A REFERENCE GRAMMAR
OF SPOKEN KANNADA

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1

PHONOLOGY

Kannada, like most other Dravidian languages, has a phonological system that contains a number of significant contrasts not found in other languages. The most striking differences are the existence of retroflex (sometimes referred to as domal or cerebral) consonants, and the contrast between long and short vowels. In addition, Kannada also exhibits consonantal contrasts borrowed from Sanskrit or Indo-Aryan, especially the aspirated series, both voiced and voiceless; it also has borrowed from Indo-Aryan both retroflex and apico-palatal sibilants.

SK tends to eliminate the aspirated consonants and the sibilant contrasts to some extent; but in many dialects it exhibits consonants such as *f* and *z*, and vowels such as *æ* [æ] and *ɔ* (primarily in Urdu or English loan words such as *fiizu* 'fees', *bænku* 'bank', and *lɔyar* 'lawyer'). Uneducated speakers tend to substitute other native Kannada sounds for these borrowed sounds.[1] For example, *bænku* (bank) is often spelled and pronounced [byāŋk], even by educated people.

1.1. Vowel sounds. The basic Kannada vowel system consists of five long and five short vowel phonemes. Dipthongs *ai* and *au* also occur, but they may be considered to consist of *a+y* and *a+v* respectively. In addition, *æ* and *ɔ* may occur in foreign loan words (see 1.0).

3

The vowels of SK, along with their equivalents in Kannada script, except for *ae* and *ɔ* (see 1.1.3), are as follows:

		Front		Central		Back		
High	Short	*i*	ಇ			*u*	ಉ	
	Long	*ii*	ಈ			*uu*	ಊ	
Mid	Short	*e*	ಎ			*o*	ಒ	
	Long	*ee*	ಏ *æ*			*oo*	ಓ *ɔ*	
Low	Short			*a*	ಅ			
	Long			*aa*	ಆ			

The Kannada alphabetic ordering of vowels is: *a, aa, i, ii, u, uu, e, ee, o, oo*. Note that the Kannada letters used for the borrowed sounds *ae* and *ɔ* are those of *ee* and *aa* respectively, with the exception that borrowed words with *æ* are often written with *yaa*, as noted above.

1.1.1. High vowels. The high vowels of Kannada are short *i* and *u*, and long *ii* and *uu*. The front vowels *i* and *ii* are preceded by a trace of a *y* glide, and the back vowels *u* and *uu* by a *v* glide, in initial position following a pause.

i is a short high front unrounded vowel that occurs initially, medially, and finally. As with many of the other short vowels, it is lower and more lax in initial and medial than in final position, and even more lax before a geminate consonant. In final position *i* is higher and more tense, but not quite cardinal.

   ide [ʸɪðɛ] 'it is'   *biDi* [bɪḍiˇ] 'leave'
   illa [ʸɪlla] 'no, not'

ii is a long high front unrounded vowel, and occurs in initial and medial position. In final position it is rare, resulting usually from morphophonemic leveling out of some other vocalic sequence.

   ii [i:] 'this'   *iiga* [ʸi:ga] 'now'
   niivu [ni:wu] 'you'
   iddii [ʸɪddi:] 'you (sing.) are' (< LK *iddiiye*)

u is a short back rounded vowel that is low-high in initial and medial position, and high in final position.

> *uppu* [wUppu] 'salt'   *kuDi* [kUd̩i˘] 'drink'

Some grammarians describe final *u* as slightly unrounded (Rajapurohit 1975: 92), but many speakers stigmatize this pronunciation. The amount of unrounding may vary depending on whether it is preceded by a rounded or unrounded vowel.

uu is a long high back rounded vowel, and occurs in initial and medial positions. In final position it is rare, except as the conjunctive particle *–uu,* and then it usually is accompanied by a rising or emphatic intonation.

> *uuTa* [wu:ta] 'food'   *muuru* [mu:ru] 'three'
> *avanuu* [əβənu:] 'he, too'

1.1.2. Mid vowels.

The mid vowels of Kannada are front vowels *e* and *ee,* and back vowels *o* and *oo.* In initial position following a pause, all words beginning with *e* and *ee* in Kannada have an automatic *y* glide before them; and initial *o* and *oo* are preceded by a *v* glide, phonetically [w] or [β].

In some dialects, the quality of mid vowels is affected by the following vowel; they may be slightly lower if the following vowel is a low vowel, or slightly higher if the following vowel is a mid or high vowel (Rajapurohit 1975b:91-92).

e is a short unrounded vowel that occurs in initial, medial, and final position. In nonfinal position it is generally [ε], similar to the 'e' in English 'bed'; finally it is phonetically high-mid central.

> *elli* [yεlli˘] 'where'   *bele* [bεlE] 'price'
> *naaLe* [na:l̩E] 'tomorrow'

ee is a long mid-high front unrounded vowel that occurs in initial and medial, but rarely in final position except with "expressive" lengthening of the emphatic particle *-ee,* with a difference in intonation as well.

> *eenu* [ye:nu] 'what'   *beeku* [be:ku] 'is needed'
> *illee* [ʸʊlle:] 'right here'

o is a short back rounded vowel that is phonetically low-mid in initial and medial positions, and mid in final position.

ondu [wɔnðu] 'one'   *gottu* [gɔttu] 'is known'
togo [tɔgo] 'take'

oo is a long mid back rounded vowel that occurs in all positions, but in final position is usually a case of the dubitative clitic *–oo* (4.11.3).

ooDu [wo:ḍu] 'run'   *nooDu* [no:ḍu] 'see'
yaaroo [ya:ro:] 'someone or other'

1.1.3. Low vowels. The low vowels of SK are *a* and *aa,* with *æ* and *ɔ* found in some loan words.

a is a short central unrounded vowel that in initial and medial position is phonetically [ə], like the 'u' in English 'but'. In final position, however, it is low.

adu [əðu] 'that thing'   *avanu* [əβənu] 'he'
mara [məra] 'tree'

aa is a long low central unrounded vowel that occurs in all positions, although in final position it would be found only in mono-syllables or as the interrogative suffix *–aa* (see 4.3).

aagu [a:gu] 'become'   *maaDu* [ma:ḍu] 'make'
baa [ba:] 'come'

æ is a mid-low front unrounded long vowel that occurs primarily in loan words, but also in rare instances in native Kannada words. For some speakers *æ* would be replaced by *yaa* or *ee* and by ꞏe or ꞏ in orthography.

bænku [bæŋku] ∿ [be:ŋku] 'bank'
hæge [hægE] ∿ [he:gE] 'how'

ɔ is a mid-low back rounded long vowel that occurs only in loan words. Some speakers may replace it with *aa* both in SK and in orthography.

lɔyar [lɔyər] ∿ [la:yər] 'lawyer'
kɔfi [kɔfiˇ] ∿ [ka:fiˇ] 'coffee'

1.1.4. Other vowels. LK has some other vowels, used mainly for representing sounds in certain Sanskrit loan words (such as vocalic [r̥]), but these are not found in SK. In the Dharwar dialect, schwa

(a mid-central vowel [ə] akin to the final sound of English 'sofa') sometimes contrasts minimally with *a*, especially before an originally high vowel. Since this dialect also has a rule that raises LK final –*e* to *i*, forms can then come to contrast:

LK	EARLIER DHARWAR	PRESENT-DAY DHARWAR
kari 'fry'	*[kəri]	*kəri*
kare 'call'	*[kʌre]	*kari*

In this dialect *e* may also be lowered to [æ] when a nonhigh vowel follows; when that –*e* is raised in final position by the afore-mentioned rule, [æ] may come to contrast with –*e*. (Bright 1966b: 317; Hiremath 1961:1-10). Since the Dharwar dialect is not considered standard except in northern Karnataka, we will not consider these vowels to be part of the inventory of SK as described here.

1.2. Consonants. As mentioned above (see 1.0), Kannada has a native Dravidian inventory of consonants, with a superimposed system of aspirated consonants and supplementary sibilants borrowed from Indo-Aryan, and with *f* and *z* borrowed from Urdu and reinforced by English loans. In SK these borrowed phonemes tend to be replaced by similar native phonemes (e.g., *f* may be replaced by *ph* or *p*, *z* by *j* or *s*, aspirates by nonaspirates, etc.).

The consonants of SK, with their equivalents in Kannada script, are as follows:

STOPS AND NASALS

	Voiceless		Voiced		
	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Nasal
Velar	k ಕ್	kh ಖ್	g ಗ್	gh ಘ್	ŋ (ṅ) ಙ್
Palatal	c ಚ್	ch ಛ್	j ಜ್	jh ರುು್	ñ ಞ್
Retroflex	T (ṭ) ಟ್	Th (ṭh) ಠ್	D (ḍ) ಡ್	Dh (ḍh) ಢ್	N (ṇ) ಣ್
Dental	t ತ್	th ಥ್	d ದ್	dh ಧ್	n ನ್
Labial	p ಪ್	ph ಫ್	b ಬ್	bh ಭ್	m ಮ್

GLIDES, SIBILANTS, FRICATIVES, LATERALS, AND CONTINUANTS

	Glides (Voiced)	Sibilants (Voiceless)	Sibilants (Voiced)	Fricatives (Voiceless)	Fricatives (Voiced)	Laterals (Voiced)	Continuants (Voiced)
Pharyngeal							
Retroflex					h ಹ		
Apico-		S (ş) ಷ				L (ḷ) ಳ	
palatal	y ಯ	sh (ś) ಶ					
Alveolar		s ಸ	z ಜ			l ಲ	r ರ
Labial	v ವ			f ಫ			

The above classification of glides, sibilants, and so forth, is untraditional in that it includes borrowed phonemes and classifies all sounds by position of articulation. This the Kannada alphabet does only with stops and nasals. The Kannada alphabetic ordering of the stops and nasals is given in the preceding chart, reading the horizontal rows consecutively; the order of the other consonants (following the final nasal, *m*) is: *y, r, l, v, sh, S, s, h,* and *L.*

Alternative transcriptions used by some other authors are given in parentheses; however, we will not use them except where they converge with standard phonetic transcription (in which case they will appear in brackets). Note that the Kannada letters used for *z* and *f* are the same as those for *j/s* and *ph* respectively, sometimes modified with underdots.

Phonetically, all medial geminate consonants are twice as long as a single consonant when following a short vowel; after a long vowel, they are longer than a single consonant but shorter than a geminate following a short vowel. Voiced geminate consonants do not usually occur after a long vowel, and voiceless geminates following a long vowel are often the product of some contraction or deletion process, or are in a borrowed word.

