4

SYNTAX

Until very recently, Kannada syntax has not been thoroughly studied. In the last fifteen years, a number of doctoral dissertations have appeared (e.g., Ramanujan 1963, Nayak 1967, Ullrich 1968, Nadkarni 1970) that have treated various aspects of Kannada either in a general way or as a study of particulars of specific dialects. No thorough study of the syntax of modern Kannada has yet appeared in English, and when the first draft of this grammar was written, D. N. S. Bhatt's *kannada vaakyagaḷu* (1978) had not yet become available in this country. That work treats the subject of syntax in Kannada thoroughly and in a modern framework; unfortunately, because it is not in English, it is not available for reference for those knowing no Kannada. Until the appearance of this work, the task of writing about Kannada syntax in English consisted of summarizing the few existing studies; since its appearance, an adequate presentation of Kannada syntax requires a translation of his study into English. Obviously, this is not a possibility, but neither would an English summarization be sufficient.

Our solution, and we are fully aware of its deficiencies, is to present a revised version of our earlier draft of this chapter, with cross-references to Bhatt wherever pertinent. In the meantime, we await either a full translation into English of his work, so that non-Kannada speaking scholars can benefit from it, or other studies of Kannada syntax stimulated by it.

4.0.1. Word Order. The basic word order in a Kannada sentence is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). Other orders can be found in a sentence, due to stylistic variation or for other reasons. Generally, the verb occurs as the last constituent of the sentence. However, sometimes in colloquial speech, the verb may be followed either by the subject or the object; this may be called "after-thought" word order, since the speaker may not have thought out the sentence well and wants to add something. It may also be due to extraposition (see 4.10.1), which has the function of focusing on some element of the sentence for emphasis or other reasons.

Traditionally, a simple sentence is described as consisting of a subject and a predicate as shown below:

Subject	Predicate	
	Object	Verb
avanu	*paaT(h)a*	*oodda*
he	lesson	studied

'he studied the lesson'

4.0.1.1. Subject. The subject of a sentence is usually a noun or noun phrase. It usually occurs in the nominative case (see 2.3.1), except in certain instances where the sentence has either a psychological verb or a stative-defective verb (see 3.7), or where the sentence has the copula *iru* in the sense of 'have' (see 3.7.4). In these cases, the subject occurs with the dative case as shown below:

nange tale noovatte 'I have a headache'
to me head aches

ninge kannaDa gottaa? 'do you know Kannada?'
to you Kannada known Q

avrig erD makL iddaare 'he has two children'
to him two children exist

arsarig doD armane ide 'the king has a big palace'
to the king big palace exists

The subject of a sentence is an important structural element and plays a crucial role in many grammatical processes in the language. As already noted, the subject occurs normally in the initial portion of a sentence.

It is always in agreement with the verb with respect to PNG (see 3.4.1), except in the case of those dative subjects discussed earlier.

naanu I			*oodtiini* 'I read the book' read
naavu we			*oodtiivi* 'we read the book' read
niinu you (sing')			*oodtii(ya)* 'you read the book' read
niivu you (pl.)	*pustaka* book		*oodtiiri* 'you read the book' read
avanu he			*oodtaane* 'he reads the book' reads
avaLu she			*oodtaaLe* 'she reads the book' reads
avaru he she they			*oodtaare* 'he/she/they read(s) reads(s) the book'

When a sentence is passivized, it is the subject that is optionally moved to the object position along with the instrumental case marker in the passivized sentence (see 3.11.3).

> *naan pustka oodde* 'I read (past tense) a book'

> *pustka nanninda oodalpaTtu* 'the book was read by me'
> book   by me   read was

Further, when a sentence contains another noun or pronoun (third person only) that is coreferential, i.e., refers to the same thing, as the subject, this noun or pronoun is replaced by the reflexive pronoun *taanu* (Sridhar 1979:3). This is illustrated by the following examples:

> *avn   tan   maneeg   hoogtaane* 'he goes to his (own) house'
> he   his own   house   goes

> *avn   nang   tan   mane   toorsda* 'he   showed   me   his   (own)
> he   to me   his own   house   showed   house'

In the last example, *tan* 'one's own' can only refer to *avn*, the subject, and not to *nange*, the indirect object.

4.0.2. Predicate. The predicate of a sentence (in addition to the structures seen above) may consist of a noun phrase only (with no obvious verb present on the surface level). In these cases, the sentence consists of two noun phrases, one as the subject and the other as the predicate, and it is called an equational sentence; such sentences usually express the "identity" of the two nouns.

> *avr meeStru* 'he is a teacher'
> he   teacher

> *naan huDga* 'I am a boy'
> I   boy

The predicate may also have only a verb:

> *avn hoogtaane* 'he goes (somewhere)'
> he   goes

> *naan bande* 'I came'
> I   came

The predicate may also have a noun (phrase) and a verb as well. The two together make up the verb phrase. The object of a sentence is the noun phrase "dominated" by (affected by) the verb phrase. This can be illustrated by the following tree diagram:

'he reads a book'
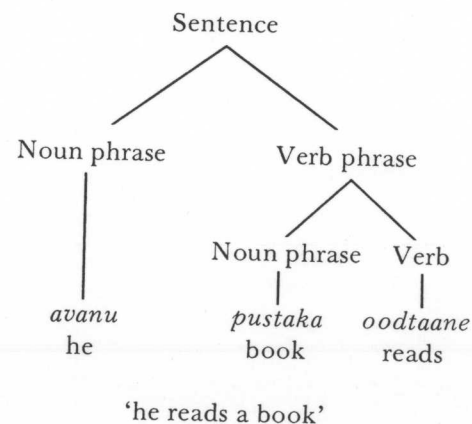
In this sentence there are two noun phrases, one as the subject, *avanu*, dominated directly by the sentence node, and one in the predicate, *pustaka*, dominated by the verb phrase, that is, the object of the verb.

The object of a verb generally occurs with the accusative (objective) case marker *-anna* (see 2.3.3), which is obligatorily present with rational nouns (see 2.1) and only optional with nonrational (neuter) nouns or noun phrases. However, when the neuter noun is marked with the accusative case marker, it has a redundant semantic nuance, namely, that it is a particular thing.

avn   meeSTran   nooDa 'he saw the teacher'
he teacher (acc.)   saw

*avn meeSTru nooDda

avn sinma nooDda 'he saw a movie'
he   movie   saw

avn   sinmaan   nooDda 'he saw the movie'
he   movie (acc.)   saw

The basic order of a noun phrase is the same whether it be the subject or the object (or whatever) of the sentence, although they behave syntactically differently in the sentence (e.g., are marked with different case markers to indicate different functions in the sentence, etc.).

4.0.3. The noun phrase.

A noun phrase is a phrase consisting mainly of a noun or pronoun, but also optionally other constituents (see 2). For example, it may consist of the following:

a proper noun	*raama* (banda) Rama came
a pronoun (see 2.4)	*avn (banda)* he came
a common noun	*huDga (banda)* a boy came
a numeral + a common noun	*muur huDugru (bandru)* three boys came
demonstrative particle + numeral + common noun	*ii muur huDugru (bandru)* these three boys came
demonstrative particle + numeral + adjective + common noun	*aa naak cik manegLu (nooDde)* those four small houses I saw

Sometimes a whole sentence can also occur as a relative clause before a noun, thus complicating the structure of the noun phrase even fur-

ther. Some quantifiers such as *ella* 'all' and *solpa* 'some' (see 2.6.9) can also occur after the noun, as in *haal-ella* 'all the milk'. In the case of plural rational nouns the quantifying adjectives also optionally take the plural suffix *-ru*.

ii   huDugr elru bandru 'all these boys came'
these boys all   came

bisi anna solpa koDi 'give (me) a little hot rice!'
hot rice little give

Further the noun can be followed by case markers (see 2.3), emphatic particles (see 4.11.1), emphatic markers such as *kuuDa* 'also' and *maatra* 'only', and also by the yes-no question marker *-aa* (see 4.3). The nominative case marker is zero, but the presence of the accusative case marker together with various noun-phrase constituents that follow the noun can be seen in the following:

ii   huDugran   nooDde 'I saw these boys'
these boys (acc.) saw I

ii   huDugr   ellarn nooDde 'I saw all these boys'
these boys all (acc.) saw I

ii   huDugr   ellarn kuuDa nooDide 'I also saw all these boys'
these boys all (acc.) also   saw I

4.0.4. The verb phrase.

A verb phrase mainly consists of an optional noun phrase and a verb. As in other Dravidian languages, the verb in Kannada is much more complex than the noun. It occurs as the last constituent of the sentence or sentential clause. Verbs can conveniently be divided into finite and nonfinite forms (see 3).

A finite verb form consists mainly of the following:

a verb stem (see 3.1) + tense marker (see 3.4.2-3) + PNG (see 3.4.1)
  hoog- + tt + iini 'I go'

a verb stem + (infinitive) (see 3.2) + modal (see 3.6) *hoog-a-beeku*
  'must go'

a verb stem + (infinitive) + negative (see 4.4) *hoog-al-illa*
  'didn't go'

a verb stem (past) + aspect (see 3.8) + tense + PNG *hoog(i) +*
  biT-T-e 'definitely went'

When a modal or negative occurs, the infinitive must be attached to the verb; when aspect is chosen, the verb stem must be in the past. Also with modal or negative, PNG is absent (see 3.6.4 for exception); it is also absent when nonfinite forms of the verb occur. Other combinations of the above may occur—aspect may be followed by an infinitive and a modal, or another aspect marker, or occasionally a negative; the verb stem may be followed by various kinds of participles (see 3.5) or by the causative (see 3.9), or verbs may be conjoined in various ways. Emphatic particles (clitics, see 4.11) can also occur in the verb phrase.

4.1. Adjectives. This section concentrates on the syntax of adjectives in the noun phrase. In section 2.6, the formation and structure of adjectives was discussed, as well as the question of whether there are any "true" adjectives in Kannada or whether they must be derived from other constituents. Here are some examples of noun phrases containing adjectives:

> *aa   pustka oLLe pustka* 'that book is a good book'
> that book good book
>
> *aa pustka oLLeedu* 'that book is (a) good (one)'
> that book   good one
>
> *ad   oLLee pustka* 'that (one) is a good book'
> that one good book
>
> *ad   oLLeedu* 'that (one) is (a) good (one)'
> that one good one

As we note in 2.6, adjectives may be simple (true) or derived (see 2.6.2 ff.) from nouns or verbs.

> *doD mane* 'a big house'
> big house
>
> *hos daara* 'new thread'
> new thread
>
> *cik pustka* 'a small book'
> small book
>
> *cikk-avnu* 'a small male'
>
> *doDD-avLu* 'a big (older) girl'

> *baD-avru* 'poor persons'
> *hos-du* 'a new one/thing'
> *ob-nu* 'one male'

The genitive of nouns (see 2.3.2) and pronouns (see 2.5.3.1) may also be used adjectivally:

> *raaman mane* 'Raman's house'
> *nan pustka* 'my book'
> *nimm uuru* 'your village'

4.1.1. Adjectival participles. Adjectives may be derived from verbs, in which case they are called adjectival participles (see 3.5.5-6). They consist of verb stem plus tense (present or past) plus either *-oo* or *-a*.

4.1.2. Present adjectival participle. The present adjectival participle is formed by adding *-oo* (from *uva*; see 1.3.5.1) to the present stem of the verb (see 3.1).

> *bar-oo vaara* 'next week (the coming week)'
> come week
>
> *nooD-oo jaaga* 'the place (one is) seeing'
>   see   place
>
> *bar-yoo kate* 'the story (one is) writing'
>   write   story
>
> *hoog-oo mane* 'the house (to which one is) going'
>   go   house

It may be noted that since English cannot freely derive adjectives from verbs, many of these adjectival participles are not equivalent to adjectives in English, but rather to phrases or clauses. There may also be some ambiguity as to whether the modified noun is the subject of the adjectival verb (*baroo vaara* 'the week that is coming') or the object (*nooD-oo jaaga* 'the place one is seeing' rather than 'the place that does the seeing'); this must be determined by the context.

