place or a simple adverb of place, e.g. *bōru<sup>1</sup> maran<sup>2</sup> aḍgi<sup>3</sup>* ‘under<sup>3</sup> the banyan<sup>1</sup> tree<sup>2</sup>’, *dani<sup>1</sup> aysi<sup>2</sup> aposi<sup>3</sup> ban<sup>4</sup>* ‘to the place<sup>4</sup> of its<sup>1</sup> mother<sup>2</sup> and father<sup>3</sup>’.

AdvP-manner may be *meleka* ‘slowly’, *nela<sup>1</sup> podu<sup>2</sup> lakenḍa<sup>3</sup>* ‘like<sup>3</sup> the moon<sup>1</sup> and the sun<sup>2</sup>’, *mī<sup>1</sup> lakenḍa<sup>2</sup>* ‘like<sup>2</sup> you<sup>1</sup>’.

VP consists minimally of a finite verb, simple, complex or compound, e.g. *māp<sup>1</sup>* (NP-subj.) *ba<sup>2</sup>* (Cl.) *anam<sup>3</sup>* (NP-obj.) *uṇaṭ<sup>4</sup>* (V) ‘we<sup>1</sup> also<sup>2</sup> will eat<sup>4</sup> food<sup>3</sup>’.

**Complex Sentences**

There are several types of subordinate clauses.

Any NP or an AdvP can be converted into a relative or relative-like clause by changing the finite verb into an adnominal form and moving it to the position preceding the noun head as its attributive. Rule 7 can be expanded to generate a relative clause in a complex sentence by making an S an alternative to AdjP.

$$7'. \text{ NP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{AdjP} \} \\ \{ \text{S} \} \\ \text{Pron} \end{array} \right\} \approx \text{N}^n$$

<i>vāṅru<sup>1</sup> iḍti maRi<sup>2</sup> banti pūṅu<sup>3</sup></i>	‘the marigold flowers <sup>3</sup> (that) he <sup>1</sup> had placed <sup>2</sup> ’
(‘←’ indicates ‘is a transform of’)	(lit. he <sup>1</sup> -the ones placed <sup>2</sup> -marigold flowers <sup>3</sup> )
← <i>vāṅru<sup>1</sup> banti pūṅu<sup>2</sup> iḍta maRan<sup>3</sup></i>	‘he <sup>1</sup> had placed <sup>2</sup> the marigold flowers <sup>3</sup> ’

In the case of a subject relative clause, the head noun may be replaced by a derivative pronominal suffix, *-k-an* (masc. sing.), *-k-ad* (non-masc. sing.), etc., as in

*nūlud<sup>1</sup> maṣṣi<sup>2</sup> ḍigiti-kan<sup>3</sup>.*

'The man who descended<sup>3</sup> having stepped<sup>2</sup> on the string<sup>1</sup>.'

⇐ *vāṅṅu<sup>1</sup> nūlud<sup>2</sup> maṣṣi<sup>3</sup> ḍigitan<sup>4</sup>.*

'He<sup>1</sup> descended<sup>4</sup> having stepped on<sup>3</sup> the string<sup>2</sup>.'

A relative-like clause is formed by using a word or postposition denoting time or place as head of the clause:

*nān<sup>1</sup> muṅal<sup>2</sup> nī ban<sup>3</sup> vāṭi<sup>4</sup> vale<sup>5</sup>.*

'At the time<sup>5</sup> that I<sup>1</sup> came<sup>4</sup> to you<sup>3</sup> before<sup>2</sup>.'

⇐ *nān<sup>1</sup> muṅal<sup>2</sup> nī ban<sup>3</sup> vāṭa<sup>4</sup>; nastivale<sup>5</sup>.*

'I came<sup>4</sup> to you<sup>3</sup> before<sup>2</sup>; that time<sup>5</sup>.'

*kāki<sup>1</sup> kāṛ<sup>2</sup> in<sup>3</sup> i<sup>3</sup> ban<sup>4</sup>.*

'Where<sup>4</sup> a crow<sup>1</sup> does not say<sup>3</sup> "caw"<sup>2</sup>.'

⇐ *bān<sup>1</sup> kāki<sup>2</sup> kāṛ<sup>3</sup> in<sup>4</sup> e<sup>4</sup>.*

'There<sup>1</sup> a crow<sup>2</sup> does not say<sup>4</sup> "caw"<sup>3</sup>.'

A manner clause has *lakeṇḍa* as head, e.g.

*pūṅu<sup>1</sup> koyzi<sup>2</sup> nīnū<sup>3</sup> alpati<sup>4</sup> lakeṇḍa<sup>5</sup> alpa<sup>6</sup> a<sup>6</sup>.*

'Having cut<sup>2</sup> the flowers<sup>1</sup>, sew (them)<sup>6</sup> as<sup>5</sup> you<sup>3</sup> had sewn (before)<sup>4</sup>.'

Quotative complementiser *izi* 'having said': with finite verbs of speech or thought, a sentence is subordinated to the main clause by the complementiser *izi*, e.g.

*'radu bābu sonaṭ le' izi variṅ kūktan.*

'"Come, sir, let us go," thus he called them.'

The conditional complementisers *iRiṅa* 'if one said', and *aRiṅa* 'in that case, but then' are added to simple sentences to create dependent clauses, e.g.

*ēl<sup>1</sup> vāṭa<sup>2</sup> iRiṅa<sup>3</sup>, tina pokna<sup>4</sup>.*

'If<sup>3</sup> I came<sup>2</sup> now<sup>1</sup>, I would eat (you) up<sup>4</sup>.'

The interrogative complementiser {o ~ no} embeds finite predicates. The resultant complex sentence is sometimes a correlative relative clause, e.g.

*[mā<sup>1</sup> kīdu<sup>2</sup> inika<sup>3</sup> manad<sup>4</sup>] o dani<sup>5</sup> pēru<sup>6</sup> veRtu<sup>7</sup>.*

'Tell us<sup>7</sup> the name<sup>6</sup> of that<sup>5</sup> [what<sup>3</sup> is<sup>4</sup> in our<sup>1</sup> hands<sup>2</sup>].'

*[embe<sup>1</sup> iḍṭa<sup>2</sup>] no bān e<sup>3</sup> ḍigitan<sup>4</sup>.*

'He descended<sup>4</sup> there<sup>3</sup> [where<sup>1</sup> I put (it)<sup>2</sup>].'

All non-finite verbs as final constituents of clause mark them as subordinate

to the main clause, e.g.

*goneRu<sup>1</sup> mūladu<sup>2</sup> zāva<sup>3</sup> iḍi<sup>4</sup>, kaṇḍa<sup>5</sup> iḍi<sup>6</sup>, gapa<sup>7</sup> mus<sup>8</sup>a<sup>8</sup>.*

'In the kitchen<sup>1</sup> (in the) corner<sup>2</sup>, leave<sup>4</sup> the porridge<sup>3</sup>, leave<sup>6</sup> the meat<sup>5</sup> and cover (them)<sup>8</sup> with a basket<sup>7</sup>.'

Clauses with conditional, concessive, resultative and extensive non-finite verbs also mark subordinate clauses.

Two or more main clauses can be connected by co-ordinating conjunctions to form compound sentences, e.g.

{ e ~ ne } (*e* after a consonant and *ne* after a vowel) 'and':

*vari māṭa<sup>1</sup> veRan<sup>2</sup> e<sup>3</sup> ... visaristan<sup>4</sup> e<sup>5</sup> dāṇita riṣtan<sup>6</sup>.*

'He heard<sup>2</sup> their words<sup>1</sup>, and<sup>3</sup> got worried<sup>4</sup> and<sup>5</sup> hid himself<sup>6</sup>.'

{ o ... o ~ no ... no } 'either ... or', normally the co-ordinated clauses have the same verb identical in all respects:

*avi<sup>1</sup> zāva ne<sup>2</sup> vaRte no<sup>3</sup> kaṇḍa ne<sup>4</sup> vaRte no<sup>5</sup>.*

'They (the women)<sup>1</sup> cooked<sup>3</sup>, maybe some porridge<sup>2</sup>, or cooked<sup>5</sup> maybe some meat<sup>4</sup>.'

(Note that the identical subject is deleted in the second clause.)

{ kaka } 'therefore, then, because':

*nores<sup>1</sup> uRktad<sup>2</sup> kaka<sup>3</sup> nānu<sup>4</sup> vāta<sup>5</sup>.*

'Because<sup>3</sup> the tiger<sup>1</sup> ran away<sup>2</sup>, I<sup>4</sup> came away<sup>5</sup>.'

{ gani } 'but, notwithstanding' (probably borrowed from Telugu *kāni/gāni* 'but')

*vizu dariṇ<sup>1</sup> son<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> gani<sup>3</sup> yā<sup>4</sup> dariṇ<sup>5</sup> sonma<sup>6</sup>.*

'Go<sup>2</sup> in any direction<sup>1</sup>, but<sup>3</sup> don't go<sup>6</sup> in that<sup>4</sup> direction<sup>5</sup>.'

These last two complementisers, *kaka* and *gani*, appear to be non-finite forms of the verb *ā* 'become', which throughout Dravidian has the ability to embed finite predicates. See Steever (1988).

## Bibliography

Krishnamurti, Bh. (1969) *Konḍa or Kūbi: A Dravidian Language*, Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute.

Steever, Sanford (1988) *The Serial Verb Formation in the Dravidian Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

— (1993) *From Analysis to Synthesis: The Development of Complex Verb Morphology in the Dravidian Languages*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

---

# 10 Gondī

*Sanford B. Steever*

## 10.1 Introduction

Gondī belongs to the South-Central branch of Dravidian. It is spoken by perhaps two million people in the central Indian states of Maharashtra (1,300,000), Madhya Pradesh (450,000), Andhra Pradesh (270,000) and Orissa (84,000). Gondī's extensive dialect variation may be attributed to several factors: it covers a wide geographic area, has no written tradition and lacks official status.

As a South-Central Dravidian language, Gondī belongs to the same subgroup as Telugu, Koṇḍa, Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Manda. Like Telugu and Koṇḍa, but unlike the other four, Gondī lacks a system of object–verb agreement. Like Old Telugu, but unlike Koṇḍa, Gondī still uses serial verb constructions with the auxiliary verb *ā* 'become' (DEDR 333) in the negative conjugation. And, unlike the remaining South-Central languages, certain dialects of Gondī have lost contrastive vowel length.

Traditional accounts hold that Gondī once extended from the Godavari River north across the Deccan Plateau to the Vindhya Mountains. Such a broad geographic dispersion would have naturally contributed to the proliferation of dialects. When Muslim writers chronicled the region in the late medieval period, they named it Gondwana after the people living there and the language they spoke. Gonds do not use the term Gondī themselves. The term they prefer, if they speak Gondī at all, is *koytor*, which probably derives from the Dravidian etymon for 'mountain' (DEDR 2176, \**kō*) or possibly 'hill' (DEDR 1864 \**kun̄tu*). In Muria Gondī, the dialect presented here, the term *koytoR* applies to males, *koytor* to females.

Gondī is a non-literary language: no written records of the language exist before the middle of the nineteenth century CE. Historical accounts are therefore fragmentary. Reconstruction of the linguistic milieu suggests an extended period of co-existence with other language communities. Languages from three families converge here: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and the Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic. The linguistic complexity of the situation has been muddled by the indiscriminate application of the terms Gond and Gondī to all people who inhabit Gondwana, including Bhatras, Halbas, Kolams, Parjas and Gadabas. The first two groups speak Indo-Aryan languages, the next two speak Dravidian languages, and the last, the Gadabas, includes two subgroups, one speaking a Dravidian,

the other a Munda language. Moreover, the Dravidian languages in this area belong to two subgroups: South-Central Dravidian, which includes Telugu and Gondi, and Central Dravidian, which includes Kolami, Parji and Konekor Gadaba.

Central India has witnessed political struggles for nearly two millennia. Different groups have successively ruled the territory in which Gondi is spoken, and have brought with them such languages as Hindi, Marathi, Telugu and English, which functioned more or less as administrative languages within the area. This linguistic contact has naturally left its mark on Gondi. With India's independence and the creation of states along linguistic lines, Gondi, as a non-official language of the Indian Union, came by legislative fiat to be spoken in four different states. Today Gondi speakers live in eastern Maharashtra, southern Madhya Pradesh, southwest Orissa and northwest Andhra Pradesh whose respective state languages are Marathi, Hindi, Oriya and Telugu.

These factors contribute to the diversity of dialects, as well as the lack of a recognised standard variety of the language. Only half of those who identify themselves as Gonds speak Gondi. Conversely, certain groups of non-Gonds speak Gondi as a second language. Of these latter, the most striking group is the Pardhans, a band of singers and reciters who preserve traditional Gondi oral literature.

Though some word lists predate it, Hislop's (1866) study is the first to describe Gondi as a separate language. Grierson's (1906) linguistic survey records several varieties of the language, but an adequate dialect survey is still lacking. More recently, linguists have described or identified several dialects, but have yet to catalogue all varieties of the language. The isoglosses that differentiate these dialects are phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical. Perhaps the best known are the Adilabad and Koya dialects, spoken in the Adilabad District in northwest Andhra Pradesh. P.S. Subrahmanyam (1968) describes and analyses these dialects, while Tyler (1969) describes the Koya dialect. Another dialect, based on a preliminary survey, is the Maria dialect spoken in the Chanda District of neighbouring Madhya Pradesh. Others spoken further afield in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh include the Betul and Dorli dialects. One further dialect, and the basis of this chapter, is Muria Gondi. Studied intensively by Andres (1977), Muria Gondi is spoken in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh. All dialects of Gondi appear to cluster into one of two sets on the basis of shared features: one set is spoken towards the northwest of the Gondi-speaking area, the other towards the southeast. Muria Gondi belongs to the latter set of dialects.

The Muria Gonds live on a plateau in the Bastar District. Their settlements usually stand atop ridges and their rice fields lower down the slopes. One social institution that distinguishes the Muria Gonds from other Gond communities (such as the Raj Gonds of Adilabad in Andhra Pradesh) but unites them with certain Munda-speaking groups, is the *goṭṭul* – a dormitory in which unmarried young men and women live. Muria Gond clans are divided into two moieties, called *par*, probably from \**pāṭu* 'share, lot' (< DEDR 3852 *paṭu* 'befall', DEDR

4065). Membership of a moiety determines how Muria Gonds address each other and whom they may marry. For example, members of a single moiety address other members of that moiety with kin terms rather than names. Further, the different families in a moiety may share a religious centre, called a *manda* (DEDR 4777 \**manru* ‘assembly hall, court’, a nominal derivative of *man* ‘be located’, DEDR 4778).

## 10.2 Phonology

The phonology of Muria Gonḍi generally resembles that of the other South-Central languages. What is unique, however, is its treatment of vowel length. In Gonḍi, as in the other South-Central languages, the phonemic distinction between long and short vowels has been neutralised in non-initial syllables of the word. Andres’ (1977) analysis of Muria Gonḍi shows that this dialect has carried this neutralisation into initial syllables as well. The contrast between long and short vowels is thus no longer phonemic.

Muria Gonḍi has five qualitatively contrastive vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*, *o* and *e*. In phonetic transcription, vowels exhibit two further contrasts: they may be nasalised or oral; they may be long or short. Nasalisation and length are, however, not phonemic. All five vowels appear in initial, medial and final position: *ih* ‘to split’, *eh* ‘to jounce’, *ah* ‘to stretch out’, *oh* ‘to itch’, *uh* ‘to give to drink’; *kisse vaRR* ‘to mourn’, *kesseR* ‘knife’, *kassiṅ* ‘fruit starters’, *kossoy* ‘soot’, *kuss’iṅ* ‘to let drop out’; *atti* ‘you went’, *atte* ‘she went (emph.)’, *atta* ‘she has gone’, *attu* ‘she went’, *att’o* ‘she won’t carry on her hip’.

Andres uses the symbol /N/ to represent the nasalisation of a preceding long vowel. This segment appears in the morphophonemic ‘spelling’ of a word but does not function as a consonant when determining vowel length. No phonetically short vowels are nasalised, and no root ends with just /N/.

Vowel length depends on phonological and morphological criteria. Gonḍi has both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, but the issue of length arises only in initial syllables. Syllables in initial position may consist of an optional consonant, a vowel and several consonants, or #(C<sub>0</sub>)V(C<sub>0</sub><sup>3</sup>). When the vocalic nucleus is followed by two or more tautosyllabic consonants, the vowel is pronounced short #(C)V̇CC; otherwise it is pronounced long, #(C)V̇(C<sub>0</sub><sup>1</sup>). In polysyllabic words, the composition of the second syllable may in some cases influence the first. Although the sequence #(C)VCCV- is generally syllabified as #(C)VCC.V-, certain consonant clusters are not. Most of these exceptions consist of an obstruent plus a liquid, and are syllabified as #(C)VC.C-, e.g. *kasra* ‘rope’ is pronounced [kās.ra]. The diacritic ‘ optionally appears in such a cluster, e.g. *kas’ra*, as a reminder that it doesn’t follow the more general pattern.

There are unexpected short vowels, which occur only when the postvocalic consonant is *R* or *r*. [vaɾ] ‘to leak’ contrasts with [va:ɾ] ‘to pass’, [maɾ] ‘son’ contrasts with [ma:ɾ] ‘bamboo cot’. Andres spells the words containing phonetically short vowels with a geminate stop at the systematic phonemic level. Thus the

four words are phonemically: /vaɾɾ/, /vaɾ/, /maRR/ and /maR/. As these two consonants never occur phonetically long, a rule shortens the geminates after vowel length is assigned. Gondi morphophonology supports this step. Certain suffixes exhibit allomorphic variation between voiceless and voiced counterparts. The oblique marker of nouns *-t-* has [t] and [d] allomorphs: [d] occurs after such geminates as *ll*, *vv* and *yy* while [t] occurs after single *v* and *y*. Where Andres postulates *r* or *R*, [t] appears; where she postulates underlying *rr* or *RR*, [d] appears. Thus, the dative–accusative of ‘chicken’ consists of the root *koRR-*, the oblique marker *-t-* and the dative–accusative suffix *-un*, *koRR-t-un*, and is pronounced [koRdu:n]. The dative–accusative of ‘water’ consists of the root *eR-*, the oblique marker *-t-* and the dative–accusative suffix *-un*, which is pronounced [e:Rtu:n].

Unexpected long vowels also occur when a consonant cluster is formed by adding a consonantal-initial morpheme after a morpheme ending in a single consonant. According to the general patterns above, [pa:lni:y] ‘butter’ should have a short vowel in the first syllable. But this word is a transparent compound of [pa:l] ‘milk’ and [ni:y] ‘oil’, phonemically /pa:l’niy/. The plural of [ka:l] ‘foot’ is [ka:lk] ‘feet’ not \*[kalk]. The plural marker *-k* introduces a morpheme boundary so the plural is phonemically /ka:l’k/. Similarly, the verb [to:hta:n] ‘I showed’ consists of the root *toh-*, the past tense marker *-t-* and a personal ending, phonemically /toh’-t-an/. Andres extends the mnemonic use of the diacritic ‘ to these cases: it reminds the reader that the cluster results from a productive morphological process. These examples require revision of the rule governing vowel length: vowel length is predictable in terms of morphemes, not syllables.

Certain roots with the shape #(C<sub>1</sub>)VC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub> appear not to justify the insertion of a morpheme boundary between C<sub>2</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>, e.g. [de:hk] ‘jump up and down’. Andres shows they are historically complex stems consisting of a basic verb root (here /de:v/ ‘jump’) and the plural action suffix *-k*; hence, *deh’k*. Other exceptions include recently borrowed words: [sa:yke:l] ‘bicycle’, [da:kɕe:r] ‘doctor’, [a:sku:r] ‘axle’, [so:vta] ‘overnight’ (< Halbi). One of the few non-conforming words with a Dravidian pedigree is [po:rd] ‘sun’ (DEDR 4559 \**pozutu*); some speakers, particularly younger ones, do regularise this as [po:rd]. These words are marked as exceptional with a following asterisk, i.e. *saykel\**, *dakɕer\**, *askur\**, *sovta\**, and *po:rd\**.

Generally, vowels in non-initial syllables are short if followed by two or more tautosyllabic consonants; otherwise, they are long. Here, too, certain refinements are needed. A vowel may appear short before an *h* in non-initial syllables. There are no vowel sequences within individual morphemes; when such sequences arise in the process of word formation, the second vowel in the sequence is generally deleted.

Muria Gondi has twenty-one consonants: ten stops: *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *t̪*, *d̪*, *c*, *j*, *k*, *g*; three nasals: *m*, *n*, *ɲ*; one fricative: *s*; three approximants: *v*, *y*, *h*; one lateral: *l*; two trills: *r*, *R*; and one flap: *ɾ*. Aspiration is not distinctive in this dialect of Gondi. The segment /N/, which represents the nasalisation of a preceding vowel, can appear in the ‘spelling’ of a word. While sequences of up to five consonants

may appear intervocalically within a word, no clusters may appear at the beginning of a word. Many words in transcription appear to end with a consonant; however, an enunciative vowel, either *i* or *u*, is often added in pronunciation. Certain final geminate clusters may be reduced. Muria Gonḍi morphophonology is elaborate, so that the segmentation of surface forms is often approximate. Stress, which is non-phonemic, falls on the initial syllable of a word.

Gonḍi lacks a written literary tradition. Recent attempts to reduce the language to writing have generally employed the Devanagari writing system in which Hindi is written.

### 10.3 Morphology and the Parts of Speech

Muria Gonḍi morphology distinguishes free forms, or words, from clitics which necessarily combine with free forms. Gonḍi morphology is agglutinating and strictly suffixal. Words may consist of a root, derivative suffix and inflectional suffixes, in that order. Words are basic or derived, simple or compound. Derived words, but not basic words, contain derivative suffixes. Compound words contain an internal word boundary, while simple words do not.

Gonḍi parts of speech distinguish primarily between nominal and verbal forms. Nominal forms bear inflections for case, and participate in the system of deictic pro-forms. Included under this heading are nouns, personal pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. Verbal forms bear inflections for such verbal categories as tense, and participate in the opposition of positive and negative polarity.

Verb-to-noun derivation utilises the morphological device of derivative suffixes. Noun-to-verb derivation, by contrast, uses the syntactic device of compounding. Among nominal forms, derivational morphology may be elaborate and inflectional morphology relatively simple. Among verb forms, inflectional morphology is highly developed, and derivational morphology relatively simple. These patterns correlate with the observation that the set of verbal bases is largely closed, while the set of nominal bases is open.

In Muria Gonḍi, rules of subject–predicate agreement apply to nominals and verbals alike, adding personal endings that mark person, number and gender. If a word occurs in a designated predicate position, it bears personal endings that agree in person, number and gender with its subject. In specific circumstances, adjectives agree with the nouns they modify. The concord markers are virtually the same as the personal endings used in subject–predicate agreement.

### 10.4 Nominal Morphology

#### Nouns

Nouns are basic or derived, simple or compound. Derived nouns come from other nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs. Compound nouns consist of several types. The compound *kall-goṭiṅ* ‘stone pellets’ consists of *kall* ‘stone’ and *goṭiṅ*

'pellet'; *pal-niyy* 'butter', of *pal* 'milk' and *niyy* 'oil'; *batt-nul* 'cotton thread' of *batt* 'cotton' and *nul* 'thread'. Further, *sarkar-peysan* 'government money' consists of *sarkar* 'government' and *peysan* 'money, coins'; *koRR-meNj* 'hen's egg', of *koRR* 'chicken' and *meNj* 'egg'; and *marm-paṭan* 'wedding songs', of *marm* 'wedding' and *paṭan* 'songs'.

Kin classifier compounds consist of a kin term and a masculine or feminine classifier. The bare kin term is used for a relative of the speaker or addressee; otherwise, kin classifier compounds are used. *maRR-haral* 'someone else's son (not yours or mine)' consists of the kin term *maRR* 'son' and the male classifier *-haral* (DEDR 2460); *ar-hari* 'someone else's wife (not yours or mine)' consists of *ar* 'wife' and the female classifier *-hari*.

Nouns typically mark gender, number and case. Gondi has three genders, human and non-human (also, neuter), with human subdivided into feminine and masculine. Gondi distinguishes singular from plural number, but plural number may also involve honorification. There are six cases: nominative, vocative, dative-accusative, genitive, instrumental-locative, and associative-ablative. The oblique of a noun is the basis for all cases other than the nominative.

Gender determines much of a noun's grammar: the cases it occurs with, the allomorphy of certain suffixes, etc. Human nouns, masculine and feminine, select the oblique suffix *-n-*; neuter nouns select *-ṭ-*. Feminine nouns typically select the plural allomorph *-k-* and the honorific suffixes *-k-* and *-s-*. Masculine nouns select the plural allomorphs *-lor-*, *-r* or *-l* and the honorific suffixes *-lor* and *-l*. Neuter nouns select the plural suffixes *-iñ* or *-k*, and no honorific suffixes. Each gender has subclasses.

Honorific suffixes occur only on human nouns, mostly titles and names. The allomorphs are *-k-*, *-s-*, *-lor-*, *-l*. The first and third are normally used by a speaker to refer to someone older or in a position of respect. If the term is a name or refers to one's own relative, the honorific suffix is attached to that term; if it refers to someone else's relative, the honorific suffix appears in the genitive form of the name of the person whose relative it is (with the oblique form *-kun*, as in example (2a)).

Feminine nouns typically refer to females, but include two neuter nouns as well (see Table 10.1).

**Table 10.1 Honorific suffixes: female nouns**

Stem	Gloss	Oblique	Plural	Honorific 1	Honorific 2
yayal	'mother'	yayan-	yaya.s-(k)	yaya.s-(ku)	yayas
pegid	'daughter'	pegid't-	peki.s-(k)	pegi.s-(ku)	pekis
bapi	'father's mother'	bapin-	bapi.s-(k)	bapi.s-(ku)	bapis
ṭali	'cow'	ṭalin-	ṭali.s-(k)		
reḍiyō	'radio'	reḍiyon-	reḍiyō.s-(k)		
			~ reḍiyon		

Masculine nouns all refer to human males (see Table 10.2).

**Table 10.2** Honorific suffixes: male nouns

Stem	Gloss	Oblique	Plural	Honorific1	Honorific2
pepi	'father's elder brother'	pepin-	pepi-lor	pepi-lor	pepil-
mamal	'mother's brother'	maman-	mamalar	mamalar	mamal-
leyyoR maRR	'young man' 'son'	leyyon- maRRin-	makk tammohk	leyyor	
tammo R	'younger brother'	tammoRn-			
maney	'person'	maneyt-	maney'lor ~ mul		

All nouns that denote non-human objects, except *ṭali* 'cow' and *reḍiyo* 'radio', are neuter. Neuters include de-adjectival nouns denoting human females. Neuter nouns do not mark honorification, and seem to lack vocative forms.

**Table 10.3** Oblique and plural forms of some neuter nouns in Muria Gondi

Stem	Gloss	Oblique	Plural	DEDR
kall	'stone'	kadd-	kalk	1298
kal	'foot'	kad-	kal'k	1479
arj	'bear'	arjt-	arsk	857
kunj	'pick'	kunjt-	kus'k	?1719
koRR	'chicken'	koRRd-	kokk	2248
ap	'thorn'	apt-	ah'k	2468
lon	'house'	lot-	lok	494
min	'fish'	min't-	min'k	4885
marra	'tree'	marrat-	marrak	4711
arm	'buffalo'	arm't-	armiñ	816
paṭa	'song'	paṭat-	paṭañ	4065
sisī	'bottle'	sisit-	sisīñ	—

Gender conditions case. Human nouns do not occur in the locative-instrumental; and, further, feminine nouns do not occur in the associative-ablative. Gaps in the declension of human nouns are typically filled by postpositional phrases. For example, (2e) uses a postpositional phrase to substitute for the lack of an associative-ablative form.

The nominative case is unmarked morphologically and syntactically. Nouns in the nominative function as the subject of a clause (1a–c), a predicate nominal (1b) or a partitive object (1c).

- (1) a. *suliyaro aṭṭin'ta.*  
Suliyaro-nom cook-imprf-npst-3n  
'Suliyaro is cooking.'
- b. *veRu nava tammoR.*  
this.man-nom my-gen younger.brother-nom  
'This one is my younger brother.'
- c. *nanna eR unnenan.*  
I-nom water-nom drink-subj-1s  
'I would like to drink some water.'

The five remaining cases combine with the noun's oblique form. In plurals, the oblique is added to the plural marker. The genitive case has two functions. It serves adnominally to mark a relation, such as possession or source, with another noun (2a–d). And certain postpositions govern the genitive case of the nouns they combine with (2e–g). The genitive is marked by *-a* or  $\emptyset$ . The  $\emptyset$  allomorph occurs with human honorific nouns that take the oblique marker *-kun*; *-a* occurs elsewhere.

- (2) a. *suliyaros'kun- $\emptyset$  babo-haral illeR.*  
Suliyaro-hon-obl-gen father-cls-nom be.located-neg-3m  
'Suliyaro's father is not here.'
- b. *idd pite belosan-a.*  
this ribbon-nom Belosa-gen  
'This ribbon is Belosa's.'
- c. *niy-a motor mannta?*  
you-s-gen car-nom be-imprf-prs-3nm  
'Do you have a car?' lit. 'Does your car exist?'
- d. *idd kuṭi marrat-a.*  
this-nm pin-nom wood-gen  
'This pin is made of wood.'
- e. *niy-a sudda vay'kan.*  
you-s-gen company come-pdc-1s  
'I will come with you.'
- f. *jelo-n-agga mannta.*  
Jelo-gen-place stay-imprf-prs-3nm  
'She stays at Jelo's place.'
- g. *buto nav-a poṭṭar arttu.*  
work-nom I-gen on.top fall-prf-pst-3nm  
'The work fell on me.'

The dative-accusative case marks direct and indirect objects. Applied to neuter nouns, it signals a non-partitive object. The dative-accusative allomorphs are *-kun*, *-un*, and  $\emptyset$ . *-kun* occurs with all masculine plural nouns and the first and second person pronouns; *-un* with all nouns that select the *-t-* oblique marker;  $\emptyset$

elsewhere (namely, where the oblique markers *-kun-* or *-n-* are used).

- (3) a. *eR'tun undakan.*  
water-dat/acc drink-pdc-1s  
'I will drink the water.'
- b.  $S_1[pekan S_2[niyyi us'ma]S_2 inntorom]S_1$ .  
boy-dat/acc oil-nom smear-neg-imp tell-imp-impf-npst-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
'We tell a boy, "Don't apply any oil".'
- c. *vehhoR kalla nakun.*  
tell-neg-3m certainly I-dat/acc  
'He certainly didn't tell me.'
- d. *bara kiya niya reḍiyon tavvi?*  
why you-2-gen radio-dat/acc bring-neg-2s  
'Why didn't you bring your radio?'
- e. *pen'tun kaRsin'torom.*  
god-dat/acc dance-imp-impf-npst-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
'We dance playfully for the god.'

The instrumental-locative case expresses an object's use as an instrument in an activity or its location. The location is a goal or a containing location in an event or activity. The case suffix is *-e*, glossed variously as 'with', 'by', 'into', 'in', 'onto' or 'on'. Human nouns do not take this suffix; instead, they use postpositional phrases with *agga* 'there' or *akke* 'there' to express location, as in (2f) above.

- (4) a. *ned-e arrta.*  
ground-inst/loc fall-prf-pst-3m  
'He has fallen on the ground.'
- b. *ned-e minji mannta.*  
ground-inst/loc embed-cnj be-imp-impf-prs-3nm  
'It is embedded in the ground.'
- c. *kutud-e uddkan.*  
stool-inst/loc sit-pdc-1s  
'I will sit on the stool.'
- d. *kutud-e hitoR.*  
stool-inst/loc hit-prf-pst-3m  
'He hit (someone) with a stool.'

The ablative-associative case, marked by *-ah(k)*, signals an object in close association or proximity with another, the place from which someone comes, the path along which an object moves, the place from which a person or object moves, the time from which an event is in effect.

- (5) a. *kisst-ah unjtek sinnarin sinnarin an'ta.*  
fire-abl/ass sleep-cnd patterns patterns become-imprf-npst-3nm  
'If we sleep close to the fire, we get all blotchy.'
- b. *seyn-ah seyn-ah gurin'torom.*  
companion-abl/ass companion-abl/ass lie-imprf-prs-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
'We each lie with our companion.'
- c. *idd pila ijjek-tah ayo.*  
this child-nom now-abl/ass become-neg-3nm  
'This child is not from now (i.e. it was born some time ago).'
- d. *varriy-tah karrinhin'ta?*  
air-abl/ass pass-caus-imprf-npst-3n  
'Does it (the airplane) make you go through the air?'
- e. *bekke-dah ki bekke-dah van'ta.*  
where-abl/ass or where-abl/ass come-imprf-npst-3nm  
'It comes from somewhere or other.'
- f. *jagdel'pur't-ekke-dah vati?*  
Jagdalpur-obl-place-abl/ass come-pst-2s  
'Do you come from Jagdalpur?'

Locative postpositional phrases with more specific meanings are typically formed by combining a noun in the genitive with an inflected form of a postposition, *agga* 'there' or *akke* 'there'.

### Pronouns

The personal pronouns distinguish three persons and two numbers. While Muria Gondi lacks a pronominal distinction between inclusive and exclusive plural, this distinction is marked in the personal endings that signal subject–predicate agreement. Consider the first and second person pronouns.

	Nom.	Dat./Acc.	Gen.	Abl./Ass.	Instr./Loc.
1 singular	nanna	nakun	nava	neyah	—
2 singular	nima	nikun	niya	niyah	—
1 plural	mammaṭ	makun	mava	meyah	—
2 plural	nimaṭ	mikun	miya	miyah	—

These forms, which mark inherently human gender, lack an instrumental-locative case form. All third person pronouns mark deixis. There are six degrees of deixis in Gondi: proximal, distal, interrogative, speaker-proximal, addressee-proximal and ultra-distal. Proximal is signalled by *i-*, distal by *a-/o-* and interrogative by *bo-*. Consider the paradigms in Table 10.4.

The lack of ablative-associative and instrumental-locative case forms in these paradigms is supplemented by postpositional phrases based on *agga* 'there' and *akke* 'there'. The first expresses bounded, limited locations; the second, general locations.

**Table 10.4 Third person deixis in Gondi: proximal, distal and interrogative**

	Nom.	Dat./Acc.	Gen.	Abl./Ass.	Instr./Loc.
<b>SINGULAR</b>					
3 sing. masc.:	prox. veR	ven	vena	venah	—
	dist. oR	on	ona	onah	—
	inter. boR	bon	bona	bonah	—
3 sing. neut.:	prox. idd	idden ~ ten	iddena ~ tena	—	—
	dist. add	adden ~ tan	addena ~ tana	—	—
	inter. bodd	bodden	boddena	—	—
<b>PLURAL AND HONORIFIC 2</b>					
3 plur. masc.:	prox. ver	ver'kun	vera	verah	—
	dist. or	or'kun	ora	orah	—
	inter. bor	bor'kun	bora	borah	—
3 plur. neut.:	prox. ivv	ivven	ivvena	—	ivvne
	dist. avv	avven	avvena	—	avvne
	inter. bov	bovven	bovvena	—	bav'ne
<b>HONORIFIC 1</b>					
3 plur. masc.:	prox. ver	ver'kun	ver'kun	—	—
	dist. or	or'kun	or'kun	—	—
	inter. bor	bor'kun	bor'kun	—	—
3 plur. neut.:	prox. ivves(k)	ivves'kun	ivves'kun	—	—
	dist. avves(k)	avves'kun	avves'kun	—	—
	inter. bovves(k)	bovves'kun	bovves'kun	—	—

- (6) a. *meyagga manntoR.*  
our place be-imprf-npst-3sm  
'He lives at our place (i.e. our home).'
- b. *meyakke manntoR.*  
our place be-imprf-npst-3sm  
'He lives in our place (i.e. community, village).'

The distal pronouns are the least marked, and typically function as general-purpose third person pronouns. They appear in such contexts of neutralisation as the head of a correlative clause (7a).

- (7) a. *nima vati aske, mavan polloyin punnvi.*  
you-nom come-pst-2s that.time our-pl speech-pl know-neg-2s  
'When you came, you didn't know our language.'
- b. *nede arrtan, avven pehkikan*  
ground-inst/loc fall-prf-pst-3npl they-dat/acc pick up-pdc-1s  
'I will pick up the ones that have fallen on the ground.'

Consider the three remaining degrees of deixis. Ultra-distal forms, signalling 'way over there', are characterised by *ho-* or *h-*: *hodd ~ hadd* 'that way over there', *hona* 'that man's way over there', *hovv ~ havv* 'those things way over

there'. Similar forms exist in Kūvi; these seem historically to be compounds of \**cēn-/cēy-* 'distance' (DEDR 2807) and the distal pronouns. Speaker-proximal forms are compounds of *ill-* (cf. Kannada *illi* 'here') and proximal pronouns: *illid* 'this one close to me'. Addressee-proximal pronouns are compounds of *all-* (cf. Kannada *alli* 'there') and distal forms: *allad* 'that one close to you', *olloR* 'that man close to you'.

### Adjectives

Both functional and formal criteria define adjectives in Gondi. Functionally, adjectives modify nouns; formally, they occur prenominal or in predicate position. Many, but not all, carry personal endings to mark concord with the nouns they modify. The distinction between adjective and noun blurs because nouns may also bear these personal endings in predicate position. Furthermore, adjectives may be inflected for case, though usually not the full range of cases that nouns may bear. It is therefore often difficult to distinguish between a combination of an adjective and noun and a noun–noun compound.

Unlike most other Dravidian languages, Muria Gondi exhibits extensive adjective–noun concord. There are Dravidian sources for this phenomenon. In Tamil, for example, postposed quantifiers may show concord with the nouns they modify, so that in the phrase *maṇitar naluvar* 'four men', the numeral *naluvar* 'four men' agrees in number and gender with *maṇitar* 'men'. Further, nominals may be inflected in predicate position to agree with a subject in person, number and gender, as in Old Tamil *peṇṭir-ēm allēm* 'we are not women' (see Chapter 3). Hindi, which has extensive adjective–noun concord, may well have influenced the extension of this pattern from predicate to prenominal modifiers. As the forms serving as adjectives lose more of their nominal morphology, they may come to constitute a new part of speech.

Non-inflectable adjectives form a small set, with between twelve and fifteen members. Some such as *ḍoḍri* 'hollow', *lal* 'red' and *juvvan* 'mature' occur prenominal (8a) or in predicate position (8b).

- (8) a. *ḍoḍri marra oRṅi'nta.*  
 hollow tree-nom break-imprf-npst-3sn  
 'A hollow tree breaks.'  
 b. *igga loppa ḍoḍri mannta.*  
 here inside hollow be-imprf-npst-3sn  
 'It is hollow inside here.'

Others such as *arruk* 'thin' appear only in predicate position (9a), while still others such as *uriya* 'unmarried' appear only in prenominal position (9b).

- (9) a. *kaget arruk atan.*  
 paper-nom thin become-pfc-pst-3sn  
 'The paper is thin.'

- b. *uriya pekor tinntor.*  
 unmarried boy-pl-nom eat-impf-npst-3plm  
 'Unmarried boys can eat [it].'

The class of non-inflectable adjectives includes several quantifiers (*sappa* 'all', *dulpe* 'the whole', *uccuk* 'a few') and deictic forms (*idd* 'this', *add* 'those', *bodd* 'which').

Inflectable adjectives include nouns in the genitive case, numerals and many adnominal verb forms. Nouns in the genitive do not mark concord when the modified noun refers to the possessor's kin. Certain adjectives, noted below, modify only non-human nouns, and therefore lack gender and person marking. They are by and large cognate with nouns in other Dravidian languages.

Singular	Plural	Gloss	DEDR
<i>bata</i>	<i>bata-ñ</i>	'what kind of'	5151
<i>paṛṛana</i>	<i>paṛṛana-ñ</i>	'old'	3999
<i>paṇḍi</i>	<i>paṇḍi-ñ</i>	'ripe'	4004
<i>nattral</i>	<i>nattra-s</i>	'red'	3748
<i>pahhna</i>	<i>pahhna-ñ</i>	'fresh'	3821

- (10) a. *ivv bata-ñ kaget-iñ*  
 these-nom what.kind-pl paper-pl-nom  
 'What kind of papers are these?'
- b. *niyañ kall-k malliya-s.*  
 you-gen hair-pl-nom brown-pl  
 'Your hair is brown.'
- c. *ivv marra-k kokta-s atañ.*  
 these-nom tree-pl-nom gnarled-pl become-prf-3snm  
 'These trees are gnarled.'

Adjectives that can modify both human and non-human nouns additionally mark gender. Some occur only in predicate position, others in predicate position or pronominally.

- (11) a. *puna gattla peyyti.*  
 new-n cloth-n-nom buy-pfc-pst-2s  
 'You bought a new cloth.'
- b. *oR punoR.*  
 he-sm-nom new-3sm  
 'He is new.'
- c. *mayir pekor eNd dan'tor.*  
 big-pl-hum boy-pl-nom dance-inf go-impf-npst-3pl-hum  
 'The older boys go to dance.'

- d. *mayiñ mes'k tas'vas.*  
big-pln egg-pl lay-subj-3pln  
'They lay big eggs.'
- e. *ikkeđor leyyor annor.*  
this.place-gen-3pl-hum youth-pl go-neg-3pl  
'The young men of this place (=our village) will not go.'

Adjective–noun concord appears on possessive or genitive adjectives when the possessed noun does not refer to one's own kin. Example (12a), which exhibits concord, refers to a group of daughters not all of whom are daughters of the speaker. Example (12b) cannot have concord since the possessed noun refers to kin of the possessor. As (12c) shows, this restriction applies only to genitive pronouns, not to other adjectives in the noun phrase.

- (12) a. *mavañ miyyas'k vatañ.*  
we-gen-pl daughter-pl-nom come-pfc-3pln  
'Our daughters have come.'
- b. *nava(\*l) babal manntoR.*  
I-gen(\*-pl) father-nom be-imprf-prs-3sm  
'My father is alive.'
- c. *nava pađatoR dadal ayoR.*  
I-gen belly-gen-3sm elder.brother-nom become-neg-3sm  
'He is not my elder brother by the same mother.'
- (13) a. *arrva miyyar tattoR.*  
accept-neg-adn-f daughter-nom fetch-pfc-pst-3sm  
'He fetched a girl from a group that was not acceptable.'
- b. *oR seygo mođnoR.*  
he-nom very fat-gen-3sm  
'He is very fat.'

Numeral adjectives are typically accompanied by classifiers: *tar'k* 'entity' for non-human (14a) and *jan* 'people' for human nominals (14b).

- (14) a. *muNđ tar'k pekis attañ.*  
three entity-n-pl girl-pl go-pfc-pst-3pl  
'Three girls have gone.'
- b. *nal'vom jan annlerom.*  
four-1pl<sup>ex</sup> people go-pfc-pst-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
'Four of us had gone.'

Comparison is carried out syntactically. The object of comparison appears in the genitive case followed by the postposition *-attale/-ale* 'than'.

- (15) a. *venattale uddulor pekor kaNjin'tor.*  
 he-gen-than small-pl boy-pl-nom shoulder-impfc-prs-3n  
 'Boys smaller than him shoulder loads.'
- b. *navattale barhoR.*  
 I-gen-than old-3sm  
 'He is older than me.'

The following paradigm illustrates the adjective *barho-* 'elder' as inflected for personal endings.

Person	Singular	Plural
First	barhonan	barholal (incl.) barhorom (excl.)
Second	barhon	barhorir
Third: masculine	barhoR	barhor
non-masculine	barha	barhan

### Adverbs

Adverbs *by* and *large* appear to be defective nouns. Many may be inflected for some cases, but not all; in particular, adverbs cannot be inflected for the dative-accusative case. Syntactically, they tend not to be arguments of a verbal predicate. Semantically, they may qualify either a predicate or a sentence. Many of these so-called adverbs may bear personal endings under the proper conditions. In the simple sentence *oR ninne.t-oR* 'he (is of) yesterday', viz. 'he is the one who was here yesterday', the adverb *ninne* 'yesterday' bears a personal ending to agree in number and gender with the subject *oR* 'he'.

## 10.5 Verbal Morphology

### Roots, Stems and Conjugation Classes

Verbs mark such categories as tense or aspect. All verbs express positive or negative polarity. *Gonḍi* lacks an independent negative adverb such as English *not*, and marks negative polarity instead in the verb conjugation. The class of verb bases is closed in *Muria Gonḍi*. New verbal expressions are formed by compounding nouns with existing verb bases. A verb stem may consist of a simple verb root or a verb root and a suffix. The most common suffixes are the transitive suffix and the causative suffix.

All *Muria Gonḍi* verb stems belong to one of two major conjugation classes. Class I stems end in a consonant, select the imperative suffix *-a* and undergo no morphophonemic change in inflection. This class includes most verbs in the language, including all transitive/causative stems. Class II stems end in a long vowel, select the imperative suffix *-m* or *-∅* and undergo stem reduction in many

inflectional environments. Class II includes three subclasses. Class IIa, which corresponds largely to Class III verbs in Kūi, include *iya* 'give', *kiya* 'do, make', *eR miya* 'bathe', *hiya* 'strike', *veya* 'cook', *paya* 'strike, beat', *maya* 'be', *haya* 'die', *oya* 'take' and *noya* 'hurt, feel pain'. Class IIb, corresponding to Class IV verbs in Kūi, include *anda* 'go', *manda* 'live', *inda* 'say, think, suppose', *tinda* 'eat', *punda* 'know'. Class IIc includes two verbs, *tatta* 'bring, fetch' and *katta* 'request, reply', which appear to have historically incorporated the so-called transition particle that appears in Kūi, Kūvi, Pengo and Manda. The verb *manda* 'live' has in the negative paradigms a suppletive variant *il-* 'not be'.

The suffixes that follow the verb root to form stems exhibit allomorphy to a greater or lesser degree. Furthermore, the suffixes that follow verb stems, generally personal endings, also exhibit allomorphy.

Muria Gondi verbs have two basic categories: imperative and indicative. All imperative forms are finite; only indicative verb forms distinguish between finite and non-finite forms. Imperative forms include injunctives, whose subjects are second person, and hortatives, whose subjects are first or third person. Both occur in positive and negative polarity. Verb forms are illustrated in Table 10.5 with forms of the verb *oll* 'bend over' (DEDR 5314 \**vałai-*).

**Table 10.5 Injunctive and hortative of the verb *oll* 'bend over'**

	Positive	Negative
<b>INJUNCTIVE</b>		
2 sing.	<i>oll'a</i> 'bend over'	<i>ollma</i> 'don't bend over'
2 plur.	<i>oll'at</i> 'bend over'	<i>ollmat</i> 'don't bend over'
<b>HORTATIVE</b>		
1 sing. add.	<i>oll'in</i> 'let us bend over'	<i>ollmakin</i> 'let us not bend over'
1 plur. add.	<i>oll'it</i> 'let us bend over'	<i>ollmakit</i> 'let us not bend over'
3 sing. masc.	<i>oll'eR</i> 'let him bend over'	<i>ollmakeR</i> 'let him not bend over'
3 plur. masc.	<i>oll'ir</i> 'let them bend over'	<i>ollmakir</i> 'let them not bend over'
3 sing. non-masc.	<i>oll'in</i> 'let her/it bend over'	<i>ollmakin</i> 'let them not bend over'

The distinction between the two hortative forms *oll'in* 'let us bend over' and *oll'it* 'let us bend over' in Table 10.5 is not an inclusive-exclusive one: the former refers to a single addressee, the latter to many addressees.

Finite indicative forms agree in person, number and gender with their subjects. They additionally encode such verbal categories as aspect, tense and mood. There are two aspects (perfective and imperfective), two tenses (past and non-past) and two moods (predictive and subjunctive).

Not all implied permutations of aspect, tense and mood may be found in simple verbs. There are eight finite indicative paradigms, seven with positive and one with negative polarity. Some of the gaps are filled by syntactic constructions, as in the negative. Moreover, since the data on this dialect are fragmentary, the indicative system is not fully understood.

The finite indicative forms are: imperfective past, imperfective non-past, perfective past, perfective non-past, perfective, predictive, subjunctive and negative. The first seven encode positive polarity, the last negative polarity. The first four encode aspect and tense; the last three do not. The predictive and subjunctive encode mood: the predictive makes a stronger ontological commitment than the subjunctive to the status of the narrated event.

The **imperfective past** consists of a verb stem, the imperfective aspect marker *-n-*, the past tense marker *-t-* and a personal ending. An imperfective past form such as *oll-n-d-an* means ‘I was bending over, I used to bend over’:

	Singular	Plural
1	ollndan	ollndan (incl.) ollndom (excl.)
2	ollndi	ollndir
3 masculine	ollndoR	ollndur
non-masculine	ollndu	ollnduñ

The imperfective past indicates an ongoing (16a) or a habitual (16b) event prior to the speech event. The imperfective past of *aya* ‘become’ is idiomatically used to express kinship relations or one’s place of origin (16c).

- (16) a. *paRR van’du.*  
rain-nom come-impfc-pst-3nm  
‘It was raining.’
- b. *añndu.*  
cook-impfc-pst-3nm  
‘She used to cook.’
- c. *nava tammoR an’doR.*  
my-gen younger.brother-nom become-impfc-pst-3sm  
‘He is my younger brother.’

The **imperfective non-past** indicates that an event is ongoing (17a) or in effect (17b) at the time of the speech event.

- (17) a. *van’tonan.*  
come-impfc-npst-1s  
‘I am coming.’
- b. *mann̄ta.*  
be.located-impfc-npst-3snm  
‘She is alive’, ‘She is at home’, ‘I have one’, or ‘It is there’.

The imperfective non-past consists of a verb stem, the imperfective marker *-n-*, the non-past marker *-to-* and a personal ending:

	Singular	Plural
1	oll'in'tonan	oll'in'tolal (incl.) oll'in'torom (excl.)
2	oll'in'tun	oll'in'torir
3 masculine	oll'in'toR	oll'in'tor
non-masculine	oll'in'ta	oll'in'tañ

The **perfective past**, as shown below, refers to an event that took place before a past reference time. The event associated with the past reference time need not be expressed.

- (18) *naNgan vay'lenan, matti nima illvi.*  
 earlier come-pfc-pst-1s but you-nom be.located-neg-2s  
 'I had come earlier, but you were not there.'

Note that in (18) the perfective past *vay'lenan* establishes the past time reference of the negative verb *illvi* 'you are/were/will not be', which itself encodes no tense. The perfective and past tense markers combine to form a portmanteau morph *-le-*.

	Singular	Plural
1	oll'lenan	oll'lelal (incl.) oll'lerom (excl.)
2	oll'len	oll'lerir
3 masculine	oll'leR	oll'ler
non-masculine	oll'le	oll'leñ

The **perfective non-past** indicates that an activity has been completed, or a state come into effect, by speech time and that it has consequences relevant at speech time.

- (19) a. *udditonan.*  
 sit-pfc-npst-1s  
 'I am sitting', 'I have sat down.'  
 b. *vatonan.*  
 come-pfc-npst-1s  
 'I am coming.'  
 c. *mittas ata.*  
 good.tasting become-pfc-npst-3snm  
 'It tastes good.'

A perfective non-past verb consists of a stem, the perfective marker *-t-*, the non-past marker *-to-* and a personal ending:

	Singular	Plural
1	olltonan	olltolal (incl.) olltorom (excl.)
2	olltun	olltorir
3 masculine	olltoR	olltor
non-masculine	ollta	olltañ

The simple **perfective** does not mark tense: it indicates that an event is over. When it is the main verb of the sentence, the event is represented as over at the speech time (20a). If it is embedded in a subordinate clause, the time reference is prior to that of the main clause (20b–c).

- (20) a. *ninne vatom.*  
yesterday come-pfc-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
'We came yesterday.'
- b. *akkeḍah vati tekke, paḥe kiya vay'kom.*  
thence come-pfc-2s after reading do-inf come-pdc-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
'We will come to study after you have come back from there.'
- c. *nima vati aske, mavan polloyin punnvi ati.*  
you come-pfc-2s then our speech know-neg-2s be-prf-2s  
'When you came, you did not know our language.'

Perfective forms, as shown below, consist of a verb stem, perfective marker *-r-* and personal ending:

	Singular	Plural
1	olltan	olltal (incl.) olltom (excl.)
2	olli	olltir
3 masculine	olltoR	olltur
non-masculine	olltu	olltuñ

The **predictive** does not overtly mark tense. It has two modal uses: the first expresses that an event is likely or expected after a reference time (21a–b). The second expresses a likelihood about a state of affairs in the absence of external evidence (21c).