> *saaku* [sa:ku] (short *k*) 'enough'
> *cikka* [tšïkka] (long *k*) 'small'
> *hookke* § (← *hoogokke*) [ho:k•E] (half-long *k*) 'to go'
> *keeLLi* (← *keeLali*) 'let someone ask'

1.2.1. Velar consonants.

The velar consonants, produced in the back of the mouth with the root of the tongue raised to touch the velum (soft palate) are *k, kh, g, gh,* and *ŋ* (ṅ).

k is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop, similar to the 'k' that follows 's' in English words such as 'skin'. The puff of air that follows initial 'k' in English, such as in 'kin', is not present in Kannada *k*.

kelavu 'some'   *tiL-koo* 'understand'
maaDokke 'to do'

kh is a voiceless aspirated velar stop, with a stronger puff of air following the *k* than in words beginning with 'k' in English. *kh* is probably closer phonetically to the 'k+h' sequence in a word like 'pack-horse'. *kh* occurs primarily in loan words from Indo-Aryan, and many speakers replace it with nonaspirated *k*.

k(h)aNDita 'certainly'   *shank(h)a* 'conch'

g is a voiced unaspirated velar stop, very similar to English 'g'.

gottu 'is known'   *vagi* 'wash (clothes)'
beLagge 'morning'

gh is a voiced aspirated velar stop. It has no equivalent in English, except perhaps in a word like 'pigheaded'. *gh* occurs mainly in Indo-Aryan loan words and may be replaced by *g*.

g(h)aNTe 'hour'   *sang(h)a* 'association'

ŋ is a velar nasal, similar to the 'ng' sequence in English words like 'sing'. In LK it occurs almost exclusively before other velar consonants, and is therefore not considered to be phonemic. In SK, however, it may occur before other consonants as the result of deletion of velar consonants (and vowels) that conditioned its occurrence before their deletion.

LK *hengasu* → SK *hengsu* [heŋsu] 'woman'
LK *angaDi* → SK *angDi* [aŋDi] 'shop'

Also, a nonvelar nasal may become [ŋ] if it comes to precede a velar consonant as the result of the deletion of some other sounds (Bright 1958:5).

LK *nanage* → SK *nange* [naŋge] 'to me'

Rather than adopting a so-called autonomous phonemic analysis (see note 4), this grammar will select basic forms that will make the occurrence of [ŋ] always predictable.

In English loan words, the English interdental affricates such as those found in 'think' or 'this' are often perceived as aspirated dentals, and are sometimes replaced by *th* and *dh* respectively.

thiŋ ∿ tiŋ 'thing'   *thaenksu ∿ teenksu* 'thanks'

t is a voiceless unaspirated dental stop. Unlike English 't', which is generally alveolar, Kannada *t* is pronounced with a perceptible interdental affricate offset [θ] after the dental stopped portion. This is similar to words in English where 'th' follows an alveolar stop, as in 'eighth'.

tappu [tᶿəppu] 'mistake'   *hattu* [hətᶿu] 'ten'

th is a voiceless aspirated dental stop, occurring mainly in loans from Indo-Aryan, and replaced by *t* by many speakers in SK.

deevast(h)aana 'temple'   *kat(h)e* 'story'

d is a voiced unaspirated dental stop. Like *t,* it has an interdental offset [ð] in initial position and when geminate; however, intervocalically and after a nasal it is almost a pure fricative.

daari [dᵟa:riˇ] 'way'   *idde* [ʸɩdᵟE] 'I was'
idu [ʸIðu] 'this thing'

dh is a voiced aspirated dental stop, occurring mainly in loans from Indo-Aryan, and usually replaced by *d* in SK.

nid(h)aana 'slow'

n is a voiced nasal that is phonetically homorganic with following consonants, but apico-alveolar in other positions (Bright 1958:4).

ondu [wɔnðu] 'one'   *pance* [pəñtšE] 'dhoti'
nanna [nənna] 'my'   *naanu* [na:nu] 'I'

1.2.5. Labial consonants. The labial consonants of SK, pronounced with both lips firmly closed, are *p, ph, b, bh,* and *m.* (The bilabial or labio-dental *v* and labio-dental *f* will be dealt with below; see 1.2.6.1-2.)

p is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop. Initially it occurs mostly in loan words, since historically initial **p* changed to *h* in Kannada sometime in the tenth century (Gai 1946:13).

paapa 'alas'   *ippattu* 'twenty'   *kempu* 'red'

ph is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop, appearing mainly in loan words from Indo-Aryan, and sometimes in place of *f* in loans from Urdu and English. As with other aspirated consonants, it is often replaced by unaspirated *p*.

siita-p(h)ala 'custard apple'

b is a voiced unaspirated bilabial stop.

baa 'come'   *habba* 'festival'   *tumba* 'very much'

bh is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop. It occurs mainly in Indo-Aryan loan words, and is usually replaced by *b* in SK. However, in some instances it occurs in Dravidian items, where original **p* has changed to *h* and then is combined with a prefix.

b(h)aaSe 'language'   *omb(h)attu* 'nine'

m is a voiced bilabial nasal consonant.

mane 'house'   *tumba* 'very much'   *amma* 'mother'

1.2.6. Other consonants. Up to now the Kannada alphabetic ordering has been followed in the presentation of the consonants. Due to the borrowing of sounds from other languages and to the lack of a phonetically logical order to the Kannada alphabet from here on (that is, Kannada follows the Sanskrit alphabetic order, with the Kannada sounds that are not found in Sanskrit being added at the end), this text departs from this order to present the sounds in a more linguistically sophisticated manner.

1.2.6.1. Glides. The Kannada glides are *y* and *v*. Glides are vowellike consonants that occur either between two vowels or preceding or following a vowel. In Kannada, unlike some languages, two vowels do not coalesce when they occur together in adjacent morphemes; rather, a glide is inserted between them (see 1.3.5).

y is phonetically similar to *i*.

yaaru 'who'   *ayya* 'sir'   *payru* 'crop'

When front vowels occur in initial position, *y* is automatically inserted in front of them (see 1.1.1-2).

v is voiced, and is either labio-dental or bilabial. When followed by front vowels (*i, ii, e, ee*) it tends to be labio-dental [v]; before *a*

and *aa* and consonants it is bilabial with slight rounding [β] ; and preceding back vowels (*u, uu, o, oo*) it is bilabial with stronger rounding [w] (Bright 1958:5).

viSa [vIsa] 'poison'   *vaara* [βa:ra] 'week'
haavu [ha:wu] 'snake'

When back vowels occur in initial position, they are automatically preceded by a *v* glide, phonetically [w] (see 1.1.1-2).

1.2.6.2. Sibilants and fricatives. The Kannada sibilants are *S(s̩), sh(ś), s,* and *z;* and the fricatives are *h* and *f.*

S is a voiceless retroflex sibilant, found mainly in words borrowed from Indo-Aryan.

Sooki 'fashionable'   *b(h)aaSe* 'language'
varSa 'year'

sh is a voiceless apico-palatal sibilant, found in borrowed words.

shabda 'sound'   *deesha* 'country'
prashne 'question'

Bright notes that in some dialects *sh* is replaced by *S* (Bright 1958:4).

deesha → deeSa 'country'

In other dialects *sh* and *S* may be merged simply to *sh*, except in very careful speech or before retroflex consonants (Bright, personal communication). (In uneducated speech, *S, sh,* and *s* may all be merged to *s*.)

b(h)aaSe → baase § 'language'
deesha → deesa § 'country'

s is a voiceless alveolar sibilant.

sose 'daughter-in-law'   *saaku* 'enough'
sneehita 'friend'

z is a voiced alveolar sibilant, occurring mainly in loan words from Urdu and English. It is often replaced by *j* and sometimes by *s* in rapid or casual speech.

k(h)azaane ∿ *k(h)ajaane* 'treasury'
Dazan ∿ *Dajan* 'dozen'
iizi ∿ *iisi* ∿ *iiji* § 'easy'

h is usually a voiceless, though sometimes voiced (Bright 1958:5), glottal spirant, not unlike the 'h' in words like English 'harp'. It is before voiced consonants in clusters that it is sometimes voiced. In some dialects *h* may be completely absent (see preface).

hattu 'ten'   *uuhe* 'conjecture'
bahLa 'very much'

f is a voiceless labio-dental fricative, found mainly in loan words from Urdu and English. Many speakers replace *f* with *ph* or *p*.

maafi ∿ *maap(h)i* 'excuse'
kɔfi ∿ *kaafi* ∿ *kaap(h)i* 'coffee'

1.2.6.3. Laterals and continuants. Modern SK has three consonants in this group: *L (1), l,* and *r.*[3]
L is a voiced retroflex lateral. It does not occur in initial position.

baaLe 'banana'   *haLLi* 'village'   *biiLu* 'fall'

l is a voiced alveolar lateral.

laDDU 'a sweet'   *bele* 'price'
nillu 'stand'   *haalu* 'milk'

r is a voiced flapped or trilled (Bright 1958:5) continuant, made with the tip of the tongue against the alveolum.

reppe 'eyelash'   *nore* 'foam'
uuru 'town'   *karrage* 'blackish'

1.3. Morphophonemics. Morphophonemics (or sandhi) deals with changes that occur in sounds when two words or portions of separate morphemes (meaningful units) come together to form a new word, or when they are adjacent in a sentence. The kinds of changes that are possible are:
   a. Insertion of some other sound between the two adjacent sounds.
   b. Deletion of one or more sounds.

c. Replacement of one or more sounds by another sound.

d. Permutation (reordering) of adjacent sounds.

Most of the processes that operate on underlying forms[4] (before morphophonemic rules apply) to produce SK surface forms have to do with coalescence of adjacent vowels, deletion of short vowels, and reduction of consonant clusters formed by these deletions. There are also more complicated changes that take place, and some of these will be considered in this section if they are fairly regular. More idiosyncratic processes will be treated as properties of individual morphemes or morpheme classes, and these will be handled in other sections (see sections 2 and 3, on the noun and verb, respectively).

1.3.1. Morphophonemics of Sanskrit loan words. Many loan words from Sanskrit into Kannada do not follow the Kannada morphophonemic rules; rather, they use Sanskrit rules. For example:

deeva 'god' + *aalaya* 'place' → *deevaalaya* 'temple'

whereas two Kannada morphemes with the same adjacent vowels would follow a different rule, and appear differently on the surface.

A complete statement of Sanskrit sandhi rules is out of place here. For these the reader may consult a Sanskrit grammar or a traditional grammar of LK (e.g., Kittel 1903).