Syntactically, adjectival participles occur when two sentences are combined. That is, what underlies the adjectival participle *baroo* in *baroo vaara* is a phrase (or clause or sentence) such as *ondu vaara baratte* 'a week comes' that is combined with another clause (phrase,

sentence) in which *vaara* becomes the subject or object of another verb:

(a) *ondu vaara baratte* + (b) *aa vaaradalli hoogtiini*
'one week comes'   'in that week I go'

By the process of 'embedding', the verb of (a) becomes *baroo,* its noun phrase *ondu vaara* is deleted, and a new sentence is created with the verb of (a) modifying the noun *vaara* in (b):

baroo vaaradalli hoogtiini 'I will go in the coming week'

This process is treated in section 4.9 (see also Bhatt 1978: 377 ff.).

4.1.3. Past adjectival participle.

The past adjectival participle is formed by adding *-a* to the past stem of the verb (see 3.1.1. and 2.6.2).

band-a huDga 'the boy who came'
hood-a mane 'the house (to which one) went'
hood-a vaara 'the week that went, last week'
koTT-a pustka 'the book that one gave, the given book'

4.1.4. Perfect adjectival participles.

Perfect (or perfective) adjectival participles can be formed by adding adjectival endings *-oo* or *-a* to a verb aspectually marked with *-iru,* the perfective aspect marker (see 3.8.9). Since *-iru* can be marked for either present or past tense, we can get forms like the following:

band-ir-oo huDga 'the boy who has come'
koTT-ir-oo pustka 'the book that has been given'
bard-ir-oo kate 'the story that has been written'
band-idd-a huDga 'the boy who had come (and stayed)'
koTT-idd-a pustka 'the book that had been given (and kept)'
bard-idd-a kate 'the story that had been written'

4.1.5. Denominal adjectival participles.

Adjectives can also be derived from nouns by the addition of the past adjectival participle of *aagu* 'become', *aada,* plus optionally the present adjectival participle of *iru, iroo.* When *iroo* is used, it must be attached to the past participle of *aagu, aag(i).* The difference in meaning is not so much one of tense, but of alienable versus inherent qualities.

kemp-aad baTTe 'red cloth'
ettarvaad huDga 'tall boy'
kemp-aag-iroo baTTe 'red cloth'
*ettarvaag-iroo huDga

kemp-aada is an inherent or inalienable red, whereas *kemp-aag-iroo* is a red that has been added, for example, to cloth, and can be removed, such as a red spot. *ettaravaada* 'tall' is an inalienable quality of the boy; in other words, he cannot be made more or less tall.

The relation of the adjective to the noun it qualifies seems to be closer than that of the adverb to the verb. Participles such as emphatic markers, yes/no question markers, and so forth, cannot occur between the adjective and the noun (see example below), whereas they can occur between the adverb and the verb (see example d).

(a) *aa oLLe huDugn-aa bandiddu?* 'is it that good boy who came?'
    that good   boy   Q coming

(b) **aa oLLeeyaa huDga banda?*
    that   good Q   boy   came

(c) *aa oLLe huDga ninne banda* 'that good boy came yesterday'
                         yesterday

(d) *aa oLLe huDga ninnenaa bandiddu?* 'was it yesterday that that
                                        good boy came?'

(e) *aa oLLe huDga maatra banda* 'that good boy alone came'
                         only

(f) **aa oLLe maatra huDga banda*

(g) *aa oLLe huDga ninne maatra banda* 'that good boy came
                                        yesterday only'

In sentences (a) and (d), when constituents other than the verb are questioned, clefting, that is, converting the verb to a verbal noun, is obligatory; extraposing the questioned item is optional (see 3.5.8, 4.10).

4.2. Adverbs.

Generally, the adverb immediately precedes the verb in Kannada. Adverbs may be either simple or derived from nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Examples of simple adverbs are:

tumba 'very'
beega 'quickly'
punaa 'again'

Adverbs can be classified according to their meaning as adverbs of place, of time, and of manner (Andronov 1969:66).

Adverbs of place:
    munde 'in front of'   *duura* 'away, far'
    naDuve 'in the middle'   *madye* 'in the middle'

Time expressions:
    iiga 'now'
    naaLe 'tomorrow'
    saayankaala 'evening'

Adverbs of manner:
    beega 'quickly'   *spaSTa* 'clearly'
    innuu 'more'   *bahaLa* 'very, much'

Adverbs can also be formed from demonstrative roots (see 2.6.6). Adverbs of quantity are formed by prefixing demonstrative prefixes *i-*, *a-*, and *e-* to *-STu*: *iSTu* 'this much', *aSTu* 'that much', *eSTu* 'how much'. Manner adverbs are formed by prefixing demonstrative prefixes (see 2.6.6) to *-ge*: *hiige* 'this way', *haage* 'that way', *heege* (or *hæge*) 'how'. Adverbs of place are formed by prefixing demonstrative prefixes to *-lli*: *illi* 'here', *alli* 'there', *elli* 'where'.

4.2.1. Derived adverbs.

Nouns can be made into adverbs by the addition of the suffix *-aagi*:

vipriita 'excess' + *aagi* → *vipriitvaagi* 'excessively'
curuku 'sharpness' + *aagi* → *curkaagi* 'sharply'
doDDadu 'big thing' + *aagi* → *doDdaagi* 'largely'

Some of these nouns can be nominalized adjectives (see 2.6.5) such as the last example. Some other adverbs end in *-e* or *-ge;* many of them are also postpositions (see 2.4).

mettage 'softly'
taNNage 'coolly'

The adverbial marker *-ce* is added to the demonstrative adjectives (see 2.6.6) *ii* and *aa* to get *iice* 'this side', and *aace* 'that side'. It must be noted that the adverbial marker *-ge* can be added to these adverbial forms to indicate specificity, that is, *iicege* 'this very side, place', *aacege* 'that very side, place'.

The adverbial suffix *-aagi* is added to onomatopoeic words such as *joor-* to get *jooraagi* 'loudly'. Onomatopoeic expressions can also occur alone, or reduplicated:

gaDabaDa 'noisily, hastily'
bhag-bhaga 'of burning'

Single onomatopoeic forms can occur before the quotative marker *-anta* (see 4.5) to form adverbs (Ramanujan 1963:147):

phakk-anta 'suddenly'   *thaTT-anta* 'all at once'
phaTT-anta 'quickly'   *ghoLL-anta* 'of laughter, guffaws'

-aagi added to reduplicated forms indicates intensity:

joor-jooraagi 'very loudly'

Sometimes *-aagi* is optional with simple adverbs:

beega 'quickly'

4.2.2. Sentential adverbs.

Some adverbs in Kannada have to be distinguished as sentential, that is, as modifying the whole sentence, rather than just the verb phrase.

nijvaaglu, avn illig banda 'truly, he came here'
  truly   he here came

avn nijvaag illig banda 'he truly came here'
he   truly here came

avn beega illig banda 'he came here quickly'
he quickly here came

With sentential adverbs, it is possible to form a kind of sentence called a cleft sentence, which is not possible with nonsentential adverbs. With cleft sentences, the sentential adverb is moved to the end of the sentence, after the verb; and the verb is nominalized (see 3.5.8, 4.9.5).

avn illig bandad nija 'that he came here is true (it is true that
he came here)'

This is not possible with nonsentential adverbs:

*avn illig bandad beega *'that he came here is quick'

Although adverbs generally occur near the verb, they can be moved
around in the sentence (so-called scrambling) for stylistic effect. Fur-
thermore, emphatic participles and yes/no question markers can occur
with adverbs.

avn maneeg nidhaanvaag banda
avn nidhaanvaag maneeg banda } 'he came home slowly'
nidhaanvaag avn maneeg banda
avn nidhaanvaag-y-aa maneeg banda? 'did he come home slowly?'
avn maneeg nidhaanvaag-taane banda 'he came home slowly
indeed'

Adverbs formed from nominalized adjectives (see 2.6.5) contrast with
identity statements (see 4.0.2) in the following way:

ad hosdu 'that is new (permanently)'
ad hosd-aag-ide 'that one is (now) new'

In the last example, the nominalized adjective + *aagi* must be followed
by a form of the copula *iru*. This use indicates nonhabitualness, a
temporary state, whereas identity statements indicate an habitual or
permanent state, unlimited by time.

Since English speakers often are unclear as to when Kannada *iru* is
the equivalent of English 'be', and when it is not, it is perhaps well to
summarize briefly. In equational sentences (see 4.0.2) expressing the
identity of two nouns, *iru* is not present. 'I am a doctor' is translated
simply *naan DaakTaru*. This expresses the notion that the state of
being a doctor is permanent. If this state is not permanent, but tem-
porary, then *-aag iru* is required: *naan DaakTar-aag-iddiini* 'I am
serving as a doctor (at the moment)'. Sentences with English 'be' in
the sense of 'being located' are always expressed with *iru: naan may-
suurnall-iddiini* 'I am in Mysore' (Bhatt 1978: 150 ff.).

4.3. Interrogatives.   Questions or interrogative sentences are formed
in Kannada in a number of ways. Any sentence can be made interroga-

tive. by adding the yes/no question marker *-aa* to almost any consti-
tuent, although the most general way is by adding it to to the last
constituent, usually the finite verb. When *-aa* is added to any other
constitutent, that particular item is focused upon and questioned. In
general, intonation rises on *-aa*.

avn   naaLe   uurg   hoogtaane 'tomorrow he will go to town'
he tomorrow to town   goes

avnaa↑ naaLe uurg hoogoodu? 'is it <u>he</u> who is going to town
tomorrow?'

avn naaLenaa ↑ uurg hoogoodu? 'is he going to town <u>tomorrow</u>?'
avn naaLe uurgaa↑ hoogoodu? 'is he going <u>to town</u> tomorrow?'
avn naaLe uurg hoogtaanaa↑? 'is he <u>going</u> to town tomorrow?'

Note that whenever a constituent other than the verb is questioned, the
verb must be clefted (see 4.10), that is, converted into a verbal noun
(see 3.5.8). It must be noted that the yes/no question marker cannot
be added to any constituent of the noun phrase except the noun
itself.

aa   oLLe huDga   uurg   banda 'that good boy came to town'
that good   boy to town came

*aa oLLeyaa huDga uurg banda?
avn   kate barda 'he wrote a story'
he story wrote

avnaa kate bardiddu? 'did <u>he</u> write a story?'
avn kateyaa bardiddu? 'did he write <u>a story</u>?'
naan kate(en) barda hudgan nooDde 'I saw the boy who wrote
 I   story   wrote boy   saw   the story'
nan kate(en) bard huDgannaa nooDiddu? 'did I see the <u>boy</u> who
                                       wrote the story? (is it
                                       the boy who wrote the
                                       story that I saw?)'

*naan kateenaa bard huDgan nooDde?

4.3.1. WH-interrogatives.   Kannada, like many other languages, has
another kind of question, called in transformational grammar 'WH-
questions' (because the English question words often begin with 'wh-',

such as 'who, what, where', and so forth). In Kannada these question words usually begin with *e-, ee-* or *yaa-*, such as *elli* 'where', *eenu* 'what', *yaaru* 'who', *eSTu* 'how much', *yaavdu* 'which one'. These words often form sets (see 2.5.2) with noninterrogative demonstrative pronouns and adverbs; for example, *elli* 'where' is part of a set with *illi* 'here' and *alli* 'there'. These interrogative words then ask questions about the location, time, amount, manner, identity, substance, and so forth, of things, and the answer to such a question is the corresponding demonstrative pronoun/adverb in *-i* and *-a*. That is, every constituent in the sentence can be replaced by an *e*-word, in asking questions about those constituents.

avr he *yaaru?*	*ninne* yesterday *yaavaaga?*	*nange* to-me *yaarge?*	*erDu* two *eSTu?*	*pustka* books	*koTru* gave
			eenu?		
			een maaDidru?		

| 'yesterday
(when) | he
(who) | gave
(did what) | to me
(to whom) | two
(how many) | books'
(what) |

In the above sentence, it is possible to replace *erDu* 'two' with *eSTu* 'how many', or to replace *erDu pustka* 'two books' with *eenu* 'what', or to replace *erDu pustka koTru* 'he gave two books' with *een maaDidru?* 'what did he do?'. Also, more than one interrogative pronoun/adverb can occur in a sentence, as in:

yaarn   el   nooDidri 'whom did you see where?'
whom where you saw

In general, when *e*-words occur in a sentence, interrogative *-aa* cannot occur, unless it is a sort of secondary question in which one asks a question about another question:

"een?"   ant   heeLidnaa? 'did he say, "What"?'
"what" quotative he said Q

Usually, in such double interrogatives, intonation, which usually rises on *-aa,* will fall.