- (21) a. *vay'kan.*  
come-pdc-1s  
'I will come'.
- b. *day'nur.*  
go-pdc-3plm  
'They will go.'

- c. *iccohnoR ay'noR*.  
 this.big-3sm become-pdc-3sm  
 'He must be this big.'

Predictive forms consist of a stem, predictive marker and personal ending. The predictive marker is *-k-* in the first and second person, *-y-* in the third person non-masculine singular and *-n-* in the remaining third person forms.

	Singular	Plural
1	ollkan	ollkal (incl.) ollkom (excl.)
2	ollki	ollkir
3 masculine	ollnoR	ollnor
non-masculine	ollyaR	ollnuñ

The **subjunctive** makes a weaker ontological commitment than the predictive: it expresses what the subject would do – or would have done – under certain conditions. It marks neither tense nor aspect. When the main verb appears in the subjunctive without any condition stated, it expresses what the subject would do, would persist in doing or would have done (22a). In conditional sentences with an overt protasis, the main verb in the apodosis appears in the subjunctive. If the verb in the protasis appears as the non-finite conditional form, the sentence is understood as an ordinarily conditional (22b). If the verb in the protasis occurs as a subjunctive followed by the connective *tekke* 'if', the sentence is understood as a counterfactual conditional (22c).

- (22) a. *paṭaṅ keNj'cor keNj'cor likkah kevenan*.  
 songs listen-cnj listen-cnj letter make-subj-1s  
 'I would like to write while listening to songs.'
- b. *paṭaṅ vehhtek, vay'vas'k*.  
 songs play-cnd come-subj-3plnm  
 'If you played songs, they would come.'
- c. *varsameNd mann'en tekke, koḍimeNd'co peysan tallihks*  
 year.full be-subj-2s if twenty.full rupee ask.for-inf  
*ann'enan, marmin kiyalay*.  
 go-subj-1s wedding-dat/acc do-inf  
 'If you had lived here for a full year, I would have gone ahead and asked you for twenty rupees to arrange the marriage.'

Subjunctive forms are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1	oll'enan	oll'elal (incl.) oll'erom (excl.)
2	oll'en	oll'erir
3 masculine	oll'eR	oll'er
non-masculine	ollval	ollvas'k

Corresponding to these seven positive forms (i.e. imperfective past, etc.) is a single simple **negative** conjugation. It does not mark tense, aspect or mood. Negative finite forms consist of a verb stem, negative marker -v- (with allomorphic variation) and personal ending.

- (23) a. *maNdi annvi?*  
 festival go-neg-2s  
 'Aren't you going to the festival?'  
 b. *buto kiya paRRon.*  
 work do-inf be.able-neg-1s  
 'I cannot work.'

The negative conjugation is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1	oll'on	ollval (incl.) oll'om (excl.)
2	ollvi	ollvir
3 masculine	oll'oR	oll'or
non-masculine	oll'o	oll'on

Serial verb constructions are used to syntactically combine negative polarity and other verbal categories: a negative finite verb is followed by the auxiliary *aya* 'become' inflected for the desired category. Negation is encoded in the main verb and the other relevant categories in the auxiliary; both are inflected for congruent personal endings. Such constructions occur in Old Telugu, and form the basis of the past negative in Koṇḍa. The five most common negative serial verbs are the negative perfective (24b), negative imperfective past (24a), negative imperfective past, negative predictive and negative subjunctive (24c).

- (24) a. *ur'on an'dan.*  
 watch-neg-1s become-impfc-pst-1s  
 'I wasn't watching.'  
 b. *punnon atan.*  
 know-neg-1s become-pfc-1s  
 'I didn't know.'

- c. *nanna panj'on ay'enan.*  
 I-nom be.satiated-neg-1s become-subj-1s  
 'I would not get satiated.'

Muria Gondi has numerous non-finite verb forms. One major set embeds a subordinate clause under a main clause, and consists of two subclasses. The first subclass qualifies the superordinate clause in a general way, expressing comparison (25), condition (26), result (27) and anticipation (28); the subjects of the two clauses need not be the same. The second subclass specifies the main clause more specifically; the subjects of the two clauses tend to be the same. Non-finite forms belonging to the first subclass are tabulated below.

Function	Perfective	Imperfective	Negative
Manner/Comparison	oll-t-ap	oll-n-ap	oll-v-ap
Conditional	oll-t-ek	oll-n-ek	oll-v-ek
Resultative		oll-n-ah	oll-v-ah
Anticipative		oll-n-ac	

- (25) a. *oc'tap likkah kin'tonan.*  
 drink-pfc-cmp letter make-impfc-npst-1s  
 'I am writing like one who has become drunk.'
- b. *nel kassiNg'nap an'ta.*  
 ground-nom tremble-impfc-cmp become-impfc-3snm  
 'The ground is like it is when it is trembling.'
- c. *bennek oc'vap piṭo vehh'in'toR.*  
 well drink-neg-cmp story tell-impfc-npst-3sm  
 'He tells stories well, as one does when one has not got drunk.'
- (26) a. *alltek, per tohhcakan.*  
 drop-pfc-cnd again wrap-pdc-1s  
 'If [the bandage] drops off, I'll wrap it up again.'
- b. *kaRsnek kaRsnek muttan.*  
 play-impfc-cnd play-impfc-cnd fall-pfc-pst-1s  
 'While playing and playing, I fell down.'
- c. *marek levek, piṭten paRRiy paRRon.*  
 wings be-neg-cnd birds fly-inf be.able-neg-3plnm  
 'If they do not have wings, birds cannot fly.'
- (27) *ihhe paṅg viyyinah udds annit.*  
 thus day dawn-impfc-rlt sit-cf be-hrt  
 'Let's go on sitting like this until the day dawns.'

- (28) *eR ukkrah panac udditun.*  
 water boil flow-impfc-antc sit-impfc-npst-3plnm  
 'They are sitting until the water boils.'

The second subclass consists of three forms that behave like conjunctives in other Dravidian languages. The conjunctive (Andres' time-relational) form tends to express a sequential relation between the two clauses (29–30); the simultaneitive (Andres' progressional), a simultaneous relation (32–33); the negative conjunctive, a lack of relation (34–35). It should be noted that certain auxiliary verbs, such as *anda* 'go on', *iya* 'give', *ur* 'look' and *manda* 'be located', combine with main verbs in the perfective conjunctive form (31).

	Perfective	Imperfective
Conjunctive	oll-si	oll-sor
Progressional	oll-sin	oll-on
Negative	oll-vay	oll-va

- (29) a. *koyysi, rand diyañ vattin'tan.*  
 reap-pfc-cn timer day-pl dry-impfc-npst-3plnm  
 'When they [the rice stalks] have been reaped, they dry for two days.'
- b. *gaṭo tinji goṭṭude vay'kan.*  
 foot eat-pfc-cn timer gottul-loc go-pdc-1s  
 'Having eaten a meal [rice], I will come to the gottul.'
- (30) a. *tak'sor aṭum attom.*  
 walk-impfc-cf market go-pfc-pst-1pl  
 'We went walking to the market.'
- b. *jokksor likkah kis anntun.*  
 mistake-impfc-cn timer letter do-pfc-cn timer go-impfc-npst-2s  
 'You keep making mistakes in writing.'
- (31) a. *paṅg viyynah v[V<sub>1</sub>[udds]V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>[annit]V<sub>2</sub>]V.*  
 day dawn-rlt-antc sit-pfc-cn timer go.on-hrt  
 'Let's keep sitting until daybreak.'
- b. *nakun gaṭo v[V<sub>1</sub>[aṭṭs]V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>[evi]V<sub>2</sub>]V?*  
 me-dat/acc rice cook-pfc-cn timer give-pdc-2s  
 'Won't you cook rice for me?'
- c. *tinji ur'a.*  
 eat-pfc-cn timer see-imp  
 'Taste it.'

- (32) a. *moʃorte uddsin daki?*  
 bus-loc sit-pfc-sml go-pdc-2s  
 'Will you go by bus?' [lit., 'Will you go sitting on a bus?']  
 b. *kissi mas'sin at'hin'torom.*  
 fire stoke-pfc-sml heat-caus-impfc-npst-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 'We make heat radiate by stoking the fire.'
- (33) *per viyy'on viyy'on viyytu.*  
 again dawn-impfc-sml dawn-impfc-sml dawn-pfc-pst-3snm  
 'Again, dawning and dawning, it (finally) dawned.'
- (34) a. *punn-vay vehhmaʃ.*  
 know-neg-pfc-cn timer tell-neg-imp  
 'Don't tell [her] without knowing [it].'  
 b. *vay'vay manndi aske mavan polloyin*  
 come-neg-impfc-cn timer be-pst-2s when our-pl speech-pl-dat/acc  
*punnvi.*  
 know-neg-2s  
 'When you had not yet come here, you didn't know our language.'
- (35) *kiss leva ballah pin vasso ay'val.*  
 fire be-impfc-neg-cn timer how cold feel-neg-3sn become-subj-3sn  
 'There not being a fire, how could one not feel cold?'

Members of the second major set of non-finite verbs have an adjectival function, and thus resemble adnominal forms in other Dravidian languages. Eventative forms are adnominal in that they combine with a noun that follows in linear order and stands in a superordinate clause (36–38).

	Perfective	Imperfective
Eventative	<i>oll'en(n)</i> 'that had bent over'	<i>oll'in</i> 'while bending over'
Negative	<i>ollva</i> 'not bent over'	

- (36) a. *oRslen makkanun 'oRs makkan' inntorom.*  
 plant-pfc-evt-pl mango-pl-dat/acc say-impfc-npst-1pl  
 'We call mangoes that have been planted, "oRs makkan".'  
 b. *ijjek-ta mac'le neli naNditek, bork'in'ta.*  
 just dung-pfc-evt-pl floor get.wet-cnd peel-impfc-npst-3sn  
 'If a just-dunged floor gets wet, it will peel.'  
 c. *jola peyye pahhar tindakom*  
 desire catch-pfc-evt time eat-pdc-1pl  
 'We will eat when we get an intense desire to.'

- (37) *eh'cvan nukanun aṭṭna ayo.*  
 winnow-neg-evt-pl rice-pl-dat/acc cook-vn become-neg-3sm  
 'One should not cook unwinnowed rice.'
- (38) a. *paRR pahhar vay'ki, vanjin koyy'in hok.*  
 harvest time come-pdc-2s rice-pl reap-impfc-evt-pl time  
 'You will come during harvest season, at the time when rice is being reaped.'
- b. *jav unn'in pahhar barra gaṭo tinntorom.*  
 gruel eat-impfc-evt time also rice eat-impfc-npst-1pl  
 'We also eat rice at breakfast time (=gruel-eating time).'

The analysis of several other non-finite forms remains unclear. Examples of some of these forms are given below. The infinitival form in *-lay* 'in order to' in (39) is probably a contraction of a verbal noun in *\*-al* and an inflected form of *aya* 'become', cf. Tamil *varal āka*. The *-van* form in (40) appears to be cognate with the Tamil supine form *nōvāṇ* 'why fault' in *eytavan irukka, ambu nō-vāṇ=ēṇ* 'Why fault the arrow when the archer is here?' However helpful these etymological observations may be, they are no substitute for a synchronic analysis. The remaining forms are not fully understood because there are few examples in the corpus and because they seem to appear in restricted contexts.

- (39) a. *nelin pand-lay pariṅ peyy'in'torom.*  
 field-dat/acc make-inf boundary-pl draw-impfc-npst-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 'We draw boundaries to make fields.'
- b. *niss'in'toR, vay'lay.*  
 be.embarrassed-impfc-npst-3sm come-inf  
 'He is embarrassed to come.'
- (40) *ballah rojj tinnvan; askaṭ vay'val.*  
 how daily eat-sup boredom come-subj-3sm  
 'How could one eat them every day? One would get bored.'
- (41) *ḍoḍatun vanḍan vanḍan attek, ussul*  
 stream-dat/acc overflow-sup overflow-sup come-cnd eddying  
*pussul dan'ta.*  
 go-impfc-npst-3sn  
 'If [water] keeps overflowing the stream, it spreads in eddies.'
- (42) a. *puna aṭṭna leyyatun peyyti.*  
 new cook-vn-? girl-dat/acc get-pfc-pst-2s  
 'You got a new girl to cook.'

- b. *kaRRihnan paṭaṅ vehhki?*  
 entertain-vn-? song-pl recite-pdc-2s  
 'Will you play songs for entertaining people?'
- (43) a. *mava lehka bennek vaṛk punnvine.*  
 we-gen like well talk-inf know-neg-2s=prt  
 'You still can't talk well like us.'
- b. *uḍḍuk nind piṣṣndu anni paRR var'du.*  
 a.bit fill-inf remain-impfc-pst-3sn and rain come-pfc-pst-3sn  
 'There was a bit yet to fill up, and the rain came.'
- c. *cahha unḍa vay'lerom.*  
 tea drink-inf come-impfc-pst-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 'We had come (earlier) to drink tea.'
- d. *bore orriy (h)ema.*  
 anyone enter-inf give-neg-imp  
 'Don't let anyone enter.'

## 10.6 Syntax

Muria Gondi syntax is robustly SOV, and resembles in many points the syntax of other South-Central Dravidian languages. Certain departures from common Dravidian patterns do occur, however. It is possible, for example, to postpose a greater variety of constituents than in many other Dravidian languages; genitive nouns may be postposed rightwards over the nouns they modify, as in examples (2b) and (2d) above.

The construction of complex sentences is effected through many of the same devices as in Telugu or Koṇḍa. However, the use of adnominal forms, which are used in other languages to create relative clauses, factive clauses and the like, appears more limited in Muria Gondi. In many cases, adnominal forms have fused with head nouns creating a form with a much more specific and limited use, such as the temporal non-finite forms in *-ap* which probably come from an adnominal form and a reduced form of a noun meaning 'time'. In this, it resembles parallel forms in colloquial Tamil, *vantappa* 'when X came' from *vanta* 'which came' + *pozutu* 'time'.

Muria Gondi sets limits on the number and position of finite predicates within a sentence. Two basic rules govern their distribution. First, each sentence has one finite predicate, which appears at the rightmost boundary of the sentence and c-commands all other predicates. Second, all other predicates in the sentence are non-finite. Non-finite forms are treated above in the discussion of verb morphology. For the purposes of these two rules, it does not matter whether the predicates are nominal or verbal forms.

There are, in fact, principled exceptions to this pattern. Certain structures may contain several finite predicates: their number and position vary directly with a set of devices used to combine clauses. One set of structures contains certain

forms that function as subordinating conjunctions (e.g. *aske* 'when') or co-ordinating conjunctions (e.g. *anni* 'and', *matti* 'but'). The co-ordinating conjunctions include free words such as *anni* 'and' (44a, cf Telugu *ani* 'having said'), *matti* 'but' (44b, cf Tamil *marru* 'but') and the clitic =*e* 'or' (44c).

- (44) a. *pen'k tattom, anni otom matavandi.*  
 gods bring-prf-pst-1pl<sup>ex</sup> and take-prf-pst-1pl<sup>ex</sup> Matavand-dat/acc  
 'We brought the gods and took them to Matavand.'
- b. *peysan even se, matti accon jek boR*  
 money given-subj-2s obviously but that.much far who-nom  
*ann'val.*  
 go-subj-3snm  
 'Naturally you would have given money, but who would go so far?'
- c. *vay'nur=e vayor=e.*  
 come-prd-3plm=or come-neg-3plm=or  
 'They may come or they may not come.'

Certain other forms can embed a finite predicate in a subordinate clause: the form *tekke* 'some, if, when' (< \**atekke* 'if becomes') embeds finite predicates, as in (45a) and (45b). The form *accon* 'therefore, and so' also has this ability (45c).

- (45) a. *baske vayar tekke, nanna punnon.*  
 when come-prd-3snm some I-nom know-neg-1s  
 'I have no idea when she is coming.'
- b. *akkeḍah vatu tekke vay'kan.*  
 thence-abl/ass come-prf-3snm when come-prd-1s  
 'I will come after she has come from there.'
- c. *oc'leR accon hitoR.*  
 drink-imprf-pst-3sm therefore hit-prf-3sm  
 'He had gotten drunk so he hit [her].'

A second set of structures with multiple finite verbs is the serial verb construction (see Steever 1988), which is used in Muria Gonḍi to form complex negative forms such as the negative subjunctive (see above).

Finally, certain examples in Andres' corpus suggest that complex sentences may be formed paratactically, as in (46). In such cases, the personal endings appear always to be congruent.

- (46) *undi nattu'torom, undi pen'torom, undi puṭṭul'torom.*  
 one blood-gen-1pl<sup>ex</sup> one god-gen-1pl<sup>ex</sup> one offspring-gen-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 'We are of one blood, of one god and one ancestral line.'

Such exceptions to the rules governing the distribution of finite predicates are

limited; the devices that permit them are easily enumerated; and unless they are specifically used, the two basic rules dominate the construction of the sentence in Muria Gondi.

### Bibliography

- Andres, Susie (1977) 'A description of Muria Gondi phonology and morphology'. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Pune. (Available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.)
- Grierson, G.A. (1906) *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IV: *Munda and Dravidian Languages*, Calcutta.
- Hislop (1866) 'Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces', n.p.
- Steever, Sanford (1988) *The Serial Verb Formation in the Dravidian Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Subrahmanyam, P.S. (1968) *A Descriptive Grammar of Gondi* (Annamalai University Department of Linguistics Publication, no. 25), Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.
- Trench, C.G. Chenevix (1919) *Grammar of Gondi as Spoken in the Betul District, Central Provinces, India*, vol. I: *Grammar*, Madras: Superintendent, Government Press.
- Tyler, Stephen A. (1969) *Koya: An Outline Grammar, Gammu Dialect* (University of California Publications, Linguistics 54), Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Von Fuerer-Haimendorf, Christoph (1979) *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh*, London: George Allen & Unwin.

This page intentionally left blank

PART III  
CENTRAL DRAVIDIAN

This page intentionally left blank

---

# 11 Kolami

*P.S. Subrahmanyam*

## 11.1 Background

### Sources and Dialects

Kolami is spoken by 80,000 people who live near Wardha and Kinwaṭ in Maharashtra and in the Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh (1981 Census). The language comprises three dialects: Adilabad (A), Naikṛi (N) and Wardha (W). The speakers call themselves *kōlavar* (W)/*kolavar* (A) 'Kolam' and their language *kōlav pāna* (W)/*kolava goṭṭi* (A) 'Kolami'. Most Kolams also speak Marathi, a fact that has naturally influenced the structure of Kolami. While Grierson (1906: 561–5) first recognised Kolami as a distinct Dravidian language, others had noted its distinctiveness earlier. As a Central Dravidian language, Kolami is most closely related to Gadaba, Naiki of Chanda and Parji.

Authoritative information on Kolami appears in Emeneau (1955), the standard work on the language. Emeneau gathered material in 1937–8 from Kolams of Mandwa village nineteen miles from Wardha; hence, the name Wardha dialect. Besides a description of the Wardha dialect, Emeneau (1955) includes a summary of Sethudmadhava Rao's 1950 sketch of the Adilabad dialect, along with notes on the Kinwaṭ and Pāṇḍharkavṛa dialects, based on materials collected by Burrow and Bhattacharya. It also addresses the comparative position of Kolami within Dravidian, and provides texts and a vocabulary list that includes cognates from other Dravidian languages and Indo-Aryan loans from Marathi and Hindi. Bright (1956) adds lexical items elicited from Kolams from Sunapuram village in Adilabad district.

Further material on the Adilabad dialect was collected by P.S. Subrahmanyam during field trips in 1965 and 1975, but this remains unpublished. K. Thomasiah (1986) reports material on the Naikṛi dialect which he and P.S. Subrahmanyam gathered in 1984–5 from inhabitants of Sinna Bōḍḍi village, four miles from Boath Road Station near Kinwaṭ. The present chapter is based on Emeneau's (1955) treatment of the Wardha (W) dialect. Minor differences of transcription are introduced: use of a macron for long vowels, and use of *j* and *ṣ* for Emeneau's *z* and *j*, respectively. Important features of the Adilabad and Naikṛi dialects are noted where pertinent.

### 11.2 Phonology

#### Phonemic Pattern

Kolami has twenty-nine core phonemes in common use: nineteen consonants and ten vowels (see Table 11.1). *c* and *ǰ* occur only in Marathi loanwords.

**Table 11.1 The phonemes of Kolami**

	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Post-dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
<b>CONSONANTS</b>							
Stop							
Voiceless	p		t		ʈ		k
Voiced	b		d		ɖ		g
Affricate							
Voiceless						c	
Voiced						ǰ	
Trill					j		
Lateral					r		
Nasal					l		
Nasal	m		n				ɳ
Fricative		v				y	
	<i>Front</i> short	long	<i>Central</i> short	long	<i>Back</i> short	long	
<b>VOWELS</b>							
High	i	ī			u	ū	
Mid	e	ē			o	ō	
Low			a	ā			

Besides these core sounds, Kolami has some rarely occurring sounds. The Wardha dialect has *ə*, *ə̄*, *ts*, *ʃ* and *h* in Marathi loanwords. The first four mainly occur in imperfectly nativised numerals: *ə* optionally becomes *a*: *əkralakra* ‘eleven’, *səttər/sattar* ‘seventy’. The postdental voiceless affricate *ts* occurs only in *tsōta* ‘fourth’, *tsavda* ‘fourteen’ and *pātsva* ‘fifth’. The retroflex lateral *ʃ* occurs in *sōʃa* ‘sixteen’, *caʃis* ‘forty’ and other non-nativised Marathi loans such as *kəʃ* ‘pushbutton’. In the Naikri dialect, however, *ʃ* commonly contrasts with *l* in native words. The voiceless glottal fricative *h* occurs initially in Marathi loans but these also have nativised variants without it: *hətti/hetti/etti* ‘elephant’. Here the nativised variant is taken as the norm. However, in native words and Marathi loans, *h* is pronounced between two vowels of the same quality. As it is predictable, it does not appear in phonemic representation: *saatun* [sahātūn] ‘I am going’, *doo* [dohō] ‘big’, *daa* [dahā] ‘ten’ (< Marathi). It also appears between words: *va andum* [vahandūm] ‘we used to come’.

Aspirated stops in some Marathi loans retain aspiration, especially in slow speech, but are in rapid speech replaced by the corresponding unaspirated stops.

Aspiration is sporadically carried over into native words so that an intervocalic voiced consonant may be aspirated in slow speech.

### Allophones

Long and short vowels contrast only in word-initial syllables: *mak* 'neck' vs *māk* 'tree', *sir* 'female buffalo' vs *sīr* 'nit', *ur* 'plough!' vs *ūr* 'village', *endar* 'they are arriving' vs *ēndar* 'they are dancing', *oṅktin* 'she carried (child on her hip)' vs *sōṅktin* 'she entered'. Elsewhere vowel length is predictable: vowels in medial syllables are always short, those in final syllables always long. For example, phonemic *tinetan* 'I did not eat' is phonetically [tinetān]. Due to the absence of contrast in non-initial syllables, Emeneau (1955) does not mark vowel length in non-initial syllables.

*j* (Emeneau's *z*) has a voiced postdental sibilant allophone *z* in clusters: *pūjdun* [puzdun] 'I used to pull'. Except for such native words as *vēnj-* 'thatch', *kōnj-* 'thread' and *raj-* 'talk nonsense', it occurs mainly in Marathi loans. As *ḷ* (Emeneau's *j*) is highly restricted, contrast with *j* is rare, as between *jāt* 'caste' and *jāsti* 'more'. *n* has a retroflex allophone before a retroflex, a postdental allophone before *s* and *j*, and a palatal allophone before *ḷ*; however, it contrasts with *ñ* before *k*: *pankatun* 'I am sending' vs *maṅktan* 'I slept'. *l* and *r* each have retroflex allophones after a retroflex as in *gōḍl* 'fingernails' and *pōḍri* 'calf of a leg'. *s* is palatalised before *i* as in *posia* 'ball of the foot'. In the speech of some individuals, *ṭ* becomes *ṣ* before *t*: *kaṭtan/kaṣtan* 'I built'.

### Distribution of Consonants

All consonants except *ñ* and *y* occur initially. Clusters occur medially and finally, but not initially. All consonants except *b*, *c* and *ḷ* occur singly in final position. Single and geminate consonants except *ñ*, *j* and *y* contrast medially, mostly after a short vowel in the initial syllable of a word. In the Wardha but not the Adilabad dialect, vowels may occur in consecutive syllables without an intervening consonant: *sīatun* 'I am giving', *aliak* 'male buffalo'. As noted above, if both vowels have the same quantity, *h* is automatically inserted.

### Morphophonemics

Word-final *a* is deleted before a word beginning with any vowel: *ella* 'house' + *aṇḍa* 'it is' > *ell aṇḍa* '(that) is a house', *pilla* 'girl' + *iṭtin* 'she told' > *pill iṭtin* 'the girl told'. Word-final *e* is deleted before any vowel except *i*: *gurrāl podē* 'on the horses' + *utter* 'they sat' > *gurrāl pod utter* 'they sat on the horses'. Word-final *u* is deleted only before *u*: *cāku* 'knife' + *uṭtin* 'it fell down' > *cāk uṭtin* (compare *ad cāku aṇḍa* 'that is a knife'). Word-final *i* is optionally deleted, but only before *i*: *vēndi* 'hot' + *īr* 'water' > *vēnd(i) īr* 'hot water' (compare *ad pilli aṇḍa* 'that is a cat').

*d* in *ad* 'that (one)' and *id* 'this (one)' is assimilated to the initial *t/s/j/c* of a following word: *aṭ ṭin* 'that tin', *as sak* 'that egg', *is sāl* 'this year', *aj jāṃ* 'that animal', *ic cāku* 'this knife' (see below for discussion of these noun-noun

compounds).

Stem-final *g*, *d* and *j* in nouns and verbs are replaced by voiceless *k*, *t* and *s* before suffixes beginning with voiceless stops: *dig-* ‘descend’ vs *dik-t-en* ‘he descended’, *ud-* ‘sit’ vs *ut-t-an* ‘I sat’, *vēnj-* ‘thatch’ vs *vēns-t-an* ‘I thatched’, *gej* ‘brass pot’ vs *ges-t* ‘in the brass pot’.

*k*, *ʃ* and *t* at the end of a verb base are replaced by their voiced counterparts, *g*, *ɖ* and *d*, before suffixes beginning with voiced stops: *tig-d-an* ‘he will die’ (<*tik-*>), *kaɖ-d-un* ‘I used to tie’ (<*kaʃ-*>), *pud-d-un* ‘I used to cut’ (<*put-*>). The numeral *āʃ* ‘eight’ shows similar variation before words that begin with *d* and *j*: *āɖ divos* ‘eight days’, *āɖ jen māsur* ‘eight men’.

As in Gadaba, the Wardha dialect of Kolami exhibits anaptyxis. Monosyllabic noun and verb stems ending in a consonant cluster have disyllabic variants with a copy (always short) of the first vowel before the final consonant or nasal + consonant (in the latter case, they should be preceded by another consonant). The monosyllabic variant occurs before a vowel within the word; the disyllabic variant occurs elsewhere, namely, before a consonant within a word or when it functions as a word itself. (In the Adilabad and Naikri dialects, the corresponding stems are monosyllabic in all circumstances.) The verb stem *alŋg-/alāŋg-* ‘kill’ illustrates this alternation: monosyllabic *alŋg-e-n* ‘I didn’t kill’ contrasts with disyllabic *alāŋk-t-an* (with devoicing) ‘I killed’ and *alāŋg* ‘kill’ (*alŋ-* (A), *alŋ-* (N) everywhere). Similar verbs include *ārp-/ārap-* ‘make dry’, *nindp-/nindip-* ‘fill’, *tīrp-/tīrip-* ‘finish’, *sutk-/sutuk-* ‘wash (clothes)’, *sūlp-/sūlup-* ‘make (someone) get up’, *perp-/perep-* ‘rear (children)’, *sērp-/sērep-* ‘lean’, *kork-/korok-* ‘bite’, and *ōɖp-/ōɖop-* ‘bathe’. The noun stem *teɖp-/teɖep-* ‘cloth’ also exhibits this alternation: monosyllabic *teɖp-ul* ‘cloths’ contrasts with disyllabic *teɖep-t* ‘in the cloth’ and *teɖep* ‘cloth’ (the Adilabad dialect has the stem *teɖp* everywhere). Other examples include *kudg-/kudug-* ‘thigh’ and *surnd-/surund-* ‘honeycomb’. Other morphophonemic changes affecting individual suffixes are taken up below.

### 11.3 Morphology and the Parts of Speech

Kolami morphology distinguishes between free forms and clitic particles. Free forms, or independent words, distinguish primarily between nouns and verbs according to morphology and syntax. Nouns are inflected for the category of number and case while verbs are inflected for such categories as mood and tense. Minor word classes include adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions. Postclitic particles combine with free forms, and are discussed below.

### 11.4 Nominal Forms

Noun phrases in Kolami consist of a noun, optionally preceded by one or more modifiers. Prenominal modifiers, or adjectives, are discussed first; the treatment of nouns then follows.

### Prenominal Modifiers

Prenominal modifiers in Kolami have traditionally been called adjectives, but this classification is misleading. They do not constitute a formal class with distinctive lexical or morphological traits, but rather include diverse forms that are syntactically defined by their position within a NP and by the possibility of concord with the head noun. These modifiers always occur before a noun and are subdivided into two broad classes: those that are invariant and those that agree in number and gender with the head noun. Emeneau (1955: 125) notes that this division is not observed in all cases: 'There is in the material much variation, which seems to be "free" (i.e. without difference in meaning), between an adjective form (i.e. not in congruence) and the noun forms derived from an adjective (i.e. in congruence), in this construction.' Formal concord between adjective and head noun is an Indo-Aryan feature: the Wardha dialect appears to have borrowed it from Marathi. The existence of the old and new systems side by side suggests that this convergence took place in comparatively recent times, a conclusion further supported by the absence of this kind of concord in the two other dialects (except numerals, see below).

#### *Invariant Prenominal Modifiers*

Invariant prenominal modifiers include six sets of forms. First are the demonstrative and interrogative words *ā* 'that', *ī* 'this', *ē* 'which', as in *ā/ī/ē ūr* 'that/this/which village'. These may be substituted by the corresponding deictic pronouns (see below). The second set includes the numeral modifiers *ok* 'one' (*ok siḍ* 'one day'), *in* 'two' (*in nal* 'two days'), *mūnd* 'three' (*mūnd ul* 'three days') and *nāl* 'four' (*nāl udul* 'four days'). These seem to occur only with some restricted nouns. The third set contains such qualitative prenominal modifiers as *doo* 'big' (*doo sir* 'big buffalo'), *telmi* 'white' (*telmi kūṭe* 'white cow'), *vēndi* 'hot' (*vēnd ir* 'hot water'), *pulle* 'sour' (*pulle sentarel* 'sour oranges'); the fourth, attributive nouns such as *gaḍḍi piḍia* 'a bunch (*piḍia*) of grass', *diām ella* 'temple' (< *diām* 'god' + *ella* 'house'). In the fifth set are genitive nouns and pronouns: *vāḍi-t-a puvul* 'garden flowers (*puvul*)', *vadgi-ne māsal* 'carpenter's wife (*māsal*)', *anne pēr* 'my name', *avre ella* 'their house'. The corresponding forms with concord are discussed below. Finally, the sixth set includes adnominal verb forms: *ārt-a gaḍḍi* 'hay' (lit. 'dried grass (*gaḍḍi*)'). See below for corresponding forms with concord.

As this list shows, 'adjectives' or prenominal modifiers are a functionally defined class whose members include nouns, pronouns and even non-finite verbs.

#### *Prenominal Modifiers with Concord*

Prenominal modifiers that agree in number and gender with their head noun are fundamentally nouns since they may function independently as such. There are three sets. First, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns with a modifying function agree in number and gender with the head noun:

- (1) a. [*am mās*], [*im mās*], [*em mās*]  
 that.man man this.man man which.man man  
 'that man' 'this man' 'which man'
- b. [*avr mās-ur*], [*ivr mās-ur*], [*ēr mās-ur*]  
 those.men man-pl these.men man-pl which.men man-pl  
 'those men' 'these men' 'which men'
- c. [*ad māk*], [*id māk*], [*ed māk*]  
 that.one tree this.one tree which.one tree  
 'that tree' 'this tree' 'which tree'
- d. [*adav mākul*] [*idav mākul*] [*ēv (~ edav) mākul*]  
 those.ones tree-pl these.ones tree-pl which.ones tree-pl  
 'those trees' 'these trees' 'which trees'

Note that the pronouns *amd* 'that man', *imd* 'this man' and *emd* 'which man, who' lose their final *d* when they function adjectivally, as in (1a).

Second come numerals. 'One' has two forms, masculine *okkon* (*okkon mas* 'one man' and non-masculine *okkod* (*okkod pillā* 'one woman', *okkod āte* 'one dog'). The numerals 'two' to 'four' (and, in the Adilabad dialect, 'five') have separate masculine, feminine and neuter forms. As noted below, the creation of a separate feminine form of these numerals is a feature of the Kolami-Parji subgroup, assumed to have taken place at the Proto-Kolami-Parji stage (Emeneau 1955: 142).

'two'	<i>iddar māsūr</i>	<i>īral pillakul</i>	<i>idiñ siḍl</i>
	'two men'	'two women'	'two buffaloes'
'three'	<i>muggur māsūr</i>	<i>muyal pillakul</i>	<i>mūndiñ siḍl</i>
'four'	<i>nalgur māsūr</i>	<i>nallav pillakul</i>	<i>nāliñ siḍl</i>
'five'	<i>sēvur māsūr</i> (A)	<i>seyyav pillakul</i> (A)	<i>ayd siḍl</i>

The masculine forms for 'two', 'three', 'four' and *ayd* 'five' are loans from Telugu. For 'five', both *ayd*, which is invariant, and the Marathi loan *pas* occur in the Wardha dialect. All numerals above 'five' in all dialects come from Marathi. The presence of native masculine and feminine forms for 'five' in the Adilabad dialect is notable. Numerals borrowed from Marathi are normally but not invariably followed by the classifier *jen* (< Marathi *jan*) in the case of a masculine noun and *jenikul* in the case of a feminine noun:

- (2) a. *pāj jen māsūr ~ ayd māsūr*  
 five cls-m man-pl five man-pl  
 'five men'
- b. *pāj jenikul pillakul ~ ayd pillakul*  
 five cls-nm woman-pl five woman-pl  
 'five women'

- (3) a. *saa jen māsur*  
six cls-m man-pl  
'six men'
- b. *saa jenikul pillakul*  
six cls-nm woman-pl  
'six women'

Neuter nouns by contrast take no classifier.

- (4) a. *ayd ātel*  
five dog-pl  
'five dogs'
- b. *saa siḍl*  
six buffalo-pl  
'six buffaloes'

Pronominalised forms derived from nominal and pronominal modifiers as well as from adnominal verbs agree in number with the nouns they modify. The nominal modifiers take the suffix *-d* (non-masculine singular) or *-v* (non-masculine plural).

- (5) a. *vēgaṭad danda*  
field-loc-pl work  
'work in the field'
- b. *anne-t pēr* (*d > t -/p*)  
I-gen-s name  
'my name'
- c. *bālāne-v kī-l*  
child-gen-pl hand-pl  
'the child's hands'
- d. *amne-v teḍp-ul*  
he-gen-pl clothes-pl  
'his clothes'

Adnominal verbs also show concord with the head noun: they take the suffix *-n* (masculine singular), *-r* (masculine plural), *-d* (non-masculine singular) or *-v* (non-masculine plural). This is optional, however, as there are instances of adnominal verbs above that do not show concord.

- (6) a. *var-e-n amd*  
come-neg+adn-ms that.man  
'the man who does not come'
- b. *var-e-r avr*  
come-neg+adn-mpl those.men  
'those men who do not come'
- c. *ver-e-d ad*  
come-neg+adn-nms she/it  
'she/it who does not come'
- d. *var-e-v adav*  
come-neg+adn-nmpl those.things  
'those things that do not come'

## Noun Morphology

### Classification and Structure

The class of nouns includes common nouns, proper names, pronouns, numerals, deverbal nouns and nouns derived from modifiers (including adnominal verb forms). Most common nouns are monomorphemic, *kī* 'hand', *māk* 'tree', *pāna* 'language', *guḍḍi* 'bear', but some contain derivative suffixes. Noun stems, basic or derived, may be followed by plural suffixes and case suffixes (including

postpositions) in that order. When these suffixes do occur, only one member of each class may occur in a given word.

Some masculine nouns incorporate the suffix *-k* (~ *-ak*) or *-n*: *kāko-k* ‘father’s younger brother’ (voc. *kāko*), *dāda-k* ‘elder brother’ (voc. *dāda*), *bēr-ak* ‘deaf man’, *bās-ak* ‘sister’s son’; *bā-n* ‘father’ (voc. *bā*), *sānji-n* ‘younger sister’s husband’, *nēku-n* ‘headman’. Some feminine nouns incorporate the suffixes *-i*, *-al*, *-ral* or *-d*. *-i* occurs only in Marathi loans: *ba-i* ‘sister’, *bēr-i* ‘deaf woman’, *bās-i* ‘sister’s daughter’, *puti-i* ‘brother’s daughter’. *-al* occurs primarily in kinship terms: *komm-al* ‘daughter’, *kor-al* ‘younger brother’s wife’, *murt-al* ‘old woman’, *pod-al* ‘spouse’s mother’, *tōrnd-al* ‘younger sister’. *-ral* occurs mainly with names of social groups: *bosse-ral* ‘woman of *bosse* exogamous division’, *buddi-ral* ‘woman of basket maker caste’ (cf. masc. *buddi-ak*), *sīpi-ral* ‘woman of tailor caste’ (masc. *sīpi-ak*), *mālik-ral* ‘wife of master of house’ (masc. *mālik*), *telgi-ral* ‘Telugu woman’ (masc. *telgi*). *-d* is suffixed to the genitive form in *-ta-* of nouns denoting social groups: *dīvar-ta-d* ‘woman of the fisherman caste’ (masc. *dīvari*), *kōlav-ta-d* ‘Kolam woman’ (masc. *kōlavan*), *bāmar-ta-d* ‘brahmin woman’ (masc. *bāma*).

#### Deverbal Nouns

Deverbal nouns are rare in Kolami: *ayak* ‘rubbish’ from *ayk-* ‘sweep’, *kēt* ‘winnowing basket’ from *kēd-* ‘winnow’, *pāt-a* ‘song’ from *pād-* ‘sing’ and *tivv-a* ‘force of a stream’ from *tiv-* ‘pull’. When suffixed to a verb base, *-ud* yields action nouns: *sī-ud* ‘giving’ from *sī-* ‘give’, *kak-ud* ‘making, doing’ from *kak-* ‘make, do’. Such derivatives may refer to the result of an action: *erñg-ud* ‘excrement’ from *erñg-* ‘defecate’, *umbul-ud* ‘urine’ from *umbul-* ‘urinate’, *paṇḍ-ud* ‘ripe fruit’ from *paṇḍ-* ‘ripen’.

#### Pronouns

The first and second person pronouns are presented in Table 11.2; they are cited in the nominative, oblique base and genitive where this differs from the oblique. The first person plural distinguishes between an exclusive and an inclusive form.

The demonstrative pronouns, which function as third person pronouns, are formed from the deictic bases *a-/av-* ‘that’ and *i-/iv-* ‘this’. Interrogative pronouns, formed from the base *e-/ev-* ‘which’, pattern similarly. They appear below in their nominative and oblique forms.

	Distal	Proximal	Interrogative
Masc. sing.	am(d)/am(n)-	im(d)/im(n)-	em(d)/em(n)-, ēn(d)
Masc. sing. (Adilabad)	avnd/av(n)-	ivnd/iv(n)-	ēnd/ēn-
Masc. plur.	avr/avr-	ivr/ivr-	ēr/ēr-
Non-masc. sing.	ad/ad-	id/id-	ed/ed-
Non-masc. sing. (Adilabad)			ēd/ēd-
Non-masc. plur.	adav/adav(1)-	idav/idav(1)-	edav/edav(1)-, ēv
Non-masc. plur. (Adilabad)			ēv

**Table 11.2 First and second person pronouns**

	Singular	Plural
<b>FIRST</b>		<b>EXCLUSIVE</b>
Nominative	ān	ām
Oblique	an-	am-
Genitive	ann-e	amm-e
		<b>INCLUSIVE</b>
Nominative		nēṅḍ/nēm (A)
Oblique		nēṅḍ-/nēm- (A)
Genitive		nēṅḍ-/nēm- (A)
<b>SECOND</b>		
Nominative	nīv	nīr
Oblique	in-	im-
Genitive	inn-e	imm-e

Where the interrogative pronouns function as predicates, they are preceded by *tān-*, as in *inne pēr tāned/tand* ‘what is your name?’ (A) and also in *tand-urī/tāñ* (A *tān-urī*) ‘why’.

### Plural Nouns

As with other languages of its subgroup, Kolami has many plural suffixes: *-er* (*-r*, *-ur*), *-l* (Naikṛi *-l*, but *-l* after front vowels, *r*, or *n*), *-ul* (Naikṛi *-ul*), *-kul* (Naikṛi *-kul*), *-sil*, and *-ev*. Their conditioning involves both phonological and non-phonological criteria. Most but not all masculine nouns select *-er*. The variants *-r* and *-ur* occur with one noun each: *kōlava-r* ‘Kolam men’ (sing. *kōlavan*), *mās-ur* ‘men’. Masculine nouns with the derivative suffix *-k* form their plural with *-er*: *bāsak-er* ‘sister’s sons’, *dādak-er* ‘elder brothers’, *māmak-er* ‘mother’s brothers’. Some masculine nouns form plurals with *-l*, *-kul* or *-sil*: *doṅga-l* ‘thieves’, *tōren-l* ‘younger brothers’, *dīvaḍ-l* ‘fishermen’ (sing. *dīvari*), *magvaṅḍ-l* ‘husbands’ (sing. *magvan*), *malanḍ-l* ‘barbers’ (sing. *malan*), *sālñi-kul* ‘younger sisters’ husbands’ (sing. *sāñjin*), *maranḍ-l/maran-sil* ‘spouse’s brothers’ (sing. *maran*), *tēkam-sil* ‘men of *tēkam* exogamous division’.

The remaining plural suffixes occur mainly with non-masculine nouns, though there are some exceptions. Feminine nouns take *-sil*, *-kul* or *-ev*; none of these, however, is exclusively feminine. Those with the derivative suffix *-al* form their plural by dropping the *l* of *-al* and suffixing *-sil*: *komma-sil* ‘daughters’ (sing. *komma-l*), *māsa-sil* ‘wives’ (sing. *māsa-l*). Those with the derivative *-ral* or *-tad* form their plural by replacing the final consonant of the derivative suffix with *si* and adding the plural suffix *-kul*: *buddirasi-kul* ‘women of the basket maker caste’ (sing. *buddiral*), *telgirasikul* ‘Telugu women’ (sing. *telgiral*), *kōlavtasi-kul* ‘Kolam women’ (sing. *kōlavtad*), *gondortasi-kul* ‘Gond women’ (sing. *gondortad*). Additionally, *-kul* occurs in *pilla-kul* ‘women, babies, daughters’ (sing. *pilla*), and *-sil* in *ay-sillayka-sil* ‘mothers’ (sing. *ay*). The following nouns

form their plural with *-ev*: all end in *a* and insert *k* or *n* between the stem and *-ev*: *appak-ev* 'father's sisters' (sing. *appa*), *sanmak-ev* 'mother's younger sisters' (sing. *sanma*), *amman-ev* 'mothers' (sing. *amma*), *kolaman-ev* 'wives' (sing. *kolama*), *vannan-ev* 'elder brothers' wives' (sing. *vanna*).

Non-human nouns form their plural with *-l*, *-ul*, *-kul*, *-sil* or *-ev*. *-l* occurs with nouns that end in a vowel other than *i* or *u* or in *n*, *ḍ*, *r*, *-am*, or *ṭ* (only monosyllables in the case of *ṭ*). Note that *n/r/m* become *nd/d/Ø* before *l*. Examples include *elka-l* 'rats', *pāṭa-l* 'songs', *kī-l* 'hands', *āte-l* 'dogs', *kaṇḍ-l* 'eyes' (sing. *kan*), *punḍ-l* 'wounds' (sing. *pun*), *eḍ-l* 'bullocks', *guṇḍ-l* 'stones', *tāḍ-l* 'ropes', *gōḍ-l* 'fingernails' (sing. *gōr*), *ūḍ-l* 'villages' (sing. *ūr*), *dīa-l* 'gods' (sing. *dīam*), *gurra-l* 'horses' (sing. *gurram*), *duṭ-l* 'hips', *pāṭ-l* 'sarīs'. *-ul* occurs with nouns that end in consonants other than those noted above. Certain nouns that end in *am*, however, take *-ul*. Examples include *keṅ-ul* 'ears', *kom-ul* 'branches, horns', *puv-ul* 'flowers', *sak-ul* 'eggs', *pām-ul* 'snakes', *capoṭ-ul* 'slaps', *daṭam-ul* 'doors', *gaḍḍam-ul* 'chins', *sondam-ul* 'elephant trunks'.

*-kul* occurs after nouns that end in *i* (*dīvari* 'fisherman', plur. *dīvaḍ-l* 'fishermen' is the only exception) or *u*: *muḍi-kul* 'knots', *gāḍḍi-kul* 'donkeys', *cāku-kul* 'knives', *jāmbu-kul* 'guavas'; after monosyllables with a short vowel + *l*: *pal-kul* 'teeth', *tal-kul* 'heads', *val-kul* 'grains of rice'; and after the specific nouns *sālṅi-kul* 'younger sisters' husbands' (sing. *sāṅjin*), *bāla-kul* 'sons', *dāna-kul* 'grains', *ella-kul* 'houses', *māla-kul* 'men of the Mahar caste', *pilla-kul* 'women', *pēn-kul* 'lice', and *sīr-kul* 'nits'.

*-sil* tends to occur with certain nouns that end in consonants other than a non-retroflex stop, *j*, *s*, or *v*, but the conditioning is largely lexical: *dōr-sil* 'cattle', *sāl-sil* 'years', *būram-sil* 'floods', *citraṅ-sil* 'cheetahs', *tipon-sil* 'seeders', *tiṭor-sil* 'scorpions', *pōḍ-sil* 'boils', *nāṭ-sil* 'pieces of timber', *koḍva-sil* 'sickles' (sing. *koḍval*) and *tirga-sil* 'grinding stones' (sing. *tirgal*). Some feminine and masculine nouns noted earlier also take *-sil*.

All non-human nouns ending in *k* form their plural with *-ev*: *aliak-ev* 'male buffaloes', *keḍiak-ev* 'tigers', *koliak-ev* 'jackals', *miṭṭuk-ev* 'parrots', *senduk-ev* 'boxes'.

### Case

Kolami has seven cases: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative. The oblique cases, namely those other than the nominative, consist of the oblique nominal stem and the appropriate case suffix. Few nouns have an oblique stem distinct from the nominative, however. Apart from the pronouns noted earlier, examples include *vēgaḍ* 'field' (obl. *vēgaṭ-*), *nal* 'day' (obl. *naṭ-*) and *ūr* 'village' (obl. *ūḍ-*).

The nominative is the unmarked case. It has no distinctive suffix so that the stem itself functions as the nominative.

- (7) a. *ān vattan*  
I-nom come-pst-1s  
'I came'
- b. *ella anda(d)*  
house-nom be-prs-3nms  
'(the) house exists'

The accusative case suffix is *-un*. The allomorph *-n* occurs after nouns ending in vowels (except *kī* 'hand') or *l* and after polysyllabic nouns ending in *r* or *v*: *ella-n* 'house', *ellakul-n* 'houses', *māsur-n* 'men', *ūdl-n* 'villages', *keḍiakev-n* 'tigers'. *-un* occurs elsewhere as in *kī-un* 'hands', *ūr-un* 'villages', *kev-un* 'ears', *mās-un* 'man', *an(-un)* 'me', *in(-un)* 'you (sing.)', *amd-un/amn-un* 'him'. The accusative is generally not used with inanimate direct objects, which appear in the nominative, or unmarked, case form.

- (8) a. *ān pālt īr vānktan*  
I-nom milk-loc water-nom pour-pst-1s  
'I poured water into the milk.'
- b. *ān kist sivval turuktan*  
I-nom fire-loc fuel-nom put-pst-1s  
'I put fuel on the fire.'

The instrumental case suffix is *-aḍ*. Its allomorph *-naḍ* occurs with the first and second person singular pronouns and with nouns that end in a vowel: *an-naḍ* 'by me', *in-naḍ* 'by you', *kī-naḍ* 'by hand', *gelli-naḍ* 'with a bow'. *-aḍ* occurs elsewhere, as in *tupak-aḍ* 'with a gun', *beḍtal-aḍ* 'with sticks', *māsur-aḍ* 'by men'.

The dative case suffix has the allomorphs *-ñ*, *-uñ*, *-nadañ*, and *-adañ*. *-ñ* occurs with non-human nouns that end in vowels and *-uñ* after those that end in consonants: *ella-ñ* 'to the house', *gāli-ñ* 'to the wind', *māk-uñ* 'to the tree', *mākul-uñ* 'to the trees', *vēgaṭ-uñ* 'to the field' (nom. *vēgaḍ*), *an-uñ* 'to me', *amd-uñ/amn-uñ* 'to him', *adavl-uñ* 'to them'. *-nadañ* (freely varying with *-nañ*) occurs with human nouns, but after the plural suffix has the variant *-adañ*: *mās-na(da)ñ* 'to the man', *mās-ur-adañ* 'to the men', *pilla-na(da)ñ* 'to the woman', *pilla-kul-adañ* 'to the women'. In the case of pronouns, it freely varies with *-uñ*: *an-uñ/an-na(da)ñ* 'to me'.

The ablative case suffix is *-tanaṭ*, with the rare variants *-aṭ* and *-nattaṭ*: *ella-tanaṭ* 'from the house', *māk-tanaṭ* 'from the tree'. *-aṭ* occurs in three forms: *itt-aṭ* 'from here', *att-aṭ* 'from there', *ett-aṭ* 'from where'. *-nattaṭ* occurs only with some human nouns: *paṭlak-nattaṭ* 'from the headman', *sāyeb-nattaṭ* 'from the gentleman'.

The genitive case suffix is *-ne* with allomorphs *-e* and *-ta*. *-e* occurs after the personal pronouns (nasals geminate between short vowel and *-e*) *ann-e* 'my', *amm-e* 'our (excl.)', *nēnḍ-e/nēm-e* (A) 'our (incl.)', *inn-e* 'your (sing.)', and *imm-e* 'your (plur.)'; after the plural demonstrative and interrogative pronouns *avr-e* 'of those men', *ivr-e* 'of these men', *adavl-e* 'of them (non-masc.)'; and after the plural suffix *-l* (*puv-ul-e* 'of the flowers'). *-ne* occurs elsewhere: *am-ne* 'his', *ad-ne* 'of her/it', *vaḍig-ne* 'of the carpenter', *lakḍe-ne* 'of wood'. *-ta* seems to be in

free variation with *-ne* after nouns, but not pronouns: *kis-ne/kis-ta* ‘of the fire’.

The locative case suffix is *-t*, which seems to freely vary with *-eñ* in the plural: *ella-t* ‘in the house’, *ella-kul-t/ella-kul-eñ* ‘in the houses’, *kom-t* ‘on the branch’, *kom-ul-t/kom-ul-eñ* ‘on the branches’.

Postpositions are independent words that follow nouns and behave like case markers. While some follow the nominative, others govern the accusative or dative case of the noun they combine with. Those that follow the nominative include *mēra(ñ)* ‘near’ in *māle mera(ñ)* ‘near the hill’, *bōtal* ‘around’ (< Marathi *bhovtālā*) in *ūr bōtal* ‘around the village’, *dokoḍi* ‘until’ in *ā siḍ dokoḍi* ‘until that day’ and *iṇḍi dokoḍi* ‘until today’, and *lōpal* ‘inside’ (< Telugu *lōpala*) in *ella lōpal* ‘inside the house’. (*lōpal* may itself be inflected for the ablative case, as in *ella lōpal-tanaṭ* ‘from inside the house’.) Two postpositions that govern the accusative are *pode* ‘on’ in *gāḍḍi-n pode* ‘on the donkey’ and *mēke-n pode* ‘on a goat’ and *veṭṭa* ‘along with’ in *an veṭṭa* ‘along with me’. In the case of demonstratives, however, *veṭṭa* follows the nominative case of the pronoun, as in *am veṭṭa* ‘with him’, *ad veṭṭa* ‘with her/it’ (but also with the accusative *ad-n veṭṭa* ‘id.’), *avr veṭṭa* ‘with those men’. Finally, two postpositions that govern the dative are *saṭṭi* ‘for the sake of’ (< Marathi *sāṭ(h)i*) in *in-uñ saṭṭi* ‘for your sake’ and *amd peris* ‘(other) than’ (< Marathi *parīs*) in *amd-uñ peris* ‘(other) than him’.

## 11.5 Verb Morphology

### Classification and Structure

The verb base forms the nucleus of the verb. Most bases are monomorphemic and, as such, are inherently intransitive or transitive, with no overt marker of transitivity. But some verb bases may be augmented with a transitive-causative suffix. Verb forms are classified for morphological and syntactic reasons as finite or non-finite.

Finite verbs are structurally divided into four types: past negative, imperative, prohibitive and the remaining finite forms. The past negative consists of a verb base, negation marker, past tense marker and personal ending. The imperative, formed only in the second person, consists of a verb base and personal ending. Similarly, the prohibitive – a negative imperative – consists of a verb base, negation marker and personal ending. All remaining finite verbs, including the past, present-future, future, durative and negative, share a common structure: they consist of a verb base, tense or negation marker, and personal ending. Morphologically, all finite verbs incorporate both tense or negation markers and personal endings; syntactically, they occur only in specific positions in syntactic structures.

Non-finite verbs are morphologically distinguished from finite verbs by the absence of personal endings; nor can they form the basis of an independent predication. They include four classes: infinitive, conjunctive (gerund in Emeneau 1955), concessive and conditional, and adnominal.

### *Transitive-causative Suffixes*

The transitive-causative suffixes *-p-*, *-ip-*, *-k-*, *-t-* and *-ṭ-* are morphologically conditioned. As the name suggests, when added to an intransitive base, this morpheme makes the resulting stem transitive as in *mī-* '(cattle) graze' and *mī-p-* 'graze (cattle)' and, when added to a transitive base, makes the resulting stem causative as in *dāṭ-* 'cross' and *dāṭ-ip-* 'make cross'. Many stems thus formed exhibit idiosyncratic morphophonemic changes. *-ip-* seems the most productive; it alternates with *-p-* in some verbs and *-t-* in one. Examples with *-p-* include *āḍ-p-* 'make play' (*āḍ-* 'play'), *an-p-* 'keep in a place' (*an-* 'be in a place'), *mī-p-* 'graze (cattle)' (*mī-* '(cattle) graze'), *melg-p-/melg-ip-* 'shake (something)' (*melg-* '(something) shake'), *di-p-/dig-ip-* 'make descend' (*dig-* 'descend'). Examples with *-ip-* include *ud-ip-* 'make sit' (*ud-* 'sit'), *dāṭ-ip-* 'make cross' (*dāṭ-* 'cross'), *tin-ip-* 'make eat, feed' (*tin-* 'eat'), *paṇḍ-ip-* 'make ripe' (*paṇḍ-* 'ripen'). *-k-* occurs only in *kin-k-* 'break (something) into pieces' (*kini-* '(something) break into pieces') and *ir-k-* 'tear (something)' (*ir-* '(something) tear'). *-t-* occurs only in *par-t-* 'wound, win turn in a game' (*paḍ-* 'be wounded, turn in a game be won') and *ur-t-* 'give to drink (with one's hand)' (*un-* 'drink', also *un-ip-* 'make drink'). Finally, *-ṭ-* occurs only in *ō-ṭ-* 'smash to pieces' (*ōḍ-* 'burst in pieces').

### *Personal Endings*

Finite verbs have personal endings that agree with the overt or covert subject. In most cases the final consonant of the personal ending is the same as that found on the corresponding pronoun. The following list gives the allomorphs of the personal endings along with their conditioning.

Person, Gender, Number	Personal ending
First singular	<i>-an</i> (past tense)
	<i>-n</i> (-/N__)
	<i>-un</i> (elsewhere)
First plural	<i>-am</i> (past tense)
	<i>-m</i> (-/N__)
	<i>-um</i> (elsewhere)
Second singular	<i>-iv</i> (-/C__)
	<i>-v</i> (-/N__)
	<i>-∅</i> (imperative)
Second plural	<i>-ir</i> (-/C__)
	<i>-r</i> (-/N__)
	<i>-ur</i> (imperative)
Third masculine singular	<i>-en</i> (-/C__)
	<i>-n</i> (-/N__)
Third masculine plural	<i>-er</i> (-/C__)
	<i>-r</i> (-/N__)

Third non-masculine singular	- <i>in</i> (past) - <i>un</i> (after durative -Ø, but also - <i>d</i> after irregular verbs) -( <i>d</i> ) (elsewhere)
Third non-masculine plural	- <i>ev</i> (-/C__) - <i>v</i> (-/N__)

The first person singular ending *-un* is optional in the present-future and future paradigms. Although the first person plural pronouns distinguish inclusive and exclusive forms, there is only one set of personal endings for both.

There are six finite paradigms, past, present-future, future, durative, negative and past negative, which are inflected for all persons. The imperative and prohibitive are finite forms that have only second person forms.

### Past

Past tense forms incorporate the suffix *-t/-d-* between the verb base and personal ending. *-d-* occurs in only six bases; *-t-*, everywhere else. In the examples below, several idiosyncratic morphophonemic changes may be noted. *-d-* occurs in *tin-d-* 'eat' (*tin-*), *an-d-* 'be in a place' (*an-*), *un-d* 'drink' (*un-*), *ed-d* 'become, happen' (*er-*), *gōd-d-* 'beat' (*gōl-*), and *sed-d-* 'go' (*ser-*). Past stems in *-t-* distinguish eight subclasses according to the morphophonemics of the base: (1) *sī-t-* 'give' (*sī-*), *en-t-* 'say' (*en-*), *āḍ-t-* 'play' (*āḍ-*), *vin-t-* 'hear' (*vin-*), *ar-t-* 'weep' (*ar-*), *vēl-t-* 'ask' (*vēl-*); (2) *ut-t-* 'sit' (*ud-*), *ēn-t-* 'dance' (*ēnd-*), *dik-t-* 'descend' (*dig-*), *kūkt-t-* 'call' (*kūg-*), *dāñk-t-* 'hide' (*dāñg-*), *ras-t-* 'say, speak' (*raj-*), *vēns-t-* 'thatch' (*vēnj-*); (3) *aḍak-t-* 'walk' (*aḍg-*), *kayañk-t-* 'laugh' (*kayñg-*), *kinik-t-* 'break into pieces' (*kink-*), *perep-t-* 'rear a child' (*perp-*); (4) *aṭ-t-* 'thirst for' (*aḍḍ-*), *iṭ-t-* 'tell' (*idd-*); (5) *muṭ-t-* 'talk' (*muḍ-*), *oṭ-t-* 'wash' (*oḍ-*), *suṭ-t-* 'cook' (*suḍ-*), *iṭ-t-* 'put' (*īd-*), *kākal aṭ-t-* 'abuse' (*āḍ-*), *opa-t-* 'be found' (*opad-*), *magu-t-* 'vomit' (*maguḍ-*); (6) *kū-t-* 'leak' (*kūl-*), *sū-t-* 'get up' (*sūl-*), *tū-t-* 'run' (*tūl-*), *umbu-t-* 'urinate' (*umbul-*), *rā-t-* 'fall' (A) (*rā-l-*); (7) *tī-t-* 'be finished' (*tīr-*), *ū-t-* 'wind on' (*ūr-*), *vī-t-* 'sell' (*vīr-*), *tigu-t-* 'thunder' (*tigur-*); (8) *vat-t-* 'come' (*var-*), *kot-t-* 'give' (*kor-*). Past tense paradigms are given for *sī* 'give', *tin* 'eat', and *var* 'come'.

Verb		<i>sī</i> 'give'	<i>tin</i> 'eat'	<i>var</i> 'come'
Past stem		<i>sī-t-</i>	<i>tin-d-</i>	<i>vat-t-</i>
Cell	1 sing.	<i>sī-t-an</i>	<i>tin-d-an</i>	<i>vat-t-an</i>
	1 plur.	<i>sī-t-am</i>	<i>tin-d-am</i>	<i>vat-t-am</i>
	2 sing.	<i>sī-t-iv</i>	<i>tin-d-iv</i>	<i>vat-t-iv</i>
	2 plur.	<i>sī-t-ir</i>	<i>tin-d-ir</i>	<i>vat-t-ir</i>
	3 masc. sing.	<i>sī-t-en</i>	<i>tin-d-en</i>	<i>vat-t-en</i>
	3 masc. plur.	<i>sī-t-er</i>	<i>tin-d-er</i>	<i>vat-t-er</i>
	3 non-masc. sing.	<i>sī-t-in</i>	<i>tin-d-in</i>	<i>vat-t-in</i>
	3 non-masc. plur.	<i>sī-t-ev</i>	<i>tin-d-ev</i>	<i>vat-t-ev</i>

## Present-future

Present-future forms incorporate *-at-* (~ *-a-*) between the verb base and personal ending. *-at-* appears in the first and second persons; *-a-*, in the third. The irregular verbs *er-* ‘become, happen’, *ser-* ‘go’, *var-* ‘come’, *kor-* ‘bring’ and *an-* ‘be’ have the present-future stems *a-*, *sa-*, *va-*, *ko-* and *and-* (sometimes *an-*). Further, the personal endings that follow *ko-* harmonise *a* to *o* (e.g. *ko-ot(un)* ‘I am bringing’). In the Naikṛi dialect the present-future suffix is *-ēnt-*, as in *ser-ēnt-am* ‘we are going’. Present-future forms refer to present or future time, depending on context; they may consequently substitute for future tense forms where future time reference is intended.

- (9) a. *ān amdun ōl-at-un*      b. *ān amdun ōl-dat-un*  
 I-nom he-acc see-prs-1s      I-nom he-acc see-fut-1s  
 ‘I am seeing/will see him.’      ‘I will see him.’

Present-future paradigms for *sī-* ‘give’, *put-* ‘cut into pieces’ and *var-* ‘come’ are given below.

Verb base	<i>sī-</i> ‘give’	<i>put-</i> ‘cut into pieces’	<i>var-</i> ‘come’
Present-future stem	<i>sī-at-</i>	<i>put-at-</i>	<i>va-at-</i>
Cell			
1 sing.	<i>sī-at(-un)</i>	<i>put-at(-un)</i>	<i>va-at(-un)</i>
1 plur.	<i>sī-at-um</i>	<i>put-at-um</i>	<i>va-at-um</i>
2 sing.	<i>sī-at-iv</i>	<i>put-at-iv</i>	<i>va-at-iv</i>
2 plur.	<i>sī-at-ir</i>	<i>put-at-ir</i>	<i>va-at-ir</i>
3 masc. sing.	<i>sī-a-n</i>	<i>put-a-n</i>	<i>va-a-n</i>
3 masc. plur.	<i>sī-a-r</i>	<i>put-a-r</i>	<i>va-a-r</i>
3 non-masc. sing.	<i>sī-a(-d)</i>	<i>put-a(-d)</i>	<i>va-a(-d)</i>
3 non-masc. plur.	<i>sī-a-v</i>	<i>put-a-v</i>	<i>va-a-v</i>

## Future

Future tense forms incorporate *-dat-* (~ *-da-*) between the verb base and personal ending: *-dat-* occurs in the first and second persons; *-da-*, in the third. *er-* ‘become’, *ser-* ‘go’ and *var-* ‘come’ have two future stems, one with and one without *r*: namely, *er-/e-*, *ser-/se-* and *var-/va-*. After stems with *r* and after the verb *kor-* ‘bring’, the *d* of the future tense suffix is dropped: compare present *er-at-un* ‘I am becoming’ with future *e-dat-un* ‘I will become’. Future tense forms refer to habitual actions as well as to events with future time reference. The Adilabad and Naikṛi dialects have *-sat-/sa-* in place of *-dat-/da-*. Paradigms are given for *sī-* ‘give’, *put-* ‘cut’ and *var-* ‘come’.

Verb base	<i>sī-</i> 'give'	<i>put-</i> 'cut'	<i>var-</i> 'come'	
Future stem	<i>sī-dat-</i>	<i>pu-dat-</i>	<i>var-at-/va-dat-</i>	
Cell	1 sing.	<i>sī-dat(-un)</i>	<i>pu-dat(-un)</i>	<i>var-at(-un)/va-dat(-un)</i>
	1 plur.	<i>sī-dat-um</i>	<i>pu-dat-um</i>	<i>var-at-um/va-dat-um</i>
	2 sing.	<i>sī-dat-iv</i>	<i>pu-dat-iv</i>	<i>var-at-iv/va-dat-iv</i>
	2 plur.	<i>sī-dat-ir</i>	<i>pu-dat-ir</i>	<i>var-at-ir/va-dat-ir</i>
	3 masc. sing.	<i>sī-da-n</i>	<i>pu-da-n</i>	<i>var-a-n/va-da-n</i>
	3 masc. plur.	<i>sī-da-r</i>	<i>pu-da-r</i>	<i>var-a-r/va-da-r</i>
	3 non-masc. sing.	<i>sī-da(-d)</i>	<i>pu-da(-d)</i>	<i>var-a(-d)/va-da(-d)</i>
	3 non-masc. plur.	<i>sī-da-v</i>	<i>pu-da-v</i>	<i>var-a-v/va-da-v</i>

### Durative

Durative forms incorporate the durative tense suffix between the verb base and personal ending: *-d-* in the first person, *-Ø-* in the third person non-masculine singular and *-n-* elsewhere. Some stem-final consonants undergo morphophonemic changes in the first person. *er-* 'become', *ser-* 'go', *var-* 'come' and *kor-* 'bring' have two durative stems, one in *n* and one in *d*: *en-/ed-*, *sen-/sed-*, *van-/vad-*, *kon/kod-*, respectively. Moreover, the third person non-masculine singular of these verbs has two variants, e.g. *en-Ø-d/er-Ø-un* 'it becomes', *sen-Ø-d/ser-Ø-un* 'it goes', *van-Ø-d/van-Ø-un* 'it comes' and *kon-Ø-d/kon-Ø-un* 'it brings'. *an-* 'be' has one durative stem, but in this cell also has two variants: *an-Ø-d/an-Ø-un* 'it is'.

Durative forms express continuous action with past time reference or in a habitual sense.

- (10) a. *ān pāṭa pāḍenna anun ōlnen*  
 I-nom song sing-cf I-acc watch-dur-3ms  
 'As I was singing a song, he was watching me.'
- b. *indikul ām itten vaddum*  
 last.year we-nom here come-dur-1pl  
 'Last year we used to come here.'
- c. *ēpuḍ ēpuḍ keḍiakuṅ karu vand, āpuḍ āpuḍ*  
 when when tiger-dat hunger come-dur-nms then then  
*arun*  
 roar-dur-3nms  
 'Whenever a tiger gets hungry, it roars.'

Durative paradigms are given for *sī-* 'give', *put-* 'cut' and *var-* 'come'.

Verb base	<i>sī-</i> 'give'	<i>put-</i> 'cut'	<i>var-</i> 'come'	
Durative stem	<i>sī-d-</i>	<i>put-/pu-</i>	<i>van-/vad-</i>	
Cell	1 sing.	<i>sī-d-un</i>	<i>pu-d-un</i>	<i>van-d-un</i>
	1 plur.	<i>sī-d-um</i>	<i>pu-d-um</i>	<i>van-d-um</i>
	2 sing.	<i>sī-n-iv</i>	<i>put-n-iv</i>	<i>van-n-iv</i>
	2 plur.	<i>sī-n-ir</i>	<i>put-n-ir</i>	<i>van-n-ir</i>
	3 masc. sing.	<i>sī-n-en</i>	<i>put-n-en</i>	<i>van-n-en</i>

3 masc. plur.	sī-n-er	put-n-er	van-n-er
3 non-masc. sing.	sī-∅-un	put-∅-un	van-∅-un/van-∅-d
3 non-masc. plur.	sī-n-ev	put-n-ev	van-ne-v

### Negative

Negative forms incorporate the negative marker *-e-* between the verb base and personal ending: they indicate absence of action, generally with non-past time reference. Paradigms illustrate *sī-* ‘give’, *tin-* ‘eat’ and *var-* ‘come’.

Verb base	<i>sī-</i> ‘give’	<i>tin-</i> ‘eat’	<i>var-</i> ‘come’
Cell 1 sing.	sī-e-n	tin-e-n	var-e-n
1 plur.	sī-e-m	tin-e-m	var-e-m
2 sing.	sī-e-v	tin-e-v	var-e-v
2 plur.	sī-e-r	tin-e-r	var-e-r
3 masc. sing.	sī-e-n	tin-e-n	var-e-n
3 masc. plur.	sī-e-r	tin-e-r	var-e-r
3 non-masc. sing.	sī-e(-d)	tin-e(-d)	var-e(-d)
3 non-masc. plur.	sī-e-v	tin-e-v	var-e-v

The defective verb *tōt-* ‘not be, not be in a place’ occurs only in the negative and past negative (see below), e.g. *tōt-e-n* ‘I am not’. *tō(d)* ‘she/it is not’ is a truncated form of the expected *tōted*.

### Past Negative

The past negative finite verb consists of a verb base, negative marker *-e-*, past tense marker *-t-* and personal ending. The past tense marker has no variants in this paradigm. *tōt-* ‘not be’ has the past stem *tōt-* to which the past tense marker is directly suffixed, e.g. *tōt-t-an* ‘I was not’ instead of *\*tot-e-t-an*. The etymology of this paradigm, explaining its unusual morphological structure, is presented in Steever (1993). Paradigms are presented for *sī-* ‘give’, *tin-* ‘eat’ and *var-* ‘come’.

Verb base	<i>sī-</i> ‘give’	<i>tin-</i> ‘eat’	<i>var-</i> ‘come’
Cell 1 sing.	sī-e-t-an	tin-e-t-an	var-e-t-an
1 plur.	sī-e-t-am	tin-e-t-am	var-e-t-am
2 sing.	sī-e-t-iv	tin-e-t-iv	var-e-t-iv
2 plur.	sī-e-t-ir	tin-e-t-ir	var-e-t-ir
3 masc. sing.	sī-e-t-en	tin-e-t-en	var-e-t-en
3 masc. plur.	sī-e-t-er	tin-e-t-er	var-e-t-er
3 non-masc. sing.	sī-e-t-in	tin-e-t-in	var-e-t-in
3 non-masc. plur.	sī-e-t-ev	tin-e-t-ev	var-e-t-ev

## Imperative

Imperative forms occur only in the second person singular and plural. They consist of the verb base and a personal ending  $-\emptyset$  in the singular and  $-ur/-r$  in the plural. Bases with the shape  $(C)Vn/d-$  lengthen the vowel in the singular; *an-* 'be', however, has a long vowel in both the singular and plural. *var-* 'come', *ser-* 'go', and *kor-* 'bring' drop the stem-final *r* and have  $C\bar{V}$  in the singular and  $C\check{V}$  in the plural. The plural allomorph  $-r$  occurs only with these irregular verbs. *kor-* has two sets of stems with different meanings, *ko-* 'give' and *kota-* 'bring', where the latter appears historically to incorporate the  $*t\bar{a}/taru$  'give to you or me' (DEDR 3098). Examples of singular and plural imperatives appear below.

Verb base	Singular	Plural
<i>tin-</i> 'eat'	<i>tīn</i>	<i>tin-ur</i>
<i>mud-</i> 'talk'	<i>mūd</i>	<i>mud-ur</i>
<i>an-</i> 'be in place'	<i>ān</i>	<i>ān-ur</i>
<i>var-</i> 'come'	<i>vā</i>	<i>va-r</i>
<i>ser-</i> 'go'	<i>sē</i>	<i>se-r</i>
<i>kor-</i> 'bring'	<i>kota</i> 'bring!'	<i>kotar</i> 'bring!'
	<i>kō</i> 'give!'	<i>ko-r</i> 'give!'

## Prohibitive

The prohibitive, or a negative imperative, occurs only in the second person with the structure: verb base, negative marker  $-ne-$  and  $-m$  in the singular and  $-r/d-$  (A) in the plural. Bases with the shape  $CVd-$  have long vowels in both singular and plural. *er-* 'become', *ser-* 'go', *var-* 'come' and *kor-* 'bring' have the prohibitive stems *en-*, *sen-*, *van-* and *kon-*, respectively. Examples of the prohibitive are given below.

Verb base	Singular	Plural
<i>tin-</i> 'eat'	<i>tin-ne-m</i>	<i>tin-ne-r</i> 'don't eat!'
<i>mūd-</i> 'talk'	<i>mūd-ne-m</i>	<i>mūd-ne-r</i> 'don't talk!'
<i>ser-</i> 'go'	<i>sen-n-em</i>	<i>sen-n-er</i> 'don't go!'
<i>var-</i> 'come'	<i>van-ne-m</i>	<i>van-n-er</i> 'don't come!'

## Non-finite Verb Forms

The infinitive suffixes  $-en(g)$  to the verb base, e.g. in (11) *kor-en* is the infinitive of *kor-* 'bring'.

- (11) *penda kor-en vaḍgaṅ send*  
 dung bring-inf cowshed-dat go-dur-3nms  
 'She used to go to the cowshed to bring cowdung.'

Apart from its use to mark purposive and circumstantial clauses, it also serves

as a hortative when construed with the first person inclusive plural pronoun, e.g. *nēṇḍ tin-eṇ* 'let's eat'. The first usage is non-finite, the second finite.

### Continuative Conjunctive

The continuative conjunctive (called *gerund* in Emeneau 1955) suffixes *-a* to the verb base, e.g. *tin-a* 'eating' (*tin-*). Bases with the shape *CVḍ-* have stems with a long vowel, e.g. *mūḍ-a* 'talking' (*mud-*). *er-* 'become', *ser-* 'go', *var-* 'come', *kor-* 'bring' and *kak-* 'do' have the stem alternants *a-*, *sa-*, *va-*, *ko-* and *ka-*, e.g. *sa-a* 'going', *ko-o* 'bringing' (note *a > o*). In rapid speech *-a* (12a) is deleted before vowels but in slow speech is replaced by *-ay* (12b).

- |      |    |                |                |    |                |                |
|------|----|----------------|----------------|----|----------------|----------------|
| (12) | a. | <i>targ-Ø</i>  | <i>aṇḍatun</i> | b. | <i>targ-ay</i> | <i>aṇḍatun</i> |
|      |    | cut-cont.cnj   | be-fut-1s      |    | cut-cont.cnj   | be-fut-1s      |
|      |    | 'I am cutting' |                |    | 'I am cutting' |                |

### Completive Conjunctive

The completive conjunctive suffixes *-t* to the verb base. To this form the clitic *=na* is optionally added, but not before auxiliary *an-* 'be'. Examples include *sī-t(=na)* 'having given' (*sī-*), *ma-t(=na)* 'having forgotten' (*mad-*), *kūk-t(=na)* 'having called' (*kūg-*), *vēṅs-t(=na)* 'having thatched' (*vēṅj-*), *ayak-t(=na)* 'having swept' (*ayk-*), *iṭ-t(=na)* 'having told' (*iḍḍ-*) and *go-ḍ(=na)* 'having beaten' (*gōl-*). Many of these stems resemble the past tense stems discussed earlier; however, some differences exist. The completive *-t* has no *-d* allomorph as found in the past tense form except in *go-ḍ(=na)* 'having beaten'. The other five verbs with the past tense allomorph *-d* have *-t* in the completive: *e-t(=na)* 'having become' (*er-*), *se-t(=na)* 'having gone' (*ser-*), *tin-t(=na)* 'having eaten' (*tin-*), *un-t(=na)* 'having eaten' (*un-*) and *an-t(=na)* 'having been' (*an-*). The sandhi of *l + t > ṭ* is optional in the completive, e.g. *sūl-t(=na)/sū-ṭ(=na)* 'having got up' (note also *iḍ-t(=na)/i-ṭ(=na)* 'having put' < *id-*). *r + t > ṛ* does not occur in this form: *vīr-t(=na)* 'having sold'. Bases with the shape *CVḍ-* have stems with long vowels but no assimilation of consonants, e.g. *mūḍ-t(=na)* 'having talked' (*mud-*).

Most bases in the Adilabad and Naikṛi dialects have the suffix *-ut*; *-t* occurs only with irregular verbs and a few others, e.g. *tūl-ut* 'having run', *vīr-ut* 'having sold', *va-t* 'having come' (*var-*). The Wardha dialect may originally have had this suffix whose *u* was subsequently lost; this would explain the distinct morphophonemic behaviour of the past tense marker and the completive conjunctive in this dialect (Subrahmanyam 1971: 167).

### Future Conjunctive

The future conjunctive suffixes *-ak* to the verb base; this form always co-occurs in an auxiliary verb construction with the auxiliary *tōt-* 'not be' (see below).

### Negative Conjunctive

The negative conjunctive suffixes *-sel/-setay* (A) to the verb base, e.g. *tin-sel/ti-setay* (A) 'not having eaten' (*tin-*).

### Conditional and Concessive

In the Wardha dialect, the conditional is formed by cliticising =*te* to a finite verb; in the Adilabad dialect, a conditional non-finite verb is formed by suffixing *-e* to the past stem, as in *tū-t-e* 'if runs' (*tūl-*). The concessive conditional is formed by cliticising =*tiri* to a finite verb, as in *vaatun=tiri* 'although I came'. See Steever (1988) for etymologies of these two clitics.

### Adnominal Verbs

Kolami has four adnominal verb forms. The continuative consists of a verb base and *-a* (e.g. *tin-a* 'which is eating'); the completive consists of a past stem and *-a* (e.g. *tin-d-a* 'which ate'); the future consists of a verb base and *-eka* (e.g. *tin-eka* 'which will eat'); and the negative consists of a verb base and *-e* ('which did/does/will not eat').

### Periphrastic Forms

The Wardha dialect contains a number of periphrastic constructions in which a non-finite form of the main verb is combined with an inflected form of the auxiliaries *an-* 'be', *tōt-* 'not be' and *kal-* 'may be, possibly be'. These periphrastic forms supplement and extend the simple ones. Due to the limited material available, the meaning of these constructions is stated approximately. Most of these constructions are absent in the Adilabad dialect.

The continuative conjunctive form figures in six periphrastic constructions. In keeping with SOV word order, the non-finite main verb always precedes the inflected auxiliary. When the continuative of the main verb combines with the present-future of *an-* 'be', a present-future continuative form is created: *ān targ(ay) anḍatun* 'I am cutting'. When it combines with the past of *an-*, a past continuative is formed: *amd ur anḍen* 'he was ploughing'. This construction appears in conditional sentences with irrealis meaning (13a). When combined with the durative of *an-*, it forms a durative continuative (13b). When combined with *tōt-* 'not be', it yields a continuative negative (13c). And when combined with the past of *kal-*, it forms a potential (13d).

- (13) a. *ān idn tin-∅ anḍan=te, anuñ vessa*  
 I-nom this-acc eat-cont.cnj be-pst-1s=cnd I-dat fever  
*va-∅ anḍin*  
 come-cont.cnj be-pst-3nms  
 'If I had eaten this, I would have become feverish.'
- b. *amd vannen=te, ān tin-ay andun*  
 he-nom come-dur-3nms=cnd I-nom eat-cont.cnj be-dur-1s  
 'Whenever he came, I used to be eating.'

- c. *ān idn tin-a tottan=te, anuñ vessa*  
 I-nom it-acc eat-cont.cnj not.be-pst-neg-1s I-dat fever  
*va-a tottin*  
 come-cont.cnj not.be-pst-neg-3nms  
 ‘If I hadn’t eaten this, I wouldn’t have become feverish.’
- d. *amd tin-a kaltan*  
 he-nom eat-cont.cnj be.able-pst-3ms  
 ‘He may be eating.’

Five periphrastic constructions use the completive conjunctive form of the main verb. When combined with the present-future of the auxiliary *an-*, it yields a progressive or perfective construction: *ān il-t andatun* ‘I am standing’. When combined with the past of *an-*, it yields a past progressive or perfect: *ān tū-t andan* ‘I was running’. When combined with the durative of *an-*, it yields an iterative meaning: *ēpuḍ ēpuḍ seddun, āpuḍ āpuḍ am(d) tin-t annen* ‘every time I went, he had finished eating’. It can also combine with the non-past or past of *tōt-* ‘not be’; the second construction so formed can substitute for the simple past negative: *ān va-t tōten/an varetan* ‘I didn’t come’. Finally, it combines with the past of *kal-*: *am(d) va-t kaltan* ‘he may/might have come’.

The future conjunctive form combines with *tōt-* and in this capacity may substitute for the simple negative: *ān var-ak tōten/an varen* ‘I will not come’. The negative non-finite verb combines with the past of *kal-*: *am(d) tin-sel kaltan* ‘he may/might not have come’.

## 11.6 Minor Word Classes

### Conjunctions

While non-finite verbs figure prominently in the formation of complex syntactic structures in Kolami, the language also makes use of certain conjunctions. *ini* ‘and’ conjoins nouns as well as predications, as in *amd ini ān* ‘he and I’ and *nīv īr oḍ ini anuñ ipaṭe kak kō* ‘you bathe and make bread for me’. *ginni* ‘but’ is another conjunction.

### Exclamations

*ʔe ʔē* ‘yes’ and *gi gi* ‘lo!, look!’ are typical exclamations. *cū* is uttered to set a dog on someone. *boa* in *uddative te ud boa* ‘if you will sit on it, then sit!’ may also be an exclamation.

### Adverbs

Some nouns commonly function as adverbs and are in this capacity normally reduplicated: *īr magga magga vaa* ‘the water runs slowly’ (*magga* ‘slowness’), *geḍlitanaṭ ṭēm ṭēm jāra* ‘it leaks from the pot drop by drop’, *nīv ipaṭe kak vaḍi vaḍi* ‘you make bread quickly!’, *okkod puv jāsti uttin* ‘there was (lit. sat) one flower more’.

### Echo Words

Echo constructions are a kind of reduplicating compound in which one member imperfectly repeats – hence, echoes – the basic form. In most instances the echo word replaces the initial CV of the basic word with *gi*, as in *pal gil* ‘tooth or the like’, *īr gīr* ‘water or the like’, *māsur gīsūr* ‘men or the like’. For verbs Emeneau records two variants of the prohibitive verb *aras-nem* ‘don’t be afraid’: *aras-nem giras-nem* ‘don’t be afraid or anything’ which echoes the entire form and *araz-giras-nem* which echoes just the verb stem. With some nouns, the echo form begins with *m*, as in *īr mīr* ‘water or the like’, *kūṭel mūṭel* ‘cows or the like’. The nouns *bāla* ‘child’ has the idiosyncratic form *bāla sūla* ‘children or the like’.

### Clitics

Kolami clitics are exclusively postclitic, and are cliticised to nouns and verb alike. As the examples below indicate, they have various conjoining, quantifying, temporal and adverbial functions. The clitic =*i* ‘just, only’ has a quantificational function in *imd=i* ‘just this man’, *okkon=i bāla* ‘just one son’. The coordinative =*na(y)*, when added to plural pronouns and numerals, means ‘all’: *muggar=na(y)* ‘all three men’, *nīr=na(y)* ‘all of you’. Otherwise it means ‘also, and’: *nīv=na(y) vattiv* ‘you also came’. It attaches to both nouns in a co-ordination, as in *am=na(y) ān=na(y) vattam* ‘he and I came’. When cliticised to an interrogative pronoun and construed with a negative verb, the whole construction means ‘no one V-ed’, as in *ēn=na(y) vat tōten* ‘no one has come’. (Compare Tamil *yār=um vara.v illai* ‘id.’, Telugu *evar=ū rā lēdu* ‘id.’.) The clitic =*tiri* has two functions. When added to an interrogative pronoun or the numeral ‘one’, it serves as an indefinitiser: *tān-et=tiri* ‘something’ (< *tāned* ‘what’ + =*tiri*), *nēṇṇ okkon=tiri* ‘some one of us’. When added to a finite verb, it means creates a concessive conditional: *vaatun=tiri/varatun=tiri/vadat=tiri* ‘although I come’ (see Steever 1988 for the history of this form). The interrogative clitic =*a* is added to the end of a sentence: *amd vattan=a* ‘did he come?’. The clitic =*gi* followed by *enaṅ* ‘how’ also functions as an interrogative: *ān=na vadatun=gi enaṅ* ‘Shall I come, too?’. The forms =*te* ‘when, if’ and =*na* ‘because’ are cliticised to finite verbs: *serativ=te* ‘when, if you go’, *saatun=na* ‘because I was going’ (see Steever 1988 for the history of =*te*). =*gi* ‘after’ is cliticised to a past finite verb: *tindan=gi* ‘after I ate’. =*pena* conveys the meaning ‘besides’: *avrun=pena kūkt(na) kotar* ‘Call and bring them besides’. =*na* is added optionally to a completive gerund (see below): *sit(=na)* ‘having given’. This may be related to the coordinative clitic =*na(y)*.

## 11.7 Syntax

### Sentence Structure

Kolami sentence structure closely resembles that of other Dravidian languages. Normal word order is S(ubject) O(bject) V(erb), but this may be varied to focus

a particular constituent. It is a head-final language: nominal modifiers precede the nouns they qualify; main verbs precede auxiliaries. Apart from this, there is flexible word order in the sentence.

A major predication in the Wardha dialect contains one finite verb; all other verbs in the sentence are non-finite (where the hortative use of the infinitive counts as a finite verb). Unlike many Dravidian languages, this dialect lacks major predications with a predicate nominal and must use the copula *an-* 'be' (14a). The Adilabad dialect, by contrast, does have major predications with a predicate nominal unsupported by a copula (14b), which may be compared with Telugu *mī pēru ēmiṭi* 'what is your name' without a copula.

- (14) a. *inne-t pēr tāned anḍa*  
 you-s-gen name what-nom be-prs-3nms  
 'What is your name?'  
 b. *inne-t pēr tāned*  
 you-s-gen name what-nom  
 'What is your name?'

A vocative, optionally preceded by *gi*, is a minor sentence type: (*gi lakma!* 'O Lakma!'). As finite verbs incorporate personal endings that refer to the subject, this may be omitted in an utterance.

Subordinate clauses precede main clauses and are linked to them in three ways: non-finite verb forms, clitics such as =*tiri* 'even if' and correlative constructions such as *amd ed ed keḍavar ḍolnen, ad ad keḍavar avr gōlner* 'on whatever side he fell, on that side they beat (him)'.

### *Copula Verb*

Although absence of a copula is the norm in Dravidian, the Wardha dialect appears to have acquired its use through Indo-Aryan influence: *innet pēr tāned anḍa* 'What is your name?' (cf. Telugu *mī pēru ēmiṭi* 'id.' without copula); *am(d) mās bērak anḍan* 'that man is deaf'. This is a matter of convergence rather than borrowing as use of a Dravidian verb, *an-* 'be', has been extended into this context.

### *Use of Conjunctive Forms*

A continuative, completive, future, or negative conjunctive form may precede the main verb. All qualifiers and nouns associated with the conjunctive verb precede it. A sentence may contain more than one conjunctive form, which may be reduplicated to indicate iteration or continuity of action. The conjunctive form and the main verb on which it depends often have the same subject, though in certain circumstances subjects may differ.

- (15) a. *ān tād tiv-a puttān*  
I-nom rope pull-cont.cnj break-pst-1s  
'Pulling the rope, I broke (it).'
- b.  $S_1[\bar{a}n S_2[\bar{i}r \quad \bar{o}d-t=na]S_2 \quad bomboiñ \quad saatun]S_1$   
I-nom water bathe-cplt.cnj=clt bombay-dat go-fut-1s  
'I, having bathed, will go to Bombay.'
- c. *andar=nay tin-a tin-ay, mīte sūl tūṭin*  
all=clt eat-cnj eat-cnj hare-nom rise-cnj run-pst-3nms  
'While all (of them) were eating, the hare got up and ran away.'

### *Special Uses of the Dative*

Besides its allative sense, the Kolami dative exhibits special uses. One is the 'dative subject' construction in which an experiencer or owner appears in the dative case while the feeling experienced or possession owned appears in the nominative; verb agreement is with the nominative case noun: *anuñ ari vattin* 'I became afraid' (lit. 'to me fear came'), *anuñ karu vattin* 'I got hungry' (lit. 'to me hunger came'), *paṭlakuñ okkod pill(a) aṇḍin* 'the headman had a daughter' (lit. 'to the headman one daughter was'), *mākuñ doḍḍe kaytin* 'the tree bore fruit' (lit. 'to the tree fruit was produced').

The dative may also mark an adjunct of reason or time: *gāliñ māḱ ḍola* 'because of (lit. 'for') the wind, the tree fell'; *in naṭuñi takten* 'he remained for two days', *āle bāra vāstañ* 'at twelve o'clock at night'.

## 11.8 Quotations

As in many other Dravidian languages, reported speech is embedded in the reporting speech by means of a quotative marker *en-a*, the non-finite continuative form of *en-* 'say' (DEDR 868) (16a–b). *ena* may also mark reason clauses, as in (16c).

- (16) a.  $S_1[amd \quad anuñ S_2[vā]S_2 \quad ena \quad iṭtan]S_1$   
he-nom I-dat come-imp say-cnj say-pst-3ms  
'He told me to come.'
- b.  $S_1[amd S_2[nīv \quad tānuñ vattiv?]S_2 \quad en-a \quad vēlt \quad ōlten]S_1$   
he-nom you-nom why come-pst-2pl say-cnj ask-pst-3ms  
'He asked, "why did you come?"'
- c.  $S_1[S_2[nīv \quad saativ]S_2 \quad ena \quad ān \quad artan]S_1$   
you-pl go-prs-2pl say-cnj I weep-pst-1s  
'Thinking you were going, I wept.'

## 11.9 Special Developments

### Historical Features

Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953: xi) first argued that Kolami, Naiki of Chanda, Parji, and Gadaba constitute a subgroup within Dravidian, a proposal elaborated by Emeneau (1955) and Subrahmanyam (1969b, 1971). The following shared innovations are the primary evidence for this claim. First is the creation of separate feminine forms of the numerals two to five, using *\*-āḷ* in most instances.

Number	Kolami	Naikṛi	Naiki	Parji	Gadaba	DEDR
'2'	<i>īral</i>	<i>iraḷ</i>	<i>ira</i>	<i>iral</i>	<i>iral</i> (O1)	474
'3'	<i>muyal</i>	<i>muyaḷ</i>	<i>muy(y)a</i>	<i>muyal</i>	<i>muyal</i> (S)	5052
'4'	<i>nallav</i>	<i>nallaḷ</i>	—	<i>nelal</i>	<i>nandal/naṇḍal</i>	3655
'5'	<i>seyyav</i>	—	—	<i>ceyal</i>	—	2826

The innovation is not in the suffix, since it occurs elsewhere in Dravidian, but in its combination with these roots.

Second is the extension of the non-human plural marker *\*-v* (found originally in *\*a-v* 'those things', etc.) to some non-masculine nouns: Kolami *amman-av* 'mothers', Parji *tall-ov* 'mothers', Gadaba (Ollari) *ile-v* 'brides' (Subrahmanyam 1969a: 99). Third is the innovation of *\*-cil* as one of the plural suffixes: Kolami *ay(ka)-sil* 'mothers' (sing. *ay*), Parji *terva-cil* 'swords' (*terva*), Gadaba (O1) *koṛa-sil* 'daughters-in-law' (*koṛal*). This suffix may come from *\*cilalkela* 'few, some, small' (DEDR 1571); although *\*k-* does not normally palatalise in Kolami, Bright recorded *cil-elka* 'mouse' < 'small' + *\*eli* 'rat' (DEDR 888). Fourth is an infinitive with reflexes of *\*-(V)ñk*: Kolami *kor-eñ* 'to bring', Naiki *tin-en* 'to eat', Parji *tin-uñ* 'to eat', Gadaba *sūr-uñ* 'to see'.

The change of *\*r > d* occurs in these languages except Gadaba, whose corresponding *y* may be a subsequent change (Subrahmanyam 1983). Tulu is the only language outside this subgroup that shows this change.

Kolami is distinct from the other members of this subgroup in at least eight respects. PDr *\*z* becomes *r* (*r* in Parji). The non-masculine plural pronouns *ad-av* (distal) and *id-av* (proximal) develop by suffixing the earlier distal form *\*av* to the singular forms *ad* and *id*. The past marker *-t-* is generalised. Negative *\*ā-* becomes *e*. The non-past adnominal verb in *-eka* develops. A completive conjunctive in *\*-ū* develops, but not *\*-i/\*-ci* as elsewhere in CD. The negative non-finite verb in *-sel*, most probably a reflex of *\*cil* 'not be' (DEDR 2559), develops. And prohibitive forms in *-nem* (sing.) and *-ner* (plur.) are innovated.

Some evidence suggests that the Kolami-Parji subgroup and the Telugu-Kūvi subgroup were originally two branches of an earlier Central Dravidian (Subrahmanyam 1969b, 1971: 522). The change of the PDr oblique bases of the first and second pronouns from *\*yān-* (*\*yān* 'I', DEBR 5160), *\*yām-* (*\*yām* 'we (excl.)', DEBR 5154), *\*nin-* (*\*nī(n)* 'you', DEBR 3684) and *\*nim-* (*\*nīm* 'you all', DEBR

3688) to *\*an-*, *\*am-*, *\*in-* and *\*im-*, respectively. These latter forms have direct reflexes in Kolami–Parji while undergoing metathesis in Telugu–Kūvi (Subrahmanyam 1993). Loss of initial *\*n* in second person pronouns: there are many analogical changes that conceal this change (Subrahmanyam 1993: 41).

Further arguments include the creation of female kinship terms by suffixing *\*-āl* to PDr roots: Telugu *kōḍalu* ‘daughter-in-law’, Konḍa *korya*, Pengo *koṛiya gār*, Manda *kuṛiya gār*, Kolami *koral* ‘younger brother’s wife’, Naikṛi *koraḷ* ‘daughter-in-law’, Naiki *kola*, Parji *koṛol* ‘bride’, Gadaba *koṛal* ‘son’s wife’ < PCDr *\*kōḷa-āl*, DEDR 2145 (see also DEDR 2783, 4508, 4762).

Conversion of the non-human plural suffix *\*-kaḷ*, *\*-ḷ*, optional in PDr, into an obligatory one (Subrahmanyam 1969a). Transfer of ‘female’ component from original human plural pronouns *\*avar*, *\*iver*, etc., to original non-human plural pronouns *\*av*, *\*iv* (this change is absent in Telugu, however).

### Convergence and Borrowing

As most Kolams also speak Marathi, some Indo-Aryan features have naturally entered Kolami. Such features include lengthening of vowels in final syllables, ‘adjectives’ agreeing with their head nouns, and use of a copula verb in the Wardha dialect.

Kolami has borrowed words from Marathi and Telugu, two major regional languages. While it is often difficult to distinguish native Kolami words from Telugu loans since both are Dravidian, Emeneau (1955) formulated some principles for identifying loans from sister languages. He estimates that of 931 words in the Wardha corpus, 55 per cent are Dravidian, 35 per cent Indo-Aryan and 10 per cent unknown. He further estimates that about 30 per cent of the Dravidian words (213 out of 720) come from Telugu.

### Dialect Differences

The most important isogloss among Kolami dialects is preservation of *\*l* in the Naikṛi dialect, save after front vowels, as against its change to *l* everywhere else in Kolami and, indeed, in Central Dravidian. A defining feature of the Adilabad dialect is the loss of word-final *v* or *l* except before an immediately following vowel: *amba tōted* ‘there is no cooked rice’ but *ambal-ut* ‘in the cooked rice’ and *ambal ansad* ‘there is cooked rice’. Some differences in grammar have been given above, such as the presence of a copula in the Wardha dialect as against its absence in the Adilabad dialect. Examples of lexical differences among the three main dialects are given in Table 11.3.

**Table 11.3 Lexical differences among Wardha, Adilabad and Naikṛi**

Wardha	Adilabad	Naikṛi	Gloss
alŋ-	alŋ-	alŋ-	'kill'
āle	āle	āle	'night'
ipate	ippate	ippat	'bread'
gōl-	gōl-	gōl-	'beat'
ṭiṭor	ṭiṭor/tunṭor	kiṭor	'scorpion'
tūl-	tūl-	tūl-	'run'
ḍag	ḍag	ḍag	'cough'
dōr	dōr	dōryak	'cattle'
doḍḍe	pan	pan	'fruit'
bāla	kike	kike	'son'
buḍiak	pabg	poblak	'old man'
magvan	mās	mudgan	'husband'
murtal	murtal	murtal	'old woman'
sak	saŋk	gabba	'egg'
savvi	tirre	savva	'sweet'

### Bibliography

- Bright, W. (1956) 'Review of Emeneau 1955', *Language* 32: 390–5.
- Burrow, T. and Bhattacharya, S. (1953) *The Parji Language*, Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons, Ltd.
- and — (1970) *The Pengo Language*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- and Emeneau, M.B. (1984) *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 2nd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Emeneau, M.B. (1955) *Kolami, a Dravidian Language*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grierson, George (1906) *Linguistic Survey of India, vol. 4, Munda and Dravidian Languages*; reprinted in 1980 in Delhi by Motilal Banarsidass.
- Sethumadhava Rao, P. (1950) *A Grammar of the Kolami Language*, Hyderabad.
- Steever, Sanford (1988) *The Serial Verb Formation in the Dravidian Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- (1993) *Analysis to Synthesis: The Development of Complex Verb Morphology in the Dravidian Languages*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Subrahmanyam, P.S. (1969a) 'The gender and number categories in Dravidian', *Journal of the Annamalai University (Humanities)* 26: 79–100.
- (1969b) 'The Central Dravidian languages', *JAOS* 89: 739–50.
- (1971) *Dravidian Verb Morphology – A Comparative Study*, Annamalainagar: Annamalai University Press.
- (1983) *Dravidian Comparative Phonology*, Annamalainagar: Annamalai University Press.
- (1993) 'The personal pronouns in Dravidian', *Journal of Dravidic Studies (Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture)* 3: 27–52.
- Thomasaiah, K. (1986) 'Naikṛi dialect of Kolami – a descriptive and comparative study', PhD dissertation, Annamalai University.

---

# 12 Gadaba

*Peri Bhaskararao*

## 12.1 Background and History

Speakers of Gadaba live in a continuous area that traverses the north of Andhra Pradesh and the southwest of Orissa. The word 'Gadaba', sometimes spelt as 'Gadba', is a term that outsiders use; the speakers themselves use two names, *koṇekor* and *mundli*. Of these two, *mundli* is probably the older and its etymology is unknown. In Gadaba *koṇekor* means 'hill people'. To confuse matters somewhat, Gadaba is also applied to another group living in the same area: this group speaks a language called Gotub Gadaba. Gotub belongs to the Munda branch of the Austroasiatic languages, and has no connection with the Dravidian language. *koṇekor gadaba* has, in the past, also been called Poya in the literature, but this term is now avoided.

The earliest systematic study of this language is Bhattacharya (1957); in this work and some others, the language is called Ollari. Burrow and Bhattacharya (1962–3) note that Ollari and Koṇekor Gadaba are two local variants of the same language. While the Census of India does not distinguish between Koṇekor Gadaba and Gotub Gadaba, the size of the Koṇekor-speaking population is estimated at a few thousand.

## 12.2 Phonology

Gadaba has nineteen consonant and ten vowel phonemes (Table 12.1). The consonants contrast in five places of articulation: bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar. Manner of articulation includes stop, nasal, fricative, trill, lateral and approximant (or glides). All consonants except *ɳ*, *ŋ* and *y* may occur in word-initial position; all may occur in word-medial position; and all except *c* may occur in word-final position.

The ten vowel phonemes contrast in five qualities and two lengths, as noted in Table 12.2. Further, the nasalisation of vowels appears to be distinctive as in the contrast between *mūde* 'cow' and *mū̃de* 'rabbit'. Many instances of nasalised vowels may be traced to an underlying sequence of non-nasal vowels and consonants, as discussed below under phonological processes; but it remains unclear whether all occurrences of nasalised vowels can be analysed in this manner.

**Table 12.1 Consonant phonemes of Gadaba**

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop					
Voiceless	p	t	ʈ	c	k
Voiced	b	d	ɖ	j	g
Nasal	m	n	ɳ		ŋ
Fricative		s			
Trill		r			
Lateral		l			
Glide	v			y	

**Table 12.2 Vowel phonemes of Gadaba**

	Front Short	Long	Central Short	Long	Back Short	Long
High	i	ī			u	ū
Mid	e	ē			o	ō
Low			a	ā		

All vowels may occur in word-initial and word-medial position; however, only short vowels appear to occur in word-final position. The restriction against long vowels in word-final position is a restriction on the spelling of words in the dictionary, i.e. no two lexemes contrast according to vowel length in word-final position. However, in verbal inflection, long vowels may occur in the imperative of certain verbs, e.g., *kē* 'you do (it)!'.

There are no vowel sequences, i.e. diphthongs, in the language. Clusters of two or three consonants do occur in word-medial position. The biliteral consonant clusters that do occur are listed in Table 12.3.

Only seventeen three-consonant clusters occur in the language: *ɳgn*, *ɳdr*, *ntk*, *ndk*, *ndg*, *ndr*, *ndl*, *ndv*, *mbr*, *ykt*, *ykc*, *ykp*, *ygd*, *yɳk*, *yɳg*, *yɳd*, *rsp*. Note that all these clusters except *rsp* begin in *n*, *m*, or *y*. Four syllable types are possible in the language: V, VC, CV, CVC.

### Morphophonology

The alternants of several suffixes and some lexical stems utilise a rule of labial harmony in Gadaba. For purposes of this rule, stems are grouped into labial and non-labial stems. The part of the stem that is relevant for labiality is the nucleus and coda, viz. -V(C)(C)(C). A labial stem is one that contains a labial segment in part of the stem: the labial consonants are *p*, *b*, *m* and *v*, while the labial vowels are the back rounded vowel qualities *u* and *o*. Examples of both kinds of stem, including nouns and verbs, are illustrated in Table 12.4.

Five common inflectional suffixes have two sets of alternants. In the labial set, the suffix has the vowel *u*, while in the non-labial set, it has the vowel *i*.

**Table 12.3 Two-consonant clusters**

C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>
p	p, t, c, k, r, l
t	p, t, c, k, r
ʈ	p, t, ʈ, c, k, n, l
c	c, r
k	p, t, c, k, n, r, l
b	b, r
d	k, b, d, g, r, l, v
ɖ	p, t, k, d, ɖ, g, r, s, v
j	j, g
g	d, g
m	p, t, c, k, b, d, j, g, m, s
n	p, t, c, k, d, j, g, n, s
ɲ	p, ʈ, c, k, ɖ, g, s, v
ŋ	p, t, c, k, d, ɖ, g
r	p, t, ʈ, c, k, b, d, j, g, m, n, ŋ, r, s, l, v, y
s	p, t, ʈ, k, ɖ, m, n, r
l	p, t, c, k, b, d, g, s, l, v
v	p, t, ʈ, c, k, n, r, l, v
y	p, t, c, k, d, g, m, n, ŋ, l, y

**Table 12.4 Labial and non-labial stems**

<i>Labial stems</i> Stem	Gloss	<i>Non-labial stems</i> Stem	Gloss
kiyb-	knife	ilj-	bear (n)
akp-	tear (v)	verg-	cat
savl-	chew	mīn-	fish (n)
āmk-	yawn	iɖg-	descend
ulg-	banana	sen-	go
pudg-	stomach	pirg-	open (v)
kork-	gnaw	pārs-	scratch (v)

These suffixes, which include both nominal and verbal forms, appear in Table 12.5.

**Table 12.5 Labial and non-labial suffixes**

Suffix	Labial alternant	Non-Labial alternant
Nominal		
Locative	-tun	-tin
Plural	-kul ~ -gul ~ -tul ~ -ul	-kil ~ -gil ~ -til ~ -il
Oblique	-un	-in
Verbal		
Progressive	-uda-	-ida-
Infinitive	-un	-in

The labial alternants of the suffixes are used with labial stems, the non-labial alternants with non-labial stems. Labial harmony has a somewhat broader application than these suffixes. Many nominal and verbal stems end in a cluster of two or three consonants; during certain processes, an anaptyctic vowel is inserted within that cluster. If a stem has the shape  $(C_0)V_1C_1C_2(C_3)$ , an anaptyctic vowel,  $V_2$ , is inserted between  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  resulting in  $(C_0)V_1C_1V_2C_2(C_3)$ . The vowel  $V_2$  is *u* if the stem is labial, and *i* if it is not. This process is illustrated in Tables 12.6 and 12.7.

**Table 12.6 Inflection of labial stems**

Stem	Gloss	Plural	Locative	Oblique	Progressive	Infinitive
kiyb-	knife	kiyb-ul	kiyub-tun	kiyb-un		
ulg-	banana	ulg-ul	ulug-tun	ulg-un		
puḍg-	stomach	puḍg-ul	puḍug-tun	puḍg-un		
ām-	yawn				ām-k-uda	ām-k-un
savl-	chew				savl-uda	savl-un
akp-	tear				akp-uda	akp-un
kork-	gnaw				kork-uda	kork-un

**Table 12.7 Inflection of non-labial stems**

Stem	Gloss	Plural	Locative	Oblique	Progressive	Infinitive
ilj-	bear	ilj-il	ilij-tin	ilj-in		
verg-	cat	verg-il	verig-tin	verg-in		
mīn-	fish	mīn-il	mīn-tin	mīn-in		
iḍg-	descend				iḍg-ida	iḍg-in
sen-	go				sen-ida	sen-in
pirg-	open				pirg-ida	pirg-in
pārs-	scratch				pārs-ida	pārs-in

Vowel anaptyxis takes place when a stem occurs alone or when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant. Anaptyxis also takes place when the following suffix has a zero morph, as in the singular imperative. Consider the following inflected forms of the labial stem *kūr-k-* ‘nap’: *kūr-k-e-n* ‘I napped’ and *kūr-k-a-n* ‘I will not nap’ take no anaptyctic vowel since the stem is followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel while *kūr-uk* ‘nap!’ and *kūr-ug-da-n* ‘I will nap’ take anaptyctic vowels because the stem is followed by a suffix with a zero morph and one beginning with a consonant, respectively. The same pattern of anaptyxis occurs with the non-labial stem *iḍ-g-* ‘descend’: *iḍ-g-e-n* ‘I descended’ and *iḍ-g-a-n* ‘I will not descend’ take no anaptyctic vowel while *iḍ-ig* ‘descend!’ and *iḍ-ig-da-n* ‘I will descend’ do take one.

Vowel anaptyxis commonly occurs in one other environment: when the causative marker *-p-* is suffixed to a verb stem. Since the causative marker is a labial

segment, the anaptyctic vowel is always *u*, never *i*. Compare the following pairs of basic verb stem and their causative counterparts: *ayg-* ‘climb’ vs *ayuk-p-* ‘make climb’, *idg-* ‘descend’ vs *idug-p-* ‘make descend’, *iyl-* ‘drop’ vs *iluy-p-* ‘make drop’, *pirg-* ‘open’ vs *piruk-p-* ‘make open’, *vatr-* ‘boil over’ vs *vatur-p-* ‘make boil over’, *sirl-* ‘rotate’ vs *silur-p-* ‘make rotate’. While the causative marker is a suffix, the resulting form is a stem so that all causatives in *-p-* belong to the stem of labial stems.

A variety of other phonological processes occur in the language. For example, regressive voicing takes place in stem-final voiceless consonants when followed by the non-past marker *-da-*, the conditional form *-goṭ* or the plural *-gil*, as in *kūrug-da-n* ‘I will nap’ (< *kūr-k-*), *kēj-goṭ* ‘if one shaves’ (< *kēs-* ‘shave’), *keyid-gil* ‘wood apples’ (< *keyt-*). (It should be noted that in *kēj-goṭ* ‘if one shaves’, *j* has the allophone [z].) Regressive devoicing occurs in stem-final voiced consonants when followed by the plural *-kil*, permissive *-ka* or causative *-p-*, as in *pont-kil* ‘faces’ (< *pondu* ‘face’), *pōt-ka* ‘let it be wet’ (< *pōd-*) and *piruk-p-* ‘make open’ (< *pirg-*).

Certain phonological processes affect manner of articulation. A stem-final consonant may be assimilated in manner of articulation to a following stop. For example, *r + t* become *tt* in verb inflection, e.g. *kar-* ‘deliver’ vs *kaṭ-t-e* ‘it delivered’, *nor-* ‘wash’ vs *noṭ-t-e* ‘it washed’. Observe this process also in the formation of causative stems, e.g. *karv-* ‘be charred’ vs *karupp-* ‘make (something) dry’. Before the non-past suffix *-da-*, stem-final *c, t, d, s, y* become *yg*; similarly, final *nj, nd, ny* and *~s* becomes *yy*.

The final *VnC* of a base changes to *Ṽs* before the plural suffix *-kil*, the conditional suffix *-goṭ* and the permissive suffix *-ka*. Examples include *māskil* ‘kinds of raw rice’ (< *manjig* ‘raw rice’), *ājgoṭ* ‘if one climbs’ (< *anj-* ‘climb’) and *kājikaṅ* ‘let him carry on shoulders’ (< *kānj-* ‘carry on shoulders’).

The final vowel of a morpheme is deleted when it is followed by a morpheme with an initial vowel. The two following examples show that this process occurs in both internal and external sandhi: *sittē* ‘it is extinguished’ (< /*siṭ-o-e*/), *korkarb-irdam* ‘we. keep<sub>2</sub> an. egg<sub>1</sub>’ (< /*korkarbe+irdam*/).

The consonant cluster *Cl* undergoes metathesis before a vowel with an initial vowel or before a suffix with a zero morph. Observe the following forms of the verb stem *savl-* ‘chew’: *savl-e-n* ‘I chewed’, *saluv* ‘chew!’, *saluv-da-n* ‘I will chew’. An intervocalic *ṅ* freely varies with *ṅd* except when the segment occurs in the environment #VC. For example, the name *konekor* ‘Konekor people’ alternates with *konḍekor* ‘id.’ and *taṅaka* ‘bamboo screen’ with *taṅdaka* ‘id.’. However, *aṅd-ida* ‘(one) is hungry’ does not have an alternant \**aṅida*.

### 12.3 Noun

The set of nominals includes common nouns, pronouns, numerals and proper names, among other forms. A noun consists of a root and optional elements. The root can be a nominal, adjectival or verbal root. A root followed by an optional

derivative suffix is a nominal base. The plural marker is suffixed to the base. Further, case markers are suffixed to the nominal base, and follow the plural marker, if any.

### Derivation

Certain derivative suffixes have very limited scope, and may no longer be considered productive. This appears to be the case in a number of de-verbal nouns such as *vītiṭ* 'seed' (<*vīt* 'sow'), *kodumkur* 'cough' (<*kodm-* 'cough'), *uruskur* 'perspiration' (<*urj-* 'perspire'), *kēṭiṅ* 'winnowing fan' (<*kēy-* 'winnow') and *soymur* 'an itch' (<*soy-* 'itch'). Certain other derivative suffixes are more productive, combining with any form that belongs to a specified class. These include suffixes that apply to adjectival and verbal bases to form nouns listed in Table 12.8.

**Table 12.8** Nominal derivative suffixes

	<i>Singular</i> Adjectival	Verb positive	Verb negative	<i>Plural</i> Adjectival	Verb positive	Verb negative
Masculine	-oṅ	-ṅ	-oṅ	-or	-l	-or
Non-masculine	-e	-ṅi	-ad	-ev	-ṅil	-av

- |     |    |  |    |  |
|-----|----|--|----|--|
| (1) | a. | <i>niya-ṭ-oṅ</i><br>good-inc-3ms<br>'good man'                         | b. | <i>niya-ṭ-or</i><br>good-inc-3mpl<br>'good men'                          |
|     | c. | <i>niya-ṭ-e</i><br>good-inc-3nms<br>'good woman/things'                | d. | <i>niya-ṭ-ev</i><br>good-inc-3nmpl<br>'good women/things'                |
| (2) | a. | <i>ūs-te-ṅ</i><br>spit-adn-3ms<br>'the man who spat'                   | b. | <i>ūs-te-l</i><br>spit-adn-3mpl<br>'men who spat'                        |
|     | c. | <i>ūs-o-ṅi</i><br>spit-adn-3nms<br>'woman/thing who spat'              | d. | <i>ūs-o-ṅil</i><br>spit-adn-3nmpl<br>'the women/things who spat'         |
| (3) | a. | <i>ūs-a.y-oṅ</i><br>spit-neg+adn-3ms<br>'man who didn't spit'          | b. | <i>ūs-a.y-or</i><br>spit-neg+adn-3nmpl<br>'men who didn't spit'          |
|     | c. | <i>ūs-a.y-ad</i><br>spit-neg+adn-3nms<br>'woman/thing who didn't spit' | d. | <i>ūs-a.y-av</i><br>spit-neg+adn-3nmpl<br>'women/things who didn't spit' |

Note that in (1) an inflectional increment (inc) stands between the lexical root and the nominal suffix.

There are two sets of inflectional categories for nouns. The first includes person, number and gender; the second, case. As in many other Dravidian languages, specific combinations of person, number and gender may be simultaneously expressed in a single suffix. The individual cases are expressed by their characteristic suffixes. Gadaba nouns are divided into several sets according to the kinds of inflectional morphology they exhibit.

The first major class of nouns are those that distinguish between singular and plural number; singular is unmarked and plural is formed by the addition of a plural suffix. In the process of pluralisation, the final part of a noun base may be deleted. For example, *t*, *d*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *r*, *l* and *lin* are deleted before the plural markers *-l* and *-sil*; further, *iŋ*, *iŋ* and *ig* are deleted before the plural marker *-kil*; *in* before the plural marker *-gil*; and *i* before the plural marker *-til*.

For this first noun class, Gadaba has a broad range of plural markers. The plural marker *-lu* occurs with a small set of nouns, e.g. *kōvel-lu* 'temples' (sing. *kōvel* 'temple', cf. Tamil *kōvil* 'id.', < \**kō* 'king' (DEDR 2177) + \**il* 'house' (DEDR 494), viz. 'palace, temple'). These nouns appear to be borrowings from Telugu, as does their plural marker (cf. Telugu *-lu*). All nouns that take the plural marker *-sul* have a rounded vowel in their final syllable, e.g. *keko-sul* 'ears' (sing. *keko*), *koṇdro-sul* 'necks' (sing. *koṇdroŋ*). The plural marker *-sil* occurs with some nouns with a rounded vowel in their final syllable, e.g. *aṭō-sil* 'attics' (sing. *āṭo*); the remaining nouns with which it occurs have unrounded vowels in their final syllable, e.g. *pakk-sil* 'wooden planks' (sing. *pakki*). Both *-sil* and its labial alternant *-sul* appear to come from the quantifier \**kil*- 'some' (DEDR 1571), which in such languages as Tamil may be postposed after the noun it modifies, e.g. *maṇitar cilar* 'some.ones<sub>2</sub> men<sub>1</sub>' viz. 'some men'. If this suffix proves to come from an independent word, it would help to explain why the two variants do not entirely obey the labial harmony rule, which is an internal sandhi rule. The plural suffix *-l* is added to certain nouns ending in *d*, *n*, *t*, *m*, *y* and to a majority of nouns with vowel-final bases, e.g. *koḍuku-l* 'fats' (sing. *koḍukuḍ*), *karcil* 'firewoods' (sing. *karcil*) and *viṇḍu-l* 'bows' (sing. *viṇḍu*).

Still within the first noun class are four sets of suffixes, governed by labial harmony. The suffixes are *-gull-gil*, *-kull-kil*, *-tull-til*, *-ull-il*. Examples are presented in Table 12.9. The plural suffixes *-tull-til* appear to have a collective

**Table 12.9 Plural suffixes**

Gloss	Singular	Plural
'face'	pond(u)	pont-kul
'pond'	band(u)	bant-kil
'marking nut'	kōṇun	kōṇ-gul
'hand'	kiy	kiy-gil
'member of Onsol clan'	onsol	onsol-tul
'fisherman'	jālar	jālar-til
'termite'	elb	elb-ul
'leaf'	ēg	ēg-il

meaning: *onsoltul* does not mean simply ‘members of Onsul clan’, but ‘Onsul clan’; similarly, *jālar-til* does not mean simply ‘fishermen’, but ‘fisherman caste’.

The second major class of nouns are those derived from adjectival and deictic bases. Similar to the derivative suffixes in (1), (2) and (3), number and gender are expressed by a single suffix. Consider the examples in (4).

- (4) a. *i-paṭ-oṅ*  
this-type-3ms  
‘man of this type’
- b. *i-paṭ-or*  
this-type-3mpl  
‘men of this type’
- c. *i-paṭ-e*  
this-type-3nms  
‘woman/thing of this type’
- d. *i-paṭ-ev*  
this-type-3nmpl  
‘women/things of this type’

The third and fourth major classes of nouns consist of the numerals. The third class consists of the numerals ‘one’ through ‘four’ (Table 12.10). Here we have a three-way gender distinction among masculine, feminine and neuter whereas the rest of Gadaba morphology distinguishes only between masculine and non-masculine gender.

**Table 12.10 Gender distinction in the numerals ‘one’ to ‘four’**

Gloss	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
‘one’	okur	okal(i)	okut/ukut
‘two’	iruvul	iral	iḍḍig
‘three’	muvur	muyal	mūḍug
‘four’	naluvur	naṅḍal	nālig

Numeral bases from ‘five’ onwards constitute the fourth noun class. These numerals distinguish between masculine and non-masculine gender (Table 12.11). The forms *-gur* and *-mandi* are classifier-like suffixes that seem to have been borrowed from Telugu (cf. *āruguru* ‘six people’, *padimandi* ‘ten people’).

**Table 12.11 Gender distinction in the numerals ‘five’ and above**

Gloss	Masculine	Non-masculine
‘five’	aydu-gur	aydu
‘six’	āru-gur	āru
‘ten’	padi-mandi	padi

The fifth and sixth major noun classes embrace the set of pronouns. The fifth set includes the personal pronouns of the first and second person as well as the reflexive pronouns (Table 12.12). Note that Gadaba lacks a distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive pronouns.

**Table 12.12 Personal and reflexive pronouns**

	Singular	Plural
First	ān	ām
Second	īn	īm
Third reflexive	tān	tām

The sixth and last set consists of third person deictic pronouns (Table 12.13). Deictic pronouns mark two degrees with characteristic vowels: proximal (*i-*), distal (*ō- ~ a-*). As elsewhere in Dravidian interrogative forms marked by the characteristic vowel (*e-*) pattern with the demonstratives. This set of forms distinguishes at least four forms: masculine singular, masculine plural, non-masculine singular and non-masculine plural.

**Table 12.13 Deictic and interrogative pronouns**

	Proximal	Distal	Interrogative
Masculine singular	iyōṅ	ōṅ	eyin
Masculine plural	iyor	ōr	eyir
Non-masculine singular	id(d)u	ad(d)u	ēdi
Non-masculine plural	iv(v)u	av(v)u	ēvi

### Case

The nominative is the unmarked case. The remaining cases are the oblique, locative, ablative and instrumental-sociative (or comitative). The oblique form of virtually all nouns combines three non-local case functions: accusative, dative and genitive. The allomorphy of the oblique and locative case markers is governed by labial harmony.

The oblique case has three allomorphs. The allomorph *-n* is suffixed to nouns that end in a vowel, while *-un* and *-in* are suffixed to nouns that end in consonants. These latter two are distinguished according to labial harmony. The following examples illustrate this distribution: *māre-n* (nom. *māre* 'tree'), *elb-un* (nom. *elb-* 'termite') and *verg-in* (nom. *verg-* 'cat'). While the oblique case form of third person deictic pronouns resembles that of nouns, the first and second person pronouns have a different treatment. These forms have an oblique form which functions exclusively as a genitive. The dative and accusative functions are expressed by suffixing *-un/-in* to the oblique form (Table 12.14). As elsewhere, the selection of *-un* and *-in* is controlled by labial harmony. Note that, in common with other Dravidian languages, the nominative case forms have a long vowel which is shortened in other members of the paradigm.

The two allomorphs of the locative case, *-tun* and *-tin*, are governed by labial harmony, as can be seen in the contrast between *elub-tun* 'in the termite' (nom. *elb-*) and *verig-tin* 'in the cat' (nom. *verg-*). The ablative case marker is *-kuṭ* as

**Table 12.14** Case forms

	Nominative	Oblique	Dative-accusative
First singular	ān	an	an-in
First plural	ām	am	am-un
Second singular	īn	in	in-in
Second plural	īm	im	im-un

in *āto-kuṭ* 'from the attic'. The comitative case has an invariant form, *-nāt*, as in *viṇḍu-nāt* 'with a bow' (nom. *viṇḍu*) and *āsmal-nāt* 'with the woman' (nom. *āsmal*). This case combines the functions of an instrumental and a sociative case.

Postpositions combine with nouns to create a nominal expression with a more specific meaning than a case form. Common postpositions include *vadiṭi* 'like' in *guncil vadiṭi mīsal* 'moustache<sub>3</sub> like<sub>2</sub> crowbars<sub>1</sub>'; *nunḍi* 'because of' in *sēpal nunḍi* 'because.of<sub>2</sub> children<sub>1</sub>'; *taṇḍrel* 'inside' in *kuy taṇḍrel* 'inside<sub>2</sub> the.well<sub>1</sub>'; *poytan* 'upon' in *tal poytan* 'upon<sub>2</sub> one's head<sub>1</sub>'; and *digel* 'toward' in *an ayal digel* 'toward<sub>3</sub> my<sub>1</sub> wife<sub>2</sub>'. Certain meanings which in other Dravidian languages would be conveyed by case marking are expressed by postpositions in Gadaba. The postposition *payiṭ* combines with the oblique/genitive form of a noun to convey the meaning of a dative, as in *kōndeliṅ payiṭ sara mana* 'there.is.no<sub>4</sub> grass<sub>3</sub> for<sub>2</sub> the.cows<sub>1</sub>'. An ablative expression may be formed with the postposition *-pelṭuṅ* 'out of, from', as in *ēgil mārin pelṭuṅ iletev* 'leaves<sub>1</sub> fell<sub>4</sub> from<sub>3</sub> the.tree<sub>2</sub>'.

## 12.4 Verb

A verb root is the nucleus of any verb form. The root may function by itself as a simple verb base, e.g. *veṭ-* 'run', or it may take a causative suffix to form a complex causative base, e.g. *veṭ-p-* 'make run'. A causative base is derived by suffixing *-p-*, *-up-* or *-upp-* to the simple verb root (Table 12.15).

**Table 12.15** Simple and causative verb bases

Gloss	Simple base	Causative base
'flow out'	vāṅ-	vāṅ-p-
'run'	veṭ-	veṭ-p-
'go'	sen-	soy-p-
'walk'	tāk-	tāk-up-
'grow'	sand-	sand-up-
'eat'	tiṅ-	tiṅ-up-
'get up'	siṅp-	siṅ-up-
'weep'	āḍ-	āḍ-upp-
'play'	ēnd-	ēnd-upp-

As noted earlier, simple bases that end in a consonant cluster take the anaptyctic vowel *u* when the causative marker *-p-* is suffixed to the base because *p* is a labial segment, e.g. *piruk-p-* ‘make open’ (simple base, *pirg-* ‘open’), *iḍuk-p-* ‘make climb down’ (simple base, *iḍg-*) and *karup-p-* ‘burn’ (simple base, *karv-* ‘be charred’). Not all verb bases that end in *p* are causative because they lack – at least in modern Gadaba – non-causative counterparts without a final *p*. Several verb bases that end in *-ap-* are borrowings from Telugu, e.g. *kukkap-* ‘stuff’, *gillap-* ‘pinch’, *nokkap-* ‘press’.

A reflexive/reciprocal verb stem may be formed by adding the verb *ēr-* ‘become’ to a verb base, for example *sūḍ-ēr* ‘to look at each other’ consists of *sūḍ-* ‘see’ and *ēr-* ‘become’. If the bare verb base in Gadaba were treated as a form capable of combining with other words, not simply suffixes, this formation might alternatively be considered another kind of auxiliary compound verb construction. Support for such a position, at least in a diachronic perspective, might be found in Koṇḍa where the verb *ā-* ‘become’ is an auxiliary verb that combines with a main verb to form a reflexive/reciprocal construction.

Two series of verbal inflections may be suffixed to the base, simple or complex. The first series consists of finite verb inflections; the second, non-finite inflections. All finite verb forms comprise two groups of suffixes: the first marks tense and polarity, while the second consists of personal endings that identify the subject. The verb form *veṭ-e-n* ‘I ran’, for example, consists of the verb base *veṭ-* ‘run’, the past tense marker *-e-* and the personal ending *-n* which marks agreement with a first person singular subject. Gadaba has eight finite paradigms: imperative, negative imperative, permissive, progressive, past, past negative, non-past and non-past negative. All remaining verb forms are non-finite. There are four primary non-finite forms: conjunctive, infinitive, conditional and adnominal (called relative participle in the literature). These four function in a variety of syntactic capacities, noted in the section on syntax.

Gadaba has four conjugation classes. Class 1 consists of twelve bases: *ir-* ‘be’, *uy-* ‘take along’, *ey-* ‘grind’, *nor-* ‘wash’, *piy-* ‘live’, *kē-* ‘do’, *vē-* ‘be burned’, *sā-* ‘die’, *sī-* ‘give’, *ēr-* ‘become’, *vār-* ‘come’, *ind-r* ‘bring’. Class 2 consists of six bases that end in *n*: *in-* ‘say’, *un-* ‘eat’, *tin-* ‘eat’, *pun-* ‘know’, *ven-* ‘hear’, *sen-* ‘go’. Class 3 consists of all bases that end in *p* except *tap-* ‘drop’ and *kop-* ‘be full’. Examples of Class 3 verbs include *akp-* ‘tear’, *pēpp-* ‘cause to go’ and *kanuyy-* ‘yoke’. Class 4 verbs consist of all other verb bases, e.g. *ag-* ‘be torn’, *nag-* ‘laugh’, *adb-* ‘press’, *nambr-* ‘close eyes’, *park-* ‘speak’, *īrs-* ‘comb’.

The verb classes exhibit different patterns of morphophonemic alternation when inflected. The final *-p-* of Class 3 verbs is a case in point. It remains unchanged in the imperative and non-past negative stems. It is replaced by *-t-* in the past and non-past stems, by *-c-* in the conjunctive stem and by *-k-* in the infinitive, conditional, progressive and permissive stems, as shown in Table 12.16.

In the selection of these base alternants and the suffixal alternants that follow them, an interesting rule ordering is found. Let us take the progressive form of the verb *silp-* ‘get up’ as an example and examine the steps involved in obtain-

**Table 12.16** Verb stem alternation

Base	<i>silp-</i> 'get up'	<i>gīṭap-</i> 'wink'
Imperative	<i>silup</i> 'get up!'	<i>gīṭap</i> 'wink!'
Non-past negative	<i>silp-a-n</i> 'I will not get up'	<i>gīṭap-a-n</i> 'I will not wink'
Past	<i>sil.t-o-n</i> 'I got up'	<i>gīṭa.t-o-n</i> 'I winked'
Non-past negative	<i>sil.t-a-n</i> 'I did not get up'	<i>gīṭa.t-a-n</i> 'I did not wink'
Conjunctive	<i>sil.c-i</i> 'having got up'	<i>gīṭa.c-i</i> 'having winked'
Infinitive	<i>sil.k-un</i> 'getting up'	<i>gīṭa.k-un</i> 'winking'
Conditional	<i>sil.k-oṭ</i> 'if one gets up'	<i>gīṭa.k-oṭ</i> 'if one winks'
Progressive	<i>sil.ku-da-n</i> 'I am getting up'	<i>gīṭa.ku-da-n</i> 'I am winking'
Permissive	<i>sil.ka-ṇ</i> 'let him get up'	<i>gīṭa.k-an</i> 'let him wink'

ing the final form *sil.ku-da-n* 'I am getting up'. The first step begins with the base *silp-* and the progressive suffix *-Vda*, where *V* stands for *u* or *i*. In step two, the quality of *V* is chosen. Since the suffix is preceded by a labial segment in the base (viz. the final *p* of *silp-*), vowel *u* is chosen in the place of *V* in the suffix and the shape of the suffix changes to *-uda*. In step three, the base-final *p* is changed to *k*, resulting in the base alternant *silk-*. Thus labial vowel harmony precedes base alternant selection. If steps two and three were reversed, we would get the ungrammatical form *\*silk-idan*.

The verb bases of Classes 3 and 4 that end in a consonant cluster take an anaptyctic vowel. The base alternants are governed by the rule of labial harmony. Compare, for example, *ām̄k-* 'yawn', *ām̄ug-dan* 'I will yawn', *ām̄uk* 'yawn!', *ām̄uk-kaṇ* 'let him yawn' with *ām̄k-en* 'I yawned', *ām̄k-udan* 'I am yawning'. In four bases from Class 2, the final *n* changes to *y* or *ṇḍ* before the past and non-past suffixes: *sen-* 'go', *tin-* 'eat', *pun-* 'know' and *ven-* 'hear'. Their past alternants are *sey* ~ *send*, *tiy* ~ *tinḍ*, *puy* ~ *punḍ* and *vey* ~ *venḍ*. Their non-past alternants are *sey*, *tiy*, *puy* and *vey*.

Before the non-past suffix, base-final *c*, *t*, *d*, *y*, *s* are replaced by *yg* and base final *nj*, *nbd*, *ny*, *ṣ* are replaced by *yṇ*. Examples include *kiygdan* 'I will pluck' (< *kic-* 'pluck'), *kumuygdan* 'I will carry on head' (< *kumt-* 'carry on head'), *pōygdan* 'I will become wet' (< *pōd-* 'become wet'), *kēygdan* 'I will shave' (< *kēs-* 'shave') and *eygdan* 'I will grind' (< *ey-* 'grind').

The final *y* or *r* changes to *ṭ* and final *n* changes to *ṇṭ* or *ṇḍ* before the past suffix in the case of the following Class 1 and 2 bases: *piy-* 'live', *ey-* 'grind', *nor-* 'wash', *ir-* 'keep', *ven-* 'hear', *pun-* 'know', *in-* 'say', *un-* 'eat, drink'. Examples include *piṭṭon* 'I lived', *iṭṭon* 'I kept', *punṭon* 'I knew', *unḍon* 'I ate'.

After the verb bases undergo these changes, they typically take one of the tense-mode suffixes that are presented below. The distinction between past and present-future in Ollari (Bhattacharya 1957: 33) corresponds to the distinction between past and non-past classification in Gadaba. All the verbs of Gadaba inflect for these two tenses. Interestingly, however, the verb 'be' exhibits a three-way distinction between past, present and future tense. In the context of this verb, the past tense suffix *-o-* retains the meaning of past tense. The non-past suffix *-da-*, however, has the meaning of future tense in this case. A separate

present tense suffix *-a-* is used only with the verb ‘be’. The allomorphs of the verb ‘be’ and the accompanying tense suffixes are tabulated in Table 12.17.

**Table 12.17 Stem alternants of the verb ‘be’**

Tense	Base alternant	Tense suffix
Past	<i>maṇṭ-</i>	<i>-o-</i>
Present	<i>mey-</i>	<i>-a-</i>
Future	<i>sāy-</i>	<i>-da-</i>

- (5) a. *polub-tun ma.ṇṭ-o-n*  
village-loc be-pst-1s  
‘I was in the village.’
- b. *polubtun me.y-a-n*  
village-loc be-prs-1s  
‘I am in the village.’
- c. *sōrgul-tun sāy-da(-d)*  
field-loc be-fut-3nms  
‘She/it will be in the field.’

In negative conjugation, however, the verb ‘to be’ shows the regular two-way distinction between past and non-past.

- (6) a. *polub-tun man-uṭ-o-n*  
village-loc be-neg-pst-1s  
‘I was not in the village.’
- b. *sōrgul-tun man-a(-d)*  
field-loc be-neg.pst-3nms  
‘She/it is not in the field.’

The verb ‘be’ also functions as an auxiliary when it combines with the conjunctive form of main verb. Here the three-way distinction of the verb ‘to be’ is maintained: the past tense auxiliary base *maṇṭ-* signifies past perfect aspect; the present tense auxiliary base *mey-* signifies present perfect aspect; and the future tense auxiliary base *sāy-* signifies dubitative mode.

On the basis of their morphological and syntactic characteristics, all verbs in Gadaba are either finite or non-finite. Finite verbs mark both tense and subject-verb agreement. Gadaba has five full paradigms: past, non-past, progressive, non-past negative and negative. It also has other finite verbs, such as the imperative, negative imperative and the permissive, which lack full paradigms and are restricted in occurrence to a specific person and time reference. Non-finite verbs, by contrast, do not mark subject-verb agreement; they include such forms as the conjunctive, the infinitive, the conditional and the adnominal.

The past tense suffix has two alternants: *-e-* occurs with bases of Class 4 and *-o-* occurs with all remaining bases. Examples of past stems are shown in Table 12.18.

The finite past tense paradigms of the Class 4 verb *ēnd-* ‘play, dance’ (past stem *ēnd-*) and the Class 3 verb *kāp-* ‘guard’ (past stem *kat-*) are presented in Tables 12.19 and 12.20. Note that in the third person non-masculine forms of

**Table 12.18** Formation of the past stem

	Base	Past stem
'play'	ēnd-	ēnd-e-
'gnaw'	kork-	kork-e-
'tear'	akp-	ak.t-o-
'bury'	medup-	medu.t-o-
'go'	sen-	sey-o-
'keep'	ir-	iṭṭ-o-

**Table 12.19** Past tense paradigm of the Class 4 verb *ēnd-* 'play'

	Singular	Plural
1 person	ēnd-e-n	ēnd-e-m
2 person	ēnd-e-ṭ	ēnd-e-r
3 person: masc.	ēnd-e-ṇ	ēnd-e-r
non-masc.	ēnd-e-ṭe	ēnd-e-ṭev

**Table 12.20** Past tense paradigm of the Class 3 verb *kāp-* 'guard'

	Singular	Plural
1 person	kāt-o-n	kāt-o-m
2 person	kāt-o-ṭ	kāt-o-r
3 person: masc.	kāt-o-ṇ	kāt-o-r
non-masc.	kāt-e (< kāt-o-e)	kāt-ev (< kāt-o-ev)

*kāp-* 'guard', the characteristic vowel of the past tense is deleted through internal sandhi.

The non-past tense suffix has two alternants: *-da-* occurring after bases of Classes 1 and 4 and *-a-* occurring with the rest of the bases. Examples of the non-past stem and finite paradigms are provided in Tables 12.21, 12.22 and 12.23.

The progressive suffix signals a present progressive meaning, and has two alternants, *-uda-* and *-ida-*, whose selection is controlled by the labial harmony rule. Two full finite paradigms are given in Tables 12.24 and 12.25.

Note that in Table 12.25, the progressive stem has the suffix alternant *-uda-* with a labial vowel even though the stem alternant of the verb (*kāk-*) lacks a labial segment. Recall from the earlier discussion that the labial alternant of the suffix is selected on the basis of the original terminal /p/ present in the base before stem alternation replaces it with /k/.

The characteristic suffix of the non-past negative is *-a-*. A sample paradigm is illustrated (Table 12.26), again with the verb base *ēnd-* 'play'.

Bhattacharya (1957: 38) observes that the non-past negative paradigm can be used for both past and non-past time reference; this paradigm formally continues

**Table 12.21 Non-past stem formation**

	Base	Non-past stem
'keep'	ir-	ir-da-
'grow'	sand-	sayŋ-da-
'dig'	aḍg-	aḍig-da-
'ask'	pōrp-	pōrt-a-
'push'	turuyp-	turuyp-a-
'hear'	ven-	vey-a-

**Table 12.22 Sample non-past paradigm of the verb *aḍg-* 'dig'**

	Singular	Plural
1 person	aḍig-da-n	aḍig-da-m
2 person	aḍig-da-ṭ	aḍig-da-r
3 person: masc.	aḍig-da-ṇ	aḍig-da-r
non-masc.	aḍig-da-(d)	aḍig-da-v

**Table 12.23 Non-past tense paradigm of the verb *pōrp-* 'ask'**

	Singular	Plural
1 person	pōrt-a-n	pōrt-a-m
2 person	pōrt-a-ṭ	pōrt-a-r
3 person: masc.	pōrt-a-ṇ	pōrt-a-r
non-masc.	pōrt-a-(d)	pōrt-a-v

**Table 12.24 Progressive tense paradigm of the Class 4 verb *ēnd-* 'play'**

	Singular	Plural
1 person	ēnd-ida-n	ēnd-ida-m
2 person	ēnd-ida-ṭ	ēnd-ida-r
3 person: masc.	ēnd-ida-ṇ	ēnd-ida-r
non-masc.	ēnd-ida-(d)	ēnd-ida-v

**Table 12.25 Progressive tense paradigm of the Class 3 verb *kāp-* 'guard'**

	Singular	Plural
1 person	kāk-uda-n	kāk-uda-m
2 person	kāk-uda-ṭ	kāk-uda-r
3 person: masc.	kāk-uda-ṇ	kāk-uda-r
non-masc.	kāk-uda-(d)	kāk-uda-v

**Table 12.26** The non-past negative of *ēnd-* ‘play’

	Singular	Plural
1 person	ēnd-a-n	ēnd-a-m
2 person	ēnd-a-ṭ	ēnd-a-r
3 person: masc.	ēnd-a-ṇ	ēnd-a-r
non-masc.	ēnd-a-(d)	ēnd-a-v

the so-called ‘tenseless’ negative conjugation of Proto-Dravidian. However, sporadic examples in the Ollari dialect that Bhattacharya describes show that it is innovating a past negative paradigm. One of the verbs for which such a paradigm exists in all recorded dialects is *man* ‘be’, which functions as an auxiliary. The Koṇekor dialect studied by Bhaskararao contains far more examples of the past negative paradigm. The suffix of the past negative paradigm is *-uṭo-*. A sample paradigm is illustrated in Table 12.27 with the verb base *ēnd-* ‘play’.

**Table 12.27** Past negative of *ēnd-* ‘play’

	Singular	Plural
1 person	ēnd-uṭo-n	ēnd-uṭo-m
2 person	ēnd-uṭo-ṭ	ēnd-uṭo-r
3 person: masc.	ēnd-uṭo-ṇ	ēnd-uṭo-r
non-masc.	ēnd-uṭ-e (< /ēnd-uṭo-e/)	ēnd-uṭ-ev (< /ēnd-uṭo-ev/)

The permissive is a finite verb that occurs only in the third person. The characteristic suffix of this form has two alternants, *-a-* occurring after bases of Class 3, e.g. *silp-* ‘get up’ and *-ka-* after other bases, e.g. *kac-* ‘bite’ (Tables 12.28 and 12.29).

**Table 12.28** The permissive of Class 1, 2 and 4 verbs

	Singular	Plural
3 person: masc.	kas-ka-ṇ	kas-ka-r
non-masc.	kas-ka-Ø	kas-ka-v

**Table 12.29** The permissive of Class 3 verbs

	Singular	Plural
3 person: masc.	silk-a-ṇ	silk-a-r
non-masc.	silk-a-Ø	silk-a-v

The imperative occurs only in the second person. A bare verb base may function as a singular imperative form, while the suffix *-ur* is attached for the plural imperative. Note the following imperative forms: *pār* 'you sing!', *pār-ur* 'you all sing!' (< *pār-* 'sing') and *tōdup* 'you show!', *tōdp-ur* 'you all show!' (< *tōdp-* 'show'). The suffix for the negative imperative is *-me-n* in the singular and *-me-r* in the plural; these combine with the non-past negative stem, e.g. *tāk-me-n* 'you don't walk!', *tāk-me-r* 'you all don't walk!' (< *tāk-* 'walk').

Finite verbs terminate in a personal ending that agrees with the subject in one or more of the categories of person, number and gender. Gadaba has two groups of personal endings, described in Table 12.30. Members of the first group combine with the imperative and negative imperative stems. They distinguish between singular and plural number. The singular has two allomorphs in the imperative and one in the negative imperative: *-uṭ* occurs with imperative stems formed from disyllabic bases of Class 3; *-∅* occurs with imperative stems formed from monosyllabic bases of Class 3 verbs and all other verb bases; *-n* occurs with negative imperative stems of all classes.

**Table 12.30 Personal endings for the imperative**

Gloss	Stem	Singular	Imperative/ Negative imperative
'bury'	medup-	medup-uṭ	Imperative
'loosen'	ivp-	ivup-∅	Imperative
'say'	in-	in-∅	Imperative
'go'	sen-	sen-∅	Imperative
'play'	ēnd-me-	ēnd-me-n	Negative imperative

The plural has two allomorphs: *-ur* occurs with imperative stems, *-r* with prohibitive stems as in *ēnd-ur* 'play!' and *ēnd-me-r* 'don't play!', both from the bases *ēnd-* 'play'.

Members of the second group appear in paradigms that distinguish among first, second and third person. These personal endings further distinguish between singular and plural number in all three persons. Finally, the third person personal endings make a further distinction between masculine and non-masculine gender, which gives rise to four combinations in the third person: masculine singular, masculine plural, non-masculine singular and non-masculine plural. The first and second person personal endings (Table 12.31) include the

**Table 12.31 Personal endings of the first and second person**

	Singular	Plural
First Person	ēnd-e-n	ēnd-e-m
Second Person	ēnd-e-ṭ	ēnd-e-r

first person singular *-n*, the first person plural *-m*, the second person singular *-t* and the second person plural *-r*, as illustrated with the past tense of the verb *ēnd-* ‘play’.

By comparison, the allomorphy of the personal endings of the third person is more complicated. The personal ending for the masculine singular has a singular form *-n*, as in the past tense forms *ēnd-e-ŋ* ‘he played’ (< *ēnd-* ‘play’, past stem *ēnd-e-*), *udlat-o-ŋ* ‘he drove’ (< *udlat-* ‘drive’, past stem *udlat-o-*) and *adg-e-ŋ* ‘he dug’ (< *adg-* ‘dig’, past stem *adg-e-*). Similarly, the personal ending for masculine plural has a single form, *-r*. This personal ending is illustrated with forms of the verb *ēnd-* ‘play’: *ēnd-e-r* ‘those men played’, *ēnd-uŋo-r* ‘those men did not play’, *eyŋ-da-r* ‘those men will play’ and *ēnd-a-r* ‘those men will not play’.

The personal ending of the third person non-masculine singular has three allomorphs. The allomorph *-te* occurs after past stems of Class 4 verbs; *-e* occurs after past stems of Class 1, 2 and 3 verbs, as well as after all negative stems; and *-d* occurs after all other stems. The *-d* allomorph is frequently omitted in speech (7a); however, it is retained when the verb is followed by a word beginning with a vowel or when the verb is to be emphasised (7b).

- (7) a. *sāy-da-(d)*  
die-npst-3nms  
‘it will die’
- b. *sāy-da-d inji*  
die-npst-3nms think-cnj  
‘thinking that it will die’

These three allomorphs are illustrated in Table 12.32.

**Table 12.32 Personal endings of the third person non-masculine singular**

Base	Past stem	Past negative	Other forms
<i>piy-</i> ‘live’	<i>piŋ-e</i> (< <i>piŋ-o-e</i> )	<i>piy-uŋ-e</i>	Non-past negative: <i>piy-a-(d)</i>
<i>in-</i> ‘say’	<i>iŋŋ-e</i> (< <i>iŋŋ-o-e</i> )	<i>in-uŋ-e</i>	Progressive: <i>in-ida-(d)</i>
<i>kāp-</i> ‘guard’	<i>kāt-e</i> (< <i>kāt-o-e</i> )	<i>kāp-uŋ-e</i>	Progressive: <i>kāk-uda-(d)</i>
<i>uđv-</i> ‘comb’	<i>uđv-e-ŋe</i>	<i>uđv-uŋ-e</i>	Non-past: <i>uđuv-da(d)</i>

The personal ending of the third person non-masculine plural has two allomorphs: *-ev* occurs after past stems of Class 1, 2 and 3 verbs and after all past negative stems; *-v* occurs after all other stems, as illustrated in Table 12.33.

The four principal non-finite verb forms in Gadaba are the infinitive, the conjunctive, the conditional and the adnominal. These versatile forms serve a variety of functions, ranging from the formation of compound verbs to the creation of complex sentence structures.

The infinitive suffix has two alternants, *-un* and *-in*, whose selection is

**Table 12.33 Personal endings of the third person non-masculine plural**

Base	Past verb	Past negative	Other forms
<i>piy-</i> 'live'	piṭ-ev (<piṭ-o-ev)	piy-uṭ-ev	Non-past negative: piy-a-v
<i>in-</i> 'say'	iṅṅ-ev (<iṅṅ-o-ev)	in-uṭ-ev	Progressive: in-ida-v
<i>kāp-</i> 'guard'	kāt-ev (<kāt-o-ev)	kāp-uṭ-ev	Progressive: kāk-uda-v
<i>uḍv-</i> 'comb'	uḍv-e-v	uḍv-uṭ-ev	Non-past: ūḍuv-dav

controlled by the labial harmony rule. Compare *āv-un* 'leaping' (< *āv-* 'leap') and *sen-in* 'going' (< *sen-* 'go').

The conjunctive suffix has two alternants, *-ji* which occurs after bases of Class 5 and *-i* which occurs after other bases. Compare the Class 5 base *in-* 'say' and its conjunctive *in-ji* 'having said' with *tārg-* 'swallow' and its conjunctive *tārg-i* 'having swallowed'. While the affirmative conjunctive form is created by adding the conjunctive suffix *-ji* or *-i* to a verb base, as in *in-ji* 'having said' (< *in-* 'say'), the negative conjunctive form is created by adding the suffix *-guṅṅa* to a non-past negative stem, e.g. *ēnd-a-guṅṅa* 'not having played' (< *ēnd-* 'play', non-past negative stem *ēnd-a-*) and *adb-a-guṅṅa* 'not having pressed' (< *adb-* 'press', non-past negative stem *adb-a-*).

The conditional suffix has three alternants: *-koṭ* occurs after a negative non-past stem, *-oṭ* after bases of Class 3 and *-goṭ* after other bases. Take, for example, *pat-a-koṭ* 'if one does not catch' (*pat-* 'catch'), *kaj-goṭ* 'if one bites' (*kac-* 'bite' and *silk-oṭ* 'if one gets up' (*silp-* 'get up'). The negative counterpart, the negative conditional, is based on the non-past negative stem. This stem may also take the conditional suffix *-koṭ* to form a negative conditional e.g. *pat-a-koṭ* 'if one does not catch' (< *pat-* 'catch'), *pōrp-a-koṭ* 'if one does not ask' (< *pōrp-* 'ask').

The adnominal (adn) forms, also called relative participles, are adjectival in function. Gadaba has two primary adnominal forms: the subject adnominal and the object adnominal forms. The first occurs when the subject of the clause is relativised; the second occurs when the object is relativised. The subject adnominal has two alternants, *-te-* which occurs with the masculine suffix and *-o-* which occurs with the non-masculine suffix. The subject nominal also takes suffixes denoting number and gender, in effect, forming a derived nominal. The object relative participle is *-dan-*. The negative adnominal form consists of the (non-past) negative stem and suffix denoting person; in essence, these forms are derived nouns. For example, the non-past negative stem *aḍg-a-* is the basis for the derived noun *aḍg-a.y-oṅ* 'man who did not dig'.

- (8) a. *aḍig-te-ṇ*  
dig-adn+sb-m  
'the man who dug'
- b. *aḍig-te-l*  
dig-adn+sb-plm  
'the men who dug'
- c. *aḍg-o-ṇi*  
dig-adn+sb-f  
'the woman/thing who dug'
- d. *aḍg-o-ṇil*  
dig-adn+sb-plf  
'the women/things who dug'
- (9) a. *ūḍ-dan*      *sōrgul* (< *ūḍ-* 'plough')  
plough-adn+obj field  
'(the) field that is ploughed'
- b. *kāb-dan*      *ulle* (< *kāp-* 'guard')  
guard-adn+obj house  
'(the) house that is guarded'
- c. *sarub-dan*      *mūde* (< *sarp-* 'chase')  
chase-adn+ob cow  
'(the) cow which is chased'
- (10) a. *aḍg-a.y-on*  
dig-neg+adn-3ms  
'man who did not dig'
- b. *aḍg-a.y-or*  
dig-neg+adn-3mpl  
'men who did not dig'
- c. *aḍg-a.y-ad*  
dig-neg+adn-3nms  
'woman/thing who did not dig'
- d. *aḍg-a.y-av*  
dig-neg+adn-3nmpl  
'women/things who did not dig'

The non-past negative also serves as the base of another negative adnominal form, one that takes no personal ending and functions adjectivally. It is formed by suffixing *-yḍun* to the non-past negative stem, as *kac-a-yḍun* 'which did not bite' as in *kacayḍun nette* 'dog<sub>2</sub> which.didn't.bite<sub>1</sub>' or *sarp-a-yḍun* 'who did not drive (away)' as in *mūdelin sarpayḍun āsmal* 'woman<sub>3</sub> who.didn't.drive<sub>2</sub> (away) cattle<sub>1</sub>'.

Furthermore, the non-past negative stem figures in a series of adverbial constructions. The form *-belan*, for example, combines with the non-past negative stem to make an adverbial expression, signifying 'at the time when something did not V', e.g. *ōrg-a-belan* 'when (somebody) did not call'; *-mundel* combines with the non-past negative stem, signifying 'before V', e.g. *ōrga-mundel* 'before somebody called'. In the positive counterpart of the form with *-belan*, the form *-nel* combines with a verb base, signifying 'at the time of V', e.g. *ōrug-nel* 'at the time of calling'.

The conjunctive form by itself may function as a non-finite verb; however it may also appear as a component of a compound verb construction. In such compound constructions, the main verb appears in its conjunctive form and combines with a following auxiliary verb that is inflected according to the demands of the syntactic context. Such auxiliary verbs may convey notions of intensive aspect, completive aspect, benefactive voice, perfect tense and dubitative status. The

four auxiliary verbs that may appear in such a compound include *sen-* ‘go’, *kē-* ‘do’, *sī-* ‘give’ and *man-* (~ *sāy-*) ‘be’. The auxiliaries *sen-* ‘go’ (11a, b) and *kē-* ‘do’ (12a, b) convey a completive or intensive meaning, as illustrated in the examples below. The auxiliary *si-* ‘give’ (DEDR 2598) conveys a benefactive meaning (13a, b).

- |      |    |   |    |   |
|------|----|---|----|---|
| (11) | a. | <i>poṭ-i seṇde</i><br>swell-cnj go-pst-3nms<br>‘it became completely swollen’ | b. | <i>veṭ-i seṇde</i><br>run-cnj go-pst-3nms<br>‘it ran away’                          |
| (12) | a. | <i>kuy-i kenon</i><br>cut-cnj do-pst-1s<br>‘I cut (something) away’           | b. | <i>tin-ji kedan</i><br>eat-cnj do-npst-1s<br>‘I will eat up (something) completely’ |
| (13) | a. | <i>kuy-i sinon</i><br>cut-cnj give-pst-1s<br>‘I cut (it) for (somebody)’      | b. | <i>kēg-i siyur</i><br>do-cnj give-imp<br>‘please do (it) (for me/ somebody)’        |

The auxiliary verb *man-* ‘be’ functions as an auxiliary to express a perfect tense series. When the auxiliary occurs in the past tense, the compound conveys past perfect tense (14a); in the present tense, it conveys present perfect tense (14b); and in the future, it conveys future perfect tense (14c). The future perfect conveys an added sense of dubitative mood. The auxiliary *man-* ‘be’ has three allomorphs: *man-* in the past tense, *mey-* in the present tense and *say-* in the future tense.

- |      |    |   |    |   |
|------|----|---|----|---|
| (14) | a. | <i>ēndi maṇṭon</i><br>play-cnj be-pst-1s<br>‘I had played’          | b. | <i>ēndi meyaṇ</i><br>play-cnj be-prs-3ms<br>‘he has played’ |
|      | c. | <i>ēndi sāydaṇ</i><br>play-cnj be-fut-3ms<br>‘he might have played’ |    |   |

The infinitive form can function as a non-finite verb, and is used as a verbal noun. It also appears in two further contexts: in auxiliary compound verbs with modal auxiliaries and as a form to which invariant modal suffixes are added. The auxiliaries that can combine with an infinitive included to form a compound verb are the potential *ōḍ-* (15a), the inceptive *sen-* (15b), the permissive *sī-* (15c), the permissive *ir-* (15d) and the hortative *ekam* (15e).

- (15) a. *ēndin oḍ-en*  
play-inf be.able-pst-1s  
'I was able to play'
- b. *ēndin sey-on*  
play-inf go-npst-1s  
'I am going to play'
- c. *ēndin sīnuṭon*  
play-inf give-neg-pst-1s  
'I did not allow (somebody)  
to play'
- d. *ēndin irdan*  
play-inf be-npst-1s  
'I will let (somebody) to play'
- e. *ēndin ekam*  
play-inf go-hort  
'let us play!'

The invariant modal suffixes that combine with the infinitive include the obligative *-gāle* (16a), the negative obligative *-kūḍera* (16b), the subjunctive *-occuni* (16c, see the auxiliary use of Telugu *vaccu* 'come') and the past negative *-mana* (16d).

- (16) a. *ēndin gāle*  
play-inf must  
'(one) must play'
- b. *ēndin kūḍera*  
play-inf must.not  
'(one) must not play'
- c. *ēndin occuni*  
play-inf may  
'(one) may play'
- d. *ēndin mana*  
play-inf not.be  
'(one) did not play'

A number of operators combine with non-finite verb forms and often have temporal meanings. For example, *pōli* 'after', which is homophonous with – and likely derives from – the conjunctive of the verb *pōl* 'finish', may follow the conjunctive form of a verb to signal completion, as in *ēnd-i pōli* 'after<sub>2</sub> playing<sub>1</sub>'. The form *eṅṅane* 'as soon as' combines with an infinitive, as in *adin sūḍun eṅṅane* 'as.soon.as<sub>3</sub> (he) saw<sub>2</sub> it<sub>1</sub>'. The form *pay* 'for the purpose of', which may function as a postposition with a dative meaning, combines with an infinitive, as in *sen-in pay* 'for<sub>2</sub> going<sub>1</sub>'.

## 12.5 Operators

Gadaba has a wide range of grammatical operators that perform various adjectival, adverbial and modal functions. Most of them attach to individual words in clauses; some attach to phrases. These operators include clitics, postpositions and independent words; the latter often have defective morphology and restricted privileges of occurrence. We have already seen examples in the discussion of postpositions, as well as the suffixes *-nel*, *-belan* and *-mundel* which combine with verb stems.

One of the more important clitics is the interrogative  $=\bar{a}$ , used to form yes–no questions. It may attach to any constituent of the sentence. When it attaches to the finite verb (17b), it forms a simple yes–no question; when it combines with

another constituent (17c, d), it focuses on that constituent.

- (17) a. *ōṇ aykōsun cēdel sinoṇ.*  
 he-nom king-obj porcupine give-pst-3ms  
 'He gave a porcupine to the king.'
- b. *ōṇ aykōsun cēdel sinoṇ=ā.*  
 he-nom king-obj porcupine give-pst-3ms=int  
 'Did he give a porcupine to the king?'
- c. *ōṇ=ā aykōsun cēdel sinoṇ.*  
 he-nom=int king-obj porcupine give-pst-3ms  
 'Was it he who gave a porcupine to the king?'
- d. *ōṇ aykōsun=ā cēdel sinoṇ.*  
 he-nom king-obj=int porcupine give-pst-3ms  
 'Was it to the king that he gave a porcupine?'

Further operators, such as *inji* 'that, saying' and *ki* 'that, or', are discussed in the following section.

## 12.6 Syntax

The basic word order pattern of Gadaba is SOV, or subject–object–verb. As is typical of robust SOV typology, postpositions occur instead of prepositions, complements precede main clauses, main verbs precede auxiliaries and genitives precede the nouns they modify. Thanks to explicit nominal and verbal morphological marking, however, the gross constituents of a clause enjoy a certain degree of freedom as to their positioning within the sentence.

- (18) *ēlki pēta mūde.*  
 somewhere come.out-npst-3nms rabbit-nom  
 'A rabbit comes out from somewhere.'

A pronominal subject may optionally be deleted from a sentence; in (19a, b), for example, the identity of the subject may be recovered from the personal ending on the finite verb.

- (19) a. *(ām) mūdelin pēptam.*  
 we-nom rabbit-pl-obj come.out-caus-npst-1pl  
 'We will make the rabbits come out.'
- b. *(ām) seyom*  
 we-nom go-npst-1pl  
 'we go'

Similarly, truncated sentences without a verb occur in conversation because the 'missing' verb can be recovered from the context, as in (20).

- (20) *ān okuṭ sāri kiygaṭin seyon. cēdel kiygatin.*  
 I-nom one time hunt-obj go-pst-1s porcupine hunt-obj  
 'I once went on a hunt; (I went) for a porcupine hunt.'

A nominal group consists of nominal modifiers and a noun. These modifiers include demonstratives, numerals and other nouns. Although finite verbs may not be conjoined, nouns may be. The operator *pāṭen* 'and' as in *ōṇ pāṭen ān* 'he<sub>1</sub> and<sub>2</sub> I<sub>3</sub>' conjoins two pronouns. Gadaba also conjoins two or more nouns by lengthening the final vowel of each word in the conjunct; in *ōn=ū ān=ū* 'he and I', for example, the enunciative vowel is lengthened on each member of the conjunct, as occurs in Telugu. The operator *ki* 'or' in *ēriṭ ki okuṭ kuce* 'some<sub>1</sub> or<sub>2</sub> another<sub>3</sub> vegetable<sub>4</sub>', viz. 'some vegetable or other' conjoins two nominal modifiers which are themselves nouns. The syntax of forms with an adjectival function is rather complex; full discussion may be found in Bhattacharya (1957) and Bhaskararao (1980).

As is common among the Dravidian languages, the predicate of a simple sentence may be a finite verb (21) or a predicate nominal (22). Sentences without predicate nominals are well-formed without a copula; however, such sentences are negated by using the negative conjugation of the verb *man-* 'be'. The agreement system may be considered as a nominative-accusative pattern as long as we recall that the Gadaba objective case combines accusative, dative and genitive functions. Gadaba also exhibits what in other Dravidian languages would be considered a dative-subject construction, even though the subject appears in the all-purpose objective case, rather than a dedicated dative case. In example (21a), the dative-accusative form *anin* 'to me' marks the subject of the verb *bēp-* 'feel'.

- (21) a. *vāyiṅ-sil aḍ-da-v*  
 rain-pl-nom fall-npst-3nmpl  
 'the rains will fall'  
 b. *anin santosam bēte*  
 I-dat+acc happiness-nom get.a.feeling-pst-3nms  
 'I felt happy.'
- (22) a. *ōṇ kalgerten*  
 he-nom rich.man-3ms  
 'he is a rich man'  
 b. *ī kor ēyr-ne?*  
 this fowl-nom who-gen  
 'whose fowl (is) this?'

A complex sentence consists of two or more clauses. Gadaba has inherited the Dravidian restriction against multiple finite predicates. The conjunctive form is commonly used to conjoin two or more clauses (23a). The infinitive also serves

to combine two or more clauses, as in (23b), where a clause of purpose has been postposed to the right of the main clause with the finite verb.

- (23) a.  $s_0[s_1[panḍu\ vīḍi]_{S1}\ s_2[bali\ kēdar]_{S2}]_{S0}$ .  
 pig buy-cnj sacrifice do-npst-3mpl  
 'They will buy a pig and sacrifice it.'
- b.  $s_0[raytul\ iruvar=ki\ muvur=ki\ sāydar\ s_1[megeltin\ manda\ kākun]_{S1}]_{S0}$   
 farmer two-mpl=or three-mpl=or be-npst-3mpl goat-obj  
 herd guard-inf  
 'There will be two or three farmers to guard the herd of goats.'

Along with the restriction against multiple finite predicates, Gadaba has also inherited the morphosyntactic means of embedding finite predicates, such as *inji* 'saying', the conjunctive form of *in-* 'say' (< \**en-* 'say, think' (DEDR 868)). In (24a) *inji* embeds the finite predicate *kēdam* 'we shall do'. The language has also borrowed complementisers from Indo-Aryan, such as *ki* 'that' which in (24b) embeds the finite predicate *pōrceṭe* 'you got'. The borrowed complementiser *ki* also serves to embed complements under verbs of doubt (24c), in much the same way as the clitic =*ō* 'or, some' does in Tamil, Telugu and Koṇḍa, among others.

- (24) a.  $s_0[s_1[enan\ kēdam]_{S1}\ inji\ vergin\ pokken]_{S0}$   
 what-obj do-npst-1pl say-cnj cat-obj ask-pst-3ms  
 'He asked the cat, "what shall we do?''
- b.  $s_0[s_1[ad\ in\ eṭen\ pōrceṭe]_{S1}\ ki\ anin\ pok]_{S0}$   
 that.thing you-nom how get-pst-2s that I-dat+acc tell-imp  
 'Tell me how you got that thing.'
- c.  $s_0[s_1[ōṇ\ vanon]_{S1}\ ki\ s_2[vāra]_{S2}\ ki\ anin\ telsēra]_{S0}$   
 he-nom come-npst-3ms or come-neg-3ms or I-dat+acc  
 know-neg  
 'I do not know whether he will come or not.'

## 12.7 Lexicon

The lexicon consists of native and borrowed lexical items. For the dialect that is studied, Telugu seems to be the major source of borrowings though a few lexical items come from Oriya. The set of nominals is open while the set of verbs is less susceptible to borrowing. When a lexical item is added to the set of verbs, the suffix *-ap* is added to the borrowed item or the auxiliary verb *ēr-* combined with the borrowed item to form a compound; *-ap* serves primarily to derive transitive verbs while *ēr-* serves to derive intransitive verbs. The verb *ēr-* 'become' also combines with a large number of verbs that come for the most part from Telugu,

e.g. *kūḍ ēr-* ‘get accumulated’ (cf. Telugu *kūḍu* ‘join’), *pēl ēr-* ‘explode’ (cf. Telugu *pēlu* ‘to explode’). Examples of derived transitives include *nokk-ap* ‘press’ (< Telugu *nokku* ‘to press’), *kūr-ap* ‘stuff in’ (< Telugu *kūru* ‘to stuff in’), *namm-ap* ‘believe’ (< Telugu *nammu* ‘believe’) and *pām-ap* ‘rub’ (< Telugu *pāmu* ‘rub’); examples of intransitives, *nān-er* ‘be soaked’ (< Telugu *nānu* ‘be soaked’), *mann-er* ‘last long’ (< Telugu *mannu* ‘last long’). While the borrowed lexemes function as verbs in Telugu, they appear to be borrowed as nouns in Gadaba. The following Gadaba verbs combine with borrowed nouns to form lexical compound verbs: *kē-* ‘do’, *bēp-* ‘get a feeling, sensation’, *aṭ-* ‘beat, strike’, *puc-* ‘take out’. Examples include *gōsa kē-* ‘make noise’ (< *gōsa* ‘noise’ + *kē-* ‘do’), *kayar bēp-* ‘become angry’ (< *kayar* ‘anger’ + *bēp-* ‘feel’), *īsa aṭ-* ‘whistle’ (*īsa* ‘whistle’ + *aṭ-* ‘strike’) and *ūpiri puc-* ‘breathe’ (< *ūpiri* ‘breath’ + *puc-* ‘take out’).

Iterative and echo compounds commonly occur in Gadaba. Iterative compounds invest a distributive meaning in the nouns as repeated nouns, as in *okur-okur* ‘one by one’ (*okur* ‘one’) and *iḍig-iḍig* ‘two at a time’ (*iḍig* ‘two’). Balance compounds result from the joining of two nouns with a similar semantic range, e.g. *suvur kuce* ‘meals in general’ combines *suvur* ‘soup’ and *kuce* ‘vegetable’, while *parub punam* ‘festivals in general’ combines *parub* ‘festival’ and *punam* ‘full moon day’. These are found in other Dravidian languages (see Chapter 13 on Malto, and Steever 1988). The conjunctive form of a verb can be reiterated to signal continuous action, e.g. *unji unji* ‘having eaten continuously’. Echo compounds also occur in Gadaba. The echo word is formed by replacing the initial syllable of the echoed word by the echo syllable *gi-*. The vowel of the echo syllable has the same length as the initial syllable of the echoed word, e.g. *ōdur-gīdir* ‘marriage and the like’ which is based on *ōdur* ‘marriage’ and *pidir-gidir* ‘name and the like’ which is based on *pidir* ‘name’. As in other Dravidian languages, echo compounds in Gadaba tend to occur in rhetorically marked contexts such as the negative conjugation.

(25) *pollu-gillu enaḍe mana.*

husk-echo any be-neg-3nms

‘There won’t be any husks or the like (in the seeds).’

## 12.8 Dialect Differences

The description of Gadaba in this chapter is based on Bhaskararao’s (1980) grammar of the Koṇekor dialect in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. This dialect differs in some respects from that described in Bhattacharya’s (1957) grammar of the Ollari dialect spoken in the Koraput District of Orissa. Some examples are provided to illustrate these dialect differences.

The phonological inventories of the two differ. For example, Ollari has two post-dental affricates *ts* and *dz* that do not occur in Koṇekor, e.g. *tsōka* ‘coat’, *dzum* ‘red’ (=Koṇekor *jum* ‘id.’), *dzulap-* ‘cause to swing’. In Koṇekor, the

conditional suffix is *-koṭ*, while in Ollari it is *-koṛen*, which may be shortened to *-kor*. The personal ending for the third person masculine singular is *-ṇ* in Koṇekor, but *-ṇḍ* in Ollari. The Ollari form more directly reflects the Proto-Dravidian suffix *\*-anṛu*.

The inventory of finite paradigms differs between the two dialects. It was noted earlier that the past negative is more fully developed in Koṇekor than in Ollari. Both Koṇekor and Ollari have a (present) progressive tense, but Ollari also has a past progressive paradigm. The past progressive marker *-in-/un-*, or its extended form *-iṇin-/uṇin-*, is suffixed to the verb stem. The verb is then conjugated as a past tense form of Class 3 verb, e.g. *sūr-un-on* 'I was seeing', *narupk-in-oṭ* 'you were scaring', *indr-iṇin-on* 'I was bringing', *kōndel tin-in-ev* 'cows<sub>1</sub> were grazing<sub>2</sub>'. Ollari also has a negative past progressive paradigm (Bhattacharya 1957: 42–3). It is a serial verb compound: the main verb is inflected for the (non-past) negative and the auxiliary *man-* 'be' is inflected for the past tense; both verbs have congruent personal endings. In addition, the so-called union vowel *-i* attaches to the main verb: *īlan-i maṭon* 'I was not falling' consists of *īlan* 'I do not fall', *-i* and *maṭon* 'I was'. Although in Ollari the (present) progressive is generally negated through use of the (non-past) negative verb, e.g. *sūrān* 'I do not see', this dialect also has another serial compound, the past progressive negative. It matches the past progressive negative in every respect except that the auxiliary *man-* is inflected for the present, not the past tense: *īlan-i mayan* 'I am not falling' consists of *īlan* 'I do not fall', the union vowel *-i* and the present tense *mayan* 'I am'. Such serial verbs have direct cognates and structural correlates in Parji and Pengo (Steever 1988).

The Koṇekor dialect appears to borrow more heavily from Telugu since that is the dominant regional language; similarly, the Ollari dialect leans more towards the Dēsiya dialect of Oriya.

## Bibliography

- Bhaskararao, P. (1980) *Konekor Gadaba: A Dravidian Language*, Poona: Deccan College. [In this descriptive analysis, which forms the basis of the present chapter, more details and examples can be found of the phonology and morphology of Gadaba. It also contains two texts with translation and vocabulary.]
- Bhattacharya, S. (1957) *Ollari: A Dravidian Speech*, Delhi: Department of Anthropology, Government of India. [This earliest book on the language contains a brief description of its phonology, and more detailed analyses of its morphology and vocabulary.]
- Burrow, T. and Bhattacharya, S. (1953) *The Parji Language: A Dravidian Language of Bastar*, Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons. [This is a detailed grammar of Parji, a sister language of Gadaba. Since several phonological, morphological and morphophonemic patterns are similar between Gadaba and Parji, a reading of this book gives more insights into Gadaba language. It also has nine texts and a detailed vocabulary with comparative vocables noted under each entry.]
- and — (1962–3) 'Gadaba supplement', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 6: 45–51. [This paper contains a short description of the Gadaba spoken in the Koraput area of Orissa wherein it was realised that Ollari and Gadaba are variants of the same language.]

- Emeneau, M.B. (1975) *Kolami : A Dravidian Language*, Berkeley: University of California Press. [The most detailed analysis of a language of this subgroup and contains a thorough description of the various aspects of its phonology, grammar and lexis both from synchronic and historical points of view.]
- Steever, Sanford (1988) *The Serial Verb Formation in the Dravidian Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Thusu, K.N. and Jha, M. (1969) *Ollar Gadaba of Koraput*, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India, Government of India. [This is an anthropological account of the Gadabas living in the Koraput area in Southern Orissa.]

This page intentionally left blank

PART IV  
NORTH DRAVIDIAN

This page intentionally left blank

---

# 13 Malto

*Sanford B. Steever*

## 13.1 Background

Malto, the northernmost of the Dravidian languages in India, is spoken by nearly 100,000 people in the Rajmahal Hills of Bihar. Pockets of Malto speakers also live in the states of West Bengal, Tripura and Orissa. Speakers of Malto call their language *mal sapa* 'man's language' or *malto* 'of the man', and they call themselves *maler* 'men'. Three dialects have been identified: Kumarbhag, Malpaharia and Sawriya.

All North Dravidian languages, including Malto, retain initial *\*k* before *\*i* and *\*ī*; their treatment of *\*k* before other vowels varies. In Malto, *\*k* usually becomes *q* before other vowels. Malto's closest relative, Kurux, is also spoken in Bihar. These two languages have, for example, innovated distinct personal endings for the second person singular masculine and the second person singular feminine. The cognates listed below further demonstrate their kinship.

Gloss	Malto	Kurux	DEDR
'bite'	qār	xār	1124
'blood'	qēs	xēso	1931
'dry'	qay	xay	1458
'eye'	qān	xan	1159
'you'	nīnu	nīn	3688

The rough terrain of the Rajmahal Hills has so isolated Malto speakers that their existence remained unknown to outsiders until the very end of the eighteenth century CE. Malto is a non-literary language and lacks official status. The earliest records of the language date to the last century. It has come into contact with neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Oriya and Bengali.

This chapter draws extensively from Mahapatra's description of the Malpaharia dialect of Malto. His grammar must be considered authoritative for the language.

**Table 13.1 Malto consonants**

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d		ʈ ɖ	c j	k g	q	
Nasal	m	n			ɲ	ŋ		
Fricative		ð	s				ɣ	h
Trill			r					
Lateral			l					
Flap				ɾ				
Glide	w				y			

### 13.2 Phonology

Malto retains the common Dravidian vowel system of ten vowels, five short and five long: *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō*. These vowels appear to occur in all positions. No Malto word contains vowel clusters. Malto has twenty-four consonant phonemes, presented in Table 13.1. There are eleven stops, six voiceless and five voiced: *p, t, ʈ, c, k, q, b, d, ɖ, j, g*. There are four nasals: *m, n, ɲ, ŋ*; four fricatives: *ð, s, ɣ, h*; one tap: *r*; one lateral: *l*; one flap: *ɾ*; and two glides: *w, y*. Malto lacks an aspirated series of stops which occurs in neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages.

Two junctures are marked in transcription, # and +. The first represents sentence juncture, the second a formative juncture that defines the domain of certain phonological rules. For example, Malto has a retroflex prosody that carries from one syllable into the next when no juncture intervenes, e.g. *teʈu* 'hand', *ɖanda* 'staff', *ɖade* 'forest'. The prosody does not cross a juncture, however: *kaʈ+tan* 'I crossed', *tʈɖ+du* 'tiger'. Vowel features also respect the presence of a juncture. In Malto long vowels occur only word-initially; elsewhere vowels are short. However, a long vowel may follow a juncture, as in a compound word, e.g. *bōl+tāwe* 'strong man'. The uvular obstruents *q* and *ɣ* do not occur before a front high vowel unless a juncture intervenes, e.g. *toq+in* 'I break', *qēɣ+in* 'I buy'.

All stops may occur in all positions. However, any word that ends in a consonant may in isolation be pronounced with an enunciative *u*. The fricatives *ð* and *ɣ* do not occur initially. Further, the fricative *h*, which occurs mainly in borrowed words, alternates with  $\emptyset$  in initial position, e.g. *hati* ~ *ati* 'elephant'. Consonant clusters do not occur initially in Malto except in two borrowed words: *prani* 'life' and *praja* 'tent'. There are approximately 230 two-consonant clusters and a far smaller number of three-consonant clusters. These trilateral clusters appear only between the first and second syllables of a word.

#### Prosodies

Malto exhibits patterns of consonantal prosody between the onset and offset of syllables in terms of the place of articulation. In defined instances, a consonant with a specific place of articulation in the onset is balanced by a consonant with

the same place of articulation in the offset, and vice versa. The retroflex prosody was noted above. Further, syllables with a velar consonant require another velar, not a uvular, e.g. *kuk.du* 'head', *kag.te* 'paper'. Conversely, syllables with a uvular consonant require another uvular, not a velar, e.g. *qoq* 'behind', *qeyr* 'bend one's hand'. Similar patterns are observed for dentals and retroflexes, e.g. *titra* 'kind of bird', *tuɸ.wa* 'leper'. These phonotactic patterns tend to apply within morphemes: as noted above, the retroflex prosody will carry into successive syllables if no formative junctive intervenes.

With no writing system of its own, Malto has been written in the Roman and the Devanagari writing systems.

### Morphology and Parts of Speech

Malto formally distinguishes between nouns and verbs. Membership of these categories depends both on the inflectional patterns a word exhibits and on the grammatical categories it encodes. In those Dravidian languages where the set of verbal roots is closed, category membership could be determined by identifying the lexical root, but the existence of robust cross-categorial derivation in Malto, including noun to verb, renders this procedure nugatory. The minor parts of speech such as adjective, adverb and conjunction are defined by their function, but formally may belong to one of the two main categories. Their claim to being formally defined parts of speech is somewhat bolstered by the defective morphology they often exhibit.

It is unclear whether Malto distinguishes between free forms and clitics. The forms that correspond to clitics in other Dravidian languages appear in Malto to be independent words with invariant forms. Like clitics, these Malto particles appear after the forms they in some sense modify and they typically modify phrases or clauses rather than a single word. Since Malto is an SOV language, it is expected that forms that mark scope, such as quantifiers, will occur after the elements they modify. Further, there is scant evidence one way or the other that they combine with the preceding form to constitute a phonological word.

### Nominals

Nouns are inflected for case, number and gender. The morphemes in a noun are segmented into noun stem, number and case. Number and gender interact closely, particularly in the subsystem of noun classifiers, a phenomenon largely absent in other Dravidian languages. The number–gender system has three layers: nouns, pronouns and numerals.

#### *Nouns*

All nouns in the nominative singular mark gender: nouns denoting male persons are masculine while all others are non-masculine. In the plural, the gender opposition is between human and non-human. The masculine singular is marked by *-h*, e.g. *male-h* 'man', *gole-h* 'a Hindu man', *ike-h* 'who', *taiyade-h* 'son'; the non-masculine singular is marked by *-ǰ*, e.g. *malni-ǰ* 'woman', *maqo-ǰ* 'girl'. A

subset of non-masculine nouns which end in the formative *-du* take *-ð* after dropping *-du*, e.g. *ṭūḍ-ð* ‘tiger’, *ōy-ð* ‘cattle’, *maq-ð* ‘insect’, *tumgl-ð* ‘dream’. The only exception to this pattern is *aba* ‘one’s own father’, which takes the non-masculine suffix *-ð*; similar words such as *abo* ‘your father’ and *tambako* ‘his father’ take the expected masculine suffix *-h*.

### Pronouns

In the second layer of the number–gender system, pronouns exhibit a tripartite gender distinction: masculine, feminine and neuter. The example sentences here and below come from Mahapatra (1979: 62).

- (1) a. *palna desinso ort rājah bedyah. maler*  
 certain country-loc one+cls king-m-nom be-pst-3sm people  
*aḥin pōka rājah ānnar.*  
 he-acc sick king-m-nom call-prs-3pl  
 ‘In a certain country, there was a king. People call him the sick king.’
- b. *niñ maḡeki bohu beyid. aḥin oce ḍaḍeno piṭke*  
 your son-dat wife be-prs-3sn her-acc take-cnj forest-loc death  
*kuñok.*  
 throw-opt  
 ‘Your son has a wife, take her and kill her in the forest.’
- c. *sat batan moydeno maḡond sāre beyid. aḍen ocer*  
 seven herd cattle-loc one-cls bull be-prs-3sn it-acc take-cnj-pe  
*bisck.*  
 sell-imp  
 ‘There is one bull in the seven herds of cattle. Sell it.’

Pronouns exhibit the tripartite distinction in the accusative, ablative, locative, and instrumental cases. In the nominative, however, the pronouns mark only a two-way distinction between masculine (*āh* ‘he’) and non-masculine (*āḍ* ‘she, it’).

Malto has two numbers: singular and plural. Only human nouns may take a plural suffix. The plural marker appears as *-r* following vowels: *male-r* ‘men’, *maḡe-r* ‘boys’, *aba-r* ‘fathers’; and as *-er* elsewhere: *pel-er* ‘women’, *jen-er* ‘people’, *ātar-er* ‘they’. Non-human nouns do not in themselves distinguish between singular and plural.

Certain human nouns always occur in the plural. These are collective nouns that denote persons in specific kinship relations: *undql-er* ‘siblings’, *mamql-er* ‘maternal uncle and nephew’, *jōrql-er* ‘husband and wife’. All these nouns seem to incorporate the formative *-ql-*, probably an ossified form of the Dravidian plural suffix *\*-kaḷ*.

Plurality in Malto, as elsewhere in Dravidian, may also express social concepts such as respect. Malto kin terms fall into two sets. One, labelled *bāyčnaqpor* ‘relationship of mutual avoidance’, is characterised by behavioural

patterns of restraint, formality and politeness. This relationship generally holds between affinal relatives. Many kin terms in the set of *baycnaqqor* incorporate the plural marker as a sign of social distance, regardless of the number of the referent. In the following pairs of kin terms, the second member belongs to the set of *baycnaqqor* and incorporates the plural marker: *baya* ‘brother’: *bayanda-r* ‘husband’s elder brother’; *bāyi* ‘sister’, *bāynal-er* ‘female relative elder to one’s wife’; *aba* ‘father’, *abanda-r* ‘father-in-law’. Conversely, *aba* ‘one’s own father’ may incorporate the non-masculine singular marker *-ə* as a sign of social closeness.

### Numerals

The third layer of the number–gender system occurs in noun phrases that contain a numeral modifying a noun. The numeral first combines with a noun classifier, which then combines with the noun. This system compensates for the lack of plural marking among neuter nouns, and is examined further under the section on Adjectives.

### Case

Malto has seven cases: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, ablative and locative. Nominative is the unmarked case both semantically and morphologically. It marks the subject of a sentence or a predicate nominal.

- (2) a. *rājah awḍah.*  
king-m-nom say-pst-3sm  
‘The king said.’
- b. *ī maler eñki pēḡar.*  
this man-pl-nom I-gen relative-pl-nom  
‘These men are my relatives.’

The accusative marks the direct object of a transitive verb (3), the object of motion with an intransitive verb of motion (4), an instrument in a causative construction (5), and an indirect object with a double transitive verb (6). The allomorph *-a(n)* occurs with nouns of the *-du* class; elsewhere, *-n* occurs after vowels and *-in* after consonants.

- (3) a. *āh ḍaḍ-in qohdah.*  
he-nom branch-acc cut-prs-3sm  
‘He is cutting the branch.’
- b. *kamareh gowaḡe-n bīkyah.*  
blacksmith-nom cowherd-acc call-pst-3sm  
‘The blacksmith called the cowherd.’
- c. *rājah uka-n am-an cicah.*  
king-nom hukka-acc water-acc give-pst-3sm  
‘The king offered hukka and water.’

- (4) *nām bijno eñe meñe pāwa-n ēkey.*  
 we-incl-nom sun come-adn time path-acc go-fut-1pl<sup>in</sup>  
 ‘When the day breaks, we will go on our way.’
- (5) *ā jogyeh bora-n maqer-in pehtarah.*  
 that beggar-nom sack-acc boy-pl-acc load-caus-pst-3sm  
 ‘The beggar got the sack loaded by the boys.’
- (6) *ēn qepor-in ī saba-n awḍatan.*  
 I-nom villager-pl-acc this news-acc tell-pst-1s  
 ‘I told the villagers this news.’

Note that in (3c) above and (13b) below the accusative appears on both members of a co-ordinate direct object.

The dative case allomorphs are *-k* after nouns ending in a vowel and *-ik* elsewhere. Dative case marks the indirect object of a transitive verb (7), purpose or goal (8). It serves also in dative–subject constructions to mark such notions as possessor and undergoer (9, 10).

- (7) *ār maqen man-ik argtarah.*  
 they-nom boy-acc tree-dat climb-caus-pst-3pl  
 ‘They made the boy climb the tree.’
- (8) *ēm beñje-k ēkdam.*  
 we-excl-nom wedding-dat go-prs-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 ‘We are going for a wedding.’
- (9) a. *maqe-k teṭu mackaraḍ.*  
 boy-dat hand-nom dislocate-pst-3sn  
 ‘The boy’s hand got dislocated.’  
 b. *dokanawe-k ṭaka ḍuñyaḍ.*  
 shopkeeper-dat money-nom get lost-pst-3sn  
 ‘The shopkeeper lost his money.’
- (10) a. *rāma-k maqond kuco beyiḍ.*  
 Rama-dat cls+one dog-nom be-prs-3sn  
 ‘Rama has a dog.’  
 b. *maqe-k puṛa nuñjtariḍ.*  
 child-dat stomach-nom ache-prs-3sn  
 ‘The child’s stomach hurts.’  
 c. *rāma-k dudiki cāḍe lagyaḍ.*  
 Rama-dat milk-nom want hit-pst-3sn  
 ‘Rama wanted the milk.’

The genitive case is purely adnominal, and signals such notions as possession or close association. It is marked by the morpheme *-ki*. The genitive may occur before the noun it modifies (11) or in predicate position (12). In the latter case, the genitive noun is inflected to agree in person and number with the subject.

- (11) a. *rāmeḥ dasrote-ki taṇyadeḥ mañjah.*  
 Rama-nom Dasaratha-gen son-nom be-pst-3sm  
 ‘Rama was Dasaratha’s son.’  
 b. *cañj-ki māḱdu esa sawadiḱ.*  
 deer-gen meat-nom much be tasty-prs-3sn  
 ‘The deer meat is very tasty.’
- (12) a. *ī kisdu ḁaḁe-ki-ḱ.*  
 this pig-nom forest-gen-3sn  
 ‘This pig is of the forest.’  
 b. *ī maqer sardare-ki-r.*  
 this boy-pl-nom chief-gen-3pl  
 ‘These boys are the chief’s.’

A noun in the genitive case may optionally exhibit concord with its head noun if the head noun is in the nominative or accusative case.

- (13) a. *taṇyade-ki-ḱ pel-ḱ barcaḱ.*  
 son-gen-3sn wife-3sn come-pst-3sn  
 ‘The son’s wife came.’  
 b. *ēm rāma-ki-n ṭaka-n pesa-n ṭunḁlaydam.*  
 we-excl Rama-gen-acc rupee-acc paisa-acc see-neg-prf-npst-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 ‘We have not seen Rama’s money.’

The instrumental case conveys the meanings of ‘by’ and ‘with’. The case marker has three allomorphs: *-et* for *-du* noun bases, *-t* for bases ending in a vowel, and *-it* elsewhere.

- (14) *iden cur-it mōca.*  
 it-acc knife-inst cut-imp  
 ‘Cut it with a knife.’

The ablative case marks source: the allomorph *-nte* occurs after bases ending in a vowel; *-inte* elsewhere.

- (15) a. *maqer iskule-nte kirnar.*  
 boy-pl-nom school-abl return-prs-3pl  
 ‘The boys are returning from school.’

- b. *qep-inte ēm goḍa-k ēkanam.*  
 village-abl we-excl Goda-dat go-fut-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 'We shall go to Goda from the village.'

The locative case, conveying the general meaning 'it, at', is realised by *-no ~ -ino*. *-no* occurs after *-du* noun bases and bases ending in a vowel, e.g. *man-no* 'in the tree'; *-ino* occurs elsewhere, e.g. *maler-ino* 'in the people'. When the emphatic particle *i* 'too' follows *-no*, the locative has the variant *-ni* (and an epenthetic *-h-* appears between the case marker and the particle), e.g. *qeql-ni.h-i* 'in the earth, too', *maqer-ini.h-i* 'in the boys, too'.

- (16) a. *daṛ-ino pesa beyiḍ.*  
 cloth-loc money-nom be-prs-3sn  
 'The money is in the cloth.'
- b. *āh pāw-no ēka jimrah.*  
 he-nom road-loc go-cnj-pe meet-pst-3sm  
 'He met on the road.'

When nouns in the nominative or genitive case appear in predicate position, they are inflected with personal endings to mark agreement with the subject. Consider the following paradigm:

<i>ēn eṇḍo-n.</i>	<i>ēm eṇḍo-m.</i>
I younger sibling-1s	we-excl younger sibling-1pl <sup>ex</sup>
'I am (your) younger sibling.'	'We (not you) are younger siblings.'
	<i>nām eṇḍo-y.</i>
	we-inc younger sibling-1pl <sup>in</sup>
	'We are younger siblings.'
<i>nīn eṇḍo-y.</i>	<i>nīm eṇḍo-r.</i>
you-s younger sibling-2s	you-pl younger sibling-2pl
'You are (my) younger sibling.'	'You are younger siblings.'
<i>āh eṇḍo-h.</i>	<i>ār eṇḍo-r.</i>
he younger sibling-3sm	they younger sibling-3pl
'He is (my) younger brother.'	'They are younger siblings.'
<i>āḍ eṇḍo-ḍ.</i>	
she younger sibling-3sf	
'She is (my) younger sister.'	

Similarly, nouns in apposition also take the same set of personal endings to mark concord.

- (17) a. *ēn to male-n kīr-et kabu mañjatan.*  
 I very one man-1s hunger-instr succumb be-prf-npst-1s  
 'I, this very man, have succumbed to hunger.'

- b. *ēm đadeno đōku male-m, iker jahan*  
 we-excl forest-loc dwell-adv men-1pl<sup>ex</sup> who also  
*cinyomalar.*  
 know-neg-prs-3pl  
 'No one knows us, we who are forest dwellers.'

Malto has five personal pronouns: *ēn(u)* 'I', *nīn(u)* 'thou', *ēm(u)* 'we (not you)', *nām(u)* 'we (and you)' and *nīm(u)* 'you'. Note that Malto distinguishes inclusive and exclusive first person plural forms both in the pronouns and in the personal endings of nouns and verbs. The final *-u* on the pronouns is optional. The declension of these five is as follows. The oblique form may function as a genitive or serve as the base to which postpositions are attached. Note that Malto has preserved the common Dravidian quantitative alternation between long vowels in the nominative case and short vowels in the other cases.

	1 sing.	2 sing.	1 plur. <sup>ex</sup>	1 plur. <sup>in</sup>	2 plur.
Nominative	ēn	nīn	ēm	nām	nīm
Oblique	eñ-	niñ-	em-	nam-	nim-
Genitive	eñ(-ki)	niñ(-ki)	em(-ki)	nam(-ki)	nim(-ki)
Accusative	eñ-en	niñ-en	em-en	nam-en	nim-en
Dative	eñ-e	niñ-e	em-e	nam-e	nim-e
Instrumental	eñ-et	niñ-et	em-et	nam-et	nim-et
Ablative	eñ-ente	niñ-ente	em-ente	nam-ente	nim-ente
Locative	eñ-eno	niñ-eno	em-eno	nam-eno	nim-eno

The third person pronouns in Malto mark two degrees of deixis: proximal, marked by *ī-*, and distal, marked by *ā-*. The distal forms are semantically unmarked. The basic third person pronouns in the nominative case are as follows:

	Distal	Proximal
Masculine singular	<i>āh</i> 'that man'	<i>īh</i> 'this man'
Non-masculine singular	<i>āđ</i> 'that one, woman'	<i>īđ</i> 'this one, woman'
Plural	<i>ār</i> 'they, those ones'	<i>īr</i> 'these ones'
Collective plural	<i>ātarer</i> 'all those'	<i>ītarer</i> 'all these'

While the nominative forms all have long vowels, the oblique forms and the forms built on them have corresponding short vowels. In the nominative, genitive and dative cases, as well as the oblique form to which postpositions attach, the non-masculine pronoun does not distinguish between neuter and feminine; but in the accusative, instrumental, ablative and locative cases, such a distinction is made.

	Distal neut.	Distal fem.	Proximal neut.	Proximal fem.
Nominative	āḍ	āḍ	iḍ	iḍ
Oblique	aḍi-	aḍi-	iḍi-	iḍi-
Genitive	aḍiki	aḍiki	iḍiki	iḍiki
Dative	aḍik	aḍik	iḍik	iḍik
Accusative	aḍe(n)	aḍin	iḍe(n)	iḍin
Instrumental	aḍet	aḍit	iḍet	iḍit
Ablative	aḍente	aḍinte	iḍente	iḍinte
Locative	aḍeno	aḍino	iḍeno	iḍino

There are three basic interrogative pronouns, *ike* 'who, what', *nēdu* 'who' and *indrdu* 'what'. *ike* is the most general and in certain contexts varies freely with *nēd* 'who'.

- (18) a. *iker jahan barlar.*  
 who-pl also come-neg-pst-3pl  
 'No one came.'  
 b. *nēd jahan barlah.*  
 who also come-neg-pst-3sm  
 'No one came.'

*nēdu* is always singular, while *ike* may be singular or plural. *ike*, but not *nēdu*, may occur in predicate position, and take personal endings.

- (19) a. *ēn ike-n.*  
 I who-1s  
 'Who am I?'  
 b. *nīm ike-r.*  
 you-pl who-2pl  
 'Who are you?'

In the nominative case, *ike* can stand for non-human nouns (20). In the non-nominative cases, *nēd* (oblique, *nek-*) stands for human nouns (21).

- (20) *ikḍ taryraḍ.*  
 who-nom break-pst-3sn  
 'What broke?'  
 (21) *iḍ nek taṅyadiḍ.*  
 this-nm-nom who-gen daughter-3sn  
 'Whose daughter is this?'

	Human sing.	Human plur.	Human plur.	Neut.
Nominative	ike-h/ḍ	ike-r	nēd(u)	indr
Accusative	iken	ikerin	neken	indra(n)
Dative	ikek	ikerik	neke	indrik
Genitive	ikeki	ikerki	nekki	indrki

Genitive/Oblique			nek	
Instrumental	iket	ikerit	neket	indret
Ablative	ikente	ikerinte	nekente	indret
Locative	ikeno	ikerino	nekeno	indreno

When compounded with other nouns, *nēdu* and *indrdu* give a generalising meaning such as ‘et cetera, and the like’.

- (22) a. *āh maqen neken bīktarah.*  
 he-nom boy-s-acc who-acc call-pst-3sm  
 ‘He called the boys, etc.’
- b. *āh patlino indreno jāgu bitah.*  
 he-nom pot-loc what-loc rice steam-pst-3sm  
 ‘He was cooking rice in the pot or what not.’

Reflexive and emphatic pronouns follow the distinction between third person and non-third person. Reflexive and emphatic forms in the first and second persons are created by adding the particle *-i* ‘too, even’ to the personal pronouns, e.g. *en-i* ‘I, myself’. The third person reflexive pronouns are based on singular *tān* (oblique, *tan-*) and plural *tām* (oblique, *tam*).

- (23) *nīm nīm-i kandr manoma.*  
 you-pl you-pl-emp fight be-neg-imp  
 ‘Do not fight among yourselves.’

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	tān-i	tām-i
Oblique/Genitive	tañ/tanki	tam/tamki
Accusative	tañen	tamen
Dative	tañe	tame
Instrumental	tañet	tamet
Ablative	tañente	tamente
Locative	tañeno	tameno

Malto noun morphology also exhibits several derivational processes. These processes convert a root into a noun stem, or one noun stem into another. These stems are subsequently inflected for case, number and gender. Proper nouns, for example, may have paired masculine and feminine forms. The feminine form ends in *-i* while the masculine ends in any other vowel.

Masculine	Feminine
rāma	rāmi
gande	gandi

sañjo	sañji
loku	loki

Some proper names are not paired, and these are generally epithets based on animals or on qualitative adjectives: *ciḍo* ‘muskrat’, *qāqa* ‘crow’, *añylo* ‘open-mouthed’, *cāpo* ‘short’. Like other nouns, proper names take gender suffixes in the nominative case.

Many common nouns exhibit masculine and feminine pairs, as well. In one prevalent pattern, the masculine derivational suffix *-e* corresponds to the feminine form *-ni*.

Masculine	Feminine	Basic meaning
rakse	raksni	‘demon’
gonḍye	gonḍyni	‘fisher’
qalwe	qalwni	‘thief’
maṣtare	maṣtarni	‘teacher’

Some nouns such as *sārye* ‘friend’ have no feminine counterpart, and some nouns such as *bagmanni* ‘goddess’ lack a masculine counterpart. When the masculine suffix *-awe* or its feminine counterpart *-ani* are suffixed to a noun, an occupational derivative is formed.

Basic noun	Masculine	Feminine
<i>mandr</i> ‘medicine’	<i>mandrawe</i> ‘medicine man’	<i>mandrani</i> ‘medicine woman’
<i>oṛṣ</i> ‘house’	<i>oṛṣ-awe</i> ‘house owner’	<i>oṛṣ-ani</i> ‘house owner’
<i>dokani</i> ‘shop’	<i>dokan-awe</i> ‘shopkeeper’	<i>dokanani</i> ‘shopkeeper’

From a syntactic and semantic point of view, Malto nouns fall into three classes: mass, count and abstract. These three show different patterns of co-occurrence with certain phrases and classifiers. The phrase *ēna guṛ* ‘how much, how much’ occurs with mass and count nouns, but not with abstract nouns.

- (24) a. *āh ēna guṛ isynam qeyyah.*  
 he-nom how much oil buy-pst-3sm  
 ‘How much oil did he buy?’
- b. *āḍek ēna guṛ maler barcar.*  
 there-dat how many man-pl-nom come-pst-3pl  
 ‘How many men came there?’

Count nouns may substitute a classifier for *guṛ* (< DEDR 1847 \**kuṛi* ‘mark, feature, kind’) in the phrase *ēna guṛ* ‘how much, how many’, while mass nouns may not. In sentence (24b) the phrase *ēna guṛ* ‘how many’ modifies the count noun *maler* ‘men’; it alternates with the phrase in sentence (25a) where the human classifier *jen* ‘people’ substitutes for *guṛ* ‘kind’. Mass nouns such as *isynam* ‘oil’

or *taḍi* 'toddy' do not exhibit this alternation. Further, count nouns may occur in frames which contain a numeral and classifier, as in (25b).

- (25) a. *āḍek ēna jen maler barcar.*  
 there-dat how many cls man-pl-nom come-pst-3pl  
 'How many men came there?'
- b. *āḍek tini jen maler barcar.*  
 there-dat three cls man-pl-nom come-pst-3pl  
 'Three men came there.'

### Adjectives

Adjectives are functionally defined as attributes to nouns. They may occur in prenominal or predicate position. In prenominal position, they bear no inflection; in predicate position, they take the same personal endings predicate nouns take to mark agreement with the subject.

- (26) a. *bēḍo maleh.*  
 big man-sm  
 'a/the big man'
- b. *nīm bēḍo-r.*  
 you-nom big-2pl  
 'You are big.'

Adjectives are qualitative or quantitative. Qualitative adjectives denote such general qualities of objects as colour or size. Quantitative adjectives include numerals, which occur freely or in certain frames. All free numerals have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan: *eike* 'one', *dūye* 'two', *tīne* 'three', *cāre* 'four', *pāce* 'five', *sōye* 'six', *sāte* 'seven', *āṭe* 'eight', *noye* 'nine', *dāse* 'ten', *egare* 'eleven', *bāre* 'twelve', *tēre* 'thirteen', *cāda* 'fourteen', *pandra* 'fifteen', *sola* 'sixteen', *satra* 'seventeen', *aṭara* 'eighteen', *unes* 'nineteen', *kōṛi* 'twenty, score'. The system is vigesimal, so that 'twenty-one' is *kōṛi+ond ēke* 'one score one (-*ond* is a bound form meaning 'one', see DEDR 990).

Unlike free numerals, the numeral classifier construction consists of a numeral and a classifier that indicates certain qualities of the nouns it occurs with. Except for 'one' *ort/-ond* and 'two' *irw/-s*, the only remnants of Dravidian numerals in Malto, all numerals in the classifier construction are the same as the free numerals. Numeral classifiers are uninflected in prenominal position, but take personal endings in predicate position.

- (27) a. *ort maleh.*  
 one+cls man-sm  
 'One man.'
- b. *ēn orṭe-n.*  
 I-nom one+cls-1s  
 'I am one (alone).'

The structure of the numeral classifier construction for 'three' and above is numeral, classifier, noun.

- (28) a. *tīni jen maler.*                      b. *tīni maq ōydu.*  
           three cls man-pl                      three cls cow  
           ‘Three men.’                            ‘Three cows.’

When the number is ‘one’ or ‘two’, a different order is used: classifier, numeral, noun. Here the numerals exhibit allomorphic variation depending on the noun being human or non-human (29). When the modified noun is human, portman-teau forms are used: *ort* ‘one human’ (27) and *jōrond* or *irw* ‘two humans’.

- (29) a. *maq-ond ōydu.*                      b. *maq-s ōydu.*  
           cls+one cow                            cls+two cow  
           ‘One cow.’                              ‘Two cows.’

Classifier systems, which occur throughout Southeast Asia, are somewhat uncommon in India. Of all the Dravidian languages, Malto has developed the most elaborate classifier system. As noted above, Malto classifiers occur in numeral classifier constructions. The choice of classifier is based on salient features of the noun that is classified: it may select status, dimension, state, or quantity. Status classifiers classify objects as human or not. The classifier *jen* ‘person’ (< Indo-Aryan *jana* ‘people’) is used for humans, e.g. *tīni jen male-r* ‘three men’, *tīni jen qalwe-r* ‘three thieves’; *maq* (< DEDR 4616) for animate non-humans, e.g. *tīni maq goro* ‘three horses’, *tīni maq pujdu* ‘three birds’, *tīni maq būte* ‘three ghosts’. Dimensional classifiers sort objects according to the three basic dimensions of length, breadth and roundness. The classifier *ḍara* (?< DEDR 3056 \**taṅṭu* ‘stalk, stem’, or Oriya *dhara* ‘bamboo pole’) is used for long, large objects, e.g. *tīni ḍara qeḍdu* ‘three legs’, *tīni ḍara nadi* ‘three rivers’; *kaṭi* (?< Oriya *kathi* ‘stick, twig’) for long, small objects, e.g. *tīni kaṭi tāli* ‘three hairs’, *tīni kaṭi cabi* ‘three keys’; *panda* for long, flexible objects, e.g. *tīni panda dawra* ‘three ropes’, *tīni panda pāwdu* ‘three roads’; *para* (< DEDR 4004) for fruits or long pods, e.g. *tīni para kaldi* ‘three bananas’, *tīni para simbi* ‘three string beans’; *paṭa* for flat, broad objects, e.g. *tīni paṭa badli* ‘three clouds’, *tīni paṭa tarṭe* ‘three tongues’; *pata* for flat, broad and thin objects: *tīni pata āṭye* ‘three leaves’, *tīni pata ciṭi* ‘three letters’; *kaṇḍa* for flat, broad, cotton objects: *tīni kaṇḍa komle* ‘three blankets’, *tīni kaṇḍa moja* ‘three socks’; *goṭ* for round, heavy objects and miscellaneous objects: *tīni goṭ qāndu* ‘three eyes’, *tīni goṭ caka* ‘three wheels’, *tīni goṭ tumglu* ‘three dreams’; and *pula* for round, light objects: *tīni pula pūpdu* ‘three flowers’, *tīni pula ōsdu* ‘three mushrooms’.

Mahapatra identifies a set of five unique classifiers which occur with only one noun each; the classifier is identical in form to the noun it classifies. These five ‘echo’ classifiers are *qep* ‘village’, e.g. *tīni qep qepdu* ‘three villages’; *man* ‘tree’, e.g. *tīni man mandu* ‘three trees’; *kīṛ* ‘grass’, e.g. *tīni kīṛ kīṛdu* ‘three grasses’; *kaṛi* ‘cave, den, hole’, e.g. *tīni kaṛi kaṛi* ‘three caves’; and *kuji* ‘shadow, reflection’, e.g. *tīni kuji kuji* ‘three shadows’.

A third set classifies nouns according to state or condition, and includes the

classifiers *baha* 'area', *ṭaḍa* 'small area', *ḍika* 'puddle', *topa* 'cluster', *cawda* 'portion', *pōbi* 'cross-section'. Examples of state classifier constructions include *tīni baha tīqldu* 'three mounds of rice', *tīni topa tāṭqe* 'three bunches of mangoes' and *tīni ḍika gobri* 'three puddles of cow dung'.

A fourth set classifies nouns according to quantity of length, depth, volume, weight, girth, time, and groups. Only a few examples are given below. The classifier *kaṛm* 'waist deep' is used for depth, e.g. *kaṛm-ond amdu* 'water one waist deep'; *mukt* 'cubit long' for 'length', e.g. *mukt-ond suta* 'thread one cubit long'; *muṭ* 'fistful' for volume, e.g. *muṭ-ond tīqldu* 'one fistful of rice'; *kaṛs* 'pitcher' also for volume, e.g. *kaṛs-ond dudi* 'one pitcherful of milk'; and *mehn* 'month' for time, e.g. *mehn-ond tolope* 'one month's salary'.

### Verbs

Verbs in Malto consist of a verb stem and a set of suffixes that mark certain verbal categories. Verb stems may be simple, complex or compound. A simple stem consists of a bare verb base; a complex stem, a bare verb base and a derivative suffix; a compound stem, more than one verb base.

Verb bases in Malto may contain up to three syllables, and all end in a consonant. Monosyllabic bases are the most common, trisyllabic the least. Verb bases may consist of a simple verb root, or a noun root and a verbalising suffix. See below for cross-categorical derivation.

Simple stems fall into three classes. The first class consists of 100 roots that end in *-y*, most of which are borrowed: *rahy* 'live', *buji* 'understand', *sēwy* 'serve', etc. In the past tense, this class exhibits the stem alternants *-ca/-ce*, e.g. *bujca-tan* 'I understood'. The second class consists of 140 roots that take the stem formative *-a/-e* in the past tense, e.g. the stem *alq* 'laugh' alternates with *alqa* in the past tense form *alqa-tan* 'I laughed'. The remaining verb roots do not take any stem formative in the past, e.g. *cumq* 'kiss' has the past tense form *cumq-tan* 'I kissed'.

Complex stems consist of a verb base and a derivative suffix. The most common complex stem is the intransitive-reflexive stem, formed by suffixing *-r ~ -yr* to a verb root, e.g. *caq* 'to pierce' vs *caq-r* 'to pierce oneself', *nud* 'to hide' vs *nud-yr* 'to hide oneself'. While some stems appear to incorporate the intransitive-reflexive morpheme, the corresponding simple root is not attested in the language: both *mōdr* 'to forget' and *pālyr* 'to dawn' occur, but the implied simple roots *\*mōd* and *\*pāl* do not. The simple roots may once have existed in the language and fallen into disuse: *\*pāl* may be cognate with DEDR 3805 *\*pakal* 'day-light, morning sun'.

The causative stem consists of a verb base and the causative morpheme, with the allomorphs *-tar-*, *-d-* and *-t-*. The first allomorph is the most common by far, the second occurs with five roots, the third with one. Examples include *oktar* 'to make sit' from *ok* 'sit', *qandr-tar* 'to put to sleep' from *qandr* 'to sleep', *nal-d* 'to make dance' from *nāl* 'to dance', and *amt* 'to give a bath' from *amy* 'to take a bath'. A double causative stem is formed by suffixing *-tita-/tite-* to the causative

stem, e.g. *caq-tar-tita* 'to cause to pierce by someone' from *caq* 'to pierce'.

The reciprocal stem suffixes *-naq-* to the verb base. For example, *cicr-naq* 'to exchange news' comes from *cicr* 'to give news', *teñy-naq* 'to converse' comes from *teñy* 'to speak'. Finally, a passive stem suffixes *-wur-* to the verb base, so that *car-wur* 'to be cut' comes from *car* 'to cut'.

Malto syntax divides verb forms in finite and non-finite subsets. Finite verb forms occur in specific syntactic frames; non-finite verbs, elsewhere. Finite verbs mark mood and subject-verb agreement. There are four kinds of finite verb: indicative, subjunctive, imperative and optative.

There are ten indicative paradigms, five affirmative and five negative. The five affirmative paradigms are past, present, future, past perfect and non-past perfect. Each has a corresponding negative form. Each paradigm exhibits a degree of allomorphic variation in the tense marker, the personal endings, the negative marker, or some combination.

The affirmative past tense consists of a verb stem, past tense marker and personal ending. Its negative counterpart incorporates a negative marker between the verb stem and the tense marker (Table 13.2). Allomorphy is primarily conditioned by the distinction between third person and non-third person. The paradigms in Tables 13.2 to 13.7 are illustrated with the verb *amb* 'to leave'.

**Table 13.2 Past affirmative/negative of *amb* 'to leave'**

	Singular	Plural
PAST AFFIRMATIVE		
1	<i>amb-t-an</i>	<i>amb-t-am</i> (excl.) <i>amb-t-ey</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>amb-t-e</i>	<i>amb-t-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-t-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>amb-y-ah</i>	<i>amb-y-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-y-að</i>	
PAST NEGATIVE		
1	<i>amb-la-t-an</i>	<i>amb-la-t-am</i> (excl.) <i>amb-le-t-ey</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>amb-le-t-e</i>	<i>amb-la-t-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-le-t-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>amb-la-h</i>	<i>amb-la-r</i>
feminine	<i>amb-la-ð</i>	

The present affirmative and negative paradigms (Table 13.3) have a similar structure, differing from their past tense counterparts only in substituting the present tense morpheme for the past tense morpheme. *amb* 'leave' has the negative stem *ambo-* in the present negative.

The affirmative future paradigm consists of a verb stem, future tense marker and personal ending; its negative counterpart inserts the negative morpheme

**Table 13.3 Present affirmative/negative of *amb* 'to leave'**

	Singular	Plural
<b>PRESENT AFFIRMATIVE</b>		
1	<i>amb-in</i>	<i>amb-d-am</i> (excl.) <i>amb-d-ey</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>amb-d-e</i>	<i>amb-d-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-d-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>amb-d-ah</i>	<i>amb-n-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-ið</i>	
<b>PRESENT NEGATIVE</b>		
1	<i>ambo-mal-t-an</i>	<i>ambo-mal-t-am</i> (excl.) <i>ambo-mal-t-ey</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>ambo-mal-t-e</i>	<i>ambo-mal-t-ar</i>
feminine	<i>ambo-mal-t-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>ambo-mal-ah</i>	<i>ambo-mal-ar</i>
feminine	<i>ambo-mal-að</i>	

**Table 13.4 Future affirmative/negative of *amb* 'to leave'**

	Singular	Plural
<b>FUTURE AFFIRMATIVE</b>		
1	<i>amba-n</i>	<i>amba-n-am</i> (excl.) <i>ambe-y</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>ambe-n-e</i>	<i>amba-n-ar</i>
feminine	<i>ambe-n-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>amba-n-ah</i>	<i>amba-n-ar</i>
feminine	<i>ambe-n-ið</i>	
<b>FUTURE NEGATIVE</b>		
1	<i>amb-l-an</i>	<i>amb-la-n-am</i> (excl.) <i>amb-le-y</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>amb-le-n-e</i>	<i>amb-la-n-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-le-n-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>amb-la-n-ah</i>	<i>amb-la-n-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-le-n-ið</i>	

between the stem and tense marker (Table 13.4). In the future affirmative, *amb* 'leave' has the stem variants, *ambe-/amba-*, depending as the personal ending begins in a front vowel or not.

The past and non-past perfect tenses (Tables 13.5 and 13.6) refer to completion of an action or event in past and non-past time, respectively. The structure of the affirmative is verb stem, aspect marker, tense marker and personal ending. The negative counterpart places the negative marker between the stem and the aspect marker *-y-*. Note that in the affirmative paradigms *amb* 'leave' has the stem variant *ambi-*.

**Table 13.5 Past perfect affirmative/negative of *amb* 'to leave'**

	Singular	Plural
<b>PAST PERFECT AFFIRMATIVE</b>		
1	<i>ambi-y-t-an</i>	<i>ambi-y-t-am</i> (excl.) <i>ambi-y-t-ey</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>ambi-y-t-e</i>	<i>ambi-y-t-ar</i>
feminine	<i>ambi-y-t-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>ambi-y-c-ah</i>	<i>ambi-y-c-ar</i>
feminine	<i>ambi-y-c-aḍ</i>	
<b>PAST PERFECT NEGATIVE</b>		
1	<i>amb-la-y-t-an</i>	<i>amb-la-y-tam</i> (excl.) <i>amb-la-y-t-ey</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>amb-la-y-t-e</i>	<i>amb-la-y-t-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-la-y-t-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>amb-la-y-c-ah</i>	<i>amb-la-y-c-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-la-y-c-aḍ</i>	

**Table 13.6 Non-past perfect affirmative/negative of *amb* 'to leave'**

	Singular	Plural
<b>NON-PAST PERFECT AFFIRMATIVE</b>		
1	<i>ambi-y-in</i>	<i>ambi-y-d-am</i> (excl.) <i>ambi-y-d-ey</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>ambi-y-d-e</i>	<i>ambi-y-d-ar</i>
feminine	<i>ambi-y-d-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>ambi-y-d-ah</i>	<i>ambi-y-n-ar</i>
feminine	<i>ambi-y-iḍ</i>	
<b>NON-PAST PERFECTIVE NEGATIVE</b>		
1	<i>amb-la-y-in</i>	<i>amb-la-y-d-am</i> (excl.) <i>amb-la-y-d-ey</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>amb-la-y-d-e</i>	<i>amb-la-y-d-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-la-y-d-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>amb-la-y-d-ah</i>	<i>amb-la-y-n-ar</i>
feminine	<i>amb-la-y-iḍ</i>	

The affirmative and negative subjunctive paradigms (Table 13.7) occur in conditional propositions in both the protasis and the apodosis. Segmentation of these forms is approximate. The subjunctive form in the apodosis is often followed by the form *gan*.

- (30) a. *ēn awḍ-el tan nīn qaṭ-l-e gan.*  
 I-nom ask-sub-1s that you-s give-subj-2sm part  
 'If I had asked, you would have given.'
- b. *ēm awḍ-l-em tan āhu qaṭ-l-o-h gan.*  
 we-excl ask-subj-1pl<sup>ex</sup> that he give-neg-subj-3sm part  
 'If we had asked, he would not have given.'

**Table 13.7** Affirmative/negative subjunctive of *amb* 'to leave'

	Singular	Plural
<b>AFFIRMATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE</b>		
1	<i>amb-el</i>	<i>amb-le-m</i> (excl.) <i>amb-le-h</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>amb-l-e</i>	<i>amb-le-r</i>
feminine	<i>amb-l-i</i>	
3 masculine	<i>amb-le-h</i>	<i>amb-le-r</i>
feminine	<i>amb-al</i>	
<b>NEGATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE</b>		
1	<i>amb-l-o-n</i>	<i>amb-l-o-m</i> (excl.) <i>amb-l-o</i> (incl.)
2 masculine	<i>amb-l-o-y</i>	<i>amb-l-o</i>
feminine	<i>amb-l-o-yi</i>	
3 masculine	<i>amb-l-o-h</i>	<i>amb-l-o-r</i>
feminine	<i>amb-l-o-ð</i>	

The Malto imperative formally distinguishes between a future and a non-future imperative, and between affirmative and negative forms. While all imperative forms make implicit reference to the second person, they do not distinguish between masculine and feminine forms. The four basic forms appear below. The negative imperative stem consists of the affirmative stem plus the suffix *-o*. In the non-future negative, the final *-a* is often omitted.

	Affirmative	Negative
Non-future	<i>amb-a</i>	<i>ambo-m(a)</i>
Future	<i>amb-ke</i>	<i>ambo-ma-ke</i>

Malto has additional forms with imperative force; these consist of the affirmative verb stem and particles such as *-ore*, *-ok*, and *-owa*, e.g. *amb-ore* 'leave it!', *bis-ok* 'sell it!', and *oy-owa* 'take it!'. Das (1973) notes that in the Sawriya dialect, *-owa* marks proximity to speaker while *-oka* marks distance from speaker.

The Malto optative is marked by *-ande-* suffixed to the verb stem, which in the negative has the formative *o*. All optative forms have third person reference and thus distinguish among masculine singular, feminine singular and plural.

	Affirmative	Negative
Masculine singular	<i>amb-ande-h</i>	<i>ambo-m-ande-h</i>
Feminine singular	<i>amb-ande-ð</i>	<i>ambo-m-ande-ð</i>
Plural	<i>amb-ande-r</i>	<i>ambo-m-ande-r</i>

All remaining verb forms are non-finite. While they do not mark such categories as mood, they may take personal endings to mark agreement (see Steever

1988). Among the more common non-finite forms are the three adnominal forms, all based on the present stem. The present adnominal is marked by the suffix *-u*, e.g. *baj-u* 'who strikes'; the past adnominal, by *-pe*, e.g. *baj-pe* 'who struck'; and the habitual adnominal, by *-po*, e.g. *baj-po* 'who usually strikes'. These verb forms combine with a nominal head to form such constructions as relative clauses.

The present adnominal combines with a following head noun to form relative clauses. In attributive position, it functions adjectivally.

- (31) a. *oly-u maqeh* cry-prs-adn child  
'The crying child.'
- b. *mal moq-u jogyeh* man eat-prs-adn sorcerer  
'A man-eating sorcerer.'

The present adnominal form can combine with pronominal head, realised as a personal ending, so that the whole expression functions as a verbal noun.

- (32) a. *ory ula ok-u-h eñki bāyeh.*  
house in sit-prs+adn-3sm I-gen brother-3sm  
'The man sitting inside the house is my brother.'
- b. *ā pesa qāl-yr-u-h ā pāwan ēkdah.*  
that money steal-intr-pres+adn-3sm that road go-prs-3sm  
'The man who was robbed of his money is going on that road.'

When the present adnominal form occurs in predicative position, it takes personal endings as other adjectives do. The paradigm below, based on the present adnominal form *bit-u* 'cooking', follows adjectival inflection.

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ēn bit-u-n</i> 'I am a cook'	<i>ēm bit-u-m</i> 'we are cooks' (excl.) <i>nām bit-u-y</i> 'we are cooks' (incl.)
2	<i>nīn bit-u-y</i> 'you are a cook'	<i>nīm bit-u-r</i> 'you are cooks'
3 masc.	<i>āh bit-u-h</i> 'he is a cook'	<i>ār bit-u-r</i> 'they are cooks'
fem.	<i>āḍ bit-u-ḍ</i> 'she is a cook'	

The past adnominal in *-pe* functions both attributively and predicatively. In attributive position, the final *e* is omitted.

- (33) a. *key-p pacge.* die-pst+adn old man  
'dead old man'
- b. *sindra qapr-p dari.* vermilion smear-pst+adn cloth  
'cloth smeared with vermilion'

The past adnominal form may combine with a pronominal head, and serve as a noun marked for gender, number and case.

- (34) a. *ār bit-pe-n lapyar.*  
 they cook-pst+adn+3sn-acc eat-pst-3pl  
 'They ate cooked things.'
- b. *topy-pe-h marinte cōcah.*  
 bury-pst+adn+3sm-nom grave-abl rise-pst-3sm  
 'The buried one arose from the grave.'

The habitual adnominal form in *-po* functions attributively (35a, b) and predicatively (35c).

- (35) a. *lap-po sīje.*                      b. *ḍole nah-po kaṭi*  
 eat-hbt+adn thing                      drum strike-hbt+adn stick  
 'things which are eaten'                      'a stick for beating a drum'
- c. *ī pān parb bēr moq-po.*  
 this fruit festival time eat-hbt+adn  
 'These fruits are eaten at festival time.'

This form may combine with a pronominal head to form a verbal noun, and may be marked for case, number and gender.

- (36) a. *bāyc-naq-po-r barcar.*  
 avoid-rcp-hbt+adn-3pl come-pst-3pl  
 'Those who should be avoided came', i.e. 'Our affinal relatives came.'
- b. *āḍ moq-po-n qeyyaḍ.*  
 she eat-hbt+adn+3sn-acc buy-pst-3sf  
 'She bought things which are edible.'

Other non-finite forms combine with following verbs. Malto has several conjunctive forms, often called participles in the literature. There are two perfect conjunctive forms which are interchangeable and, in specific frames, take personal endings (Steever 1988). The perfect conjunctives are formed by suffixing conjunctive morphemes *-a* and *-ka* to the past stem, e.g. *lap-a* 'having eaten' from *lap* 'eat' and *barca-ka* 'having come' from *bar* 'come'. To these conjunctive forms are added the personal endings shown in Table 13.8. Note that the final *a* of the conjunctive forms is replaced by *e* in certain cells of the paradigm. The conjunctive in *-a* is illustrated with the verb *oy* 'take', past stem *oc-*; the conjunctive in *-ka* is illustrated with *on* 'drink', past stem *onda-*.

- (37) a. *maqond siyareḍ inor ē-ki-ḍ ṭunḍiḍ.*  
 cls+one jackal-nom there go-cn-j-3sf look-pst-3sf  
 'A jackal, having gone there, looked at it.'

**Table 13.8** Conjunctive forms in *-a* and *-ka*

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>oc-a-n</i>	<i>oc-a-m</i> (excl.) <i>oc-e-y</i> (incl.)
2	<i>oc-e</i>	<i>oc-e-r</i>
3 masculine	<i>oc-a-h</i>	<i>oc-a-r</i>
feminine	<i>oc-e-ð</i>	
1	<i>onda-ka-n</i>	<i>onda-ka-m</i> (excl.) <i>onda-ke-y</i> (incl.)
2	<i>onda-ke</i>	<i>onda-ke-r</i>
3 masculine	<i>onda-ka-h</i>	<i>onda-k-ar</i>
feminine	<i>onda-ki-ð</i>	

- b. *aðen jahan tūr-ka-r oc-a-r bitar.*  
 that-acc also dig-cnj-3pl take-cnj-3pl cook-pst-3pl  
 'And having dug them up, they took them and cooked them.'

When the conjunctive in *-a* immediately precedes the verb that determines the personal ending it takes, the personal ending may be truncated. The final consonants are dropped leaving behind either *-a* or *-e* depending on the vowel assigned by the full personal ending.

- (38) a. *ēn nāran anḍ-a corñtan.*  
 I-nom ghost-acc find-cnj-tpe be startled-pst-1s  
 'Having found the ghost, I was startled.'  
 b. *nīm oc-e bāṭyok.*  
 you take-cnj-tpe distribute-imp  
 'Having taken them, you distribute them.'

Finally, when the *-a* conjunctive occurs reduplicated before the finite verb that assigns its personal ending, the personal endings and even the formative may be dropped, leaving only the past stem.

- (39) *ēn ondr ondr bāṭyan.*  
 I buy-cnj buy-cnj distribute-fut-1s  
 'Having bought and bought them, I shall distribute them.'

The negative counterpart of this form is invariant, consisting of the present stem + *a* + *balo*.

- (40) a. *ā maqoð tuṇḍ-a-balo patlino puḍyað.*  
 that girl see-cnj-neg pot-loc pour-pst-3sf  
 'That girl poured into the pot without seeing (it).'

- b. *mēn-a-balo ikni ciyene.*  
 ask-cnj-neg how give-fut-2s  
 'How will you give without asking?'

The conjunctive in *-ka-* combines with the past stem and always takes personal endings, e.g. *onda-ka-n* 'I, having drunk'. The corresponding negative consists of the present stem, the negative marker *-la- ~ -le-, -ka-*, and a personal ending, e.g. *on-la-ka-n* 'I, not having drunk'.

There are two imperfect conjunctive forms: one consists of the present base + *-ne*, the other of the present base + *-no*. The former takes personal endings, the latter does not. Both forms, particularly the second, are frequently reduplicated to indicate durative action. The first is illustrated below with the verb *ēk* 'go'.

- |             | Singular       | Plural   |
|-------------|----------------|--|
| 1           | <i>ēk-ne-n</i> | <i>ēk-ne-m</i> (excl.)<br><i>ēk-ne-y</i> (incl.) |
| 2 masculine | <i>ēk-ne-y</i> | <i>ēk-ne-r</i>                                   |
| feminine    | <i>ēk-ni-y</i> |  |
| 3 masculine | <i>ēk-ne-h</i> | <i>ēk-ne-r</i>                                   |
| feminine    | <i>ēk-ni-ḏ</i> |  |
- (41) a. *maqeh piṭa min-ne-h min-ne-h ēkyah.*  
 boy-nom bread eat-imprf-cn-j-pe eat-imprf-cn-j-pe go-pst-3sm  
 'The boy went on eating the bread.'
- b. *ār oly-ne-r pār-ne-r awḏar.*  
 they cry-imprf-cn-j-pe shout-imprf-cn-j-pe speak-pst-3pl  
 'They spoke crying and shouting.'
- (42) *ēk-no ēk-no pāwno ort maleh eka*  
 go-imprf-cn-j go-imprf-cn-j path-loc one+cls man go-cn-j-tpe  
*jimrah.*  
 meet-pst-3sm  
 'A man met (me) on the road while going.'

Reason clauses are marked by a verb form that consists of the past stem + *-ko*. Verbs with marked past stems do not take that stem formative before *-ko*, so that the conditional of *bar* 'come' is *barc-ko*, not *\*barca-ko*. The negative counterpart consists of the present stem + *-loko*.

- (43) a. *ēn tūḏ barc-ko cirqtan.*  
 I-nom tiger-nom come-rsn shout-pst-1s  
 'I shouted because the tiger came.'

- b. *bikar-loko ēm kirtam.*  
 sell-neg-rsn we-excl return-pst-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 'We came back because it did not sell.'

The gerund consists of the present base + *-e*. It occurs as a subject and as an attribute. As an attribute, the final *-e* is dropped.

- (44) a. *īḍno bīrin ōne dōse.*  
 here bidi-acc smoke-ger punishment-nom  
 'Smoking here is punishable.'  
 b. *elc male*  
 frighten-ger man  
 'a frightened man', i.e. 'a coward'

The infinitive consists of the present stem and *-oti*. In connected speech, the final *i* is elided.

- (45) a. *ēn pūpa toq-ot beṅlin.*  
 I-nom flower pluck-inf stretch the hand-prs-1s  
 'I am reaching out to pluck the flower.'  
 b. *ār eṅemeṅe rāji bacr-naq-ot lagyar.*  
 they each other land take-rcp-inf begin-pst-3pl  
 'They began to take away each other's land'.

### Compound Verbs

Certain verbal categories are encoded, not in simple verb forms, but in compound verb constructions. The characteristic structure of the Malto compound verb is  $V_1+V_2$ .  $V_1$  is the past stem, without the stem formative in the case of marked bases. This form is the main verb in the compound: it lexically identifies the entire compound. The verbs that can occupy the  $V_2$  position are limited to a set of about ten auxiliaries which convey such categories as aspect and voice. The auxiliary *et* 'take' signals the abrupt termination of an action. It modifies such main verbs as *koḍ* 'lie down', *ēk* 'go', *bar* 'come', and *boṅy* 'run'.

- (46) a. *āh v[<sub>V1</sub>[ok]<sub>V1</sub> v<sub>2</sub>[etyah]<sub>V2</sub>]<sub>V</sub>.*  
 he-nom sit-pst take-pst-3sm  
 'He sat down.'  
 b. *āh v[<sub>V1</sub>[boṅy]<sub>V1</sub> v<sub>2</sub>[etyah]<sub>V2</sub>]<sub>V</sub>.*  
 he-nom run-pst take-pst-3sm  
 'He ran away.'

Similarly, the auxiliary *oṅ* signals the completion of an action. It co-occurs with main verbs such as *lap* 'eat', *otr* 'bring out', *tey* 'send' and *kaj* 'wash clothes'. Auxiliary *ēk* 'go' signals the continuation of an action when it co-occurs with

such verbs as *komar* ‘decrease’ and *bed* ‘search’. The auxiliary *kud* signals the exaggeration of an action when it occurs with main verbs such as *gurar* ‘wander’, *nih* ‘shoot’ and *nal* ‘dance’. The auxiliary *bar* ‘come’ signals an action that is oriented towards the speaker, and co-occurs with such main verbs as *kir* ‘return’, *band* ‘pull’ and *ir̄mb* ‘slip’. This particular auxiliary occurring in this construction is ancient, and has cognates in Old Tamil.

### Adverbs

Functionally, adverbs are attributes to verbal phrases; formally, they are uninflected monomorphemic words. However, many appear to be nouns. Simple adverbs cannot be segmented, e.g. *inor* ‘today’, *bāg* ‘fortunately’, *laboh* ‘much’. Some adverbs can be segmented into roots and adverbial suffixes. The most common suffixes include *-ond* ‘one’ and the ablative suffix *-t* ‘-ly’, e.g. *dinond* ‘one day’ < *dina* ‘day’ + *-ond* ‘one’, *rāget* ‘angrily, from anger’ < *rāge* ‘anger’ + *-t* ‘-ly’. Finally, some adverbs are compound, e.g. *nēl+beñje* ‘day after tomorrow’.

### 13.3 Syntax

Within the clause, Malto syntax is robustly SOV; between clauses, Malto shows symptoms of both SOV and SVO order. A simple clause consists of a subject or predicate. The subject may appear in the nominative or, in limited environments, the dative case. The predicate may be a finite verb or a predicate nominal.

Morphology plays an important role in combining clauses in Malto. Non-finite verb forms such as the conjunctive, discussed on p. 379, and the infinitive combine two clauses. Malto also has a set of conjunctions, independent words that are not immediate constituents of the expressions they combine. Some of the common conjunctions, borrowed from Indo-Aryan sources or evolved from Dravidian, include *tan* ‘that’, *je* ‘that’, *ki* ‘that’, *ar* ‘and’, *mala* ‘or’, *pāre* ‘but’, *ate* ‘otherwise’ and *andih* ‘therefore’.

- (47) a.  $S_1[\bar{a}r \text{ aw}d\bar{n}ar \text{ je } S_2[nim \text{ t}iql \text{ lo}tan \text{ ondratar}]S_2]S_1$ .  
 they say-prs-3pl that you rice pot-acc take-pst-2pl  
 ‘They say that you took the pot of rice.’
- b.  $S_1[S_2[i\bar{d}en \text{ oya}]S_2 \text{ mala } S_3[a\bar{d}en \text{ oya}]S_3]S_1$ .  
 this-acc take-imp or that-acc take-imp  
 ‘Take this or that.’
- c.  $S_1[S_2[nim \text{ baksan ondratar}]S_2 \text{ andih } \bar{e}m$   
 you box-acc take-pst-2pl therefore we-excl  
*kirtaratam*] $S_1$ .  
 return-tr-pst-1pl<sup>ex</sup>  
 ‘Since you took the box, we returned it.’

### 13.4 Compound Word Formation

Derivational morphology, discussed above under the sections on noun and verb morphology, treats the formation of words through the addition of suffixes to lexical roots. Here we explore the formation of compound words in Malto. Compounds consist of two or more primary lexical roots. The final member of the compound generally determines what part of speech the compound belongs to, viz. noun or verb.

Compound noun stems consist of two or more primary lexical roots. Generally, the preceding root modifies the second root in the compound. Some compounds have become lexicalised; that is, their meanings are not merely the sum of the meanings of their component parts, but are in some sense idiomatic. The compound *mal-ṭūd* 'sadist' is an example: it consists of the roots *mal-* 'man' and *ṭūd-* 'tiger' which when combined yield the meaning 'man who is a tiger'. On the other hand, a compound such as *neña-māk* 'fat meat' transparently consists of *neña* 'fat' and *māk* 'meat' which combine with a meaning 'meat that is fat(ty)'. The Malto compound *kulp-kaṭi* 'key' consists of *kulp-* 'lock' and *kaṭi* 'stick', i.e. a stick for a lock; it co-exists alongside the borrowed *cabi* 'id.'. The compound *tēni-rasi* 'honey' consists of *tēni* 'bee' and *rasi* 'juice'. The first root may also be verbal, as in the compound *arg-bēr* 'rising sun' in which the verb root *arg-* 'climb' modifies the noun *bēr* 'sun, time'.

A prominent feature of Malto compound nouns is the balance noun. This consists of two noun stems: the whole signifies a general meaning of which the meanings of the two component parts are specific exemplars. Take, for example, the compound *pesa-ṭaka* 'money' which consists of the components *pesa* 'paisa, coin' and *ṭaka* 'rupee, bank-note'. The balance compound *saba-kata* 'discussion' consists of *saba* 'language' and *kata* 'talk'; *teho-tambakor* 'parents' consists of *teho* 'mother' and *tambakor* 'father'; *male-goler* 'people' consists of *male(-r)* 'Malto(s)' and *goler* 'Hindus'; *maqer-ponder* 'dependents' consists of *maqer* 'children' and *ponder* 'women'. The second root in a balance noun may have a limited co-occurrence; some occur only in these compounds. The compound *cotr-motr* 'filth' consists of *cotr* 'body filth' and *motr*, a nonsense word with no meaning independent of the compound. Similarly, *saje-baje* 'ornaments' consists of *saje* 'dress' and the nonsense word *baje*.

Verbal compounds also commonly occur in Malto. Noun-verb compounds are very productive in the language. Verbs that occur in this construction include *man* 'be', *nan* 'do', *kor* 'enter', *garar* 'build' and *lag* 'feel'. The compound *rājaram mañjar* 'be happy', for example, consists of the noun *rājaram* 'happiness' (probably a variation of *rāmrājya* 'Rama's realm' viz. 'utopia') and *man* 'be'. The compound *bepari nanyar* 'conduct business' consists of *bepari* 'business' and *nan* 'do'; *mēd korcaḍ* 'become feverish' consists of *mēd* 'fever' and *kor* 'enter'. There are many idiomatic compounds of this type: *qān lag* 'cast an evil eye' consists of *qān* 'eye' and *lag* 'feel', *qān ey* 'to rest' consists of *qān* 'eye' and *ey* 'cool', *ēr beqr* 'to hang oneself' consists of *ēr* 'goat' and *beqr* 'choke'.

Malto also has balance verbs which combine two verb stems to create a com-

pound whose meaning is a generalisation of the meanings of the two stems. The compound *ḍōka-oka* 'settle comfortably' consists of *ḍōka* 'stay' and *oka* 'sit'; *arya-pesga* 'dig laboriously' consists of *arya* 'dig' and *pesga* 'poke'; *tunḍa-aqa* 'know critically' consists of *tunḍa* 'see' and *aqa* 'know'; *naḍa-pāra* 'enjoy thoroughly' consists of *naḍa* 'dance' and *pāra* 'sing'; *gurara-carara* 'walk aimlessly' consists of *gurara* 'wander' and *carara* 'walk'.

### 13.5 Dialect Differences

As noted earlier, Malto has three dialects: Sawriya with about 54,000 speakers, Malpaharia with 40,000 speakers and Kumarbhag with 12,500 speakers. Dialect differences permeate all levels of linguistic structure. These differences reveal that, apart from certain phonological developments in the Kumarbhag dialect, the Kumarbhag and Malpaharia dialects show a greater affinity with each other than either of them shows to the Sawriya dialect. The Sawriya dialect is more conservative in preserving a three-way deictic distinction and a greater proportion of inherited Dravidian vocabulary. Further, it has not innovated aspectual distinctions in the finite verb system. Mahapatra argues that this dialect situation reflects the social rankings among the three, in which Kumarbhag is rated highest and Sawriya lowest. Malpaharia, being intermediate, has adopted certain cultural and linguistic features of Kumarbhag.

The Kumarbhag dialect has an extended vowel system. The vowel qualities *a*, *e* and *o* contrast not only according to length, but also according to voicing. This dialect thus has sixteen vowels rather than the ten-vowel systems of the other two dialects. Voiceless vowels occur only word-initially. Contrast *ḍtin* 'I am getting down' with *etin* 'I am dusting'; *ḍ̥so* 'this year' with *ḍ̥so* 'red'; *ḍte* 'heavy' with *ote* 'having cut', *ḍt̥* 'spread' with *at̥* 'give'. The low and mid vowels that became voiceless in initial position in the Kumarbhag dialect appear to come from earlier forms with a voiced initial vowel. The low and mid vowels that are voiced in initial position historically descend from words in which the vowels were preceded by an initial consonant, which was in many cases lost after the vowel-initial words underwent devoicing. The word *eso* 'red' comes from an etymon with an initial *k*- (DEDR 1931). In some cases, the initial consonant that blocked the devoicing remains in the other two dialects: Kumarbhag *āp* 'watch' corresponds to Sawriya and Malpaharia *qāp* 'id.' (DEDR 1416). While *q*- has been lost in initial position in the Kumarbhag dialect, in other positions it has become a glottal stop.

The demonstrative adjectives also differ from one dialect to the next. The plural demonstrative in the Kumarbhag and Malpaharia dialects ends in *-tar*, e.g. K. *ḍtar maʔer* 'those boys', M. *ātar maqer* 'id.', K. *ḍtar patli* 'those pots', M. *ātar patli* 'id.', while in the Sawriya dialect it ends in *-ber* for animates and *-wal* for inanimates, e.g. S. *āber maqer* 'those boys', S. *āwal patli* 'those pots'. The demonstrative proforms in Sawriya exhibit a three-way contrast, including a medial degree, where the other two have a two-way contrast between proximal

and distal.

	Kumar.	Malp.	Sawriya	
Proximal	<i>ihu</i>	<i>ihu</i>	<i>ihu</i>	'this man'
Distal	<i>āhu</i>	<i>āhu</i>	<i>āhu</i>	'that man (who is not present)'
Medial			<i>nāhu</i>	'that man (who is present)'

As an innovated phenomenon, the Malto classifier system clearly shows variation across dialects. Correspondence across the three dialects is regular for the animate categories, e.g. K. *ma?*+*ond boḍa* 'one snake', M. *maq+ond boḍa* 'id.', S. *maq+ond neru* 'id.'. For 'shaped' categories, the Sawriya dialect has a single general classifier, *bah+ond*, which may nevertheless be replaced by a more specific classifier.

General	Specific	
<i>bah+ond ṭeṭu</i>	<i>ḍaṇ+ond ṭeṭu</i>	'one hand'
<i>bah+ond āṭye</i>	<i>pat+ond āṭye</i>	'one leaf'
<i>bah+ond manu</i>	<i>man+ond manu</i>	'one tree'

While verb bases are classified into two sets, Class I and Class II, in all dialects, depending on whether they take the *-al/-e* formative in the past tense or not, the membership of an individual verb in a specific set varies across dialects. In the Kumarbhag and Malpaharia dialects, *ary* 'dig' and *piq* 'milk' belong to Class I, while Sawriya *arya* 'dig' and *piqa* 'milk' belong to Class II. Conversely, in the first two dialects, *awḍa* 'speak' belongs to Class II while in Sawriya the corresponding lexeme *awḍ* belongs to Class I.

In the past tense, the Kumarbhag and Malpaharia dialects have the tense marker *-t-* in the first and second persons and *-y-* in the third person while the Sawriya dialect has *-k-* in the first and second persons and *-y-* in the third person. In the future tense, the Kumarbhag dialect has the marker *-n-* in all cells of the paradigm except first person singular; the Malpaharia dialect has it in all cells except first person singular and first person plural inclusive; and the Sawriya dialect has the marker *-n-* only in the second person forms.

In the future negative, the Kumarbhag and Malpaharia dialects have verbs with the following structure: V ⇒ Base–Negative–Future–Agreement, while in word-formation rule for the corresponding form in the Sawriya dialect, the structure is V ⇒ Base–Negative–Agreement–Future. Thus the future negative form *amb-la-n-e* 'you (masc.) will not leave' in the first two dialects corresponds to *amb-n-e-la* 'id.' in the Sawriya dialect. Finite verbs in the Kumarbhag and Malpaharia dialects mark aspect, while those in Sawriya do not.

In lexis, the Sawriya dialect appears to retain more of its Dravidian heritage while the other two dialects have borrowed more heavily from Indo-Aryan sources. Sawriya *aya* 'mother' (DEDR 364) corresponds to *dudu* 'id.' in the other

two. Sawriya *punu* 'wound' (DEDR 4268) corresponds to Kumarbhag *gāyi* 'id.' and Malpaharia *gāḍi* 'id.'.

### **Bibliography**

Das, S.K. (1973) *Structure of Malto*, Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.

Droese, E. (1884) *Introduction to the Malto Language*, Agra.

Mahapatra, B.P. (1979) *Malto – An Ethnosemantic Study*, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.

Steever, Sanford (1988) *The Serial Verb Formation in the Dravidian Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

---

# 14 Brahui

*Josef Elfenbein*

## 14.1 Introduction

### Habitat and Speakers

Brahui, the conventional spelling for *brāhōī* (Persian/Urdu *brāhūī*), designates both a tribal group and a language. The two are not coterminous: many Brahui tribesmen do not speak Brahui even as a second language; further, some Balochi tribes use Brahui as a second language. The main habitat of Brahui tribesmen, as well as the main area where Brahui is spoken, extends continuously over a narrow north–south belt in Pakistan from north of Quetta southwards through Mastung and Kalat (including Nushki to the west) as far south as Las Bela, just inland from the Arabian sea coast. This belt is approximately 100 miles wide (from 65 degrees 30 minutes to 67 degrees east longitude, roughly as in Grierson (1921: 327)).

Substantial numbers of nomadic or semi-nomadic Brahui speakers inhabit the Afghan Šōrāwāk desert northwest of Nushki, in an area extending west along the Hilmand River into Iranian Sistan. Brahuīs are not considered to be ethnically distinct from the Baloch in Afghanistan or Iran. There seem no longer to be any Brahui speakers in Iran south of Sistan, although G.P. Tate (1909) mentioned colonies of Brahuīs as far south as *Khāš*. A small number of Brahui speakers are settled in Turkmenistan, mainly in the Marw oasis: together with the Baloch, they are late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century CE arrivals from India and Afghanistan. Many Brahui speakers are more or less permanently settled in the large cities of the Pakistani Sind: Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur and Larkana, mainly as casual labourers.

The only census data for Brahui come from pre-Partition India, and all are marred by the confusion between ‘Brahui tribesman’ and ‘Brahui speaker’. For centuries, Brahuīs have customarily described themselves as Baloch to outsiders, thus leading to consistent overestimates of the number of speakers and underestimates of the number of tribesmen. These issues are discussed in the literature (Elfenbein 1987: 221–2; *Encyclopedia Iranica*: 433–44; Bray 1913). The major conclusions, extrapolated to 1996, are as follows. There are approximately 700,000 Brahui tribesmen, mainly in Pakistani Baluchistan and in Afghanistan. Of these, approximately 100,000 are primary speakers of Brahui,

mainly in Pakistan; perhaps 300,000 are secondary speakers of Brahui in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Among the secondary speakers, the primary language is the Iranian language, Balochi. Further, most primary speakers of Brahui speak some Balochi as well. But fully 300,000 Brahui tribesmen speak no Brahui at all.

At present 27 tribes constitute the 'Brahui Nation'; eight are considered nuclear tribes and 19 peripheral. Some 90 per cent of Brahuists belong to the peripheral tribes. Only two of the nuclear tribes are primary speakers of Brahui; one consists of primary speakers of Balochi; four are bilaterally bilingual in Brahui and Balochi; and one is bilaterally bilingual in Brahui and Siraki. Of the peripheral tribes, only three seem to be primary speakers of Brahui while the remainder are either bilaterally bilingual in, or primarily speakers of, Balochi. The largest tribe, the Mengal, are primary speakers of Balochi.

### History

What little we know of the history of the Brahuists is summarised in the *Encyclopedia Iranica* (436–8) and in Elfenbein (1987: 226ff). The Brahuists first emerge in an historical light in the seventeenth century CE when, in reaction to Mughal pressures, they participate in the well-organised polity of the Brahui Confederacy, or the Khanate of Kalat, in close alliance with the Baloch and Dehwars. Later called Kalat State, the khanate was absorbed into modern Pakistan in 1948 after some 250 years of semi-independent existence.

The name Brahui is probably non-Brahui in origin: it likely comes from Siraki *brāhō*, itself a Siraki borrowing of *Ibrāhīm*, the name of a prophet. It appears to have become the native designation only after the Brahuists migrated into Sindh and became Muslims, perhaps 1,000 years ago.

Brahui prehistory is entirely obscure. I have argued against the traditional assumption that Brahuists are a relic of the original Dravidian migrations into India, c. 3000 BCE, who remained in Kalat as the first group to separate from other Dravidians. In my view a more prosaic history is far more likely. The Brahuists, never a very close-knit group, migrated northwest from the Central Deccan in India across Gujarat and into Sindh in many waves from about 800–1100 CE. Afterwards they entered the Kalat highlands. Their subsequent political importance developed out of early contact with the eastward-migrating Baloch (c. 1000 CE). This picture fits the grouping of Brahui in the North Dravidian group with Kurux and Malto, from whom the Brahuists probably separated more than a millennium ago.

### Dialects and the Written Language

The position of Brahui in the North Dravidian subgroup with Kurux and Malto is now well established. The principal isoglosses are the treatment of PDr \*k- (Burrow 1943), the formation of the -ō- future of verbs (Zvelebil 1977) and the reflexes of the Proto-Dravidian interrogative pronouns \*ya-/e- (Emeneau 1962a).

Language use among the approximately 300,000 secondary speakers of Brahui is extraordinary. Bilaterally bilingual in two genetically unrelated lan-

guages, Brahui and Balochi, the speakers use both languages every day, but consciously keep them apart. Even so, the mutual influence of the two languages on each other is evident. An account of the linguistic sociology of this group appears in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 438ff.

Brahui lacks major dialect differences. However, at least two important isoglosses allow the division of Brahui into a northern dialect, Sarāwān, and a southern dialect, Jahlawān. These isoglosses deal with the treatment of /h/ and the distribution of postclitic pronouns. Sarāwān Brahui pronounces phonemic /h/ as aspirate [h] while Jahlawān pronounces it as a glottal stop [ʔ]. This difference was noticed by Emeneau (1937) in the speech of his Ničāri informants from Jahlawān and by Elfenbein in the speech of Abdur-rahmān Brāhūi, among others, who consistently used [ʔ] for Bray's /h/. In initial and final position, as well as before a consonant, Bray's /h/ is pronounced as [h] in the central areas around Kalat and to the north in Sarāwān. It tends to be pronounced [ʔ] to the south in Jahlawān. Bray's transcription of it thus reflects Kalati pronunciation. This variation could be the result of Balochi influence: the dialect of Balochi spoken in Sarāwān, southern Raxšānī, has a very unstable /h/, often pronounced as a glottal stop.

The distribution of postclitic pronouns (also called 'suffixed pronouns') constitutes another basis for dialect differentiation. These postclitic pronouns are joined to fully inflected verbs or nouns, as described below. The third person postclitic pronoun is in general use everywhere. However, it is only in Jahlawān that the first and second person postclitic pronouns are also in common use. The 'best' usage is perceived to be that of Kalat, where /h/ is pronounced as [h] and where all three persons of the suffixed pronouns are used.

Brahui is essentially a spoken language, but does possess a certain literary tradition (Bausani 1969). The first work known to be written in Brahui is *Tuhfat al-ʿajāʾib* 'Gift of Wonders', composed c. 1759–60 by Malikdād Gharšīn Qalātī, a poet at the court of Nasīr Khān I, who ruled 1749–95. It consists of 1,275 verses on religious matters, in a 'revivalist' vein. The original manuscript has been lost, and our information comes from the 1916 edition published in Lahore by Mullā Nabō-jān Šāhib (died 1926). Nabō-jān was a disciple of the Darkhānī School founded by Maulānā Faḏl Mohammed Khān Darkhānī who had been educated at one of the Deoband schools in India and assumed their mission of a revival of Islam using local languages around the 1880s. Nabō-jān and Maulānā Faḏl set themselves the task of creating a Brahui written language based on Perso-Arabic script. Instead of using Pashto writing conventions, they chose Urdu style with an extra sign for the voiceless lateral /lh/, represented by a *lam* with three dots. This style of writing Brahui continues to the present.

These two enthusiasts were later joined by Mohammed ʿOmar Dīnpūrī (1882–1949), also educated at a Darkhānī school. He lived in a small village near Sukkur in Sind, a centre of the Brahui movement in the first decades of the twentieth century, which he renamed Dīnpūr and adopted as a surname. He was very active in the Islamist revival, took part in the Khilāfat movement and lived

in Kabul for some years. He retired to Dīnpūr in 1921 where, as the main representative of the Dīnpūri school, he wrote and published prolifically in Brahui.

An offshoot of the Dīnpūri school was the first Brahui association, called Brāhūi Jamā‘at, in Pandrān near Sibī. Its leading figure was Sardār Gaḥī Khān Pandrānī (1938–); another important figure was its Secretary, Nūr Mohammed Parwāna. Several literary magazines were founded, most notably *Īlum* ‘Brother’ (1960–) in Mastung, which has been sporadically published ever since. It is, to my knowledge, the only surviving magazine of this group. Now the most important publishing centre for Brahui is the Brahui Academy in Quetta, founded in 1966. Its present secretary is Abdul-raḥmān Brāhūi (see Abdur Rehman Brahui 1983); the academy has published more than 14 books, and is considered to be the centre of Brahui culture.

Vanishingly small numbers of Brahuīs are literate in Brahui. Sir Denys Bray gave a figure of 6,500 in 1911, and it cannot be significantly greater now.

The foundation of all Brahui language studies was laid by Sir Denys Bray in his Brahui grammar, a work still unsurpassed today. It is on all counts an astonishing work. Bray was an Indian civil servant in the country around Kalat for only four years at the turn of the century. In the best tradition of the civil service, he took interest in local language and culture. All subsequent studies of Brahui necessarily begin with Bray’s work, which remains valid today with only minor modifications.

## 14.2 Phonology

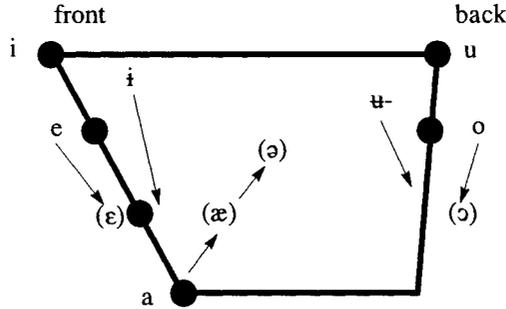
Study of Brahui clearly reveals that the entire sound system has been ‘Balochified’, eliminating all oppositions foreign to Balochi except for the voiceless lateral  $lh$  and  $ʔ$ .

While a phonemic transcription of Brahui follows Bray’s transcription in broad terms, it nevertheless deviates from his practice in certain respects. His transcription sometimes includes subphonemic detail, especially in his treatment of vowels and diphthongs. As revealed in his treatment of the voiceless lateral [ɬ] as  $lh$  and his transcription of the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] as  $gh$ , he uses sequences of graphic symbols to represent a single phoneme. Apart from the section on phonology, this chapter follows Bray’s transcription, including phonetic or phonemic detail where these are deemed necessary. Particular occurrences of certain segments, among them  $n$  and  $-ɣ-$ , are considered to be epenthetic rather than part of a morpheme. Such segments are preceded by a full stop.

The vowels are presented in Figure 14.1 where arrows indicate variation and non-phonemic variants are bracketed.

There are eight vowel phonemes: three short,  $a$ ,  $i$  and  $u$ , and five long,  $ā$ ,  $ī$ ,  $ū$ ,  $ē$  and  $ō$ . Bray’s short  $e$  was effectively analysed by Emeneau (1962: 7) as an allophone of /e/. Stressed  $é$  tends to [ē] and unstressed to [ɛ]; stressed  $ó$  tends to [ō], unstressed to [ɔ]. Both  $ē$  and  $ō$  shorten to [ɛ] and [ɔ], respectively, before two consonants. Minimal pairs for  $ō$  :  $ū$  and  $ē$  :  $ī$  as distinct phonemes may be cited:

Figure 14.1 Brahui vowels and variants



*sōb* : *sūb* ‘victory’ : ‘mourning’; *kōrk* : *kūr̄k* ‘stony ground’ : ‘soft wool’; *ē(d)* : *ī* ‘that’ : ‘I’; *dē* : *dī* ‘day’ : ‘then’. Often in final position *-ū* and *-ō* appear to be free variants, as in the third personal verb endings. However, the diminutive suffix *-ū* (< Persian) in *gōs-ū* ‘calf’ and *pišš-ū* ‘kitten’ has no *-ō* variant, while the prohibitive suffix *-bō* ‘do not ...’ has no *-bū* variant.

Brahui has two diphthongs, /ay/, /aw/, as in Balochi. Other apparent diphthongs are sequences of two vowels. Bray’s *ei* is a variant of *ay*, phonetically [æ:i], and occurs infrequently, as in *bai* [bæ:i] ‘a grass’ and *sayl* [sæ:i:l] ‘spectacle’ (the latter is a Balochi borrowing). The diphthong /aw/ [a:u, æ:u] tends to [o:] in the south, probably under the influence of Balochi. Where *aw* becomes a monophthong, minimal pairs such as *maun* : *mōn* ‘black’ : ‘face’, *maur* : *mōr* ‘a wild oil seed’ : ‘peacock’ become homophonous.

The twenty-eight consonant phonemes of Brahui include eight stops: *k, g, t, d, t̄, ḍ, p, b*; two affricates: *č, ĵ*; four sibilants: *s, š, z, ž*; three fricatives: *x, y, f*; two laterals: *l, lh̄*; two flaps: *r, r̄*; three nasals: *m, n, ŋ*; two glides: *w, y*; and two glottals: *h, ʔ*. The velar nasal, *ŋ*, is allophonic. These are presented in Table 14.1.

Table 14.1 Brahui consonants

	Labial	Dental	Palato-Alveolar	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b	t d		t̄ ḍ	k g	ʔ
Affricate			č ĵ			
Fricative	f				x y	h
Spirant		s z	š ž			
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	(ŋ)	
Lateral		l̄ l				
Flap		r		r̄		
Semivowel	w				y	

This inventory closely resembles that found in Balochi; however, certain facets of their articulation require comment. The voiceless glottal fricative [h] appears in all positions in the north, but tends in the south to a glottal stop in initial and intervocalic positions and is lost before consonants and in final position.

North	South	Gloss
hust	ʔust	'heart'
himpa	ʔimpa	'don't go!'
sahi affaṭ	saʔi affaṭ	'I don't know'
pōh	pō	'intelligence'
šahd	šaʔd, šad	'honey'

Further, the glottal stop, a positional variant of [h] in the south, is often pronounced before vowel-initial words in the south.

The three fricatives *x*, *ɣ*, and *f*, which occur in Balochi only as recent loanwords, occur in native Brahui words; many appear to be reflexes of earlier Dravidian sounds. The following Brahui words all have Dravidian etymologies: *ōfk* 'they' (DEDR 923), *bārifing* 'they make dry' (DEDR 5320), *xulis* 'fear' (DEDR 1806), *xāxar* 'fire' (DEDR 1458), *mux* 'waist' (DEDR 4986), *ḡaxxing* 'to pierce' (DEDR 2278), *yuḡḡū* 'small' (DEDR 1670), *kēray* 'bottom' (DEDR 1619). Initial *f* occurs only in loanwords, and tends to become *p*.

The velar nasal [ŋ], represented by Bray as *ng*, occurs only before the velar stops *k* and *g*; however, Bray's spelling of *-ing* for infinitival suffix represents [iŋg]. The velar nasal becomes [m] before *p* and *b*, e.g. *harsing-pa* 'don't turn around' becomes [harsimpa].

The voiceless lateral *lh* [ɬ] occurs neither in Balochi nor in any other neighbouring language. Its occurrence is limited to postvocalic position in a few words; it minimally contrasts with *l* in all but one or two cases, e.g. *tēlh* : *tēl* 'scorpion' : 'oil'; *mēlh* : *mēl* 'sheep' : 'assembly'; *pāl̥h* : *pāl* 'milk' : 'omen'; *mōlh* : *mōl* 'smoke' : 'muffling'; *hīlh* : *hīl* 'fly' : 'hope'. While its origins are obscure, it appears to arise, along with *l*, from PDr \*-l and \*-l̥, under conditions as yet undetermined. While *tēlh* 'scorpion' almost certainly comes from \*-l̥ (cf. Tamil *tēl* 'id.'), *pāl̥h* 'milk' appears to come from \*-l (cf. Tamil *pāl* 'id.').

*lh* and *l* appear to vary in certain verbs: *xalling* 'to strike' has the imperative *xāl̥h* 'strike!', *tūling* 'to sit' has the imperative *tūlh* 'sit!' and *halling* 'to seize' has the imperative *hal̥h* 'seize!'. The form *xalling* is the conflation of three etymologically different roots: the first means 'strike', the second 'steal cattle', the third 'uproot (plants)'. Only under the first meaning, that of 'strike', does the *lh* : *l* alternation occur.

Unlike Balochi, where retroflexes do not occur in native words except as positional variants, Brahui has retroflexes in its native Dravidian stock. *ṭ* occurs in *iraṭ* 'both' (DEDR 474), *buṭ* 'hillock' (DEDR 5474), *muṭṭux* 'knotted' (DEDR 4921), as well as in first person verb endings. *ḍ* appears in *piḍ* 'belly' (DEDR

4193), *gudḍū* 'small' (DEDR 1670), and others. The retroflex flap *r* [ɽ], which does not occur initially, appears in *biṛing* 'to milk' (DEDR 4183), *haṛsing* 'to turn around' (DEDR 446), and others. In certain forms of northern Brahui, *r* becomes retroflex before *t*, *d*, *s*, *z*, as in *xūrt* ~ *xūṛt* 'tiny', *lurd* ~ *luṛd* 'turbid', *haṛsing* ~ *haṛsing* 'to turn around', and others.

Aspiration, which is not phonemic, nevertheless occurs in certain circumstances. Aspiration may accompany the voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k* in more or less free variation in the northeast, e.g. *pōk* ~ *phōk* ~ *phōkh* 'wasted', *kūring* ~ *khūring* 'to roll up', *ṭikaṭ* ~ *ṭhikaṭh* ~ *ṭhikhaṭh* 'ticket'. Aspirated *ch*, *bh*, *dh*, *gh* and *jh*, mostly from Indo-Aryan sources and mainly in initial position, are occasionally heard in the south where they freely vary with their non-aspirated counterparts, e.g. *čhār* ~ *čār* 'marsh', *dhōbī* ~ *dōbī* 'washerman', *gharī* ~ *garī* 'clock'. Aspiration is also used for expressive purposes such as emphasis, particularly in initial position, e.g. *bhāz* 'many', *ghaṭ* 'inaccessible'.

Stress, while audible, is not phonemic in Brahui. Long vowels attract stress; where more than one long vowel occurs in a word, the first one is stressed. Polysyllabic words with no long vowels are generally stressed on the first syllable. For further discussion of Brahui phonology, the reader is referred to Elfenbein (1997) and DeArmond (1975).

## 14.3 Morphology

### Nouns

Brahui morphosyntax distinguishes free forms from clitics, which combine with free forms. Free forms largely correspond to independent words. There is no grammatical gender in either noun morphology or in personal pronouns. Clitics are distinguished from ordinary suffixes in transcription by the marker =. Brahui morphology is agglutinative and primarily suffixing. The general order of morphemes in a word is stem, derivational suffix and inflectional suffix. The parts of speech in Brahui distinguish primarily between nominal and verbal forms.

A noun phrase consists of a nominal expression, with or without modifiers. An indefinite article, *-as*, may be suffixed to the head noun. Nominals have basically one declension and inflect for case and number, but not gender. The case system is nominative-accusative, although the dative-accusative case has certain specialised uses. Brahui has eight cases: nominative -Ø, genitive *-nā*, dative-accusative *-ē*, ablative *-ān*, instrumental *-aṭ*, comitative/sociative *-tō*, locative I *-aṭī* ('in'), locative II *-āī*, *-ā* ('on, by').

The nominative plural has a special, portmanteau form *-k* (Zvelebil 1970, 1977). Nominals in *-a*, however, take *.y-ak*, e.g. *bāva* 'father' becomes *bāva.y-ak* 'fathers'. Most stems ending in stops and fricatives suffix *-āk*; stems in *-r* suffix *-k* and elide *-r*, as in *mār* 'son', *māk* 'sons'.

The plural of non-nominative cases is formed by adding the case suffixes to the plural marker *-tē-*. Elision occurs in the genitive plural where *\*-tē-nā* is

replaced by *-ta*. A sample declension is provided below with *xal* ‘stone’ (DEDR 1298):

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>xal</i>	<i>xal-k</i>
Genitive	<i>xal-nā</i>	<i>xal-tā</i>
Dative-accusative	<i>xal-ē</i>	<i>xal-tē</i>
Ablative	<i>xal-ān</i>	<i>xal-tē-ān</i>
Instrumental	<i>xal-aṭ</i>	<i>xal-tē-aṭ</i>
Comitative	<i>xal-tō</i>	<i>xal-tē-tō</i>
Locative I	<i>xal-(a)ṭī</i>	<i>xal-tē-ṭī</i>
Locative II	<i>xal-ā(ī)</i>	<i>xal-tē-ā(ī)</i>

Bray’s grammar provides some other rarely used suffixes, mainly locative in meaning. Both basic nouns and deverbal nouns mark case; case-marked verbal nouns serve important functions in a variety of verbal constructions. The locative I case in *-aṭī* means ‘in, inside’ and one of its main uses is in the continuous verbal construction (see below). The locative II has a broader semantic range, closer to that of the Balochi *-ā* case.

- (1) a. *kanā urāyā(ī) ba*  
I-gen house-locII come-imp  
‘Come to my house.’
- b. *ī kalātā akawa*  
I-nom Kalat-locII go-impfc-prs-1s  
‘I am going to Kalat.’
- c. *ōdē ḍayarā bētēṭ*  
he-dat/acc ground-locII throw-pst-1s  
‘I threw him to the ground.’
- d. *ī ōdē narring-ā(ī) xanāṭ*  
I-nom he-dat/acc run-inf-locII see-pst-1s  
‘I saw him running off/as he ran off.’

There is some evidence of group-inflection, but it is largely confined to dvandvā compounds, e.g. *sēsū-ō-kakkaw-nā* genitive singular ‘of hill partridge’, *xazm-ō-gaḍḍa-tā* genitive plural ‘of deer and (of) sheep’.

### Postpositions and Prepositions

Postpositions are more usual than prepositions; postpositional phrases are formed by collocating nouns – generally inflected for the genitive – with postpositions. The phrase *kanā nēmayāi* ‘towards me’ is formed by adding *nēmayāi* ‘towards’ (cf. *nēma* ‘side’) to the genitive pronoun *kanā* ‘of me’. In *draxtanā kērayān* ‘from beneath the tree’, the postposition *kērayān* (< *kēray* ‘bottom’), in-

flected for the ablative, is added to *draxtanā* ‘tree’. In *hākimmā mōnāi* ‘before the ruler’, the postposition *mōnāi* ‘before’ (cf. *mōn* ‘face’) is added to *hākima* ‘ruler’. Use of the genitive indicates that the phrases were originally collocations of two nouns, with the second developing an abstract, generalised meaning over time. Most of the instances cited in Bray have exact equivalents in Balochi.

Only four prepositions are in common use: *bayayr* ‘without’, *bē(d)* ‘without’, *savā* ‘without’ and *pa* ‘to, on’. All except the last, which appears only in fixed expressions and is borrowed from Balochi, govern the ablative. The first three are loanwords from Perso-Arabic; all except *savā* occur in Balochi as well. Certain forms of nouns have become specialised as postpositions. For example, *kāṭumai* ‘on top of’ is the locative II of *kāṭum* ‘head’.

**Table 14.2 Declension of personal pronouns**

	Singular	Plural
<b>FIRST PERSON</b>		
Nominative	ī	nan
Genitive	kanā	nanā
Dative-accusative	kanē	nanē
Ablative	kanēān	nanēān
Instrumental	kanēaṭ	nanēaṭ
Comitative	kantō	nantō
Locative I	kanētī	nanētī
Locative II	kanēā(ī)	nanēā(ī)
<b>SECOND PERSON</b>		
Nominative	nī	num
Genitive	nā	numā
Dative-accusative	nē	numē
Ablative	nēān	numēān
Instrumental	nēaṭ	numēaṭ
Comitative	nētō	numtō
Locative I	nētētī	numētī
Locative II	nēā(ī)	numēā(ī)
<b>THIRD PERSON</b>		
Nominative	ō(d)	ofk [ɔfk]
Genitive	ōnā	oftā
Dative-accusative	ōdē	oftē
Ablative	ōṛān	oftēān
Instrumental	ōṛaṭ	oftēaṭ
Comitative	ōṛtō	oftētō
Locative I	ōṛī	oftētī
Locative II	ōṛā(ī)	oftēā(ī)

### Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are declined in Table 14.2. The first person plural does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive, and the third person does not

distinguish gender. The origin of the *k* in the first person stem *kan-* is discussed in Emeneau (1989).

The shortening of *ō* to *o* [ɔ] is normal before two consonants. The third person pronoun also serves as a demonstrative. Third person pronouns have commonly used postclitic forms, singular =*ta*, plural =*tā*, similar to their Balochi counterparts, which is the probable source of this usage. First and second person postclitic pronouns also exist. When suffixed to a nominal, the clitic has a genitive meaning; when suffixed to a verb, it has a dative-accusative meaning.

- (2) a. *bāva=ta*                      *pārē*  
 father-nom=3sobl say-pst-3s  
 'His/her father said.'
- b. *bāva=tā*                      *pārē=tā*  
 father-nom=3pobl say-pst-3s=3pobl  
 'Their father said to them.'

### Reflexive Pronoun

There is only one reflexive stem, *tēn-* 'self' (DEDR 3196), with genitive *tēnā*, dative-accusative *tēnē*, ablative *tēnēān*, etc. This form does not morphologically encode person.

### Demonstrative Forms

Demonstrative forms make a three-fold deictic distinction among proximal ('here'), medial ('there') and distal ('yonder'). As is common usage in Dravidian, the distal form functions as the third person pronoun given above.

	<i>Proximal</i>		<i>Medial</i>		<i>Distal</i>	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
Nominative	dā(d)	dāfk	ē(d)	ēfk	ō(d)	ofk
Genitive	dānā	dāftā	ēnā	ēftā	ōnā	ōftā
Stems	dā-	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.
	dād-					
	dār-					

### Interrogative Pronouns

The common interrogative forms are *dēr* 'who?' for animates, with an irregular genitive in *din-nā* and all other forms regularly built on the stem *dēr-*. The inanimate *ant* 'what?' has a regular declension. The form *arā* 'which', used for animates and inanimates, functions as an adjective and has forms built on the stems *arā-*, *arād-* and *arār-*.

### Adjectives

Adjectives function primarily as nominal modifiers. Most are monosyllabic or

bisyllabic bases. One important group ends in *-un* or *-kun* (but *bīngun* ‘hungry’ < *bīn* ‘hunger’). The adjectival suffix *-ēn* is borrowed from Balochi, e.g. *kubēn* ‘heavy’. Other adjectival markers noted by Bray include *-ak*, *-ar*, *-ōr*.

The adjective characteristically distinguishes between definite and indefinite forms. The indefinite is formed by suffixing *-ō* to the definite base: *asi čaṭṭ-ō mār-as* ‘a lazy (*čaṭṭ*) lad’, *ball-ō inām-as* ‘a large (*balun*, *ball-*) reward’, *ḡwān-ō kārēm karōk-ō banda-γ.as* ‘a good (*ḡwān-*) work (*kārēm*) doing (*karōk*) man (*bandayas*)’, i.e. ‘a man who does good work’. The definite form is usually ‘strengthened’ or ‘amplified’ by suffixing *-ā*, or *-angā* to monosyllables: *sun-angā šahr* ‘the deserted (*sun*) village’, *pīyun-a hullī* ‘the white (*pīyun*) horse’. Epenthetic *γ*, which is not etymological, is often inserted between vowels: *zēbā.γ-ā/zēbā-ā masīr* ‘the pretty girl’. The adjectival suffix *-īkō* indicates definite position: *awal-īkō dē* ‘on the first day’, *nī kanā rāst-īkō dū us* ‘you are (at) my right hand’.

Adjectives can be transposed from their prenominal, attributive position for emphasis: *hullī-as ḡwān-ō halḡ ō bar(ak)* ‘get a good (*ḡwān*) horse (*hullī*) and come’. Any adjective in indefinite form may function as a noun: *ē hullī-āi swār mafa, ēl-ō ḡwān-angā.ṛ-āi swār ma* ‘do not ride (*swār mafa*) on that horse, ride on the other (*ēl-ō*) good one (*ḡwān-angā*)’. An indefinite adjective can function alone as a noun: *aga ball-ō xwāh-isa, ī hučč-ē hēsunuṭ; aga rišī-ō xwāh-isa, ī hēṭ-ē hēsunuṭ* ‘if it is a big one (*ball-ō*) you want (*xwāh-*), I have brought the camel; if it is a bearded one (*rišī-ō*) you want, I have brought the nanny-goat’.

The comparative suffix *-tir* (< Persian through Balochi) is in fairly common use: *ḡwān-tir* ‘better’ (< *ḡwān* ‘good’), *bat-tir* ‘worse’ (< *bad* ‘bad’), but appears to be optional. Superlative degree is not marked morphologically, but syntactically, e.g. *kanā hullī kull-ān ḡwān ē* ‘my horse (*hullī*) is the best (*ḡwān* ‘good’) out of all (*kull-ān*)’.

### Indefinites and Quantifiers

Some common indefinite and quantificational nominals are *mana(t)* ‘some, any’, *mačči(t)* ‘a little, some’, *gīrā(s)* ‘some(thing)’. Others include *dāxadar*, ‘this much’, *ōxadar* ‘so much’, *ēxadar* ‘that much’, and *axadar* ‘how much?’. These latter are formed by combining a Dravidian demonstrative base, e.g. *da-* ‘this’, etc., with the Persian/Arabic/Balochi *qadr* ‘amount’. These compounds are subject to a certain amount of variation so that *dāxadar* ‘this much’ also appears as *dāxar*, *dāxa* and *dāxas*.

### Numerals

Only the cardinal numbers for one, two and three are Dravidian; all others from four onwards come from Balochi.

1	<i>asi(t)</i>	(DEDR 990)	6	<i>šaš</i>
2	<i>irā(t)</i>	(DEDR 474)	7	<i>haft</i>
3	<i>musi(t)</i>	(DEDR 5052)	8	<i>hašt</i>

4	<i>čār</i>	9	<i>nō(h)</i>
5	<i>panč</i>	10	<i>dah</i>

The forms of the numerals from one to three without the final *ʃ* function only as adjectives or articles. Ordinals are formed from cardinals by suffixing *-imikō*, except for 'first', *awalikō*, which is formed on the Perso-Arabic stem *awal-*. Further examples appear in Bray.

### Adverbs

As might be expected, most adverbs in Brahui are inflected forms of nouns, though one important group is formed from pronouns. Examples of adverbs from nouns include *monaḥī* 'forward', *padāi* 'backward' and *dīgartō* 'in the late afternoon'. Examples from deictic pronouns include *dāsa* 'now' and *dāskān* 'up to now' from *dā(d)* 'this one'; *ōrēk* 'thence' from *ō(d)* 'that one yonder'; *ērēskān* 'up to there' from *ē(d)* 'that one nearby'; and *arāngāi* 'towards where?' from *arā* 'which one'. One group of temporal adverbs, though not as developed as in Balochi, are of interest: *aynō* 'today', *darō* 'yesterday', *mulxudō* 'day before yesterday', *kūmulxudō* 'three days ago' (from *kū-* 'after, before'), *pagga* 'tomorrow' (< \*Persian), *palmē* 'day after tomorrow', *kūdē* 'three days hence', *kūmādē* 'four days hence'. Similar series are based on the words for 'tonight' and 'this year'. Most appear to be reflexes of Proto-Dravidian lexemes.

### Verb Morphology

Brahui verb morphology is far more complex than noun morphology. Only a sketch is presented here; readers should consult Bray for a more exhaustive description. Two major oppositions characterise the Brahui verb: affirmative vs negative and imperfective vs perfective. As is common in many Dravidian languages, Brahui expresses negation directly in a separate conjugational series.

Imperfective forms are generally formed from their basic perfective counterparts by the use of the affix *a*, which is sometimes a prefix and sometimes a suffix. This imperfective *a* is not used with negative imperfective forms, nor with the durative-continuative construction which is borrowed from Indo-Aryan, nor suffixed to endings with a final *a*. The contrast between imperfective and perfective forms occurs in the present, past perfect and pluperfect tenses, but not in the future or conditional tenses. The situation is muddled by the existence of periphrastic tense forms, such as Bray's present of actuality, which do not themselves encode imperfectivity but which are syntagmatically opposed to simple forms that do.

A classification of Brahui tenses along aspectual lines, using Bray's terminology, reveals that not all tense forms participate in the perfective/imperfective opposition.

<i>Neutral/perfective</i>	<i>Durative/imperfective</i>
—	Present of actuality
Present indefinite	Present-future
Probable future	—
Past conditional	—
Past	Imperfect
Pluperfect	Durative pluperfect
Perfect	Durative perfect

Tense formation is achieved through the use of certain endings suffixed to the verb stem: future and conditional *-ō-*, past *-ā-*, perfect *-ān-*, pluperfect *-ās-*. The thematic vowels of the tenses can vary greatly for different verbs in an irregular manner. Some verbs are further subject to suppletion. Apart from the copula verb *uṭ* 'I am', there are nine verbs that show suppletive variants and other irregularities. One group includes *mann-* (stems *ma-*, *mar-*) 'become' (DEDR 4778); *bann-* (stems *ba-*, *bar-*) 'come' (DEDR 5270); *kann-* (*ka-*, *kar-*) 'make, do' (DEDR 1957); and *dann-* (stems *da-*, *dar-*) 'take away' (DEDR 3773). Other irregular verbs include *tin-* (stems *tir-*, *ēt-*, *ti-*) 'give' (DEDR 3098); *ča-* (stems *ča-*, *ta-*, *\*tir-*) 'understand'; *hur-* (stems *hur-*, *hu-*) 'look' (DEDR 2735); *hat-* (*ha-*, *hat-*) 'bring' (DEDR 3098); and *hin-* (*kā-*, *hin-*) 'go' (DEDR 809, 1419).

The causative stem is formed by suffixing *-if-* to the verb root, e.g. *bin-if-iw* 'I cause someone to hear', though with some formal irregularities.

Stress plays a part in determining the vowels of the personal endings; personal endings may be elided in the past when the past stem ends in *a*.

Examples of Brahui conjugation are given below with the verb *uṭ* 'be' and the root *tix-* 'put'. The verb *uṭ* 'be' is supplented by the verb *man* 'become' in other series. The regular conjugation of *tix-* 'put' is given in Table 14.3.

<i>Affirmative</i>		<i>Negative</i>	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Present			
1 <i>uṭ</i> 'I am'	<i>un</i> 'we are'	<i>affaṭ</i> 'I am not'	<i>affan</i> 'we are not'
2 <i>us</i> 'thou art'	<i>ure</i> 'you are'	<i>affēs</i>	<i>affēre</i>
3 <i>ē</i> 'it is'	<i>ō</i> 'they are'	<i>affak</i>	<i>affas</i>
Past			
1 <i>assuṭ</i> 'I was'	<i>assun</i>	<i>allawaṭ</i> 'I was not'	<i>allawan</i>
2 <i>assus</i>	<i>assure</i>	<i>allawēs</i>	<i>allawēre</i>
3 <i>ass</i>	<i>assur</i> , <i>assō</i>	<i>allaw</i>	<i>allaw</i>

These paradigms present finite verb forms. While their labels suggest their general meaning, certain forms have conventional 'extended' uses. For example, the second person present form may serve as a polite imperative.

**Table 14.3 Regular conjugation of *tix-* ‘put’**

<i>Affirmative</i> Singular	Plural	<i>Negative</i> Singular	Plural
<b>IMPERATIVE</b>			
2 <i>tix</i> ‘put’	<i>tixbō</i>	<i>tixpa</i> ‘don’t put’	<i>tixpabo</i>
<b>PERFECTIVE PRESENT (BRAY’S PRESENT INDEFINITE)</b>			
1 <i>tixiw</i> ‘I put’	<i>tixin</i>	<i>tixpar</i> ‘I don’t put’	<i>tixpan</i>
2 <i>tixis</i>	<i>tixirē</i>	<i>tixpēs</i>	<i>tixpērē</i>
3 <i>tixē</i>	<i>tixir</i>	<i>tixp</i>	<i>tixpas</i>
<b>IMPERFECTIVE PRESENT (PRESENT-FUTURE)</b>			
1 <i>atixiwa</i> ‘I am putting’	<i>atixina</i>	<i>tixpara</i> ‘I am not putting’	<i>tixpana</i>
2 <i>atixisa</i>	<i>atixirē</i>	<i>tixpēsa</i>	<i>tixpērē</i>
3 <i>atixik</i>	<i>atixira</i>	<i>tixpak</i>	<i>tixpasa</i>
<b>PERFECTIVE FUTURE (PROBABLE FUTURE)</b>			
1 <i>tixōḷ</i> ‘I shall put’	<i>tixōn</i>	<i>tixparōḷ</i> ‘I shall not put’	<i>tixparōn</i>
2 <i>tixōs</i>	<i>tixōrē</i>	<i>tixparōs</i>	<i>tixparōrē</i>
3 <i>tixōē</i>	<i>tixōr</i>	<i>tixparōē</i>	<i>tixparōr</i>
<b>PERFECTIVE CONDITIONAL (PAST CONDITIONAL)</b>			
1 <i>tixōsuḷ</i> ‘if I had put’	<i>tixōsun</i>	<i>tixparōsuḷ</i> ‘if I had not put’	<i>tixparōsun</i>
2 <i>tixōsus</i>	<i>tixōsure</i>	<i>tixparōsus</i>	<i>tixparōsure</i>
3 <i>tixōsas</i>	<i>tixōsur</i>	<i>tixparōsas</i>	<i>tixparōsur</i>
<b>PERFECTIVE PAST (PAST)</b>			
1 <i>tixāḷ</i> ‘I put’	<i>tixān</i>	<i>tixtawaḷ</i> ‘I did not put’	<i>tixtawan</i>
2 <i>tixās</i>	<i>tixāre</i>	<i>tixtawēs</i>	<i>tixtawērē</i>
3 <i>tixā</i>	<i>tixār</i>	<i>tixtaw</i>	<i>tixtawas</i>
<b>IMPERFECTIVE PAST (IMPERFECT)</b>			
1 <i>atixāḷa</i> ‘I was putting’	<i>atixāna</i>	<i>tixtawaḷa</i> ‘I was not putting’	<i>tixtawana</i>
2 <i>atixāsa</i>	<i>atixāre</i>	<i>tixtawēsa</i>	<i>tixtawērē</i>
3 <i>atixāka</i>	<i>atixāra</i>	<i>tixtawaka</i>	<i>tixtawasa</i>
<b>PERFECTIVE PERFECT (PERFECT)</b>			
1 <i>tixānuḷ</i> ‘I have put’	<i>tixānun</i>	<i>tixtanuḷ</i> ‘I have not put’	<i>tixtanun</i>
2 <i>tixānus</i>	<i>tixānurē</i>	<i>tixtanus</i>	<i>tixtanurē</i>
3 <i>tixānē</i>	<i>tixānō</i>	<i>tixtanē</i>	<i>tixtanō</i>

**Table 14.3 Regular conjugation of *tix-* ‘put’ (Continued)**

	<i>Affirmative</i> Singular	Plural	<i>Negative</i> Singular	Plural
PERFECTIVE PLUPERFECT (PLUPERFECT)				
1	<i>tixāsuṭ</i> ‘I had put’	<i>tixāsun</i>	<i>tixawēsūṭ</i> ‘I had not put’	<i>tixawēsun</i>
2	<i>tixāsus</i>	<i>tixāsurē</i>	<i>tixawēsus</i>	<i>tixawēsure</i>
3	<i>tixāsas</i>	<i>tixāsur</i>	<i>tixawēsas</i>	<i>tixawēsūr</i>
IMPERFECTIVE PLUPERFECT (NOT RECORDED IN BRAY)				
1	<i>atixāsuṭa</i> ‘I had been putting’	<i>atixāsuna</i>	<i>tixawēsūṭa</i> ‘I had not been putting’	<i>tixawēsuna</i>
2	<i>atixāsusa</i>	<i>atixāsura</i>	<i>tixawēsusa</i>	<i>tixawēsura</i>
3	<i>atixāsasa</i>	<i>atixāsura</i>	<i>tixawēsasa</i>	<i>tixawēsura</i>

- (3) *dā kārēm-ē kēs*  
this work do-prs-2  
‘Please do this work.’

The Jahlawān dialect uses the (perfective) conditional as an irrealis or counterfactual conditional where Sarāwān uses the past imperfective.

- (4) a. *xālī čirrēng-ān kārēm karōsus, nā guzrān*  
empty wandering-loc work do-prf-cnd-2s your living  
*marōsas.*  
be-prf-cnd-3s  
‘Instead of wandering about emptily, if you had worked, you would have had your living.’
- b. *fawjanā bannīng-ān must pēš tammōsurē, numā māl*  
army-gen arrive-vn-abl before forth set-prf-cnd-2pl your property  
*hintawaka.*  
go-neg-impfc-pst-3s  
‘If you had set forth before the arrival of the army, your property would not have been lost.’

As a verb in the main clause, the conditional serves as a hortative.

- (5) *iray kun-ing-ān must dū-t-ē sillosus.*  
food eat-vn before hands wash-prf-cnd-2s  
‘You should wash your hands before eating.’

The future may be used to indicate indefiniteness.

- (6) *numā šahraṭī aṭ urālō? dah dwāzda-as marōr.*  
 your village-locI how.many houses. ten twelve-one be-pfc-fut-3pl  
 'How many houses are in your village? There will be some ten or twelve.'

Non-finite verbs and verbal nouns appear below. Brahui has an 'infinitive' (verbal noun) in *-ing*, the negative in *-tix-ing*. Such forms encode neither tense nor perfectivity; nor do they govern a subject in the nominative. The verbal noun in *-ing* may be used as a noun.

- (7) *dušman-nā xall-ing ṣwān ē*  
 foe-gen strike-vn good be  
 'Striking of the foe is good.'

Besides functioning as nouns, infinitives also appear in certain compound verb constructions. A periphrastic potential form is formed from collocating the verbal noun in *-ing* with an inflected form of *kann-* 'do', e.g. *hin-ing kew* 'I can go'. Bray's 'tenses of actuality', which express the notion 'in the act of ...', are constructions in which the infinitive *-ing* is inflected for the locative I case in *-aṭī* followed by an inflected form of the auxiliary *ann-/mann-* 'be, become'.

- (8) a. *ī tix-ing-aṭī uṭ*  
 I-nom put-vn-locI be-prs-1s  
 'I am putting.'  
 b. *ī tix-ing-aṭī marōṭ*  
 I-nom put-vn-locI be-fut-1s  
 'I shall be putting.'  
 c. *ī tix-ing-aṭī massunuṭ*  
 I-nom put-vn-locI be-pfc-prs-1s  
 'I have been putting.'

Though the construction has an exact parallel in Balochi, its exact source is unclear. It cannot be a calque on the Balochi form since this is itself a recent innovation from the eastern reaches of the Balochi-speaking area. It could as well be borrowed into Balochi from Brahui. A passive, seldom used, is formed with the doubled suffix *-inging-*, e.g. *tix-inging-iw* 'I am placed'.

Bray's present adjectival participle in *-ōk* is a *nomen agentis* borrowed from Balochi (e.g. *tix-ōk*). It functions as either a noun or an adnominal form. The agentive nominal in *-ōk* can signify a state or permanence. In example (9), *xāčōk* (< *xāč-ing* 'sleep') means 'sleepers' so that the clause preceding *ki* 'that' is an equational sentence.

- (9) *duzzak xāčōk assur ki nan kāḥumāi=ta tammān.*  
 thieves sleepers be-pst-3pl that we-nom upon=3pl fall-pfc-pst-1pl  
 ‘The thieves were asleep when we fell upon them.’

In example (10a), where this form functions as an adnominal verb form, *xal-ōk-ā* (< *xall-ing* ‘toss’) means ‘the habitual tosser’, while in (10b) *xāč-ōk-ā* (< *xāč-ing* ‘lie down, sleep’) means ‘those who habitually sleep’. As a consequence of its adjectival status, it may be inflected as definite or indefinite.

- (10) a. *xal-ōk-ā xar-ās.*  
 toss-vn-def bull-def  
 ‘The bull who always tosses (people).’  
 b. *xāč-ōk-ā aris-k.*  
 sleep-vn-def person-3pl  
 ‘People who always lie abed.’

Bray’s noun of obligation in *-ōi* is a *participium necessitatis* (pn); its several uses include functioning in a compound verb construction.

- (11) a. *ī hin-ōi uḥ.*  
 I go-pn be  
 ‘I must go.’  
 b. *ī dā kārēmē kar-ōi uḥ.*  
 I this work do-pn be-prs-1s  
 ‘I must do this work/I am to do this work.’  
 c. *ī nā xal-ōi uḥ, ki nī dawn apāsa?*  
 I you hit-pn be that you thus speak-impfc-prs-2s  
 ‘Am I to be struck by you because you are speaking in this way?’

The meaning of example (11a) is also conveyed by *kanē hinōi ē*, lit. ‘my going is (to be)’. As examples (11) and (12) show, this verbal noun is neutral with respect to voice, so that *karōi* may mean ‘that which is to be done’ besides ‘that which X does’.

- (12) *dā giṛā-as ki nī apāsa, kanā karōi-ō kārēm-as*  
 this thing-def that you speak-impfc-prs-2s I-gen do-vn-indef work-def  
*aff*  
 be-neg-3s  
 ‘This thing that you mention is not a matter/work to be done by me.’

Though this construction seldom occurs in the negative, example (13) juxtaposes the positive *barōi* ‘that which must come’ with its negative counterpart *bafarōi* ‘that which must not come’.



- (16) a. *harčī ki nan must a-bassuna, ofk-k*  
 more that we forward come-impfc-pst-3pl they-pl  
*a-narrāra.*  
 flee-impfc-pst-3pl  
 'The more that we came forward, (the more) they fled.'
- b. *nan dā mulkē har sāl a-dasēna.*  
 we this land every year cultivate-impfc/pst-1pl  
 'We used to cultivate this land every year.'

In the present tense, the occurrence of the imperfective prefix often appears to be optional, and not to affect the meaning of the sentences.

- (17) a. *ī dayārē namb (a)kewa.*  
 I ground moisten do-(impfc)-prs-1s  
 'I am moistening the ground.'
- b. *ofk jang (a)karēra*  
 they fight do-(impfc)-prs-1s  
 'They are fighting.'

In (18), however, the presence of *a-* does affect meaning. In (18a), it expresses indefiniteness. In (18b), it presents an ongoing background against which a definite event takes place. And in (18c), it represents an uncertain consequence of a definite action.

- (18) a. *ī a-kāwa, num handārē tūlbō.*  
 I go-impfc-prs-1s you here sit-imp  
 '(Though) I may be going, you remain here.'
- b. *aynō kanā banday-ak a-hināra, pir tōrē=tā.*  
 today I-gen man-pl go-impfc-pst-3pl rain hold-pfc-pst-3s=3plobl  
 'Today my men were going, but the rain stopped them.'
- c. *ī narrāṭa, laṣkar muččāi a-narraka.*  
 I run-pfc-prf-1s army altogether run-impfc-prf-3  
 'If I had run, the army would have run altogether.'

In the pair in (19), the imperfective expresses an ongoing event while the perfective expresses a bounded event, 'travelling to N' vs 'make a trip to N'.

- (19) a. *ofk nōṣkēāi a-kāra.*  
 they Nushki-dat/acc travel-impfc-prs-3pl  
 'They are travelling to Nuski now.'
- b. *ofk nōṣkēāi kār.*  
 they Nushki-dat/acc travel-impfc-prs-3pl  
 'They are going to Nushki (sometime)/they will be making a trip to Nushki.'

The following pairs exhibit a similar contrast.

- (20) a. *nī a-kāsa, ī nētō a-barēwa.*  
 you go-impfc-prs-2 I you-soc come-impfc-prs-1s  
 'If you are going (now), I will come with you (now).'
- b. *nī kāsa, ī nētō barēwa*  
 you go-pfc-prs-2 I you-soc come-fut-1s  
 'If you are going, I will come with you.'
- (21) a. *har kas kanā hukmē mannitawaka, ī dā šahrān*  
 everyone my order obey-neg-impfc-pst-3s I village out of  
*kaššata=ta.*  
 drive-pst-1s=3pl  
 'I should have driven out of the village everyone who was not obey-  
 ing my order.'
- b. *har kas kanā hukmē mannitaw, ī dā šahrān*  
 everyone my order obey-neg-pfc-pst-3s I village out of  
*kaššīwa=ta*  
 drive-fut-1s=3pl  
 'I shall be driving out of the village everyone who did not obey my  
 order.'

In the following pair, the imperfective appears where in the corresponding situation in a South Dravidian language, a compound verb signalling durativity would appear. The perfective version of this sentence presents the act of dying as abrupt.

- (22) a. *piṇḍingān nī kaskus-a, jwān ass.*  
 begging-abl you die-impfc-pst-2s good be-pst-3s  
 'If you died, it would be better than begging.'
- b. *piṇḍingān nī kaskus, jwān ass.*  
 begging-abl you die-pfc-pst-2 good be-pst-3s  
 'If you up and died, it would be better than begging.'

To complicate matters further, simple verbs in the perfective and imperfective often stand in contrast with the durative present, a periphrastic perfective form whose auxiliary marks perfective aspect. The simple verbs express habitual events or generic statements; the periphrastic, actual events.

- (23) a. *šālkōṭ-aṭi harwaxt dā mōsum-āi pir a-kēk.*  
 Quetta-locI always this season-locII rain do-impfc-prs-3s  
 'In Quetta it always rains in this season.'

- b. *pir dāsā das-i-k.*  
rain now sow-pfc-prs-3s  
'It will rain in a moment.'
- c. *pir dāsā das-ing-aḥī ē.*  
rain now sow-vn-loc be-prs-3s  
'It is raining (now).'

- (24) *tēnā illanā-malhē zara-as aḍ ētē, ki*  
your cousin little-def shelter give-2s that
- i. *irayē tayār a-kēwa.*  
food prepare do-impf-pfc-prs-1s
- ii. *irayē tayār kēw.*  
food prepare do-pfc-prs-1s
- iii. *irayē tayār kanningaḥī uḥ.*  
food prepare do-vn-locI be-prs-1s  
'Detain your cousin for a moment while I
- i. am busy preparing the food.'
- ii. prepare the food.'
- iii. am preparing the food.'

Brahui lacks a subjunctive mood; its force is conveyed periphrastically as in the following constructions.

- (25) a. *ḡwān ē ki ī dāsā kāw*  
good be that I now go-prs-1  
'It is good that I should go now.'
- b. *ō tēnā ust-aḥī pāre ki ī duzziw=ta.*  
he his heart-locI say-pst-3 that I steal-fut-1s=3obj  
'He said in his own heart that he would steal it.'

Such periphrastic constructions, as well as the formation of compound verb constructions, show that, like other Dravidian languages, Brahui employs syntactic means to complement its morphological resources. The literature notes other types of verbal formations, such as the inchoative, the frequentive and the intensive. These are properly treated in the lexicon, not the morphology.

#### 14.4 Lexicon

The following estimate of the composition of the Brahui lexicon is based on word-counts taken from Bray, Emeneau, the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, and Elfenbein (1983). Approximately 10 per cent is Dravidian, 20 per cent Indo-Aryan, 20 per cent Balochi, 30 per cent Perso-Arabic and 20 per cent unknown. The low Dravidian percentage is to be expected given the long separation of the Brahuīs from other Dravidian speakers and a prolonged exposure to

Indo-Aryan during their migrations. However, the number of core words is sufficient to demonstrate the Dravidian character of the language. The two strongest influences on the Brahui lexicon have come from Indo-Aryan, largely through Sindhi-Lahndā, and Perso-Arabic, through an Indo-Aryan intermediate. Balochi has also exerted a strong influence since at least the twelfth century CE. In view of the general inadequacy of Sindhi lexical sources, it seems most probable that much of what is labelled as of unknown origin in Brahui will eventually turn out to come from Indo-Aryan.

### 14.5 Syntax

Word order in Brahui is basically SOV, but Indo-Aryan influence has altered this, particularly in complex clauses.

- (26) [bīšē        harrifēr,        [nē        dunyāfi    syāl    arē?]]  
 ass-dat/acc ask-pfc-prs-3pl you-dat/acc world-loc relation persons  
 [pārē        [sasōlī    jakkas    axalēk]].  
 say-pfc-prs-3s Sasoli boast strike-impf-prs-3pl  
 ‘They ask the ass, “Do you have any living relatives?” He replies, “The Sasoli is boasting about it”.’

Example (26) illustrates that within single clauses nominal arguments and their modifiers precede the verb, which marks the end of the clause. In keeping with SOV word order harmonics, Brahui has mainly postpositions; it has only four prepositions. Genitives precede the nouns they modify, and auxiliary verbs follow main verbs in compound verb constructions.

Example (26) also shows that complex sentences diverge from SOV patterns seen in other Dravidian languages. The complement of the main verb follows rather than precedes the matrix clause. Where the two clauses of a complex sentence are kept distinct, the clause order tends to be SVO, with complement following the matrix. But where clause union occurred between matrix and complement, the clauses tend to follow the older, Dravidian SOV, order. Clause union often appears in participial constructions, particularly where arguments are deleted under identity. It also occurs when a subordinate clause verb is nominalised, often resulting in the loss of certain verbal functions, e.g. the ability to take a nominative subject, and the ability to express verbal categories such as tense. In (27), the subordinate clauses are nominalised: the subordinate verb is a verbal noun inflected for nominal morphology. In (27a), the subject appears in the genitive case; in (27b), in the dative-accusative.

- (27) a. [[kanā bann-ing-iska.n] ad    ka].  
 I-gen come-vn-until shelter wait-imp  
 ‘Wait until I come!’ (‘wait for my coming’)

- b. [ī [ode narr-ing-ā(ī)] xanaʃ]  
 I-nom he-dat/acc run-inf-locII see-pfc-pst-1s  
 'I saw him running off/as he ran off.'

A simple sentence consists of a subject and predicate. The use of nominal predicates, though more limited than in other Dravidian languages, is attested in Brahui. In (28a), *urā* 'house' functions as a predicate nominal. And in (28b), the subordinate clause contains the nominal predicate *arē* 'persons'.

- (28) a. *numā šahraṭī aṭ urā/ō?*  
 your village-locI how.many houses-nom.  
 'How many houses (are there) in your village?'  
 b. [*bīšē harriṭēr, [nē dunyāṭī syāl arē?]*]  
 ass-dat/acc ask-prf-pst-3pl you-dat/acc world-loc relation persons  
 'They asked the ass, "Do you have any living relatives?"'

Example (28c) illustrates that in special circumstances, the subject appears in the dative/accusative case, indicating that the subject is a possessor. Such sentences may have a predicate nominal or a verbal predicate.

- (29) *banday-as-ē irā mār assur*  
 man-one-dat/acc two son be-pst-3pl  
 'A man had two sons.'

Example (30) is an equational sentence, syntactically composed of two verbal nouns without a copula, 'their shouting is (equal to/contemporaneous with) our entering the house'.

- (30) *oftā tawār kann-ing, nanā urā-nā pēh-ing.*  
 their-gen shout do-vn our-gen house-locII enter-vn  
 'When they were shouting, we were entering our house.'

In the following exchange, the first sentence, a question, dispenses with a verbal predicate. Note that the response does contain one.

- (31) *numā šahr-aṭī aṭ urā/ō? dah dwāzda-as marōr.*  
 your village-loc how.many houses. ten twelve-one be-fut-3pl  
 'How many houses are in your village? There will be some ten or twelve.'

In the main, however, Brahui appears to favour simple sentences with a verbal predicate. And it favours a nominative-accusative agreement pattern. Questions are marked through intonation; Brahui lacks interrogative postclitic particles such as Old Tamil =*ō* or Kannada =*ā*.

- (32) a. *numā śahraṭī aṭ urālō?*  
 your village-locI how.many houses-nom.  
 'How many houses (are there) in your village?'
- b. *dūśaē xanīsa?*  
 snake see-impfc-prs-2s  
 'Do you see the snake?'
- c. *iray kumpar, miš pakkiw?*  
 bread eat-neg-1s dirt gobble-pfc-prs-1s  
 'If I don't eat bread, will I gobble up dirt?'

Brahui distinguishes between finite and non-finite verb forms, and restricts the distribution of both in syntactic structures. In simple sentences with a single clause, the predicate is finite. In complex sentences, with two or more clauses, the main clause contains a finite predicate while other clauses, co-ordinate or subordinate to the main clause, may contain finite or non-finite verbs. Due to the common use of parataxis, as well as such complementisers as *ki* 'that' (< Balochi) and such conjunctions as *ō* 'and', the distribution of finite and non-finite forms in Brahui diverges from that in many other Dravidian languages.

A co-ordinate structure may be formed with the conjunction *ō* 'and', as in the following example where two clauses with finite imperative main verbs are conjoined.

- (33) *hullī-as jwān-ō halh ō bar(ak)*  
 horse-def good-indef get-imp and come-imp  
 'Get a good horse and come.'

In (34), *ō* appears to conjoin two subordinate clause non-finite verbs with the same subject.

- (34) *ō [[hōyisa]-ō [piṭṭisa]] tēnā xalkanā pārayāi*  
 3s weep-cnj-and curse-cnj 3s-gen house-gen towards-dat/acc  
*dudēngāka*  
 run-impfc-pst-3n  
 'She/he having wept and cursed was running towards her/his house.'

Subordinate clauses are formed paratactically or with the help of complementisers. In (35), the two clauses are collocated paratactically without any overt lexical or morphological marking.

- (35) *aynō kanā banda.ḡak a-hināra, pir tōrē=tā.*  
 today I-gen man-pl-nom go-impfc-pst-3pl rain hold-pst-3sn=3pobl  
 'Today my men were going, but the rain stopped them.'

The complementiser *ki* 'that', borrowed from Balochi, may be the most general

in the language. Not only does it embed a subordinate clause to a main clause, but it also can be used in correlative constructions to embed a subordinate clause to a nominal head in the main clause (see below).

- (36) [ō tēnā ust-aī pāre ki [ī duzziw=ta]].  
 he-nom his heart-locI say-pst-3 that I steal-fut-1s=3sobl  
 'He said in his own heart that he would steal it.' ('He said in his own heart, "I will steal it".')

Relative clauses and related structures are formed with a variety of morphosyntactic strategies. As elsewhere in Dravidian, adnominal verb forms may be used to embed a subordinate clause under a nominal head. In the following example, the adnominal form *kar-ōk* 'man who does' subordinates the embedded sentence *ǰwān-ō kārēm kar-* 'do good work' to a nominal in the main clause: *ǰwān-ō kārēm karōk-ō banda-γ.as* 'a good work (*kārēm*) doing (*kar-ōk*) man', i.e. 'a man who does good work'. In this example, the adnominal verb form and the nominal head have morphologically fused.

A correlative strategy is also used to embed a relative clause under a nominal expression in the main clause. In (37), the clause *har kas kanā hukmē mannitawaka* 'everyone who was not obeying my orders' is subordinated to the (unpronounced) nominal expression *har kas* 'everyone' in the main clause. Although *har kas* has been deleted under identity, it has left a clue to its presence in the clitic pronoun =*ta*, cliticised to the main clause verb *kaššāta* 'I should have driven'. The correlative strategy is chosen here because an adnominal verb form cannot be used: the clitic pronoun =*ta* combines finite verbs, not with a non-finite adnominal form.

- (37) *har kas kanā hukmē mannitawaka, ī dā šahrān*  
 everyone my order obey-neg-impfc-pst-3s I village out of  
*kaššāta=ta.*  
 drive-?-1s=3pobl  
 'I should have driven out of the village everyone who was not obeying my order.'

In the relative construction in (38), the complementiser *ki* 'that' embeds a relative clause under a main clause nominal *hamē kučak-as* 'the same dog'. Here the order reflects Indo-Aryan word order, with the subordinate clause following the main clause nominal. Once again, the use of clitic pronouns =*nē* appears to block the use of an adnominal verb strategy, thus requiring an alternative one.

- (38) *kunē=nē hamē kučak-as ki drust kē=nē*  
 bite-prs-3s=2obl same dog-def that knowledge do-prs-3s=2obl  
 'The dog that bites you is the same dog that knows you.'

### Suffixed/Enclitic Pronouns

The enclitic pronouns of the third person are commonly used everywhere; those for the first and second persons occur largely in the Jahlawān dialect. The first singular is =*ka*, the second singular =*nē* (no plurals), the third singular =*ta*, the third plural =*tā*. As noted earlier, when combined with a noun, they function as a genitive pronoun.

- (39) a. *malhē=ka hič pāpēs*  
 son-pl=1obl thing say-neg-imp  
 ‘Say nothing to my sons.’  
 b. *mārē=nē šālkōt-ān hēsut*  
 son-dat/acc=2obl Šalkot-abl bring-pfc-pst-1s  
 ‘I brought your son from Quetta (=Šalkot).’

But when combined with a verb, the clitic pronouns function as a dative-accusative object.

- (40) a. *xalkus=ka*  
 strike-pfc-pst-2s=1obl  
 ‘You struck me.’  
 b. *kunē=nē hamē kučak-as ki drust kē=nē*  
 bite-prs-3s=2obl same dog-def that knowledge do-prs-3s=2obl  
 ‘The dog that bites you is the same dog that knows you.’  
 c. *nī kanā šašmikō hur us. aga illiw=nē,*  
 you 1s-gen sixth finger be-prs-2s if leave-fut-1s=2obl  
*ganda xaningaḡī ē tarīw=nē, dū-ka xalh*  
 bad look-vn-loc be-prs-3s cut-fut-1s=2obl hand-dat/acc pain  
*kēk.*  
 do-prs-3s  
 ‘You are my sixth finger: if I leave you alone, it looks ugly; if I cut you off, it hurts my hand.’

Although certain other Dravidian languages, such as Kūi and Pengo, mark object-agreement with suffixes, the Brahui construction is different because it employs clitics. It is possible to treat the development of clitics attached to nouns as a special instance of the postposition of nominal modifiers, seen above in the discussion of adjectives and numerals. Under such an analysis, the clitic pronouns are reduced forms of postposed genitive pronouns. This explanation, however, cannot be invoked to explain the development of postposed pronouns on verbs. Thus, the analysis of this phenomenon, as with much else in Brahui, remains a challenge for future linguistic research.

## Bibliography

- Abdul Rehman Brahui (1983) 'History, background, objectives and achievements of the Brahui Academy, Quetta, Pakistan', in A. Rossi and M. Tosi, *Newsletter of Baluchistan Studies, I*, Naples.
- Andronov, Mikhail (1980) *The Brahui Language*, Moscow: Nauka. [Contains a large bibliography of writings on Brahui, but does not provide commentary.]
- Bausani, A. (1969) 'La letteratura Brahui', in O. Botto (ed), *Storia delle letterature d'Oriente*, II, Rome, 649–57.
- Bray, Sir Denys (1909) *The Brahui Language I*, Calcutta; reprinted in 1972 in Quetta.
- (1913) *Life-History of a Brahui*, London.
- (1934) *The Brahui Language II: The Brahui Problem*, Delhi; reprinted in 1978 in Quetta.
- (1934) *The Brahui Language III: Brahui Etymological Dictionary*, Delhi; reprinted in 1978 in Quetta.
- (1939) 'Brahui tales', *Acta Orientalia* 17: 65–98.
- Burrow (1943)
- DeArmond, Richard (1975) 'Some rules of Brahui conjugation', in H. Schiffman and C. Eastman (eds), *Dravidian Phonological Systems*, Seattle: University of Washington, South Asian Studies Program, 242–98.
- Elfenbein, Josef (1982) 'Notes on the Balochi–Brahui Commensality', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 77–98.
- (1983) 'The Brahui Problem again', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 25: 103–32, 191–209.
- (1987) 'A Periplus of the Brahui Problem', *Studia Iranica* 16: 215–33.
- (1991) 'A caravan of chronological adverbs', in *Corolla Iranica, Papers in Honour of D.N. MacKenzie*, 59–66.
- (1996)
- (1997) 'Brahui phonology', in Alan Kaye (ed.), *Phonologies of Asia and Africa*, Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 797–811.
- Emeneau, M.B. (1937) 'Phonetic observations on the Brahui language', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 8 (4): 981–3.
- (1962a) *Brahui and Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, Berkeley: University of California Publications in Linguistics.
- (1962b) 'Bilingualism and structural borrowing', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 106.
- (1970) *Dravidian Comparative Phonology*, Annamalainagar: Annamalai University Publications in Linguistics.
- (1989) 'Brahui personal pronouns, first singular and reflexive', *Studies in Dravidian and General Linguistics*, Hyderabad, 1–12.
- Encyclopedia Iranica* (1987) 'Brahui', New York and Tehran, 430–43.
- Grierson, G. (1906) *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 4, *The Munda and Dravidian Languages*, Calcutta.
- (1921) *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 10, *Eranian Family*, Calcutta.
- Mayer, T.J.L. (1906–7) *A Brahui Reading Book*, vols. I, II, III, Ludhiana; reprinted in one volume in 1983 by the Brahui Academy, Quetta. [Contains prose selections with interlinear English translation, in roman characters. Still quite useful.]
- Tate, G.P. (1909) *The Frontiers of Baluchistan*, London.
- Trumpp, E. (1880) 'Gramm. Untersuchungen über die Sprache der Brahuais', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*; reprinted in Quetta in 1983.
- Zvelebil, K. (1970) *Comparative Dravidian Phonology*, The Hague: Mouton.
- (1977) *A Sketch of Dravidian Comparative Morphology*, The Hague: Mouton.

---

# Index

Numbers in **bold** denote that there is a major section or chapter on that subject; t stands for table.

ablative case

- Brahui 394
- Gadaba 336–7
- Kannada 20, 137
- Kolami 310, 311
- Koṇḍa 250, 251
- Malto 362, 363, 365–6, 367
- Modern Tamil 105, 106t, 108, 109
- Old Tamil 80, 81
- Old Telugu 191–2, 193
- Proto-Dravidian 20
- Telugu 213, 214
- Tulu 163, 164t, 171

ablative-associative case

- Gonḍi 278–9

abstract nouns

- Telugu 225, 229, 234, 238

accusative case

- Brahui 394
- Gadaba 336, 337t
- Gonḍi 273, 274, 275, 277–8
- Kannada 132, 133t, 136, 138
- Kolami 310, 311, 312
- Malto 362, 363–4, 367
- Modern Tamil 105, 106t–7, 108, 109, 124
- Old Tamil 80, 97
- Old Telugu 191, 193
- Proto-Dravidian 20
- Telugu 213, 214, 215
- Tulu 163, 164t, 171

accusative-dative case

- Koṇḍa 250, 251

address

- Kannada 135
- Modern Tamil 108
- Telugu 211

adjectival participles 19, 33

- Brahui 403–4
- Gadaba 346–7
- Gonḍi 293
- Modern Tamil 112
- Old Telugu 199

*see also* adnominal forms

adjectival phrases

- Koṇḍa 266–7

adjectives 25

- Brahui **397–8**, 399
- Gonḍi 19, 274, **281–4**
- Kannada 131, 144–5
- Kolami 304, **305–7**, 326
- Koṇḍa 252, 253, **262–3**
- Malto 361, 370, **371–3**, 385
- Modern Tamil 116, 118, 124
- Old Tamil 78, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 96
- Old Telugu 184
- Proto-Dravidian 19
- Telugu 210, **224–6**, 238
- Tulu 163, 171

adjuncts

- Kolami 324
- Modern Tamil 105, 112, 118

- Old Tamil 91
- adnominal forms 25, 33
- Brahui 403–4, 412
- Gadaba 338, 340, 346–7
- Gonḍi 293, 295
- Kannada 142, 143, 149–50
- Kolami 305, 307, 312, **320**, 325
- Koṇḍa 259, 260
- Malto 378–9
- Modern Tamil 112, 121
- Old Tamil 85, 86, 88, 93, 94
- Old Telugu 199
- Telugu 220, **233–4**
- Tulu 169, 171
- adverbial
- Gadaba 347
- Koṇḍa 247, 259
- Old Telugu 195t
- Tulu 171
- adverbial adjuncts
- Modern Tamil 105, 112, 118
- Old Tamil 91
- adverbial clauses
- Kannada 143
- Modern Tamil 121
- Old Telugu 199
- adverbial participles 19, 25, 32
- Kannada 139
- Old Telugu 198
- see also* conjunctive
- adverbs 19
- Brahui **399**
- Gonḍi **284**
- Kannada 131, 145
- Kolami **321**
- Koṇḍa 247, **263–4**, 267
- Malto 361, **383**
- Modern Tamil 114, 116, 118
- Old Tamil 78, 86, 96
- Old Telugu 184
- Proto-Dravidian 19
- Telugu 210, **212**, 213, **226**, 231
- Tulu 163
- affirmative
- Brahui 399
- Gadaba 346
- Koṇḍa 256
- Malto 374–6
- Proto-Dravidian 23, 24
- affricates
- Brahui 392
- Kolami 302t
- Old Telugu 182t, 183
- Telugu 208
- Tulu 161
- Akattiyalīnkam, Ca. 84
- allophones
- Brahui 392
- Kolami **303**
- Old Tamil 77
- Telugu 207
- alveolars 15
- Koṇḍa 244t, 246
- Malto 360t
- Modern Tamil 102t, 103
- Old Tamil 76, 77t
- Old Telugu 182t
- Proto-Dravidian 14t, 16–17
- Telugu 206t
- anaphoric pronouns
- Kannada 134
- Old Tamil 82
- Tulu 165
- Andres, Susie 8, 271, 272, 273
- Annamalai, E. 92–3
- anterior conjunctive
- Kannada 139, 143, 147, 150
- Old Telugu 198
- Tulu 170, 172
- anusvāra* 47–8, 61
- ‘apical displacement’ 16
- Telugu 202
- approximants
- Gadaba 328, 329t
- Gonḍi 273
- Modern Tamil 102t
- Old Tamil 77t
- Old Telugu 182t
- Proto-Dravidian 14t
- articles 19
- Modern Tamil 109
- Ashokan Brahmi script 5, 6, 40, 45, 103, 209
- aspect
- Brahui 399
- Gonḍi 285, 286

- Koṇḍa 256, 261–2  
 Modern Tamil 114  
 Telugu 216  
 Tulu 165
- aspiration  
 Brahui 394  
 Goṇḍi 273
- assimilation  
 Gadaba 332  
 Kannada 131  
 Koṇḍa 245–6  
 Modern Tamil 103  
 Telugu 237
- attributive compounds  
 Telugu **238–9**
- auxiliary verbs 7, 12, 24, 25–6, 28  
 Brahui 409  
 Gadaba 340, 343, 347–8, 352  
 Goṇḍi 270, 290, 292  
 Kannada 140, 142–4  
 Kolami 319  
 Koṇḍa 262, 338  
 Malto 382–3  
 Modern Tamil 75, 113–15, 118, 127  
 Old Tamil 85, 87, 89  
 Old Telugu 194  
 Telugu 217, 221  
 Tulu 165, 166
- Badaga 4, 6, 7, 12  
 Bhaskararao, Peri 9, 353  
 Bhat, D.N.S. 159  
 Bhattacharya, S. 325, 328, 341, 343, 353
- borrowings 17  
 Brahui 21, 393  
 Gadaba 352–3  
 Kannada 130, 131, 146  
 Kolami **326**  
 Malayalam 12  
 Modern Tamil 103, 123  
 Old Tamil 97, 98  
 Old Telugu 182  
 Telugu 206, 207, **237–8**  
 Tulu 173
- Brahmi script 40–1, 49, 67, 78  
 Brahui 4, 7, 11, 12, 13, **388–413**  
 dialects 389–90  
 habitat and speakers 11, 388–9  
 history 9, 11, 389  
 lexicon 21, 408–9  
 morphology 394–408  
 phonology 391–4  
 script 5, 390–1  
 syntax 31, 409–13
- Bray, Sir Denys 391, 395, 403  
 Bright, William 131, 301  
 Britto, Francis 126  
 Bühler, G. 40  
 Burrow, Thomas 5  
 Burrow, Thomas and Bhattacharya, S. 325, 328  
 Burton, Sir Richard 6
- Caldwell, Bishop Robert 3  
 Caldwell's Law 15
- cardinals  
 Brahui 398–9  
 Telugu 211–12, 213  
*see also* numerals
- case 12, 19, 20  
 Brahui 394–5  
 Gadaba 333, **336–7**  
 Goṇḍi 274, 275, 281  
 Kannada 132, 135–7, 138  
 Kolami 304, **310–12**  
 Koṇḍa 247, 250–1, 254  
 Malto 361, **363–9**  
 Modern Tamil 104–8, 117  
 Old Tamil 79, 80–1, 86  
 Old Telugu 184, **189–93**  
 Telugu 210, **213–16**  
 Tulu **163–4**, 170, 171
- causative verbs  
 Brahui 400  
 Gadaba 331–2, 337t–8  
 Goṇḍi 284  
 Kannada 139  
 Malto 373–4  
 Modern Tamil 75, 111, 112  
 Old Tamil 75  
 Old Telugu 194, 195  
 Telugu 217, 231  
 Tulu 163, 166, 176
- Census (1981) 3, 4  
*centamiḥ* 125, 126, 127  
 Central Dravidian languages **9**, 12, 13

- see also* Gadaba; Kolami
- classifiers  
 Gonđi 275, 283  
 Kolami 306  
 Koṇḍa 254  
 Malto 9, 370, 371–3, 386
- clauses 25, 32  
 Brahui 409, 410, 411–12  
 Gadaba 349, 350, 351–2  
 Gonđi 276, 288, 291–2, 293–4, 295, 296  
 Kannada 142, 146, 147–8, 149  
 Kolami 323, 324  
 Koṇḍa 250, 265, 266, 267–9  
 Malto 378, 381, 383  
 Modern Tamil 94, 105, 107, 112, 117, 120–1  
 Old Tamil 82, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93–4, 94–6, 98  
 Old Telugu 196, 199, 220, 227, 231, 232–3, 234–6  
 Proto-Dravidian 31, 33, 34  
 Tulu 171, 172
- clfting  
 Kannada 145  
 Modern Tamil 123  
 Old Tamil 97  
 Telugu 230  
 Tulu 171
- clitics 18, 35  
 Brahui 394, 397, 412, 413  
 Gadaba 349–50  
 Gonđi 274, 296  
 Kannada 131, 140, 143, **145–6**, 150, 151, 152, 153  
 Kolami 304, 319, 320, **322**, 323  
 Koṇḍa **264–5**  
 Malto 361  
 Modern Tamil 104, 108, 109, 111, 117, 119, 121, 122  
 Old Tamil 78, 79, 85, 86, 91, 96  
 Telugu 210, **226–7**, 230–1  
 Tulu 169, **170**, 171, 172
- comitative case  
 Brahui 394  
 Gadaba 336, 337  
 Telugu 213, 214
- comparative case  
 Brahui 398  
 Old Tamil 20  
 Telugu 214
- complementisers 35–6  
 Brahui 411–12  
 Gadaba 350, 352  
 Koṇḍa 266, 268–9  
 Malto 36  
 Old Tamil 82, 95–6  
 Telugu 231, 233–4, 235–6
- completive conjunctive  
 Kolami **319**, 321, 325
- complex sentences **31–7**  
 Brahui 409, 411  
 Gadaba 345, 351–2  
 Gonđi 295, 296  
 Kannada 147–53, 156  
 Koṇḍa 266, 267–9  
 Modern Tamil 104, **120–3**  
 Old Tamil **92–7**  
 Proto-Dravidian 33, 34, 35  
 Telugu **232–6**  
 Tulu 169, 170, 171–2
- compounding  
 Brahui 403, 404, 405, 407, 408  
 Gadaba 345, 347, 348, 353  
 Gonđi 274–5  
 Kannada 28–9, 140, 142, 146, 148, 155  
 Koṇḍa 253, 260–2, 263, 266, 269  
 Malto **382–3**, 384–5  
 Modern Tamil 105, 112, 113–16, 121, 124–5, 127  
 Old Tamil 78, 83, 85, 87–9, 98  
 Old Telugu 190, 199–200  
 Proto-Dravidian 25, 26, 28  
 Telugu 219, **220–1**, 227, **231–2**, **238–9**  
 Tulu 169, 171
- concessive  
 Kolami 312, **320**, 322  
 Telugu 236
- conditionals 24, 25, 32–3  
 Brahui 401t, 402  
 Gadaba 332, 338, 340, 346  
 Gonđi 289  
 Kannada 142–3, 148  
 Kolami 312, **320**  
 Modern Tamil 112, 120, 121  
 Old Tamil 85, 86  
 Old Telugu 199

- Telugu 236  
 Tulu 169, 171, 172, 175  
 conjugations 24  
   Brahui 400, 401t–2t  
   Gadaba 338, 340, 351  
   Gonđi 24, 284–5  
   Kannada **139–40**  
   Kūi 24  
   Modern Tamil 112, 113t  
   Proto-Dravidian 24  
   Tamil 24  
   Telugu 222  
 conjunctions  
   Brahui 411  
   Gonđi 296  
   Kannada 146, 152–3, 156  
   Kolami **321**  
   Koṇḍa 266  
   Malto 361, 383  
   Modern Tamil 104, 116, 117, 120  
   Old Tamil 96  
   Old Telugu 184  
   Tulu 169  
 conjunctive 25, 32, 34  
   Brahui 405  
   Gadaba 338, 346, 347, 349, 353  
   Gonđi 292  
   Kannada 142, 143  
   Kolami 312, **319–20, 323–4, 325**  
   Malto 379–81, 383  
   Modern Tamil 112, 114, 120  
   Old Tamil 85–6, 92, 93  
   Old Telugu 198  
   Telugu 220, 232  
   Tulu 169, 170, 171, 172  
 consonants 4t, 48, 49  
   Brahui 392–3  
   Gadaba 328–9t, 330t, 331, 332  
   Gonđi 15, 272–4  
   Kannada 15, 49, 55, 130t–1, 140  
   Kolami 302t, 303–4  
   Koṇḍa 243, 244t, 245, 246, 247, 248  
   Malayalam 61, 62t  
   Malto 360t–1  
   Modern Tamil 16, 101–2t, 102–3  
   Old Tamil 76, 77, 78, 84  
   Old Telugu 182t, 183–4, 188  
   Proto-Dravidian 14t–16t, 17  
   scripts 40, 45–6  
   Tamil script 67, 70  
   Telugu 49, 59t, 206t–7, 208, 210, 213, 237  
   Tulu 160t–1, 162–3, 176  
 continuative conjunctive  
   Kolami 319, 320  
 co-ordination 31–2  
   Koṇḍa 253, 260, 261  
   Modern Tamil 117, 120  
   Old Tamil 96–7  
   Telugu 231, 232, 238, 239  
 copula verbs 29  
   Brahui 400  
   Kolami **323, 326**  
 correlative clauses  
   Old Tamil 94  
   Proto-Dravidian 35  
   Telugu 234  
  
 dative case 29  
   Gadaba 336, 337t  
   Kannada 132, 133t, 136, 138, 142, 146, 155  
   Kolami 310, 311, 312, **324**  
   Koṇḍa 250, 251  
   Malto 363, 364, 367, 383  
   Modern Tamil 105, 106t, 107, 108, 118  
   Old Tamil 80, 81, 89, 95  
   Old Telugu 191–2, 193  
   Proto-Dravidian 20  
   Telugu 213, 214, 228, 236  
   Tulu 163, 164t, 170, 171  
 dative-accusative case  
   Brahui 394, 409–10  
   Gonđi 273, 274, 275, 277–8  
 declaratives  
   Modern Tamil 119  
   Telugu 229  
 declension  
   Brahui 394  
   Gonđi 276  
   Kannada 133  
   Modern Tamil 105, 106t  
   Old Telugu 190, 191  
   Telugu 215–16  
 definite articles 109

- deictic pronouns  
 Gadaba 336t  
 Kolami 308  
 Old Telugu 194, 195t  
 Proto-Dravidian 22–3t
- deixis  
 Gonđi 279, 280t–1  
 Malto 367
- demonstrative pronouns  
 Brahui 397  
 Kannada 134t  
 Kolami 305–6, 308  
 Koṇḍa 250, 252  
 Old Tamil 82  
 Old Telugu 193  
 Telugu 210, 233
- demonstratives  
 Kolami 305, 312  
 Modern Tamil 118, 121, 124  
 Old Telugu 193
- denominal verbs 18  
 Old Telugu 196
- dental-alveolars  
 Telugu 206
- dentals  
 Brahui 392  
 Gadaba 328, 329  
 Kannada 130  
 Kolami 302  
 Koṇḍa 243  
 Malto 361  
 Modern Tamil 102t  
 Old Tamil 76, 78  
 Old Telugu 182, 183  
 Proto-Dravidian 14t, 15, 17  
 Tulu 174
- derivation 18  
 Brahui 394  
 Gadaba 333–6  
 Gonđi 274  
 Kannada 154  
 Kolami 307, 308, 309  
 Koṇḍa 251–4, 262, 263, 268  
 Malto 361, 369, 370, 373  
 Modern Tamil 104  
 Old Telugu 185, 186, 194  
 Proto-Dravidian 28  
 Telugu 216, 238  
 Tulu 172
- desiderative clauses  
 Telugu 236
- desiderative verbs  
 Koṇḍa 256, 258–9
- determiners  
 Telugu 225
- deverbal nouns  
 Kolami 308  
 Modern Tamil 113t  
 Telugu 238
- dialects  
 Brahui 389–90  
 Gadaba 353–4  
 Gonđi 8, 270, 271  
 Kannada 129, 130  
 Kolami 301, 326–7t  
 Koṇḍa 8, 241 –2  
 Malto 9, 359, 385–7  
 Modern Tamil 6, 101, 103, 109, 114, 127  
 Telugu 8, 37, 203–6  
 Tulu 158–9, 161, 165, 166, 167, 173, 173–6
- diglossia  
 Kannada 129–30  
 Modern Tamil 6, 125–7
- diphthongs 14, 47  
 Brahui 392  
 Gadaba 329  
 Kannada 130  
 Koṇḍa 245  
 Malayalam 60t  
 Modern Tamil 101, 103  
 Old Tamil 76–7  
 Old Telugu 182  
 Proto-Dravidian 14  
 Tamil 14  
 Tulu 161, 162
- distals 22, 23t  
 Brahui 397  
 Gonđi 279, 280t, 281  
 Kannada 134  
 Malto 367  
 Old Tamil 82  
 Tulu 165
- doubling  
 Modern Tamil 103  
 Old Tamil 78, 81

- Dravidian–Finno-Ugric hypothesis 37
- durative  
 Kolami 316–17, 320, 321  
 Koṇḍa 256, 257t, 259
- durative-continuative  
 Brahui 399
- echo compounds 28  
 Gadaba 353  
 Kannada 125, 154, 155–6  
 Kolami 322  
 Modern Tamil 124–5  
 Telugu 239
- Elamo-Dravidian hypothesis 37
- elision  
 Brahui 394–5, 400  
 Koṇḍa 245, 246
- Emeneau, M.B. 7, 11, 301, 303, 305, 322, 326, 390
- emphatic pronouns  
 Malto 369
- enclitic pronouns  
 Brahui 413
- English  
 impact on Dravidian languages 5
- equational sentences  
 Brahui 410
- equative sentence  
 Koṇḍa 266  
 Telugu 227, 228
- equative-ablative case  
 Old Tamil 80–1
- exclamations  
 Kolami 321
- extensive  
 Koṇḍa 259, 260
- external affiliations 37
- factive clauses  
 Modern Tamil 121  
 Old Telugu 199
- feminine 21  
 Gadaba 335  
 Gonḍi 275  
 Kannada 132, 153, 154  
 Kolami 306–7, 308, 309  
 Malto 362, 369, 370  
 Modern Tamil 105
- Old Tamil 82t
- Old Telugu 185, 186–8, 191, 196
- Tulu 165
- finite predicates 35, 36  
 Brahui 411  
 Gadaba 351, 352  
 Gonḍi 295–7  
 Kannada 147, 150–3  
 Koṇḍa 268, 269  
 Modern Tamil 119–20, 121–2  
 Proto-Dravidian 34  
 Tulu 166, 169
- finite verbs 24, 26, 32  
 Brahui 400–3, 411  
 Gadaba 338, 340–5, 351  
 Gonḍi 285–91  
 Kannada 140–2, 146, 147  
 Kolami 312–18, 322, 323  
 Koṇḍa 255–6, 267  
 Malto 373–7  
 Modern Tamil 112, 113t, 116, 118, 119  
 Old Tamil 83, 90, 93, 98  
 Old Telugu 196–8  
 Telugu 216, 218, 219–20, 229, 230, 234, 236  
 Tulu 165–6, 170, 171, 172
- flaps  
 Brahui 392t, 394  
 Gonḍi 273  
 Koṇḍa 243, 244t, 255  
 Malto 360t  
 Modern Tamil 102t  
 Old Telugu 182t  
 Telugu 206t
- fricatives  
 Brahui 391, 392t, 393, 394  
 Gadaba 328, 329t  
 Gonḍi 273  
 Kannada 130  
 Kolami 302t  
 Koṇḍa 244  
 Malto 360  
 Old Tamil 77  
 Telugu 206  
 Tulu 160t, 161
- future  
 Brahui 401t, 402–3  
 Gadaba 348

- Kannada 140, 142  
 Kolami **315–16**, 319, 321  
 Malto 374–5t, 386  
 Telugu 218, 219
- Gadaba** 4, 9, 28, 325, **328–54**  
 background and history 328  
 dialects 353–4  
 lexicon 352–3  
 morphophonology 329–32  
 nouns 20, 332–7  
 operators 349–50  
 phonology 328–32  
 syntax 35, 350–2  
 verbs 337–49
- geminates**  
 Gonḍi 272–3, 274  
 Kolami 303  
 Koṇḍa 245  
 Old Telugu 190  
 Telugu 208, 210, 219
- gender** 20  
 Brahui 394, 397  
 Gadaba 334, 335  
 Gonḍi 275, 276–7, 281, 285  
 Kannada 132  
 Kolami 306–7  
 Koṇḍa 247, 251–2, 252–3, 254  
 Malto 361–2, 369, 370  
 Modern Tamil 105, 108  
 Old Tamil 82  
 Old Telugu 184–5, 186–8, 191, 193, 194  
 Proto-Dravidian 21  
 Telugu 210  
 Tulu 163, 165
- genitive case**  
 Brahui 394, 396, 409, 413  
 Gadaba 336  
 Gonḍi 275, 277, 279, 282, 283  
 Kannada 132, 133t, 136–7, 138  
 Kolami 305, 308, 310, 311–12  
 Koṇḍa 250–1  
 Malto 363, 365, 366, 367  
 Modern Tamil 105, 106t, 107, 118  
 Old Tamil 87–8  
 Old Telugu 191, 192  
 Proto-Dravidian 20  
 Telugu 212
- Tulu 163, 164t
- gerunds**  
 Malto 382  
 Telugu 220, 234–6
- glides**  
 Brahui 392t  
 Gadaba 328, 329t  
 Kannada 130  
 Malto 360  
 Modern Tamil 103–4  
 Old Tamil 76, 77  
 Old Telugu 182t, 183  
 Proto-Dravidian 14t  
 Telugu 207  
 Tulu 161, 162
- glottals**  
 Brahui 392t, 393  
 Koṇḍa 244t  
 Malto 360t  
 Modern Tamil 102t  
 Old Telugu 182t
- Gonḍi** 3, **270–97**  
 background and history 8, 270–2  
 dialects 8, 270, 271  
 habitat and speakers 8, 270, 271  
 lexicon 27–8  
 morphology 19, 22, 23, 24, 274–84  
 phonology 14, 17, 272–4  
 script 274  
 syntax 30, 295–7  
 verbal morphology 24, 284–95
- Gotub 328
- Grantha script 45
- graphemes**  
 Old Tamil 77
- Grierson, George 3, 271, 301
- Hislop 271
- honorification**  
 Gonḍi 275–6  
 Modern Tamil 109  
 Old Telugu 193  
 Tulu 165
- hortative**  
 Brahui 402  
 Gonḍi 285t  
 Kannada 142  
 Kolami 319

- Old Telugu 198  
 Telugu 218t, 219, 222  
 Tulu 168, 169, 175
- imperative 24  
   Brahui 401t  
   Gadaba 338, 340, 344  
   Gonđi 285  
   Kannada 142  
   Kolami 312, **318**  
   Koṇḍa 256, 258  
   Malto 374, 377  
   Modern Tamil 116, 119  
   Old Tamil 83t  
   Old Telugu 184, 198  
   Telugu 218t, 219, 235  
   Tulu 168–9
- imperfective  
   Brahui 399, 401t, **405–8**  
   Gonđi 286–7, 292  
   Koṇḍa 259
- indeclinables  
   Kannada **144–5**  
   Tulu 163  
   *see also* adjectives; adverbs
- indefinite adjectives  
   Brahui 398
- indefinite articles 19  
   Brahui 394  
   Modern Tamil 109
- indefinite pronouns  
   Kannada 135  
   Modern Tamil 109, 111  
   Old Tamil 82t  
   Old Telugu 193  
   Telugu 213  
   Tamil 20
- Indic system 40  
   occlusives 42t–43t  
   vowels 41t
- indicative  
   Gonđi 285–90  
   Malto 374  
   Modern Tamil 111  
   Old Tamil 83–4
- Indo-Aryan 5, 6, 11, 15, 25, 31, 270, 323,  
   326, 409, 412
- Indus Valley 37
- infinitive 32  
   Brahui 403  
   Gadaba 338, 340, 345–6, 348–9, 351–2  
   Kannada 140, 142, 144, 148  
   Kolami 312, 318–19, 325  
   Koṇḍa 255, 257t  
   Malto 382, 383  
   Modern Tamil 112, 114, 115, 120, 126,  
     127  
   Old Tamil 85, 86, 92–3  
   Old Telugu 199  
   Telugu 217, 220, 227  
   Tulu 169
- inflection 18  
   Brahui 394, 395  
   Gadaba 331t, 332, 333–4, 338  
   Gonđi 274, 290  
   Kannada 131, 132, 138–9, 153  
   Kolami 304  
   Koṇḍa 247  
   Modern Tamil 104, 112, 117, 118  
   Old Tamil 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 87  
   Old Telugu 185, 191, 192, 193  
   Telugu 216, 219, 221, 226  
   Tulu 163, 171
- injunctive  
   Gonđi 285t
- instrumental case  
   Brahui 394  
   Kolami 310, 311  
   Malto 362, 363, 365, 367  
   Modern Tamil 105, 106t, 107–8  
   Old Telugu 191, 192  
   Telugu 213, 214
- instrumental-ablative case  
   Koṇḍa 250, 251
- instrumental-locative case  
   Gonđi 278, 279
- instrumental-sociative (comitative) case  
   Gadaba 336
- interjections  
   Koṇḍa 265  
   Telugu 236–7
- interrogative clitics  
   Gadaba 349–50  
   Kannada 145  
   Kolami 322  
   Old Tamil 86

- Telugu 226
- interrogative pronouns  
 Brahui 397  
 Gadaba 336t  
 Gonđi 279, 280t  
 Kannada 135  
 Kolami 305–6, 308, 309, 322  
 Koṇḍa 250, 252  
 Malto 368–9  
 Modern Tamil 109  
 Old Tamil 82t  
 Old Telugu 193  
 Proto-Dravidian 22, 23t  
 Tulu 165
- interrogative sentences  
 Modern Tamil 119  
 Telugu 229–30, 234–5
- intonation  
 Kannada 131  
 Modern Tamil 103
- intransitive verbs  
 Telugu 216–17, 219
- Irula 4, 6, 7, 12
- isoglosses  
 Brahui 389, 390  
 Gonđi 271  
 Kolami 326  
 Koṇḍa 241  
 North Dravidian 11  
 South Dravidian 7  
 South-Central Dravidian 8  
 Tulu 158, 175–6
- iterative compounds  
 Gadaba 353  
 Koṇḍa 260–1
- Jatapu 3
- junctures  
 Malto 360
- Kannada 2, 12, 129–56, 158, 159  
 background and history 7–8, 129–30  
 dialects 129, 130  
 diglossia 129–30  
 habitat and speakers 3, 4, 7, 129  
 lexicon 125, 153–6  
 morphology 20, 22, 23, 26, 28–9, 131–46  
 phonology and orthography 17, 130–1  
 scripts 4, 40–1, 45, 48, 49–59, 131, 162  
 syntax 34–5, 146–53
- Karnatic music 2
- kinship  
 Gonđi 275, 283, 286  
 Kannada 132  
 Kolami 308, 326  
 Koṇḍa 252, 265  
 Malto 362, 363  
 Old Telugu 186  
 Telugu 211
- Kisan 3
- Kodagu 3, 5, 7, 12, 14
- Kolami 3, 301–27  
 dialects 301, 326–7t  
 habitat and speakers 3, 9, 301  
 historical features 325–6  
 minor word classes 321–2  
 morphology 304–221  
 phonology 302–4  
 quotations 324  
 sources 301  
 special developments 325–7  
 syntax 322–4
- Koṇḍa 8, 241–69, 270, 338  
 adjectives 262–3  
 adverbs 263–4  
 background and history 241–3  
 clitics 264–5  
 dialects 8, 241–2  
 habitat and speakers 3, 8, 241  
 nouns 247–54  
 phonology 243–7  
 scripts 5  
 syntax 32, 33, 35, 265–9  
 verbs 254–62
- Kondh 3–4, 12, 20, 27
- Kota 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 13
- koṭuntamiṅ* 125, 126, 127
- Koya 3
- Krishnamurti, Bh. 37, 241
- Kūi 3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 23, 24, 25, 285, 413
- Kurux 3, 4, 5, 9, 12, 13, 359
- Kūvi 4, 8, 13, 23, 281
- labials 15, 16  
 Brahui 392t  
 Gadaba 329, 330t, 331–2

- Kannada 130t  
 Kolami 302t  
 Koṇḍa 244t  
 Malto 360t  
 Modern Tamil 102t  
 Old Tamil 77  
 Old Telugu 182, 183  
 Proto-Dravidian 14t  
 Telugu 206  
 Tulu 160t
- laterals 8  
 Brahui 391, 392t, 393  
 Gadaba 328, 329t  
 Goṇḍi 273  
 Kannada 130t  
 Kolami 302t  
 Koṇḍa 244t  
 Malto 360t  
 Modern Tamil 102t  
 Old Tamil 76, 77t  
 Old Telugu 182t, 183  
 Proto-Dravidian 14t  
 Telugu 206t, 207  
 Toda 15  
 Tulu 160t, 161
- Lehmann, Thomas 100, 112
- lexicon 25, **26–9**  
 Brahui 21, **408–9**  
 Gadaba **352–3**  
 Kannada 125, **153–6**  
 Modern Tamil **123–5**  
 Old Tamil **97–8**  
 Telugu **237–9**  
 Tulu **172–3**
- liquids 47  
 Goṇḍi 272  
 Koṇḍa 243  
 Modern Tamil 102, 103
- literature 1–2  
 Brahui 390–1  
 Modern Tamil 101  
 Old Tamil 75–6, 97  
 Old Telugu 181–2  
 Telugu 203  
 Tulu 159–60
- loan-words *see* borrowings
- locative case 20  
 Brahui 394, 395, 403
- Gadaba 336  
 Goṇḍi 278, 279  
 Kannada 132, 133t, 137, 138  
 Kolami 310, 312  
 Koṇḍa 250, 251  
 Malto 362, 363, 366, 367  
 Modern Tamil 105, 106t, 108, 109, 123, 126  
 Old Tamil 79, 80, 81  
 Old Telugu 184, 191, 192, 193  
 Telugu 213, 214–15  
 Tulu 163, 164t, 171
- Malayalam 2, 4, 6, 12, 13  
 phonology 6, 15  
 scripts 4, 6, 45, **60–6**  
 speakers 3, 4, 6
- Malto 4, 12, 13, **359–87**  
 background 359  
 compound word formation 384–5  
 dialects 9, 359, 385–7  
 habitat and speakers 3, 9, 359  
 morphology and parts of speech 23, 25, 361–83  
 phonology 360–1  
 syntax 31, 36, 383
- Maṇḍa 4, 8, 13, 23
- masculine 21  
 Gadaba 335, 344, 345  
 Goṇḍi 275, 276t  
 Kannada 132, 153  
 Kolami 306–7, 308, 309  
 Koṇḍa 247, 249, 250  
 Malto 361, 362, 369, 370  
 Modern Tamil 105  
 Old Tamil 83t  
 Old Telugu 185, 186–8, 190, 191–2, 194, 196  
 Telugu 210, 211  
 Tulu 165
- Middle Tamil 6, 75, 84, 100  
 Middle Telugu 8, 181, 182, 203
- modals  
 Kannada 144  
 Modern Tamil 111  
 Telugu 220–1
- Modern Tamil 6, 30, 75, 92–3, **100–27**  
 background and history 100–1

- dialects 6, 101, 103, 109, 114, 127  
 diglossia 6, 125–7  
 habitat and speakers 6, 100  
 lexicon 123–5  
 literature 101  
 minor parts of speech 116–17  
 nominal morphology and parts of speech  
   104–11  
 phonology and orthography 16, 101–4  
 script 103  
 syntax 94, 113, 117–23  
 verb morphology 111–16  
 Modern Telugu *see* Telugu  
 modifiers 20  
   Brahui 397  
   Gadaba 351  
   Gonđi 281  
   Kolami 304, **305–7**, 323  
   Koṇḍa 263  
   Modern Tamil 118  
   Tulu 171  
 monophthongs 14  
 mood  
   Gonđi 285, 286  
   Kannada 139, 140  
   Kolami 304  
   Malto 374  
   Modern Tamil 111, 114, 115  
   Old Telugu 184, 194  
   Telugu 216  
   Tulu 163, 165  
 morphemes  
   Gadaba 332  
   Gonđi 273  
   Kannada 132  
   Koṇḍa 243–4, 247, 253  
   Malto 361  
   Modern Tamil 103, 105  
   Old Tamil 79, 184  
   Proto-Dravidian 16, 18  
   Telugu 207, 208  
 morphology **18–26**, 32  
   Brahui **394–408**  
   Gonđi **274–95**  
   Kannada **131–46**  
   Kolami **304–22**  
   Malto **361–83**  
   Modern Tamil **104**  
   Old Tamil 20, 25, **78–86**  
   Old Telugu **184**  
   Proto-Dravidian 18, 19  
   Telugu **210–27**  
   Tulu **163–70**  
 morphophonemics  
   Gadaba **329–32**  
   Kolami **303–4**  
   Koṇḍa 245–7  
 Muria Gonđi *see* Gonđi  
*murreccam* 93  
  
 Naiki 4, 9, 37  
 Nannaya 181  
 Narayan, R.K. 2  
 nasals 47–8  
   Brahui 392t, 393  
   Gadaba 328, 329t  
   Gonđi 272, 273  
   Kannada 130  
   Kolami 302t  
   Koṇḍa 243, 244t  
   Malayalam 60t, 63  
   Malto 360  
   Modern Tamil 102t, 103, 126  
   Old Tamil 76, 77t  
   Old Telugu 182t, 183  
   Proto-Dravidian 14t, 15, 16t  
   Telugu 202, 206t, 207  
   Tulu 160t, 161, 163, 166, 175, 176  
 negation  
   Brahui 399  
   Gadaba 338, 340, 344, 346  
   Gonđi 290  
   Kannada 140, 141, 142, 147  
   Kolami 312, **317**  
   Malto 347–8, 377, 380–1  
   Modern Tamil 112, 114  
   Old Tamil 82, 84–5  
   Old Telugu 198, 200  
   Proto-Dravidian 23, 24  
   Telugu 218, 219–20, 222, 228, 230  
   Tulu 170, 172  
 neuter  
   Gadaba 335  
   Gonđi 276t  
   Kannada 132  
   Kolami 307

- Malto 362  
 Old Tamil 82t  
 Old Telugu 186, 187, 188, 191, 196  
 Tulu 165  
 nominal compounds 28  
   Old Tamil 97–8  
   Telugu 238  
 nominal predicates *see* predicate nominals  
 nominative case  
   Brahui 394  
   Gadaba 336, 337t  
   Gonđi 275, 276–7  
   Kannada 132, 133, 135, 138, 146  
   Kolami 308, 310, 312, 323  
   Koṇḍa 250, 251, 254  
   Malto 363, 365, 366, 367, 368, 383  
   Modern Tamil 104, 105, 106, 109, 118, 119, 123  
   Old Tamil 80, 89, 97  
   Old Telugu 190, 191, 192  
   Proto-Dravidian 20  
   Telugu 213, 228  
   Tulu 163, 164t, 170, 171  
 nominative-accusative case 12, 30  
   Brahui 394  
 non-finite verbs 19, 25, 32, 33  
   Brahui 403, 411  
   Gadaba 338, 345–9  
   Gonđi 291–5  
   Kannada 138, 140, 142–3, 146, 153  
   Kolami 312, **318–21**, 323  
   Koṇḍa 255–6, 259–60, 268–9  
   Malto 373, 377–82, 383  
   Modern Tamil 112–13t, 116–17, 120  
   Old Tamil 82–3, 85–6t, 87, 92, 93, 95  
   Old Telugu 196, 198–9  
   Proto-Dravidian 24, 25  
   Telugu **220**, 221  
   Tulu 165, **169–70**, 171  
 non-masculine  
   Gadaba 335, 344  
   Kolami 306  
   Koṇḍa 247, 248, 249, 250, 254  
   Malto 361, 362  
   Telugu 210, 211  
 non-past  
   Gadaba 338, 339, 340, 341, 342t, 343t, 346, 347  
   Gonđi 286–7  
   Kannada 140  
   Koṇḍa 256, 257–8  
   Malto 374, 375, 376t  
   Old Tamil 79, 84  
   Old Telugu 196, 197, 200  
   Proto-Dravidian 24  
   Telugu 218t, 219  
   Tulu 165, 167t, 168  
 North Dravidian languages **9–11**, 31, 359  
   *see also* Brahui; Malto  
 noun phrases (NP)  
   Kannada 20, 135, 138, 146  
   Kolami 304, 305  
   Koṇḍa 266–7  
   Modern Tamil 107, 118  
   Old Tamil 78, 86, 87–8, 91–2, 94, 96, 97  
   Proto-Dravidian 29  
   Telugu 213, 214–15, 225, 227, 228–9, 232, 233, 234  
   Tulu 170, 171  
 noun-verb compounds  
   Kannada 28–9  
   Koṇḍa 262  
 nouns **20–1**  
   Brahui **394–5**, 396, 398, 399, 403, 409, 413  
   Gadaba **332–7**, 346, 351, 353  
   Gonđi **274–81**, 281–2, 295  
   Kannada **132–9**, 146, 147, 148, 149, 153–4, 155  
   Kolami 9, 304, 305–6, **307–12**, 321, 322  
   Koṇḍa **247–54**, 262, 267–8  
   Malto **361–73**, 383, 384  
   Modern Tamil **104–8**, 112, 116, 117, 118, 120, 123, 124, 126  
   Old Tamil 78, **79–82**, 86, 87, 90, 96, 97  
   Old Telugu **184–94**  
   Proto-Dravidian 20  
   Telugu 209, **210–16**, 225, 234, 237–8  
   Tulu 161, **163–5**, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176  
 number  
   Brahui 394  
   Gadaba 334, 335  
   Gonđi 275, 285  
   Kannada 132  
   Kolami 304  
   Koṇḍa 247, 252, 254

- Malto 361, 362, 369  
 Modern Tamil 105  
 Old Tamil 79, 80, 83, 90  
 Old Telugu 184, 188, 193  
 Proto-Dravidian 21  
 Telugu 210  
 Tulu 163, 165
- numerals 19, 28  
 Brahui **389–9**  
 Gadaba 332, 335t  
 Gondi 281, 283  
 Kannada 133, 139  
 Kolami 305, 306–7, 322, 325  
 Koṇḍa 247, 254, 262, 263  
 Malto 28, 361, 363, 371–2  
 Modern Tamil 109  
 Old Telugu 187–8, 190  
 Telugu 210, **211–12**, 213, 225  
 Tulu 164, 171
- object–verb agreement 8, 12, 30  
 Gondi 270
- objective case  
 Gadaba 351
- obligative  
 Koṇḍa 256
- oblique case  
 Gadaba 20, 336, 337t  
 Gondi 273, 275, 277, 278  
 Kannada 133t  
 Kolami 308, 310  
 Koṇḍa 250, 251, 253–4  
 Malto 367  
 Old Telugu 189–90, 191, 192, 194  
 Telugu **212–13**
- obstruents  
 Gondi 272  
 Koṇḍa 243–4t, 245, 247, 249  
 Malto 360
- occlusives 48t  
 Indic 42t–43t  
 Kannada and Telugu 51t, 52t–53t, 56t–57t  
 Malayalam 60t, 61, 63, 64t–65t  
 Tamil 67t  
 Old Tamil 6, **75–98**, 100  
 background and history 75–6  
 lexicon 97–8  
 literature 97
- morphology and parts of speech 20, 25, 78–86  
 phonology and orthography 16, 76–8  
 special features 98  
 syntax 30, 87–97
- Old Telugu 8, **181–201**, 270  
 background and history 181–2  
 literature 181–2  
 morphology 184  
 phonology 182–4  
 script 183, 184
- optative  
 Kannada 142  
 Malto 374, 377  
 Modern Tamil 116  
 Old Tamil 83t  
 Old Telugu 198  
 Proto-Dravidian 24
- orthography  
 Kannada 130–1  
 Koṇḍa 246  
 Modern Tamil **101–4**  
 Old Tamil **76–8**  
 Telugu **209**
- Padmanabha, K. 159
- palatals  
 Gadaba 329t  
 Kannada 130t  
 Kolami 302t  
 Malto 360t  
 Modern Tamil 102t  
 Old Tamil 77t  
 Old Telugu 182t  
 Proto-Dravidian 14t, 15  
 Telugu 206t  
 Tulu 160t, 161
- palato-alveolars  
 Brahui 392
- Pallavas 2, 5
- Paniyadi, S.U. 162, 163
- Paramasivam, Kumar 111
- parataxis  
 Brahui 411  
 Kannada 146
- Parji 3, 5, 9, 35, 36, 325
- participles 19, 33  
 Brahui 403–4

- Gadaba 346–7  
 Gonđi 293  
 Modern Tamil 112  
 Old Telugu 199
- passivisation  
 Modern Tamil 123, 126
- past affirmative  
 Koṇḍa 256, 258
- past negative 26  
 Gadaba 338, 343t, 354  
 Gonđi 290  
 Kolami 312, **317**  
 Koṇḍa 256, 258
- past perfect  
 Brahui 399, 400  
 Malto 374, 376t
- past tense  
 Brahui 401t  
 Gadaba 338, 339, 340, 341t, 348  
 Kannada 139–40, 141t  
 Kolami **314**, 317, 319, 325  
 Koṇḍa 256, 257t  
 Malto 374, 375, 386  
 Modern Tamil 113  
 Modern Telugu 197  
 Old Tamil 84, 85  
 Old Telugu 196–7, 200  
 Telugu 8, 218t, 222  
 Tulu 165, 166, 167t
- Pengo 4, 5, 8, 9, 13, 23, 413
- perfect tense 26  
 Brahui 401t  
 Gadaba 347, 348  
 Modern Tamil 114  
 Pengo 9
- perfective  
 Brahui 399, 401t, **405–8**  
 Gonđi 288, 292  
 Koṇḍa 260
- perfective non-past  
 Gonđi 287–8
- perfective past  
 Gonđi 287
- periphrastic verbs  
 Kolami **320–1**  
 Modern Tamil 114
- permissive  
 Gadaba 338, 340, 343t  
 Tulu 168, 169
- personal endings 21, 30–1  
 Brahui 400  
 Gadaba 338, 344t–5, 346t, 354  
 Gonđi 274, 279, 281, 284, 285, 290, 296  
 Kolami 312, 313–18, 323  
 Koṇḍa 256, 259  
 Malto 366–7, 377, 378–81  
 Old Tamil 84  
 Old Telugu 186, 196  
 Proto-Dravidian 24, 26  
 Tulu 165, **167**, 168t
- personal names  
 Koṇḍa 265  
 Telugu 211, 226
- personal pronouns 22  
 Brahui 394, **396t–7**  
 Gadaba 335, 336t  
 Gonđi 279  
 Kannada 133t–4  
 Koṇḍa 254  
 Malto 367, 369  
 Modern Tamil 109–10t  
 Old Tamil 78, 82t  
 Proto-Dravidian 18, 21t  
 Telugu 213
- phonology  
 Brahui **391–4**  
 Gadaba **328–32**  
 Gonđi 14, 17, **272–4**  
 Kannada 17, **130–1**  
 Kolami **302–4**  
 Koṇḍa **243–7**  
 Malayalam 6, 15  
 Malto **360–1**  
 Modern Tamil 16, **101–4**  
 Old Tamil 16, **76–8**  
 Old Telugu **182–4**  
 Proto-Dravidian **13–18**  
 Telugu 17, **206–9**  
 Tulu **160–3**
- phrases  
 Gadaba 349  
 Koṇḍa 265, 266, **267**  
 Malto 370  
 Modern Tamil 113, 118  
 Old Tamil **87–9**  
 Telugu 231, 232

- pluperfect  
 Brahui 399, 400, 402t
- plural 21  
 Brahui 394–5, 396  
 Gadaba 334t–5, 344  
 Gonđi 22, 273, 275, 277  
 Kannada 132  
 Kolami 307, **309–10**, 322, 325, 326  
 Koṇḍa 247, 248–50, 251, 258  
 Malto 361, 362–3  
 Modern Tamil 22, 105, 106t, 109, 110t  
 Old Tamil 79, 80, 81  
 Old Telugu 185, 186–7, 188–9, 190, 193, 194t, 196  
 Proto-Dravidian 21, 191  
 Telugu 210, 212  
 Tulu 161, 163, 164t, 165, 168
- poetry 2  
 Old Tamil 76  
 Old Telugu 182  
 Telugu 203  
 Tulu 159
- portmanteau  
 Brahui 394  
 Malto 372  
 Old Tamil 84
- Portuguese  
 influence on Telugu 237
- postclitic pronouns  
 Brahui 390
- postpositions 20–1  
 Brahui 31, **395–6**, 409  
 Gadaba 337, 349, 350  
 Gonđi 276, 277, 278, 279, 283  
 Kannada 136, 137–8  
 Kolami 312  
 Koṇḍa 266, 268  
 Malto 367  
 Modern Tamil 108–9, 118  
 Old Tamil 79, 81, 87  
 Old Telugu 191, 192–3  
 Proto-Dravidian 20–1  
 Telugu 213–14, 215, 216, 226, 229, 233  
 Tulu 164
- predicates 31, 35  
 Brahui 410, 411  
 Gadaba 351, 352  
 Gonđi 274, 276, 281, 288–9, 295–7  
 Kannada 135, 146, 147, 150–3  
 Kolami 309, 323  
 Koṇḍa 255, 266, 268, 269  
 Malto 383  
 Modern Tamil 104, 105, 117, 118, 119–20, 121–2  
 Old Tamil 89–90, 91, 94, 95  
 Old Telugu 186–8, 191  
 Proto-Dravidian 29, 30, 34  
 Telugu 227–31, 233  
 Tulu 166, 169, 170, 172
- predictive  
 Gonđi 288–9
- prefixes  
 Brahui 399  
 Kannada 131, 153, 154, 156  
 Old Telugu 184  
 Telugu 210
- pronominal modifiers  
 Kolami 304, **305–7**
- prepositions  
 Brahui 21, **395–6**  
 Modern Tamil 118  
 Proto-Dravidian 31
- present perfect tense  
 Tulu 167t, 168
- present tense  
 Brahui 399, 400, 401t  
 Gadaba 340  
 Kannada 140  
 Malto 374, 375t  
 Modern Tamil 113t  
 Old Tamil 84  
 Old Telugu 199  
 Telugu 219
- present-future tense  
 Gadaba 339  
 Kolami **315**, 320  
 Tulu 165
- progressive  
 Gadaba 338, 340, 341, 342t
- prohibitive  
 Kolami 312, **318**, 322  
 Koṇḍa 256, 258  
 Tulu 168
- pronominal suffixes  
 Koṇḍa 262  
 Old Tamil 80, 82, 85t, 88

- Old Telugu 19, 195t  
 pronouns **21t–3**, 27  
   Brahui 390, **396–7**, 399, 412, **413**  
   Gadaba 332, 335–6t  
   Gondi 277, **279–81**, 283  
   Kannada 22, **133–5**, 146, 155  
   Kolami 305–6, **308–9t**, 311, 312, 325–6  
   Koṇḍa 247, 250, 252, 254, 266  
   Malto 361, **362–3**, 367–9  
   Modern Tamil 109, 125  
   Old Tamil 82  
   Old Telugu 185, 187, 191, **193–4t**, 196  
   Proto-Dravidian 21t–2, 23t, 35  
   Tamil 22  
   Telugu **210–11**, 213, 233, 234  
   Tulu 164–5, 176
- proper names  
   Gadaba 332  
   Malto 370
- prosodies  
   Malto **360–1**
- prospective  
   Tulu 168, 169
- Proto-Dravidian 191  
   lexicon 26–9  
   morphology 18–26  
   phonology 13–18  
   syntax 29–37
- proximal pronouns 22, 23t  
   Gondi 279, 280t, 281  
   Kannada 134  
   Old Tamil 82  
   Tulu 165
- Pure Tamil Movement 123
- purposive case  
   Old Telugu 191, 193  
   Telugu 214
- quantifiers 20  
   Brahui **398**  
   Kannada 132, 135, 146  
   Malto 361  
   Modern Tamil 104, 118, 121, 124
- questions  
   Brahui 410  
   Gadaba 349  
   Kannada 145, 152  
   Koṇḍa 264
- Modern Tamil 119  
 Old Tamil 91  
 Telugu 227, 229, 230  
 Tulu 171, 172
- quotations  
   Kolami **324**
- Rama, M. 168  
 Ramanujan, A.K. 2  
 Ramasamy, K. 94  
 Rao, G. Sambasiva 18, 160, 173
- reduplicated compounds 28  
   Kannada 155, 156  
   Kolami 321, 322  
   Modern Tamil 124, 125
- reflexive compounds  
   Koṇḍa 262
- reflexive pronouns 27  
   Brahui **397**  
   Gadaba 335, 336t  
   Kannada 134t  
   Malto 369  
   Modern Tamil 107, 109  
   Old Telugu 193, 194  
   Proto-Dravidian 22  
   Telugu 217  
   Tulu 163
- reflexive-continuative  
   Tulu 166
- relative clauses  
   Brahui 412  
   Kannada 134, 143, 149, 151  
   Koṇḍa 267–8  
   Malto 378  
   Modern Tamil 112, 121, 122, 123  
   Old Tamil 93  
   Old Telugu 199  
   Telugu 233, 234  
   Tulu 171
- relative participles 33  
   Gadaba 346  
   *see also* adnominal forms
- resultative  
   Koṇḍa 259–60
- retroflexes  
   Brahui 392t, 393–4  
   Gadaba 329t  
   Kannada 130t

- Kolami 302t  
 Koṇḍa 244t, 246  
 Malto 360t, 361  
 Modern Tamil 102t, 103  
 Old Tamil 76, 77t, 78  
 Old Telugu 183t  
 Proto-Dravidian 14t, 15, 16–17  
 Telugu 206t  
 Tulu 160t, 161, 174
- roots, nominal  
   Gadaba 332–3  
   Gonḍi 273, 274  
   Kannada 132  
   Koṇḍa 247, 251, 252, 253  
   Malto 361, 369
- roots, verbal  
   Gadaba 337  
   Gonḍi 284, 285  
   Kannada 139, 140  
   Koṇḍa 254–5  
   Malto 373  
   Telugu 217
- sandhi  
   Gadaba 332, 334  
   Kolami 319  
   Koṇḍa 245–6  
   Telugu 207–9
- scrambling  
   Modern Tamil 123  
   Old Tamil 97
- scripts 4–5, **40–70**  
   Brahui 5, 390–1  
   general characteristics 45–9  
   Gonḍi 274  
   historical background 40–5  
   Kannada 4, 40–1, 45, 48, 49–59, 131, 162  
   Malayalam 4, 6, 45, 60–6  
   Modern Tamil 103  
   Old Telugu 183, 184  
   Tamil 4, 6, 45, 46, 48–9, 67–70, 78  
   Telugu 4, 40, 45, 49–59, 209  
   Tulu 4, 5, 7, 162–3
- Semitic writing systems 40
- sentences 19, **29–37**  
   Brahui 409–13  
   Gadaba 345, 350–2
- Gonḍi 289, 295–7  
   Kannada 145, 146–53, 156  
   Kolami 320, 322–4  
   Koṇḍa 265–9  
   Modern Tamil 104, 112, 118–23  
   Old Tamil **89–97**  
   Old Telugu 196  
   Proto-Dravidian 29, 30, 31, 33–4, 35  
   Telugu 227–36, 239  
   Tulu 165–6, 169, 170–2
- sibilants 48t  
   Brahui 392  
   Telugu 206, 208, 237
- simple sentences **29–31**  
   Brahui 410–11  
   Gadaba 351  
   Kannada 146–7  
   Koṇḍa 266  
   Modern Tamil 118–20  
   Old Tamil **89–92**  
   Telugu 227, 229  
   Tulu 170–1
- simultaneous conjunctives  
   Kannada 147  
   Koṇḍa 259, 260  
   Old Telugu 198, 199  
   Tulu 172
- singular 24  
   Gadaba 334, 344  
   Gonḍi 275  
   Koṇḍa 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 258  
   Malto 361, 362  
   Modern Tamil 105, 106t  
   Old Telugu 184, 185, 186–7, 188, 196  
   Telugu 210, 211  
   Tulu 164t, 165, 168
- sociative case  
   Brahui 394  
   Modern Tamil 105, 106t, 107  
   Old Telugu 191, 192  
   Telugu 214  
   Tulu 163, 164t, 171
- sonorants 48t  
   Kannada 132, 133t, 137  
   Koṇḍa 243–4t, 245, 247
- South-Central Dravidian languages **8–9**, 12, 13, 16  
   *see also* Gonḍi; Koṇḍa; Modern Telugu;

- Telugu
- South Dravidian languages 6–8, 11, 12, 13  
*see also* Kannada; Modern Tamil; Old Tamil; Tulu
- South-Indian scripts 45, 47
- spirants
- Brahui 392t
  - Koṇḍa 243
  - Old Telugu 182t, 183
- Sridhar, S.N. 129, 131
- Steever, Sanford 258
- stems xv, 9, 23, 24
- Gadaba 329, 330t, 331t–2
  - Gonḍi 273, 284–5
  - Kannada 132, 139, 140
  - Kolami 9, 304, 307–8, 313, 319
  - Koṇḍa 247, 249, 250, 251–2, 253, 254–5, 262
  - Malto 369, 373
  - Modern Tamil 111–12
  - Old Tamil 77–8, 79, 98
  - Old Telugu 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 194, 196
  - Telugu 210, 212–13, 217, 219, 220, 222–4
  - Tulu 162, 166, 167
- stops 12
- Brahui 391, 392t, 393, 394
  - Gadaba 328, 329t
  - Gonḍi 272, 273
  - Kannada 130t, 131
  - Kolami 302t–3, 304
  - Koṇḍa 242, 243, 244t
  - Malayalam 6, 12, 15, 60t
  - Malto 360t
  - Modern Tamil 102t, 103
  - Old Tamil 76, 77t
  - Old Telugu 182t, 183
  - Proto-Dravidian 14t, 15, 16t
  - script 48, 49, 61, 67
  - Telugu 206t, 207, 208
  - Tulu 160t, 161, 163, 174
- stress 18
- Brahui 391, 394, 400
  - Gonḍi 274
  - Kannada 131
  - Koṇḍa 243, 244–5
  - Modern Tamil 103
- subject–object agreement 24
- subject–verb agreement 8, 24
- Gadaba 340
  - Kannada 140
  - Malayalam 6
  - Malto 374
  - Modern Tamil 107, 112
  - Old Tamil 82, 83–4, 93
- subjunctive
- Gonḍi 289–90
  - Malto 374, 376–7t
- subordination
- Brahui 409, 410, 411–12
  - Gonḍi 288, 291, 296
  - Kannada 147, 148, 149
  - Kolami 323
  - Koṇḍa 260, 261, 267–8, 269
  - Modern Tamil 117, 120
  - Pro-Dravidian 31, 32, 33
  - Telugu 220, 232, 234
  - Tulu 172
- Subrahmanyam, P.S. 26, 160, 173, 271, 301
- suffixes 19, 23–4
- Brahui 392, 394, 395, 398, 399, 400, 413
  - Gadaba 329–31, 332, 333–5, 336, 337t, 338, 339–41, 343–4, 345–6, 349, 352
  - Gonḍi 273, 274, 275t–76t, 278, 284, 285
  - Kannada 132, 139, 142, 153–5
  - Kolami 307–8, 309, 310–11, 313, 315–16, 318–20, 325
  - Koṇḍa 247, 251, 252, 254–5, 256–7, 258–9, 262, 263, 264
  - Malto 362, 370, 373–4, 378, 379, 383, 384
  - Middle Tamil 75
  - Modern Tamil 104, 105, 111
  - Old Tamil 77, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85t–6, 97
  - Old Telugu 184, 185–7, 189, 190, 192, 194–5, 198–9
  - Telugu 210, 211, 214, 216, 221–2, 223–4, 228, 238
  - Tulu 161–2, 163–4, 165, 166–9, 169–70, 171, 172–3, 174–5, 176
- suprasegmentals
- Modern Tamil 104
- surnames
- Telugu 226

- syllables 46  
   Gadaba 329, 353  
   Gondi 17, 272, 273  
   Kannada 17, 131  
   Kolami 303  
   Koṇḍa 242, 243, 244–5  
   Malto 361, 373  
   Modern Tamil 103  
   Old Tamil 77  
   Proto-Dravidian 13, 17t–18  
   Telugu 17, 181, 207, 208, 209  
 syntax **29–37**  
   Brahui 31, **409–13**  
   Gadaba 35, **350–2**  
   Gondi 30, **295–7**  
   Kannada 34–5, **146–53**  
   Kolami **322–4**  
   Koṇḍa 32, 33, 35, **265–9**  
   Malto 31, 36, **383**  
   Modern Tamil 94, 113, **117–23**  
   Old Tamil 30, **87–97**  
   Telugu **227–37**  
   Tulu **170–2**
- Tamil 2, 4, 5, 12, 13, 28, 37  
   morphology 22, 24, 25  
   phonology 14  
   script 4, 6, 45, 46, 48–9, 67–70, 78  
   speakers and habitat 3, 4, 6  
   syntax 30, 31, 32, 33, 35  
   *see also* Modern Tamil; Old Tamil
- taps  
   Malto 360  
   Proto-Dravidian 14t
- Telugu 2, **202–39**, 270  
   background and history 8, 181, 202–6  
   borrowings 206, 207, 237–8  
   dialects and standard language 8, 37, 203–6  
   lexicon 237–9  
   morphology 210–27  
   phonology and orthography 17, 206–9  
   script 4, 40, 45, 49–59, 209  
   speakers and habitat 3, 4, 202  
   syntax 227–37
- tense 25  
   Brahui 399–400  
   Gadaba 338, 339–43, 348
- Gondi 274, 284, 285, 286, 287–8  
 Kannada 139, 140, 142  
 Kolami 304, 312, 314–16, 317  
 Koṇḍa 254, 259  
 Malto 374–5  
 Middle Tamil 84  
 Modern Tamil 112, 114, 115, 121  
 Old Tamil 82, 83–4, 93  
 Old Telugu 184, 194, 196–7, 199, 200–1  
 Proto-Dravidian 23, 24  
 Telugu 216, 218t, 219  
 Tulu 163, 165, **166–67t**, 168, 169, 172
- Thomasaiah, K. 301  
 Toda 3, 4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15  
 transitive verbs 12  
   Gondi 284  
   Telugu 214, 216, 217, 219, 231
- transitive-causative suffixes  
   Kolami **313**  
   Koṇḍa 254–5
- trills 70  
   Gadaba 328, 329t  
   Gondi 273  
   Kolami 302t  
   Koṇḍa 243, 244t, 255  
   Malayalam script 63  
   Malto 360t  
   Old Telugu 182t, 183  
   Tamil script 70  
   Telugu 206t, 207  
   Tulu 160t, 161
- Tulu 7, 12, **158–76**, 325  
   background and history 158–60  
   dialects 158–9, 161, 165, 166, 167, 173, **173–6**  
   lexicon 172–3  
   morphology and parts of speech 23, 163–70  
   phonology 160–3  
   relation with other Dravidian languages 173  
   script 4, 5, 7, 162–3  
   speakers and habitat 3, 5, 158  
   special features 173–6  
   syntax 170–2
- Tyler, Stephen A. 271
- Upadhyaya, U.P. 163

- velars  
   Brahui 392t  
   Gadaba 329t  
   Kannada 130t  
   Kolami 302t  
   Koṇḍa 244t  
   Malto 360t  
   Modern Tamil 102t  
   Old Tamil 77t  
   Old Telugu 182t, 183t  
   Proto-Dravidian 14t  
   Telugu 206t  
   Tulu 160t
- verbal nouns  
   Brahui 395, 403, 404  
   Gadaba 348  
   Gonḍi 294  
   Kannada 142, 145, 149  
   Koṇḍa 255  
   Malto 379  
   Modern Tamil 121  
   Old Tamil 86, 98  
   Old Telugu 199  
   Telugu 233  
   Tulu 169, 171, 172
- verbal phrases  
   Koṇḍa 266, 267  
   Telugu 229, 231
- verbal predicates  
   Brahui 410  
   Koṇḍa 266  
   Telugu **229–31**  
   Tulu 170, 172
- verbs **23–6**, 28, 32, 36  
   Brahui **399–405**, 407, 408, 409, 411  
   Gadaba **337–49**, 351, 352–3, 354  
   Gonḍi 270, 273, 274, **284–95**  
   Kannada 28, 131, **139–44**, 146, 147,  
     148, 150–1, 154–5  
   Kolami 304, **312–21**, 322, 323  
   Koṇḍa **254–62**, 268–9  
   Malto **373–83**, 384–5, 386  
   Modern Tamil 104, 105, 106–7, **111–16**,  
     117, 118, 119–20, 121–2, 124, 125,  
     126–7  
   Old Tamil 78, 79, **82–6**, 87, 88–9, 90, 91,  
     92, 93, 95–6, 97, 98  
   Old Telugu 184, 191, **194–201**  
     Proto-Dravidian 12, 19, 24, 25, 26, 34  
     Telugu 209, 210, 214, **216–24**, 229, 230,  
       231, 232, 234, 236, 238  
     Tulu 23, 161, 163, **165–9**, 171, 172
- virāma* 61
- visarga* 48
- vocative case  
   Gonḍi 275  
   Kannada 132  
   Kolami 323  
   Koṇḍa 265  
   Modern Tamil 108  
   Telugu 236–7  
   Tulu 164
- voicing 15, 48t, 112  
   Gadaba 332  
   Gonḍi 273  
   Koṇḍa 243, 244, 245, 247  
   Malayalam 63  
   Malto 385  
   Modern Tamil 114  
   Proto-Dravidian 15  
   Telugu **216–19**  
   Tulu 174, 175
- vowel symbols 45–6, 47  
   Kannada 49  
   Malayalam 60t  
   Modern Tamil 103  
   Tamil 67t, 68t–69t, 70  
   Telugu 49
- vowels xv, 8, 9, 22, 47t  
   Brahui 391–2, 394, 400  
   Gadaba 328–9t, 331, 332, 334, 336, 338,  
     351, 354  
   Gonḍi 14, 272–4  
   Indic system 41t  
   Kannada 50t, 130–1, 140  
   Kodagu 14  
   Kolami 302t, 303, 304, 326  
   Koṇḍa 243–4t, 244–5, 247–8  
   Malto 360, 367, 385  
   Modern Tamil 101–2t, 103  
   Old Tamil 76, 77t, 78, 81, 84  
   Old Telugu 182t, 183, 188, 190  
   Proto-Dravidian 13t–14, 17, 21, 27  
   Telugu 50t, 202, 206t–7, 207–8, 209,  
     210, 213, 223, 231, 232, 235  
   Toda 14

- Tulu 160t–1, 162, 163, 164, 170, 174,  
175, 176
- word order 30, 36
  - Brahui 409, 412
  - Gadaba 350
  - Gondi 295
  - Kannada 146
  - Kolami 322–3
  - Malto 383
  - Modern Tamil 117–18, 119
  - Old Tamil 91–2
  - Old Telugu 184
  - Proto-Dravidian 31
  - Telugu 229
  - Tulu 171
- writing systems *see* scripts
- zero allomorph
  - Tulu 166, 168
- zero morph
  - Gadaba 331, 332
  - Old Tamil 85
- Zvelebil, Kamil 7, 16