1.3.2. Retroflex assimilation. When a retroflex nasal (*N*) and a nonretroflex consonant come together, the tendency is for the nonretroflex consonant (especially if it is a dental) to assimilate to retroflexion.

A good example of this process is when the past tense marker *–d–* is added to verbs with stems ending in *N*.

kaaN– 'see' + *–d–* 'past' → *kaND–* 'saw'

In some other cases, a stem-final *L* may change to *N* (by another rule), in which case *–d–* will also retroflex.

koL– 'obtain' + *–d–* 'past' → *koN–* + *–d–* → *koND–* 'obtained'

However, most verbs ending in *L* do not follow the example of *koL–* (see 3.4.3.3; also see Biligiri 1959 and Schiffman 1968 for various attempts to deal with these so-called irregular past forms).

1.3.3. Enunciative vowels.[5]   Many Kannada noun and verb stems end in consonants; but Kannada rules require that all words (except loan words ending in *n* or *r*) must end in a vowel before a pause. For this reason, an enunciative vowel, usually *u*, is added to consonant-final stems before a pause.

> *naanu+u* 'I'   *kaNN+u* 'eye'   *koLL+u* 'obtain'
> *naan* 'bread' (borrowed from Hindi-Urdu, so no enunciative *u* is added)

In borrowed words that do not end in *n* or *r*, this addition of enunciative *u* is more regular, since such words often lack a final vowel in the donor language.

> *bass+u* 'bus'   *bukk+u* 'book'   *Taap+u* 'top'

If the final consonant that occurs before a pause is *y*, enunciative *u* is replaced by *i*.

> *naay+i* 'dog'

When words ending in consonants do not precede a pause, or precede another vowel, enunciative *u* is not present.

> *avara hesar(u) een(u)* → *avar hesr eenu?* 'What is his name?'

(In the above example, short *a* is deleted by another rule; see 1.3.6.)

1.3.4. Consonant gemination. As mentioned earlier (see 1.2), in Kannada there seems to be a complementary distribution (nonoverlapping of the environments of occurrence) between morphemes with the structures (C)$\bar{V}$C and (C)VC$_1$C$_1$; that is, geminate consonants do not usually follow long vowels, short vowels are often followed by geminate consonants (except in Sanskrit loan words), and geminate consonants following long vowels are phonetically short.

Because of these distributional facts in Kannada, loan words with short vowels and a single final consonant will usually have the final consonant geminated, and an enunciative vowel (see 1.3.3) added.

> *kap* → *kappu* 'cup'   *braS* → *braSSu* 'brush'

All consonants can geminate in this fashion except *r* (although geminate *r*'s can occur in some other contexts [Upadhyaya 1972:32]).

Therefore, final syllables of words with short vowels can usually be given with the underlying form (C)VC, and the gemination of the final consonant, plus the addition of enunciative *u*, are taken care of by these rules.

1.3.5. Glide insertion.

It has already been mentioned that the glide *y* is automatically inserted before front vowels, and *v* before back vowels in initial position (see 1.1.1-2). These glides are also inserted between two vowels in certain environments in LK, and in slow or careful SK speech.

When words ending in front vowels (*i, ii, e, ee*) are followed by other words or morphemes beginning with another vowel, *y* is generally inserted. (Sometimes *n* may be inserted instead but the conditions governing its occurrence are not clear.)

> *mane* 'house' + *-aa* 'question' → *maneyaa?* 'a house?'
> *mane* 'house' + *-alli* 'in' → *maneyalli* 'in the house'
> *sari* 'all right' + *-aa* 'question' → *sariyaa?* ∿ *sarinaa?* 'all right?'

The conditioning environment for the insertion of *v* is following back or low vowels (*u, uu, o, oo, a, aa*) and preceding another vowel.

> *nija* 'truth' + *-aa* 'question → *nijavaa?* 'Is it true?'

1.3.5.1. Glide reduction.

In casual speech, the sequences of vowels plus glide produced by glide insertion (see 1.3.5) contract to single long vowels in various ways. The sequences generally are reduced as follows: *iy V* → *ii, ey V* → *ee,*[6] *uv V* → *uu,* and *av V* → *aa.*

> *daari* 'way' + *-alli* 'locative' → *daariyalli* → *daariili* 'on the way'
> *mane* 'house' + *-alli* 'locative' → *maneyalli* → *maneeli*
>   'in the house'
> *guru* 'teacher' + *-a* 'genitive' → *guruva* → *guruu* 'teacher's'
> *mara* 'tree' + *-an(na)* 'accusative' → *maravan(na)* → *maraan(na)*
>   'tree (acc.)'

Very few stems (except those borrowed) end in *o*, so the sequence *ov V* does not normally occur. However, a similar reduction does occur in some cases of the sequence of *ahu*, which is reduced to *oo*.

> *bahudu* → *boodu* 'may'

The above statements need to be qualified somewhat, since there are other sequences that are similar in underlying form, but have different outcomes. For instance, the suffix *–uva* added to verb stems to make adjectival participles, and the sequence *–uvu–* found in LK verbal nouns, reduce to *oo* in our SK dialect, rather than the expected *uu*.

> *bar+uva* 'coming' → *baroo* 'next'   *ir+uva* → *iroo* 'being'
> *maaD+uvudu* → *maaDoodu* '(the act of) doing'

This reduction is particularly common in the formation of the habitual and immediate future negatives, where *illa* 'negative' is added to the verbal noun.

> *baruvudu* '(the act of) coming' + *illa* 'negative' → *baruvudilla* → *baroodilla* 'will not come' (which, with further rules, becomes *baroolla* and even *barolla*)

It is evident that the rules governing these sequences have not been fully worked out here,[7] but they will cover most cases of V+glide+V sequences encountered by the student. Since most final long vowels are shortened anyway (see 1.3.6.1) except for the cases noted, many of the above examples will be reduced further by subsequent rules.

1.3.6. Vowel deletion/reduction.

Various writers (e.g., Ramanujan 1967; Bright 1970) have pointed out that the most noticeable difference between SK and LK is the deletion or extreme reduction of short vowels in SK when they follow the first syllable of a word. For example, vowel deletion (and consonant cluster reduction; see 1.3.7) operates on an LK sentence as follows:

> LK *ondu uurinalli obba raaja idda* → SK *ond uurnall ob raaja idda*
> 'in a town there was a king'

In general, most short vowels following the first syllable of a word are deleted; or, if the deletion would lead to the formation of unacceptable consonant clusters (generally three or more consonants together, with a few exceptions), the vowels are reduced to an extremely short sound. In the case of reduction rather than deletion, it is extremely difficult to state a general rule specifying which vowels in a sequence are deleted entirely and which are reduced.[8] In case of

doubt, the student is advised to use full or reduced vowels rather than deleting them completely.

1.3.6.1. Long vowel shortening.   After glide reduction (see 1.3.5.1), long vowels (particularly when final) are shortened so that they are shorter than full long vowels, but generally a bit longer than short vowels.

> *irtiiya → irtii* [ʸIrtθiˑ] 'you (sing.) are'
> *bartiini → bartini* 'I come'

But when special interrogative, dubitative, or presuppositive intonation is superimposed on final long vowels, shortening does not take place.

1.3.7. Consonant cluster reduction and assimilation.   SK has a rule that operates on the output of the short vowel deletion/reduction rule (see 1.3.6) to reduce clusters consisting of geminate consonants plus another consonant, and clusters of nasal plus homorganic consonant plus another consonant.

> *iddaru → iddru → idru* 'he was'
> *toorisuttaane → toorsttaane → toorstaane* 'he shows'
> *hengasu → hengsu → heŋsu* 'woman'

Also, clusters of laterals plus preceding retroflex or dental consonants assimilate to the preceding articulation.

> *keeLali → keeLli → keeLLi* 'let (one) ask'
> *maaDalilla → maaDlilla → maaDLilla* 'didn't do'
> *iddaLu → iddLu → idlu* 'she was'

(Bright 1970:143; Nayak 1967:71-2; Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy 1972:133)
Once again, if in doubt the student is advised to leave in a consonant (and reduced vowel) rather than make an unacceptable deletion.

1.3.7.1. Stop insertion.   After reduction of clusters of geminate laterals (*ll, LL*) plus *r*, a *D* is sometimes inserted between them.

> *ellaru → ellru → elDru* 'all (people)'
> *kaLLaru → kaLLru → kaLru → kaLDru* 'thieves'

1.3.8. Final vowel raising. In SK, and in some other dialects such as Shimoga, stem-final *e* is raised to *i*. This occurs mainly in verbs, although in Dharwar dialect it happens in nouns also (Bright 1970:143).[9]

> *kare → kari* 'call' (homophonous with *kari* 'fry')
> *ole → oli* 'like' (homophonous with *oli,* from *one* 'shake, winnow')

1.3.9. Vowel replacement. There is a tendency in SK for some short *i*'s and *a*'s in noninitial syllables to be replaced by *a* or [ï], respectively (Bright 1958:17).

> *bekkin mari → bekkan mari* 'kitten'
> *(day) maaDisa (beeku) → (day) maaDis (beeku) → (day) maaDas (beeku)* '(you must please) come (in)'
> *neetag hooga → nett[ï]g hoogu* 'go straight'

1.3.10. Summary. The above morphophonemic rules apply generally in the language, except where particular application is specified. Special rules that apply only in noun or verb morphology are discussed elsewhere (see sections 2 and 3). Unless otherwise noted, the preceding section relies heavily on Bright (1958 and 1970) for analysis, examples, and rule ordering.

2

THE NOUN PHRASE

This chapter deals with the morphology (grammatical forms) of the noun phrase, or grammatical variations that take place when nominal elements are combined in various ways. It also treats the semantics of the noun system, especially case. Syntactic relations between noun phrases and other parts of the sentence are dealt with in the chapter on syntax (chapter four).

The noun phrase in Kannada, as in most Dravidian languages, is fairly simple in comparison with the verb phrase. Kannada has an indefinite article (but no definite article), adjectives (most of which are derived from nouns or verbs), and nouns of various sorts that take case endings and postpositions. Nouns may be distinguished for gender, "rationality," and number; and in some cases the noun phrase may contain pronouns, numerals, color terms, deictic particles ('this, that, which') and quantifiers ('many, some, all', etc.). These will all be covered in this chapter.

