

muur saavira '3,000' *erD lakSa* '2,00,000'
ayd kooTi '5,00,00,000'

Combinations of numerals are made by adding in the order as given in the examples below. When *saavira* '1,000' is combined with other numerals, it occurs in the oblique form *saavird*.

muuvatt-aydu '35' *innuur-aaru* '206'
eppatt-naalku '74' *eNTnuur-ayvatt-aydu* '855'
saavird-omb(h)aynuur-eppatt-omb(h)attu '1979'
saavird-omb(h)aynuur-emb(h)att-naalku '1984'

2.7.2. Ordinal numerals. Ordinal numerals are formed by adding *-anee* to the cardinal numerals (see 2.7.1).

ondnee 'first' *muuvatt-aydnee* 'thirty-fifth'
eraDnee 'second' *nuurnee* 'hundredth'
aydnee 'fifth' *saavirdnee* 'thousandth'

ondnee has an alternate form *modalnee* 'first'.

The interrogative pro-form *eSTu* 'how much' (see 2.5.2) can also take the ordinal marker *-anee*.

eSTanee 'how many-eth'
niiv iNDyak band id eSTnee varSa? 'how many years have you
 been in India? (this is the how many-eth year since you came
 to India?)'

3

THE VERB PHRASE

This chapter deals with simple forms of the verb and verb phrase that in a traditional grammar would be considered part of the paradigms (principal parts) of the verb, or in a generative grammar would be generated in the base component or phrase structure of the grammar. More complex forms and constructions are discussed under syntax (see chapter four).

Kannada verbs occur in two forms—finite or nonfinite. Finite verbs can have nothing added to them; and since verbs are usually found in the last position in the sentence (subject-object-verb), a finite verb effectively ends the sentence, with the exception of clitics (see 4.11) or reportives (see 4.5.1), which may follow. Nonfinite verbs, in contrast, cannot stand alone, and must have some other form following them.

Some of the finite forms of the verb are imperatives, present and past forms marked with PNG, modals, and verbal/participial nouns (see 3.5.8). Nonfinite forms include infinitives, verbal and adjectival participles, and tense-marked verb stems.

3.1. Verb stems. Kannada verbs are not listed in a dictionary as infinitives like they are in many western languages; rather, they are entered as singular nonpolite imperatives (see 3.3), which in most

cases are identical to verb stems, with the addition of an enunciative *u* if the stem ends in a consonant. (Exceptions to this are *baa* 'come', *taa* 'give', and *koo* 'reflexive', which have the irregular stems *bar-*, *tar-*, and *koLL-* respectively.) The verb stem is a nonfinite form to which present tense markers, infinitive markers, and several other grammatical forms are added.

3.1.1. Past verb stems. In addition to simple verb stems, Kannada also has past verb stems that are used in forming the past tense, past participles, conditionals, and some other constructions. Past stems also form the base to which contingent PNG markers are added.

Past verb stems are not regular overall, but the majority are formed by adding the past marker *-id-* (see 3.4.3) to the verb stem. (The *d* of these past stems is deleted in several constructions; see rules for individual constructions.) Those past stems not formed with *-id-* are formed in various semiregular or irregular ways (see 3.4.3.1-8). These forms may be found in a Kannada-English dictionary (e.g., Ziegler 1929).

3.2. The infinitive. The infinitive is a nonfinite form of the verb that occurs together with other verbs, auxiliary verbs (modals), negative morphemes, and some other forms. In Kannada there are really two kinds of infinitives, both added to the verb stem. One is basically stem + *-al*, and the other is stem + *-okke*.¹

The infinitive using *-al* is a historically older form, and is called the second infinitive in LK (Kittel 1903:122). Before consonants, the *l* of *-al* is usually deleted even in LK, and the *a* may also be removed in SK by the rule of short vowel deletion (see 1.3.6).

bar- 'come' + *-al* + *beeku* 'must' → *bar-beeku* 'must come'
(see 3.6.1)

bar- 'come' + *-al* + *-i* 'optative' → *barli* 'let (someone) come'
(see 3.3.2)

bar- 'come' + *-al* + *illa* 'negative' → *barlilla* 'didn't come'
nūiv ii pustak oodl-ee beeku 'you must definitely read this book'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 6 5 4 2 3
(Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy 1972:142)

Infinitives formed with *-okke* are used, among other things, to express purpose.

naan sinimaa nooDok(ke) uurg hoogtiini 'I am going to town
1 2 3 4/5 6 1 6 5 4
to see a movie'
3 2

3.3. The imperative. Kannada verbs exhibit a number of forms that express commands or exhortations. These can have various degrees of politeness and deference, and their use is dependent on a judgment of the relative social status of the person to whom one is speaking. The simplest form is the so-called nonpolite, or singular, imperative. In most cases this form (which is the verb form listed in a dictionary) is exactly the same as the verb stem, with an enunciative *u* added if the stem ends in a consonant.

Besides the simple nonpolite imperative (e.g., *hoogu* 'go!'), there is also what might be called an impolite or casual form consisting of the verb stem + *-oo* or *-ee*, for male or female addressees respectively (e.g., *hoogoo/hoogee* 'go on, get along with you!'). This form is used only with small children, or between good friends; otherwise its use is demeaning and insulting.

The plural form, which also functions as a singular polite form, consists of a verb stem + *-i* (e.g., *hoogi* '[you, pl.] go!', 'please go'). There is an even more polite form consisting of verb stem + *-ri*² (e.g., *hoogri* 'please be so kind as to go'). Finally, to add an additional degree of politeness, the reflexive pronoun *taavu* (see 2.5) may be used with the verb stem + *-ri* (e.g., *taavu hoogri* 'please be so kind as to go').

When the verb stem ends in *i*, the bare stem serves as the nonpolite or singular imperative. For plural (or polite) and very polite forms, verb stem + *-ri* is used. The final *i* of the stem may sometimes be lengthened before *-ri*, as in *kuDiiri* 'please be so kind as to drink' (McCormack 1966:22; Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy 1972:154).

Stems that end in *o* have a second stem in *-L(L)* before *-oo*, *-ee*, *-i* or *-ri*. Such *-o* stems all involve incorporation of the reflexive aspect marker *koo* (see 3.8.8) into the stem.

Examples of imperatives are given below, in ascending order of politeness.

| Degree of Politeness | i- Stems | o- Stems | Other Stems |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| | <i>kuDi</i> 'drink' | <i>togo</i> 'take' | <i>hoog</i> 'go' |
| Impolite, casual | <i>kuDyoo</i> (masc.) | <i>togoLLoo</i> (masc.) | <i>hoogoo</i> (masc.) |
| | <i>kuDyee</i> (fem.) | <i>togoLLee</i> (fem.) | <i>hoogee</i> (fem.) |
| Nonpolite | <i>kuDi</i> | <i>togo</i> | <i>hoog</i> |
| Polite, plural | <i>kuDiiri</i> | <i>togo</i> { $\frac{o}{L}$ } <i>Li</i> | <i>hoogi</i> |
| Very polite | <i>kuDiiri</i> | <i>togoLri</i> | <i>hoogri</i> |
| Ultrapolite | <i>taavu kuDiiri</i> | <i>taavu togoLri</i> | <i>taavu hoogri</i> |

The irregular verbs *baa* 'come' and *taa* 'give', with stems *bar-* and *tar-* respectively, have regular (dictionary entry) nonpolite forms; however, the impolite imperatives (stem + *-oo/-ee*) and the polite forms are irregular.

| Degree of Politeness | <i>baa</i> (<i>bar-</i>) 'come' | <i>taa</i> (<i>tar-</i>) 'give' |
|----------------------|---|---|
| Impolite, casual | <i>baaroo</i> (masc.) <i>baaree</i> (fem.) | <i>taaroo</i> (masc.) <i>taaree</i> (fem.) |
| Nonpolite | <i>baa</i> | <i>taa</i> |
| Polite, plural | <i>banni</i> | <i>tanni</i> |
| Very polite | <i>banri</i> | <i>tanri</i> |
| Ultrapolite | <i>taavu banri</i> | <i>taavu tanri</i> |

kriSNa, nii beegane baaroo 'Krishna, come quickly!' (This is a line from a song in Carnatic music, sung to the child Krishna.)

3.3.1. Negative imperative. Kannada also has forms for commanding someone not to do something. One of these is formed by adding *baaradu* (historically a form of *baa/bar-* 'come') to an infinitive with *-al* (see 3.2). However, deletion of the *l* before a consonant, and *a* by short vowel deletion, leave no trace of the *-al* form in SK, except in emphatic prohibitives.

hoog- + -al + baaradu → *hooga + baaradu* → *hoog baardu* 'don't go!'
hoog- + -al + -ee 'emphatic' + *baaradu* → *hooglee baardu*
 'definitely don't go!'

Other ways of indicating negative imperatives are to use *beeDa* (plural *beeDi*), the negative of the modal *beeku* 'want, need, must, should' (see 3.6.1.4), or the negative modal *kuuDadu* 'must not' (see

3.6.2). These are also attached to an infinitive that has had *l* then *a* deleted, as with *baaradu* above. As with other imperatives, the plural negative often functions as a polite form.

bar beeDa '(I) don't (want you to) come!'

maaD beeDi '(I) don't (want you [pl., polite] to) do (something)!'

hoog kuuDdu '(one) must not go!'

3.3.2. Optative. There is a form in Kannada, sometimes called optative, that is used with first or third persons and is considered by some to be a sort of imperative (but see 3.6.5). It is formed by adding *-i* to the infinitive, and it often translates into English as 'let (someone do something)'.

avanu bar- + -al + -i → *avan barli* 'let him come'

When this form is found in questions, it is often closer in meaning to English 'shall, should, may'.

avn yaavaag barli? 'when shall/should/may he come?'

naan allig hoogl-aa? 'should I go there?'

3.3.3. Hortative. Kannada has a form, called hortative by some, that is sometimes considered to be a kind of imperative (Biligiri 1959:81; but see 3.6.6). It is formed by adding *-ooNa* to the verb stem, and it can be translated either as 'let's (do something)' or, especially in the interrogative, as 'shall we (do something)?'.

bar-ooNa 'let's come'

elligaadruu hoog-ooNa 'let's go somewhere'

een maaD-ooNa? 'what shall we do?'

uurg hoog-ooN-vaa? 'shall we go to town?'

3.4. Verbs marked with tense and PNG. Verbs marked with PNG suffixes are always marked for tense (with the exception of some archaic forms left from OK; see Ramanujan 1963:233) and are finite verbs; but verbs can be marked for tense without PNG markers, in which case they are nonfinite verbs (e.g., past verb stems; see 3.1.1).