4.3.2. Reduplicated WH-interrogatives.
When *e*-words are reduplicated (repeated twice in succession) the meaning is 'distributive'.

ell-elli? 'where all'
een-eenu? 'what all'
yaar-yaaru? 'who all'
ell-el hoogidri? 'where all did you go? (to what different places did you go?)'

If case markers are added, they are added to only the last of the doublet:

yaar-yaarg koTri? 'to what different persons did you distribute (it)?'

4.3.3. Tag questions.
In tag questions speakers follow a declarative sentence with the equational negative particle *alla* (see 4.4.1) plus interrogative *-aa: allavaa.* This is used to verify all kinds of propositions, equational and others.

niiv bandidri, alvaa? 'you came, didn't you?'
niiv shivrao, alvaa? 'you are Shivarao, aren't you?'

Unlike English, where the verb or auxiliary verb must be repeated, with a pronoun, in Kannada *allavaa* is used with any utterance, even if the original utterance is negative.

avn uuTa maaDlilla, alvaa? 'he didn't eat, did he?'

4.3.4. Adjectival use of WH-interrogatives.
When *e*-words are used adjectivally, they impart an exclamatory rather than interrogative meaning:

ad   eST   cennaag-ide! 'how good (beautiful) that is!'
that how much good is

avL een   kaSTa paTLu! 'what trouble she had!'
she what trouble felt

In such exclamations, intonation usually falls and then rises slightly toward the end of the sentence. In some cases *gottaa?* 'do you know?' is added after the exclamatory sentence:

ad eST cennaag-ide, gottaa? '(do you know) how good (beautiful) that is!'

4.3.5. WH-interrogatives with clitics and concessive.

When clitics and the concessive *aadaruu* (see 4.8.8) are added to WH- interrogatives, the notion of interrogation is not present.

allig   yaaroo   bartaar-ante 'I've heard/it seems someone's
there to someone will come quote   coming there'

allig yaarnaadruu kaLsu 'send someone there'

4.3.5.1. WH-questions with -oo.

When the clitic *-oo* is added to the interrogative pronouns/adverbs, the interrogative meaning is replaced by a meaning equivalent to 'some-wh-or other'.

yaar-oo 'someone or other'
ell-oo 'somewhere or other'
een-oo 'something or other'
eST-oo 'some amount or other'

yaar bandru? 'who came?'
yaaroo bandru 'someone or other came'

Both examples presuppose that someone came, but in the first, the speaker requests information about who it was, while in the second a statement is made that some person, probably not known to the speaker, came. Further, the implication is not only that he does not know, but does not care to know—the information is not important. Often *gottilla* '(I) don't know' occurs with such sentences:

yaaroo bandru, gottilla 'someone or other came, I don't know who'
avn elligoo hoog beeku, gottilla 'he has to go somewhere or other,
                                                I don't know where'

*avL elligoo hoog beeku, gottide 'she had to go someplace or
                                                other, I know where'

*naan elligoo hooglilla **'I didn't go somewhere or other'

Note that WH-interrogatives with *-oo* cannot occur in negative sentences. In such cases, *-uu* would be used instead (see 4.3.5.4).

naan elliguu hooglilla 'I didn't go anywhere'

4.3.5.2. WH-interrogatives + Verb₁ + -oo, a-word + Verb₂.

When the particle *-oo* is added to a verb following a WH-interrogative,

followed by the corresponding remote demonstrative pronoun/adverb and another verb, a kind of comparative construction is formed:

avn   eST   koTnoo,   aST   tinde 'I ate as much as (whatever)
he how much gave   that much I ate   he gave (me) (however
                                                much he gave, I ate)'

avL   el   hoodloo,   al   naanuu hoode 'I went wherever she went
she where went   there I too went   (wherever she went, I also
                                                went)'

These sentences can also be translated 'no matter wh- X did, Y also did', in addition to 'wh-ever X did, Y did' (see Bhatt 1978: 425 ff.).

4.3.5.3. WH-interrogatives with aadaruu.

The concessive (see 4.8.8) of the verb *aagu* 'become', *aadaruu* (literally, 'even if it becomes') may be added to e-words to mean 'some-wh-' or 'some X'. Use of this form makes things more specific and less doubtful than use of *-oo* (see 4.3.5.1). It refers to some one or thing in a presupposed set, whereas with *-oo* nothing is presupposed or even known.

yaaroo bartaare 'someone or other (not known) will come'
yaar-aadruu bartaare 'someone (known/expected) will come'
*nang   gottiroo   yaaroo   bartaare
to me   known   someone or other   will come
   **'some unknown person known to me will come'

nang gottiroo yaaraadruu bartaare 'someone known to me will
to me known   someone will come   come'

Note that *aadaruu* cannot be used with interrogative pro-forms in negative or past tense marked sentences.

*illig yaaraadruu barolla **'someone will not come here'
illig yaaruu barolla 'no one will come here'
*ninne naan elgaadruu hoode **'yesterday I went anywhere'
ninne naan elloo hoode 'yesterday I went somewhere'

With the negative, *-uu* is used, and with the past, *-oo* would be used. It may be used in the interrogative, however.

naaLe   niiv elgaadruu hoogtiiraa? 'are you going somewhere
tomorrow you somewhere are going?   tomorrow?'

4.3.5.4. WH-interrogatives with -uu. The clitic *-uu* (see 4.11.4) can be added to WH-interrogatives to indicate totality, that is, 'every-wh-': 'everyone, everywhere, everything, always', and so forth. Most of these, however, are used only with the negative, to mean 'no-wh-': 'nowhere, no one, never', and so forth. Only *yaavaagluu* 'always' may be used either positively or negatively in a declarative sentence.

> *yaaruu* 'everyone' + *illa* → *yaaruu illa* 'nobody, no one'
> *elliguu* 'everywhere' + *illa* → *elliguu illa* 'nowhere'
> *eenuu* 'everything' + *illa* → *eenuu illa* 'nothing'
>
> *yaavaagluu bartaane* 'he always comes'
> *yaavaagluu barolla* 'he never comes'
> *elguu hoogolla* 'he doesn't go anywhere'
> **elguu hoogtaane* 'he goes everywhere'

Some dialects do permit the use of *yaavudu* as a positive quantifiier in the sense of 'each, all, every' but not this one. The above negative sentences can also be interrogativized:

> *yaavaagluu barolvaa?* 'doesn't he ever come?'
> *niiv elguu hooglilvaa?* 'didn't you go anywhere?'
> *il yaaruu barlilvaa?* 'didn't anyone come here?'

4.4. Negation. Negative forms in Kannada have been classified as synthetic and analytic (Andronov 1959:60). The analytic forms have been found to be more prevalent in colloquial speech while the synthetic forms are more common in literary Kannada. In modern SK the synthetic forms do occur in limited cases, such as negative finite forms, negative participial nouns, and so forth. In these forms it is difficult to isolate a negative particle or morpheme; in many cases the absence of some other marker or morpheme signifies negative (for example, see negative modals 3.6.1 ff.). The analytic forms, by contrast, are more transparent and obvious, and there is usually a negative particle, often *(i)lla* present to mark negation. Sometimes the analytic and synthetic forms coexist, but with contrasting meaning. As noted earlier (see 3.6.7), negative and affirmative (or positive) forms do not match one-to-one in Kannada, so that it is not always possible to say that one form or sentence is *the* negative of some other form or sentence. Often it is necessary to determine the scope of the nega-

tive, that is, what part of the sentence is being negated, before determining what the negative form is.

Negation in SK has not been thoroughly studied. Some sources (Biligiri 1959) list only two negatives; others, such as Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy (1972) give three or four forms but do not contrast their semantics sufficiently to give an adequate idea of what is what. Sources disagree, for example, as to whether the present-future negative is with *-olla* (Bright 1958, Biligiri 1959) or *-alla* (Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy 1972)—although it is quite possibly just a sociological difference; they also disagree over whether it is a present or future form. All the forms I have been able to isolate are given below, and I try to distinguish semantically among them as sharply as possible, recognizing also that there is a great deal of variation in the system, so that not all speakers recognize all forms and distinctions possible in the system. This is clearly an area that needs more work before a definitive statement can be made.

4.4.1. Finite negative forms. A synthetic negative form is formed by adding PNG (see 3.4.1) directly to the verb stem (Spencer 1950:67).

> *naanu maaD-enu* 'I do/will not do (it)'
> *avanu maaD-anu* 'he does/will not do (it)'
> *avaLu maaD-aLu* 'she does/will not do (it)'

Most of these forms occur only in LK, but sometimes the first person singular form will occur in SK, especially without the *-nu*.

> *naan maaDe* 'I will not do (it)'

More commonly, the analytic negative is used; it is formed by adding the negative markers *illa/alla* to the verb. *illa* is the negative of the copula *iru* whereas *alla* is the negative of *aagu* 'become'. *illa* negates propositions, whereas *alla* negates identity statements (equational sentences) (Amritavalli 1979). Analytic negative forms are the same for all persons, that is, they do not agree with subjects in PNG.

> *avr meeSTr alla* 'he is not a teacher'
> *id hosd alla* 'this is not (a) new (one)'
> *naan iNDyaadal-illa* 'I am not in India'
> *avn uurg hoogl-illa* 'he didn't go to the town'

4.4.2. Past negative. When *illa* is added to the infinitive (in *-al*) (see 3.2) a past tense negative form results. These forms cannot occur with *naaLe* 'tomorrow' although they can occur with *ivattu* 'today' because there is usually some time that has elapsed between the beginning of the day and the speech event.

> *avn ninne/ivat nan maneeg barlilla* 'he didn't come to my house
> yesterday/today'

> **avn naaLe nan maneeg barlilla* *'he didn't come to my house
> tomorrow'

4.4.3. Present-future (habitual) negative. This nonpast negative is formed in LK by adding *illa* to the verbal noun (see 3.5.8). In SK this form is shortened as follows:

> LK *maaDu+vu+du + illa* → SK *maaDood illa* → *maaD-olla* 'doesn't/
> won't do'

> LK *hoogu+vu+du + illa* → SK *hoogood illa* → *hoog-olla* 'doesn't/
> won't go'

By various phonological rules (see 1.4.5.1 ff.), these sequences are reduced from *-uvudilla* to *-oodilla* to *-olla* (and for some speakers, *-alla*; see Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy 1972). For most speakers, forms in *-oodilla* are felt to be more formal (closer to LK) than in *-olla,* but with no difference in meaning (other than "social" meaning). For some speakers, the more formal forms are felt to be more emphatic or more universal than more contracted forms in *-olla (-alla).*

> *naan uurg hoogoodilla/hoogolla* 'I don't usually go to town/ I
> won't (be) go(ing) to town'

> *avn ii kelsa maaDoodilla/maaDolla* 'he doesn't usually do this
> work/he won't (be) do(ing)
> this work'

When forms like these are emphasized, the underlying verbal noun (nominalized verb) appears:

> *naan uurg hoogood-ee-illa* 'I almost never go to town'

Habitual action can also be iterative, that is, repeated, in the sense that a number of repeated actions (or instances of failure to repeat) can

be construed as habitual; 'habitually not going', for example, consists of repeated acts of not going, starting in the past and continuing through the present into the future. Such statements of habitual action often then refer to characteristic qualities of the subjects, or to universal truths regarding them.

> *hasu maamsa tinnoodilla/tinnolla* 'cows don't eat meat'

4.4.4. Perfective negative. When *-illa* is added to the past participle (past stem, in most cases, see 3.5.2), a perfective negative is formed. This is because *illa* is the negative of *iru,* which can be used as a perfective aspect marker (see 3.8.9).

> *avn band-illa* 'he hasn't come'
> *avL heeL-illa* 'she hasn't said (something)'
> *avr koTT-illa* 'they haven't given (something)'

Since the past participle is the past stem minus *-d-,* the short vowel *-i-* is also deleted (see 1.3.6); the resultant form may with some verbs be very close in form to the past negative:

> *heeL-illa* 'hasn't said'
> *heeL-lilla* (which becomes *heeLLilla*) 'didn't say'

For verbs whose past participle is not the same as their past stem, such as *hoogu* 'go', the form is *hoogilla* 'hasn't gone'.

4.4.5. Durative negative. The durative negative is formed by negating *iru* following the durative aspect marker *-ttaa* (see 3.8.10) either in the present or perfective (see 4.4.4).

> *bartaa illa (bart-illa)* 'isn't coming'
> *hoogtaa illa (hoogt-illa)* 'isn't going'
> *bartaa-iddilla (bart-iddilla)* 'wasn't coming'
> *hoogt(aa) iddilla* 'wasn't going'

4.4.6. Negative of *iru*. Since *iru* has some tense forms that other verbs do not have (see 3.4.1.2, 3.4.5.5), it also has some negative forms not shared by other verbs.

illa as a general negative has already been mentioned (see 4.4.1). In addition, there is a past tense formed by adding *illa* to *iru: iralilla*

'wasn't'. Future-habitual is formed by adding *-uvudilla,* which shortens to *-oodilla* and then *-olla (-alla): irolla* 'won't be' (see 4.4.3).

naan baroo varSa iNDyaadal-irolla 'I won't be in India next year'

Perfective negative is formed by adding *illa* to the past of *iru: iddilla* 'hasn't been'.

naan nim maneel iddilla 'I haven't been in your house'

4.4.7. Negative participles. There are both adjectival and verbal negative participles in Kannada. They are tenseless, in contrast to the affirmative (positive) participles (see 3.5), although some distinctions of tense can be made by the use of aspectual verbs.

4.4.7.1. Adjectival negative participles. A negative adjectival participle is formed by adding *-ada* to a verb stem.

Affirmative Participle	Negative Participle
bar-oo huDga	*bar-ad huDga*
'the boy who comes'	'the boy who does not come'

A past negative adjectival participle can be formed by adding *-ada* to the perfective negative (see 4.4.4).

band huDga	*bandillad huDga*
'the boy who came'	'the boy who didn't come'

A durative negative adjective participle can be formed by adding *-ada* to the durative negative (see 4.4.5).

bart(aa) iroo huDga	*bart(aa) illad huDga*
'the boy who is coming'	'the boy who isn't coming'

The negative adjective participle of *iru* is simply the negative stem *ill-* plus *-ada,* and can be translated 'not being' as well as 'without'.

4.4.7.2. Negative verbal participle. The negative verbal participle is marked by adding *-ade* to the verb stem. This form has a meaning of 'not doing/having done such and such' or 'without doing something'. It is tenseless, although aspectual distinctions can be made by using the perfective aspect marker *iru* (see 3.8.9) in the negative (that is, by attaching *illade* to the past positive verbal participle (see 3.5.2).

naan tinde hoode 'I went without eating'

niiv ciila tand-ild-idre, naanee koDtiini 'if you haven't brought a bag, I'll give you one'

Usually the main verb following a negative participle is positive, but sometimes it may be followed by a negative aspectual verb, in which case the two negatives cancel each other out. That is, the two following sentences are roughly equivalent in meaning (D.N.S. Bhat 1977:5):

raaju aa sinma nooDde biDlilla 'Raju managed to see
Raju that movie without seeing did not leave   that movie with
                                                 great effort'

raaju aa sinma nooD biTTa 'Raju managed to see that
Raju that movie having seen left   movie with great effort'

In these usages, the aspect marker *biDu* (see 3.8.2) gives a meaning here of doing something with great effort, but only if the two verbs are either both positive or both negative.

4.4.8. Negative modals. For a discussion of the negative forms of modal verbs, see 3.6.1.-6.

4.5. Quotative verb. Kannada has a verb *annu,* which has a number of special phonological, syntactic, and semantic properties not shared by other verbs. It is essentially a quotative verb, that is, what precedes it is meant by the speaker to indicate that he or she is not the person who originally said something, but is quoting some other source. The quotative verb can occur as a main verb, instead of verbs such as *heeLu* 'say, speak, tell', *maataaDu* 'speak, converse', or as a verbal participle marking the end of the quotative material, followed then by a main verb such as *heeLu, maataaDu, keeLu* 'hear, ask', and so forth.

avn bartiini anda 'he said, "I will come"'
he I come said

avn bartiini   anta   heeLda 'he said, "I will come"'
he I come having said said

beesgeel   haN beeg keT-hoogatte antaare   ⎫ 'they say
summer in fruit   soon bad   goes they say   ⎪ fruit spoils
beesgeel haN beeg keT-hoogatte   ant heeLtaare ⎬ quickly
                         having said they say   ⎭ in summer'

When *anta* occurs in the participle form before another verb, its translation is redundant (even though many grammars will translate it as 'having said' or 'thinking thus', etc.). It merely serves to set off quoted material from nonquoted material, and acts thus as a sort of overt quotation mark, the way some English speakers may say "unquote."

anta also occurs in many other constructions that are in structure like quotative sentences, but in some of these no direct or indirect quotation is meant. These will be dealt with below.

annu is unusual phonologically in that its initial vowel is often deleted following a word ending in a vowel, and this preceding vowel is then lengthened. Thus for example *beeku + anta* often becomes *beekuu-nt(a)*, as in the examples (a) and (b) in 4.5.3.

4.5.1. Reported speech.

When speakers want to report that some unidentified source has said something, they use a slightly different form, *ante,* following the (last) finite verb in the sentence. *ante* may be translated in a number of ways: 'it seems', 'it is reported that', 'apparently', 'allegedly', 'I guess (that)', 'it looks like. . .', 'supposed to', 'they say (that)', and so forth.

> *avr naaLe kelsa maaDtaar ante* 'apparently he'll work tomorrow'
> *avr meeSTr ante* 'it seems he is a teacher'/he seems to be a teacher'
> *avn il bar-bood ante* 'they say he may come here'
> *niiv naaLe hoog-beek ante* 'you're apparently to go tomorrow'
> *avr inglaNDnal profesar aag-iddaar ante*
> 'he's supposed to have been a professor in England'

4.5.2. Direct and indirect speech.

In Kannada there is no marked difference between direct and indirect speech. Unlike English, where the verb of the quoted sentence agrees in tense with the verb in the quoting sentence, and/or modals change to a subjunctive form ('will' to 'would', etc.), only pronouns + PNG markers of the embedded sentence change.

> *[naan bartiini] ant heeLde* 'I said, "I will come"' or 'I said I would come'
>
> *[naan bartiini] ant heeLda* 'he said, "I will come"'

Since the two subjects in the first example are the same, it can be either direct or indirect. The following is of course not grammatical:

> **naan bartaane ant heeLda*

In this example the subject *naanu* does not agree with either of the verbs. When the subject of the main verb and of the embedded verb are the same, one may be deleted, and the other may occur either before or after the embedded sentence as in:

> *[naan bartiini] ant heeLde* or *[bartiini] ant naan heeLde*
> 'I said I would come'   or   'I said, "I will come"'

When subjects of the two sentences are not the same, then scrambling the order of the sentence in the following way is not possible:

> **naan bartaane ant avn heeLde*

4.5.3. Intent.

Instead of using a lexical verb such as *manassiru* or *nirdharisu* to express intent, Kannada usually uses one of a number of different constructions involving modals, the quotative marker *anta*, and sometimes the copula *iru*.

(a) *naan uurg hoogooNaa-nt-idde*	} 'I intended to go to the town'
(b) *naan uurg hoog-beekuu-nt-idde*	
(c) *naan uurg hoog-beekuu-nt-iddiini*	}
(d) *naan uurg hoogooNaa-nt-iddiini*	'I intend to go to the town'
(e) *naan uurg hoog-beekuu-nt-ide*	}

These sentences differ in that some use *annu* as a lexical (main) verb—as in *antidde* 'I said'—whereas others use it as a quotative marker, followed by forms of *iru*. Some use a PNG and tense-marked verb, while others use modals *beeku* 'must' and *ooNa* 'may, let's'. Finally, (e) uses a dative (impersonal) construction 'to me it is that I must go'. In meaning these forms differ primarily in the degree of certainty involved in the intent. Some might be translated merely 'I feel like doing X' or 'I have a notion to X' while others are more 'I definitely intend to do X'. Sentence (a) is more definite than the others, for example; those with modals are less certain than those with PNG marked verbs, and the modal *beeku* makes things stronger than the modal *ooNa*.

Less certain would be constructions like the following:

avn bar-beekuu ⎫
bar-ooNa   ⎬ -nt-ir-boodu   'he may be thinking about the
              ⎭   possibility of coming'

avn bar-baarduu-nt-ir-boodu ⎧ 'he's probably intending not to
                             ⎨ come/he's probably not intending
                             ⎩ to come'

avn bandru bar-boodu 'he may just possibly come'

Intent constructions may also use lexical verbs such as *yoocane maaDu* 'brood over, cogitate', *tiirmaana maaDu* 'decide', *nene* 'think', as well as nouns such as *yoocane* 'thought' and *tiirmaana* 'decision'.

4.5.4. Limit on embedded sentences.

By the use of *anta* one sentence can be contained or "embedded" in another. There is theoretically no limit to the number of sentences that can be embedded in another sentence, just as in English one can theoretically get infinitely long strings like 'I said that he said that I said that he said. . . (etc.)'

$(((avn\ bartiinii\text{-}nt)_{S_1}\quad heeLdaa\text{-}nt)_{S_2}\quad heeLidluu\text{-}nt)_{S_3}\quad heeLtaare_{S_4}$

'they said that she said that he said that he would come'

In this example, three sentences, S_1, S_2, and S_3 are embedded in S_4. There are some restrictions on the tense markers and pronouns that occur in such embeddings—they must make sense; for example, the following is slightly strange:

$[naan\ bartiini\text{-}nt]_{S_1}\quad [heeLtiinii\text{-}nt]_{S_2}\quad heeL\text{-}beeku_{S_3}$

?'I must say that I am saying that I am coming'

whereas the following, with an embedded past tense, is acceptable:

$naan \begin{Bmatrix} bartiinii\text{-}nt \\ bandee\text{-}nt \end{Bmatrix} heeLdee\text{-}nt\ heeL\text{-}beeku$

'I must say that I said that I am coming/came'

If such sentences seem strange, one might imagine these kinds of assertions being called for in a court of law; the general limit on embeddings has more to do with speakers' limits of patience and/or memory than on any inherent limits in the language.

4.5.5. Obstinate negative.

Usually quotative sentences with *annu* or *anta* require rational subjects, because usually only rational beings can speak. There are some cases where quotative verbs occur in sentences with nonrational subjects; since there can be no question of quotation with nonrational subjects, we must consider these constructions not to be quotative, but to have some other meaning, such as personification.

    kaar hoogollaa-ntide 'the car refuses to move'
    car   won't go   it says

The literal meaning here is 'the car says it won't go', but since cars cannot speak, we must interpret this and other sentences like it to mean 'X refuses to Y'. This kind of construction I call "obstinate negative". Other examples:

    huDga skuulg hoogollaa-ntaane 'the boy refuses to go to school'
    baTTe oNgollaa-ntide 'the clothes refuse to dry'

In the first, the subject is indeed rational, so there is no restriction on the rationality or nonrationality of the subject.

4.5.6. Specific purpose.

When quotative *anta* occurs following the dative case of a noun or verbal noun (see 2.3.4), the meaning is that something is specifically reserved for or dedicated to the use of some group or individual. As such, *anta* ought to be considered a postposition used with the dative case (see 2.4.2) since it is very close in meaning to the postposition *ooskara* 'for the sake of'.

    makL   aaT-aaDlikk-ant ond tooTa all-ide
    children   playing   for one garden there is
    'there is a garden there especially for children to play in'

In the example just given, the dative suffix is attached to the infinitive (see 3.2), itself originally a verbal noun form.

    arasru tam heNtig-ant ond aramane kaTdaru
    king his wife   for one palace   built
    'the king built a palace especially for his wife'

With *beeku*, *anta* may also occur to indicate purposefulness:

    avn beekuu-nt maaDda 'he did it on purpose'

The modal must be in the affirmative, otherwise this meaning is not found:

*avn beeDaa–nt maaDda *'he did it on unpurpose'

4.5.7. Other uses of *anta*. The quotative particle *anta* is used also in relative clause constructions (see 4.9), with onomatopoeic expressions, and with adverbs (see 4.2). It is useful to remember that it functions very much like the the English complementizer (relative pronoun) 'that', as in 'I know that he is coming'. It can therefore be used with any verb that can take a complement following 'that', that is, the Kannada equivalents of 'know, suppose, think, feel, realize, say, tell, teach', and so forth.

avrig kannaDa barattee–nt gott–ide '(I) know that he knows
to him Kannada comes that is known Kannada'

ii mane nimdee–nt tiL–koND bartaa ir–beeku
this house yours that knowing/considering coming be must
'you must consider that this house is yours and come often'

ad mundin tingLu mugyattee–nt iT–koLLooNa
it next month finishes that let us assume
'let us take for granted that it will be over by next month'

haag maaDuu–nt heeL–beeku 'we must say that (one should) do
thus do that say must (like) that'

4.6. Imperative sentences. Imperative sentences function to make commands or requests of the person spoken to. Generally, second person pronouns are considered to be the subjects of these imperative sentences and the verbs are never marked for tense or PNG on the surface level. They are in most cases identical to the verb stem (see 3.1) with additional suffixes for politeness or lack of it. The use of the bare stem alone is equivalent to the nonpolite imperative, for example, *hoogu* 'go!'. In addition, there is also what we might call an impolite or casual form consisting of verb stem plus the suffix *-oo* (for masculine) or *-ee* (for feminine), for example, *hoogoo* 'go on, get out!'. These forms are used only with small children or between intimate friends; otherwise their use is demeaning and insulting. The polite or plural form consists of verb stem plus suffix *-i*, for example, *hoogi* 'please go' or 'you (plural) go'. Beyond this, there is an even more polite form

consisting of verb stem plus the suffix *-ri*, for example, *hoogri* 'please go'. Finally, for very polite entreaties, the reflexive pronoun *taavu* may be used with *-ri*: *taavu hoogri* 'I beg of you most humbly to go'.[1]

When the verb stem ends in *-i*, as many verbs do, there is no non-polite form in *-u*, so the bare stem in *-i* is used. For politeness the form in *-ri* is used.

Verbs are listed below in ascending order of politeness:

	-i Stems	Other Stems
Impolite, casual	*kuDyoo* (masc.)	*hoogoo* (masc.)
	kuDyee (fem.)	*hoogee* (fem.)
Nonpolite	*kuDi*	*hoogu*
Polite, plural	*kuDiiri*	*hoogi*
Very polite	*kuDiiri*	*hoogri*
Ultrapolite	*taavu kuDiiri*	*taavu hoogri*

The pronoun that would be used (is understood) with the impolite and the nonpolite imperatives is *nii(nu)* 'you (sing.)', whereas with the polite and very polite, the pronoun *niivu* 'you (plural, polite)' is understood. With the ultrapolite, *taavu* is explicitly indicated.

Reduplication of imperative forms intensifies the forcefulness of the command:

hooghoogu 'go, go!' or 'get going!'
hoogri hoogri 'please go!'

4.6.1. Negative imperative. The negative imperative, or prohibitive, is formed by adding *baaradu* (historically a negative form of the verb *baa/bar-* 'come'), *beeDa* (the negative of the modal *beeku* 'must'; see 3.6.1.4) or *kuuDadu* ('prohibitive'; see 3.6.2) to the infinitive (with loss of *-al*) as shown below.

hoog-baardu 'don't go' (impersonal: 'one doesn't do it')
hoog-beeDa 'don't go' (more personal: 'you shouldn't do it')
hoog-kuuDdu 'you mustn't/shouldn't go'

These forms can be made polite by adding *-i*, *-ri*, and *taavu. . .-ri*:

bar-beeDi 'please don't come'
bar-beeDri 'I beg you not to come'
taavu bar-beeDri 'I most humbly beseech you not to come'

Some scholars consider the hortative form in *-ooNa* 'let's do (such and such)' to be an imperative. I prefer to treat it as a modal (see 3.6.6).

4.7. Reduplicatives.

Reduplication (repeating a word more than once) is a process used in Kannada (as in many South Asian languages) to provide various semantic functions such as intensification, emphasis, addition, distribution, enumeration, and so forth. The reduplication may be partial (only part of a word is repeated) or full (the whole word is repeated) with or without any other intervening morpheme.

4.7.1. Intensification or emphasis.

When adverbs such as *jooru* 'fast' are reduplicated, this emphasizes the qualities of the constituent modified. (This is particularly common in women's speech, especially with *tumba* 'much'.)

> *avn joor-joor-aagi ooDda* 'he ran very fast'
> *avn tumb-tumba keTTavnu* 'he is a very bad person'
> *avr beeg-beeg bandru* 'he/she came very quickly'

Verbs (but usually only in the affirmative) can also be reduplicated for emphasis by taking the stem (see 3.3) form of the finite verb, adding emphatic marker *-ee* (see 4.11.1), and then the finite verb.

> *avL hoogee hoogtaaLe* 'she will definitely go'
> *avn maaDee maaDtaane* 'he will definitely do it'

Modal verbs (see 3.6) can also occur reduplicated, but if they have infinitive forms, that form is what is repeated:

> *niin hoog   beeD   -vee   beeDa*
> you go   not wanted emphatic not want
> 'you shouldn't go at all; you definitely shouldn't go'
>
> *nii barkuuDl-ee kuuDdu* 'you definitely shouldn't come'
> *nang beek-ee beeku* 'I just want it, that's all'

However, those modals that are truly defective (see 3.7) and therefore do not have infinitives simply reduplicate the root (*beeDa, beek-*). To indicate prolonged duration, duratively marked verbs (see 3.8.10) can be reduplicated, but usually in an adverbial clause modifying the action of the main clause.

> *avn hoogtaa hoogtaa iddaaga, daariil ond bhaavi siktu*
> he going   going being then road in one well found
> 'as he kept on going, he found a well on the way'
>
> *avL maataaDtaa maataaDtaa, suurya muLugda*
> 'as she kept on talking, the sun set'

Imperatives can also be reduplicated, as in section 4.6.

4.7.2. Distribution.

Pronouns (see 2.5), demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1), and other demonstrative pro-forms (see 2.5.2) can be reduplicated to give a sense of 'distribution', that is, that there is a set of things, qualities, locations, manners, and so forth, that are found in different times and places.

> *een-een beeku?* 'what all do you need? (what different varieties of things. . .?)'
> *yaar-yaar bandru?* 'who all came? (what different people came?)'
> *eST-eST koTri?* 'what different amounts did you give?'
> *elg-elg hoodru?* 'where all did they go? (to what different places?)'
> *avr-avr makL avr-avrg muddu* 'each one's child is lovable to him/her'

4.7.3. Enumeration.

When numerals (see 2.7.1) are reduplicated, it has the function of enumerating pairs, sets, and so on, of things.

> *il   erD-erD jana bar-beeku* 'have people come in pairs'
> here two two people come must
> *makLig   ayd-ayd miTaayi koDi* 'give five candies to each child'
> to children five five candies give

4.7.4. Echo-word reduplication.

When a word is partially reduplicated with another syllable—usually *gi(i)* or *pa(a)*—before the partially reduplicated portion, the meaning is 'X and things like it'.

> *huli gili* 'tigers or other animals (like them)'
> *aaTa giiTa* 'games or other diversions'
> *mane gine* 'houses or other buildings'
> *uuTa giiTa* 'food or other edibles'

When the word begins with any syllable other than *gi*, then *gi(i)* is the syllable prefixed to the partially reduplicated form: *hu-li gi-li* ('tigers

and other animals'). When the word begins with *gi*, *pa(a)* is the syllable used on the reduplicated portion:

> *giLi paLi* 'parrots or other birds'
> *giiTu paaTu* 'lines or other markings'

Note that if the vowel of the first syllable is long, the vowel in the reduplicated syllable will also be long (*gii* or *paa*). Sometimes *pa(a)* is also used with words that do not begin with *gi(i)* in which case there is a difference of disjunction versus conjunction:

> *uuTa giiTa* 'food and other edibles'
> *uuTa paaTa* 'food or other edibles'
> *tiNDi giNDi* 'snacks and other munchies'
> *tiNDi paNDi* 'snacks or other munchies'

4.7.5. Reduplication of onomatopoeic forms.
Kannada (like most South Asian languages) has onomatopoeic forms that can be reduplicated before the quotative verb (see 4.5) to form adverbial expressions.

> *avn Tak–Tak ant hooda* 'he went mechanically'
> *caDiyinda chaL–chaL ant hoDda* 'he hit briskly with the whip'
> *niir kut–kuta ant kudiitu* 'the water was about to boil'

4.8. Conditional.
Conditional or 'if' clauses are formed in Kannada by the addition of *–are* to the past stem (see 3.10). The conditional ('if') clause precedes the result ('then') clause, which simply has a finite verb. Since *–are* is added to the past stem, no tense distinctions are possible in this formation; the tense of the conditional verb is determined by the tense of the main verb in the 'then' clause. No PNG is possible with these formations, either, so conditionally marked verbs are the same for all persons, numbers, and genders.

> *bandre* 'if one comes/if you come/if he comes, etc.'
> *koTre* 'if one gives/if she gives/if they give, etc.'
>
> *avr bandre, avr–jote hoogtiini* 'if he comes, I will go with him'
> *naan keeLidre, niin heeL–beeku* 'you must answer if I ask (you)'

4.8.1. Future conditional.
A future conditional can be formed by affixing the conditional of *aagu* 'become' (*aadre*) to a verbal noun (see 3.5.8).

> *koDood–aadre* 'if (it comes about that) one has to give'
> *barood–aadre* 'if (it happens that) one (has to) come(s)'

4.8.2. Conditionally marked aspectual verbs.
Aspectually marked verbs (see 3.8) may also be conditionalized, in which case the aspect marker (marked for past tense) carries the conditional marker *–are*.

> *avn band–biTre niin hoog–beeDa* 'if it turns out that he comes, you needn't go'
> *niiv mugsiddre nang koDi* 'if you have finished (it), then give (it) to me'
> *niiv koDtta iddre, naan togootiini* 'if you are giving (things), I'll take (some)'

4.8.3. Conditional of modals.
Modals may be conditionally marked by adding the conditional of *aagu* 'become'.

> *beek–aadre* 'if (you) like'
>
> *avr bar–beek–aadre naan barolla* 'if he must come, I won't come'
> *avrig beek–aadre naan koDtiini* 'if he needs (them), I will give (them)'

Note that in the second sentence, dative subject sentences may also be conditionalized.

4.8.4. Conditional of quotative verb.
Instead of *aadre* (which incidentally also means 'but') the conditional of the quotative verb *annu* (see 4.5) may also be used to conditionalize other verbs.

> *avrig beek–andre naan koDtiini* 'if he needs (them), I'll give (them)'

4.8.5. Topics, factives, focus.
This form (*andre*) may also follow regular finite verbs as well as modals, and it may be used as a topicalizer or focus marker. When a finite verb precedes *andre* the meaning is often 'factive', that is, 'if it is true that X'. When a noun phrase precedes *andre* the focusive meaning can often be translated 'as far as X is concerned, regarding X' as well as the more literal 'if (someone) says X'.

> *sinma andre nang huccu* 'I'm just crazy about movies (concerning movies. . .)'

makL andre avLig tumba priiti 'now (as for) children, she really loves (them)'

kelsa maaDood-andre avnig aagolla 'when it comes to working, he doesn't perform'

hoog-baard-andre, hoog-baardu 'if I say you shouldn't go, don't go'

avn kelsa maaDtaan-andre, duD koDtiini
'I will give him the money if it is true that he is going to work'

4.8.6. Conditional + emphatic.

When the conditional marker is followed by the emphatic *taanee* the implication is that the speaker has some doubt about the truth of the proposition.

avn bandre-taanee naav hoogboodu 'we can go only if he comes (but I doubt he will)'

cennaag oodidre-taanee paas aagoodu
'one can pass (the exam) only if one studies well (not the way you/he is studying)'

4.8.7. Negative conditional.

The negative conditional is formed by taking the negative verbal participle (see 4.4.7.2) followed by the conditional of *iru* (Spencer 1950:230; Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy 1972:175).

maaDde iddre 'if (someone) doesn't do'
koDde iddre 'if (someone) doesn't give'

Sometimes instead of *iru*, the aspectual verb *hoogu* (see 3.8.3) is used instead:

maaDde hoodre 'if one doesn't do (it)'
nooDde hoodre 'if one doesn't see (something)'

Sometimes a verb may be aspectually marked with the negative participle of *iru* in its perfective sense (see 3.8.9, 4.4.7.2) or (following the present participle) in its durative sense (see 3.8.10), and then followed by *iru* marked for conditional:

maaDtaa ilde iddre 'if (someone) is not doing (something)'

In rapid speech by short vowel deletion (see 1.3.6) and other rules, such strings (*ttaa illade iddre*) may be reduced to *-tildidre*.

maaD(u)t(taa)il(la)d(e)id(da)re → *maaDtildidre*

illade iddre (or *ildidre*) may also occur as a sentential adverb meaning 'otherwise' or 'if not'.

avn bartaane; ildidre naan bartiini 'he will come; otherwise I will come'

4.8.8. Concessive.

The concessive is a form based on the conditional but with the clitic *-uu* added; the meaning is 'even if X' or 'although X'. When *-uu* is added the vowel *-e* of *-are* is deleted. Concessives may be either positive or negative.

avn bandruu naan hoogolla 'even if/though he comes, I won't go'
niiv koTruu nang beeDa 'even if you give (it), I don't want/need it'
naan barde hoodruu avn bartaane 'even if I don't come he'll come'
niiv kelsa maaDtaa ildidruu naan keeLLilla 'even though you weren't working I didn't ask (you about it)'

4.8.8.1. The quotative marker *annu* + concessive.

The quotative marker *annu* (see 4.5 and 4.8.4-5) can also be made concessive and can follow modal verbs and nouns.

nimg beek-andruu avn koDolla 'even if you need it he won't give it'
duD hoogattee-ndruu avn suL heeLolla 'even though he'll lose money, he won't tell a lie'

4.8.8.2 Concessive clauses following an interrogative pro-form.

Concessive clauses following an interrogative pro-form (see 2.5.2) have the meaning 'no matter wh-' or 'wh-ever':

yaar bandruu naan barolla 'no matter who comes, I won't come'
yaavaag hoodruu avn maneel sikkolla 'no matter when you go, he won't be at home'
avn eST prayatna maaDidruu saalolla 'no matter how hard he tries, it won't be sufficient'

Instead of or in addition to *-uu,* the postposition *kuuDa* 'also' can be added, in which case the main clause is usually negative.

avn $\begin{Bmatrix} bandre\ kuuDa \\ bandruu \end{Bmatrix}$ *naan hoogolla* 'even if he comes I won't go'

4.9. Relative clause construction.

Relative clauses are formed in English by adding a clause whose subject is identical (coreferential) to another noun phrase in the main sentence, with 'that', 'who', or 'which' (and some others such as 'when', 'where', etc.) as the relative pronoun linking the two clauses. For example, 'the boy came' and 'the boy is my brother' can be made into one sentence (if the two 'boys' are coreferential) by deleting one 'boy' and adding a relative pronoun.

'the boy (the boy came) is my brother' → 'the boy (who came) is my brother'

'the boy (the boy is my brother) came' → 'the boy (who is my brother) came'

Sometimes in English two sentences can be combined by converting the verb of one of them into an adjective and placing it before the noun.

'the house is infested with rats' and 'the house must be torn down'
→ 'the (house is infested with rats) house must be torn down'
→ 'the (rat-infested) house must be torn down'

In Kannada, this process of converting the verb into an adjective and placing the whole sentence in front of the coreferential noun is the principal method used to make relative clauses. The process involves removing PNG markers from the verb and adding an adjectival *-a.* In the past the past tense marker is kept, but in the present the old LK future stem (see 3.4.4) in *-v* is used. The sequence *-u-v-a* is converted into *-oo* by phonological rules (see 1.3.6).

baru-v-a → baroo (huDga) '(the boy) who is coming/will come'
band-a huDga 'the boy who came'

The adjectival forms thus produced are called adjectival participles (see 3.5.4). Relativization of two separate sentences thus proceeds as follows:

ninne huDga banda   and   *aa huDga nan tamma*
'the boy came yesterday'   'that boy is my younger brother'

→ *aa [ninne huDga banda] huDga nan tamma*
→ *aa [ninne banda] huDga nan tamma*
→ *aa ninne band huDga nan tamma* 'that boy who came yesterday is my younger brother'

Since one of the nouns is going to be deleted when these sentences are relativized, if the noun is case-marked, it will be deleted with its case-markings, and ambiguity will then result.

naan maneeg hoode   and   *mane aa rasteel ide*
'I went to the house'   'the house is in that street'

→ *[naan maneeg hoode] mane aa rasteel ide*
→ *[naan hooda] mane aa rasteel ide*
→ *naan hood mane aa rasteel ide* 'the house I went to is in that street'

In English the preposition 'to' is not deleted, but the Kannada dative case marker *ige* is; therefore, there may arise some ambiguity, since the deleted case marker could also have well been *-inda* 'from' or some other one. In fact the case relationships in the relative clause may have either nominative, accusative, allative ('to the side of'), instrumental, or locative function with respect to the following head noun. Of course if the case-marked noun is not coreferential with another noun in another clause, it will not be deleted and will appear in the relative clause unchanged.

(a) *vasanta silambug maneel pustkadind paaT(h)a heeLkoTLu*
    'Vasanta taught lessons to Silambu from a book at home'

(b) *vasanta silambug maneel pustkadind heeLkoT(Ta) paaT(h)a*
    'the lessons that Vasanta taught Silambu from a book at home'

(c) *vasanta silambug maneel paaT(h)a heeLkoT(Ta) pustka*
    'the book that Vasanta taught Silambu lessons from at home'

(d) *vasanta silambug pustkadind paaT(h)a heeLkoT(Ta) mane*
    'the home in which Vasanta taught Silambu lessons from a book'

(e) *vasanta maneel pustkadind paaT(h)a heeLkoT(Ta) silambu*
    'Silambu to whom Vasanta taught lessons from a book at home'

(f) *silambug maneel pustkadind paaT(h)a heeLkoT(Ta) vasanta*
    'Vasanta who taught lessons to Silambu from a book at home'

Sometimes deleted case relationships will cause ambiguity for non-

Indian readers but not for Indian readers. For example, in the following sentence, it is clear to Indian readers that there is a locative relationship to the leaf.

> *silambu uuTa maaDid ele* the leaf that S. ate on' (not: 'the leaf that S. ate')

Sentence (e) above, with an indirect object (dative case) marker removed in the relativization process, is somewhat questionable grammatically. In LK this sentence could be passivized, and *silambu* would become the subject, but since passivization is uncommon in SK, there is a degree of unacceptability here.

4.9.1. Relativization of aspect-marked verbs. Verbs that are aspectually marked can also be relativized. Usually these are the perfective aspect marker *iru* (see 3.8.9) and durative aspect marker *-ttaa iru* (see 3.8.10), attached to a main verb.

> *al band-iroo huDga* 'the boy who has come there'
> *al band-id huDga* 'the boy who had come there'
> *al bartaa iroo huDga* 'the boy who is coming there'
> *al bartaa id huDga* 'the boy who was coming there'

4.9.2. Modally marked verbs. Verbs with modals can be relativized by affixing the verbalizer *aagu* (see 3.11.2) and by relativizing it, but only in the past, or with *iru* (see 3.8.9) attached.

> *al bar-beek-aad huDga* 'the boy who should come there'
> *al bar-beek-aag-id huDga* 'the boy who should have come there'
> *al bar-beek-aag-iroo huDga* 'the boy who should be coming there (should have been coming)'
>
> **al bar-beek-aagoo huDga*

4.9.3. Equational sentences. When a sentence lacks a verb, as is the case with equational sentences (see 4.0.2), the sentence can be relativized by adding *aagu* in the same manner as in section 4.9.2.

> (a)   *ad beeku*   and   *ad pustka*
>   'that is necessary'   'that is a book'
> → *ad beek-aad pustka* 'the book that was needed'
>
> (b) *ad beek-aagid pustka* 'the book that had become necessary'

Some adjectives that are formed from nouns, of course, have what amounts to the past adjectival participle of *aagu*, that is, *aada*, added to them, without which they cannot occur.

> (c) *sundara-v-aad huDgi* 'the girl who is beautiful'
> (d) *ettar-v-aad mara* 'the tree that is tall'
> (e) *ettar-v-aag-id mara* 'the tree that was tall'
> (f) *ettar-v-aag-iroo kaTTaDa* 'the tall building'

Sentences (a) and (b) are distinct from a simple equational sentence such as

> (g) *ad oLLee kaarya* 'that matter is good'

in that (a) and (b) have a way of marking tense/aspect, whereas (g) is an unmarked present. The use of *-aada* with adjectives indicates an inalienable or intrinsic quality or relationship; when an alienable or temporary or nonpermanent (extrinsic) quality is indicated, the adjectival participle of *iru* is used instead:

> *duDD-iroo jaaga* 'the place that (temporarily) has wealth'

4.9.4. Complement clauses. There are some dependent clauses that do not bear any case relationship to nouns in main clauses; they have been called complement clauses. They are often used to express fact, in which case often the adjectival participle *annoo* (←*annuva*) of the quotative verb (see 4.5) is used.

> *avn band-id viSya* 'the fact that he had come'
> *goopaal biidiil kuNda annoo sangti nija* 'the proposition that Gopal danced in the street is true'

When it is present, a full sentence precedes it; but in its absence, the verb of the embedded sentence is made into an adjectival participle:

> *goopaal biidiil kuNda sangti nija* 'the report that Gopal danced in the street is true'

4.9.5. Nominalizations. When a pronoun occurs with a relative clause in front of it, we get nominalized verbs (verbal nouns; see 3.5.8), such as *maaDidadu* (→ *maaDiddu*) 'that which (someone) did', *maaDid-avanu* (→*maaDid-oonu*) 'the man who did (something)'.

al band-avL nan heNti 'the woman who came there is my wife'
ammu kelsa maaDoorg duD-koTLu
'Ammu gave money to the people who are doing the work'

The meaning of the neuter-marked verbal noun such as *maaDidadu* can either be 'that which did', 'that which was done', 'the act of doing', or 'the fact of doing'. Sometimes to make it expressly factive *annoodu* (*annu-v-adu*) is present, but if it is absent, verbal nouns are formed.

> *goopaal biidiil kuNda annood nija* '(the fact) that Gopal danced in the street is true'

> *goopaal biidiil kuNdad nija* 'that Gopal danced in the street is true'

4.9.6. Negative relative clauses.

Relative clauses with negative verbs can be formed by using the negative adjectival participle (see 3.5.7), formed by the addition of *-ada* to the stem: *maaD-ada* 'the (one) who did not do X'.

> *il kelsa maaDad huDga yaaru?* 'who is the boy who did not/does not work here?'

Since there is no tense marking of the negative participle, it can be used with any adverbial time expression and takes its tense from the context of the sentence:

$$\left.\begin{array}{c} naaLe \\ ivvattu \\ ninne \end{array}\right\} \text{ kelsa maaDad huDga yaaru?}$$

'who $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{is} \\ \text{was} \end{array}\right\}$ the boy who $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{will not} \\ \text{is not} \\ \text{did not} \end{array}\right\}$ work(ing) $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{tomorrow} \\ \text{today} \\ \text{yesterday} \end{array}\right\}$

However these forms can be given aspectual (perfect) meaning by the addition of the negative adjectival participle of *iru* (see 3.8.9).

> *ninne kelsa maaD-illad huDga yaaru?* 'who is the boy who has not worked yesterday?'

> *ninne il band-illad huDgi yaaru?* 'who is the girl who has not come yesterday?'

Sometimes the verb *hoogu* can be used with the negative participle to express the notion 'past'.

> *kelsa maaDde hood huDga yaaru?* 'who is the boy who didn't work (went without working)'

4.10. Clefted sentences.

In Kannada, as in English, there is a kind of sentence called a cleft sentence. The process of clefting adds a degree of semantic focus to some word or phrase that is singled out by the process. Clefting in English involves taking a sentence like 'I saw him yesterday at my house' and extraposing (moving to one end of the sentence, in this case the beginning) some element of this sentence while adding 'it is/was'.

> 'it was I who saw him yesterday at my house'
> 'it was yesterday that I saw him at my house'
> 'it was he whom I saw yesterday at my house (it was him I saw...)'
> 'it was in my house that I saw him yesterday'

In Kannada, clefting involves changing a verb marked for PNG (in agreement with the subject; see 3.4) to neuter marking (see 2.1). Thus, if the verb were *(naan) nooDidde* 'I saw (something)' it would be changed to *(naan) nooDiddu* 'it was I that saw'. If the verb is in the present, it is changed to a verbal noun (see 3.5.8); then in either case the focused part of the sentence is usually moved to the end of the sentence, after the (neuter marked) verb.