2.1. Gender and "rationality." Kannada third person nouns and pronouns are distinguished for gender; nouns referring to biologically female beings are feminine in gender, beings that are biologically male are masculine in gender, and nouns that are not thought to be "rational" (capable of thought) are "nonrational" or simply neuter. There

are a few exceptions to this distinction, as some "higher" animals, gods, and some other spirits are included in the category of "rational" beings, and sometimes young children and females are treated as "nonrational."[1]

Among the category of rational beings, masculines and feminines may be marked with the masculine marker *-(a)nu* or the feminine markers *-(a)Lu,* *-i,* or *-e* (although *i* and *e* are not always to be construed as feminine markers, as indicated below), but not all masculine and feminine nouns are so marked. Pronouns that refer to masculine and feminine nouns do have the person-number-gender (PNG) forms *-anu* and *-aLu* respectively (see 2.5).

Masculine		Feminine	
huDuga(nu)	'boy'	*huDugi*	'girl'
sevaka(nu)	'male servant'	*sevaki, sevakaLu*	maidservant'
tamma(nu)	'younger brother'	*tangi*	'younger sister'
aNNa(nu)	'elder brother'	*akka*	'elder sister'
maga(nu)	'son'	*maga(Lu)*	'daughter'
		heN(Da)ti	'wife'
		atte	'aunt'
		attige	'elder brother's wife'
		sose	'daughter-in-law'

Note that although alternate forms *sevaki* and *sevakaLu* are given for 'maidservant', *sevaki* is the preferred form. Spencer gives a paradigm for *sevakaLu* in LK but then states that "*sevaki* is the more correct of the two forms" (1950:46-47). The form *akka* 'elder sister', which one might expect to have the feminine ending *-Lu,* does not have it. Spencer actually gives the paradigm of this form in LK with a masculine nominative in *-nu,* that is, *akkanu,* but elsewhere the form is listed as just *akka.*

2.2. Number. Kannada nouns are distinguished by two numbers, singular and plural. The singular has no particular distinguishing marker added. The plural marker is usually *-gaLu,* but there are some exceptions as noted below. Neuter nouns are only optionally marked for plural, so an unmarked noun may be either singular or plural in meaning, depending on the context or the intent of the speaker.

erDu mara(gLu) 'two trees'
muuru mane(gLu) 'three houses'
nuuru saarti 'one hundred times'

Masculine nouns ending in *a,* and some ending in *i* referring to names of communal groups, have plurals with *–aru,* as do feminine nouns ending in *i, e,* or a consonant (followed by enunciative *u*).

huD(u)ga	'boy'	*huD(u)garu*	'boys'
		(*huDugru* also occurs)	
saabi	'Muslim'	*saabru*	'Muslims'
sose	'daughter-in-law'	*soseeru*	'daughters-in-law'
huDgi	'girl'	*huDgiiru*	'girls'
hengsu	'woman'	*hengsru*	'women'

Note that feminine nouns ending in a vowel reduce the sequences *iya* and *eya* to *ii* and *ee* respectively (see 1.3.5.1).

soseyaru → soseeru   *huDgiyaru → huDgiiru*

Some nouns marked with *–aru* are honorific rather than plural.

deevru	'god'	*meesTru*	'teacher'
raayru	'master'	*DaakTru*	'doctor'

With kinship terms, the marker for plural is often *–andiru.*

aNNA	'elder brother'	*aNNandru*	'elder brothers'
akka	'elder sister'	*akkandru*	'elder sisters'
taayi	'mother'	*taayandru*	'mothers'

Some nouns have irregular plurals, such as:

magu	'child'	*mak(ka)Lu*	'children'

2.3. The case system.   The case system of Kannada is similar to those of other Dravidian languages, as well as of some other languages. Various suffixes are added to the noun stem to indicate different relationships between the noun and other constituents of the sentence; for example, to indicate whether the noun is the object of a verb (in which case it is marked for accusative case), or the "goal" of a verb of motion (dative case), the possessor of something (genitive case), or the means by which something takes place (instrumental

case), and so forth.[2] Unless otherwise noted, this discussion and analy-sis of the case system is based primarily on the work of Chidananda Murthy (1976).

2.3.1. The nominative case. The basic form of the noun as it occurs as either the subject or predicate nominal in a sentence such as

> *idu mane* 'this is (a) house'

is called the nominative case. Subjects of sentences are usually in the nominative case, with a few exceptions (see 3.7 and 4.0.1.1 on dative-statives). In SK, the nominative case marker can be considered a "zero" (no apparent marker in the surface form; see Chidananda Murthy 1976: 313), and it is in this basic form that a Kannada noun is listed in the dictionary.[3]

Nouns may end in *a, e, i, u, aa*, or in a consonant. Those that end in a consonant have an enunciative *u* added (see 1.3.3). Nouns ending in a short *a* generally behave differently throughout the paradigms than other nouns.

2.3.2. The genitive case. The genitive case,[4] indicating possession, is marked in several different ways. In some cases, because of vowel deletion, the genitive and nominative forms may appear the same on the surface. The genitive case marker is basically *-a*, but for nonrational nouns whose nominative ends in *-a*, the genitive is *-da*, and for ra-tional nouns that have an optional gender marker *-n(u)* or *-L(u)* (see 2.1), this marker must be included before the genitive *-a*.

> *kelsa* 'work' + *-da* 'genitive' → *kels(a)da* 'of work'
> *huDuga(nu)* 'boy' + *-a* 'genitive' → *huDug(a)na* 'boy's'
> *magaL(u)* 'daughter' + *-a* 'genitive' → *magaLa* 'daughter's'

Nouns that end in other vowels (*e, i, u, aa*) simply add *a*, preceded by morphophonemically inserted *y* or *v* (see 1.2.6.1). In colloquial speech, however, these vowel combinations reduce to a lengthened stem-final vowel (see 1.3.5.1); and these long vowels are then usually shortened (see 1.3.6.1). The final surface outcome of these rules is that such nouns may appear to have no genitive case marker.

> *mane* 'house' + *-a* 'genitive' *maneya* → *manee* → *mane*
> *guru* 'teacher' + *-a* 'genitive' *guruva* → *guruu* → *guru*

Nouns ending in a consonant (preceded by enunciative *u*) often have a genitive ending *–ina* that morphophonemically reduces to *–in* or *–na* in SK.

> *uuru* 'town' + *–ina* 'genitive'   *janaru* 'people'
> *uurin janru* ∿ *uurna janru* 'the people of the town'

Neuter determinatives (e.g., *adu* 'that thing, it', *muuru* 'three', *aSTu* 'that much') have a genitive marker *–ara*.

> *adu* 'that thing, it' + *–ara* 'genitive' *ad(a)ra* 'of that thing, it'
> *muuru* 'three' + *–ara* 'genitive' *muur(a)ra* 'of three'

The genitive case is used to indicate possession, including possession of qualities or attributes, so it is not strange that it can be interpreted as having an adjectival function (see Bright 1958:31). Spencer quotes Kittel as saying that "all Kanarese words which are used as adjectives are in fact nouns, often the genitive of nouns" (Spencer 1950:260). Another similarity between genitives and adjectives (see 2.6) is that they both end in *a*.

> *mar(a)da* 'of a tree, of wood, wooden'
> *marda mane* 'house of wood, wooden house'

2.3.2.1. Summary of genitive forms.

Noun	Genitive Ending	Example Noun	Genitive Form
Masculine			
Ending in *-a(nu)*	*-a*	*huDuga(nu)*	*huDug(a)na* 'boy's'
Feminine			
Ending in *-a(Lu)*	*-a*	*maga(Lu)*	*magaLa* 'daughter's'
Neuter			
Ending in *-a*	*-da*	*kel(a)sa*	*kels(a)da* 'of work'
Ending in *-e*	*-a*	*mane*	*mane(ya), mane(e)* 'of the house'
Ending in *-i*	*-a*	*daari*	*daari(ya), daari(i)* 'of the way'
Ending in *-u*	*-a*	*guru*	*guru(va), guru(u)* 'teacher's'
Ending in consonant	*-ina*	*uuru*	*uurin, uurna*
Neuter determinative	*-ara*	*adu*	*ad(a)ra* 'of that, it'

But plural nouns (which end in a consonant) take the genitive marker *-a* (see 2.3.8).

2.3.2.2. The oblique stem.   The oblique stem is that form to which some other case markers are added. For nouns, it is the same as the genitive except that genitive nouns ending in *-a* drop this final *a,* and for neuter determinatives it is the nominative form + *-a.*

> *adu* 'it'   *ad(a)ra* 'its, of it'   *ada* 'it (obl.)'
> *muuru* 'three'   *muur(a)ra* 'of three'   *muura* 'three (obl.)'

Though the 'oblique' is similar in most respects to the genitive, the meaning of possession is usually absent when other case markers are added to it.

2.3.3. The accusative case.   The accusative case is used to indicate that a noun is an object of the action of a verb. That is, when the subject (agent) of a sentence does something that has some effect on some person or object, that person or object (patient) is marked for the accusative (sometimes called the objective) case. The basic SK accusative marker is *-anna,* added to the nominative stem. In LK, the most common suffix is *-annu,* but this is found only in "formal" SK (Chidananda Murthy 1976:316).

Due to short vowel deletion (see 1.3.6) and consonant cluster reduction (see 1.3.7), *-anna* may be reduced to *-an, -na,* or just *-n,* sometimes with glide reduction (see 1.3.5.1).

> *mara* 'tree' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *maravanna* →
>   *maraan* 'tree (acc.)'
> *mane* 'house' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *maneyanna* →
>   *maneen* 'house (acc.)'

Pronouns also have the accusative marker *-anna.*

> *adu* 'that thing, it' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *adanna* →
>   *adan* 'that thing, it (acc.)'
> *avaru* 'they' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *avaranna* → *avran* 'them'

Rational nouns that have an optional gender marker *-nu* or *-Lu* (see 2.1) must have that marker present before the accusative suffix. However, because of short vowel deletion and consonant cluster reduction, the final surface form may be much reduced.

huDuga(nu) 'boy' + *–anna* 'accusative' → *huDugananna* →
  huDgan 'boy (acc.)'
appa(nu) 'father' + *–anna* 'accusative' → *appanna* →
  appan 'father (acc.)'

It is also possible for the accusative marker to be omitted entirely, except with rational nouns (see 2.1).

mara kaDi 'cut the tree'
kelsa maaDsu 'have the work done'

The use of the accusative marker with nouns with which it is not obligatory gives a sense of particularity or definiteness.

mara nooDde 'I saw a tree'
maraan nooDde 'I saw the tree'

Thus the optional accusative marker is the closest thing Kannada has to a definite article.