Verbs marked for tense and PNG have the following structure: verb stem (see 3.1, 3.1.1) + tense marker (see 3.4.2-3) + PNG marker (see 3.4.1).

| Verb Stem | Tense Marker | | | | PNG Marker | | |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------------|---|---------------|------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| <i>hoog-</i> 'go' | + | <i>-tt-</i> 'pres-ent' | + | <i>-iini</i> | 'first singular' | → | <i>hoogtiini</i> 'I go' |
| <i>maaD-</i> 'do' | + | <i>-id-</i> 'past' | + | <i>-(a)ru</i> | 'second plural' | → | <i>maaDdru</i> 'he did (some-thing)' |
| <i>bar-</i> 'come' | + | <i>-nd-</i> 'past' | + | <i>-e(nu)</i> | 'first singular' | → | <i>bande</i> 'I came' |

As may be obvious from these examples, not all verbs have the same past tense marker. *maaDu* 'do' has the marker *-id-*, while *baa* (stem *bar-*) 'come' has *-nd-* (*r* → *n* before *d*). Also, Kannada has different sets of PNG markers for different tenses; for example, first person singular is *-iini* in the present tense, and *-e(nu)* in the past. In addition, the verb *iru* 'be (located)' is irregular in respect both to tense and PNG markers. These and other complexities are discussed below.

3.4.1. Person-Number-Gender markers. In Kannada finite verbs, PNG markers are added to verbs to indicate agreement between the subject and the verb (see 4.0.1.1). These PNG markers differ according to the tense of the verb they mark. Those used in the present tense are quite different from those used in the contingent, and the past tense forms differ from both present and contingent.

In LK, the PNG markers differ mainly in the length of the vowel, and sometimes in the final vowel (e.g., first singular is *-eene* in the present, and *-enu* in the past); but in SK more complicated changes occur. LK also has a third person plural neuter form (*avu* 'those [things]') with which verbs must agree, but this form does not occur in all SK dialects.³

3.4.1.1. Present tense PNG markers. The forms of the PNG markers that occur with the present tense are given below.

| PNG | Pronoun | Present PNG Marker | Example: | <i>baa/bar-</i> 'come' |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| First singular | (<i>naanu</i>) | <i>-iini</i> | <i>bartiini</i> | 'I come' |
| Second singular | (<i>niinu</i>) | <i>-ii(ya)</i> | <i>bartii(ya)</i> | 'you come' |
| Third singular | | | | |
| masculine | (<i>avanu</i>) | <i>-aane</i> | <i>bartaane</i> | 'he comes' |
| feminine | (<i>avaLu</i>) | <i>-aaLe</i> | <i>bartaaLe</i> | 'she comes' |
| neuter | (<i>adu</i>) | <i>-atte</i> | <i>baratte</i> | 'it comes' |
| First plural | (<i>naavu</i>) | <i>-iivi</i> | <i>bartiivi</i> | 'we come' |
| Second plural | | | | |
| polite | (<i>niivu</i>) | <i>-iiri</i> | <i>bartiiri</i> | 'you come' |
| Third plural | | | | |
| polite | (<i>avaru</i>) | <i>-aare</i> | <i>bartaare</i> | 'they/he/she come(s)' |
| neuter | (<i>avu</i>) | <i>-ave</i> | <i>barutve</i> | 'they come' |

Since the neuter singular form *-atte* incorporates the present tense marker *-tt-* (*-tt-* + *-ade* → *-atte*), it is attached directly to the verb stem. Some speakers, however, use *-ade* (with the tense marker) instead of *-atte* (e.g., *bartade*), but this is considered less prestigious.

3.4.1.2. PNG markers of *iru* 'be (located)'. Most dialects of SK no longer have a regular future tense, although LK does (with a tense marker *-v-*). The verb *iru* 'be (located)' is the only verb having both present and future/habitual tenses. Both of these tenses use the PNG markers of the present (see 3.4.1.1), which are attached to the stem *idd-* in the present, and to *irt-* in the future/habitual. The future/habitual may mean 'will be' or 'be (always)'.

| PNG | Pronoun | Present | Future/Habitual |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| First singular | (<i>naanu</i>) | <i>iddiini</i> | <i>irtiini</i> |
| Second singular | (<i>niinu</i>) | <i>iddii(ya)</i> | <i>irtii(ya)</i> |
| Third singular | | | |
| masculine | (<i>avanu</i>) | <i>iddaane</i> | <i>irtaane</i> |
| feminine | (<i>avaLu</i>) | <i>iddaaLe</i> | <i>irtaaLe</i> |
| neuter | (<i>adu</i>) | <i>ide</i> | <i>irate</i> |
| First plural | (<i>naavu</i>) | <i>iddiivi</i> | <i>irtiivi</i> |
| Second plural | | | |
| polite | (<i>niivu</i>) | <i>iddiiri</i> | <i>irtiiri</i> |
| Third plural | | | |
| polite | (<i>avaru</i>) | <i>iddaare</i> | <i>irtaare</i> |
| neuter | (<i>avu</i>) | <i>ive</i> † | <i>irutve</i> † |

Note the irregular forms for the third singular and plural neuter.

3.4.1.3. Contingent PNG markers. The contingent is a form of the verb that translates as English 'might (do something)'. It has PNG markers attached to the past stem that are similar to SK past tense PNG markers, but with long vowels. (While given below, second person contingent forms are rarely used, except in warnings.)

| PNG | Pronoun | Contingent PNG Marker | Example: <i>baa</i> 'come' |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| First singular | (<i>naanu</i>) | - <i>eenu</i> | <i>bandeenu</i> 'I might come' |
| Second singular | (<i>niinu</i>) | - <i>iie</i> | <i>bandiie</i> 'you might come' |
| Third singular | | | |
| masculine | (<i>avanu</i>) | - <i>aanu</i> | <i>bandaanu</i> 'he might come' |
| feminine | (<i>avaLu</i>) | - <i>aaLu</i> | <i>bandaaLu</i> 'she might come' |
| neuter | (<i>adu</i>) | - <i>iitu</i> | <i>bandiitu</i> 'it might come' |
| First plural | (<i>naavu</i>) | - <i>eevu</i> | <i>bandeevu</i> 'we might come' |
| Second plural | | | |
| polite | (<i>niivu</i>) | - <i>iiri</i> | <i>bandiiri</i> 'you might come' |
| Third plural | | | |
| polite | (<i>avaru</i>) | - <i>aaru</i> | <i>bandaaru</i> 'they might come' |
| neuter | (<i>avu</i>) | - <i>aavu</i> | <i>bandaavu</i> 'they might come' |

3.4.1.4. Past tense PNG markers. The past tense PNG markers, attached to the past stem of the verb, are given below.

| PNG | Pronoun | Past PNG Marker | Example: <i>baa</i> 'come' |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|--|
| First singular | (<i>naanu</i>) | - <i>e(nu)</i> | <i>bande</i> 'I came' |
| Second singular | (<i>niinu</i>) | - <i>e ~ -i</i> | <i>bande/</i> <i>bandi</i> 'you came' |
| Third singular | | | |
| masculine | (<i>avanu</i>) | - <i>a(nu)</i> | <i>banda</i> 'he came' |
| feminine | (<i>avaLu</i>) | - <i>(a)Lu</i> | <i>bandlu</i> 'she came' |
| neuter | (<i>adu</i>) | - <i>(i)tu</i> | <i>bantu</i> 'it came' |
| First plural | (<i>naavu</i>) | - <i>(e)vu</i> | <i>bandvu</i> 'we came' |
| Second plural | | | |
| polite | (<i>niivu</i>) | - <i>(i)ri</i> | <i>bandri</i> 'you came' |
| Third plural | | | |
| polite | (<i>avaru</i>) | - <i>(a)ru</i> | <i>bandru</i> 'they/he/she came' |
| neuter | (<i>avu</i>) | - <i>(a)vu</i> | <i>bandvu</i> 'they came' |

As noted above, the past PNG markers have short vowels where the contingent PNG markers have long vowels; and these short forms are reduced even further by vowel truncation rules. In the singular of first and third masculine, the final consonant as well as the enunciative *u* tend to be deleted, leaving only the first vowel of the marker. However, when further suffixes are added, consonant deletion does not take place; instead, both vowels tend to delete. Thus, while in the past declarative the first and second singular forms appear the same, before a clitic suffix such as *-aa* interrogative they are distinguished by the surface appearance of the underlying *n* in the first singular PNG marker *-e(nu)*, and by the morphophonemically inserted *y* in the second singular. Also, first and third masculine singular PNG markers are different in the declarative; but in the interrogative, if vowel deletion occurs they will appear the same.

band(e)naa? 'did I come?'

band(e)yaa? 'did you come?'

band(a)naa? 'did he come?'

In the plural, and in third singular feminine and neuter, it is the first vowel that is deleted in the declarative (with the final vowel being deleted also before suffixes beginning with a vowel).

The deletion of the *i* in the neuter singular PNG marker *-(i)tu* may cause an unacceptable consonant cluster to occur if the verb stem ends in a consonant. In such a case, subsequent consonant cluster simplification will take place (see 1.3.7). In addition, the retroflex *L* of the third singular feminine marker *-(a)Lu* tends to assimilate to the preceding *d* if the vowel *a* is deleted (see 1.3.7).

band- + -(i)tu → *band-tu* → *bantu*

band- + -(a)Lu → *band-Lu* → *bandlu*

3.4.2. Present tense marker. The present tense marker is *-tt-* (except with *iru*, where this marker is used for the future/habitual, and the past stem is used for the present; see 3.4.5.5), and occurs between the verb stem and all PNG markers except the neuter singular *-atte* (see 3.4.1.1). When the verb stem ends in a consonant, *-tt-* may be shortened to *-t-* by a rule of consonant cluster simplification (see 1.3.7).

bar- + -tt- + -iini → *bartiini* 'I come'

Stems with final *i* and *e* (which both appear as *i* on the surface in many SK dialects; see 1.3.8), and those with final *o*, do not delete the final vowel, but tend to lengthen it before *-tt-* (which is then reduced to *-t-* following a long vowel; see 1.2).

bare- 'write' → *bari-* + *-tt-* + *-iini* → *bariitiini* 'I write'
togo- 'take (for oneself)' + *-tt-* + *-iini* → *togootiini* 'I take (for myself)'

3.4.3. Past tense markers. Grammars of Kannada generally state that the past tense marker is *-id-*, but with many irregular exceptions (see Spencer 1950:88); or they may state that the past is *-id-* or *-t-*, with exceptions (see Biligiri 1959:84). The fact is that the vast majority of Kannada verbs form the past with *-id-* attached to the verb stem, a small number with *-t-*, and the rest undergo various changes, among which some subregularities may be discerned.⁴

3.4.3.1. Past of "weak" verbs. Many grammarians of Kannada call verbs that take *-id-* past tense markers "weak" verbs (and all others "strong" verbs). Verbs that take *-id-* all end in consonants.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>maaD-</i> 'make, do' | <i>maaDid-</i> 'made, done' |
| <i>malag-</i> 'sleep' | <i>malagid-</i> 'slept' |
| <i>haar-</i> 'jump' | <i>haarid-</i> 'jumped' |

Verbs ending in the causative suffix *-isu* (see 3.9) always take the *-id-* past marker. When short vowels are deleted in such verbs, the *i* and enunciative *u* of *-isu* are usually eliminated; but the *i* of *-id-* is sometimes kept to avoid clusters of three consonants.

kali- 'learn' + *-isu* 'causative' + *-id-* 'past' → *kalsid-* 'taught'

3.4.3.2. Past of stems ending in a nasal consonant. Verb stems ending in a nasal consonant tend to add just *-d-* in the past; and if the nasal is a retroflex, *-d-* assimilates and becomes *-D-*. If the nasal is geminate, one of the nasals is deleted in consonant cluster reduction.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>an-</i> 'say' | <i>and-</i> 'said' |
| <i>kaaN-</i> 'seem' | <i>kaND-</i> 'seemed' |
| <i>tinn-</i> 'eat' | <i>tind-</i> 'ate' |

Note that the long *aa* of *kaaN-* shortens in the past.

3.4.3.3. Past of stems with final lateral. Verb stems ending in a lateral *l* or *L* are quite unpredictable in their past stem formation.

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>büL-</i> 'fall' | <i>bidd-</i> 'fell' |
| <i>gell-</i> 'win' | <i>gedd-</i> 'won' |
| <i>heeL-</i> 'say' | <i>heeLid-</i> 'said' |
| <i>huuL-</i> 'bury' | <i>huut-</i> 'buried' |
| <i>sool-</i> 'lose' | <i>soot-</i> 'lost' |
| <i>küL-</i> 'dig up' | <i>kitt-</i> 'dug up' |
| <i>nill-</i> 'stand' | <i>nint-</i> 'stood' |
| <i>koll-</i> 'kill' | <i>kond-</i> 'killed' |

3.4.3.4. Past of stems with final *y*. In stems that end in *y*, the final *y* tends to change to a nasal; and the long vowel tends to shorten. However, there are exceptions.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>beey-</i> 'burn' | <i>bend-</i> 'burnt' |
| <i>nooy-</i> 'hurt' | <i>nond-</i> 'hurt' |
| <i>saay-</i> 'die' | <i>satt-</i> 'died' |
| <i>kaay-</i> 'wait' | <i>kaad-</i> 'waited' |

3.4.3.5. Past of short vowel stems ending in *r*. Verb stems that end in *r*, and have a short vowel, undergo irregular changes in the past stems.

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>bar-</i> 'come' | <i>band-</i> 'came' |
| <i>tar-</i> 'give' | <i>tand-</i> 'gave' |
| <i>her-</i> 'give birth' | <i>hett-</i> 'gave birth' |
| <i>hor-</i> 'carry' | <i>hott-</i> 'carried' |
| <i>ir-</i> 'be (located)' | <i>idd-</i> 'was (located)' |

Stems with a long vowel, and ending in *r*, add the regular ("weak") *-id-*.

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>heer-</i> 'load' | <i>heerid-</i> 'loaded' |
| <i>haar-</i> 'jump' | <i>haarid-</i> 'jumped' |

3.4.3.6. Past of short vowel stems ending in *D*. Stems with a short vowel that end in *D* tend to double and devoice the retroflex stop, so the final *D* becomes *TT*.

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| <i>biD-</i> 'leave' | <i>biTT-</i> 'left' |
| <i>koD-</i> 'give' | <i>koTT-</i> 'gave' |

iD- 'put, place'
neD- 'plant'

iTT- 'put, placed'
neTT- 'planted'

Stems ending in *D* that have a long vowel add the "weak" marker *-id*.

maaD- 'do, make'
haaD- 'sing'

maaDid- 'done, made'
haaDid- 'sang'

3.4.3.7. Past of stems ending in *i*. Some verbs ending in *i* in SK have a final *e* in LK (which changes to *i* by a vowel raising rule; see 1.3.8). SK verb stems ending in *i* form the past by deleting the final vowel and adding *-d-* or *-t-*.

bari- (LK *bare-*) 'write'
mari- (LK *mare-*) 'forget'
kali- 'learn'

bard- 'wrote'
mart- 'forgot'
kalt- 'learned'

3.4.3.8. Past of stems ending in *o*. All verbs in SK that end in *o* are historically derived from verb + *koLLu* ('reflexive' aspect marker; see 3.8.8) by various reduction rules. Since the past stem of *koLLu* is *koND-*, stems with final *o* add *-ND-* to form the past stem.

togo- ~ *takko-* 'take (for oneself)'
togoND- ~ *takkoND-* 'took'
okko- ~ *vakko-* 'wash (one's clothes)'
okkoND- ~ *vakkoND-* 'washed'
malko- ~ *makko-* 'lie down'
malkoND- ~ *makkoND-* 'lay down'

3.4.3.9. Past of other irregular stems. The verbs *hoogu* 'go', *aagu* 'become', and *nagu* 'laugh' have irregular past stems. *hoogu* and *aagu* have two past stems, one which appears with past neuter PNG, and the other that is used with PNG other than neuter.

hoog- 'go'
aag- 'become'
nag- 'laugh'

hood-/hooy- 'went'
aad-/aay- 'became'
nakk- 'laughed'

hooy- and *aay-* are used with neuter singular PNG, and the stems in *-d* with nonneuter.

ad hooytu 'it went'

avan hooda 'he went'

3.4.4. Other tenses. Kannada has other forms of the verb that are often called tenses, but that I prefer to treat as compound tenses, aspect, or other categories of the verb.

Except with *iru* 'be (located)', the future tense is no longer used in most SK dialects, although it occurs in LK (see 3.4.1.2) and in some regional dialects such as the Kumta dialect (Upadhyaya 1976:105). The PNG markers used with the LK future are similar to the positive contingent PNG markers (see 3.4.1.3) but with short vowels, and with *-udu* or *-adu* in the neuter singular (Spencer 1950:47).

3.4.5. Examples of verbs conjugated. Following are examples of Kannada finite verbs conjugated in different tenses and marked with PNG, to show the complete sets (paradigms) and how they agree with their subjects. The subjects given here are in the form of pronouns, although they may be other constituents such as nouns, pronominalized adjectives, proper nouns (names), and so forth.

In all cases, the second and third plural forms given below may also be used as singular polite.

3.4.5.1 "Weak" verbs. Verbs that take the past tense marker *-id-* are often called "weak" verbs by Kannada grammarians.

Example: *maaDu* 'do, make'

| Pronoun | Present | Contingent | Past ^a |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>maaDtiini</i> | <i>maaD(y)eenu</i> | <i>maaDde</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>maaDtii(ya)</i> | <i>maaDiye</i> | <i>maaDde</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>maaDtaane</i> | <i>maaD(y)aanu</i> | <i>maaDda</i> |
| <i>avalu</i> 'she' | <i>maaDtaaLe</i> | <i>maaD(y)aalu</i> | <i>maaDidlu</i> |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>maaDatte</i> | <i>maaDiitu</i> | <i>maaD(i)tu</i> |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>maaDtiivi</i> | <i>maaD(y)eevu</i> | <i>maaDidvu</i> |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>maaDtiiri</i> | <i>maaDiiri</i> | <i>maaDidri</i> |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>maaDtaare</i> | <i>maaD(y)aaru</i> | <i>maaDidru</i> |
| <i>avu</i> 'they' | <i>maaDutve</i> | <i>maaD(y)aavu</i> | <i>maaDidvu</i> |

^asee 3.4.3.1.

Note that since the stem used with the contingent PNG markers is actually the past stem (with *d* deleted in "weak" verbs; see 3.1.1), in some dialects the *i* of the past appears as a *y*-glide before the PNG markers that do not begin with *ii* (Biligiri 1959:90); but in most dialects the contingent forms are more common without *y*.

3.4.5.2. Stems ending in a nasal.

| Example: <i>tiinu</i> 'eat' | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Pronoun | Present | Contingent | Past ^a |
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>tintiini</i> | <i>tindeenu</i> | <i>tinde</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>tintii(ya)</i> | <i>tindiiye</i> | <i>tinde</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>tintaane</i> | <i>tindaanu</i> | <i>tinda</i> |
| <i>avaLu</i> 'she' | <i>tintaaLe</i> | <i>tindaaLu</i> | <i>tindlu</i> |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>tinatte</i> | <i>tindiiitu</i> | <i>tintu</i> |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>tintiivi</i> | <i>tindeevu</i> | <i>tindvu</i> |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>tintiiri</i> | <i>tindiiri</i> | <i>tindri</i> |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>tintaare</i> | <i>tindaaru</i> | <i>tindru</i> |
| <i>avu</i> 'they' | <i>tinnutve</i> | <i>tindaavu</i> | <i>tindvu</i> |

^asee 3.4.3.2.

3.4.5.3. Stems with final lateral.

| Example: <i>biiLu</i> 'fall' | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Pronoun | Present | Contingent | Past ^a |
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>biiLtiini</i> | <i>biddeenu</i> | <i>bidde</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>biiLtii(ya)</i> | <i>biddiiye</i> | <i>bidde</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>biiLtaane</i> | <i>biddaanu</i> | <i>bidda</i> |
| <i>avaLu</i> 'she' | <i>biiLtaaLe</i> | <i>biddaaLu</i> | <i>bidlu</i> |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>biiLlatte</i> | <i>biddiiitu</i> | <i>bittu</i> |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>biiLtiivi</i> | <i>biddeevu</i> | <i>bidvu</i> |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>biiLtiiri</i> | <i>biddiiri</i> | <i>bidri</i> |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>biiLtaare</i> | <i>biddaaru</i> | <i>bidru</i> |
| <i>avu</i> 'they' | <i>biiLutve</i> | <i>biddaavu</i> | <i>bidvu</i> |

^asee 3.4.3.3.