> *naan avnan nan maneel   ninne   nooDde*
> I   him my house in yesterday   saw
> 'I saw him yesterday in my house'

> *naan avnan nan maneel nooDid ninne*
> 'it was yesterday that I saw him in my house'

> *naan avnan ninne nooDid nan maneeli*
> 'it was in my house that I saw him yesterday'

> *naan nan maneel ninne nooDid avnanna*
> 'it was him that I saw in my house yesterday'

> *avnan nan maneel ninne nooDid naanu*
> 'it was I that saw him yesterday in my house'

Since any constituent can be clefted, it moves to the end of the sentence with all its case markings, attributive words (adjectives), and so forth. But not more than one major constituent can be clefted at a time:

*naan nooDid avnan nan maneeli   '?it was him in my house that
                                   I saw'

For further emphasis, the extraposed constituent can have emphatic
particles or words added:

   naan avnan nooDid nan maneelee 'it was right in my house that
                                   I saw him'

   avnan nooDid naan-maatra 'it was I alone who saw him'

4.10.1. Optionality of extraposition.

Clefting in Kannada usually in-
volves two processes, extraposing and changing the verb to neuter, but
sometimes extraposing (particularly in the case of interrogative sen-
tences) can be omitted. It should also be noted that interrogative cleft
sentences, particularly in the present tense, are often translated with
'can' or 'should' or 'supposed to' rather than 'what it is that. . .'.

   naan een maaDoodu? (instead of naan een maaDtiini?)
   'what can/should I do?'

   naan maaDood eenu? 'what am I supposed to do? (what can/
                                   should/shall)'

   naan een maaDde? 'what did I do?'

   naan maaDid eenu? }
                                   'what is it that I have done?'
   naan een maaDiddu? }

4.10.2. Clefting and interrogative pro-forms.

When interrogative pro-
nouns and other pro-forms (see 2.5.1-2) occur as modifiers of head
nouns in interrogative sentences, only the modifying interrogative
pro-form can be clefted; adjectives in particular cannot be clefted
without the nouns they modify.

   avn eST kelsa maaDda? 'how much work did he do?'
   avn kelsa maaDid eSTu? 'how much work was it that he did?'
   avn maaDid eST kelsa? 'how much work was it that he did?'
   avn oLLe kelsa maaDda 'he did good work'
   avn maaDid oLLe kelsa 'it was good work that he did'
   *avn kelsa maaDidd oLLe

When an interrogative pronoun is present and any other constituent
is extraposed, emphatic or focusive clefting does not result. Instead,
only stylistic variation, or afterthought word order, is the result.

   naan al eST-uuTa tinde? 'how much did I eat there?'
   naan al eST-uuTa tindiddu? 'how much did I eat there?'

4.11. Clitics.

Clitics are particles that can be added to any constitu-
ent of a sentence, with different semantic effect depending on the
constituent. Kannada has a number of such clitics, such as the yes/no
question marker -aa (see 4.3), the emphatic particles -taanee and -ee,
the inclusive or additive suffix -uu, the indefinite or "doubtful" suffix
-oo, and maatra meaning 'only'. Clitics may also include the deictic
demonstrative prefixes (see 2.5.2), but here we only deal with suffixes.
The grammatical category to which the clitic is suffixed is called the
host; clitics themselves are the same no matter which host
they are attached to; they never, however, occur in isolation.

4.11.1. The emphatic particle -ee.

The clitic -ee is used to express
emphasis. Ramanujan (1963:70) calls it an "exclusive" particle (in
contrast with -uu, which is inclusive). The addition of -ee to a host
emphasizes the character of that host to the exclusion of other things
or presuppositions or possibilities.

   naan il bande 'I came here'
   naan-ee il bande 'I myself (I alone) came here'

The addition of -ee to naanu indicates that the possibility that others
also came is excluded. Emphatic -ee, like all clitics, can be added to
all constituents of the sentence, except to adjectives and finite verbs.
When it is added to finite verbs, at the end of the sentence, the meaning
is that the speaker feels that the addressee's presupposition or behavior
is inappropriate. In such cases, the intonation pattern is also different,
that is, it falls, then rises and falls again, but not completely.

   ammu ninne hos maneeg band-idlee 'Ammu came to the new
                                      house yesterday (so why are
                                      you acting as if she hadn't?)'

This seems to indicate that adjectives, as we have noted earlier, are not constituents in deep structure, but only appear in surface structure.

ammu ninne hos maneeg bandidlu 'Ammu came to the new house
 1   2   3   4   5   1   5   3   4
                                                    yesterday'
                                                        2

ammu-n-ee[2] *ninne hos maneeg bandidlu* 'Ammu <u>herself</u> came to
                                                    the new house yesterday'

ammu ninne-n-ee hos maneeg bandidlu 'Ammu came to the new
                                                    house <u>yesterday</u>'

ammu ninne hos maneeg-ee bandidlu 'Ammu came to the new
                                                    <u>house</u> yesterday'

ammu ninne hos maneeg band<u>ee</u> idlu 'Ammu came indeed to the
                                                    new house yesterday/Ammu
                                                    <u>did so</u> come. . .'

*ammu ninne hos<u>ee</u>/hosav<u>ee</u> maneeg bandidlu 'Ammu came to the
                                                    <u>new</u> house yesterday'

When *-ee* is used with time expressions, it emphasizes that the time indicated is earlier than the time stipulated or expected by the speaker.

avn ayd g(h)aNTeeg-ee bandbiTTa 'he came at five o'clock (rather
                                                    than later)/he was here already
                                                    at five o'clock'

avn ayd g(h)aNTeeg band-biTTa 'he came at five o'clock (as
                                                    expected)'

In negative sentences, when the act referred to by the verb is emphasized, usually *-ee* is added to the verbal noun before *-illa* is added (see 3.5.8, 4.4.6).

avLig ad aagood-ee-illa 'it doesn't suit her at all'
ammu al hoogood-ee-illa 'Ammu doesn't go there at all'

In positive sentences, the past participle (see 3.5.2) is reduplicated with *-ee* added, followed by the finite verb:

naan bandee bartiini 'I will certainly come/I promise I will come'
avn hoog-ee hoogtaane 'he will most certainly go'

Note that when *-ee* is added to the past participle, verbs that have past participles in *-i* (such as *hoogu* 'go' and *maaDu* 'make') delete this

before *-ee*. If the verb has a modal auxiliary, either the verb, in its infinitive form, or the modal reduplicated, has the emphatic particle added:

niiv hoogl-ee beeku 'you must definitely go'
niiv hoog-beekee beeku 'you absolutely have to go'
avr hoog-kuuDL-ee kuuDdu 'he shouldn't go at all'

4.11.2. The 'verificatory' -oo. When the clitic *-oo* is added to a constituent, it indicates that the speaker has some doubt or uncertainty about the host of the clitic, or is trying to clarify some uncertainty or express surprise he has about some element of the proposition. Also, it may indicate that the speaker has just realized that some presupposition he had about the situation has now been confirmed.

vasanta naaLe uurg hoogtaaLe 'Vasantha goes to the village tomorrow'

(oohoo) vasantan-oo naaLe uurg hoogoodu '(oh, now I understand) it's Vasantha that's going to the village tomorrow, is it?'

(oohoo) vasanta naaLeen-oo uurg hoogoodu '(oh, now I get it) it's tomorrow that V. is going to the village, is it?'

(oohoo) vasanta naaLe uurgoo hoogoodu '(oh, now I get it) it's to the village that V. is going tomorrow, is it?'

(oohoo) vasanta naaLe uurg hoogtaaLoo? 'oh, so Vasantha is going to the village tomorrow, is she?'

The difference between the use of *-oo* and interrogative *-aa* in these sentences is that with *-aa* the speaker is asking for information about the truth value of the sentence or its constituents, whereas here he is asking for confirmation of his belief about something. When the sentence is negative, the opposite of the proposition is believed by the speaker, who wants to confirm his belief.

-oo can also be added to a constituent as a topicalizer, in which case that constituent is extraposed to the beginning of the sentence. In this sense it can often be translated into English as 'as for X' or 'well/now, X'.

avnoo, erD doose tinda 'as for him, he ate two pancakes'
uurgoo, vasanta naaLe hoogtaaLe 'as for the village, V. is going
                                                    tomorrow'

4.11.3. Dubitative and disjunctive -oo.

When two or more of the same type of constituent have -oo added to them, the meaning is 'either...or'.

> *avn-oo naan-oo naaLe nim maneeg bartiivi* 'either he or I will come to your house'
>
> *avn dooseenoo iDLiinoo tinda* 'he ate either pancakes or rice cakes.'
>
> **avnoo naanoo ninne bandvi* ?'either he or I came yesterday (I'm not sure which)'

Note that this cannot be used in the past when the facts of the situation are already known. In some dialects, when -oo is added to case-marked nouns, case markings, especially accusative, are obligatory. When -oo is added to interrogative pro-forms, indefinite pro-forms are created having the meaning 'some wh- or other' or 'wh- ever' (see 2.5.2).

> *ninne yaar-oo bandru* 'yesterday somebody or other came'
>
> *naaLe yaar-oo bartaare* 'someone or other will come tomorrow'
>
> **ninne yaar-oo barlilla* *'someone or other didn't come yesterday'

Note that -oo may not be used with negative past forms.

4.11.4. The additive/inclusive particle -uu.

When -uu is added to a constituent of a sentence, it gives the meaning 'too' or 'also'.

> *ammu ninne dooseen-uu tindlu* 'Ammu ate *dose* also'

This presupposes the presence of something in addition to the host constituent.

-uu can be added to any constituent except adjectives or to finite verbs.

> *ammuun-uu ninne doose tindlu* 'Ammu also ate *dose* yesterday'
>
> *ammu ninneen-uu doose tindlu* 'Ammu ate *dose* yesterday also'
>
> **ammu ninne doose tindl-uu*
>
> *ammu ninne hosaa baTTe haak-koNDLu* 'Ammu wore a new dress yesterday'
>
> **Ammu ninne hosa-v-uu baTTe haak-koNDLu* *Ammu wore a new also dress yesterday'

The particle -uu is used to conjoin two similar constituents with the meaning 'and'. Usually these are nouns only. When verbs or sentences

are conjoined, the first verb is in the form of the past participle (see 3.5.2), but no -uu is used.

> *ammuun-uu silambuun-uu ninne doose tindru* 'Ammu and Silambu ate *dose* yesterday'
>
> *ammu ninne dooseen-uu iDLiin-uu tindlu* 'Ammu ate *dose* and *idli* yesterday'

When -uu is added to interrogative pro-forms in negative sentences (see 2.5.2), the meaning is 'no-wh'.

> *avn ell-uu hooglilla* 'he didn't go anywhere'
>
> *yaar-uu il barlilla* 'no one came here'
>
> **avn ell-uu hoogtaane* *'he went anywhere'

However, when -uu is added to *yaavaaga* 'when' *(yaavaagl-uu)* it may occur in affirmative sentences.

When added to nouns preceded by numerals (see 2.7), or to other quantifiers such as *ella* 'all', this notion of 'inclusion' extends to all members of the set under discussion.

> *avn ayd pustkagL(-ann)-uu oodda* 'he read all five books'
>
> *ninne ibr-uu bandru* 'yesterday both of them came'
>
> *ellru maisuurg bandru* 'everybody came to Mysore'
>
> *sarkaara ellaa uurg-uu ayd-ayd lakSa rupaayi koTTiddaare* 'the government has given Rs 500,000 to each town'

When -uu is added to a conditional form of the verb (see 3.10), the resultant combination means 'even if', or 'no matter if/whether' ('concessive').

> *avn nan up tindruu, drooha bagda* 'he betrayed me even after eating my food (salt)'

This may be emphasized by adding *kuuDa* after -uu.

> *avn bandruu-kuuDa naan barolla* 'even if he comes, I won't come'

4.11.5. Substitution of kuuDa.

Generally, *kuuDa* may be substituted in all places that -uu is used, except when -uu is used twice for conjunction.

> (a) *avn-uu naan-uu bartiivi* 'he and I will come'
>
> (b) **avn-kuuDa naan-kuuDa bartiivi*

4.11.6. The clitic *-taanee*.   To assert emphatically or unambiguously the identity of things, persons, time, location, and so forth, the clitic *-taanee* is used in SK. This *-taanee* is different from reflexive *taanu* (see 2.5) and its variants, which can only occur with third person subjects. Like all clitics *-taanee* is invariant, no matter what the case or number of the subject, whereas reflexive *taanu* can vary with case. Furthermore, reflexive *taanu* always refers to an animate noun, whereas clitic *-taanee* goes with any kind of noun; *-taanee* immediately follows the host, whereas *taanu* is flexible in its position.

> *avn-taanee banda* 'he himself came/he's the one who came/he
>   personally came'

If a pause occurs between the noun phrase and *taanee*, it is inferred that *taanee* is an occurrence of the reflexive pronoun *taanu* plus emphatic *-ee*. In such cases the subject must be third person, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical.

> **naan...taanee bande*
> *naan-taanee avnig ii viSya heeLiddu*   'it was I who told him this/I
>   myself told him this'
> *naav ninne-taanee uurg hoogidvu*   'we went to town only yesterday
>   (just yesterday)'

4.11.7. Multiple clitics in one sentence.   Normally each clitic particle occurs only once with a host; that is, no host usually has more than one clitic at a time.[3] But there may be more than one clitic in a sentence, and the same clitic may occur twice, as in the case of *-oo. . .-oo* meaning 'either. . .or', or *-uu. . .-uu* meaning 'and'. Usually *-ee* is not found in multiples in a sentence. When more than one clitic, such as *-ee* and *maatra,* are to be added in the same sentence, they occur as follows:

> *ammu maatra-v-ee maisuurg bandlu*   'only Ammu alone came to
>   1   2   2   1
>   Mysore'

The additive particle *-uu* and the isolative particle *maatra* do not co-occur because of the semantic anomaly; similarly, *-ee* and *-oo* do not co-occur. When *-uu* and *-ee* co-occur their preferred order is as in the following example:

> *ammuun-uu-v-ee al hoodlu*   'Ammu also went there'

The correct use of clitics is difficult for anyone who is not a native speaker of Kannada. We await further study of this semantically complex area of Kannada grammar.

4.12. Consecutive action.   Kannada has a number of ways in which to express one action following another. They differ slightly depending on the nature of the consecutive action, that is, whether the action is immediate, the result of the previous action, sequential, simultaneous, delayed, or whatever. Usually the first verb is in the form of the past participle (see 3.5.2), followed by an aspect marker (see 3.8), various postpositions (see 2.4), adverbs (see 4.2), or other verbal suffixes. For the formation of the verbal participle, see 3.4.3 and 3.5.

4.12.1. Sentence conjunction.   Any two sentences in Kannada can be conjoined by removing the PNG markers of the first verb and making it past tense (i.e., a past verbal participle, see 3.5.2), then following this sentence with the second sentence. In English this is usually done by adding 'and' and deleting some portion of the second sentence, usually the noun phrase if they are identical.

> *naan bartiini + naan nimman nooDtiini →*
> 'I will come'   'I will see you'
>   *naan band nimman nooDtiini*
>   'I will come and see you'

> *naan bande + naan nimman nooDde → naan band nimman nooDde*
> 'I came'   'I saw you'   'I came and saw you'

4.12.2. Manner.   Two sentences in Kannada can be conjoined to show the manner in which two actions occur.

> *naan maneeg ooDde + naan maneeg bande →*
> 'I ran to the house'   'I came to the house'
>   *naan maneeg ooD bande*
>   'I came running to the house'

In the first sentence, the actions of running and coming are simultaneous, running being the manner of coming.

4.12.3. Causation. In some cases, where the subjects of the two sentences are different, a cause and effect relationship is shown:

maLe band kuLa tumbtu 'the rain came and (therefore) the tank
rain   came   tank filled   filled'

mara bidd avn kai murd-hooytu 'the tree fell and his hand broke
tree   fell   his   hand   broke   (and it broke his hand)'

In such causal relationships, the action that causes another must occur first in the sentence.

4.12.4. Sequential relations. More often than not the conjunction of two sentences implies that the action of the first sentence happens in time before the action of the second.

naan avn nooD bande 'I came after I saw him'
 I   him   seen   came

naan ii pustka   ood   tiLkoNDe 'after I read the book, I
 I   this book   having read   understood   understood'

In the initial example, the sequence, either immediate or delayed, of the two actions is implied. In the second, it can be understood that reading caused understanding, that the means of understanding was through reading, or that reading preceded understanding. When sentences are conjoined that have the same subject, as in both examples, the subject may be deleted, but presence or deletion of the subject makes no difference in meaning, and either the subject of the first or of the second sentence may be deleted:

naan avn nooDde + naan bande → naan avn nooDi, bande
 I   him   saw   I   came   (or *avn nooDi, naan bande*)
          'I came after seeing him'

However when the action of the first verb indicates the manner in which the second action is carried out, or where there is a conceptual unity involved, then the object occurs before the two verbs:

avn pustka   tegd   oodda 'he opened the book and read/opening
 he   book   opening   read   the book, he read'

When the two actions are consecutive but there is a conceptual discreteness then the object occurs after the first verb in its participial form:

avn   tegd   pustka oodda 'he opened the book and then read it'
 he   opening   book   read

It is possible (though very rarely) to pronominalize the second of two objects in this construction (i.e., the second of the deleted objects):

?avn pustka tegd adan oodda 'he opened the book and read it'

If one object is deleted, this does not imply that it is the same as another object in the other sentence, however. Kannada has much more freedom of deletion of objects than does English, which can be seen from many other examples in this volume where Kannada lacks an object in the surface structure of the sentence in places where the English translation of the Kannada sentence must have one.

kaLDru mane biiga   tegd   oLag   nooDidru
thieves   house lock opened inside   look

'The thieves opened (broke) the house lock and looked inside
(the house)'

In this sentence, the object of looking is the house, not the lock. When one of the verbs of a conjoined sentence is intransitive and the other is transitive, there are a number of possible placements of the object noun (and some impermissible placements):

avn avLhatra hooda + avn avLan nooDda
 he   her to   went   he   her   saw

avn avLan hoog nooDda
avn hoog avLan nooDda   } 'he went and saw her'
*avn nooD avLan hooda

4.12.4.1. Sequential relations with *meele*. When a small amount of time elapses between two actions, this may be expressed with a postposition such as *meele* 'after, whereupon' (see 2.4). Postpositions must follow the adjectival participle (see 3.5.5 -6). Usually the past adjectival participle is required after these postpositions.

avr band-meel niiv banni 'please come after he comes'
naan hood-meel niin hoogu 'go after I go'

4.12.5. Delayed sequential relations. When the aspect marker *biDu* 'completive' (see 3.8.2) is attached to the first verb, it indicates that

the first action is definitely complete before the second begins. The use of *biDu* with certain transitive and intransitive verbs also has some other connotations, such as whether the action was deliberate and difficult to achieve, whether it was accidental, or unintentional, undesirable, and so forth (see 3.8.2).

> *avn kuDid-biTTu, bariitaa-idda* 'he was writing after having been drinking/he drank (alcohol) and then went on writing'

4.12.6. Simultaneous action. When two actions are simultaneous, starting and ending at the same time, the durative aspect marker *-ttaa* (see 3.8.10) is added to the present stem of the first verb.

> *naan adan nooDtaa bande* 'I came (while) seeing it'
> *avn yoocne maaDtaa kuutidda* 'he was sitting, (all the while) thinking (about it)'

When the action of one sentence is iterative, that is, repeated several times during the time span of the action, then the past participle of the aspectual verb *koLLu* (see 3.8.8) is added to the past participle of the first verb.

> *naan adan nooD-koNDee bande* 'I came looking at it'
> *avn tin-koNDee maataaDda* 'he spoke (to us) while eating something'

In such cases the emphatic clitic *-ee* is added to the participle *koNDu*: *koNDee*.

4.12.7. Immediate consecutive action. The postpositions *oDane*, *kuuDale*, or *takSNa* may be used to express action that follows immediately on the heels of another. These must follow the adjectival participle (see 3.5.4).

> *naan nooDid takSNa horTe* 'I left as soon as I saw (it)'
> *niiv baay biTT oDane avr nakru* 'he laughed as soon as you opened your mouth'
> *naan nooDid kuuDLe avn hooda* 'as soon as I saw (him) he left'
> *avn oLag band kuuDle siinda* 'as soon as he came in he sneezed'

4.12.8. Prior sequential action. When action A clearly precedes action B and this precedence is emphasized, rather than indicating in an

unmarked way that B merely follows A, the postposition *munce* 'before' is used. The verb to which it is suffixed must be in the form of the verbal noun (see 3.5.8) or the infinitive (see 3.2), both with optional dative, since the infinitive is itself originally a nominal form. Thus, for a verb like *nooDu* 'see', the verbal noun is *nooDu+vu+du(+akke* 'dative') → *nooDood(akke)* → *nooDo(kke) + munce* 'before seeing'; the infinitive of *nooDu* is *nooDalu*, which (particularly in the northern dialect, McCormack 1966:85-86) has the dative form *nooD(a)likke + munce*, giving us forms such as:

> *nooDok-munce* or *nooDalik-munce* 'before seeing'

> *naan nooDok-munce avn hooda* 'he went away before I saw (him)'
> *avr tinlik-munce kai toLkoNDru* 'he washed his hands before he ate'

4.12.9. Wholly included simultaneous action. If one action is completely contained within the time span of another, beginning no sooner than the other begins and/or ending before the other ends, the adverb *-aaga* 'at that time' is used. It is attached to the present or past adjectival participle (see 3.5.5-6).

> | *naan* | *bengLuurg* | *hoog-id-aaga* | *avr* | *sikk-idru* |
> | I | Bangalore to | went | when he was available |
>
> 'I met him when I went to Bangalore (during the time I went and stayed in B.)'

> *niiv baroo-v-aaga adan tanni*
> you come   when that bring
> 'you must bring that (to me) when you come'

> *naav maNDyadall-idd-aaga naayi saakidvi*
> 'we kept a dog while we were living in Mandya'

Another way of expressing an action taking place within the time span of another is by using the adverbial expression *aST-ar-oLage* 'before (some other occurrence)', within that (much) time', 'while'. It is attached to an adjectival participle (see 3.5.5).

> *naan baroo aSTroLge magu galiij maaDbiTTittu*
> I coming while child mess had made
> 'The child had made a mess before I could get back'

4.12.10. Illustration of various sequential relations. The sequential relations of the two actions discussed above can be illustrated in the following table: the symbols '11111' refer to the first action; the symbols '22222' refer to the second; and their relative lengths indicate the duration of action.

Section Number	Marker Used	Diagrammatic Representation
4.12.8	*-munce* 'before'	111111 222222
4.12.6	*-ttaa* 'simultaneous'	111111 222222
4.12.6	*-koNDu (ee)* 'while'	111111 2222
4.12.9	*-aST-ar-oLage* 'before some other occurrence'	111111 2222
4.12.9	*-aaga* 'when'	111111 222222(2)
4.12.7	*kuuDle* 'immediately after'	111111 222222
4.12.7	*takSNa, oDane* 'immediately following'	111111 222222
4.12.4	past participle	111111 222222
4.12.4.1	*meele* 'after'	111111 222222
4.12.5	*biDu* 'completive'	1111 2222

NOTES

Chapter 1: Phonology

1. The best over-all statement of the phonetics of SK is to be found in Upadhyaya (1972).

2. Traditional grammars of Kannada and modern grammars following the traditional model (Rajapurohit 1975b:95) describe the palatal sounds as "true" palatals; but other descriptions indicate that the palatal stops are phonetically apico-alveolar or blade-alveolar with affricated offset (Sreekantaiya 1954:548).

It should be noted that for some speakers (of northern dialects) of Kannada, the affricated portion of the palatal stops is not blade-alveolar, but tip-alveolar. Thus in these dialects, *c* and *j* are phonetically [ts] and [dz] respectively, rather than [tš] and [dž] (Rajapurohit 1975b:95). This seems to be a feature more typical of those northern dialects spoken in Bijapur, Belgaum, and Dharwar; according to Sreekantaiya (1954:550), the tip-alveolar articulation is found only before back vowels, and before *a* and *aa* medially. Before front vowels, initially before *a* and *aa*, and in loan words (especially in words borrowed without change from Sanskrit, so-called *tatsamas*) the blade-alveolar articulation occurs.

3. Earlier forms of Kannada had two other continuants, sometimes transcribed as *ṛ* (ḷ) and *ṛ* (R). *ṛ*, presumably a retroflex frictionless continuant, merged with other sounds (primarily with *L*) beginning in the eighth century (Gai 1946:17); the alveolar *ṛ* (presumably) remained distinct from present *r* until the twelfth century (Narasimhia 1941:25), although earlier cases of its merger with *r* and even *ṛ* are attested from the eighth century (Gai 1946:15, 17).