2.3.4. The dative case.

The dative case is used for a number of different purposes. It is used when a noun is the goal of a verb of motion, that is, when motion toward a noun is expressed (e.g., *maneeg hoode* 'I went to the house'). It is also used when a noun is the recipient of benefaction, such as when something is given to someone or something (e.g., *nimag(e) koTTe* 'I gave [it] to you'). In addition, it occurs with certain stative verbs, expressing notions such as 'knowing, understanding, liking, wanting, being available, being sufficient', and so forth (see 3.8).

Nonrational nouns ending in *a* have the dative marker *–kke* added to the nominative form, while neuter determinatives add *–kke* to the oblique stem.

mara 'tree' + *–kke* 'dative' → *marakke* 'to(ward) the tree'
kelsa 'work' + *–kke* 'dative' → *kelsakke* 'to/for work'
ida– 'this thing (obl.)' + *–kke* 'dative' → *idakke* 'to/for this'
muura– 'three (obl.)' + *–kke* 'dative' → *muurakke* 'to/at three'

For other nouns the dative suffix is *–ige*, which is added to the nominative of nonrational nouns, and to the oblique stem of rational nouns. Nouns that end in *e, i,* and (nonenunciative) *u* reduce the vowel and glide sequence as usual (see 1.3.5.1).

mane 'house' + *–ige* 'dative' → *maneyige* →
    maneeg(e) 'to the house'
nari 'fox' + *–ige* 'dative' → *nariyige* → *nariig(e)* 'to the fox'
guru 'teacher' + *–ige* 'dative' → *guruvige* →
    guruug(e) 'to the teacher'
uuru 'town' + *–ige* 'dative' → *uurg(e)* 'to the town'
aNNan– 'elder brother (obl.)' + *–ige* 'dative' →
    aNNan(i)g(e) 'to the elder brother'
magaL– 'daughter (obl.)' + *–ige* 'dative' →
    magaL(i)g(e) 'to the daughter'

The word *jana* 'people' is semantically plural, and may occur with
or without a plural marker. If no marker is present, it is treated like
a singular noun ending in *a,* and takes the dative marker *–kke.* However,
if a plural marker *–ru* or *–gaLu* is added, it takes *–ige* (Chidananda
Murthy 1976:321).

aa janak buddhi illa 'those people have no discrimination'
aa janarge/janagaLge idan koDu 'give this to those people'

2.3.4.1. Summary of dative case forms.

Noun	Dative Ending	Example Noun	Dative Form
Neuter noun			
Ending in *a*	-*kke*	*mara* (nom.)	*marakke* 'to the tree'
Ending in *e, i, u*	-*ige*	*mane* (nom.)	*maneege* 'to the house'
Ending in consonant	-*ige*	*uuru* (nom.)	*uurge* 'to the town'
Neuter determinative	-*kke*	*ida-* (obl.)	*idakke* 'to this, to it'
Rational noun	-*ige*	*aNNan-* (obl.)	*aNNange* 'to elder brother'

2.3.5. The locative case.   The locative case is used to express location,
lack of motion, containment ('in'), and instrumentality (especially
locomotion, e.g., *basnalli* 'by bus'). For nonrational nouns, the locative
marker is *–alli,* added to the oblique stem. For nouns ending in a

consonant, with oblique ending of *n*, the *n* is usually present, but may be deleted.

> *marad* 'tree (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' → *mardalli* 'in the tree'
> *uurin* 'town (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' → *uurnalli*,
>   *uuralli* 'in the town'
> *daari* 'way (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' → *daariyalli* →
>   *daariili* 'in/on the way'
> *mane* 'house (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' → *maneyalli* →
>   *maneeli* 'in the house, at home'

Rational nouns require the postposition *hattira* either instead of or before *-alli*, and is attached to the oblique form of the noun; *hattira* itself must be in the oblique form (*hattirad*) if it occurs before *-alli*.

> *nan* 'I (obl.)' + *hattira* 'locative' → *nan hatra* 'by/near/on me'
> *nan* 'I (obl.)' + *hattirad* 'locative (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' →
>   *nan hatradalli* 'by/on/near me'

This restriction on the nonoccurrence of *-alli* with rational nouns does not apply in the Dharwar dialect, where forms like *nannalli*, *ninnalli*, *avaLalli*, and so forth, are widely used.

There are a number of other postpositions that have a more specific locative meaning, such as 'on top of' and 'inside of'. These will be treated in a later section (see 2.4).

2.3.5.1. Summary of locative forms.

Noun	Locative Ending	Example Noun	Locative Form
Neuter noun			
Ending in *a*	*-alli*	*kelsad* (obl.)	*kelsdalli* 'in/at work'
Ending in *i, e, u*	*-alli*	*daari* (obl.)	*daariili* 'on the way'
Ending in consonant	*-alli*	*kaaDin* (obl.)	*kaaD(n)alli* 'in the forest'
Rational noun	*hattira(dalli)*	*aNNan* (obl.)	*aNNan hatra(dalli)* 'by/on/near elder brother'

2.3.6. The instrumental/ablative case.
The case marker *-inda* is used to indicate both instrumental ('by means of') and ablative (motion

away from something) notions.[5] It is often the case that the locative *-alli* (see 2.3.5) may be substituted for *-inda* when it is used in the instrumental sense, but not when it is used as an ablative.

When the instrumental/ablative suffix *-inda* occurs with nouns ending in *a*, it is added to the oblique stem of a noun (see 2.3.2.2). (Locative *-alli* is always added to the oblique stem, even when used as an instrumental, see 2.3.5.)

> *aa* 'that' + *div(a)sad-* 'day (obl.)' + *-inda* 'ablative' →
>   *aa divsdinda* 'from that day'
> *ameerikaad-* 'America (obl.)' + *-inda* ∿ *-alli* 'ablative' →
>   *amerikadinda* 'from America'
> *marad* 'wood (obl.)' + *-inda* ∿ *-alli* 'instrumental' →
>   *mardinda* ∿ *mardalli* 'by means of wood, out of wood'
> *kel(a)sad-* 'work (obl.)' + *-inda* ∿ *-alli* 'instrumental' →
>   *kelsdinda, kelsdalli* 'by (means of) work'

Otherwise, *-inda* is added directly to the nominative of the noun.

> *kaalu* 'leg, foot' + *-inda* ∿ *-alli* 'instrumental' →
>   *kaalinda* ∿ *kaalli* 'with the leg/foot'
> *penninda/pennalli kaagada bari* 'write the letter with a pen'

Instrumentality in the sense of "means of transportation" is usually expressed with the locative *-alli* (see 2.3.5).

> *basnalli* 'by bus'   *kaarnalli* 'by car'

Since the locative suffix *-alli* cannot be affixed to rational nouns, except in the Dharwar dialect (see 2.3.5), even when it is used as an instrumental marker, a postposition such as *kai* must be inserted in SK. Such postpositions can also be inserted before *-inda*, but are not necessary.

> *huDgan-inda/-kaiyinda/-kaili paaT(ha) oodsu* 'have the lesson read by the boy'

When *-inda* is used in the ablative sense, it also requires a postposition to be inserted between it and a rational noun. This is usually *hattira*, the same form used with locative *-alli* after rational nouns (see 2.3.5), and it occurs in the oblique form (*hattirad*) before *-inda*. It takes the oblique form of rational nouns and pronouns.

nan 'I (obl.)' + *hattirad* (obl.) + *–inda* 'ablative'
    nan hatradinda 'from me'

–inda may also be used to indicate 'time since'.

eraD divsdinda 'from two days ago'
muur varSdinda 'since three years ago'

There are some "frozen" forms that occur frequently in Kannada, and together have a single meaning, such as *adar–inda* 'therefore'. Note that in these cases it is the genitive form of *adu (adar–)* that must appear before *–inda*.

Even though *–inda* can be translated as 'with', it does not mean 'with (a person)' in the sense of accompaniment. For this meaning, a postposition such as *jote(eli), kuuDa, ondige,* or *sangaDa* is used (see 2.4.1).

2.3.7. The vocative case. The vocative case is used with rational nouns to indicate a calling or summons. Neuter nouns are not usually used in the vocative, since nonrational objects are usually not summoned in any way, although if such things are anthropomorphized (as in a folk tale), this may happen.

For all rational nouns that have anything but final *a* or *i*, the vocative suffix is *–ee*, added to the nominative (with the enunciative *u* deleted from those that end in a consonant).

guru 'teacher' + *–ee* 'vocative'   *guruvee!* '(hey) teacher!'
hengasu 'woman' + *–ee* 'vocative'   *hengsee!* '(hey) woman!'

Nouns that end in *a* often form the vocative by lengthening the final *a* to *aa*.

huDgaa! '(hey) boy!'
sevkaa! '(hey) servant!'

Nouns ending in *i* may also lengthen the final vowel to *ii* instead of adding *–ee*. This would happen naturally by morphophonemic rules (i+y+ee → ii); failure to shorten this final long vowel would be in line with the tendency to retain final vowel length when special intonation is present, especially with clitics (1.3.6.1).

huDgii! '(hey) girl!'

2.3.8. Case markers with plurals.   The case markers used with plural nouns are usually the same as those used with the singular. In the plural, they are added to the plural marker *–gaL(u)*. Often the plural marker is not used, however, so the singular may be found when more than one object is meant (see 2.2).

Following the plural marker *–gaLu,* the genitive marker is *–a,* rather than *–ina,* which is otherwise used after nouns with final consonants. As with other genitives, this *a* may be deleted by short vowel reduction (see 1.3.6).

> *gaNDu* 'man' + *–gaLu* 'plural' + *–a* 'genitive' →
>   *gaNDugaLa* 'of the men'
> *magu* 'child' + *–gaLu* 'plural' + *–a* 'genitive' →
>   *mak(ka)La* 'of the children'
> *makkaL pustaka* 'the children's book'

Note that *magu* 'child' has an irregular form for the plural (*g + g → kk*); most nouns do not operate this way.

With the accusative case, the marker *–anna* is sometimes reduced to just *a* with the plural, and this *a* may also be deleted.

> *makkaLu* 'children' + *–anna* 'accusative'
> *makkaLa* 'children (acc.)'
> *makkaL(a) kari* 'call the children'

2.3.9. Alternate use of case markers.   Kannada speakers will sometimes use one case marker (e.g., nominative) when another (e.g., accusative) is called for by the normal rules of grammar. This can happen when vowels are deleted so that forms that were originally different become the same; it can occur because of large scale historical changes (e.g., substitution of locative for instrumental; see 2.3.6); it can result from the influence of bilingual speakers whose other language has a different set of rules from that of standard SK; or it can be caused by the influence of one grammatical structure within Kannada being carried over into another.

Few rules can be given for these phenomena, so the student is advised to use the rules provided, and leave exceptional usages to native speakers.