3.4.5.4. Stems ending in *y*.

| Example: <i>saayu</i> 'die' | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Pronoun | Present | Contingent | Past ^a |
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>saaytiini</i> | <i>satteenu</i> | <i>satte</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>saaytii(ya)</i> | <i>sattiiye</i> | <i>satte</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>saaytaane</i> | <i>sattaanu</i> | <i>satta</i> |
| <i>avaLu</i> 'she' | <i>saaytaaLe</i> | <i>sattaaLu</i> | <i>satlu</i> |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>saayatte</i> | <i>sattiiitu</i> | <i>sattu</i> |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>saaytiivi</i> | <i>satteevu</i> | <i>satvu</i> |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>saaytiiri</i> | <i>sattiiri</i> | <i>satri</i> |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>saaytaare</i> | <i>sattaaru</i> | <i>satru</i> |
| <i>avu</i> 'they' | <i>saayutve</i> | <i>sattaavu</i> | <i>satvu</i> |

^asee 3.4.3.4.

3.4.5.5. Short vowel stems with final *r*. An example of a short vowel stem ending in *r* has been given for *baa/bar*- 'come' (see 3.4.1.1/3/4). In addition, some information on the irregular verb *iru* 'be (located)' has been provided (see 3.4.1.2). Since *iru* is used in many constructions, a full paradigm of all its tenses (including future/habitual, which it alone takes in most SK dialects) is given below.

| Example: <i>iru</i> 'be (located)' | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Pronoun | Present [†] | Contingent | Past | Future/Habitual [†] |
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>iddiini</i> | <i>iddeenu</i> | <i>idde</i> | <i>irtiini</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>iddii(ya)</i> | <i>iddiiye</i> | <i>idde</i> | <i>irtii(ya)</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>iddaane</i> | <i>iddaanu</i> | <i>idda</i> | <i>irtaane</i> |
| <i>avaLu</i> 'she' | <i>iddaaLe</i> | <i>iddaaLu</i> | <i>idlu</i> | <i>irtaaLe</i> |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>ide[†]</i> | <i>iddiiitu</i> | <i>ittu[†]</i> | <i>irate</i> |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>iddiivi</i> | <i>iddeevu</i> | <i>idvu</i> | <i>irtiivi</i> |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>iddiiri</i> | <i>iddiiri</i> | <i>idri</i> | <i>irtiiri</i> |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>iddaare</i> | <i>iddaaru</i> | <i>idru</i> | <i>irtaare</i> |
| <i>avu</i> 'they (those things)' | <i>ive</i> <i>iddaave</i> | <i>iddaavu</i> | <i>idvu</i> | <i>irutve</i> |

Note that *iru* is irregular in a number of respects, among which is the fact that it takes the past stem *idd-* in the present tense, as well as in

the past and contingent; and it uses the stem *ir(ut)t-* in the future/habitual. It also has an irregular third singular neuter present form *ide*, rather than the expected **iddade* and past form *ittu* instead of **idtu*.

3.4.5.6. Short vowel stems with final *D*.

Example: *koDu* 'give'

| Pronoun | Present | Contingent | Past ^a |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>koDTiini</i> | <i>koTTeenu</i> | <i>koTTe</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>koDTii(ya)</i> | <i>koTTiye</i> | <i>koTTe</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>koDTaane</i> | <i>koTTaanu</i> | <i>koTTa</i> |
| <i>avaLu</i> 'she' | <i>koDTaaLe</i> | <i>koTTaaLu</i> | <i>koTLu</i> |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>koDatte</i> | <i>koTTiitu</i> | <i>koTtu</i> |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>koDTiivi</i> | <i>koTTeevu</i> | <i>koTvu</i> |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>koDTiiri</i> | <i>koTTiiri</i> | <i>koTri</i> |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>koDTaare</i> | <i>koTTaaru</i> | <i>koTru</i> |
| <i>avu</i> 'they (those things)' | <i>koDutve</i> | <i>koTTaavu</i> | <i>koTvu</i> |

^asee 3.4.3.6.

3.4.5.7. Stems with final *i*. Verb stems with final *i* (from LK *i* or *e*; see 1.3.8) drop this vowel before past tense markers; but before the present marker, final *i* is lengthened to *ii* (see 3.4.2).

Example: *kali* 'learn'

| Pronoun | Present | Contingent | Past ^a |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>kaliitiini</i> | <i>kalteenu</i> | <i>kalte</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>kaliitii(ya)</i> | <i>kaltiye</i> | <i>kalte</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>kaliitaane</i> | <i>kaltaanu</i> | <i>kalta</i> |
| <i>avaLu</i> 'she' | <i>kaliitaaLe</i> | <i>kaltaaLu</i> | <i>kalthu</i> [†] |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>kaliyatte</i> | <i>kaltiitu</i> | <i>kaliitu</i> [†] |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>kaliitiivi</i> | <i>kalteevu</i> | <i>kaltvu</i> [†] |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>kaliitiiri</i> | <i>kaltiiri</i> | <i>kaltri</i> [†] |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>kaliitaare</i> | <i>kaltaaru</i> | <i>kaltru</i> [†] |
| <i>avu</i> 'they' | <i>kalyatve</i> | <i>kaltaavu</i> | <i>kaltvu</i> [†] |

^asee 3.4.3.7.

Example: *bari* 'write'

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>bariitiini</i> | <i>bardeenu</i> | <i>barde</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>bariitii(ya)</i> | <i>bardiye</i> | <i>barde</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>bariitaane</i> | <i>bardaanu</i> | <i>barda</i> |
| <i>avaLu</i> 'she' | <i>bariitaaLe</i> | <i>bardaaLu</i> | <i>bardlu</i> [†] |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>bariyatte</i> | <i>bardiitu</i> | <i>bariitu</i> [†] |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>bariitiivi</i> | <i>bardeevu</i> | <i>bardvu</i> [†] |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>bariitiiri</i> | <i>bardiiri</i> | <i>bardri</i> [†] |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>bariitaare</i> | <i>bardaaru</i> | <i>bardru</i> [†] |
| <i>avu</i> 'they' | <i>baryatve</i> | <i>bardaavu</i> | <i>bardvu</i> [†] |

Because of various historical processes of assimilation, the third singular neuter forms are irregular in the past of these verbs. Also in the feminine singular and all plural forms in the past, consonant clusters of three consonants occur (the first and third of which are continuants). In somewhat careful speech, a reduced vowel may occur between consonants to break up the cluster. Morphophonemically this vowel is the *i* of the underlying form; but phonetically it is closer to a very short more central [ɨ].

bardlu ~ *baridlu* [bərɨdlu] 'she wrote'

bardvu ~ *baridvu* [bərɨdvu] 'we wrote'

kaltri ~ *kalitri* [kəlɨtri] 'you (pl.) learned'

3.4.5.8. Stems ending in *o*. Final *o* stem verbs maintain the length of the final long *o* in the present, and past neuter (see 3.4.2), whereas it is shortened in the other forms.

Example: *togo* 'take (for oneself)'

| Pronoun | Present | Contingent | Past ^a |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>togootiini</i> | <i>togoNDeenu</i> | <i>togoNDe</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>togootii(ya)</i> | <i>togoNDiye</i> | <i>togoNDe</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>togootaane</i> | <i>togoNDaanu</i> | <i>togoNDe</i> |
| <i>avaLu</i> 'she' | <i>togootaaLe</i> | <i>togoNDaaLu</i> | <i>togoNDLu</i> |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>togooLatte</i> | <i>togoNDiitu</i> | <i>togootu</i> [†] |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>togootiivi</i> | <i>togoNDeevu</i> | <i>togoNDvu</i> |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>togootiiri</i> | <i>togoNDiiri</i> | <i>togoNDri</i> |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>togootaare</i> | <i>togoNDaaru</i> | <i>togoNDru</i> |
| <i>avu</i> 'they' | <i>togooLatve</i> | <i>togoNDaavu</i> | <i>togoNDvu</i> |

^asee 3.4.3.8.

Note that because of their historical derivation, the third singular neuter forms are irregular in both present and past tense forms. The *L* that is found in the present form *togooLatte* is a surface manifestation from the aspect marker *koLLu* that is part of the underlying form of *togo* (see 3.8.8).

3.4.5.9. Other irregular verbs.

| Example: <i>hoogu</i> 'go' | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Pronoun | Present | Contingent | Past ^a |
| <i>naanu</i> 'I' | <i>hoogtiini</i> | <i>hoodeenu</i> | <i>hoode</i> |
| <i>niinu</i> 'you (sing.)' | <i>hoogtii(ya)</i> | <i>hoodiye</i> | <i>hoode</i> |
| <i>avanu</i> 'he' | <i>hoogtaane</i> | <i>hoodaanu</i> | <i>hooda</i> |
| <i>avaLu</i> 'she' | <i>hoogtaaLe</i> | <i>hoodaaLu</i> | <i>hoodlu</i> |
| <i>adu</i> 'it' | <i>hoogatte</i> | <i>hoodiitu</i> | <i>hooytu</i> [†] |
| <i>naavu</i> 'we' | <i>hoogtiivi</i> | <i>hoodeevu</i> | <i>hoodvu</i> |
| <i>niivu</i> 'you (pl.)' | <i>hoogtiiri</i> | <i>hoodiiri</i> | <i>hoodri</i> |
| <i>avaru</i> 'they' | <i>hoogtaare</i> | <i>hoodaaru</i> | <i>hoodru</i> |
| <i>avu</i> 'they' | <i>hoogatve</i> | <i>hoodaavu</i> | <i>hoodvu</i> |

^asee 3.4.3.9.

Note the irregular form for the neuter singular past (see 3.4.3.9).

3.5. Participles. Participles are nonfinite verb forms that function verbally or adjectivally, or have some special syntactic function in the sentence. They occur primarily in rather complex sentences, and their syntactic properties are discussed in detail under syntax (see chapter four).

Participles may be either affirmative or negative; the affirmative participles can be marked for tense, but the negative forms are not (although constructions can involve the negative participles of *iru* 'be' attached to the main verb to give aspectual or tenselike meanings; see 3.5.3/7/9). The overall tense of participial constructions is determined by the tense (or aspect) of the main verb.

3.5.1. Present verbal participles. The present verbal participle is formed by adding *-aa* to the verb stem + *-tt-* 'present'. It is followed

by a finite verb or verb phrase, and indicates that the actions (or states) of the participial verb and main verb are simultaneous.

avn yoocone maaDtaa kuutidda 'he was sitting thinking
 1 2 3 4/5 1 5 4
 (making thought)
 3 2

When the present verbal participle is followed by *iru* 'be', the construction is similar to the English "progressive tense" (see 3.8.10), and may be past, present, or future/habitual depending on the tense of *iru*. Often the *-aa* may be deleted in this construction; but when it is present, it indicates emphasis on the immediacy of the action or its durative aspect.

maaDt-iddiini 'I am doing (something)'

maaDt-aa iddiini 'I am doing (something) (right now)'

3.5.2. Past verbal participles. The past verbal participle is followed by a finite verb or verb phrase, and indicates that the action (or state) of the participial verb preceded that of the main verb. It is similar to the English 'having (done something)'.

The past verbal participle is the same as the past stem (see 3.1.1) for strong verbs, plus enunciative *u* if the stem ends in a consonant (e.g., *band-* 'came' → *bandu* 'having come'). If the verb is regular ("weak"), the *d* of the past stem is deleted (e.g., *maaDid-* 'did' → *maaDi* 'having done'). *hoogu* 'go' and *aagu* 'become' have irregular past participles *hoogi* and *aagi*, respectively.

ad maaDi uurg bande 'having done that, I came to town'

hoogi + biTTu + banni → *hoog-biTT-banni* 'come again (go and come)'

3.5.3. Negative verbal participles. Negative participles cannot take tense markers, so the same negative verbal participle is used to express the negative of both the present and past verbal participles. These negative participles, expressing the notions 'not doing (something)' or 'not having done (something)', are formed by adding *-ade* to the verb stem, or to the negative stem *ill-* if the verb is *iru* 'be'.

illade 'not being/having been'
barade 'not coming/having come'
al hoogade, ilgee bande 'not going/having gone (instead of/without going) there, I came here'
nooDade hooDe 'I went without seeing/having seen (something)'

To make additional tense (aspectual) distinctions, *illade* may be added to the present and past participles of verbs.

bartaa illade 'without continuing to come'
band-illade 'without/not having come'

3.5.4. Use of adjectival participles. Unlike English, where only certain verbs can be used adjectivally before nouns (e.g., 'the rat-infested house', 'the moth-eaten coat', 'the man-eating tiger'), in Kannada any verb may be made into an adjective by using one of the adjectival participle formations below. This is the main way of forming adjectives in Kannada, and is also the primary way that the language has of making relative clause constructions (see 4.9).

3.5.5. Present adjectival participles. The present adjectival participle is formed by adding *-oo* (from LK *-uva*, by morphophonemic rules; see 1.3.5.1) to the present verb stem. This makes an adjective out of a verb.

baroo vaara 'the coming week, next week'

3.5.6. Past adjectival participles. The past adjectival participle is formed by adding *-a* to the past stem of the verb. Often this *-a* is not present in colloquial speech because of short vowel deletion (see 1.3.6).

hood(a) vaara 'last week (the week that went)'
band(a) huDga 'the boy who came (the came boy)'
hoog-idd(a) aaga 'the time when (someone) went (the having gone time)'
nooD-id(da) haage 'as if having seen (the having seen way)'

Some verbs (e.g., dative-stative verbs, see 3.7) have no past stem, so they attach *aagu* 'become' in its past adjectival form *aada* to the verb stem to make an adjective.

beek-aad(a) pustaka 'the book that is/was needed (the needed book)'

3.5.7. Negative adjectival participles. The negative adjectival participle is formed by adding *-ada* to the verb stem. The verb *iru* 'be' uses the negative stem *ill-* for this form.

nooDada pustaka 'the unseen book'
illada haNa 'the money that is/was not (somewhere)'

Since negative participles do not take tense markers, to make tense or aspectual distinctions in the negative *illada* can be affixed to past verbal participles.

band-illada huDga 'the boy who had not come'

3.5.8. Verbal/participial nouns. Verbal nouns of various sorts can be formed by taking adjectival participles (especially present forms) and affixing demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1) to them. The most common of these is the neuter singular *adu*; but personal verbal nouns (sometimes called participial nouns) can also be formed.

maaD- + -oo + adu → *maaDoodu* 'the (act/fact of) doing, that which does'

nooD- + -oo + adu → *nooDoodu* 'the (act/fact of) seeing, that which sees'

nooD- + -oo + avaru → *nooDooru* 'those (people) who see'

band- + -a + avaru → *bandavru* ~ *bandooru* 'those (people) who came'

ninne bandooru nan sneetru 'the people who came yesterday are my friends'

Note that neuter verbal nouns can mean 'the act of (doing something)', 'the fact of (doing something)', or 'that which (does something)'.

3.5.9. Negative verbal/participial nouns. Negative verbal nouns can be formed by affixing the negative adjectival participle (see 3.5.7) to demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1).

maaD- + -ada + adu → *maaDaddu* ~ *maaDdadu* '(the act/fact of) not doing, that which does/did not do'

ill- + *-ada* + *adu* → $\begin{cases} \textit{illaddu} & \text{'the act/fact of not being,} \\ \textit{ildaddu} & \text{that which is/was not'} \end{cases}$
hoog- + *-ada* + *avaLu* → *hoogadooLu* 'the woman who does/did not go'

Since negative participles are tenseless, these forms are used for all tenses; but aspectual distinctions can be made by affixing the negative adjectival participle of *iru* (*illadadu*) to past participles of main verbs.

banda + *illadadu* → *bandilladdu* ~ *bandildu* 'that which has/had not come'

3.6. Modal auxiliaries. Kannada has a number of modal auxiliary verbs that are attached to the *-al* form of the infinitive (see 3.2) to give such notions as 'may, might, can, must, should, ought, could' and their negatives. The modal form follows the last verb in a sequence of verbs (e.g., *niiv hoog- biTT -bartaa- ir beeku* 'you must go and come [freely]') and, with a few exceptions, is not marked for PNG. As noted earlier (see 3.2), the *l* of *-al* is deleted before consonants, and the *a* is often eliminated by short vowel deletion.

Opinions differ as to just what is included in the inventory of modal verbs in modern SK. There are, of course, differences between those found in LK (see, for example, Hodson 1864:41) and SK, especially in the dialects (see Hiremath's treatment [1961:79-89] of the Dharwar dialect, in which modals are not even mentioned, but where some of what we call modals are incorporated into the paradigm of tenses). Spencer (1959) considers modal verbs simply to be defective verbs, archaic offspring of verbs like *aagu* 'become' and *baa* 'come', and does not even discuss them under the same heading.

Older forms of Kannada had modals such as *ball-* 'can, know how to', *aap-* 'can, be able', and their negatives *ari-* and *aar-* (Hodson 1864:41). Only *aar-* is still used in standard SK, although some others are used in some regional and social dialects (see Ullrich 1968).⁵

As with other Dravidian languages, Kannada modals are often asymmetrical in the negative; that is, the negative forms do not exactly parallel the affirmative, or there may be forms that overlap somewhat in meaning. As with many other languages of the world, modal verbs in Kannada may have a number of different meanings; and when these

meanings co-occur with certain main verbs, the entire phrase may have unexpected connotations.

In any attempt to provide a simple catalogue of modal forms, therefore, it is necessary to simplify things to a certain extent, and also to consider that under different theoretical frameworks the forms discussed here might be classified differently.

3.6.1. The modal *beeku* 'is wanted, needed; must, should, ought'. The auxiliary modal *beeku* is attached to the infinitive of the verb, and gives the meaning '(someone) must/wants to (do something)', and so forth. *beeku* also has what has been called an epistemic meaning; in addition to 'must' in the sense of necessity, it can also mean 'it must be the case that'.

naan hoog beeku 'I ought/need/want to-go'
 $\begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & 3 & 1 & 3 & 2 \end{matrix}$
niiv naaLe ill ir beeku 'you must/should be here tomorrow'
 $\begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 1 & 5 & 4 & 3 & 2 \end{matrix}$
niiv avarn nooD-ir beeku 'you must have seen him (it must be true that you saw him)'
 $\begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 1 & 5 & 4 & 3 & 2 \end{matrix}$

It should be noted that when *beeku* and some other modals are used without main verbs, the subject is in the dative (see 3.7).

3.6.1.1. Other "tenses" of *beeku*. Since *beeku* has no tense or PNG markers, it cannot be conjugated like other verbs. However, it can occur with other auxiliary (aspectual and modal) verbs, especially with *iru* 'be' and *aagu* 'become'; and these verbs, or the verbs to which they are attached in the verb phrase, may be marked for or indicate tense. (For a description of the uses of aspectual verbs, see 3.8.2-13.)

band-ir beeku 'must have come'
bart(aa)-ir beeku 'must be coming'
beek-aagatte 'will be/become necessary'
bar beek-aagittu 'ought to have come'
beek-aag boodu 'may become necessary'
hoogt(aa)-ir beek-aagittu 'should have been going'
*niiv sinimaa nooD beek-aagittu*⁶ 'you should have seen the movie'

3.6.1.2. *beeku* with quotative *anta*. Verbs suffixed to *beeku* can also occur before the quotative particle *anta*, with the meaning 'intend (to do something)' (see 4.5.3).

naan hoog beek-ant iddiini 'I intend to go/feel like going'

3.6.1.3. *beeku* with emphatics. To strengthen the emphasis of the modal *beeku*, emphatic *-ee* may be added to the infinitive of the preceding verb. Since in this case the infinitive precedes a vowel, the underlying *l* of the infinitive ending shows up on the surface (i.e., *-l-ee*).

aa meel pustak oodlee beeku 'afterwards (one) must read the book'
 1 2 3 4/5 6 1/2 5/6 4 3

3.6.1.4. Negative of *beeku*: *beeDa*, *beeDi*. The negative of *beeku* is *beeDa* 'should not, must not, need not', with a more polite or plural form *beeDi*. This form is also used as a negative imperative 'don't (do something)!' (see 3.3.1).

naaLe bar beeDa 'it is not necessary to come tomorrow (don't come tomorrow!)'

beeDa/beeDi can also occur with other modal and aspectual verbs in some of the same constructions as does *beeku*.

bart(aa)-ir beeDa 'don't be coming (when...)!'

3.6.2. The negative modal *kuuDadu* 'should not'. When *beeDa* (see 3.6.1.4) is used as a negative imperative, it is similar to (but slightly stronger than) the negative imperative *baaradu* (see 3.3.1). The strongest negative is indicated by the use of the modal *kuuDadu*. This is attached to the infinitive, as are *beeDa* and *baaradu*.

jooD haak-koNDu, guDiyoLag hoog kuuDdu '(one) should never
 1 2 3/4 5 6 6
 go into a temple while wearing shoes'
 5 4 3 2 1

Note the contrast of negative emphasis in imperatives.

bar baardu 'don't come!'

bar beeDa '(I) don't (want you to) come!'

bar kuuDdu '(one) should/must not come!'

3.6.3. The modal *boodu* 'may, can'. The auxiliary verb *boodu* (LK *bahudu* → *bahdu* ~ *boodu* by morphophonemic rules; see 1.3.5.1) is attached to the infinitive, and has the meaning '(someone) can/may (do something)'. The main meaning is 'can' in the sense of 'be able' rather than that (found especially in modern American speech) of 'permission'; and the sense of 'probability' is also possible.

niiv avarn al nooD boodu 'you can/might see him there'
 1 2 3 4 5 1 5 4 2 3
ii pustka maneg togoND hoog bood-aa? 'can/may (I) take this
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 6 4/5 1
 book home?
 2 3 7
avarn al nooD-ir boodu '(one) might have seen him there'
 1 2 3 4 5 5 4 3 1 2

3.6.3.1. Negative of *boodu*. The negative form equivalent to the positive *boodu* is *baaradu*. This is the negative imperative form as well (see 3.3.1).

id togoND hoog baaradu '(one) can't/shouldn't take this away (having taken, go)'

3.6.4. Negative contingent *aar-* 'cannot, might not'. When the modal *aar-* with PNG markers is attached to the verbal infinitive, the meaning is 'cannot, may not', both in the sense of lack of ability and that of potential nonoccurrence. This form is the negative equivalent of the contingent verb forms (see 3.4.1.3), and other grammarians sometimes prefer to call this negative contingent a tense as well. It is classified here as a modal since, except for being marked for PNG, it acts more like other modals both syntactically and semantically.

The PNG endings used with *aar-* are similar to those used with the past (see 3.4.1.4); however, the PNG marker for neuter is different (*-du* instead of the past PNG marker *-tu* (Biligiri 1959:85).⁷ The following is a complete paradigm of a verb marked for negative contingency. (Note that the final *l* of the infinitive appears, because *aar-* begins with a vowel.)

Negative Contingent

| PNG | Pronoun | PNG Marker | Example: nag- 'laugh' |
|-----------------|---------|------------|---|
| First singular | (naanu) | -e(nu) | naglaare(nu) 'I can/might not laugh' |
| Second singular | (niinu) | -e | naglaare 'you can/might not laugh' |
| Third singular | | | |
| masculine | (avanu) | -a(nu) | naglaara(nu) 'he can/might not laugh' |
| feminine | (avaLu) | -(a)Lu | naglaar(a)Lu 'she can/might not laugh' |
| neuter | (adu) | -(a)du | naglaar(a)du 'it can/might not laugh' |
| First plural | (naavu) | -(e)vu | naglaar(e)vu 'we can/might not laugh' |
| Second plural | | | |
| polite | (niivu) | -(i)ri | naglaar(i)ri 'you can/might not laugh' |
| Third plural | | | |
| polite | (avaru) | -(a)ru | naglaar(a)ru 'they can/might not laugh' |
| neuter | (avu) | -(a)vu | naglaar(a)vu 'they can/might not laugh' |

3.6.5. The optative modal *-i* 'let'. The optative, sometimes considered a kind of imperative (see 3.3.2), is used with first and third persons. It is formed by attaching *-i* to the infinitive, and gives the meaning 'let (someone do something)'. Since it is attached to the infinitive like most other modals, and semantically (especially in question form) it is close to the meaning of other modals, we choose to consider it a modal.

avaru hoog- + -al + -i → *avar hoogli* 'let them/him go'
naan ivattu bar- + -al + -i + -aa? → *naan ivat barl-aa?* 'should I come today?'

Note that while the optative *i* in the latter example sentence is deleted, the *l* of the infinitival form remains.

3.6.6. The hortative modal *-ooNa* 'let's'. The modal *-ooNa*⁸ is also often classified as an imperative form (see 3.3.3). *-ooNa* is attached to the verb stem, rather than to the infinitive as with other modals. In the declarative, its meaning is generally an exhortation 'let's (do something)'; but when interrogative *-aa* is added, the meaning is more clearly like other modals.

nooD-ooNa 'let's see (something)'
uuTa maaDooN-vaa? 'shall we eat?'
hoog-ooN-vaa? 'shall we go?'

Note the insertion of the glide *v* between the final *a* of *-ooNa* and the interrogative *-aa* (see 1.3.5), which occurs before the deletion of the *a* of *-ooNa*.

3.6.6.1. Negative of *-ooNa*. The negative of *-ooNa*, 'let's not (do something)' is usually *beeDa/beeDi* (the negative of *beeku*; see 3.6.1.4), which is attached to the verbal noun (see 3.5.8).

beeDa, hoogood beeDa 'no, let's not go'

3.6.7. Table of affirmative and negative modal forms. As already mentioned (see 3.6), Kannada affirmative and negative modals do not match up on a one-to-one basis. This is mainly due to the differing scope of the negation; that is, what is being negated may be the verbal action or the 'necessity' expressed by the modal. Thus, the negation of 'coming is required' may be either 'not coming is required' or 'coming is not required'. Each affirmative form may be negated in different ways, depending on how strongly the speaker wishes to emphasize the negative, or which part of the verbal phrase is meant to be negated.

| Affirmative Form | | Negative Form | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| <i>beeku</i> | 'want, need, should, must, ought to' | <i>beeDa/beeDi</i> <i>kuuDadu</i> | 'not wanted, not needed' 'should not, must not, ought not, need not' |
| <i>boodu</i> | 'can, may, might' | <i>baaradu</i> <i>aar- + PNG</i> } | 'cannot, may not, might not' |
| <i>-i</i> | 'let' (1st and 3rd persons) | verbal noun + <i>beeDa</i> <i>baaradu</i> | 'no, don't, let's not' 'can't, don't' |
| <i>-ooNa</i> | 'let's, shall (we)?' | verbal noun + <i>beeDa</i> <i>kuuDadu</i> | 'let's not, shouldn't' 'shouldn't, must not (ever)' |

3.7. Dative-stative or "defective" verbs. Kannada has a number of verbs that do not behave morphologically and syntactically like other main verbs. They have been called "defective" by some grammarians, in that they lack many of the forms that regular verbs have. Elsewhere they have been called "impersonal constructions" (Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy 1972:138). In this grammar they are called dative-

stative verbs because semantically they are stative (describing states rather than actions), and they require that the subjects of their sentences be in the dative case (see 4.0.1.1).

With dative-stative verbs, instead of saying something like 'I want this', with the verb 'want' agreeing in PNG with the subject 'I', Kannada sentences would have the structure 'to me this is wanted', with the subject usually in the dative case and the verb marked for neuter PNG. (Dative-stative verbs that do sometimes agree with nominative objects are noted below.) Dative-stative verbs also are unmarked for tense, although there are some ways of distinguishing between habitual and nonhabitual aspects.

In form, many of the dative-stative verbs resemble modals (see 3.6); and in fact some modals such as *beeku* may be used without lexical verbs in dative-stative constructions. Some authors even consider these dative-stative verbs to be modals (Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy 1972:134).

The most common dative-stative verbs are *saaku* 'be sufficient', *sikku* 'be available, be met', *gottu* 'be known', *beeku* 'want, need', and *iSTa* 'like' (which is the noun 'desire', probably operating in these constructions as noun plus verb, with the verb deleted). *sikku* also operates in some respects like a regular verb, and *beeku* is also a regular modal (see 3.6.1). Other verbs also appear in dative-stative constructions, such as *iru* with the meaning 'have' (i.e., 'to someone is something') and *baa* meaning 'know' (i.e., 'to someone comes something'). In addition, *aagu* 'become' may appear in dative-stative constructions with nouns, and *hoogu* with transitive verbs.

These verbs can be negated (although some of the negative forms are irregular), and they may appear with modals or aspectual markers.

3.7.1. Paradigms of dative-stative verbs. Since dative-stative verbs do not take tense markers, they have a habitual sense when they stand alone. They may appear in a negative habitual form, indicating that the meaning of the verb is 'habitually not (doing something)'; or, when they occur with *iru* or *aagu* the effect is to make them non-habitual, usually with a 'perfect' or 'final' meaning (see 3.8.9 and 3.8.11).

| | <i>saaku</i> 'suffice' | <i>sikku</i> 'be available' | <i>gottu</i> 'be known' | <i>beeku</i> 'want, need' | <i>iSTa</i> 'like' |
|----------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Habitual | <i>saaku</i> | <i>sikku</i> | <i>gottu</i> | <i>beeku</i> | <i>iSTa</i> |
| Negative | | | | | |
| habitual | <i>saaldu</i> | <i>siklilla</i> | <i>gottilla</i> | <i>beeDa</i> | <i>iSTa-illa</i> |
| Perfect | <i>saak-aag-ide</i> | <i>sikk-ide</i> | <i>gott-ide</i> | <i>beek-aag-ide</i> | <i>iSTa-ide</i> |
| Finality | <i>saak-aaytu</i> | <i>sikk-aaytu</i> | <i>gott-aaytu</i> | <i>beek-aaytu</i> | <i>iST(a)-aaytu</i> |

3.7.2. Regular forms of *sikku*. *sikku* 'be available, be met' appears in some respects more like a regular verb than other dative-stative verbs; that is, it may occur with PNG endings other than neuter (although still with a dative subject), and in some conditional (see 3.10) and verbal noun (see 3.5.8) constructions. Note that PNG markers attached to *sikku* agree with the object noun (which is in the nominative case).

avar ninne nange sikkidru 'I met him yesterday (he was met
 1 2 3/4 5 1 5
 to me yesterday)'
 4 3 2

avar sikkid-re, naan nooDtiini 'if he is available, I will see (him)'
 1 2 3 4 5 3 1 2 4 5
maankeTTall sikk-ood-ella togoND band-biDi 'bring whatever
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 is available in the market (all that is available in the market
 5 4 3 2 1
 having taken, come)'
 6 7

3.7.3. *beeku* in dative-stative constructions. The modal *beeku* (see 3.6.1) may also appear in dative-stative constructions with a noun and without a main verb, with the subject marked for dative case.

ad nange beeku 'I want that (that is wanted to me)'
 1 2/3 4 1 4 3 2
avrig haNa beeku 'he wants/needs money (to him money is
 1/2 3 4 2 1 3
 wanted/needed)'
 4

beeku may also appear with the verb *aagu* 'become', and in these constructions it contrasts with simple *beeku*: *beeku* alone implies that the speaker feels an internal need or desire to do something, whereas

beek-aagu implies that the requirement is imposed from the outside, by external circumstances. When *aagu* is present, tense markings are also added.

beek-aagatte '(it) will become necessary'
beek-aagittu '(it) was necessary, (one) had to'

3.7.4. *iru* indicating possession. *iru* 'be' may be used in constructions to indicate possession (the equivalent of English 'have'). In these constructions, the subject occurs in the dative case, the object in the nominative, and PNG markers agree with the object.

nange haNa ide 'I have money (to me money is)'
nimge heNti-makL iddaaraa? 'do you have a family (wife and children)?'

3.7.5. *baa* indicating 'knowing'. The verb *baa* 'come' may also be used in dative-stative constructions to give the meaning 'know (how to do something)'.

ninge kannaDa barattaa? 'do you know (how to speak) Kannada?'
nang ella-tarad aDgegaLuu baratte 'I know all kinds of cooking'

3.7.6. *aagu* in construction with nouns. *aagu* 'become' serves as an aspect marker indicating finality (see 3.8.11), and in this use it occurs only in the past form *aaytu*. However, when *aagu* appears with nouns in compounds, it takes a nominative object and a dative subject, and may be marked with other tense or aspect.

uuTa maaDi aada meele tirugook hoogooNa 'after finishing the meal, let's go for a walk'
muur dina naDde uur seeri aaytu 'after walking for three days (we finally) reached town'
aDge maaDi aaytu 'the cooking is (all) finished'

3.7.7. *hoogu* with transitive verbs. The aspect marker *hoogu* 'completive' (see 3.8.3) may occur with a transitive verb, in which case it takes a dative-stative construction, and implies an accidental happening.

nange kate mart-hooytu 'I forgot the story (accidentally, not my fault)'

3.8. Verbal aspect markers. In Kannada a set of suffixes may be added to verbs to give certain semantic nuances to the meaning of the sentence. These notions have to do, not with the time (tense) of the proposition, but with:

- The relative time of two or more actions.
- The completeness or definiteness of an action.
- The duration of the action (whether it continues for some time or happens quickly).
- Certain other notions that express the speaker's attitude or emotional evaluation of some action or person.

Some of these notions have previously been called aspectual or attitudinal, but others defy classification, and are only included here under the category "aspect" because they behave syntactically like the more clearly aspectual markers.

Aspect markers are very similar to main verbs in their morphology and syntax; in fact, they are historically quite probably derived from certain main verbs that they still closely resemble. But semantically they do not express the lexical meaning that those other main verbs express; for instance, the aspectual *biDu* 'completive' does not mean the same as the main verb *biDu* 'leave, release', although it resembles it in all apparent phonological and grammatical detail.

In other language families, aspect is a more or less fully developed grammatical category. For example, in English there is a durative or progressive aspect (usually called a tense) formed by adding 'be + -ing' to the verb stem, giving the notion of continuous activity (e.g., 'I am doing'). Also, Slavic languages have a well developed system of perfective (completive) and imperfective verbs. Kannada has ways of expressing these and other notions.

In Kannada, the verbal aspect marker is usually added to the past verbal participle (see 3.5.2); then tense markers, modals, and so forth, are added to the aspect marker, followed by PNG markers if the verb phrase final component requires them.

3.8.1. Inventory of aspect markers. Since aspect is not a universal linguistic category, and is found in different degrees of development in different languages, it is understandable that even among or within dialects of a given language there will be some differences in the aspectual system. For this reason, the discussion here will be concentrated

on the standard SK dialect, with only minor discussion of some verbs that may be used aspectually in other dialects.

What follows is based to some extent on D.N.S. Bhat's (1977) analysis of those "vectors" he considers to be aspectual, with other sources as noted.⁹ In each of the examples below, with the absence of the aspect marker (underlined), the additional English meaning (also underlined) would be lacking.

| Marker | Meaning/Function | Example |
|--------------|--|---|
| <i>biDu</i> | completion ('perfective', definiteness) | <i>avan bid-biTTa</i> 'he fell <u>down</u> ' |
| <i>hoogu</i> | completion (sometimes involuntary or accidental), change of state | <i>anna bend-hoogide</i> 'the rice has gotten <u>overcooked</u> ' |
| <i>aaDu</i> | continuity, duration (with some verbs 'reciprocal' or 'competitive') | <i>avar ooD-aaDidru</i> 'they ran <u>around</u> ' <i>avar kaad-aaDidru</i> 'they fought <u>with each other</u> ' |
| <i>koDu</i> | 'benefactive' | <i>avan kate bard-koTTa</i> 'he wrote the story <u>for someone's benefit</u> ' |
| <i>nooDu</i> | 'attemptive, experimentive' | <i>avan kaafi kuDid-nooDda</i> 'he <u>tried</u> drinking/ <u>tasted</u> the coffee' |
| <i>haaku</i> | 'exhaustive, malefactive' | <i>avan doose-yella tind-haakda</i> 'he ate <u>up</u> all the pancakes (<u>against our wishes</u>)' |

In addition to these six aspect markers analyzed by Bhat, there are some other verbs that impart aspectual meaning to the sentence, and these are given below. (Other dialects may use some other verbs in an aspectual manner; see 3.8.12).

| Marker | Meaning/Function | Example |
|------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>koLLu</i> | 'reflexive, self-benefactive' | <i>avan kate bard-koNDa</i> 'he wrote a story <u>for himself</u> ' |
| <i>iru</i> | 'perfective' 'stative' | <i>band-iddiini</i> 'I <u>have</u> come' <i>hoog-idde</i> 'I had gone/been' |
| <i>-ttaa iru</i> | 'durative, progressive' | <i>bartaa iddiini</i> 'I <u>am</u> coming' |
| <i>aagu</i> | finality | <i>avan band-aaytu</i> 'he <u>finally</u> came' |

Bhat points out in his discussion of aspectual "vectors" that there are some differences in meaning of these forms depending on whether the main verb is transitive or intransitive ("agentive" or "nonagentive").

Three of the aspect markers listed by Bhat have differences in meaning when the main verbs to which they are attached so differ. Below, each aspect marker is examined, along with any of the peculiarities that it possesses when occurring under special conditions.

3.8.2. The aspect marker *biDu* 'completive'. *biDu* 'completive' is attached to the past verbal participle. It is homophonous with the lexical verb *biDu* 'leave', and has tense formation like that verb (see 3.4.5.6). However, aspectual *biDu* can also be attached to the lexical verb *biDu*, as in *biTT-biDu* 'let go (completely)!'.¹⁰

biDu as aspect often corresponds to the English meaning imparted by verb particles such as 'up, down, away', for example, 'eat up (completely)', 'burn down (completely)', 'go away (and don't return)'. It may also correspond to expressions like 'for good' (e.g., 'he left for good'), and of course to adverbs such as 'completely, definitely, certainly, definitively, totally', and so forth.

Verbs with *biDu* attached are not usually negated, since the completion of a nonevent does not make sense. Thus when a verb phrase with 'completive' *biDu* is negated, *biDu* is first deleted.

hoog-biTTa 'he went away' + *illa* 'negative' → *hooglilla* 'he didn't go away' (rather than **hoog-biDlilla*)

biDu also has some other special uses. When a transitive sentence with aspectual *biDu* has a human subject, use of *biDu* indicates that the action referred to is carried out "intentionally and with great effort" (Bhat 1977:3), or with a certain amount of facility (Sridhar, personal communication). However, in an intransitive sentence with human subject, or in a transitive sentence in which the object (or sometimes the subject) is human, *biDu* imparts the meaning that things happened rather accidentally, and without intent.

In all of these uses, whether the action is deliberate or accidental, a sense of completion of action is imparted by *biDu*.

Human subject, transitive:

raaju aa pustka oodda 'Raju read that book'

raaju aa pustka oodi-biTTa 'Raju read that book (with great effort), Raju managed to read that book'

avan doose tind-biTTa 'he ate up the pancakes (accidentally/unintentionally)'

Human subject, intransitive:

raaju bidda 'Raju fell down'

raaju bid-biTta 'Raju accidentally fell down'

Human object, transitive:

aa naayi huDgan kactu 'that dog bit the boy'

aa naayi huDgan kacc-biTtu 'that dog accidentally bit the boy'

3.8.3. The aspect marker *hoogu* 'completive'. *hoogu* 'completive' is homophonous with the lexical verb *hoogu* 'go', and forms tenses in the same way (see 3.4.5.9). Aspectual *hoogu* is added to the past participle of verbs to indicate completion of action, but usually with a pejorative nuance; that is, the action is undesirable, or at least out of the control of the subject.

Also, the main verb to which *hoogu* is attached is usually a change of state verb; thus the use of *hoogu* indicates that something has changed from one state to another. In addition, when *hoogu* follows an intransitive verb, the meaning is 'completive'; but in the rare cases when it follows a transitive verb, the sense is that things happened accidentally or uncontrollably. (In this latter case, the subject is in the dative, so the transitivity of the verb, and therefore the control of the action by the subject, is lessened; see 3.7.7).

raaju kateen marta 'Raju forgot the story (his fault)'

raajug kate mart-hooytu 'Raju forgot the story (not his fault)'

With intransitive verbs, *hoogu* is usually marked for third person neuter, but subjects other than neuter can also occur.

avar satt-hoodru 'he died'

Examples of verbs with *hoogu*:

bend-hoogu 'become overcooked'

mugd-hoogu 'get completely finished'

batt-hoogu 'get dried up, dessicated'

keTT-hoogu 'get spoiled'

mart-hoogu 'become forgotten'

oNag-hoogu 'become completely dry'

tagg-hoogu 'get lowered down'

hedar-hoogu 'become afraid (involuntarily)'

3.8.4. The aspect marker *aaDu* 'durative, competitive'. *aaDu* 'durative, competitive' is homophonous with *aaDu* 'play', and has the same tense formations (see 3.4.5.1). It imparts the notion of continuity after intransitive verbs, whereas with transitive verbs it indicates that the action is reciprocal but 'competitive' (or 'antagonistic').

avr ooDidru 'they ran'

avr ooD-aaDidru 'they ran around'

avar kaccidru 'they bit (something)'

avar kacc-aaDidru 'they bit each other'

3.8.5. The aspect marker *koDu* 'benefactive'. The use of the aspect marker *koDu*, which is homophonous with the lexical verb *koDu* 'give' and is conjugated in the same way (see 3.4.5.6), imparts a 'benefactive' notion to the sentence; that is, it gives the idea that one does something for the benefit of someone else. This contrasts with the 'self-benefactive' or 'reflexive' aspect marker *koLLu* (see 3.8.8), the use of which indicates that one does something for one's own benefit. *koDu* is usually used only with transitive verbs.

raaju ond kate barda 'Raju wrote a story'

raaju ond kate bard-koTTa 'Raju wrote a story for someone'

Some examples of verbs with *koDu*:

hiDid-koDu 'catch for someone else'

biT-koDu 'leave for someone'

toors-koDu 'show on someone's behalf'

kaT-koDu 'tie up (something) for someone'

3.8.6. The aspect marker *nooDu* 'experimentive'. The aspect marker *nooDu*, which is homophonous with the lexical verb *nooDu* 'see' and is conjugated like it (see 3.4.5.1), adds a notion of doing something as a test, or to see what the outcome of some action might be. It is usually used only with transitive verbs, but also sometimes with (intransitive) verbs of motion.

raaju solpa kaafi kuDda 'Raju drank some coffee'

raaju solpa kaafi kuDid-nooDda 'Raju tried drinking/tasted some coffee'

avn all hooda 'he went there'

avn all hoog-nooDda 'he tried going there'

Other examples of verbs with *nooDu*:

muT-nooDu 'examine by touching, feel (something)'

tind-nooDu 'examine by eating, taste'

nint-nooDu 'try (something) by standing (on something)'

3.8.7. The aspect marker *haaku* 'exhaustive, malefactive'. The aspect marker *haaku* is homophonous with the main verb *haaku* 'put, place', and takes regular ("weak") tense formations (see 3.4.5.1). It is used mainly with transitive verbs, and in some instances, indicates that the action was carried out in a complete and all-encompassing manner.

avar baTTeen vagidru 'they washed the clothes'

avar baTTeen vagd-haakidru 'they washed all the clothes/they washed the clothes very thoroughly'

raaju aa anna tinda 'Raju ate that food'

raaju aa anna tind-haakda 'Raju finished off that food'

The use of *haaku* also indicates in some cases that the action was performed in an objectionable or malicious manner, against the speaker's wishes.

avan maDkeen oDda 'he broke the pot'

avan maDkeen oDd-haakda 'he purposefully (and maliciously) broke the pot'

As D.N.S. Bhat points out, this aspect marker is used mainly with verbs whose "physical action . . . has some noticeable effect on the object involved" (Bhat 1977:5). Thus it tends more often to be used with verbs like *kollu* 'kill', *bari* 'write', *kiiLu* 'pluck', *cellu* 'spill', *oDi* 'break', and so forth. *haaku* may also indicate direct malice, and thus contrasts with *hoogu* (see 3.8.3), which, when it follows a transitive verb, indicates that while the action is undesirable, it is involuntary.

3.8.8. The aspect marker *koLLu* 'reflexive, self-benefactive'. This aspect marker indicates that an action is carried out for the benefit of the agent of the action, rather than for someone else as is the case with *koDu* (see 3.8.5). *koLLu* no longer has an analogous main verb

in most dialects of SK, although there is a verb *koLLu* in LK (and in some spoken dialects) meaning 'buy, take, acquire'. *koLLu* is conjugated like an *o*-stem verb (see 3.4.5.8).

The aspect marker *koLLu* probably corresponds less to any one English expression than other aspect markers. Where English uses possessive pronouns (e.g., 'wash your face'), Kannada will often use *koLLu*. Also, Kannada often uses *koLLu* where English does not specify who is affected by an action, although the affected person is 'understood' (e.g., 'have (yourself) a look').

avn ond kate barda 'he wrote a story'

avn ond kate bard-koNDa 'he wrote himself a story'

ad maaD-kootiini 'I'll do that for myself'

kuut-koLLi 'sit down (seat yourself/selves)!'

kay-kaal toL-koLLi 'wash your hands and feet!'

snaana maaD-koLLi 'take a bath (make a bath for yourself/selves)!'

baTTe haak-koLLi 'get dressed (put clothes on yourself/selves)!'

pariikSeg nooTs bard-ko beeku '(one) must prepare (write for oneself) notes for the examination'

koLLu, in its past verbal participial form *koNDu* (see 3.5.2), is used to indicate that two actions are simultaneous. It is attached to the past verbal participle of the first verb in a sequence of two verbal actions, and can often be translated into English as 'while (doing something)'. At times, however, the past participle *koNDu* attached to a verb simply means 'having done for oneself'.

jooD haak-koNDu, guDiyoLag hoog beeDa 'don't go into a temple while wearing shoes!'

ill uuTa maaD-koNDu, hoogi 'having eaten (made) your meal here, then go'

A useful list of verbs taking the aspect marker *koLLu* can be found in Ramanujan (1963:235-36).

Many Kannada verbs have become so closely linked with *koLLu* that they rarely occur without it in SK. All SK verbs that end in *o* are of this sort.

LK *tegedu* + *koLLu* → SK *togo* ~ *takko* 'take (for oneself)'

LK *vagi* + *koLLu* → SK *okko* ~ *vakko* 'wash (one's clothes)'

LK *malagi* + *koLLu* → SK *malko* ~ *makko* 'lie down'

3.8.9. The aspect marker *iru* 'perfective'. The aspect marker *iru*, homophonous with the copula *iru* 'be', and using the same tense markers (see 3.4.5.5), may be affixed to the past participle of a main verb (see 3.5.2) to indicate that the result of an action continues after the main action has finished. This construction is also used to indicate that the speaker has completed a particular action before the time of occurrence of the main verb, which is similar in meaning to the perfect tenses of other languages. Since *iru* may have tense markers attached, it is possible to get the equivalents of past perfect, present perfect, and habitual/future perfect tenses with this construction.

With verbs of motion, the affixation of *iru* indicates that the motion is completed, but that the result lasted for some time and may still be relevant.

naan all hoog-idde 'I went there (and stayed), I had been there'

naan band-iddiini 'I came (and am still here), I have come'

naan band-idde 'I came (and was still here when. . .), I had come'

naan band-irtiini 'I will come (and be here when. . .), I will have come'

3.8.10. The aspect marker *-ttaa iru* 'durative'. When *iru* 'be' follows the present verbal participial marker *-ttaa* of a main verb (see 3.5.1), the notion given is one of duration or continuous action.¹⁰ This is similar to the English progressive tenses, as in 'I am/was/will be going'. Although the present verbal participle is formed by adding *-aa* to the verb stem + *-tt-* 'present', in both LK and SK the *-aa* is generally deleted unless emphasis is desired on immediacy or durative aspects.

bart-iddiini 'I am coming'

bartaa iddiini 'I am coming (right now)'

maadD(aa) idde 'I was doing (something)'

kuut-koot(aa) idde 'I was sitting'

nooD(aa) ir beeku '(one) must be/is probably seeing (something)'

haakt(aa) ir beeDa '(one) shouldn't/must not be putting (something)'

When the future/habitual of *iru* is added to a main verb, the meaning is that of future or habitual continuous action.

hoogt(aa) irtiini 'I will be going, I usually am going'

In LK, and some other dialects, the verb *baa* 'come' may sometimes be substituted for *iru* following the present participle to express a repetitive notion.

Lk *avaru maaDuttaa baruttaare* 'he keeps on doing (something)'

3.8.11. The aspect marker *aagu* 'finality'. The aspect marker *aagu*, homophonous with the main verb *aagu* 'become', may be used to indicate that some long-awaited result has finally taken place. It always occurs in the past neuter singular form *aaytu*, which seems to indicate that in underlying form a whole sentence or proposition is the subject of *aagu*. That is, in the example below, the first sentence probably comes from an underlying sentence like the second.

avar band-aaytu 'he finally came'

avaru bandadadu aaytu 'his coming finally occurred'

3.8.12. Other aspect markers in LK and other dialects of SK. In LK, some other verbs may be used as aspect markers; for example, aspectual *iDu*, homophonous with the main verb *iDu* 'put, place', is used to give the notion of 'completive'.

In other dialects of SK, some other verbs may also be found with aspectual uses. For example, in the dialect of A. K. Ramanujan (also a speaker of standard SK) there are a number of what he calls "post verbs" that occur with aspectual meaning (Ramanujan 1963:218-32). For him, *aaDu* (see 3.8.4) is not widely used, occurring only after a limited number of verbs. However, *baa* (see 3.8.10) has in addition to its 'repetitive' sense also a 'completive' meaning with certain verbs.

ad tiLid-bantu 'it came to be known'

ad kaND-bantu 'it came to be seen, it was recognized'

Draiv maaDu 'drive (a car)'
istri maaDu 'iron (clothing)'
prayatna maaDu 'try, work hard' (literally, 'make effort')
kelsa maaDu 'work'
kelsa maaDsu 'have someone do the work'
uuTa maaDu 'eat (a meal)'

For a useful list of verbs formed with *maaDu*, see Ramanujan (1963: 237 ff.).

maaDisu, the causative of *maaDu* (see 3.9), is sometimes used instead of *maaDu* in these constructions, with the meaning 'have someone else do x'.

riharsal maaDsu 'get (someone) to rehearse'
kelsa maaDsu 'get the work done'

3.11.2. The verbalizer *aagu*. *aagu* 'become' is often used to make a verb out of a noun when the verbal notion desired is stative rather than active (indicating a state or change of state, rather than an action performed on an object). The resulting constructions are intransitive.

arth aagu 'understand'
paas aagu 'pass (e.g., an examination)'

3.11.3. The verbalizer *paDu*. *paDu* 'experience, feel' is used to make verbs out of (usually) Indo-Aryan noun loans.

kaSTa paDu 'be difficult'
santooSa paDu 'be happy'

paDu and *aagu* are also sometimes used to passivize verbs, by adding them to the infinitive.

nooDal paDu 'be seen'
maaDal aagu 'be/get done'

3.11.4. The verbalizers *biDu*, *biiLu*, and *aaDu*. *biDu* 'leave', *biiLu* 'fall', and *aaDu* 'play' may also be used to make verbs from certain nouns.

saikal biDu 'ride a bicycle'
kaar biDu 'drive a car'
paTa biDu 'fly a kite'
jagL aaDu 'quarrel'
maat aaDu 'speak (play words)'
naaTak aaDu 'perform a play'

hinde biiLu 'fall behind'
munde biiLu 'come forward'
meele biiLu 'be forward'
k(h)aayle biiLu 'fall ill'
haLu biiLu 'fall into disuse'
sat biiLu 'die (fall dead)'