2.4. Postpositions. Kannada has a set of forms called postpositions that are added to the end of noun phrases, usually after a case marker, to indicate time, location, instrumentality, and so forth. These are similar in function and semantic content to prepositions in some other languages. ("Left-branching" languages like Kannada, which have the verb at the end of the sentence, typically have postpositions instead of prepositions.)

It is difficult precisely to enumerate the complete set of postpositions used in SK, both because some of those used in LK may occasionally be used in SK as well (but not by all speakers), and because postpositions (and prepositions) are simply not a fixed and limited set. New ones are added to the language, being derived from nouns, verbs, and even adverbial expressions. In English, for example, verbal participles like 'concerning' and 'regarding' are used like prepositions with approximately the same meaning as 'about' (a true preposition), and Kannada can do the same kind of thing.

Postpositions may be followed by case markers, and in some instances by other postpositions. The list below includes the most common postpositions found in modern SK. Most of them follow the genitive case marker (see 2.3.2), but some follow the dative (see 2.3.4), some (usually historically derived from transitive verbs) follow the accusative (see 2.3.3), and a few (*kaDe,* and some that occur primarily with adjectival participles or noun phrases), follow the nominative (see 2.3.1). For a complete list of LK postpositions, see Spencer (1950: 177).

2.4.1. Postpositions with genitive. Most Kannada postpositions occur following the genitive form of the noun or pronoun (see 2.3.2). In the list that follows, some are specifically time expressions (e.g., 'before noon'), while others are specifically locative (e.g., 'before the door'); many, however, can be used in both ways. A few of the postpositions are instrumental, or have some other sense.

Since postpositions are often free forms (i.e., many are based on various lexical nouns and verbs), they may also occur alone or with adjectival participles as in *niiv baroo varege* 'until you come' (see 3.5.4 and 4.1.1). Many in the list below end in *-e;* this seems to be an archaic locative marker (Spencer 1950:172; Chidananda Murthy 1976:324). In addition to those that are marked with this archaic

locative, there are also some marked with the modern locative marker
-alli (see 2.3.5), and some with the dative *-kke* (see 2.3.4).

Postposition		Example	
tanaka	'until'	*naaLe tanaka*	'until tomorrow'
varege	'up to, until'	*aydra varege*	'up to five o'clock'
		naan baroo varege	'until I come'
meele	'on (top of)'	*mard meele*	'on the tree'
	'after'	*aa meele*	'after that'
		band meele	'after coming'
keLage	'below, under'	*mard keLage*	'under the tree'
	'ago'	*muur varSad keLage*	'three years ago'
horage	'outside'	*mane horage*	'outside the house'
oLage	'inside'	*guDi-y-oLage*	'inside the temple'
munde	'in front of'	*mane munde*	'in front of the house'
hinde	'behind'	*mane hinde*	'behind the house'
baLika	'after'	*band baLika*	'after coming'
suttalu	'around'	*uurn sutlu*	'around the town'
hattira	'near, by, in the possession of'[a]	*nan hatra*	'near, by, on me'
baLi	'near'	*nim baLi*	'near you'
pakkadalli	'near'	*mard pakkadalli*	'near the tree'
madhye	'amidst'	*uurn madhye*	'in the middle of town'
naDuve	'among'	*huDgar naDuve*	'among the boys'
buDadalli	'at the base of'	*mard buDdalli*	'at the foot of the tree'
tudiyalli	'on top of'	*male tudiili*	'on top of the hill'
balakke	'to the right of'	*nim balakke*	'on your right'
eDakke	'to the left of'	*nan eDakke*	'on my left'
uttarakke	'north of'	*uurn utrakke*	'north of town'
dakSiNakke	'south of'	*bhaaratad dakSNakke*	'South India'
pascimakke	'west of'	*adr pascimakke*	'west of that'
puuravakke	'east of'	*guDi puurvakke*	'east of the temple'
jote(eli)	'with, in the company of'	*nim jote(eli)*	'with you'
oDane	'with, as soon as'	*nim oDane*	'with you'
kuuDa	'with'	*avr kuuDa*	'with them, him, her'
ondige	'with'	*nan ondige*	'with me'
sangaDa	'with'	*avL sangDa*	'with her'
kayyalli	'through, by means of'	*huDgan kayli*	'by (the hand of) the boy'
horatu	'except'	*nim horatu*	'except for you'

[a] See 2.3.5 for use as locative with rational nouns

2.4.2. Postpositions with dative. A small number of postpositions follow the dative case (see 2.3.4) rather than the genitive.

Postposition			Example	
munce	'before (time)'		*adak munce*	'before that time'
modalu	'before'		*uuTak modlu*	'before dinner'
aagi	'for, on behalf of'		*nimg-aagi*	'for you, on your behalf'
ooskara	'for (the sake of)'		*nimg oskra*	'for you, for your sake'
			nooDok oskra	'for the sake of looking'
inta	'than'[a]		*adakk inta oLLeedu*	'(this) is better than that'

[a]Comparative particle, see 2.6.7-9

2.4.3. Postpositions with accusative. Postpositions derived from transitive verbs follow nouns in the accusative case (see 2.3.3).

Postposition		Example	
nooDi	'toward, in the direction of'	*avrn nooDi hoode*	'I went toward him'
(<*nooDu* 'look')			
seersi	'together'	*adn seersi koTTe*	'I gave it (all) together'
(<*seersu* 'cause to join')			

2.4.4. The postposition *kaDe*. The postposition *kaDe* 'place, side, direction' follows the genitive, which in this instance is identical to the nominative, but often has locative *–alli* affixed to it. *kaDe* often follows another postposition, in which instance the case markers affixed to these postpositions (archaic *–e* or modern *–kke*) must be deleted before *kaDe*. Postpositions that end in *–alli* cannot have *kaDe* added to them. Also, following a voiced consonant, the initial *k* of *kaDe* may become voiced.

> *maysuur kaDe* 'near Mysore, toward Mysore,
>   in the Mysore region'
> *maysuur kaDe + avaru* 'person' → *maysuur kaDeeru*
>   'a person from Mysore'

marad meele ∿ *meelgaDe* ∿ *meelgaDeeli (meel+kaDe+alli)*
   'on the tree'
mane munde ∿ *mundgaDe* ∿ *mundgaDeeli* 'in front of the house'

2.4.5. Postpositions with adjectival participles.   Some postpositions—
one might also call them adverbs (see 4.2)—occur primarily with adjec-
tival participles (see 3.5.4, 4.1.1) or as noun phrases themselves. These
include *kuuDalee* 'immediately after', *aSTar-oLage* 'while, within the
time of', and *aaga* 'then, when'.

   niiv baroo-v-aaga 'when you come'
   naan band kuuDlee 'as soon as I came'
   naav baroo aSTroLage 'while we were coming'

Since these forms never are attached to nouns or case-marked nouns,
but always follow adjectival forms, they are not postpositions in the
usual sense. Together with their adjectival participles, they might be
called sentential adverbs (see 4.2.2). It may be noted that some gram-
marians (see Spencer 1950: 165-66) tend to group adverbs and post-
positions together without any distinction.

2.5. Pronouns.   Pronouns are grammatical forms that substitute for
nouns or noun phrases. Most languages have pronouns that refer to the
speaker (first person), to the addressee (second person), and to other
people or things (third person). Most languages distinguish between
singular and plural pronouns (and some have other distinctions such as
dual, inclusive/exclusive, etc.). Many languages distinguish gender in
third person pronouns ('he, she, it') and some, including Kannada, have
special pronouns for politeness in second and third persons.

   Kannada, unlike modern English, distinguishes between singular
and plural in second person, and uses plural forms for singular referents
in second and third persons to indicate politeness. In addition, Kannada
has an "ultrapolite" or honorific form *taavu* that can be used in second
and third persons, and a reflexive pronoun *taanu* 'oneself', and its
variants.

   LK distinguishes between singular and plural with neuter (nonra-
tional) forms; but in SK this distinction is rare (see 2.2). Kannada also
distinguishes between proximate, remote, and interrogative pronouns

in the third person. (This latter distinction is not indicated in the paradigm of pronouns below, but it is discussed in 2.5.1.)

PNG	Singular	Plural (Sing., Polite)	Honorific (Sing., Polite)
First	*naanu* 'I'	*naavu* 'we'	
Second	*niinu* 'you'	*niivu* 'you'	*taavu* 'you'
Third masculine	*avanu* 'he'	*avaru* 'he, they'	*taavu* 'he, they'
Third feminine	*avaLu* 'she'	*avaru* 'she, they'	*taavu* 'she, they'
Third neuter	*adu* 'it'	*avu* 'they (those things)'	
Reflexive	*taanu* 'oneself'	*taavu* 'themselves'	*taavu* 'yourself, themselves'

2.5.1. Demonstrative pronouns.

In the third person, Kannada distinguishes the location of the person or thing discussed in reference to that of the speaker in terms of 'proximate' or 'remote'. This distinction is unnecessary for first or second persons, as the speaker and addressee are usually 'proximate'.

Person/Gender	Number	Proximate	Remote
Third masculine	singular	*ivanu* 'this man'	*avanu* 'that man'
	plural	*ivaru* 'these men'	*avaru* 'those men'
Third feminine	singular	*ivaLu* 'this woman'	*avaLu* 'that woman'
	plural	*ivaru* 'these women'	*avaru* 'those women'
Third neuter	singular	*idu* 'this (thing)'	*adu* 'that (thing)'
	plural	*ivu* 'these (things)'	*avu* 'those (things)'

It should be noted that, as with other pronouns, the plural form may be used for politeness. In addition, the plural forms *ivaru* and *avaru* may be used when the sex of the referent is not specified, or when the meaning 'person' is desired.

Kannada also has a set of pronouns ('who, which, what') that are used in questions.

yaavanu? 'which man'   *yaavadu?* 'which thing'
yaavaLu? 'which woman'   *eenu?* 'what'
yaaru? 'who, which person/people'

yaavanu and *yaavaLu* are used primarily to verify some identity specifically, otherwise *yaaru* is used. In the same way, *yaavadu* asks for specific information (as from a set), whereas *eenu* is more general.

> *yaavn banda?* 'which man came?'
> *yaar bandru?* 'who came?'
> *pustaka yaavdu?* 'which (of these things) is a book?'
> *pustaka eenu?* 'what (in the world) is a book?'

2.5.2. Other proforms. Besides the demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1) and the demonstrative adjectives (see 2.6.6), there are other sets of words in Kannada that are distinguished by the difference in the initial vowel or syllable (*i, a,* or *e/yaav-*). Some of these could be considered to be adjectives, and some adverbs; they will be called pro-forms here, on the model of pronoun.

The sense of 'proximate' and 'remote' in these forms is not always that of location as with the demonstrative pronouns; it may be in the sense of time or some other meaning.

Proximate	Remote	Interrogative
illi 'here'	*alli* 'there'	*elli* 'where'
iSTu 'this much'	*aSTu* 'that much'	*eSTu* 'how much'
iiga 'now'	*aaga* 'then'	*yaavaaga* 'when'
ivattu 'today'	*avattu* 'that day'	*yaavattu* 'which day'

Another set of pro-forms has an initial *h*, with the variable vowel following. The interrogative form in this set may have either the vowel *ee* or *æ* ; and some speakers also have a short vowel plus *n* (Bright 1958:25).

> *hiige* ∿ *hinge* 'this way'   *haage* ∿ *hange* 'that way'
> *heege* ∿ *hæge* ∿ *henge* 'which way'

By the addition of certain suffixes, the interrogative pro-forms (including pronouns) can be changed to give them an indefinite sense (e.g., 'something or other'). *-aadru* (technically, the concessive form of the verb *aagu* 'become' [see 4.8.4]; literally, 'even if [it] becomes') may be added to give the meaning 'something (it's not important what, but the information is available if necessary). *-oo* (the clitic meaning

'doubt', see 4.11.3) added to the interrogative gives the meaning 'something or other (I don't really know, and the information is not readily available)'.

ellaadru 'somewhere'	*elloo* 'somewhere or other'
eSTaadru 'some amount'	*eSToo* 'however much (I don't know)'
eenaadru 'something'	*eenoo* 'something or other'
yaaraadru 'someone'	*yaaroo* 'someone or other (we'll never know)'

–aadru and *–oo* can be added to interrogative pro-forms that are marked for case as well (see 2.5.3).

> *elligaadru* 'to somewhere, in some direction'
> *yaarigoo gottu* 'someone or other knows, God only knows'

2.5.3. Case-marked pronouns.

Pronouns, like nouns, can be marked for case (see 2.5.3ff), and when this happens the forms of the pronominal stems change, especially in the first and second persons and in the reflexive. As with nouns, the oblique stem (see 2.5.3.1) is the form to which case endings are added.

2.5.3.1. Genitive and oblique forms of pronouns.

The genitive form of a pronoun is used to indicate possession. With deletion of the final vowel, and reduction of geminate consonants, this becomes the oblique stem to which other case markers are added. (While genitive and oblique forms are historically derived from the same form, they are differentiated here because they operate slightly differently in modern SK.)

PNG	Singular Genitive (Obl.)	Plural, Polite Genitive (Obl.)	Honorific (Sing., Pl.) Genitive (Obl.)
First	*nanna (nan-)* 'my'	*namma (nam-)* 'our'	
Second	*ninna (nin-)* 'your'	*nimma (nim-)* 'your'	*tamma (tam-)* 'your'
Third masculine	*avana (avan-)* 'his'	*avara (avar-)* 'their'	*tamma (tam-)* 'his, their'
Third feminine	*avaLa (avaL-)* 'her'		*tamma (tam-)* 'her, their'
Third neuter	*adara (adar-)* 'its'	*avugaLa (avgL-)* 'their'	
Reflexive	*tanna (tan-)* 'one's own'	*tamma (tam-)* 'their own'	*tamma (tam-)* 'your/their own'

Note that the third person genitive rational pronouns do not differ
from the nominative except for the addition of final *a*, whereas first
and second person pronouns are characterized by short vowels, substi-
tution of *m* for *v* in the plurals, and gemination of *n* and *m*.

> *nan hesru raamu* 'my name is Ram'
> *nim mane ell ide* 'where is your house?'
> *avr haLLi illinda tumba duura* 'his village is very far from here'

2.5.3.2. Accusative forms of pronouns.   The accusative is formed by
adding *-anna* to the genitive forms of rational pronouns and to the
nominative of neuters. Often, due to vowel deletion and consonant-
cluster reduction, the marker may be reduced to just *-n*. In the singular
of first, second, and third masculine, the accusative form may even
be reduced so far as to be identical with the oblique; however, this
would be disambiguated by the context.

PNG	Singular	Plural, Polite	Honorific (Sing., Pl.)
First	*nan(nan(na))* 'me'	*nam(man(na))* 'us'	
Second	*nin(nan(na))* 'you'	*nim(man(na))* 'you'	*tamman(na)* 'you'
Third masculine	*avan((an)na)* 'him'	*avaran(na)* 'them'	*tamman(na)* 'him, them'
Third feminine	*avaLan(na)* 'her'	*avaran(na)* 'them'	*tamman(na)* 'her, them'
Third neuter	*adan(na)* 'it'	*avan(na)* 'those things'	
Reflexive	*tan(nan(na))* 'oneself'	*tamman(na)* 'themselves'	*tamman(na)* 'yourself, themselves'

> *nimman edur–nooDtaa–idvu* 'we were expecting you'
> *avarn keeLi* 'ask him'

Note that the forms given in the paradigm above may be reduced even
further by short vowel reduction (1.3.6), e.g., *avaLan* might be reduced
to *avLn* 'her'.

2.5.3.3. Dative forms of pronouns.   The dative of rational pronouns is
formed by taking the oblique stem (see 2.5.3.1) and adding *-age* in
first and second persons and third honorific, and *-ige* to other third

person forms. In the neuter, *–akke* is added to the nominative *adu* or *avu*.

PNG	Singular	Plural, Polite	Honorific (Sing., Pl.)
First	*nanage* 'to me'	*namage* 'to you'	
Second	*ninage* 'to you'	*nimage* 'to you'	*tamage* 'to you'
Third masculine	*avanige* 'to him'	*avarige* 'to him/them'	*tamage* 'to him/them'
Third feminine	*avaLige* 'to her'	*avarige* 'to her/them'	*tamage* 'to her/them'
Third neuter	*adakke* 'to it'	*avakke* 'to them'	
Reflexive	*tanage* 'to oneself'	*tamage* 'to themselves'	*tamage* 'to oneself/ themselves'

nimag biDuv aag–idyaa? 'do you have time off?'
avLig tumba kelsa ide 'she has a lot of work to do'
adakk–eenu? 'what difference does it make?'

2.5.3.4. Locative forms of pronouns.   The locative case of pronouns is formed like that of nouns (see 2.5.3.1), that is, for nonrational pronouns *–alli* is added to the oblique stem (see 2.5.3.1), and with rational pronouns the postposition *hattira* is added to the oblique stem (except in the Dharwar dialect, see 2.3.5).

> *adar* 'it (obl.)' + *–alli* 'locative' → *adralli* 'in/by it'
> *nan* 'I (obl.)' + *hattira* 'locative' → *nan hatra* 'by/on/near me'
> *nim hatra haNa idyaa?* 'do you have money (on your person)?'

Other semantic distinctions relating to location can be made with the use of postpositions (see 2.4).

2.5.3.5. Instrumental/ablative forms of pronouns.   The instrumental and ablative cases for pronouns are formed in the same manner as for nouns (see 2.3.6). In the instrumental, either the instrumental/ablative form *–inda* or the locative form *–alli* may be used (but not with rational pronouns except in the Dharwar dialect). However, in the ablative, only *–inda* is possible. *–inda* is added to the genitive form of pronouns (see

2.5.3.1) after deleting the final *a* of the genitive. *-alli* and *hattira* are added to the oblique stem (see 2.5.3.1).

> *avaninda kelsa maaDsu* 'have the work done by him'
> *adarinda kaagada bari* 'write a letter with this'

The neuter form *adarinda* is also found as a frozen form, which may be translated as 'therefore'.

> *adrinda niiv bar–beeku* 'therefore you must come'

Other semantic distinctions relating to instrumental or ablative senses can be made by the use of postpositions (see 2.4).

2.5.4. Pronoun deletion.   Kannada finite verbs generally agree with their subjects, including pronouns, in person, number, and gender (see 3.4.1). That is, verbs have PNG suffixes added to "agree" with these features of the subject. Since in a sentence with a pronoun the specification of person, number, and gender is indicated twice (once in the pronoun and once in the verb), pronouns may often be deleted from a sentence; but PNG markers on the finite verb may not.

In the case of deletion, one will often find sentences like the following, where the subject of the sentence can be determined by the PNG marker on the verb.

> *uurg hoogtiiraa? (niivu* deleted) 'are you going home?'
> *naaLe bartiini (naanu* deleted) 'I will come tomorrow'

Deletion of pronouns may also take place where the verb is not marked for PNG (e.g., with modals or negatives). In such cases the subject of the sentence must be determined from the physical or linguistic context.

> *kannaDa gottaa? (nimage* deleted) 'do you know Kannada?'
> *naaLe bartiini (naanu* deleted) 'I'll come tomorrow'

For some purposes, including emphasis or clarification, pronouns may be left in the sentence.

> *avn barlilla* 'he didn't come'

2.6. Adjectives.   The subject of adjectives in Kannada (and in other Dravidian languages) has plagued grammarians for a long time. Syntactically there seem to be some constituents that act like adjectives found

in other languages; but upon closer analysis, it seems that they can usually be derived from other constituents such as nouns or verbs.[6]

For pedagogical purposes, a small number of items can be considered to be "true" adjectives, and all others can be derived from nouns or verbs by regular rules. Adjectives, whether true or derived, occur before nouns in the sentence, and do not vary in form according to the gender, number, or case of the noun modified.

Adjectives usually end in *a;* but due to morphophonemic changes, the vowels may be different on the surface. For example, the underlying form of *oLLe* 'good' is *oLLeya,* and the underlying form of *baroo* 'coming, next' is *baruva;* but these forms are reduced by regular rules (see 1.3.5.1 and 1.3.6.1). Similarly, the full form of *hood* 'last, gone' is *hooda,* but the final *a* is deleted by another regular rule (see 1.3.6). Thus while all underlying forms of adjectives end in *a,* on the surface this is often obscured in SK.

2.6.1. True adjectives. The following are the full forms of most of the true, or nonderived, adjectives in Kannada.

cikka 'small'	*doDDa* 'big'
saNNa 'small'	*puTTa* 'tiny'
hosa 'new'	*baDa* 'poor, weak'

In addition, there are a number of forms that, while not originally true adjectives, being derived from nouns by the addition of a genitive case ending (Spencer 1950:241), are now used as if they were underived, since the final vowel-glide-vowel sequence is reduced by morphophonemic rules to a single long vowel, and then this long vowel is shortened. Also, the nouns from which these forms are derived are not commonly used as such any more, so only the adjectival function of these words survives.

bisi(ya) 'hot'	*haLe(ya)* 'old'
kiri(ya) 'younger'	*hiri(ya)* 'elder'
oLLe(ya) 'good'	*eLe(ya)* 'young'
nere(ya) 'full'	

2.6.2. Adjectives derived from verbs. Adjectives can be derived from verbs by taking the present stem and adding *–uva* (actually the future stem in LK, plus adjectival *a;* see 3.4.4, 3.5.4, and 4.13), which is then

reduced to *-oo*, or by taking the past stem and adding *a*, which may then be deleted. These forms are the adjectival participles (see 3.5.4), sometimes also called deverbal adjectives.

> *baroo varSa* 'next year (the year that is coming)'
> *hood vaara* 'last week (the week that is gone)'
> *nooDid pustaka* 'the book that was read'
> *keTTa haNNu* 'the rotten fruit (the fruit that spoiled)'

2.6.3. Adjectives derived from nouns and defective verbs. Adjectives can also be derived from some nouns by the addition of *aada* or *iroo*. *aada* is the past adjectival participle of *aagu* 'become' (see 3.11.2), while *iroo* is the present adjectival participle of *iru* 'be' (see 3.8.9).

There seems to be a semantic distinction between these two kinds of adjectives. Those with *aada* indicate an inalienable, intrinsic, or inherent quality, while those with *iroo* suggest an alienable, extrinsic, or temporary state (see 4.9.3).

> *sundara* 'beauty' + *aada* → *sundaravaada* 'beautiful'
> *kempu* 'redness' + *aada* → *kempaada* 'red (inherently)'
> *kempu* 'redness' + *iroo* → *kempiroo* 'red (temporarily)'

Some defective verbs (see 3.7) can also have *aada* added to them to make adjectives, since these verbs have no present or past stems.

> *beeku* 'want, need, must' + *aada* → *beekaada* 'necessary'

2.6.4. Color adjectives. Names of colors are nouns, but they can be used adjectivally in the simple form, or with the addition of *aada* or *iroo* (see 2.6.3).

haLadi 'yellow'	*biLi* 'white'	*kempu* 'red'
niili 'blue'	*kappu* 'black'	*hasuru* 'green'

> *ii SarTin baNNa biLi* 'this shirt's color is white'
> *id biLi SarTu* 'this is a white shirt'
> *id biLiyaad SarTu* 'this shirt is white (inherently)'

2.6.5. Nominalized adjectives. All the above types of adjectives can be made into nouns. In fact, since Kannada has no predicate adjectives (as in English 'he is big'), when an adjective appears as the predicate of a sentence, or any time when it does not precede a noun, it must be

nominalized. Adjectives are made into nouns by the addition of third person pronouns (see 2.5). All of these nominalized adjectives can then be marked for case, just like nouns and pronouns.

> *doDDa* 'big' + *avanu* 'he' → *doDDavnu* → *doDDoonu* 'a big man'
> *banda* 'came' + *avaLu* 'she' → *bandavLu* → *bandooLu* ' a woman who came'
> *sundaravaada* 'beautiful' + *avaru* 'they' → *sundarvaadooru* 'beautiful people'
> *biLi* 'white' + *adu* 'that thing' → *biLiidu* 'a white thing'

Nominalized forms also can be made of the numerals 'one' and 'two' (see 2.7.1) when they are used to refer to people.

> *obbanu* 'one man'   *obbaru* 'one person (polite)'
> *obbaLu* 'one woman'   *ibbaru* 'two people'
> *ibbar manuSru bandidru* 'two men came'

Three persons or more are referred to with a numeral plus *jana* 'people'.

> *muuru jana* 'three people'
> *hattu jana* 'ten people'

Adjectives derived from verbs can also be nominalized. All such adjectives may be marked for case, as well as number and gender. The neuter forms of these nominalizations take the same case markers as *adu*. Such forms are usually considerably shortened by morphophonemic rules.

> *maaDu* 'do' + *-uva* 'adjective' + *ada* 'pronoun' + *-kke* 'dative' → *maaDuvadakke* → *maaDokke* 'for eating, to eat'

This form is the most common infinitive form in SK (see 3.2).

> *uuTa maaDokk band-idde* 'I came to eat (do a meal)'

Other nominalized forms of verbs are used in certain negatives and elsewhere (see 4.43).

2.6.6. Demonstrative adjectives.

Kannada has a set of adjectives (deictic particles) that are used to distinguish between proximate and remote, and to ask questions about particular things. These are similar to English demonstrative adjectives 'this, that, what, which'. The

particle used for proximate is *ii* 'this', for distant or remote is *aa* 'that', and for the WH-interrogative (question word) is *yaava* 'what, which'. (In English, and in modern transformational linguistics, this type of interrogative is called a WH-interrogative because the English words used in these constructions begin with 'wh-'.) These particles are invariable; they do not change even if the noun is marked for number, gender, or case.

> *ii mane* 'this house'
> *aa pustaka* 'that book'
> *yaav kaDe* 'which side?'

When these adjectives are nominalized, the product is the set of demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1). The difference between demonstrative adjectives and neuter demonstrative pronouns is difficult for English speakers, because 'this, that, what, which' are used for both. The demonstrative adjectives in Kannada are always used before a noun as modifiers, whereas the pronominal forms replace a noun. The pronominal forms can often be translated as 'this/that/which thing' or 'this/that/which one', while the adjectival forms cannot.

> *ii mane* 'this house'   *idu mane* 'this (thing) is a house'
> *aa haLLi* 'that village'   *adu haLLi* 'that (thing) is a village'
> *yaav daari?* 'which way?' *yaavdu daari?* 'which (one) is the way?'

2.6.7. Comparatives of adjectives.

Adjectives may be compared by the use of the comparative particle (postposition) *inta* affixed to the dative case (see 2.4.2). For this purpose, the nominalized form of the adjective (see 2.6.5) must be used. The structure of the proposition "A is bigger than B" in Kannada is "A, B + dative + *inta* 'big' + pronoun."

> *naan* 'I' *nim* 'you (obl.)' + *-age* 'dative' + *inta doDDa* 'big' +
>   *avanu* 'third masculine' → *naan nimginta doDDoonu* 'I am
>   1   2   3   4   1
>   bigger than you'
>   4   3   2
> *avLu nanginta sundravaadooLu* 'she is more beautiful than I'
> *idu adakkinta hosdu* 'this is newer than that'

2.6.8. Superlatives of adjectives.

Kannada does not have a superlative particle (like English '-est'); rather it has syntactic constructions of the

form "A than/in all of B is (the) big (one)." That is, the domain (B) is defined by *ella* 'all' plus dative plus comparative particle *inta* (type 1), or with the locative plus *ella* (type 2). This is followed by the assertion that in domain B, "A is *the* big one."

Type 1:

idu 'this' *ella* 'all' *kaaru* 'car' + *ige* 'dative' + *inta* 'comp.'
   hosa 'new' + *adu* 'third neuter' → *idu ella kaarginta hosdu*
                                          1   2   3 4 5   6 7

'this is the newest car (of all)' (this than dative all cars is
   the new one)'
     6   7   1   5   4   2   3

avru ellarginta buddhivantru 'he is the smartest of all (he is
   smarter than all)'

Type 2

nanna 'I (gen.)' *kaaru* 'car' *uuru* 'town' + *alli* 'locative' +
   ella 'all' + *hosa* 'new' + *adu* 'thing' → *nan kaar*
                                                   1   2

   uurallella hosdu 'my car is the newest one in all the town'
    3   4   5   6 7   1   2   6   7 4 5   3
adu bengLuurallella doD hooTLu 'that is the biggest hotel in
   Bangalore'

2.6.9. Quantifiers.
Kannada has a number of adjectives that indicate quantity.

bahaLa 'much, many'   *tumba* 'very/too much'
ella 'all'   *konca* 'a little'
solpa 'some, few'   *kelavu* 'some'
vipriita 'excessive'   *halavu* 'a few'

bahLa santooSa 'much pleasure'
ella uuru 'all towns'
uur ella 'the whole town'
tumba jaasti 'too much'

When *ella* precedes a noun, it means 'all (of)' and what follows it is then semantically plural. When it follows a noun it means 'the whole' and is semantically singular.

2.7. Numerals.
There are two types of numerals in Kannada. The cardinal numerals are used to indicate the sum of what is being counted while the ordinal numerals indicate the order of the item in a set.

2.7.1. Cardinal numerals.

ondu 'one'   *aaru* 'six'
eraDu 'two'   *eeLu (yooLu §)* 'seven'
muuru 'three'   *eNTu* 'eight'
naa(lak)ku 'four'   *omb(h)attu* 'nine'
aydu 'five'   *hattu* 'ten'

The 'teens' are formed by adding a form of *hattu* 'ten' to the numerals from 'one' to 'nine'. For 'eleven' and 'twelve', this takes the form *hann-*, for 'thirteen' to 'eighteen' it is in the form *had(i)(n)-*, and for 'nineteen' it is *hatt-*.

hannondu 'eleven'   *hadnaaru* 'sixteen'
hanneraDu 'twelve'   *hadneeLu* 'seventeen'
hadmuuru 'thirteen'   *hadneNTu* 'eighteen'
hadnaa(lak)ku 'fourteen'   *hattomb(h)attu* 'nineteen'
hadnaydu 'fifteen'

From 'twenty' to 'ninety', truncated forms or other variants of the numerals 'two' to 'nine' are added to a form of *hattu* 'ten'. (Since *hattu* was *pattu in OK, reflexes of the labial consonant show up either as *p* or *v* in these combinations.)

ippattu 'twenty'   *aravattu* 'sixty'
muuvattu 'thirty'   *eppattu* 'seventy'
nalavattu 'forty'   *emb(h)attu* 'eighty'
ayvattu 'fifty'   *tomb(h)attu* 'ninety'

The numerals from '100' to '900' are formed by adding truncated forms or other variants of the numerals 'one' to 'nine' to *nuuru* '100'.

nuuru '100'   *aarnuuru* '600'
innuuru '200'   *eeLnuuru* '700'
munnuuru '300'   *eNTnuuru* '800'
naanuuru '400'   *omb(h)aynuuru* '900'
aynuuru '500'

saavira '1,000' is preceded by full forms of other numerals to give multiples. Indian languages generally do not count in millions or billions; instead, beyond the thousands the count is in *lakSa* 'lakhs' (one hundred thousand) and *kooTi* 'crores' (ten million), and the commas are placed differently: