COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN DRAVIDIAN AND PULA:R LANGUAGES: - A POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP -

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN LINGUISTICS

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis
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Linguistic Studies.

ANNAMALAINAGAR

20-10-1980

S.V. SHANMUGAM
To my friends

Serin Bamba Njaay

and

Mustafaa Tambadu

Whose courage and faith

have inspired me.
"Every scholar, every research worker in contemporary AFRICA is prepared to direct his thinking, his teaching and his research towards the needs of the CONTINENT."

(John Spencer)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Grateful acknowledgement is due to the Government of India under whose scholarship this work has been accomplished.

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Last but not least I thank A. Somasundaram, M.A. for neatly doing the typing of this thesis.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>Brahui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDr.</td>
<td>Central Dravidian</td>
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<tr>
<td>FK.</td>
<td>Fulakunda</td>
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<td>Ga.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Go.</td>
<td>Gondi</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ir.</td>
<td>Irula</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Kurumba</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Ollari</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PDr.</td>
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<td>Pe.</td>
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<td>PF</td>
<td>Poul Fu:ta</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fu.</td>
<td>Pula:r</td>
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<tr>
<td>Se.</td>
<td>Se:re:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Ta.</td>
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<td>Te.</td>
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<td>Tu.</td>
<td>Tulu</td>
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<td>Tuk.</td>
<td>Tukuleur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**JOURNALS**

|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------|

**General**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abl.</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>Accusatif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj.</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
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<tr>
<td>cf.</td>
<td>Confer</td>
</tr>
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<td>clm.</td>
<td>Class marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ge.</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hum.</td>
<td>Human</td>
</tr>
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<td>id.</td>
<td>idem (the same as before)</td>
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<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>id est (that is to say)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp.</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Negative</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Neuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Sib.</td>
<td>Sibilant</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tr.</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SYMBOLS

/ / = Phonemic brackets
[ ] = Phonetic "
{ } = morphophonemic
~ = alternation
/ = phonemic context
φ = zero
> = lexical evolution
< = derivation
→ = phonological or semantic evolution
* = reconstructed form
"" = idem (the same as before)
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Introduction</td>
<td>1 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I : PULA:R</td>
<td>5 - 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>5 - 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Phonology</td>
<td>11 - 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.1. Phonemic inventory</td>
<td>11 - 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.2. Contrasts</td>
<td>13 - 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.2.1. Vowels</td>
<td>13 - 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.2.2. Consonants</td>
<td>18 - 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.3. Allophonic distribution</td>
<td>24 - 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.3.1 Allophones</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.3.1.1. Vowels</td>
<td>25 - 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.3.1.2. Consonants</td>
<td>28 - 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.4. Phonemic nature of the prenasalized stops</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.5. Consonant gemination</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.6. Supra segmental phonemes</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.7. Nasalization</td>
<td>38 - 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.8. Clusters</td>
<td>40 - 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.9. Syllables</td>
<td>49 - 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.10. Conditioned variation of the initial consonants</td>
<td>54 - 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.11. Morphophonemics</td>
<td>62 - 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.1.</td>
<td>Nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.1.1.</td>
<td>The class system: Classification of the nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.1.2.</td>
<td>Inventory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.1.3.</td>
<td>Correspondances between the singular class markers and the plural class markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.1.4.</td>
<td>Classification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.1.5.</td>
<td>Correspondences between noun classes and class markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.1.6.</td>
<td>Grouping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.2.</td>
<td>Gender and number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.2.1.</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.3.</td>
<td>Personal pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.4.</td>
<td>The noun determinatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.4.1.</td>
<td>The definite articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.4.2.</td>
<td>The demonstratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.4.3.</td>
<td>The possessives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.4.4.</td>
<td>The interrogatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.5.</td>
<td>The adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.6.</td>
<td>Numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.7.</td>
<td>Derivative suffixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.8.</td>
<td>Adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.9.</td>
<td>Interjections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.10.</td>
<td>Verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.10.1.</td>
<td>The infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.10.2. Tenses</td>
<td>119 - 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.10.2.1. Present tense</td>
<td>119 - 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.10.2.2. Future tense</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.10.2.3. Past tense</td>
<td>123 - 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.11. Negation: Negative suffixes</td>
<td>125 - 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.12. Imperative</td>
<td>127 - 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part II: DRAVIDIAN</strong></td>
<td>130 - 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. The Dravidian Languages</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.1. Introduction</td>
<td>130 - 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.2. Phonemic inventory</td>
<td>139 - 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.2.1.1. Vowels</td>
<td>139 - 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.2.1.2. Diphthongs ai and au</td>
<td>150 - 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.2.2. Consonants</td>
<td>153 - 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.3. Syllabic structure</td>
<td>173 - 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.4. Nouns</td>
<td>177 - 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.5. Gender and number</td>
<td>181 - 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.6. Pronouns</td>
<td>183 - 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.7. Adjectives</td>
<td>191 - 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.8. Numerals</td>
<td>192 - 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.9. Inflectional increments</td>
<td>200 - 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.10. Cases</td>
<td>202 - 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.11. Verbs</td>
<td>245 - 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.11.1. Transitive and causative suffixes</td>
<td>245 - 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.11.2. Past suffixes</td>
<td>264 - 277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### III.11.3. Non-past suffixes
.. 278 - 287

### III.11.4. Negative suffixes
.. 288 - 305

### III.11.5. Infinitive suffixes
.. 306 - 312

### III.11.6. Pronominal suffixes.
.. 313 - 316

Conclusion
.. 317 - 318

### IV. Part III: Comparative study
.. 319 - 406

#### IV.1. Phonology: Resemblances and contrasts
.. 319 - 338

#### IV.2. Morphology
.. 339 - 357

##### IV.2.1. Nouns
.. 339 - 356

###### IV.2.1.1. Resemblances
.. 339 - 346

###### IV.2.1.2. Contrasts
.. 347 - 357

##### IV.2.2. Verbs
.. 358 - 382

###### IV.2.2.1. Resemblances
.. 358 - 367

###### IV.2.2.2. Contrasts
.. 368 - 382

Conclusion
.. 383

#### IV.3. Comparative lexicology
.. 384 - 406

General conclusion
.. 407 - 408

#### IV.4. Index
.. 409 - 437

##### IV.4.1. PULAT:R vocabulary
.. 409 - 414

##### IV.4.2. DRAVIDIAN vocabulary
.. 415 - 423

##### IV.4.3. Common vocabulary
.. 424 - 437

Bibliography
.. 438 - 446
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Comparative studies in Linguistics open new horizons in the realm of research and they actually reduce the differences and distances, bringing different nations to close quarters.

The geographical proximity of AFRICA and INDIA, the cultural affinity found in the sculptures and bronze images, the habit of disposing the dead in urns in the bowels of the earth, the ethnic resemblances, the worship of Mother goddess, Naga - cult etc., naturally tempted scholars like J. Mayer, Alfredo Trombetti, E.H. Tuttle, L. Homburger, N. Lahovary, Cheikh T. Ndiaye, Upadhyaya and others to find out the factors responsible for the relationship as noticed in the heterogeneous Negro-African languages and the South India DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

Already in 1951, linguists, philologists, anthropologists, ethnologists and historians had explicited what they had then called the 'unity of the Indo-African'.

Since then, the Republic of SENEGAL, in the initiative of its President Leopold sedar Senghor, took a particular and dynamic interest in that matter, having had in 1965, the intuition that the culture of the Senegalese people had something to do with India.
The remarkable research work of Prof. Cheikh T. Ndiaye has shown encouraging results and hence inaugurated the way for further research in the linguistic field.

Therefore, the comparison between the DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES and Pula:r is justified, even though we do not have all the successive developments of the Pula:r language and other Negro-African Languages because these languages do not have written records. But they rather have an oral tradition for a longer period of time. However comparisons of one sort or the other between languages are, as old as the study of languages. But then the problem of methodology has to be considered. Comparative linguistics rises a good number of theoretical questions. For here, like in the natural sciences, it is necessary to think about the basic principles and methods which will guide and control the research work. The researcher in linguistics should not, by a kind of personal obsession and will, impose his views on any kind of relationship between two or more than two languages; he should, on the contrary, study carefully the nature of the relations of the given languages. For that, he should elevate himself above his own Dialect, Tribe or Nation, and by this attitude, make the science of Language progress.

In this thesis three parts are distinguished:

1) A Descriptive Grammar of Pula:r (Phonology and morphology)
2) A Descriptive Grammar of the Dravidian Languages (Phonology and Morphology)

3) A Comparative study of DRAVIDIAN and Pula:r
   (Contrasts and Resemblances, including phonemico-semantic resemblances in the fundamental vocabulary.)

As regards the Dravidian Languages, the data are not our original work; they have been taken mainly from Dravidian nouns and Dravidian verb Morphology (cf: Bibliography) and from the DED and its supplement.

Moreover we have referred to the Proto stage and to the old stage of these languages whenever we felt it was necessary. For Pula:r, we have also referred to a particular dialect and even to other languages related to it whenever our study necessitated it.

The transcriptional system of the Pula:r language has been made as similar to that of the Dravidian Languages as possible for technical reasons but also because these languages use almost the same transcription, whereas the Pula:r alphabet is still to be finalised.

Thus a few minor adjustments have been made:

a) The length mark /:/ found in most of the Dravidian Languages has been preferred to the Pula:r system which consists of doubling the vowel (system codified by the Senegalese authorities).

(exx: Te. gu:h - 'to swallow' (DEDS 1539) is compared with Pu. gu:ha:de 'to put into the mouth and gobble';
also Ta. ma:y 'to die' (DED 3949) with Pu. ma:y 'to die'.

b) The velar voiced nasal /ŋ/ found in the Dravidian languages has been retained against /ŋ/ in Pula:r.

(exx: Ka. soŋku 'to catch, attack' is compared with Pu. soŋgu 'to catch, attack'; also Ta. toŋku 'to hang' with Pu. toŋgu 'to prevent to go by hanging or tying').

Once the question of methodology is solved we may claim that in linguistics, the interpretation of facts is subordinated to the method of work used.
INTRODUCTION

Africa is today moving fast into the modern world but not with much precise knowledge of what she is, or what her peoples are or have been.

Africa therefore deserves a massive research effort on almost every front. So, rarely has the research worker had so much to offer as in contemporary Africa.

This is true in the field of various disciplines, in general, as in the field of the linguistic research, in particular.

It is the purpose of our research work to contribute to the needs of the Continent on one hand and to our own country on the other.

A small country like SENEGAL (~ 210,000 square miles) counts upwards of ten languages, all of them unwritten and hardly studied. However, the main languages spoken in SENEGAL by a population of 5,200,000 are:

- Wolof : 40 %
- Pulaar : 21 %
- Sere:re : 19 %
- Manding : 8 %
- Jo:la : 8 %

The Pula:r language which interests us—particularly in this study—is spoken in the Region of Fleuve by the Tukuleur (9%), in the Region of LUGA by the PEUL (12%), the region of Casamance by the FULAKUNDA and the PEUL GA:Su, the Region of SENEGAL ORIENTAL by the PEUL FU:TA.

In SENEGAL, PULA:r is to be understood as the whole of the various dialects spoken by the Tukuleur, Peul, Fula-kunda, Peul Fu:ta and Peul Ga:Su.

But PULA:r spreads far over from SENEGAL and is spoken in the Republic of Gambia, in western Mali, Mauritania, the Democratic Republic of Guinea, Upper volta, Guinea, Niger, NIGERIA, CAMEROON and CHAD.

Its speakers are over fifteen millions. Consequent to this geographical area and to the variety of the dialects many lexical and phonetic divergences are found. But whatever the precise differences be, they do not forbid intelligibility among speakers of divergent origin.

This idea was already pointed out by the French linguist H. Labouret when he noted:

"Répartis inégalement sur une superficie considérable, les Fulbé ont su préserver l'unité de leur langue. Un pasteur du Baguirmi comprend sans trop de peine un Toucouleur du Fouta Toro au SENEGAL ou un habitant du: Fouta Djalon en Guinée."
Pula:r is classified into the west Atlantic sub-group of the NIGER - CONGO group of Languages (J. Greenberg: 1966:7) and appears to be, according J. David SAPIR (JOAL Vol.3: 1964) one of the most famous languages of this group.

The Pula:r speakers or Peul or Fulani have been given various controversial origins. They are said to be a crossbreed of ARABS and BERBERS. It is said also that they are Judeo-syrian people and even Malayo-Polynesians.

However the Fulani themselves have their own version regarding their origin. They claim to be of Arab origin and belong to the same tribe as that of the Prophet Muhammad, viz. the Qorayshit tribe. They claim also to be the descendants of one common ancestor, an Arab by name Oqba ben Yasir who had married a Black Princess by name Tajimaau of the Maasina Empire.

To this couple, it is said that four sons were born:

- The first son, URAB will become the founder of the URURBE TRIBE
- The second, that of the FEROBE TRIBE
- The third, the BODEWAL
- The fourth, the DAYEEBE.

However, of all these hypotheses the most acceptable one is that which states that the Fulani come from Nubia and
Abyssinia (actual Sudan and Ethiopia). The Fulani are therefore a Nilotic people who might have migrated from East to West through the Sahara Desert at a time when this region was wet and green. After reaching the Senegal valley (actual Republic of Mauritania) they might have proceeded eastward and southward.

Their migrations took place between the 2nd century AD and the 20th century AD; but they succeeded in setting up a state only in the 14th century of our era.

In the 15th century, they created two kingdoms located in the Region of Masina (actual Republics of Mali and Niger), namely

- the kingdom of Jallolbe
- the kingdom of Deniyanke

The Fulani were nomads and animists by their religion though these kingdoms were located in Muslim Empires like the Empire of Mali and the Empire of Songhai.

A few works, though of recent time, are found in Pulaar. They consist mostly of some research papers and publications by Europeans and Africans from various disciplines. A bibliography is given (cf: Bibliography); it covers the period 1881-1973.

The first part of our study will be presented as a Pulaar Grammar. It is purely descriptive in nature and does not treat linguistic data historically; the data are not drawn from recorded sources.
The description of both the phonetic and morphological aspects of the Pulaar Language is exclusively based on our personal observations. However, we do not claim to have produced a complete "grammar"; we are aware of our limits and all the grammatical aspects have not been analysed, our prime intention being to raise the most important features, having in mind that the first step towards scientific knowledge of a language is to draw up a careful descriptive study of it.

The phoneme inventory is determined on the basis of the positional distribution of allophones. The graphic representation, nature and number of phonemes are those given by the Ministry of Education of SENEGAL.

The morpheme-cutting is our own initiative since the Decret concerning the orthography and word-separation is not yet published and made available to us, at the time of writing this 'grammar'.

The study of word-structure (morphology) is based, in this grammar, on the assumption that the word is the minimal free form, i.e. capable of operating independently. This will raise the problem of distinguishing between a word and a suffix, between a composite word and two independent words. To help to solve this problem, it should be remembered that any morpheme can be a suffix, i.e. a part of a composite word if the preceding unit does not represent an independent word (a free form).
This approach will make it possible to determine the system of parts of speech of Pula:r, which comprise nouns, Gender and number, Pronouns, Adjectives, Numerals, Derivative suffixes, noun determinatives, adverbs, interjections, Tenses, Negative suffixes and Infinitive suffixes.

The systematic description of the Pula:r syntax is not included in this study because we consider that this part of the grammar would be of no significance in the comparative study of the Dravidian Languages and Pula:r.
I. PHONOLOGY

I.1. Phonemic inventory

I.1.1 Vowels

There are five short vowels in the Pula:r dialects of SENEGAL. All the short vowels contrast with their corresponding long vowels. They are represented below, in chart I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i i:</td>
<td></td>
<td>u u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e e:</td>
<td></td>
<td>o o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a a:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart I

I.1.2. Consonants

There are eight stops, three implosives, (four pre-nasalized stops), four nasals, four fricatives, one lateral, one trill and two semi vowels which are distinguished as phonemes. They are arranged in Chart II.
However, the prenasalized stops are treated separately and are not given in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td>P b</td>
<td>t d c j k g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implosives</strong></td>
<td>ɓ</td>
<td>ɗ ɗ ɗ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n .PIPE n .PIPE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s h q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Laterals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trill</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semi Vowels</strong></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Chapter II*
I.2. CONTRASTS

I.2.1. Vowels

I.2.1.1. Qualitative contrasts

I.2.1.1.1 Initial

/i, e/
ilde 'pimento'
elde 'gap in a mouth made by the falling of a tooth'
innde 'name'
enndu 'breast'

/e, a/
enndude 'to measure'
anndude 'to know'
ertere 'groundnut'
artere 'having come back'

/a, o/
ambude 'to be jealous'
ombude 'to cover, close'
awla:de 'to rest one's head on something'
owlude 'to sweat'

/o, u/
Okkude 'to give'
ukkude 'to put in, throw in'
Oytude 'to become hot, to pain'
Uytude 'to reduce'

I.2.1.1.2 Medial

/i, e/
rimde 'to lie'
remde 'to cultivate'
riwde 'to chase'
rewde 'to follow'
/e, a/

demal 'cultivation'
damal 'door'
fempa:de 'to be fixed'
fampa:de 'to throw'

/a, o/

marde 'to marry'
morde 'to move slowly without making noise'.
jaide 'to laugh'
jolde 'to get in, enter'.

I.2.1.1.3 FINAL

/ei, e/

dami 'billy goats'
dame 'doors'
guri 'skins'
gure 'flocks, villages'

/e, a/

sire 'tobacco'
sira 'name of a person'
pitte 'trap for birds'
mbitta 'kind of dove'
1.2.1.1.4. Initial
/a:/, /o/:
artude 'throw wide apart'
orude 'to return from conducting cattle'

1.2.1.1.5. Medial
/a:/, /o/:
ja:rtude 'to greet'
jorude 'to pour on'
wawdye 'to be able to'
woːwde          'to get used to'
/oːuː/ soːwde          'to shout'
suːwde          'to put in water'
woːwde          'to get used to'
wuːwde          'to sweep, filter'

2.1.1.6. FIN A L
/eː, aː/
fureː            'corpse'
puraː            'sound uttered to chase away birds'

I.2.1.2 Quantitative (durational) Contrasts
I.2.1.2.1 Initial
/i, iː/
ilde          'pimento'
iːlde          'to sneeze'
iraːde          'to plunge in mud'
iːraːde          'to get angry, stir up'
/e, eː/
esaːde            'to become father, etc. in law'
eːsaːde            'to split'
/a, aː/
awde          'to fish'
aːwde          'to sow'
/u, uː/
urde          'to make smoke'
urde          'to smell'
unde  'to grind'
unde  'to roar'
/a, a:/
artude  'to come back'
artude  'to throw wide apart'
/o, o:/
'o'  'he, she'
o:  'this (man, woman)'
olowere  'sweat'
o:lol  'loud cry'

I.2.1.2.2  Medial
/i, i:/
limde  'to count'
li:mde  'to put in order'
dirde  'to push'
di:rde  'to thunder'
/e, e:/
rewde  'to follow'
re:wde  'pool of water'
ferde  'to emigrate, to exile'
fe:rde  'to hit, dash against'
/a, a:/
sarde  'to spread'
sa:rdde  'to have loose motion'
hawde  'to win'
ha:wde  'to amaze'
/o, o:/
sowde  'to fold'
sowde  'to shout'
fo:dde  'must'
fo:dde  'to pull'
I.2.2. CONSONANTS

I.2.2.1 Qualitative Contrasts

I.2.2.1.1 INITIAL

/p, b/

peccal 'a piece of a split of bamboo'
beccal 'rib'
pa:gal 'a piece of wood fixed in the ground to tie as cows'
ba:gal 'a bucket for drawing water from a well'

/b, ð/

bir-de 'to weave straw'
bir-de 'to milk'
bu:ñcu-de 'to pay back a present'
buñcu-de 'to crush'

//u, u://
surde 'to keep as guest invite'
sur:de 'to smoke'
jun:de 'to collect honey'
ju:n:de 'to be mistaken'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/t, d/</td>
<td>'lip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donndu</td>
<td>'jackal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:nde</td>
<td>'neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta:nde</td>
<td>'anvil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d, ɗ/</td>
<td>'to win'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dakku-de</td>
<td>'to patch, put any piece and cover a hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dart-a:de</td>
<td>'to stop, face somebody'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:rtu-de</td>
<td>'to give a slap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c, j/</td>
<td>'firing, fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cumu</td>
<td>'collect of horey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jumu</td>
<td>'cheek'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cofel</td>
<td>'small lung'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k, g/</td>
<td>'testicles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalle</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galle</td>
<td>'bullets'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kure</td>
<td>'villages, flocks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y, Ɂ/</td>
<td>'to sting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuw-de</td>
<td>'to be half boiled (as rice)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakk-ude</td>
<td>'to spoil, destroy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakk-ude</td>
<td>'to chew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m, n/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moddu-de</td>
<td>'to finish to swallow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noddu-de</td>
<td>'to call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mel-de</td>
<td>'to pave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nel-de</td>
<td>'to send (as message)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n, ŋ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naf-de</td>
<td>'to be useful, helpful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋaf-de</td>
<td>'to take one handful (as of sand)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:le</td>
<td>'centre of a circle formed by people while dancing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋa:le</td>
<td>'storks'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.2.2.1.2 Medial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p, b/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tempu-de</td>
<td>'to beat gently'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tembu-de</td>
<td>'to align with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semp-a:de</td>
<td>'to be fixed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semb-a:de</td>
<td>'to wash one's feet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b, s/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heb-a:de</td>
<td>'to get ready'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heš-a:de</td>
<td>'to be available'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hubb-ude</td>
<td>'to make a female coiffure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hubb-ude</td>
<td>'to light'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- 21 -

/to be suspended/

we:l tu-de

/to be in good terms/

weldu-de

/to recover (as the senses)/

e:rtu-de

/to experience together/

fe:rdu-de

/to be left behind/

/ad-e:de

/to be dried/

/ad-e:de

/to be waited for/

/fad-e:de

/to be omitted/

/fad-e:de

/wip/

/lo:col

/'dust or anything inside the eyes'/

/lojol

/'big tail'/

/la:cal

/'destination, end of life'/

/lajal

/'dust removed from the grinded millet'/

/ña:ko

/'ask (imperative)'/

/ña:go

/'beat (imperative)'/

/juñko

/'arm'/

/juñgo

/'that which is slow'/

/mo:yi

/'white ants'/

/mo:yi

/'to die'/

/ma:y-de

/'to act'/

/ma:y-de
/·m/ ·-n-/
wa:me 'flood'
wa:ne 'champion'
fa:m-de 'to understand'
fan-de 'to be out of fashion, old'

/-n/-
la:nal 'bigh boat'
la:nal 'arrow'
won-de 'to be'
wo:n-de 'to incline'

I.2.2.2 Quantitative (durational) Contrasts

I.2.2.2.1 Medial

/b, bB/
jabal 'acceptance'
jabbal 'welcome'
ha:bu-ude 'to fight'
habbu-de 'to tie'

/d, dd/
gude 'clothes'
gudde 'holes'
hade 'before'
hadde 'to prevent to do, to refuse'

/d, dd/
fad-e:de 'to be omitted'
fadd-e:de 'to faint'
/j, jj/
majal  'lightning'
majjal 'ignorance'

/k, kk/
sekere 'cheek'
sekkere 'having inserted'
soku-de 'to close, shut'
sokku-de 'to fill any hole by putting and pressing in things.'

/m, mm/
tame 'sieve'
tamme 'weed'
lami 'stems'
lammi 'that which is bitter'

/n, nn/
jine 'swimming'
jinne 'devil'
dana 'separated, apart'
danna 'hunter'

/l, ll/
kule 'big spoon used for stirring as rice'
kulle 'animals, beasts'
celal 'deviation'
cellal 'health'
### 1.3. ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Pula:r has 37 phones, out of these phones 10 are vocoids, and 27 contoids.

Vocoids have 2 types of durational differences, i.e. short and long.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front Unrounded</th>
<th>Central Unrounded</th>
<th>Back Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i i:</td>
<td></td>
<td>u u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Mid</td>
<td>e e:</td>
<td></td>
<td>o o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a a:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*chart I*

All the vowels have allophones.

### 1.3.1. Allophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front Unrounded</th>
<th>Central Unrounded</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower High</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Mid</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Λ</td>
<td>Ω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td></td>
<td>α</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Chart II*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>c j k g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implosives</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n' n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart III

I.3.1.1. **VOWELS**

/i/ has two allophones [I] and [i.]

1. [I], lower high unrounded front vowel, occurs medially in between two consonants, and initially.

- ['pimento' /ilde/]
- 'flowing of water /ilewol/
- 'pimentoes' /gile/
- 'to bring back' /artirde/
2. [i], high unrounded front vowel, occurs only in final position.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[n\text{Ammi}]} & \quad \text{'food'} \quad /\text{nAmmi}/ \\
\text{[fe:ti]} & \quad \text{'troublesome'} \quad /\text{fe:ti}/ \\
\text{[gIdi]} & \quad \text{'gun'} \quad /\text{gIdi}/ \\
\end{align*}
\]

/e/ has three allophones [E], [e] and [e].

1. [E], mid unrounded front vowel, it occurs only in the initial position.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[Ertere\text{E}]} & \quad \text{'groundnut'} \quad \text{/ertere/} \\
\text{[Eld\text{E}]} & \quad \text{'gap in the mouth due to the following of a tooth'} \quad \text{/eld\text{E}/} \\
\text{[Eta:de\text{E}]} & \quad \text{'to try'} \quad \text{/eta:de/} \\
\end{align*}
\]

2. [e], lower mid unrounded front vowel, occurs in the final position.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ho:re\text{E}]} & \quad \text{'head'} \quad \text{/ho:re/} \\
\text{[h\text{A} \text{kkE}]} & \quad \text{'sin'} \quad \text{/hakke/} \\
\text{[e:wo:de\text{E}]} & \quad \text{'scar'} \quad \text{/e:wo:de/} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3. [e], high mid unrounded front vowel occurs medially.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[dem\text{E}]} & \quad \text{'cultivation'} \quad \text{/dem\text{E}/} \\
\text{[hInere\text{E}]} & \quad \text{'nose'} \quad \text{/hinere/} \\
\text{[Eleldu]} & \quad \text{'big grey lizard'} \quad \text{/eleldu/} \\
\end{align*}
\]
/ a / has two allophones [ʌ] and [a].

1. [ʌ], lower mid unrounded central vowel occurs medially.

[dʌ mʌl] 'door' /damal/
[də rndi] 'height' /darnde/
[kʌ ba] 'bottle' /kaba/

2. [a], lower unrounded central vowel occurs elsewhere.

[a la:du] 'horn' /ala:du/
[no:da] 'crocodile' /no:da/
[asʌ ma:n] 'sky' /asama:n/
[adUNa] 'world' /aduna/

/ o / has two allophones [ʊ] and [o].

1. [ʊ], mid rounded back vowel occurs medially.

[mbo:ddi] 'snake' /mboddi/
[hʌ ndu] 'finger' /honndu/
[cɔllel] 'bord' /colel/

2. [o], high mid rounded back vowel occurs elsewhere.

[ombo:də] 'lid' /ombo:de/
[ontuma] 'at that time' /ontuma/
[ma:ro] 'rice' /ma:ro/
[faro] 'paddy field' /faro/

/u/ has two allophones [ʊ] and [u].
1. [U], lower high rounded back vowel, occurs in the initial position.

[Udumere] 'door' /udumere/
[Untu] 'shabby cooked meat' /untu/
[Unde] 'to grind, crush' /unde/

2. [u], high rounded back vowel, occurs elsewhere.

[puccu] 'horse' /puccu/
[wutte] 'cloth, dress' /wutte/
[kuddu] 'spoon' /kuddu/
[re:du] 'belly' /re:du/

1.3.1.2. **Consonants**

1. /P/ has an allophone [p], bilabial unaspirated voiceless plosive which occurs in the initial position before all the vocoids, and in the medial and final positions.

[po:ti] 'water pot' /po:ti/
[pacam] 'flame' /pacam/
29

\[ \text{[lo:pe]} \] 'mud' \quad \text{/lo:pe/}
\[ \text{[bi\lap]} \] 'a kind of sword' \quad \text{/bi\lap/}

2. /b/ has one allophone \[ [b] \], bilabial unaspirated voiced plosive which occurs initially and medially.

\[ \text{[ba:ba]} \] 'father' \quad \text{/ba:ba/}
\[ \text{[b\Upsilon tta:ri]} \] 'lunch' \quad \text{/botta:ri/}
\[ \text{[njo:bd\i]} \] 'price, salary' \quad \text{/njobdi/}
\[ \text{[ng\A bbu]} \] 'hippopotamus' \quad \text{/ngabbu/}

3. /\$/ has one allophone \[ [\$] \], bilabial unaspirate voiceless implosive. It occurs initially before all the vocoids, and medially.

\[ \text{[\$\A nnd\u]} \] 'body' \quad \text{/\$annd\u/}
\[ \text{[\$e\rnde]} \] 'chest' \quad \text{/\$erde/}
\[ \text{[t\A bo]} \] 'rain' \quad \text{/to\bo/}
\[ \text{[lu:bo]} \] 'smell, odour' \quad \text{/lu:bo/}

4. /t/ has an allophone \[ [t] \], alveolar unaspirated voiceless plosive which occurs initially, medially and in the final position after the high mid unrounded front vowel 'e'.

\[ \text{[te:w]} \] 'meat' \quad \text{/te:w/}
\[ \text{[t\l nnd\u]} \] 'lip' \quad \text{/tonnd\u/}
\[ \text{[s\A t\u l\al]} \] 'kettle' \quad \text{/sat\u l\al/}
\[ \text{[k\A yt\u l]} \] 'paper' \quad \text{/kaytol/}
\[ \text{[a\l\e\l]} \] 'sunday' \quad \text{/a\l/}
\[ \text{[1\A mset]} \] 'blade' \quad \text{/lamset/}
\[ \text{[k\Q rket]} \] 'metal sheet' \quad \text{/korket/}
5. /d/ has an allophone [d], alveolar unaspirated voiced plosive; occurs only in the initial and medial position.

- debbo] 'woman' /debbo/
- dodedu] 'running' /dodedu/
- ya:du] 'going' /ya:du/
- si:do] 'joke' /si:do/
- ladde] 'forest' /ladde/

6. /d/ has an allophone [d], alveolar unaspirated voiceless implosive. It occurs in the initial position before all the vocoids and in the medial position.

- dum] 'this' /dum/
- demngal] 'tongue' /demngal/
- didi] 'two' /didi/
- dadì] 'roots' /dadì/
- neddo] 'person' /neddo/

7. /c/ has an allophone [c], palatal unaspirated voiceless stop which occurs initially and medially.

- colel] 'small bird' /colel/
- de:du] 'summer' /de:du/
- la:ci] 'tail' /la:ci/
- puccu] 'horse' /puccu/

Note that among the consonant stops only the voiceless stops, viz. p and t are found to occur in the final position. We have not tried to find any linguistic explanation since there is a very limited number of words ending in a voiceless stop available in this language.
8. /j/ has an allophone \([j]\), palatal unaspirated voiced stop. It occurs in the initial and medial position.

\[\text{‘squirrel’} \quad /jiːre/\]
\[\text{‘tomorrow’} \quad /jango/\]
\[\text{‘peel’} \quad /kobjal/\]
\[\text{‘rabbit’} \quad /wojere/\]

9. /γ/ has one allophone \([γ]\), palatal unaspirated voiceless implosive which occurs initially and medially.

\[\text{‘bone’} \quad /γial/\]
\[\text{‘charcoal’} \quad /γulbe/\]
\[\text{‘blood’} \quad /γi:γam/\]
\[\text{‘ant’} \quad /nu:γu/\]
\[\text{‘hiccup’} \quad /liγjere/\]

10. /k/ has one allophone \([K]\), velar unaspirated voiceless plosive which occurs in the initial and medial position.

\[\text{‘uncle’} \quad /kaːw/\]
\[\text{‘bamboo tree’} \quad /kewal/\]
\[\text{‘yesterday’} \quad /hanki/\]
\[\text{‘soul’} \quad /wonki/\]
\[\text{‘brain’} \quad /hakkil/\]

11. /g/ has one allophone \([g]\), velar unaspirated voiced plosive which occurs initially and medially.
12. /m/ has an allophone [m], bilabial voiced nasal. It occurs in all positions.

[ma:ro] 'rice' /ma:ro/
[ma:yo] 'sea' /ma:yo/
[njamalu] 'tiger' /njamalu/
[wa:me] 'flood' /wa:me/
[jemma] 'night' /jemma/
[nebbam] 'oil' /nebbam/
[ndiyam] 'water' /ndiyam/

13. /n/ has an allophone [n], alveolar voiced nasal which occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

[no:da] 'crocodile' /no:da/
[nowru] 'ear' /nowru/
[la:na] 'boat' /la:na/
[jine] 'swimming' /jine/
[danna] 'hunter' /danna/
[asama:n] 'sky' /asama:n/
[a:n] 'you (sg)' /a:n/
14. /ⁿ/ has one allophone [ⁿ], palatal voiced nasal which occurs in all the positions.

[ⁿəm̩ mi]  'food' /ⁿəm̩ mi/
[ⁿəw]  'disease' /ⁿəw/
[miⁿİra:wo]  'younger brother or sister' /miⁿİra:wo/
[ngⁿa:ri]  'profit' /ngⁿa:ri/
[yumpa:ⁿ]  'uncle's wife' /yumpa:ⁿ/
[wⁿmpa:ⁿ]  'a festival for peasants' /wⁿmpa:ⁿ/

15. /ⁿ/ has one allophone [ⁿ], velar voiced nasal. It occurs in all the positions.

[ⁿununununu]  'murmuring' /ⁿununununu/
[ⁿəccu:]  'a kind of sword' /ⁿəccu:(/
[kəla:nᵃ]  'antilop' /ko:la:nᵃ/
[si:rᵃⁿ]  'stool, chair' /si:rᵃⁿ/
[dɔliⁿ]  'hook' /dɔliⁿ/

16. /f/ has one allophone [f], labiodental groove fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally.

[fɔyɾɛ]  'light' /fɔyɾɛ/
[fəro]  'paddy field' /fəro/
[kəfu]  'festival' /kəfu/
[fo:faṅgo]  'breathing' /fo:faṅgo/
17. /s/ has one allophone [s], alveolar voiceless groove fricative occurs in all the positions.

- sa:re/ 'village'
- su:du/ 'room'
- basal/ 'sleeping mat'
- asama:n/ 'sky'
- xalis/ 'money'
- fus/ 'nothing'

18. /l/ has one allophone [l], alveolar voiced lateral which occurs initially, medially and finally.

- ladde/ 'forest, bush'
- lewru/ 'moon'
- ala:du/ 'horn'
- kulol/ 'fear'
- leggal/ 'tree'
- boggol/ 'rope'

19. /r/ has one allophone [r], alveolar voiced trill which occurs in all the positions.

- rawa:ndu/ 'dog'
- ro:mru/ 'mouse'
- ho:re/ 'head'
- hare/ 'fight'
- sa:mar/ 'small drum'
- ja:mbur/ 'somebody's propriety'
20. /h/ has one allophone [h], velar aspirated fricative which occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[ haːla ] 'speech' /haːla/
[ hinndu ] 'wind' /hinndu/
[ ʃə hi ] 'a kind of tree' /ʃə hi/
[ kə hi ] 'a kind of tree' /kə hi/

21. /q/ has one allophone [q], uvular voiced fricative which occurs only medially.

[ hulquːma ] 'gullet' /hulquːma/
[ mboqu ] 'barking' /mboqu/
[ təqo ] 'a wish addressed to person who is coughing' /təqo/

22. /w/ has one allophone [w], bilabial voiced semivowel which occurs initially, medially; finally it occurs after a long vowel.

[ wəyndu ] 'well' /wəyndu/
[ waː re ] 'beard' /waː re/
[ waː weːo ] 'wing' /waː weːo/
[ ʃaː wo ] 'back' /aː wo/
[ teːw ] 'meat' /teːw/
[ piːw ] 'all' /piːw/
[ kaːw ] 'uncle' /kaːw/
23. /y/ has two allophones [i] and [y].

1. [i] high front unrounded semi vowel, occurs medially before all the vocoids.

- [leidi]  'land' /leydi/
- [hayre]  'stone' /hayre/
- [ojetude]  'to burn, pain' /ojetude/
- [ojetude]  'to reduce' /ojetude/
- [ndiyam]  'water' /ndiyam/

2. [y] palatal voiced semi vowel, occurs elsewhere.

- [ya:re]  'scorpion' /ya:re/
- [yontere]  'week' /yontere/
- [ye:so]  'face' /ye:so/
- [njegena:y]  'pillow' /njegena:y/

We have already mentioned that the phones /mb/, /nd/, /nj/ and /ng/ are to be considered, phonetically as a single unit. They occur in the initial and medial position except /nj/ which occurs only initially.

Here also we have chosen to treat them separately but as phonemes even though a special grapheme is not yet found in the pula:rt language to deal with their specific nature in the phonology of the language.
24. /mb/ has one allophone [mb], bilabial voiced prenasalized stop; occurs initially and medially.

[ mba:lu ] 'sheep' /mba:lu/
[ mbe:wa ] 'goat' /mbe:wa/
[ jIndianmbA lamba I ] 'spider' /jombalmba/
[ bA mbell ] 'back garden' /bambe/

25. /nd/ has one allophone [nd], alveolar voiced prenasalized stop; occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[ nde:r ] 'inside' /nde:r/
[ ndu:laldi ] 'lizard' /ndu:laldi/
[ ndo:ndi ] 'ash' /ndo:ndi/
[ honndu ] 'finger' /honndu/

26. /nj/ has one allophone [nj], palatal voiced prenasalized stop; occurs only initially.

[ nju:mri ] 'honey' /nju:mri/
[ njo:6a ] 'approvisioning' /njo:6a/
[ njelu ] 'how much' /njelu/
[ njambdi ] 'price, salary' /njambdi/
[ njlamalu ] 'tiger' /njalamalu/

27. /ng/ has one allophone [ng], velar voiced prenasalized stop, occurs initially and medially.

[ nge:lo:ba ] 'camel' /nge:lo:ba/
[ nga:ndi ] 'brain' /nga:ndi/
[ ngilngu ] 'worm' /ngilngu/
[ ndunngu ] 'raining season' /ndunngu/
1.4. **Phonemic Nature of the Pre-nasalized Stops:**

Orthographically the prenasalized stops /mb/, /nd/, /nj/ and /ng/ are written as clusters.

Phonemically they are to be considered as single units occurring in the initial and medial position, except /nj/ which occurs only initially, because of the absence of three consonant clusters in this language.

1.5. **Consonant Gemination:**

When consonant geminate, the first consonant is **code** of the preceding syllable and the second consonant is the **onset** of the following syllable.

1.6. **Supra Segmental Phonemes**

1.6.1 **Juncture**

1.6.1.1 **Open Juncture**

Open juncture is marked by space •

- la:na ndiyam 'boat'
- mbabba ladde 'wild pig'
- judderde leggal 'tree trunk'
- gayna:ko nai 'cow boy'
- so:6a:nde su:du 'roof'

1.6.1.2 **Closed Juncture**

Closed juncture is marked by a plus (+) •

- wutte + am - wuttam 'my dress'
- galle + am - gallam 'my house'
In the case of closed juncture type constructions, the first word, which, generally ends with a vowel, loses that vowel or the syllable containing it.

Interrogation and exclamation are explained on the basis of rising and falling intonation.

Intonation is a falling pitch at the terminal, and what differences the intonation and the question, is that there is a pitch at the sentence terminal in the question. There is also a marker a: which is added to the final segment of the sentence. For example:

\[ \text{o} \text{ ari:na: ?} \quad (\text{has he come?}) \]
\[ \text{dum} \text{ n̥a:mtena: ?} \quad (\text{Is this eatable?}) \]

1.7. NASALIZATION

In Pula:ra nasalization is not in complementary distribution with the nasals \(/m/, /n/, /n̥/, /n̥̄/\, in the final position.
I.8. CLUSTERS

1.8.1 Vowel clusters are found in the Pulaar Language.

1.8.1.1. medial two vowel clusters

1.8.1.1.1. $V_1 V_2$ - type:

-exx: bual 'thigh'

1.8.1.1.2. $V_1 \overline{V}_2$ - type:

-exx: meo:we 'stammerer'

1.8.1.2. final two vowel clusters

$V_1 V_2$ - type:

-exx: meu 'stammering'

$\overline{V}_1 \overline{V}_2$ - type:

-exx: ha:e: 'oh yes'

Consonant clusters are of two types, viz., two consonant clusters and three consonant clusters.

1.8.2 Medial two consonant clusters

1.8.2.1.1 Identical

-PP- sappo 'ten'
sippiro 'wrestling'

-bb- labbo 'wood cutter'
sabbundu 'nest'

-bb- nifere 'darkness'
bassattu 'cricket'

- tt- hottollo 'cotton'
pittirdl 'broom'
-dd- geddu 'sheepfold'

-dd- mmoddi 'snake'

-dd- neddo 'person'

-cc- paddu 'fainting'

-cc- kacca 'discussion'

-cc- dicce 'urine'

-jj- gujjo 'thief'

-jj- majjal 'ignorance'

-kk- wokkude 'chin'

-kk- dakkudi 'gum'

-gg- feggere 'ring'

-gg- njiggu 'love'

-mm- hamme 'ambition'

-mm- jemma 'night'

-nn- tinna:re 'effort'

-nn- wonno 'perhaps'

-ff- moyffol 'generosity'

-ff- leyffii 'races'

-ll- cellal 'health'

-ll- basalle 'onion'

-nn- kaññe 'gold'

-ww- bowwol 'slipness'

8.2.2. Non-identical

-pt- heptu-de 'to reach'

(pt- haptu-de 'to quarrel'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-bd-</td>
<td>njobdi</td>
<td>'price, salary'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hob-de</td>
<td>'to peel'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-bj-</td>
<td>kobjai</td>
<td>'peel'</td>
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<td>-br-</td>
<td>fa:bru</td>
<td>'frog'</td>
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<td>maj-de</td>
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<td>waktu</td>
<td>'time'</td>
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<td>be:6-de</td>
<td>'to dry up'</td>
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<td>-mp-</td>
<td>lampu</td>
<td>'lamp'</td>
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<td>-mb-</td>
<td>hombo'</td>
<td>'fatigue'</td>
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<td>jomba:jo</td>
<td>'who?'</td>
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<td>-mt-</td>
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<td>-md-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>am-de</td>
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<td>-mk-</td>
<td>domka</td>
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<td>-md-</td>
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<td>-mr-</td>
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<td>-nt-</td>
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<td>Prefix</td>
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<td>teñji</td>
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<td>'to wave'</td>
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<td>salt-a:de</td>
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<td>Stem</td>
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<td>Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>-lb-</td>
<td>yulbe</td>
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Note that three consonant clusters are not found in the Pulaar Language as the prenasalized stops mb, nd, nj and ng are phonetically considered as a single unit.

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<tr>
<th>-wd-</th>
<th>cewdi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-yk-</td>
<td>ngayka</td>
<td>'hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yg-</td>
<td>doygal</td>
<td>'pilar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yd-</td>
<td>weydi</td>
<td>'beautiful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yn-</td>
<td>gaynako</td>
<td>'shepherd'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yr-</td>
<td>heyre</td>
<td>'liver'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñoyre</td>
<td>'cunningness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yw-</td>
<td>naywi</td>
<td>'old'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.8.2.3. \[ C_1 C_2 C_3 \] type:

- mnd- njamndi 'iron'
- mng- demngal 'tongue'
- lmb- jomalmbal 'spider'
- lnd- saindice 'branch'
| -lng- | ngilngu | 'worm' |
| -rnd- | bërndë | 'chest' |
| -wng- | bëwngu | 'mosquito' |
| -ynd- | wcyndu | 'well' |
| -yng- | koyngel | 'leg' |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. 8. 2. 4. C₁ C₁ C₂ type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-mmb-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nd-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Medial two identical consonant clusters

| b | t | d | c | j | k | g | y | m | n | n | f | s | h | q | l | r | w | y |
| x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| b |   |   |   | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| t |   |   | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| d | x |   |   |   | x | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| c | x | x |   |   | x |   |   | x | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| j | x | x | x | x | x | x |   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| k | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| g | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| b | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| d | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| y | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| m | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| n | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| n | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| f | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| s | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| h | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| q | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| l | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| r | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| w | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| y | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |

chart I
Medial two non-identical consonant clusters

p b t d c j k g b d y m n n f s h g l r w y m b n d n g

-chart II
I.9. SYLLABLES

Syllables are classified on the basis of their nature viz. open and closed. If there is a single consonant between successive vowels, that consonant forms the onset of the following syllable. If there is a two consonant cluster in the intervocalic position, the first member of such cluster forms the coda of the preceding syllable and the second member forms the onset of the following syllable.

I.9.1 Syllabic classification of words:

Words are classified on the basis of the number of syllable in a single word. For this analysis only forms of substantives viz. without any declination or conjugation are taken into consideration.

In Pulaar the words are classified as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, four, five and six syllable words.

I.9.1.1 Monosyllabic

I.9.1.1.1. Open syllable

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ poj:} & \quad \text{a:} \quad \text{'interj. expr. wonder, admiration'} \\
\text{ jot:} & \quad \text{ha:} \quad \text{'yes'} \\
\text{ go:} & \quad \text{'one'}
\end{align*}
\]

I.9.1.1.2. Closed syllable

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ var:} & \quad \text{'come'} \\
\text{ yan:} & \quad \text{'you (sg)'}
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>han</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>te:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka:w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**I. 9.1.2 Disyllabic:**

**I. 9.1.2.1 Open syllable:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V-CV</td>
<td>a-la:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC-CV</td>
<td>up-pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN-CV</td>
<td>a:re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CV</td>
<td>ha-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVN-CV</td>
<td>ho:-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC-CV</td>
<td>hor-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC-CCV</td>
<td>ber-nde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**I. 9.1.2.2 Closed syllable:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V-CVC</td>
<td>a-let</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC-VC</td>
<td>ad-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-VC</td>
<td>bu-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CVC</td>
<td>gi-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CVC</td>
<td>bilap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVN-CVC</td>
<td>si:rañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC-CVC</td>
<td>koñ-jam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**I. 9.1.3 Trisyllabic:**
I.9.1.3.1 Open syllable:

vc - cv - cv  er-te-re  'ground nut'
v - cv - cv  a-du-na  'world'
v - cv - cv  a-la:-du  'horn'
\[\text{\textoverline{v}}\] - cv - cv  e:-wo:-de  'scar'
v - cvc - cv  e-le:-du  'lizard'
vc - cv - ccv  il-be:-ndi  'splen dour'
vc - cvc - cv  al-lan-de  'hit'
cv - cv - cv  ja-ma:nu  'period'
cv - cv - cv  je:-di:-di  'seven'
cv - cv - cv  ña:-ñe:ru  'violin'
cv - cv - cv  na:-ri-ya:  'lazziness'
cv - ccv - cv  ka:-nga:-do  'fool, mad'
cv - cv - ccv  ña-ma:nde  'loan'
cv - cvc - cv  ba-sal-le  'onion'
cvc - cvc - cv  jud-der-de  'trunk'
cvc - cv - cv  tok-ke-re  'bundle'
cvc - cv - cv  wel-ta:-re  'happiness'
cvc - cv - ccv  fun-na:-nge  'sunrise'
ccv - cvc - cv  ndu:-lal-di  'lizard'
I.9.1.3.2. **Closed syllable:**

- v - cv - cvc  
  i-le-wol  
  'stream'
- v - cv - cvc  
  a -sa-ma:n  
  'sky'
- cv - cv - cvc  
  bi-ro-dam  
  'milk'
- cvv - cv - cvc  
  le:le-wal  
  'moonlight'
- cv - cvc - cvc  
  ki-lon-di:n  
  'orphan'
- cv - cvc - ccvc  
  jo-mal-mba:l  
  'spider'
- cvv - cvc - cvc  
  do:-ño:r-gal  
  'chameleon'

I.9.1.4. **Tetra syllabic words:**

I.9.1.4.1 **Open syllable:**

- v - cv - cv - cv  
  o-lo-we-re  
  'sweat'
- v - cv - cvv - cv  
  e-si-ra:-wo  
  'father (etc) in law'
- vc - cv - cv - cv  
  al-ka-me-sa  
  'thursday'
- cv - cv - cv - cv  
  ŋu-ŋu-ŋu-ŋu  
  'murmuring'
- cv - cv - cvv - cv  
  de-bo-re:-du  
  'pregnant woman'
- cvv - cvv - cv - cv  
  do:-ña:gi-te  
  'eye secretion'
- cv - cv - cvc - cv  
  de-fe-ner-du  
  'kitchen'
- cv - ccv - cv - cv  
  sa-mba-dka-la  
  'joke'
- cvc - cv - cvc - cv  
  ma-w-õ-deb-bo  
  'old woman'
- cvc - cv - ccvc - cv  
  hor-óln-der-de  
  'ankle'
- ccvc-cv-cvc-cv  
  môb-ba-lad-de  
  'wild pig'
I. 9.1.4.2  **Closed syllable**

- cv - cv - ccv - cvc: la:-na-ndi-yam  'boat'
- cvc-cv-cvc-cvc: mot-ti-nor-gal  'gullet'
- cvc-cv-cvc-ccvc: pet-te-jay-ngol  'sparks'

I. 9.1.5  **Penta syllabic words**

I. 9.1.5.1  **Open syllable**

- cv-cv-cv-cv-cv: ja-ma:-nu-fo-lo  'olden time'
- cv-v-cv-cvc-cv: pi-o-wo-baw-āi  'drumer'
- cv-cv-ccv-cv-cv: so:-ba:-nde-su:-du  'roof'
- cvc-cv-cv-cvc-cv: sob-5un-du-jun-ngo  'elbow'
- cvc-cv-cv-cv-cv: ley-di-ra-ne:-ri  'clay'

I. 9.1.5.2  **Closed syllable**

- cv-cv-cvc-cv-cvc: cu-ka-yel-go-rel  'boy'

I. 9.1.6  **Six syllabic words**

- cv-cv-cv-cv-cv-cvc: 5a-le-ya:-gal-re:-du  'jealousy'
1.10. CONDITIONED VARIATION OF THE INITIAL CONSONANTS

A word does not always begin with the same consonant everytime it is used. It may begin with one consonant in some sentences and with another consonant in other sentences. This feature of the Pula:r language has aroused the most speculation and is particularly found in the substantive and in the verb.

1.10.1. Occurrence:
The variation occurs in the opposition singular/plural in the nouns, and also in the inflected verbs.

Examples:
a) in the nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fowru</td>
<td>pobbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferlo</td>
<td>perle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feggere</td>
<td>pegge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho:re</td>
<td>koe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>howru</td>
<td>koppi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinere</td>
<td>kine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa:re</td>
<td>'beard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa:ndu</td>
<td>'monkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wojere</td>
<td>'rabbit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su:du</td>
<td>'room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:re</td>
<td>'village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonndu</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rawa:ndu</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro:mru</td>
<td>'mouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re:wde</td>
<td>'pool of water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya:re</td>
<td>'scorpion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yontere</td>
<td>'week'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yewterere</td>
<td>'discourse, speech'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbe:wa</td>
<td>'goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mba:lu</td>
<td>'sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbaro:di</td>
<td>'lion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njjamalu</td>
<td>'tiger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njamndi</td>
<td>'iron'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njelu</td>
<td>'share'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ng

ngabbi 'hippopotamus' gabbi

ngilngu 'worm' gildi

ngelo:ba 'camel' gelo:bi

b) in nouns derived from verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe:ral 'bump' (&lt;fe:r-de(1) 'to hit against')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peccal 'share' (&lt;feccu-de 'to share')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe:wal 'rightness' (&lt;fe:w-de 'to be right, honest')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

k

koydol 'dream' (<hoydu-de 'to dream')

ko:lol 'confidence' (<ho:l-a:de(2) 'to trust')

kebu 'readiness' (<heb-a:de 'to get ready')

mb

mbaru 'killing' (<war-de 'to kill')

mbalandi 'going to' (<wa:l-a:de 'to go to bed, bed, sleep'

s

congal 'attack' (<songu-de 'to attack')

cofu 'price' (<so:d-de 'to buy')

c) in the inflected verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o fewnat be pewnat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(He repair will) (they repair will)

(1) - de are infinitive markers.
(2) - a:de
mi ha:li be ka:ll (I spoke) (they spoke)

mb wari:no on mbari:no
(you (sg.) had killed) (you (pl.) had killed)

nj Yimbe be njia:no
(person the did not see) (persons the did not see)

1.10.2. Operation:

Consonant variation can be said to operate in this language when, the initial consonant of a morpheme changes according to a grammatical context. In the examples given above, the initial consonant varies from the singular form to the plural form in the nouns and from the verb to the verbal noun. The two tables below will help to show clearly these variations as they occur in the nouns and in the verbs.

In Nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>w</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>mb</th>
<th>nj</th>
<th>ng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1
In the verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>g (?)</th>
<th>a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

These tables show that the variation of the consonants results in a continuant matching a continuant, a stop a stop, and a prenasal a prenasal.

The range of variation of a consonant is called a series.

Within a series there are never more than three variants, generally a continuant, a stop and a prenasal. Generally, there are only two variants within a series in Pulaar (Senegal).

Two rules can be set up when the contexts of occurrence are referred to:

Rule 1:

\[ \alpha \text{ manner} \quad \alpha \text{ manner} \]
\[ \alpha \text{ voice} \rightarrow \lt \text{ voice} \]
\{ Semi vowel \}
\{ Flap \}
\{ Fricative \}
\{ Prenasal \}
\{ [+ Noun] \} \rightarrow \text{ Plosive}
Rule 2:

- {Plosive}
- {Flap}
- {Semi vowel}
- {Fricative}
- [+ Verb]

Because of the three variants a consonant may have from the substantive to the verb, we can speak of gradation. A grade is defined as the set of the continuants or stops or prenasals composing the different series. And because within a series there are never more than three variants therefore three grades can be distinguished, each corresponding to one set of variants.

This situation can be illustrated in a table which will show the whole system of consonant variation in Pula:r:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Grades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>w f s r h y ?(+a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>b p c d k j g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>mb p c nd k nj ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comment upon the table:

1. The roman characters represent the grades.
2. The change in the second grade is considered to be common for the noun and the verb.
3. If there are voiced sounds in the second grade and if the consonants belong to the part of the verb they undergo further change of prenasalization.

However, instead of explaining the alternation in the verb separately, the whole morphophonemic change in the noun and the verb can be explained in the form of gradation because of two reasons:

1) In the base form, if there is a voiceless consonant, it becomes voiced. This is common to the noun and the verb.

2) If fricative and semi vowels are there in the base form, they change into prenasals. This latter change can be better explained by accepting the change in the noun as basic and then undergoing the prenasalization.

It should be noted in this study, that the other consonants, viz. the implosives /ɓ/, /ɗ/ and /γ/ and the nasals /m/, /n/, /n̩/ and /ŋ/ are not subject to variation.

The liquid /l/ is subject to variation in the Fular dialect of the Fulakunda people of upper Casamance (South Senegal) but only in one case, i.e. in the verb /laːɾɗɛ/ 'to look at' and its derivatives.
Examples:

mi la:ri:  'I have looked at'
a la:ri:  'You (sg.) have looked at'
en ndari:  'We (incl.) have looked at'
on ndari:  'You (pl.) have looked at'

Consonant variation is found to operate also in dependent adjectives, Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular forms</th>
<th>Corresponding plural forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>debbo    dane:jo</td>
<td>rewbe   rane:be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(woman fair complexioned)</td>
<td>(women fair complexioned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woyndu    horndu</td>
<td>boyli    kordi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(well empty)</td>
<td>(wells empty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su:du    hesuru</td>
<td>cu:di    Kesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(room new)</td>
<td>(rooms new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbe:lu    njuddum</td>
<td>be:li    juddi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(shadow long)</td>
<td>(shadows long)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phenomenon of variation of the initial consonants is far from unique in Pula:r, for it has become the feature which may form the proof of the genetic relationship of Pula:r and the other languages of the West Atlantic group of languages.
1.11. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Sandhi occurring within a morpheme alone is discussed in this chapter.

The rules enumerated here are a set of unordered rules which operate independently in the correspondance singular nominal forms - plural nominal forms. They are not taken into account here the changes which occur with the initial consonants of the morphemes and also with the noun class markers. These changes are discussed separately in chapters treating of the variation of the initial consonants and the noun class system:

The symbol #: indicates pause.

\[ \bar{V}_1 \quad \text{----} \quad V_1 \]

\[ + \text{vowel} \]

\[ + C_g \ (1) \]

Examples:

\# wa:-re \quad \text{ba-e} \quad 'beard' \\
\# bo:-re \quad \text{ko-e} \quad 'head' \\
\# sa:-re \quad \text{ca-e} \quad 'village' \\
\# ya:-re \quad \text{ja-h-e} \quad 'scorpion' \\
\# fe:-re \quad \text{pe-h-e} \quad 'plan' \\
\# so:-re \quad \text{co-h-e} \quad 'a kind of snake' \\
\# ji:-re \quad \text{ji-e} \quad 'squirrel' \\
\# a:-re \quad \text{ga-e} \quad 'belch' \\

1 \quad C_g = \text{glide}
2. $C_1 \rightarrow C_2 / -C_2$

exx:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Hon-ndu</th>
<th>Kol-li</th>
<th>'finger'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Son-ndu</td>
<td>Co-li</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Sun-ndu</td>
<td>Bul-li</td>
<td>'well'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Ban-ndu</td>
<td>Bal-li</td>
<td>'body'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Sukun-ndu</td>
<td>Cukul-li</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Fow-ru</td>
<td>Pob-bi</td>
<td>'hyena'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Saw-ru</td>
<td>Cab-bi</td>
<td>'stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Now-ru</td>
<td>Nop-pi</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>How-ru</td>
<td>Kop-pi</td>
<td>'kneel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Kod-o</td>
<td>Hob-be</td>
<td>'stranger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Godd-o</td>
<td>Wob-be</td>
<td>'some one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Bid-d-o</td>
<td>5ib-be</td>
<td>'Child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Pah-o</td>
<td>Pa5-be</td>
<td>'deaf person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Ba:w-o</td>
<td>Sab-be</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Remark:

Words in which regular and satisfying rules can not be set up are listed as stem alternant words. They are:

- Nedd-o, yer-be, 'person'
- Debb-o, rew-be, 'woman'
- Hin-ndu, ken-e:li, 'wind'
II. MORPHOLOGY

II-1 NOUNS

II.1.1. The class system: Classification of the Nouns:

In Pula:r, a noun consists of a stem plus one suffix. For example /rawa:ndu/ 'a dog' and /salndu/ 'a branch' belong to a large number of nouns with the suffix -ndu. Their plural forms /dawa:di/ 'dogs' and /caldi/ 'branches' also belong to a large number of nouns with the suffix -di: /be:rnde/ 'chest' and /jonnde/ 'sore' are another set of a large number of nouns with the suffix -nde.

There are many singular - plural pairs of suffixes like -ndu and -di; or - nde and - de, but in some cases identical suffixes are assigned to different classes. For instance, /linngu/ 'a fish' and /du:ngu/ 'raining season', 'year' have identical suffix - ngu but are said to be different classes because they make respectively /liddi/ and /du:bi/ in the plural. To justify such an analysis as that on the noun classes in Pula:r one must go beyond the noun suffixes themselves because there is such a combination between the stem and the suffix, and finally, a noun class is identified by the combination stem - noun suffix and concord morphemes appropriate to it, and also the variation of the initial consonant in the plural formation.
But Pula:r has a large number of noun class markers. An inventory of all the class markers based on the singular - plural distinctions is necessary for the listing of the various noun classes.

An attempt of listing all the suffixes functioning as noun class markers as they appear in substantives in the nominative is made below in an arbitrary order. Then a grouping of all these suffixes according to the correspondences which exist in the opposition singular / plural.

Finally a classification of the Pula:r nouns is given:

**II. 1. 1. 2  INVENTORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes of the singular</th>
<th>Suffixes of the Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -ndu</td>
<td>1. -di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -ndi</td>
<td>2. -de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -nde</td>
<td>3. -be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. -ngu</td>
<td>4. -bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. -ngo</td>
<td>5. -je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. -ngal</td>
<td>6. -le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. -ngol</td>
<td>7. -ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. -gal</td>
<td>8. -li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. -uru</td>
<td>9. -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. -wo</td>
<td>10. -e:le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. - wa
12. - ol
13. - al
14. - am
15. - ðe
16. - di
17. - do
18. - ri
19. - re
20. - ru
21. - yo
22. - ko
23. - na
24. - ge
25. - ŋ - ø
26. - i
27. - u
28. - o
29. - a
30. - e
31. - wol
32. - ko
33. - ki
34. - um
II-1.1.3 Correspondances between the singular noun class markers and the plural noun class markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular class markers</th>
<th>Corresponding plural markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ndu</td>
<td>-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nde</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>-je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ol</td>
<td>-ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ol</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_ge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-re</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gal</td>
<td>-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-di</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngol</td>
<td>-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-di</td>
<td>-e:le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndu</td>
<td>-e:li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-e:je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-e:ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a:ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a:be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-a:be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-γi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngel</td>
<td>-kon̆</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II-1.1.4 Classification

We may classify the Pulaar nouns into 19 classes on the base of singular – plural distinction. Thus, the following classes: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L; M, N, O, P, Q, R and S; each class being assimilated to one suffix of the plural and comprising the corresponding singular suffixes.

A \[ \left[ A_1, A_2, A_3 \right] \]

B \[ \left[ B_1, B_2, B_3, B_4, B_5, B_6, B_7 \right] \]

C \[ \left[ C_1, C_2, C_3 \right] \]

D \[ \left[ D_1 \right] \]

E \[ \left[ E_1, E_2 \right] \]

F \[ \left[ F_1 \right] \]

G \[ \left[ G_1, G_2, G_3, G_4, G_5, G_6, G_7, G_8 \right] \]

H \[ \left[ H_1, H_2, H_3, H_4, H_5, H_6 \right] \]

I \[ \left[ I_1, I_2, I_3, I_4, I_5 \right] \]

J \[ \left[ J_1, J_2 \right] \]

K \[ \left[ K_1, K_2, K_3, K_4, K_5, K_6 \right] \]

L \[ \left[ L_1, L_2 \right] \]
These classes are represented in the table below, with their corresponding class markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d1</td>
<td>-de</td>
<td>-be</td>
<td>-bi</td>
<td>-je</td>
<td>-ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A_1 = -ndu</td>
<td>B_1 = -nde</td>
<td>C_1 = -o</td>
<td>D_1 = -ngu</td>
<td>E_1 = -yo</td>
<td>F_1 = -ol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A_2 = -ngu</td>
<td>B_2 = -ndi</td>
<td>C_2 = -ko</td>
<td>E_2 = -ri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A_3 = -ngol</td>
<td>B_3 = -ngo</td>
<td>C_3 = -do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B_4 = -ngal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B_5 = -na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B_6 = -li</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B_7 = -ki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We shall note that certain nouns do not take a plural marker; they denote generally liquid or express some quality. They are mass nouns. These nouns are characterized by the singular class marker -am. For example:

\[ \text{ndiy} - \text{am} \quad \text{‘water’} \]
\[ \text{y'i:y} - \text{am} \quad \text{‘blood’} \]
The Pulaar noun classes can be classified in 4 groups denoting:

1) human
2) non human
3) mass nouns
4) others

according to the class marker they take. For instance the class markers -o and 0 refer generally to human, while the class marker - am deals with liquid. Thus the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Class markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>- o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non human</td>
<td>- al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Conclusion:

*Pulaar* nouns may be defined as forms which occur in association with noun class suffixes. These suffixes or class markers are in agreement with the noun base and also with all the noun determinatives, *viz.* definite articles, possessives, demonstratives and numerals.
II-2. GENDER AND NUMBER

II-2.1 Gender:
In Pula:r, like in all the Senegalese and most of the African Languages, the gender of the noun is not reflected either in the pronominalisation, in the adjectival concord or subject-predicate concord.

Therefore, linguistically, the Pula:r language has no gender since it is not expressed at the syntactic level.

For instance if we consider the following nouns:

- gorko 'man'
- debbo 'woman'
- du:ñtu:n 'cock'

they can be accompanied by the third person pronoun singular / o /, i.e., those nouns can be replaced by the pronoun o and we may have the sentence:

- o ari: which means either 'he has come' 'she has come' 'it has come', according to the preceding noun.

Therefore we can have:

- gorko o ari: 'the man has come'
- o ari: 'he has come'
- debbo o ari: 'the woman has come'
- o ari: 'she has come'
- du:ñtu:n o ari: 'the cock has come'
- o ari: 'it has come'
There is no indication of gender.

But semantically, Pulaːr distinguishes masculine and feminine either by different lexical items as

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a.</td>
<td>gorko</td>
<td>'male'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b.</td>
<td>debbo</td>
<td>'female' (and their variants according to the noun-class to which they are attached.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a.</td>
<td>ngaːri</td>
<td>'male for animals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b.</td>
<td>ſale</td>
<td>'female for animals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.</td>
<td>duːtuːŋ</td>
<td>'male for birds and poultry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b.</td>
<td>biːgal</td>
<td>'female for birds and poultry.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or by addition of /gorko/ for masculine, /debbo/ for feminine (that for human beings and animals); /ngaːri/ for masculine and /ſale/ for feminine (for animals only); /duːtuːŋ/ for masculine and /biːgal/ for feminine (birds and poultry only).

**Examples:**

1. suka gorko 'a boy'  
   (child male)
2. suka debbo 'a girl'  
   (child female)
3. ngaːri nagge 'a bullock'  
   (male cow)
4. ſale nagge 'a female cow'  
   (female cow)
It is to be noted however that a semantic oriented study of gender is of no importance in the description of the language.

II-2.2. Number:

Pula:r has only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The nouns contain in themselves singular and plural markers which coincide with the singular and the plural of the noun class markers.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa:-ndu</td>
<td>ba: -di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:w-du</td>
<td>ca:w-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbe:l-u</td>
<td>be:l-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbaro:-di-</td>
<td>baro:--de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayt-ol</td>
<td>kayt-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these examples the suffixes /-ndu/, /-du/, /-u/, /-di/ and /-ol/ mark the singular and belong to the singular class markers while /-di/, /-li/, /-i/ and /-de/ mark the plural. For full details see chapter on the class system.
II-3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Pula:r has specific morphemes to indicate the personal pronouns which are always placed before the verb. In the written language they are written separately from it. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple forms</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>en (we, inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>(I)</td>
<td>min (we, exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>(you)</td>
<td>(you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

In the past and future tense these pronouns do not vary. They keep their simple form.

- mi arno: 'I came'
- a arno: 'you (sg.) came'
- o yano: 'He, She, it went'
- en na:mat: 'we (incl.) will eat'
- be ka:lat: 'they will speak'
But in the present tense, some morphemes are added to these simple forms. Thus we obtain compound forms where the second element contains in itself an idea of action which is really going on.

For instance, in the sentence /mi-dO ar-a/ 'I am coming' (present continuous tense), it is the morpheme /-dO/ which gives to the whole expression the idea of an action which is being done in the present moment.

The table 2 shows the compound personal pronouns of the present tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound forms</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1st mido</td>
<td>enen (we inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>person (I)</td>
<td>minen (we exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2nd aðo</td>
<td>onon (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>person</td>
<td>(you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>3rd omo</td>
<td>obe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>person (He, she, it)</td>
<td>(they)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.
Besides the nominative forms of the personal pronouns, Pulaar has oblique forms for the personal pronouns which are suffixed to the verbal form. If we consider the following sentences:

okk-am  
mi okk-i:mo  
o okk-at-be

'give me'
'I gave him'
'(he) will give them'
'(it)

In these examples the oblique personal pronouns are: am (=me); mo (=him) and be (=them). They are suffixed to the verb root okk- 'to give'; -i: is the past tense marker, -(a)t is the future tense marker. Table 3 will shows the oblique forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-mo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3
The tables show that not only the nominative and oblique forms are different in the singular but also, syntactically the former constitute separate morphemes always placed before the verb, while the latter are suffixed to the verbal form.
II.4. The noun determinatives

In Pulaar the noun is characterized by a suffix (the class marker) which combines with the noun base and the noun determinatives, viz., the definite articles, the demonstratives and possessives, in an intricate fashion. The noun determinatives themselves resemble that suffix.

II.4.1 The definite articles

The relation of the definite articles with any noun can be morphemically represented as follows:

Noun stem $\begin{cases} \text{Class marker} \\
\text{or} \\
\text{Plural} \end{cases} + \text{Article}$

or $N_{st} + \left\{ \text{cl.m.} \begin{cases} \text{sg.} \\
\text{pl.} \end{cases} \right\} + \text{Art.}$

The definite articles can be basically restricted to seven which are: o, mb-, nd-, ng-, f-, s- and k-. However to these main forms (except that of the first class o) are added certain particles according to the form of the noun class marker and which, generally resemble that class marker.

Thus, the variations which occur because of the addition of different particles to the base form of the article may be conditioned by the following morphological rule:

$$V \longrightarrow V_1 / V_1 \not= *$$

Note: cl.m. = class marker
We may distinguish two categories of definite articles:

a) - those which are identical with the class markers.

b) - those which are not identical with the class markers.

II.4.1.1. Case where the definite article and the class marker are identical:

The definite articles are found to be identical with the class markers when the class markers are the morphemes -nde, -ndi, -ndu, -ngu, -nno, -ngal, -ngol, -ko, -di, -de and -be.

In that case the definite article is a simple repetition of the class marker after the noun. For example:

**Singular:**

with -nde class marker:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class marker</th>
<th>article</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o:cc:co:-nde</td>
<td>nde 'the egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(egg)</td>
<td>(the)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jo:n-nde</td>
<td>nde 'the wound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu:-nde</td>
<td>nde 'the city'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-nde</td>
<td>nde 'the name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti:-nde</td>
<td>nde 'the forehead'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with -ndi marker:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class marker</th>
<th>article</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>con-ndi</td>
<td>ndi 'the flour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngs:-ndi</td>
<td>ndi 'the brain'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pi:-ndi  ndi  'the blossom'
ndam-ndi  ndi  'the billy-goat'
njam-ndi  ndi  'the iron'

with -ko marker:
ha:-ko  ko  'the leaf'
hunu-ko  ko  'the mouth'
do:-ko  ko  'the plant'
(a kind of plant)

-ndu class marker:
son-ndu  ndu  'the bird'
hin-ndu  ndu  'the wind'
hon-ndu  ndu  'the finger'
woy-ndu  ndu  'the well'
ban-ndu  ndu  'the body'

-ngu class marker:
du:ngu  ngu  'the raining season'
bow-ngu  ngu  'the mosquito'
ngil-ngu  ngu  'the worm'
lin-ngu  ngu  'the fish'
ndulu-ngu  ngu  'the wild pig'
-ngo class marker:

ju:ngo  ngo  'the arm'
feda:-ngo  ngo  'the nail'
fe1:ngo  ngo  'the water pot'

-ngal class marker:

pa:w-ngal  ngal  'the sickness'
 dem-ngal  ngal  'the tongue'

-ngol class marker:

jay-ngol  ngol  'the fire'
kon-ngol  ngol  'the word'
ja:-ngol  ngol  'the chillness'
gon-ngol  ngol  'the tear'
doy-ngol  ngol  'the sleep'

Plural:

With di class marker:

cu:di  di  'the rooms'
cal-di  di  'the branches'
ba:-di  di  'the monkeys'
en-di  di  'the breasts'

With de class markers:

ju:de  de  'the arms'
II.4.1.2 Case where the definite article and the class marker are not identical:

For the definite articles which do not resemble the suffixed class markers, we may consider the following rule:

\[
\text{Article} \rightarrow \{ \text{mb}, \text{n}, \text{ng}, \text{nd}, \text{d}, \text{k} \} + \text{cl.m.}
\]

Examples:

- mbabba  \textit{mba}  \textit{'the donkey'}
- no:da  \textit{mba}  \textit{'the crocodile'}
The article mba = \((mb + clm -a)\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal</th>
<th>Ngal</th>
<th>'the tree'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doygal</td>
<td>Ngal</td>
<td>'the pilar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagge</td>
<td>Nge</td>
<td>'the cow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first and second examples, the article ngal = \((n + clm -gal)\) and in the third example the article nge = \((n + clm -ge)\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Damal</th>
<th>Ngal</th>
<th>'the door'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basal</td>
<td>Ngal</td>
<td>'the sleeping mat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kural</td>
<td>Ngal</td>
<td>'the bullet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datgal</td>
<td>Ngal</td>
<td>'the way'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these examples the definite article ngal = \((ng + clm -al)\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mbooddi</th>
<th>Ndi</th>
<th>'the snake'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nanni</td>
<td>Ndi</td>
<td>'the food, meal'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The article ndi = \((nd + clm -i)\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kosam dam</th>
<th>'the buttermilk'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ndiyam dam</td>
<td>'the water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konjam dam</td>
<td>'the wine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebbam dam</td>
<td>'the oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landam dam</td>
<td>'the salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko:tone de</td>
<td>'the ear rings'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The article dam = \((d + clm -am)\).
The definite article ka = (k ~ + clm.a.)

With nouns having -ri, -re, -ru and -uru as class markers.

All the nouns which can be identified with the help of the above class markers take the definite article nd+V ;V is the same vowel as that of the final vowel of the class markers.

Examples:

botta:ri ndi 'the lunch'
nga:ri ndi 'the bull'
ho:re nde 'the head'
ho:dere nde 'the star'
sawru ndu 'the stick'
wu:duru ndu 'the pumpkin'

Note that considering the morphophonemic changes which occur in the variation of the initial consonants as already noted in the precedent chapters and in which the variation r → d → nd is found, it is felt that the nouns in the examples given above undergo some morphophonemic changes called dissimilation, i.e. in the sense nd ← di ← ri.
Eventhough our rule operates with a large number of nouns, there are cases where it does not operate at all. For instance, the rule does not operate:

- with the definite article o.

The definite article o occurs with nouns having the class marker o. In that case, there is an identity between the article and the class marker (exx: debb o o = 'the woman') as it is the case with the nouns of -ndi, -nde, -ndu, -ngu, -ngo and -ngal class markers and their corresponding definite articles.

But the definite article o occurs also with the following nouns which have -e, -a and Ø as class markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Markers</th>
<th>Definite Articles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ne:ne</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>'the mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba:ba</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>'the father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:w</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>'the uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te:rañ</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>'the axe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asama:n</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>'the sky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamset</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>'the blade'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We shall note that the absence of the definite articles beside the noun, gives to that latter a status of indefinite value. For instance the word /gorko/ without any article beside it, means 'man' in general, viz. in its generic sense, but this term can mean also 'a man', i.e. 'every man'. For example, the following sentence:
/gorko·ko tampat nde hepto/ can be interpreted (man suffer will till he be free) as 'a man/every man should suffer till he becomes free' or 'Man should suffer till he becomes free'.

II.4.2  The demonstratives

We may morphemically define the relation between the demonstrative and the noun as follows:

Demonstrative + Noun stem + \{Class marker \_

\begin{align*}
\text{Singular} \\
\text{plural}
\end{align*}

\text{or}

\begin{align*}
\text{De.} + \text{Nst} + \{ \\
\text{cl·m·} \\
\text{pl} \\
\text{sg}
\end{align*}

Thus, the demonstratives are morphemes which always precede the noun which they accompany. They resemble, by their form, the definite articles which in their turn always follow the noun. And for the sake of clarity we will deal first with the demonstrative singular and then with the demonstrative plural, viz. in a number contrast singular-plural since here also there is an agreement between the demonstrative and the class markers.
II.4.2.1 Singular:

In the singular, we can set up the following rule:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Desg.} & : \quad A \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
mb - \\
m - \\
nd - \\
ng - \\
k - \\
\end{array} \right\} + \bar{v}_1 \text{ of cl.m.} \\
\text{B} \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
m - \\
ng - \\
k - \\
d - \\
\end{array} \right\} + - \text{VC of cl.m.}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

A. mba: mbabba 'this donkey'
    mba: no:da 'this crocodile'
    mba: mbe:wa 'this goat'
    ndi: ndu;laidi 'this lizard'
    ndi: jawdi 'this wealth'
    ndi: nga:ri 'this bull'
    ndi: do:di 'this excrement'
    ngo: holgo 'this sheath'
    ngo: ma:yo 'This sea'
    ngu: nguru 'this skin'
    ngu: puccu 'this horse'
However, as in the case of the definite articles, the demonstrative o: occurs with the following nouns which have the same deviation.

- o: ba:ba 'this father'
- o: ne:ne 'this mother'
- o: ka:w 'this uncle'
- o: asama:n 'this sky'
- o: lamset 'this blade'

B. ngel cukayel 'this child'
ngel cu:rel 'this small room'
ngal leggal 'this tree'
ngol la:wol 'this way'
ngol kondorol 'this threat'
kal ñamal 'this small quantity of food'
kal dihal 'this small quantity of water'
\( \hat{d} \)am ndiyam 'this water'
\( \hat{d} \)am kosam 'this buttermilk'

II.4.2.1 Plural:

In the plural the demonstratives are only three, viz. oː, koŋ and \( \hat{d}V_1 \).

Here also two rules can be set up.

\[ \text{De}_{\text{pl.}} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{A.} & \{ \text{\( \hat{b} \)-} \} + \hat{V}_1 \text{ of cl.m.} \\ \text{B.} & \{ k- \} + -\text{VC of cl.m.} \end{cases} \]
Examples:

A. be: yimbe 'these people'
   be: rewbe 'these women'
   de: pegge 'these rings'
   de: dimale 'these lies'
   'di: liddi 'these fishes'
   di: pucci 'these horses'
   di: kene:li 'these winds'
   di: ba:ba:ji 'these fathers'
   di: ne:ne:ji 'these mothers'
   di: bei 'these goats'

B. koñ cukalon 'these children'
   koñ likkoñ 'these small fishes'

We shall note that the demonstratives do not only show things but also contain a notion of distance.

In Pulaar, when the notion of distance is to be expressed, the morphemes -do, -da and -to are added to the form of the demonstrative.

The morpheme do denotes proximity whereas da and to denote remoteness.

Examples:

   ngu: - do puccu 'this horse here'
   ngu: - da puccu 'that horse'
   ngu: - to puccu 'that horse there'
II.4.3 III. The Possessives

In their rapport with the noun, the possessives can be defined as follows:

Possessive \[ \rightarrow \] Noun + possessive suffix
or
Poss. \[ \rightarrow \] N + pos. suffix

The possessive suffixes are six; each corresponds to one person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person:</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>'my'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person:</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>'your'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person:</td>
<td>-makko</td>
<td>'his'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- ho:re am  'my head'
- galle am  'my house'
- dawa:di am 'my dogs'
- su:du makko 'his room'
- deftere amen 'our book' (exclusive)
II.4.4 IV INTERROGATIVES

Pula:r has two interrogatives hol and ko which function as pronoun as well as adjectives. They always precede the noun or the verb.

hol, grammatically, functions as subject or object for instance:

hol wuro nja:ta: ? 'To which place are you (sg.) going?'

hol ka;lo:wo do? 'Who is speaking here?'

hol ko woni dum , 'what is this?'

ko functions as object

ko nji:da:? 'What did you (sg.) see?'

ko mbi:don 'What did you (pl.) say?'

It appears that Pula:r has one and the same category of elements which function as definite articles, demonstratives and interrogatives.

And there is such a complex interdependency between the noun base and these elements, that the noun system in Pula:r forms a set of noun classes where most of the noun suffixes or class markers are apparently the same that which are being used as the noun determinatives.

1. hol is found to be used in the dialect of Tukulerur. hol does not vary. In the other dialects of Pula:r, the interrogative hol has a variant ho + the noun class marker of the following noun. For instance /ho nde sa:re nja:ta: ?/ 'to which village are you going?'

Note that ho nde = interrogative+class marker -nde.
II.5. THE ADJECTIVES

The adjectives are derived from verbs and come under two categories in different forms depending on whether they are epithet or attribute of the noun which they qualify.

Morphologically the adjectives are derived as follows:

Adjective → Vst. + x - definite article of the qualified noun. + suffix -i

Adjectives → Verb stem + x - definite article of the qn. + i

The verb stem taking the definite article of the qualified noun is called epithet, that taking the suffix -i is called attribute.

II.5.1. The epithet adjectives

They are directly attached to the noun and are characterized by their agreement in number with the substantives which they qualify. Thus, they have number forms.

Examples:

Singular:

1. gorko = mọʃʃɪ - o 'good man'
   (man good)
In these examples, the adjectives are constructed in the following manner:

2. debbbœ bes - o 'beautiful woman'
   (woman beautiful)
3. leggal to:w - ngal 'high tree'
   (tree high)
4. ŋammi mbel - ndi 'nice meal'
   (meal nice)
5. re:du ma:wnu-ndu 'big belly'
   (belly big)

Plural:

6. damule nja: y - de 'wide doors'
   (doors wide)
7. babbi ma:y- di 'dead donkeys'
   (donkeys dead)

In these examples, the adjectives are constructed in the following manner:

meyy6  =  (meyy - ) + ( - o)
   Vst.  def. art. qn.
to:wngal = (to:w - ) + ( - ngal)
   Vst.  def. art. qn.
ma:wndu = (ma:w - ) + ( - ndu)
   Vst.  def. art. qn.
nja:yde = (Yα:y - ) + ( - de )
   Vst.  def. art. qn.
ma:ydi = ( ma:y - ) + ( - di )
   Vst.  def. art. qn.
It is to be noted that when adjectives are used to qualify substantives, the phenomenon of variation of the initial consonant occurs wherever the consonant of a determined adjective is derived from a verb which alters its initial consonant. (see chapter on Variation of the initial consonants in Pulaar.)

In the example 4, the adjective /mbelndi/ 'nice' derived from the verb /welde/ 'to be nice' has its initial consonant $[w -] > [mb -]$

In the example 6, the adjective /nja:yde/ 'wide' derived from the verb /Ya:yde/ 'to be wide' has its initial consonant $[y -] > [nj -]$

However there are adjectives which, when they denote colour weight or some quality, do not have the definite article of the qualified noun in their construction.

example:

ma:di rane:ri 'white wall'
(wall white)

leydi wode:ri 'red sand'
(sand red)

sa:ku teddu:lo 'heavy sack'
(sack heavy)

te:w noldo 'rotten meat'
(meat rotten)
II.5.2  **The attribute adjectives**

They are not directly attached to the noun. There is the coupula /ði/ 'is' between the noun and the adjective. They are formed with the suffix -i and can be morphemically defined as follows:

```
Adj → Vst. + i
```

**Examples:**

- wutte o di weydi -i 'the dress is beautiful'
- mboddi ndi di ma:wn-i 'the snake is growing big'
- mba ngesa di fakk-i 'this field is unclean'
- leggal ngal di to:w-i 'the tree is high'
- ngol la:wol di ju:t -i 'this way is long'
- ba:fe de di njo:r-i 'the leaves are dry'

We shall note that as far as the attribute adjectives are concerned there is no agreement in number between the adjective and the substantive. All the attribute adjectives end in -i without number forms.
II.6. NUMERALS

In the Pula:r language each of the cardinal numbers presents itself to us as a numeral adjective when it is preceded by a substantive. And there are no forms available in Pula:r to denote numeral substantives as it is found in some of the Dravidian Languages as for example Tamil: /iruvar/ = 'two persons' (cf: Caldwell, 1856, 1st Indian edition 1974, p 321).

Parji: okur(i) = 'one man'
irul = 'two men'
muvir = 'three men'
nevir = 'four men'


The distribution numerals (by twos, by threes etc.) and the ordinal numbers (second, third etc.) are formed from the cardinal numbers.

The numerals do not have any alternant form when they are used as simple numbers. example:
/go.o/ 'one'; /didi/ 'two'; /tati/ 'three'; /nayi/ 'four' etc.

II.6.1. Cardinal numerals - numeral adjectives

They are inflected when they qualify a substantive. This inflection consists of an agreement between the nominal form and the numeral adjective. In that case
the numeral adjectives are placed after the noun, and their inflectional suffixes vary according to the suffix of the noun which they determine; and also their initial consonants undergo the rules of the alternation of the initial consonant which characterize the Pulaker Language (Cf: chapter on Variation of the Initial Consonant).

Example:

1. legg-al
go:tal
(tree one)

debb-o
go:t-o
(woman one)

mbabb-a
wo:t-a
(donkey one)

pucc-u
wo:t-u
(horse one)

'one tree'

In these examples the two forms /go:t/ and /wo:t/ of the cardinal number /go.o/ 'one' agree with the different class suffixes of the nouns which they determine.

II.6.1.1. One: go.o
has three allomorphs /go.o/, /go:t/ and /wo:t/.
/go.o/ occurs as a cardinal number.
/go:t/ and /wo:t/ occur as numeral adjectives.

Though the alternation /g-/ /w- initially is a regular phenomenon (see chapter on Variation of the Initial consonant) it appears clearly here that a conditioning rule to explain this change is needed even though
we have failed to set up a satisfying one. However a few examples are given below; they may help in proposing a rule.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Da:kal</th>
<th>Go:tal</th>
<th>'One crow'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gerlal</td>
<td>Go:tal</td>
<td>'One partridge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb:col</td>
<td>Go:tol</td>
<td>'One whip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borowol</td>
<td>Go:tol</td>
<td>'One thread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilbilel</td>
<td>Go:tel</td>
<td>'One sparrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colel</td>
<td>Go:tel</td>
<td>'One bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorko</td>
<td>Go:to</td>
<td>'One man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debo</td>
<td>Go:to</td>
<td>'One woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku:ro</td>
<td>Go:to</td>
<td>'One owl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puccu</td>
<td>Wo:tu</td>
<td>'One horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mba:lu</td>
<td>Wo:tu</td>
<td>'One sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi:wa</td>
<td>Wo:ta</td>
<td>'One elephant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbe:wa</td>
<td>Wo:ta</td>
<td>'One goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wibi:re</td>
<td>Wo:tere</td>
<td>'One hawk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho:re</td>
<td>Wo:tere</td>
<td>'One head'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II.6.1.2. Two: Didi

has an allomorph /did/ when it co-occurs with words denoting human beings, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yimbe</th>
<th>Dido</th>
<th>'Two persons'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worbe</td>
<td>Dido</td>
<td>'Two men'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewbe</td>
<td>Dido</td>
<td>'Two women'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
elsewhere the form /didi/ occurs:

lebbi didi 'two months'
la:bi didi 'two times'
leddo didi 'two trees'
dawa:di didi 'two dogs'

The numerals for three 'teti', four 'nayi' and five 'jowi' follow the same type of variation. For example:

yimbe tato 'three persons'
worbe tato 'three men'
rewbe nayo 'four women'
suka:be nayo 'four young persons'
mawbe njowo 'five old persons'
ranna:be njowo 'five hunters'

but we can only have the following forms:

ta:be tati 'three tables'
ta:be nayi 'four tables'
lebbi tati 'three months'
lebbi jowi 'five months'
dute nayi 'four vultures'
dute jowi 'five vultures'

II.6.1.3. Six: je:go:ö

The initial consonant [j-] of this form is prenasalized, i.e. (j > nj) when the suffix of the noun determined by it is be. Examples:
"row-be" nje:go'o 'six women'
wor-be nje:go'o 'six men'
suka:-be nje:go'o 'six young persons'

but we can only have the following forms:
lebbi je:go'o 'six months'
laba je:go'o 'six times'

/je:go'o/ can be considered as a compound form of
(je: + go'o) i.e. with /go'o/ 'one' as its second member
and /je:/ as its first member. In that case /je:/ may
have been derived from the form /jowi/ 'five'. Therefore
the ancient form of je:go'o might have been.

*jowi-e-go'o < *jowego'o < *joego'o <
jego'o < je:go'o.

Note that the link vowel /-e-/ in the ancient form is
used to mark addition in ?ula:r and means 'plus' repre-
sented + . The form /je:go'o/ seems to share this
feature with the other numerals, namely:

je:didi 'seven' = je: + didi
(five + two)

je:tati 'eight' = je: + tati
(five + three)

je:nayi 'nine' = je: + nayi
(five + four)
II.6.1.4 Ten: Sappo

Unlike the number /je:go·o/ 'six', /sappo/ does not have an allomorph when it accompanies a substantive referring to human beings. It can be said invariably:

Yimbe sappo 'ten persons'
or lebbi sappo 'ten months'

The form /sappo/ becomes /cappande/ when the idea of multiplication is there, as for instance, when multiplied by three, four, five, six, seven, eight or nine. Thus, thirty or (3 x 10) is /cappande tati/ instead of */Sappo tati/ (= ten three). 

fourty: cappande nayi
fifty: cappande jowi
sixty: cappande je:go·o
seventy: cappande je:didi
eighty: cappande je:tati
ninety: cappande je:nayi

II.6.1.5 Twenty: no:gas/
takes the plural suffix -u:ji. Thus /no:gas-u:ji/
means 'twentys, in twentys'.

no:gasu:ji tati 'three twentys'

II.6.2. Ordinal numbers:

Ordinal numerals are not frequently used in Pula:r
However order is expressed by means of the infixes -m-, -a:b-, -w- and -in- (inserted between the root of the
cardinal number and a suffix which resembles that of
the qualified noun.)

II.6.2.1. The infixe -m- occurs with the form denoting
the ordinal number second and sixth.

- m- / ordinal numbers: second and sixth

Examples:

1. la: wol di- -mm-o1 ngol
   (time second the) 'the second time'

debbo di-mm-o o
   (woman second the) 'the second wife'

gleegal di-mm-al ngal
   (tree second the) 'the second tree'

gorko nje:go-m-o o
   (man sixth the) 'the sixth man'

II.6.2.2 The infixes -a6- and -w- occur elsewhere.

- a6- / elsewhere

-w- /

Examples:

puccu nay-a6-u o
   (horse fourth the) 'the fourth horse'

galle tat-a6-o o
   (house third the) 'the third house'

II.6.2.3. The infixe -in- occurs only with the meaning
the... which makes... and in very rare cases.
For instance.
In a sentence:

neddo capp-in-do = 'the person who makes ten' =
(person ten makes which
the tenth person.)

deftere capp-in-nde = 'the book which makes
ten' = the tenth book.

II.7 Derivative Suffixes

In Pula:r all the verbs can take a derivative suffix
which is suffixed to the verb stem.

For instance, in the following form /la:r-oy-de/
/la:r-de/ = 'to see', the morpheme /la:r-/ is the verb
stem, /oy-/ the derivative suffix and /-de/ the infinitive
marker.

The derivative suffix introduces a supplementary notion
in the meaning of the verb, namely an idea of movement in
order to accomplish an action, pretention, repetition,
association, destination, reciprocity, causation, manner
or instrumentality, and simultaneity or opportunity.

The derivative suffixes are: /-oy-/ /-inkin-/ /-in-/ /-t-/ /-du-/ /-an-/ /-ndir-/ /-n-/ /-ru-/ /-ir-/ /-or-/. 

(Subject) - verb stem + derivative suffix + Tense
II.7.1  **MOVEMENT:** \{ -oy- \} /-oy-/ 

(m)  ha:m-oy-at  = (I) will go to eat  
(o)  lo:t-oy-i:  = He/She has gone to wash  
(a)  dar-oy-ino  = (you) sg. had gone to stand  

II.7.2  **Pretention:** \{ -inkin- \} /-inkin-/ 

(omo)  jangng-inkin-o  = (he/she) is pretending to read  
(bo)  ma:y - inkin-ino=  = (they) had pretended to die  
(mido)  dog-inkin-o.  = (I) am pretending to run  

II.7.3  **Causation:** \{ - in - \} /-in/ /-n-/ 

They are used in free variation.  

(koto:ma)  find-in-at-ma = (your elder brother sister) will make you wake up.  

imm-in-be = make them get up  

(ngol lo:col) wull-in-at-ma = (this whip) will make him to cry  

ha:ko ko sur-n-i dum  = the leaves made it to smoke  

(alma:mi o)  jul-n-at-on  = (the priest) will make you to pray pl.  

II.7.4.  **Repetition / Reversion:** \{ -t- \} /-t-/  

They are in free variation.  

(ba:ba)  ar-t-i:  = (father) has come back  

si a hai:t-i: dum...  = (if you .sg.) tell it again...  

mi hof-t-a dum na.?  = shall (I) unfold it?
II.7.5. Association: \{ -du-/ \} /-du-/ (on) ngar-d-i: = (you, pl.) have come together (hommbo:) leb-d-ata,: = with (whom) are you speaking? (min) nja:-d-at SENEGAL = (we) will go together to Senegal (onon) nji:-d-i dum = (you) saw it together pl.

II.7.6 Destination/purpose: \{ -an- \} /-an-/ /-n-/ They are used freely.

(doctor o) wad-an-at-ma lekki = (the doctor) will do some medicine for you (ne:ne makko) ara-n-i:-mo = (his/her mother) has come for him, her. (mido) fe:wn-an-a-ma wutte = (I am) making a dress for you (sg.)

II.7.7. Reciprocity: \{ -ndir- \} /-ndir-/ (be) lippi:-ndir-i: ko mu:si = (they) have beaten each other badly (obe) lo:ti:-ndir-a = (they) are bathing each other. (mbiru:be be:) na nga-ndir-i:no = (the wrestlers) had caught hold of each other.

II.7.8. Instrumental/manner \{ -ru\} /ru-/ /-ir-/ ta:yir-e: labi = cut with a knife (imperative, pl.) (o:ko) ju:nngo nano wind-ir-ta = (he) writes with the left hand. Ṕa:m-ir- se:da se:da = eat slowly slowly (on) be tir-at sa:ku o = (you) pl) will measure with the bag.
II.7.9 Simultaneity / opportunity { -or- } /-or-/

(yah-or-i do:n) = (he) went at the same time
(bira (ado) yar-or-a) = (you (sg.) are milking and drinking at the same time

(nul-or-i-mo) = (his uncle) took the opportunity to send him

(utt-or-at-mo) = (I) will take the opportunity and kick him.

These derivative suffixes are the more common in use in Pular. A few more are found according to the different dialects but they are of less importance.

The suffix /oy-/ indicates a movement which can be imagined in the space ('distantive', D.W. Arnott) or in the time. For instance the morpheme /def-oy-de/ = 'to go to cook' means to move from one place to another in order to accomplish an action, but with a prevalent idea of distance. If understood with a prevalent notion of time, this means to go to cook because it is time to do it or because it is a task to be done at the present moment.

The suffix /-ir-/ indicates an association with an object or a determined place. For example:

(fud-ir-a fudna:nge) = (the sun) rises in the east.

(mut-ir-a hirna:nge) = the sun sets in the west.
The system of derivation by suffixion places the Pulaar language among the richest languages of Africa because from any verb it can be derived more than ten other verbs slightly different in their meaning.

For example from the verb /la:r-de/ = 'to see, look' we have:

- la:r-oy-de/ = 'to go to see' (movement)
- la:r-inkin-a:de/ = 'to pretend to see' (pretention)
- la:r-in-de/ = 'to make to see' (causation)
- la:r-nu-de/ = 'to see with somebody' (association)
- la:r-du-de = 'to see with something for somebody' (destination)
- la:r-an-de = 'to see something for somebody' (destination)
- la:r-ir-de = 'to see with' (instrumental)
- la:r-or-de = 'to take the opportunity to see' (opportunity)
- la:r-tu-de = 'to see again' (repetition)

II.8. Adverbs

Adverbs are unchangeable words with an adverbial meaning and usually occur before the verb they modify.

In Pulaar, adverbs can be said to be those particles or forms which cannot take either case suffixes or tense suffixes. They can occur freely in a sentence, with a noun or with a verb; they function as modifier of time, place, manner etc.
11.8.1 a) modifier of time

now / soon: \{jo:ni\} /jo:ni/
exx: jo:do jo:ni mi ara 'Please be seated I will come soon'
(be seated soon I come)
af jo:ni 'come soon'
(come soon)

then/at that time: \{ontuma\} /ontuma/
exx: Yah ontuma ngara 'go then come'
(go then come)

often: \{se:dakala\} /se:dakala/
exx: obe ngara se:dakala 'they are coming often'
(they are coming often)
again: \{kadi\} /kadi/
exx: ado yaha kadi 'again you are going!'
(you are going again)

still: \{ha:jo:ni\} /ha:jo:ni/
exx: ha:jo:ni ado ja nga 'You are still studying!'
(still your are studying)

Remark: All these adverbs, modifier of time can be placed invariably before or after the verb. Their place depends whether the emotion is stressed on the action or on the adverb itself.
II.8.2. b) modifier of place

here: \( \{ \text{do} \} /\text{do}/ \)

exx: jo:do do 'sit here'
(sit here)

there: \( \{ \text{to} \} /\text{to}/ \)

exx: yah to 'go there'
(go there)

inside: \( \{ \text{nde:r} \} /\text{nde:r}/ \)

exx: nde:r galle o 'inside the house'

outside: \( \{ \text{ya:s} \} /\text{ya:s}/ \)

exx: njahe: to ya:s 'please go outside'
(go outside)

under: \( \{ \text{le:s} \} /\text{le:s}/ \)

exx: la:r he le:s ta:bal he: 'look under the table'
(look under the table)

II.8.3. c) modifier of manner

slowly: \( \{ \text{se:se} \} /\text{se:se}/ \)

exx: ya:ru se:se 'go slowly'
(go slowly)

II.8.4. d) modifier of quantity

little bit: \( \{ \text{cetti} \} /\text{cetti}/ \)

exx: okoram cetti 'give me a little bit'
(give me a little bit)

much, very: \( \{ \text{a bete} \} /\text{a bete}/ \)
Remark: The adverbs modifier of place, manner and quantity are always placed after the verb.

II.9. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections usually express strong feelings, such as pain, pleasure, surprise or some other emotion. In Pulaar, the interjections can be grouped as it follows:

II.9.1 a) attention getters: \{hey\} /hey/ /he:/

Exx:

hey, ngarde:ga:na : 'look here, come this side!

he: kette:na : 'look here, listen please!'

II.9.2. b) surprise: \{ha\} /ha/

Exx:

ko do o jo:di:do' o ma:yi 'He died where he was sitting'

- ha ! 'What do you say !'

II.9.3 c) joy and admiration expressives:

\{a:h\} /a:h/ /wai:/

They are used freely.

Exx:

a:h, mi ña:mi : mi ha:ri : 'ah, I have satisfied my hunger!'

wai:, ja:ng ko ju:le! 'oh, oh, tomorrow is free!' wai: Bingel dari:ma! 'oh, oh, the baby can stand up!'
II.9.4. d) regret or sorrow expressives: \{ a:goram \}
\(/a:goram/\sim /wai:goram/\sim /deisa:n/

They can be used in free variation.

exx: wai:goram ho:ssbe ko:ti: 'oh, oh! the foreigners have gone back to their country.
-cukalel ngel wonti: bo:fo. 'The child is now an orphan'
-ndeisa:n: 'oh, what a pity!

II.9.5 e) approval expressives: \{ aha: \}/aha:\sim
\(/ha:\sim /eoyo/\)

They are in free variation.

exx: alla ko mawdó. 'God is great'
- aha: 'oh yes!'
-jom su:duma: ? 'Your husband?'
-eoyo 'yes'

II.9.6. f) disgust expressives: \{ camm \}/camm/

exx: camm, do fof na lu:ba 'it is all bad smells here!' some other interjections may be found in the Pulaar language but they are of less importance since they are less employed in the current speech.
II.10. VERB

II.10.1. The infinitive

In Pula:r the infinitive is a verbal noun. For instance, the following lexemes /na:m-de/ mean 'to eat, eating' /yi:-de/ 'to see, seeing'.

H. Labouret wrote regarding the infinitive in Pula:r that: '... the infinitive is at the same time noun and verb...' (H. Labouret, XVI, 1952:83).

He added, quoting Gaden, that 'the infinitive is, if we prefer so, a verbal noun'.

Labouret went on arguing that the infinitive form and the noun enter in the same set of noun classes, and that the verbal noun, treated in a sentence as a noun, behaves as a verb because its initial consonant in the plural undergoes the same rules of variation as that of the verbal forms.

Labouret's statement is, as far as distribution is concerned, somewhat narrow in the sense he does not make any distinction between the verbal noun or infinitive and the verbal derivative which has rather the tendency of being a noun.

Now, eventhough the verbal noun in Pula:r occurs as subject,
ligg-a:de  di moxyi 'working is good'
ho:r-de  tampinat 'fasting will fatigue'
it cannot either have a class marker or be accompanied by any adjective.
Only the verbal derivative fulfils these conditions, hence has a status of a noun.
That means that if the infinitive or verbal noun is a noun, it can occur syntactically as subject, have a class marker and be accompanied by adjectives, numerals and demonstratives, in one hand.
If it is a verb, then the infinitive can take an object, be modified by an adverb, and undergo the same rules of variation as the verbal forms. The verbal derivative is also called substantive derived from verb and has all the qualities of a noun.
For instance, the corresponding verbal derivatives of the examples given above are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal derivatives</th>
<th>Infinitive or verbal noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ligge 'work'</td>
<td>/ligg-a:de/ 'to work; working'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko:rka 'fast'</td>
<td>/ho:r-de/ 'to fast; fasting'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lexemes /ligge/ and /ko:rka/ can occur as subject, have a class marker /-e/ and /-a/ and can also be accompanied by adjectives:

ligg.-e  mu:sáf-e   = 'painful work'
(work painful)
de: ligg-e mbar-at = 'this work will kill'
(this work kill will)

Hence, as we can note, it is rather the verbal derivative
which is a full noun, and not the verbal noun as pointed
out by Labouret.

However, his statement is exact when he noted that, consi-
dered as a noun in a sentence, the verbal noun undergoes
the same rules of variation as the verbal forms. For eg.
the lexeme /ha:l-de/ means to speak; speaking. Conjugated
in the past, at the 1st person singular and plural, it is
realised as:

- 1st person sg.: /mi ha:l-i/ 'I spoke'
  ('I spoke')
- 1st person pl: /en ka:l-i/ 'We spoke'
  (we spoke)

Here, the alternation [h-] / [k-] occurs according to
the rules of variation undergone by the verbal forms
(see chapter on the variation of the initial consonant).
Similarly, considered as a noun, the verbal noun or infi-
nitive ( /ha:l-de/) used in a sentence, undergoes the
same alternation in its initial consonant.

/mi ha:l-de go:nga o weli: ɓe/
(me speaking truth the has pleased them)
/en ka:l-de go:nga' o weli: ɓe/
(we speaking truth the has pleased them)
We may conclude that the verbal noun, having the ability of functioning as a noun (it can occur as a subject) and at the same time being able to occur as a verb (it takes an object, can be modified by an adverb and undergoes the same rules of variation than the verbal forms), deserves to be named verbal noun.

It is formed by the suffixes of the conjugational class I and II. All the Pulaar infinitives or verbal nouns have either the infinitive marker /-de/ or /-a:de/.

Examples:

- ma:-de = 'to build'; building
- yim-de = 'to sing'; singing
- windu-de = 'to write'; writing
- uddu-de = 'to close'; closing
- imm-a:de = 'to get up'; getting up
- sal-a:de = 'to refuse'; refusing

The Pulaar verbs can thus be classified on the basis of these suffixes into conjugational class I (verbs occurring with suffix /-de/) and conjugational class II (verbs occurring with suffix /-a:de/).

II.10.2 TENSES

There are three tenses in Pulaar: present, past and future.

The present tense has two allomorphs which are in fact
a discontinuous morpheme, i.e. /-do-a~φ/~/-do-o~φ/.
The past tense suffix is \{ -i / /-i: /~ /-i:no/ ~ /~ /-(a)t/~/-(o)to/ - \}.

II.10.2.1 Present tense:

The present tense, in the affirmative form, is formed, as it appears in the verb complex\(^1\), in the following way:

Present \[ \rightarrow \text{personal pronoun} + \text{suffix}_1 + \text{verb stem} + \text{suffix}_2 \]

or

Present \[ \rightarrow P \rightarrow \text{pp} + S_1 + \text{Vst.} + S_2 \]

examples:

1. mi - do \[ \tilde{\text{n}}a : m - a \]
   \[ \begin{array}{c}
   \text{pp} \\
   \text{s}_1 \\
   \text{Vst.} \\
   \text{s}_2 \\
   \text{I am eat}
   \end{array} \]
   \[ \text{ing} \]

2. mi - do \[ \text{imm - o} \]
   \[ \begin{array}{c}
   \text{pp} \\
   \text{s}_1 \\
   \text{Vst.} \\
   \text{s}_2 \\
   \text{I am gett ing up}
   \end{array} \]

---

1. By verb complex it is meant the stretch of speech which contains a pronoun and following verb, together with any other elements occurring between the two, or occurring after the verb.
3. mi - Q andu - Q
    I    I
    pp  Vst.
    I    Know

Suffix \( S_1 \) is composed by the morphemes:

( - do) in the 1st and 2nd person singular
( - mo) in the 3rd person singular
( - en) in the 1st person plural
( - on) in the 2nd person plural
( - be) in the 3rd person plural.

Examples:

mi-do  la:r-a 'I am looking at'
a-do   la:r-a 'You (Sg.) are looking at'
o-mo   la:r-a 'He, she, it is looking at'
en-on  la:r-a 'We (incl.) are looking at'
on-on  la:r-a 'you (pl.) are looking at'
o-be   la:r-a 'They are looking at'

Suffix \( S_2 \) (\( S_2 \)) is composed by two suffixes -a and -o, which can be considered as formats.

- a occurs with the conjugational class I, i.e. those verbs which take the infinitive marker /-de/.
- o occurs with the conjugational class II, i.e. those which take the infinitive marker /-a:de/.
Examples:

- mi-dɔ ha:l-a 'I am speaking'
- mi-dɔ ar-a 'I am coming'
- mi-dɔ lo:t-o 'I am bathing'
- mi-dɔ da:n-o 'I am sleeping'

II.10.2.2. Future Tense:

The future tense is formed by adding the suffix -(a)t to the stem of verbs of class I and -(o)to to that of verbs of class II.

Note that the suffixes /-(a)t /and /-(o)to/ incorporate the formats /-a/ and /-o/.

The structure of the future tense is:

\[ \text{Future} \rightarrow \text{personal pronoun} + \text{verb stem} + \text{tense suffix} \]

or \[ F \rightarrow pp + Vst. + Ts. \]

Examples:

1. 0 Yah - (a)t 'He, she, it will go'
   (He, she, it go will)

2. be ngar -(a)t 'They will come'
   (They come will)

3. on kul -(a)t 'You (pl.) will fear'
   (You pl. fear will)

4. a imm -(o)to 'You (sg.) will get up'
   (You sg. get up will)
5. en ndar -(o)\to 'we will stop'
   (We incl. stop will)

6. mi wa:l -(o)\to 'I will lie down'
   (I lie down will)

II.10.2.3. Past tense:
There are three kinds of past, namely simple past, present perfect and pluperfect. Each is denoted by a separate suffix.

The structure of the past tense is as follows:

\[
\text{Past} \rightarrow \text{personal pronoun} + \text{verb stem} + \text{tense suffix}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
P & \rightarrow \text{pp} + \text{Vst.} + \text{Ts.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

II.10.2.3.1 Simple past: \{\(-i\) \}/-i/-i;\}

- -i occurs with verbs of class I
- -i: occurs with those of class II.

Examples:
1. ne\ddo o ar-i 'The person came'
   (person the came)

2. o ha:l-i 'He, she, it spoke'
   (He, she, it spoke)

3. be ña:m -i 'They ate'
   (They ate)

4. de\ddo o wull -i 'The woman wept'
   (woman the wept)
5. mbaro:di ndi ‘imm-i: 'The lion got up'
(lion the get up)
6. be jo:d - i: 'They sat'
(They sat)
7. mi rutt-i: 'I returned'
(I returned)
8. on cal-i:
(You pl. refused 'You (pl.) refused'

II.0.2.3.2 Present perfect: {-i:} /-i: /
Verbs form their present perfect by adding the suffix -i: to the stem.
Examples:
1. a ~na: m - i: 'You (sg.) have eaten'
   (You sg. have eaten)
2. o egg-i: 'He, she, it has shifted'
   (He, she, it has shifted)
3. mi wa:l-i: 'I have lied down'
   (I have lied down)
4. en ndar - i: 'we (incl.) have stopped'
   (we incl. have stopped)

II.10.2.3.3. Pluperfect: {-ino} /-i:no/~/-ino/
-i:no occurs with verbs of class I
-ino elsewhere.
Examples:
1. dog-i:no '(subject) had run' (« dog-de 'to run')
2. ar-i:no '(subject) had come' (« ar-de 'to come')
3. wind-i:no '(subject) had written (' windu-de 'to write')
4. dar-ino '(subject) had stopped' (« dar-a:de 'to stop')
5. all-ino '(subject) had hurt' (« all-a:de 'to hurt')

Verbs do not take personal inflexions but they undergo the rules of variation of the initial consonants as already noted in the chapters on 'Infinitive' and 'Variation of the initial consonants'.

Only the personal pronouns mark the persons.

II.11. Negative suffixes:
The structure of the negative conjugation is as follows:

```
Neg. → Stem + Tense + Negative suffix
```

There are four negative suffixes, viz - a:ni, -a:ki, -a: and -a:ko. They occur after all stems.

Of these the first two are common to express negation in both the present negative and the past negative tense.
The last two suffixes are the future negative tense formatives.

So, the former, i.e. the present and past negative are called non-future tense negative and the latter the future tense negative.
II.11.1. Non-future negative: \{-a:ni\} /-a:ni/ /-a:ki/
- a:ni occurs in verbs of class I
- a:ki in verbs of class II

The structure of the non-future negative tense is:

\[
\text{Stem} + \text{Formative} + \text{Future tense} + \text{Negative suffix}
\]

Examples:

i/

ha:l - a:ni 'do/does/did not speak' (ha:l-de)

hul - a:ni 'do/does/did not fear' (hul-de)

ii/

imm-a:ki 'do/does/did not get up' (imm-a:ko)

wa:l-a:ki 'do/does/did not lie down' (wa:l-a:ko)

II.11.2. Future negative: \{-a\} /-a:/ /-a:ko/

- a: occurs in verbs belonging to class I
- a:ko in verbs which belong to class II. These are the suffixes of the future negative. Moreover the formative a (in verbs of class I) and o (in verbs of class II) are found to occur.

The structure of the future negative tense is:

\[
\text{Stem} + \text{Formative} + \text{Future tense} + \text{Negative suffix}
\]
Examples:

i/  
annu - a - t - a:  'will not know'
jad - a - t - a:  'will not wait'

yi - a - t - a:  'will not see'

ii/  
wa:1-o-t-a:ko  'will not lie down'
dar-o-t-a:ko  'will not stand up'
abb-o-t-a:ko  'will not follow'

Note that there are no personal suffixes in Pula:r. The non-finite forms are also not found in this language.

II.12. Imperative

In the imperative there is number contrast. Therefore there are two kinds of imperatives, namely

- imperative singular (Imp. sg.)
- imperative plural (Imp. pl.)

II.12.1. 1/ Imperative singular

Verb stem + Imperative singular

Vst. + Imp. sg.

Imp. sg. \{ q \}  / q / ~ / o /

/ q / occurs in the verb belonging to class T
/ o / elsewhere
Examples:

i/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Imperative plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā:m</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am</td>
<td>'dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya:h</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubbu</td>
<td>'burry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fittu</td>
<td>'sweep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fembu</td>
<td>'shave'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II.12.2.2. Imperative plural:

Verb stem + Imperative plural

Vst. + Imp. pl.

Imp. pl. { e: /c:/

All the verbs have e: in the imperative plural.

Examples:

i/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Imperative plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā:m</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngam</td>
<td>'dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngar</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitt</td>
<td>'sweep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pemb</td>
<td>'shave'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table below will show clearly the imperative as it is formed in the Pulaar Language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of verbs</th>
<th>Infinitive marker</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Personal suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I group or conjugational class I</td>
<td>-de</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II group or conjugational class II</td>
<td>-a:de</td>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td>-e:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion:

Pula:r is an agglutinative Language. Pula:r nouns present themselves as forms which occur in association with noun class suffixes. Morphologically, the category of gender, case declensions, personal terminations and non-finite forms of the verb are not found in Pula:r.

However Pula:r belongs to the richest languages of Africa because from any of its verbs it can be derived over ten other forms slightly varying in meaning making the notions clear and more precise.
Part II

DRAVIDIAN
III. THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

III.1 Introduction:

The Dravidian family of languages was recognized as forming an interrelated linguistic group at least as early as 1816 by Francis W. Ellis of the 'East India Company' in his 'Note to the Introduction of A.D. Campbell's Grammar of the Telugu Language'.

But the Dravidian Languages had been noticed and studied by Western writers long before. For instance, the first and one of the most important western grammars of the Tamil Language is that of B. Ziegenbalg, namely, 'Grammatica Damulica, Halae Saxonum, 1716. As far as the non-literary languages are concerned, Kodagu and Tulu were known in 1798; Toda was noticed in 1837, Brahui in 1838 and Gondi in 1849.

Kolami was recognized in 1866, Malto in 1884.

Konda and Gadaba were discovered in 1956; Naiki and Pengo were brought to notice in 1957-58; Naiki of Chanda in 1964. The list is long and comprises, among other languages Kasaba, Kurumba, Irula and Manda, all spoken by minor nationalities and tribes.

However it was R. Caldwell who, in 1856, founded the Dravidian Linguistics by writing 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages.'
Actually, four of the literary Dravidian Languages belong to the official languages of India, namely Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu. Tamil is one which is the most well known and has over forty millions speakers all over the world. It enjoys the greatest geographical extension (Sri Lanka, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, Indo-china, Central and South Africa, Guyana, Fiji Mauritius, Reunion, Madagascar, Trinidad and Martinique); has a rich and very ancient literature (Tamil counts about eighteen centuries of old literature), and has a phonological system which corresponds rather closely to the parent Proto-Dravidian.

The Question of the etymology and the meaning of the word Tamil has raised many controversies. The dictionaries give to the word Tamil the meaning of smoothness and quality. A few scholars like Julien Vinson (France) have suscribed to that meaning since they compare the word /tamil/ with other words like /tama/ which means 'to calm, fill' and /tami/ 'to be alone, to isolate'. These words, they say, contain a notion of weakness and smoothness which can very well be applied to the Tamil language.

However some Sanskrit philologists think that Tamil is nothing more than an adaptation of the Sanscrit term /draviḍa/ (a generic appellation for the South Indian peoples and their languages. But, the native grammarians have rejected that etymology not only because they coul
not accept that their language did not have any original and authentic name but also because to derive /tamil/ < /dravi4a/ seems really a complicated operation, and even the phonetic alternations appear to be unlikely.

Tamil is characterized by a number of classical works:

Tolaka:ppiyam, a grammatical work of the beginning of the Christian era. Tolka:ppiyam was followed by other Tamil grammers, the most important being Nannul (13th century). It is to be mentioned also:

- The poems of Tiruvalluvar, 'Tirukkural' (? century)
- Ilango, 'Shilappadhiharam' (2nd century)
- Sattanar, 'Manimehalai' (4th century)
- Tiruttakkadevar, 'Jiavahasindamani' (9th century)
- Kambar, 'Ramayanam' (10th century)

Two forms of the Tamil Language, viz. the literary and the colloquial have been attested from the earliest time.

Literary Tamil is the modern literary language, i.e., the language of newspapers, magazines, fiction, letters and classical Tamil (poetry). Colloquial Tamil is the modern national language of the Tamils who understand it wherever they might live. Colloquial Tamil is not condi­fied; it has neither a conventional system of writing nor a canonized grammar.
Its phonetic and morphological norms differ widely from those of the literary language. Colloquial Tamil is the only means of oral communication.

Malayalam is the native language of the people of Kerala. It developed from an old Tamil dialect in the 10th-13th century A.D and separated from Tamil in the 8th - 10th century.

The first major work in Malayalam is 'Ramacharitam', a poetical work of the 12th century. The first prose work 'Bhāṣaṃkāntiṣaḷaiyam' is written between AD 1150-1250.

Malayalam literature has had a deep influence from Tamil and Sanskrit. The most outstanding example of Tamil influence is the famous work 'Ramacharitam'. The subject dealt with is Yuddhakanda of Ramayana and is written by one Chiraman in a language which is a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam.

Moreover the influence of Sanskrit on the native language of Kerala was so dominant that it produced a peculiar variety of Literary dialect called 'manipravalam'. However, the earliest forms of Malayalam literature were found in the folksongs and Ballads (11th century AD).

A collection of those Folksongs entitled, 'Pazhaya Pattukal' has been published recently by C.P. Govinda Pillai.
It is to be noted that until recently Malayalam literature was heavily under Sanskrit influence.

Malayalam has three distinct territorial dialects, viz., south Kerala, Central Kerala and North Kerala.

The number of its speakers is about twenty two millions (21917430: 1971 census). But the number of native speakers of Malayalam is well over twenty four millions.

Kannada is spoken in the State of Mysore (Karnataka). Kannada is documented from the Middle of the 5th century AD. Its first major written monument, 'Kavirajamarga', was discovered in the 9th century. The oldest literary monuments in Kannada are attributed to the poet Pampa who wrote 'Adipurana' and 'Vikrama Vijaya' (10th century).

The oldest grammar of Kannada is 'Karnataka Bhashabhushana' by Nagavarma. It was written in the Sanskrit sutras and dated 12th century. But the first grammar of Kannada written in that language was 'Shabdamanidarpana' by Keshiraja in the 13th century.

In Kannada also there is a dichotomy between the literary dialect and colloquial Kannada. There are also three major regional dialects: Dharwar, Bangalore and Mangalore.
The number of Kannada speakers is over eighteen millions (17415827).

Telugu is one of the major languages belonging to the Dravidian speech family spoken in Andhra Pradesh by over 37642439 speakers. The word Telugu has been connected with the name of the tribe of people called Telingas who must have inhabited this part of the Telugu country centuries ago.

The earliest extant literary work belongs to the 11th century A.D. But the first prose work written in a purely spoken form of the language is 'Ra:yave:cekamu' in the 16th century. However it is to be noted that there were primarily two schools of grammars in Telugu: The Telugu school and the Sanskrit School. In the former the grammars are written in Telugu verse and contain a cursory treatment of grammar along with prosody and poetics. The first work in this line is 'A:ndhra bha:sa: Bhu:sa:na:mu' by Ke:tana in the 13th century. Then followed a series of grammars, namely:

- 'SarvalakṣanaSiro:mani' by Ganapavarupu Venkata Kave (17th century)
- 'SarvalakṣanaSa:ra Sangrahamu' by Kur:cinanci Timmakavi (18th century)
In the second, the grammars are written in the tradition of Andhra, "Sabdha Cintamani." They adopt the sūtra style as in Sanskrit. Among the works in this line there are:

- 'Andhra Kaumudi' by Manda Lakshmi: Narasimha Kavi (17th C)
- 'Bala jakie:karana:mu' by Paravatsu Cinnaya Su:ri (19th C.)

Telugu has a dichotomy between the written language based on the usage of the Kavitraya (the three classical poets of Andhramaha:bharata) and a sort of colloquial standard, the dialect of the cultured middle class people.

There are distinct local and regional dialects as for instance the Telangana (north-west), the dialects of the coastal region (Visakhapatnam and Sri:ka:kulam) and the dialect of Ra:layasi:ma (South-West).

Lexicostatistic studies have shown that the disintegration of the Proto-Dravidian parent speech and the separation of South Dravidian have taken place well before the 15th century B.C.

It is Andronov who has suggested, on the basis of lexicostatistic count, that the beginnings of the disintegration of PDr. are to be sought in the separation of Brahui which seems to have taken place in the beginning of the 4th Millenium B.C (cf: M. Andronov, 'Lexicostatistic Analysis of the Chronology of Disintegration of Proto-Dravidian', IIJ 7, 2-3 (1964) pp.170-186).
The separation Kurux - Malto became final sometime in the middle of the 3rd millennium BC. The separation of Kurux from Malto dates to the 6th century A.D.

Kolami and Parji became separate languages at the turn of the Christian era.

Telugu broke off in the 11th-9th centuries B.C. and was followed by Tulu a few centuries later.

The South Dravidian language disintegrated only at the beginning of A.D., when Kannada separated from Tamil.

Malayalam emerged from a mediaval Tamil dialect in the 10th-13th centuries A.D.

Genetic affiliations inside the Dravidian linguistic system are still to be clarified. Many classifications of the Dravidian Language have been proposed. However, the modern conception of the relationships between the dravidian languages is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.Dr</th>
<th>CDr.</th>
<th>NDr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>Kurux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>Kui</td>
<td>Malto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toda</td>
<td>Kuvi</td>
<td>Brahui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kota</td>
<td>Kolami</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>Naiki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodagu</td>
<td>Parji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu</td>
<td>Gadaba</td>
<td>Gondi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To the SDr. group of languages should be added Irula, Kasaba and Kurumba.

Attempts have been made to connect the Dravidian Languages with many language families of the world, namely African, Korean, Basque and number of other languages.

As far as the nature of this work is concerned, it does not claim to be either a detailed enough or a complete descriptive grammar of the Dravidian Languages since our perspective is to give general and characteristic grammatical aspects of these languages in view of their comparison with African languages, particularly with Pula:r, and also to give to African scholars interested in Dravidian linguistics but not familiar with it, a point of departure for further research. Thus, this 'grammar' will deal with Phonology and Morphology.

Gender-number, Pronouns, Adjectives, Numerals, Inflectional increments, Case declensions, Transitive and Causative suffixes, Past and Non-past suffixes, Pronominal and Infinitive suffixes.

A few characteristic phonetic features of the languages will be discussed, namely the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, the dental and alveolar nasals and the initial plosives.
III.2. Phonemic Inventory:

II.2.1 Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
<td>Rounded</td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>iːː</td>
<td>Uːː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>eːː</td>
<td>Oːː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>aːː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are ten vowels in the Dravidian Languages: five short vowels to which correspond five long vowels. They are represented above in Chart 1.

III.2.1.1 Vowels distribution:

/i/ (· i) : a high front unrounded short vowel, occurs in the initial and medial positions.
/*i/ corresponds to /i/ in all the languages, except that Toda has /i/ or /iː/. It corresponds also to /e/ in CDr. and NDr. in some cases.

Examples:

i-

Ta. itu 'to place, put'
Na. ituka id
Ko. id- 'to place'
To. id- 'to put, place'
Ka. idu 'to let go, put, place'
Kod. id 'to drop'
Tu. idpini 'to place'
Te. idu 'id'

-i-

Ta. tin 'to eat, etc'
Na. tinnuka 'to eat'
Ko. tin id
To. tin- "
Ka. tin "
Kod. tinn- "
Tu. tinpini "
Te. tinu "

-i-

Ta. puli 'to turn sour, etc'
Ma. puli 'sourness'
// i:/ ( *i: ) : a high front unrounded long vowel, occurs in all the languages in the initial, medial and final positions.

Examples:

i:-

Ta.  i:n  'to bear, bring forth'
To.  i'nm  'to bear (calf)'
Ko.  i'nm  '(animal) bears young'
Ka.  i:n  'to bear young'
Te.  i:nu  'to calve'
Pa.  i:n-  'grain) produces head'
Kond  i:nd-  '(animal) to bring forth'

-i:-

Ta.  mi:n  'fish'
Ma.  mi:n  id
Ko.  mi:n  "
To.  mi:n  "
Ka.  mi:n  "
Kod.  mi:nu  "
Tu.  mi:nu  "
Te.  mi:nu        id
Ta.  pi:          'excrement'
Ma.  pi:          'human ordure'
Ko.  pi:          id
Ka.  pi:          "
Tu.  pi:          "
Te.  pi:yi        "
Kol.  pi:ya       "

/u/ ( *u* ): a high rounded back short vowel, occurs in
the initial medial and final position.

/*u/ corresponds to /u/ in all languages except Tu.
which often has /wi/ and /wa/ besides the most frequent
/u/.

Examples:

u-

Ta.  un          'to eat, etc.'
Ma.  unnaka      id
Ko.  un-         'to drink, suck'
To.  un-         'to drink'
Ka.  un          'to eat'
Kod  unn-        'to eat a meal'
Tu.  unpini      'to take one's meal'
Te.  u:tu        '(cattle) to drink water'
Kol.  un-        'to drink'
-u-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>Kuttu</td>
<td>'to puncture, pierce, dig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>Kuttuka</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>Kut-</td>
<td>'to pierce, sew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>kut</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>kutt-</td>
<td>'to thrust, gore'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>Kuttuni</td>
<td>'to bore, pierce'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* /u:/ ( *u: *) : a high roundedback long vowel, occurs initially and medially.

/*u:/ corresponds to /u:/ in all languages.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>u:r</td>
<td>'village, town, city'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>u:r</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>u:r</td>
<td>'village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>u:r</td>
<td>'Village of Tamils'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>u:r</td>
<td>'village, town'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>u:ri</td>
<td>'village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>u:ru</td>
<td>'village, town'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/e/ ( *e): a mid front half close short vowel, occurs initially medially.

/*e/ represents a correspondence in which all the languages have /e/ except that To. often has /ə/; Pa. sometimes has /a/; and some of the other languages sometimes have /*a/; Br. has either /i/ or /a/.

Examples:
e-

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>nu:l</td>
<td>'yarn, thread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>nu:l</td>
<td>'thread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>nu'i</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>nu'i</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>nu:l</td>
<td>'thread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>nu:lu</td>
<td>'to spin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>nu:lu</td>
<td>'cotton thread'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ta.  eli  'rat'
Ma.  eli  id
To.  isy  "
Ko.  eyj  "
Ka.  eli  "
Kod. eli  "
Tu.  eli  "
Te.  eluka  "
Br.  hal  "

nu:l
- 145 -

/e:/ ( *e:) : a mid front half close long vowel, occurs in the initial and medial position.

/*e:/ corresponds to /e:/, except that To. often has /ɔ/ and Pa. sometimes has /a:/

Examples:

| e:- | Ta. | e:ru | 'to rise, ascend, etc.' |
|     | Ma. | eiruka | id |
|     | Ko. | e:r | 'up' |
|     | To. | ɔ:r- | 'to rise high' |
|     | Ka. | e:ru | 'to rise' |
|     | Kod. | e:r- | '(liquor) rises to head' |
|     | Tu. | e:runi | 'to ascend' |
|     | Te. | e:tamu | 'piccottah' |
/o/ ( *o): a mid rounded back short vowel, occurs in the initial and medial position.

/*o/ corresponds to /o/ in all the languages except that To. has /wa/, /wi/, /o/, /i/ and Br. sometimes has /o/, /u/, or /a/.

Examples:

-o-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>oli</td>
<td>'to hide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>oli</td>
<td>'concealment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>oyl-</td>
<td>'to hide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>wily</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>olavu</td>
<td>'secret'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>oly-</td>
<td>'to hide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>ola</td>
<td>'secret'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>olavu</td>
<td>'a secret'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>totu</td>
<td>'to touch, be connected'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>totuka</td>
<td>'to touch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>tot</td>
<td>'handle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>twad.</td>
<td>'to be polluted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>todu</td>
<td>'to join'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>tod-</td>
<td>'to touch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>tottuni</td>
<td>'to embrace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>tottu</td>
<td>'to touch'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[o:/ ( *o:); a mid rounded back long vowel, occurs initially and medially.\]

\[*o:/ corresponds to /o:/ in all the languages except that To. often has /wa:/, /wi:/ and /i:/.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>o:tu</td>
<td>'to run'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>o:tuka</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>o:r-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>wid-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>o:du</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>o:d-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>o:duni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>o:du</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>toːl</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>toːl</td>
<td>'bark, rind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>toːl</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>twis</td>
<td>'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>toːlu</td>
<td>'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>toːlI</td>
<td>'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>toːlu</td>
<td>'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe.</td>
<td>toːl</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/a/ ( *a) : a low back short vowel, occurs initially and medially. */a/ corresponds to / a/ in all the languages except To. which has / o/ and / a/, Pa sometimes has / e/ and /a/.

Examples:

a-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>'elder sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>akn</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>okn</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>alar</td>
<td>'to increase in size, become large'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/a:/ < /å:/ : a low back long vowel, occurs initially and medially.

/*a/ corresponds to /a/ in all the languages except To, which has /o:/ and /æ:/, and pa sometimes has /æ:/.

Examples:

Ta. a:fu 'to cool, grow cool'
Ma. a:ruka 'to grow cool'
Ko. a:r- id
To o:r- '(hot water) cools'
Ka. a:r 'to grow cool'
Kod. a:r- '(cloth) dries up'
Tu. a:runi 'to grow cool'
Te. a:ru 'to be cool'
III.2.1.2 Diphthongs ai and au:

Traditionally the phonetic sequences ai and au are treated as diphthongs in the literary languages. The temptation is therefore to classify them as individual phonemes since they have separate graphemes. However, they are to be considered in relation to other vocalic sequences and thus three alternatives are to be posed regarding their nature: unit phonemes, two vowel sequences, vowel-semivowel sequence.

Tolkāppiyar, the first Tamil grammarian has given twelve vowels including these two diphthongs as the non-dependent sounds (Tol. 1 and 8). Even though he considers the non-dependent sounds as separate units, he has also noted that a and i become ai (Tol. 54); a and u become au (Tol. 55) and e and y become ai (Tol. 56).
The first two statements viz. two vowel sequences, unit phonemes can be interpreted as giving the phonetic nature of the diphthongs.

Modern scholars have not set up the diphthongs as unit phonemes because they do not contrast with the vowel clusters (ai and au) or with the sequence of a vowel and a semi-vowel (ay and av). However most of those scholars differ in the phonemic interpretations of the diphthongs. They do consider ai as the combination of a and y for the following reasons:

1. All the long vowels except a: contrast with the corresponding short vowels before /\ y /. Examples:
   - ce:y 'distant' ; cey 'deed'
   - ko:y 'serving vessel' ; koy 'pluck'.

2. The long vowels can be followed by consonants in the final positions. Examples: a:l 'person', a:r 'eating' but ai and au cannot be followed by a consonant in the final position.

This is, according to S.V. Shanmugam (June 1973) because the diphthong results in a consonantal ending (y and v) and so cannot tolerate another consonant since the consonant sequences cannot occur finally in the language.
3. The interpretation of ai as a plus y is useful in the morphology and in the etymological study. For instance the relationship of words such as pai~ pac 'green'; kai~ kac 'bitter' will be clear, as the alternation between y and c (e.g. ney-/nec- 'weave' is somewhat common in Tamil as well as in other Dravidian Languages.

It is suggested that ai and au be structured as sequences *ay and *av, for Proto Dravidian *y and *v pattern neatly with other consonants (sonorants) like n, l because: -*y occurs in final position of root-syllables and derivative suffixes just like other sonorants. Examples:

*ay 'hand'; *ur-ay 'to be rubbed with'

-au is pronounced as two syllables in Tamil.

Example: cavukkiyam.

All these facts favor the P.Dr. reconstruction of *ay and *av as sequences of V+C rather than V+V.
III.2 CONSONANTS

The Dravidian consonant system comprises sixteen consonant phonemes, five of which are occlusives, the others are sonants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noise</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill and Flap</td>
<td>t̃</td>
<td>t̃</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi vowels</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III.2.1 CONSONANTS DISTRIBUTION

p- t- c- k- 
-t- -c- -k- 
m- n- ñ 
-m- -n- -ñ 
-m- -l- -l- -l- 
-l- -l- -l- 
r- r̃ 
-r- 
v- -v- y- -y-
III.2.1.1 INITIAL PLOSIVES IN DRAVIDIAN:

Robert Caldwell was certainly the first scholar to rise the question of the convertibility of surds and sonants in Tamil and Malayalam in particular and in Dravidian in general and also to answer that question.

Considering the example of Tamil which uses surd phonemes to express both surds and sonants, he noted:

"... The law, as apparent in the Tamil-Malayalam system of sounds, is as follows: k, t, t, p ... are always pronounced as tenues or surds (i.e. as k, t, t, p) at the beginning of words and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (i.e. as g, d, d, b) when in single in the middle of words. A sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle, except when doubled; and so imperative is this law, and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails ... the consonants of those words change from sonants to surds, or vice versa, according to their position ... The Tamilian rule ... is not a mere dialectic peculiarity ... but is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning ... ab initio the Dravidian phonetic system, as represented in Tamil, its most ancient exponent, differed essentially from that of sanskrit."
Caldwell's statement has been accepted by many scholars of the Dravidian linguistics, such as K. V. Subhaya, Thomas Burrow, Bh. Krishnamurti, Kamil Zvelebil and others. They all came to the conclusion that the voiceness of the initial consonants in Dravidian was merely a secondary acquisition.

But many defended their view through a more or less general terminology using terms like 'many words'; 'great percentage'; 'considerable number of words'; etc. Kamil Zvelebil was the only in our knowledge who, with the help of the DED. elements, referred to statistic calculations to present more precise results and more convincing affirmations. He, first of all, dealt with the initial voiced plosives (Kamil Zvelebil: 'Problemes fondamentaux de phonologie et de morphologie deslangues Dravidienne', Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme orient, Tome LX, Paris 1973). The results obtained show that in all the Dravidian languages, the percentage of words beginning with initial voiced plosives is strikingly low when compared to those beginning with initial voiceless plosives. Thus, the general total, for all the items, in all the languages of the DED, is 1499 items with initial voiced plosives against 15961 items with initial voiceless plosives.
In regard to South Dravidian (SDr) 787 out of a total of 9137 items begin with a voiced plosive; in Central Dravidian (CDr) 1256 out of 5920 items begin with a voiced plosive; in North Dravidian (NDr) 56 out of 904 items begin with a voiced plosive.

Tamil, Malayalam and Toda do not have initial voiced plosive in the native vocabulary.

Telugu, Kolami and Kannada have the highest percentage of items beginning with a voiced plosive. This group of languages is followed by the group comprising Kui, Konda, Tulu and Kuvi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Initial voiced plosives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15961</td>
<td>1499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDr.</td>
<td>9137</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDr.</td>
<td>5920</td>
<td>1256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDr.</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dravidian Languages in which initial voiced plosives occur have been subject to special studies in order to set up a theory which would help to explain how the acquisition of the voiced initial plosives has originated and developed in each language.

It has been pointed out in this connection (Thomas Burrow, B SOS. IX, 1937-39) that Tamil and Malayalam have acquired this feature through borrowed words from Telugu and

M.B. Emeneau has noted (M.B Emeneau, 'Onomatopoetics in the Indian Linguistic area', Lg. 45.2.1. (1969): 274-299) that the items with initial voiced plosives are of onomatopoetic origin which could also be considered as constituting a common substratum.

In some of the languages, it has been explained that the occurrence of initial voiced plosives are the results of metathesis.

Examples: Ta. Ha. utal; Ka. odal 'body' Te. dollu, dollu; Tu. dollu. The initial voiced plosive in the last examples of Te. and Tu. is a medial voiced plosive which has come to the initial position by metathesis.

The most relevant conclusion so far reached is that the situation of Proto Dravidian was very similar to that of Tamil, Malayalam and Toda. The absence of initial voiced plosives has rather been the dominant feature in the primitive language, and the change of voiceless initial consonants into voiced initial consonants a secondary feature.
III.2.1.2. DENTAL AND ALVEOLAR NASALS IN DRAVIDIAN

Tamil and Malayalam seem to have evidence for two phonemes viz. dental /n/ and alveolar /ŋ/ in PDr.

However, there has not yet been enough data available about the distribution of these phonemes in Tamil and Malayalam and the allophonic distribution in the other languages. The alveolar nasal as a separate grapheme was not found according to Mahadevan (cf: Mahadevan I, 1968 (b): 12) in the parent Brāhmi script and was developed and adapted from the dental in the cave inscriptions of Tamil.

But it seems that, since the dental and alveolar nasals do not occur in contrasting distribution but rather in complementary distribution, they should be considered as constituting one phoneme (cf: S.V. Shanmugam, 'Dental and alveolar in Dravidian') BSOAS, Vol.XXXV Part 1, 1972).

In the description given by S.V. Shanmugam he stated that the study of old Tamil literary texts reveals that the two nasals contrast intervocally between /i-a/ and /u-a/ and finally. Examples:

- arinar 'reapers'
- inam 'class'
- kolunar 'husbands'
- punal 'water'
And there is no much important change in the distribution of these two nasals in the literary texts.

In the middle Tamil it is stated that the alveolar takes the place of the dental (Meenakshisundaram 1965: 132). Modern Tamil has only one phoneme /n/ which has /n/ before /t/ and /n/ elsewhere.

Malayalam has, in its early inscriptionsal records separate graphemes for the nasals /n/ and /ŋ/. Modern spoken Malayalam has n contrasting with /m/ when they occur in gemination: n occurs initially except before /-y/ and medially before /-t/, while /m/ occurs intervocically and finally.

If Tamil and Malayalam have undoubtedly dental and alveolar nasals as separate phonemes, yet all others have only one phoneme which is either dental or alveolar.

It is found that all the languages have one nasal, dental or alveolar.

The dental /n/ occurs initially in 0 Ta., Ma., Ka. (dialects), Tu. Kuvi., Kol., Ga (oll), Malt. and Br.

/n/ occurs before a dental stop in 0Ta., Mod. Ta., M.a., Ko., Kod., Ka., Tu., Te., Go., Kol., Malt. and Br.

/ŋ/ occurs initially in Mod. Ta., Ko., To., Kod., Ka. (dia.), Tu. Te., Kond., Go. and Kur. and intervocalically...
and finally before consonants other than dental and palatal stops. These two nasals can be reconstructed for PDr. as */n/ having /n/ initially and before a dental stop and /n/ elsewhere.

III.2.2. CONSONANTS DISTRIBUTION:

/k/ /x/ */k/ : a noise voiceless velar stop, occurs in the initial and medial positions in most of the languages. However in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu PDr *k → c - when followed by the front vowels i, iː, e, eː. But in Tamil and Malayalam -a retroflex (t n l s) following the front vowel inhibits the palatalization.

PDr *k- is frequently replaced by /x/ (a velar fricative) spelled sometimes as Kh or q) before the vowels / a/, /aː/, /o/, /oː/, /u/, /uː/ in Brahui, Malto and Kurukh.

exx:

K-

Ta. kan 'eye, aperture, orifice' cey *Key = 'to do'
Ma. kan 'eye, nipple, bud'
Ka. kan 'eye, orifice'
Te. kanu 'id'
Tu. kannu 'eye, nipple'
Kol. kan 'eye'
Mk. kan 'id'
Pa. kan 'id'
The medial *-k- remains -k- in Tamil and Malayalam but it corresponds to /x/ in Toda, /y/ in Gondi and Kuvi, /g/ in Telugu /g/, /v/, /y/ in Parji, /Kh/ in Kurukh.

exx:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>maka</td>
<td>'child, infant, son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>makan</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>maga</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>maga</td>
<td>'male'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol.</td>
<td>magvan</td>
<td>'husband'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ c / x / *c/ : noise voiceless palatal stop, occurs initially and medially.

/* c-/ remains /c-/ in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Kodagu and Telugu. In Toda it corresponds to /t-/ in Kannada to /s-/ or /c-/: in Kolami, Naiki, Gabada, Gonda, Konda to s-; to /h-/ in Pengo and Kuwi.

medially /*-c-/ corresponds to /-c-/ in Tamil, Malayalam Kota; to /-s-/ in Toda, Kannada, Gondi, Konda; to /-j-/ in Tulu and Kodagu; to /-h-/ in Pengo, Kuwi and Kui.

exx:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>cinta</td>
<td>'small, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>cinta</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>cinni</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>cinta</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol.</td>
<td>sinnam</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK.</td>
<td>sinnam</td>
<td>'little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>ci:r</td>
<td>'nit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>si:r</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe.</td>
<td>hi:r</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuvi</td>
<td>hi:ru</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ta.</th>
<th>ma:cu</th>
<th>'spot, stain'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>ma:cu</td>
<td>'spot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>ma:c</td>
<td>'dirt on face, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>ma:j</td>
<td>'become soiled'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>ma:ju</td>
<td>'turbidity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuvi</td>
<td>ma:hali</td>
<td>'to be dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>ma:su</td>
<td>'to be stained'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/\t/ a noise voiceless forelingual retroflex stop, occurs medially in all languages.

/*-t-/: Ta. Ma \t; it corresponds to /r/ in Ko, NK. and To, but corresponds to /d/ in Ka, Kod, Tu, Te, Kol, Parji and Pengo.

exx:

- t -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ta.</th>
<th>kata</th>
<th>'to pass through, exceed'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>katakka</td>
<td>'to pass over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>karv</td>
<td>'to cross'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>kad-</td>
<td>'to leave, pass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>kade</td>
<td>'to pass over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod</td>
<td>kada</td>
<td>'to cross'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>kadapuni</td>
<td>'to cross'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>kadacu</td>
<td>'to pass, cross'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>kadp-</td>
<td>'to cross'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malt.</td>
<td>kate</td>
<td>'to pass, exceed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/*t*/ a noise voiceless dental stop, occurs in the initial and medial positions in all languages.

/*t*/ in some forms of the SDr. languages, particularly in Toda.

/*-t-*/ remains /*t-*/ in Tamil and Malayalam; but it corresponds to /*-o-*/ in Toda, /*-d-*/ in all the other languages.

exx:

t-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>talai</td>
<td>'head, top etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>tal</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>tal</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>tale</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod</td>
<td>tale</td>
<td>'end'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>tare'</td>
<td>'head, top'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>tala</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>tel</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malt.</td>
<td>tali</td>
<td>'hair of head'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
etir 'in front, adverse, opposite'
etir 'id'
edyr 'enemy'
edir 'that which is opposite'
edike 'in front'
eduru 'in front'

/p/: a noise voiceless bilabial stop, occurs in the initial position in all languages.
In Old Kannada p- > Modern Kannada h- > zero.

/p/: a noise voiceless bilabial stop, occurs in the initial position in all languages.
In Old Kannada p- > Modern Kannada h- > zero.

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In Old Kannada p- > Modern Kannada h- > zero.

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In Old Kannada p- > Modern Kannada h- > zero.
/\n/- corresponds to /\n/-, /\n/- in Tamil, Kod, Malayalam; it corresponds to /\n/, /\n/ in Kannada, Telugu, Parji, Gadaba, Naiki and Gondi, to /\n/-, /\n/-, /\n/- in Tulu.

exx:

-n-
Ta. ñantu 'crab'
Ma. ñantu 'id'
Kod. ñandî 'id'
Tu. denji 'id'

/\n/-: a voiced retroflex nasal occurs in the medial position.

/\n/- corresponds to /\n/- in Ta., Ma., Ko., Ka., Kod; it corresponds to /\n/- in Te., kol., Nk., Pa; to -n-, -n- in Tulu and Kui.

exx:

-n-
Ta. pani 'to speak, say'
Ma. panikka 'speak'
Kol. pa:na 'language'
Kui. panda 'to send, commission'

/*n/*: a voiced alveolar nasal, occurs in the initial and medial position.

/*n/- corresponds to /\n/-, /\n/- in Ta. and Ma; to /\n/-, /\n/- in Brahui; to /\n/- elsewhere.
/m/< 'm/ : a voiced bilabial nasal, occurs in all positions in all languages. v- /m- and -v/-m- alternation is frequent and quite widespread in some Dravidian languages. Sometimes /-m/<*-v<-*k- in Ta., Te., Ka., Tu. and Kur. In the final position /*-m/ alternates with /*-n/ in the PDr. nominative suffix of some nouns with stem ending in -a.

exx:

\[ n- \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>nakku</td>
<td>'to lick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>nakkuka</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>nak</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>nakku</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kond.</td>
<td>na:k-</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe.</td>
<td>na:k-</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui.</td>
<td>na:ka</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ m- \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>maram</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>maram</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>marm</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>me:n</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>mara</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>mara</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>mara</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>mra:nu</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>meri</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kond. maram id
Kui. mrahnu ...

-m-

Ta. imil 'to eject, sprout, shoot off'
Ka. igaru 'a sprout, shoot'
Te. ivuru 'a bud, sprout, shoot'
Tu. iguru 'bud'

-m-

Ta. mukam 'face'
Ma. mukam id
Te. moganu id
Tu. muganu 'the front'

/ l /ː/ *l/ : a voiced retroflex palatal lateral, occurs medially, finally in root-final or suffix-final consonant.

-1- corresponds to -1- in Ta. and Ma; to /-1-/ /-r-/,
/-g-/ /-y-/ in K.; to /-d-/ /-r-/ /-s-/ /-s-/ /-w-/ in To.; in Ka. /-r-/ /l- [v, -r- [c; in Koa. /-1-/ zero
[c; Te -1- -d- (in the metathesized situation, /d-/ /d-/).
It corresponds to -r- in K01. and NK.

-1-

Ta. alu 'to cry, weep'
Ma. aluka 'to weep, cry'
Ko. ag- id
Ka. al, alu id
*1:* an alveolar lateral, occurs in the medial and final positions.

- Ta. ka:i 'liquor'
  - Go. kal id

- Ta. talai 'head, top'
  - Ma. tala id
  - Ko. tal id
  - To. tasm 'top'
  - Tu. tare 'head'
  - Te. tala 'end'
  - Kod tale id

- Malt tali 'hair of head'

- Ta. pa:l 'milk'
  - Ma. pa:l id
  - Ko. pa:l id
  - To. pos id
  - Tu. pe:ru
*r/: a voiced alveolar trill, occurs only in medial position, in Ta as the single consonant between the vowels, the first member of a consonant cluster or the second member of a consonant cluster or the second member of a consonant cluster.

\[ \text{Ta. arivu 'knowledge'} \]
\[ \text{Ta. arfu 'to cool'} \]
\[ \text{Ma. aruka 'to grow cool'} \]
\[ \text{Ta. o"r- '(hot water) cools} \]
\[ \text{Ta. Karpu 'chastity'} \]
\[ \text{Te. arfu 'to be cool'} \]
\[ \text{Ta. Kunru 'hill'} \]

*r/: a voiced alveolar flap, occurs in the medial and final position.

*/r/ corresponds to */r/, */s/, */s/ in To.; to */r/, */r/ in Go., */r/, */r/ in Br.; elsewhere */r/, */r/.

\[ \text{Ta. iravu 'night'} \]
\[ \text{Ma. iravu id} \]
\[ \text{Ko. irl id} \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To</td>
<td>erl id</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>ir'</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>irku id</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>irulu id</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ur 'Village, town, city'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>ur 'Village, town, city'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>ur 'Village'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>ur 'village of Tamils or Bagadas'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>ur 'town'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol.</td>
<td>ur 'village'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk.</td>
<td>ur id</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/\v\ <\ / *v/ a voiced labio dental semivowel, occurs initially and medially.

/\*v-\ / corresponds to /p/ in To.; to /b/ in Ka., Kod., Tu., Kur., Malt. and Br.; to /v/ in all other languages.

/\*v-\ / corresponds to /-5-\ / in To.; /-b-\ / in Tu. and Kur.; /-w-\ / in Malt; /-f-\ /; /-v-\ / in Br.; /-v-\ / elsewhere.

exx:

v-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>varu</td>
<td>'to come, happen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>varuka id</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>va:r-</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>po:r- id</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>ba:r id</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>bar-</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>barpini</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kur.</td>
<td>barna:</td>
<td>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>banning</td>
<td>,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **y-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>cevi</td>
<td>'ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>cevi</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>kev</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>křfy</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>kivi</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>kevin</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>kebi</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kur.</td>
<td>khebda:</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>khaf</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/*-y-/ corresponds to /y/ in all languages except Kui where it corresponds to /j/.

exx:

- **y-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>a:yi</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>ta:yi</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>to:yi</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>a:yi</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dravidian roots appear to arrange themselves naturally in two classes, each originally monosyllabic; one class ending in a vowel generally long, the other class ending in a consonant, in which case, the vowel is short.

And it is stated in the same order of idea that two main types of root-morphemes can be set up for Proto Dravidian with two sub-types for each.

Type I

(a) (C) V
(b) (C) VC

Type II

(a) (C) V
(b) (C) VC

Roots of type I are called light bases, those of type II heavy bases according as the radical vowel is short or long.
They can be analyzed as vowel-ending and consonant-ending viz. CV, CV; CVC, CV.C.

To these monosyllabic roots are added either formative particles, particles of specialisation or helps to enunciation.

In a syllable a vowel with a preceding or following consonant is the nuclear element.

Any one of the PDr. consonantal phonemes can occur initially except the alveolar and retroflex series.

In the root final position any of the PDr. can occur except *n. There are either free or bound roots. In most of the cases (C)V- occurs bound.

Suffixes with initial vowels occur after bases in final consonant, viz. (C)V-C-; suffixes with initial consonants occur after bases in final vowel, viz. CV-.

When vowel derivatives follow, the CV-C- type fell together with cvc- in most cases. In that case the sequence CV₁C-V₂- contains v₁ generally short. And when (C)V-C- is followed by a vowel derivative, the whole sequence (C)V-C-V- alternates with a heavy base containing a secondary long vowel.

Here, only the simple bases will be taken into consideration as opposed to the compound ones. By simple bases it is meant bases occurring without derivatives. They are generally analyzed into a historical category or primary category as opposed to the secondary category, viz. that which comprises bases occurring with derivatives.
The forms of the primary type are directly traceable to one of the proto Dravidian types.

Examples:

III.3.1. Open syllable:

III.3.1.1. V:

Ta. ₦ a: 'interjection expressing wonder admiration, pity'
    cf: DED 281.

III.3.1.2 CV

Ta. ku: 'cooing' ( PDr *ku: )
Ma. ku:- id
Kui. ku:-
Kol. ku:-
Malt. ku:-
Br. ku:- 'cry'
Te. ku:- 'cry, crow'

III.3.2. Closed syllable:

Ta. al- 'burn'
Ma. al- id
Ka. al- ..
Tu. ar- ..

III.3.2.1 VC

Ta. u:r 'village, town, place'
Ma. u:r id
Ko. u:r 'village for Tamils'
III.3.2.2. CVC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>pas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>pal-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>pel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kond.</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III.3.2.3 CVC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ka:1</td>
<td>'leg, foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>ka:1</td>
<td>id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>ko:1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>ka:1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>ke:1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go.</td>
<td>ka:1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuvi</td>
<td>ka:1-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III.4. **NOUNS**

The Dravidian languages are agglutinative languages, and suffixation is the only type of affixation and this is one of the characteristic features of this family of languages. Thus the Dravidian root morpheme is always initial in simple or complex words.

The Dravidian noun is one which can be inflected for number and case. Therefore a syntactic oriented classification of the Dravidian nouns will be useful in the description of these languages.

The nouns can be classified into various categories on the basis of their syntactical functions as for instance on the basis of pronominal reference (gender-number distinction) in the demonstrative pronoun (DPN) for certain languages, and in both the DPN and FV for certain other languages and also on the basis of adjectival concord (Lyons: 1968: 272), viz. Numeral + Noun and Demonstrative + Noun. For example, Malayalam, Toda and Kodagu show a gender-number distinction in the DPN only whereas Konda, Gondi, Kolami, Naiki (ch), Parji, Gadaba, Brahui, Tamil, Kannada and Pengo show gender-number distinction both in the DPN and the FV. Thus the pronominal reference is found not only in the demonstrative pronoun (DPN) but also in the finite verb. It appears that there is a kind
of concord in the DPN in all the languages. However all do not exhibit the same pattern, and there are differences among them because they show unequal number of subclasses. For instance Malayalam distinguishes gender-number in the masculine singular (avan 'that man'), feminine singular (aval 'that woman'), epicene plural (avar 'those persons') and neuter plural (avai 'those things').

Telugu has fourfold distinctions in the DPN, viz. masculine singular, (vandu 'that man'); non masculine singular (adi 'that woman', 'that thing'); epicene plural (va:ru 'those persons') and neuter plural (avi 'those things'). But Telugu has also fourfold distinction in the FV, example: vandaNdu 'He does, did, will not cook';

vandaru 'they (hum.) do, did, will not cook'
vandadu 'she, it does, did, will not cook';
vandavu 'they (neu.) do, did, will not cook').

Tamil, Irula, Kannada and Tulu have fivefold distinctions namely mas. sg., fem. sg., neu. sg., epicene pl. and neu. pl. in the DPN as well as in the FV.

Pengo has sixfold distinction in the DPN, viz. mas. sg. (avan 'that man'); fem. sg (adel 'that woman'); neu. sg. (adi that thing'); mas. pl. (avar 'those men'); fem. pl. avex 'these women') and neu'pl. (avaih 'those things').
Toda and Brahui have only number distinction in the DPN and person distinction in the FV (example: Toda: sg. (aθ 'that man'), 'that woman', 'that thing'); pl. (aθa'm 'those persons, 'those things').

Kurumba does not show gender distinction in the pronoun or in the FV.

In most of the cases, the number of distinctions found in the DPN is higher than that found in the FV. For example Gowda Kannada has threefold distinctions in the DPN and only twofold distinctions in the FV.

As regard to the nature of these various subclasses it should be noted that there is a difference between the system found in the singular and in the plural. For example, in Telugu feminine is a part of the neuter in the singular, and the part of the masculine in the plural. Similarly Tamil makes only number distinction in the non-human nouns but the gender - number distinction is made only in the singular of human nouns.

The adjectival concord is found in the pattern Numeral + noun and Demonstrative pronoun + noun.

Example: Ka. obba maga 'one son', obba (lu) magalu 'one daughter', ondu mara 'one tree'; Kol. : am ma's 'that man', at pilla 'that woman', avr ma'sur 'those men'. 
In some other languages as Ku., Tu., Te., Kond., Go., Kol., Ga, and Pa. the adjectival concord is found in the construction: Numeral appellative noun + noun.

Examples:
Ku. obba (lu) heŋgasu 'one woman'; obba(nu) kalla(nu) 'one thief
Ku. ibaru heŋgasaru 'two women'
Pa. okur manja 'one man'; okal ayal 'one woman'.

But in some languages (Irula for example) adjectival concord is not found.

It is to be mentioned again that the pattern: Numeral Appellative noun + Noun is not uniform in all the languages and even not within a single language (see for details Shanmugam: 1971: 12-15).

However, because of non-availability of a single, unique and uniform pattern which could help in their classification, the Dravidian nouns could be classified on the basis of the gender - number system, and the prevalent pattern to be retained for that purpose should be on the basis of the DPN because the pronominal reference in the FV belongs to the transformational structure of the language. There are some other possibilities regarding the classifications of nouns at the morphological level as for example in the distinction human -non-human, animate-inanimate etc.
It may be concluded that all these categories of classification of nouns can be useful not only in the description of the Dravidian Languages but also in view of the comparison of these languages with any other languages.

III.5. GENDER AND NUMBER

M. Andronov (1977:40) has pointed out that the category of gender in the Dravidian Languages is basically lexicogrammatical, i.e. it is determined by the lexical meaning of the substantive whereas grammatically it is expressed by agreement in gender with other word classes which distinguish this category.

In almost a similar point of view, Caldwell has classified the Dravidian nouns into substantives which have no formative of gender and appellatives which have gender terminations (an apppellative base can be abstract or neuter noun or a verbal noun). This study of gender-number is based on Caldwell's approach of gender number classification of the Dravidian nouns. To begin, we note that most of the appellative nouns have maximum three forms, viz mas., fem. and ep. pl.

**Examples:**

Ta. Kalvan 'male thief'; Kalvi 'female thief'; Kalvar 'thieves'.

Also masculine and feminine suffixes occur with a limited number of human nouns.
The Dravidian Languages have in common nine suffixes to denote masculine, namely -an, -van, -(k)kan, -ikan, -akan, -avan, -antu, -ak and -ttan. Of these, -an, -van and -(k)kan are reconstructed to Proto Dravidian and the others to the proto stage of a subgroup. (Shanmugam, 1971).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>mak-an</td>
<td>(son)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>mak-an</td>
<td>(id)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>mag-an</td>
<td>(son, male person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>mag-a</td>
<td>(male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>Kal-van</td>
<td>(thief)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>Kala-van</td>
<td>(id)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>Kall-a</td>
<td>(id)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>Kall-ari</td>
<td>(liar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>va:n-ikan</td>
<td>(caste of oil monger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>va:n-iyan</td>
<td>(id)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>ga:n-iga</td>
<td>(id)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>ga:n-iga</td>
<td>(id)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For feminine, the suffixes -tti, -al, -(k)ki, -etti, and -acci are found in the various languages.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>oru-tti</td>
<td>(one woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>oru-tti</td>
<td>(id.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>or-ti</td>
<td>(id.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malto</td>
<td>or-ti</td>
<td>(id.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The epicene plural in common are: -ar, -var, -kal, -mar and -avar.

Though these suffixes are those common to most of the languages, each language possesses various suffixes to denote masculine, feminine and neuter.

A complete picture of gender-number in the Dravidian languages is not given here but its essential aspect which could help in the comparison between these languages and the African Languages has been presented.
III.6. **PRONOUNS:**

Pronouns differ from nouns by the fact that they cannot be preceded by adjectives or by genitive case phrases. Thus they constitute a distinct and separate class.

The Dravidian Languages distinguish the personal pronoun and the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. The personal pronouns distinguish number, singular and plural. They have also oblique forms characterized by the shortening of the long vowel in the nominative.

The demonstrative and interrogative pronoun distinguish gender and number (see chapter on Gender and number).

### III.6.1. PERSONAL PRONOUN

#### III.6.1.1. I.sg.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative Forms</th>
<th>Oblique Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta. --------------ya:n----na:n------</td>
<td>en- (gen.); ena-(dat.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma. ---------------na:n(ins.)---------</td>
<td>enn- (Acc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko. ---------------a:n----------------</td>
<td>en-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To. ---------------o:n----------------</td>
<td>en-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kas. ---------------na:ni----------------</td>
<td>en-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod. ---------------na:(ni)-------------</td>
<td>en-.; na:-(dat.); nan (acc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka. ---------------a:n----na:n-----------</td>
<td>ena-(dat.); cnn-,nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb. ---------------na------------------</td>
<td>en-(acc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu. ---------------e:ni (dialect) ya:n-------</td>
<td>en-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reconstructed form for the first series of forms for the first person singular is *ya:n. The variation in the quality of the radical vowels a:/e: indicates, according to Krishnamurti (1961:260), the presence of a PDr. *y preceding the vowel.

The reconstructed form for the second series of forms is * na:n/ ne:n because of the fluctuation of the vowel quality and the occurrence of n- in Malayalam (< Pdr. * n-).

III.6.1.2. ::": I pl. (exclusive)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>-ne:ñåal-----------------</td>
<td>enñåal-(Oma.) kaññal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>-a:ñ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>-em-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>-eŋa-</td>
<td>eŋa-; naŋa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kas.</td>
<td>-na:ñ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>-a:ñ (Ins.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>yan-kul-e</td>
<td>yan-kul-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>-e:ñu--ne:ñu--ma:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go.</td>
<td>-ammat</td>
<td>nammat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konda</td>
<td>-ma:p--ma:-(gen.); ma-(acc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui</td>
<td>-a:ñu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuvi</td>
<td>-ma:ñbu--ma:</td>
<td>ma:ñrro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe.</td>
<td>-a:p(eñ)</td>
<td>ma:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol.</td>
<td>-a:ñ-</td>
<td>ma:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK(ch)</td>
<td>-a:ñ-</td>
<td>ma:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>-a:ñ-</td>
<td>ma:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga.</td>
<td>-a:ñ-</td>
<td>ma:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reconstructed oblique base is *yam which became *em- in SDr. and NDr, and *am- in CDr.

### 1. pl (inclusive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>na:m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>na:m, no:m (dialect)</td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>am-</td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>om-</td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol.</td>
<td>ne:m, ne:nd</td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir.</td>
<td>na:m</td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>na:m o,ka</td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malto.</td>
<td>na:m</td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kur.</td>
<td>na:m</td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>nam-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III.6.1.3. II Sq.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ni:</td>
<td>nin-(CTa.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>ni:</td>
<td>nin-, ni-, di-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>ni:</td>
<td>nin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>ni:yi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>ni:(ni)</td>
<td>nin-, ni:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kas.</td>
<td>ni:n</td>
<td>nin-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reconstructed form in the nominative is *ni:n but many of the SDr. Languages and a few in CDr. have lost the final -n in the nominative. In the oblique form, *nin- is reconstructed from its PDr. form.

III.6.1.4. II Pl.

Ta. ------ni:m --------------------------------num-
      ni:nkal------ -----------unkal-

Ma. ------ni:nmal ---------------------------ni:nmal-

Ko. ------ni:m --------------------------------num-

To. ------nim --------------------------------num-

Kod. ---------------------------ni:nngga

Kb. ---------------------------ni:nngu
The reconstructed form in the nominative is *ni:n but many of the SDr. Languages and a few in CDr. have lost the final -n in the nominative. In the oblique form, *nin- is reconstructed from its PDr. form.
The reconstructed forms are *ni:m (nominative) and *nim- (oblique).

III.6.1.5 III Sg.

Ta. ta:n ---------------------------------tan-
Ma. ta:n---------------------------------tan
Ko. ta:n---------------------------------tan-, ta-
The reconstructed forms are *ta:n- in the oblique.

III.6.1.6. III.pl.

Ta. ---------ta:m---------ta:ŋkal----------tam, taŋkal-
Ma. ---------ta:m----------tam-
Ko. ---------ta:m----------tam-
To. ---------tam----------taŋga-
Kod. ---------taŋga----------
Ka. ---------ta:m, ta:vu----------tam-, tav-
Tu.----------

--- 190 ---
PDr * tā:m is the reconstructed form in the nominative, *tām- the one in the oblique.

III.7. ADJECTIVES:

Dravidian adjectives are nouns of quality or relation which acquire the signification of adjectives merely by being prefixed to substantive nouns without declensional change and without ceasing to be in themselves nouns of quality.

The adjectives in the Dravidian Languages are not numerous, and there is lack of common Dravidian adjective suffixes. This fact reflects the original structure in Dravidian where the noun was not differentiated from the adjective, each noun being able to function in the respective roles.
Still, this is the case in many modern Dravidian Languages (exx: Ta. pon muti 'golden hair' [pon 'gold'] ; Ma. mallige hu:vu 'jasmine flower' [mallige 'jasmine']). The attribute noun and the noun qualified often form compound words in which the first element does not take any grammatical formants and appears as a root or base.

However in some languages the compound forms are decomposable and the original root can become an independent word (e.g: Ta. orumay 'uniqueness' > oru 'one').

Thus in most of the modern languages the adjective has become a separate part of speech. It does not have gender or number forms.

The only syntactic function the adjectives can perform is that of prepositive attribute to other nouns, except in Naiki and Brahui. In Brahui the adjective attribute always takes the indefinite formant -o: or the definite formants, -ar, -anga and -i:ko, devoid of these formants, it functions predicatively (exx: sunaŋga Sa'r 'desolate village').

The most common adjectival suffix is -a which, in some languages derives qualitative adjectives from the roots or nominal bases (e.g: Ta. periya 'big', ci:riya 'small' Kod. nalla 'good'; pudiya 'new', ceriya 'small').

But in some other languages the adjectival suffix is different. For instance in Kui all the adjectives end in -i
(exx: pu:n-i 'new', der-i 'big'). In some other languages there is no special suffixes; example: Tu. posa 'new', yedde 'good', porlu 'beautiful'.

III.8. NUMERALS

In the Dravidian Languages each of the cardinal numbers presents itself in a form of numeral adjective and of numeral substantive or neuter noun of number.

Numerals are considered to constitute a separate class of nouns because they have: (1) the cardinal – ordinal distinction.

Example: Ta. onru 'one' – onra:m 'first')

(2) the possibility to replace a numeral adjective plus noun by a corresponding cardinal numeral form of the adjective.

Example: oruka:l 'one leg' → onru 'one'

Because of this latter feature numerals are also said to be considered as pronouns.

III.8.1. One:

Ta. onru
Ma. onru/onnu
Ko. od
To. wfd
Kod. ondr
Ka. ondu
The reconstructed base form is on- from PDr *ontu; *or- is the reconstructed adjective form. It can be reconstructed with the numeral base oru the following forms: Ta. oruvan 'one man'; orutti 'one woman'; oruvar' one person (hon.)

The adjective form o:r occurs before vowels, oru before consonants. Examples: Ko. o:r a:r 'one year'; Ta. oru makan 'one son'. Human and non-human nouns can be used as head after the numeral adjective one.

Example: Ta. oru makal 'one daughter' oru na:l 'one day').

III.8.2. Two:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>onji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>ondu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kas.</td>
<td>oynd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>ondu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir.</td>
<td>or-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>irantu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>irantu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>cyd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To</td>
<td>e·d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod.</td>
<td>dandl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>eradu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>ordu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kas.</td>
<td>rend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir.</td>
<td>rend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The PDr. form is *iran-tu and the adjective form is iru before consonants.

III.8.3. Three:

Ta. mu:nru
Ma. mu:nru/mu:nnu
Ko. mu:ng
To. mu:q
Go. mu:nd
Kas. mu:ynd
Kb. mu:ru
Ir. mu:n-
Te. mu:ngu
Tu. mu:ji

The reconstructed base form is mu:n-from PDr * mu:n-tu; the adjective base form may be mu:-

Example: mu:var 'three persons').

III.8.4. Four:

Ta. na:ngu
Ma. na:ngku
Ko. ne'ng
To. mo'ng
Kod. na:li
Ka. na:lu
Tu. na:lu
The adjective form in PDr. is *na:l-

Example: pa:l u:r 'four villages'; na:l ve:ta:n 'four vedas' [Ta.]. The reconstructed base is from PDr. *na:lku.

III.8.5 Five:

Ta. aintu
Ma. aintu, ancu
Ko. anj
Tu. ainu
Ke. aynu
Te. e:nu
Kas. anc- 
Ir. anj.
Kb. aydu
Nk(ch.) se:ndi
Pa. ce:duk
Ga. saiying
Kui singi

The reconstructed base form is from PDr. *cayn-tu. But the adjectival form *cay- which occurs before vowels and semi-vowels and *caym- occurring elsewhere can be reconstructed as (c) asym-
111.8.6. Siex :-

Ta. a:ru
Ma. a:ru
Ko. a:*r
To. o:*r
Kas. a:*r
Ir. a:*r
Kb. a:ru
Te. a:ru
Go. sa:runq
Nk. sa:di
Kui sa:jgi / saj

The PDr. form is * ca:ru and the corresponding adjectival form is * ca:*ru.

111.8.7 Seven :-

Ta. e:*l
Ma. e:*lu
Ko. e:y
To. o:w
Kod. g:*l
Kas. g:*l
Ir. e:*l
Kb. e:*lu
Go. e:runq
Kol. ed/e:*r
In the PDr. the cardinal form is *e:l. Many languages use this form as the adjective.

Examples:

Ta. e:l col 'seven words'
Ma. elu kalam 'seven kalam measures'
Ko. e pa:ny 'seven pa:ny measures'.

III.8.8. Eight:

| Ta.   | ettu  |
| Ma.   | ettu  |
| Ko.   | et   |
| To.   | 3t   |
| Kod.  | etti  |
| Kas.  | ett  |
| Kb.   |      |
| Ir.   | ett-  |
| Ka.   | enma |
| Tu.   |      |

The reconstructed adjective stem is *en (example: en-var 'eight persons' [Ta]).

This reconstructed base is from PDr. form *en-etu.

III.8.9. Nine:

| Ta.   | onpatu |
| Ma.   | onpatu |
| Ko.   | onbad  |
The Pdr. form is *oppatu. It has another alternant *tol-ntu /*ton-tu which occurs before the stem of cardinal *mu:ru 'hundred' and a:yiram 'thousand'.

III.8.10. Ten:

Ta. pattu
Ma. pattu
Ko. pat
To. pot
Ka. pattu
Tu. pattu
Ir. patt

Kas. patt
Te. padi

In PDr. the cardinal form is *pattu. It has another alternant form *patu which occurs in twenty, thirty etc. The form *patin occurs as the adjectival form in many languages.
III.8.11. Hundred:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>nu:ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>nu:ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>nu:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>nu'r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go.</td>
<td>nu:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kas.</td>
<td>nu:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir.</td>
<td>nu:r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cardinal form *nu:tu can be reconstructed to PDr.

III.9. INFLECTIONAL INCREMENTS

In the Dravidian languages there are groups of nouns which have a nominative form which is different from the oblique form. And case suffixes are added to the oblique form alone which thus constitutes the inflectional base, i.e. the oblique form of the noun.

Inflectional increments are those suffixes used for forming inflectional bases.

Each Dravidian Language has various inflectional increments and many of these languages have common augments. The various inflectional increments found in the Dravidian languages are: -an-, *arr-, -tt-, -in-, -ain-, -r-, -a-, -e-, -i-, -na-, -ti-, -ti-, -di-, -ani-, -tin-, -arini-, -n-, -n-, -al-, -k-, -y-, -a:--, -gh-. Of these, the suffixes -an-, *-in-, *-a-, *(a)tt-, and *-k- are common. They are
reconstructed to Proto Dravidian. The increments occur in all the languages after different grammatical categories.

Thus in Tamil the increments -an-, -arr-, -in- -attu occur after either numerals or demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. For examples, -an- occurs after e:1 'seven' and after all the numerals ending in -u. This increment occurs also after neuter singular demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (exx: onru 'one', onr -an-a! (Acc.); atu 'that thing' -at-an-a! (Acc.).

Malayalam has the augments -tt-, -an-, -in- and -arr-. -tt- occurs between -m ending neuter nouns and all case suffixes, and also after t(u) /-r(u) ending nouns which is preceded by a long syllable.

Examples:
- to:ttam 'garden' > to:ttam-tt-a:l (instrumental);
- ku:mm-tt-in > kumrinn 'with share'.

The augment -in- occurs before dative (e.g: vilakk-in-ukku 'to the light' (< vilakku) and genitive and optionally before accusative and instrumental case suffixes, and after neuter nouns ending in -u; -u: and -a:. It occurs also after numerals and after demonstrative neuter singular pronouns.

Toda and Kota have both the increments -t- and -n-;
Kodagu has -t-, -in/-n-, -a:n as inflectional increments.
occurs in Kota between the stems ending in -m which are not preceded by a vowel and all case suffixes except -o:r. It occurs also after the stems ending in -r/- which are preceded by a long vowel and before all cases. In Toda, -t- occurs after nouns ending in -m, -n or -n and before dative, ablative, locative and accusative cases.

Example:

poliku:dμm 'school', poliku:d-t-nid (abl.).

Kannada has the suffixes -d- which occurs after neuter singular nominal bases ending in -e and before instrumental, genitive and locative case suffixes (exx: mara-d-inda 'by the tree'); -ar- is added to the neuter demonstrative pronouns and to numerals before all cases except accusative (exx: ad-ar-ke 'to that'); -in/-i occurs between the neuter singular nominal bases ending in a consonant and all cases except accusative (e.g: magal-inge 'to the daughter')

For all other languages and detail (see Shanmugam: 1971:196-249.)

III.10. CASES:

There are eight cases in the Dravidian Languages, namely nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative locative and vocative. While describing cases, Tolkappiyam at first refers to only seven cases excluding the vocative case which he refers to only later (Tol. 2:62, 63). However
it is a common phenomenon that no two grammarians have exactly the same array of cases in their inventories. Thus scholars like Caldwell have argued for considering sociative as a case different from the instrumental whereas others like Subramanya Sastri (1945: 76-83) have refuted the distinction of these two cases since the same suffix can be used to denote both the instrumental and the sociative, and also because a few languages (Kota, Gadaba, Parji) have a common suffix for these two cases. However it is acceptable these two cases to be considered as separate cases because of their syntactical behaviour. For instance, the instrumental case can occur in the passive construction (exx: Ma. ravan ra:ma:na:l kollappatu 'Ravana was killed by Rama') but the sociative case cannot occur in the passive construction. Similarly the ablative and the locative cases have not been distinguished as separate cases because the ablative seems to be a variety of the locative (Caldwell: 1856:284) but it is proved that these two cases contrast not only after the nouns of time, but also the ablative denotes the comparative sense in many of the languages (Shanmugam: 1971:253), what the locative does not.

Each Dravidian Language presents a particular case system eventhough the case suffixes are uniform for each language and vary from one language to another. The nominative case is found in all the languages. It is
unmarked, therefore it has not been taken into considera-
tion in this study.

III.10.1 TAMIL

Tamil grammars uniformly list seven cases, viz. accusa-
tive, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative
and vocative.

III.10.1.1 Old Tamil:

III.10.1.1.1 Accusative:

The accusative suffix is -ai. It is obligatory with human
noun (Tol. 157).

Example: enn-ai no:kku 'look at me'. This suffix is used
rarely after personal pronouns and has another allomorph -
a after human nouns and which is considered to have deve-
loped from an earlier suffix -am.

III.10.1.1.2 Instrumental

Instrumentality is denoted by the instrumental suffix-a:n
which has another allomorph -a:na in poetry (Tol. 592).

E.g.; marupp-i:n-a:n kutti 'having pierced with the tusk'.

kalima: utaimai-y-a:na 'because of having the great
elephant.

This suffix is also used to express sociative, causative,
locative and ablative.
III.10.1.1.3. **Sociative:**

The suffix which denotes the sociative sense is -tu which alternants with -o:tu (e.g. *ninn-otu va:ra:r* 'they will not come with you'). It is also used in the instrumental, causative, ablative, locative and adverbs of manner but with abstract nouns only (e.g. *na:va:y ka:1-otu karai ce:ra* (Patt. 6.83) 'the ship reaching the shore with the help of the wind').

III.10.1.1.4 **Dative:**

The dative case is formed with the suffix -kku which has an alternant form -kka in the poetry. But this suffix, expresses also other meanings like purposive, instrumental, causative, genitive, locative, accusative.

III.10.1.1.5 **Ablative:**

The ablative suffix is -in. It has the meaning of ablative of motion. But this suffix is also found to express comparative, instrumental, causative, dative and accusative.

exx: *malai-y- in ili-y-aruvi* 'the waterfalls which is descend from the hill'.

*kann-in no:kki* 'having seen with the eyes'
III.10.1.6 **Genitive:**

The suffix -atu is the genitive case formative. It has an alternant form -a:tu (e.g. kakkai-y-atu paliye: 'the food of the crow'). The appellative verbal base utai functions also as the genitive suffix (e.g. avar-utai na:tu 'his (hon.) country').

III.10.1.7 **Locative:**

-in /-il is the locative suffix. It is does not occur with the animate nouns and pronouns (e.g. irav-in vantu having come in the night). Besides this suffix there are many pospositions used to denote the locative sense in OTa, viz kan, ka:l, akam, pa:l, itai, kataivali, mutal, talai, va:y, utan etc.

III.10.1.8 **Vocative:**

The vocative case is expressed by the addition of suffixes -e: and -i:r, by dropping the final -n denoting masculine singular, lengthening the final vowel or simply by using the nominative forms without any modification.

III.10.1.2 **Modern Tamil:**

III.10.1.2.1 **Accusative:**

The accusative suffix is -ai. It is obligatory with human nouns and pronouns (examples: avan-ai pa:r 'look at him'; pu:nai eliy-ai-k-konratu 'the cat killed the rat').
whereas optional with neuter nouns (example: pu:nai eli piṭikkiratu 'the cat catches the rat').

III.10.1.2.2. Instrumental:

The suffix - a:l denotes the instrumental case sense. It is used to show either the instrument with which action is done or the part of the body which is used in doing the action.

exx:

avan pe:na:v-a:l elutukira:n 'he writes with the pen'
na:m kann-a:l pa:rkkiro:m 'we see with the eyes'.

However the past participles vaittu 'keeping', kontu 'taking' are also used to denote the instrumental case.

exx: pe:na: vaittu/kontu e_lu:te 'Do not write with the pen'

III.10.1.2.3. Sociative:

Modern Tamil sociative suffix is o:tu (exx: avan-o:tu na:n po:kama:tten:n 'I will not go with him'). The suffix - utan is also used to form the sociative case example: avan maniviyutan ka:tu cenra:n 'He went to the forest with wife'.

III.10.1.2.4. Dative:

The dative suffix is -kku which meaning is commonly directive, equivalent to English 'to'. In that case generally verbs of motion are used.

III.10.1.2.5. Ablative:

The ablative suffix in the present-day Tamil is -il iruntu. Another suffix -il is used in literary style.

ex: marattiliruntu vilunta:n 'he fell from the tree'.

III.10.1.2.6. Genitive:

The genitive marker is -utaiya. It does not occur with nouns ending in -am. Example:
avar- utaiya na:tu 'his (hon.) country'.

III.10.1.2.7. Locative:

The more common locative suffix is -in /-il. It does not occur with the animate nouns and pronouns; it has the meaning 'in, on, at' in English.

Exx: kinarril tanni:r illai 'there is no water in the well'.

III.10.1.2.8. Vocative:

Semantically some markers are accepted as the vocative case suffixes. All nouns take -e: as a vocative marker but nouns with final -an change the -an to -a: and nouns with final short vowel change the short vowel into a long one.

exx: paiyan 'boy' paiya: / paiyane: 'o, boy'
tampi 'younger' tampi: 'o, younger'.
III.10.2. MALAYALAM:

III.10.2.1 Old Malayalam

III.10.2.1.1. Accusative:

The accusative suffix is -ai in the early inscrip-
tional records, -e is also found in the early literature.
The suffix -ai is optional for non-human nouns.

III.10.2.1.2. Instrumental:

In the instrumental case the suffix is -a:l. It is
found to express the locative sense in one instance
exx: inna:l-a:l 'on this day'.

III.10.2.1.3. Sociative:

The allomorphs - otu and - o:tu are the sociative
case markers. They are in free variation. They are also
used to denote ablative of motion, locative, the adverb of
manner and 'through'.
exx:

a:riyar - otu po:yi '(some one ) went with Aryans'
ña:n avan-otu varannu 'I told him'.
katal-o:tu po:ya:r 'they went through the sea'.

III.10.2.1.4. Dative:

In the inscripational Malayalam the dative case suf-
fixes are -kku and -in. In the early literature the suffix
-(i)nu occurs after the stem ending in -n, and -kku elsewe
The suffix -kku is also used to denote purposive, locative and genitive sense (e.g. ve:tarkku atipati kugan 'Kugan is the leader of hunters').

III.10.2.1.5. Ablative:

The ablative of motion is expressed by -ilninru in the 12th century. This suffix is found as -ilninnu in early texts.

III.10.2.1.6. Genitive:

In the genitive case, -utai is found in the 10th century and -utaiya in the later period.

exx: pata:rar utai na:o 'the day of pata:rar'

III.10.2.1.7. Locative:

The suffixes -il and -kal are the most commonly used in the locative case (e.g. aval-il kanivun:ta:yi '(someone) had sympathy with her').

III.10.2.1.8. Vocative:

The vocative case is formed with the suffix -e: added after the nouns ending in -a or -ə which is lost after the addition of the vocative suffix. The nouns ending in -an drop the n and elongate the final vowel.

exx: amme: 'oh, mother'.
I.10.2.2. Modern Malayalam

I.I0.2.2.1. Accusative:

The accusative case suffix is -e. It is optional with inanimate nouns.

exx: na:n avan-e aticcu 'I beat him'.

II.10.2.2.2. Instrumental:

The suffix -a:1 expresses the instrumentality sense. Another suffix - kontu is also used to denote the instrumental meaning.

exx: enn-akkontu 'by me'

atu avana:1 ceyyappettu 'It was done by him'.

II.10.2.2.3. Dative:

The suffix -kku is used to form the dative case. It occurs afteri- , ai, -u, -y, -l, -l, l, -r and -in.

The suffix -n is also used to denote dative sense. It occurs after stops, -v and -an.

exx: avalkk pustakam kotuttu 'gave book to her'

avane pustakam kotuttu 'gave book to him'.

III.10.2.2.4. Ablative:

In Modern Malayalam the suffix - ilninnu denotes the ablative of motion.

exx: aval sku:ilninnu varinu 'she came from school'.
III.10.2.2.5. Genitive:

The suffix -te is the genitive formative. It occurs after the stem ending in -n. Another genitive case marker is -ute occurs elsewhere.

exx: raːmante pustakam 'Raman's book'
avante pustakam 'his book'; avel-ute 'her'

III.10.2.2.6. Locative:

The locative suffix is -il. It occurs with human nouns and pronouns.

III.10.2.2.7. Vocative:

Vocative case is formed with the suffix -e: which is added after nouns ending in -a or -ə.

exx: raːjəva > raːjəve: 'oh, the king'.

This suffix can be added directly to the nouns in literary Malayalam (raːman-e: 'oh, Rama'; but in the nouns ending in vowels other than -a and -ə, the final vowel is elongated exx: ceːcci ceːcci: 'oh, elder sister'.

III.10.3. K O T A.

In Kota nouns are declined for nine cases, viz. accusative, instrumental, suciative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, purposive and vocative.

III.10.3.1. Accusative:

The accusative allomorph is -n; it is optional with neuter inanimate nouns (exx: pujguːl-n 'tigers'; uːn
narm ercko:/ u:n mart-n ercko: 'He cut down the tree').

III.10.3.2 Instrumental:

Two allomorphs are found to denote instrumental case; they are -a:r which occurs after non-human nouns and -a:l after human nouns and pronouns.

exx: pa:b- a:r 'by the snake'; avn-a:l 'by him'.

III.10.3.3 Sociative:

The suffix is -o:r (exx: avl-o:r 'with her'; na:y-o:r 'with the dog').

III.10.3.4 Dative:

The dative case marker is -k (en-k 'to the wife').

III.10.3.5 Ablative:

The ablative case allomorphs are -tr and -ltr. The allomorph -tr occurs with nouns ending in lateral.

exx: mammu:l-tr 'from the ancient time', -ltr occurs elsewhere (exx: pay-ltr 'from the house').

III.10.3.6 Genitive:

-d is the genitive case suffix.

exx: en-d 'mine, my'; kart-d 'of the ass'.

III.10.3.7 Locative:

It is formed with the suffix -l.

exx: kan-l 'in the eye'; mart-l-l 'in the tree'.

-213-
III.10.3.8. Purposive:
The purposive case marker is -ka:ry
exx: en-ka:ry 'because of me' mogu:l - ka:ry 'for the children'.

III.10.3.9. Vocative:
There are four vocative suffixes viz -a:, -e:, -i: and -e:. The suffix -a: occurs with the human nouns when the speaker is a male (av-a: 'oh, mother'); -e: occurs after the human nouns when the speaker is a female person (av-e: 'oh, mother'); -i: with super human nouns (co:ym-i: 'oh, God') and -e: occurs after the non-human nouns and with the human nouns ending in a retroflex consonant (kara:l-e: 'oh, younger brother').

III.10.4. TODA:
Toda nouns are declined for nine cases, namely accusative, instrumental, sociative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, purposive and vocative.

III.10.4.1. Accusative:
The accusative suffixes are -n and -n. The suffix -n occurs after the noun stem ending in retroflex consonants (eg: o'1-n 'man') and -n occurs elsewhere (eg: ku'x-n pat 'catch the girl').

III.10.4.2. Instrumental:
-a'l, -a'r and -it denote the instrumental sense. The suffix -a'r occurs after the nouns referring to human
organs; it occurs after the non-human inanimate noun stems
and -a'l elsewhere.
exx: em-al 'by us'; o'n most-it me'n kwartspini 'I cut the
tree with an axe'.

III.10.4.3. Sociative:
The sociative case suffix is-pody. It occurs after
the human noun stems (exx: en-pody podoti 'you should not
come with me').

III.10.4.4. Dative:
The dative sense is denoted by the suffix -k
exx: nin-k 'to you'.

III.10.4.5. Ablative
There are two allomorphs -sn and -nid which form the
ablative case. They are in free variation.
exx: at-sn poditi 'he comes from there'
o'n a's-nid pipini 'I go from the house'.

III.10.4.6. Genitive
Genitive is formed with the suffix -n which occurs
after the kinship terms and -d occurring elsewhere.
ku'x-n ot 'daughter's husband'
kor-d ko'l, 'calif's leg'.

III.10.4.7 Locative
The allomorphs which denote the locative case sense
are -s, -ts -z, -kiz and -giz. The suffix -s occurs after
non-human inanimate nouns ending in -y; -ts occurs after the inanimate nouns ending in a nasal; -kiz after human nouns ending in a consonant; giz after pronouns and human nouns ending in a nasal and -z after non-human inanimate nouns ending in a consonant other than nasal or -y.

III.10.4.8. Purposive

The suffixes used in the purposive case are -koy after human nouns and pronouns and -koc elsewhere.

ex: ak ku'x - koy o'n pozpini 'I came for that girl'.

III.10.4.9. Vocative

The vocative suffixes are -i after the stem ending in -y, and -a elsewhere (exx: koy 'hand' > koy-i (voc.).

III.10.5. KASABA

Nouns are declined for ten cases, viz. accusative, instrumental, dative, genitive, locative, ablative, sociative, purposive, comparative and vocative. There is no marker for the nominative.

III.10.5.1. Accusative

-e is the only allomorph to denote the accusative case sense. It is optional with non-human nouns but obligatory with pronouns and human nouns.

exx:
ava:l-e 'her' (acc.); iva:n-a 'him (acc.)'
potta'ni vansina:n 'he bought pillow'.
III.10.5.2. Instrumental

There are two allomorphs for instrumental case, namely "-di and "-diradå:

"-di occurs after the link morph -a:-

exx: na-n-a:-di 'by me'; "-diradå: occurs elsewhere and is in free variation with -di after the link morph -a:

exx: avve-n-dirå: 'by mother'.

III.10.5.3. Dative

The dative case is formed with the allomorphs "-kk- and "-kke. "-kk- occurs after the link morph -a:

exx: nana:kkki 'to me' and "-kke elsewhere.

exx: ava:nikke 'to him'.

III.10.5.4. Genitive:

There is only one allomorph to mark the genitive case, i.e -d- (exx: na-m-a:-dt 'ours').

III.10.5.5. Locative

It is denoted by two allomorphs : "-da:ve and "-ili (which alternates with -li).

"-da:ve occurs in the pronouns after the link morphs -a- and -n:; "-ili/-li occurs elsewhere.

exx: na-n-a- da:ve 'with me'

erey-ili 'in the rock'.
III.10.5.6. **Ablative**

The ablative case suffixes are \(-da:virda: \) and \(-ilirda: \) which alternates with \(-lirda: \).

\(-da:virda: \) occurs in the pronouns after the link morphs \(-a-\) and \(-n-\) (e.g: nan-a-da:virda: 'from me')

\(-ilirda: \) occurs elsewhere (e.g: vi\(\text{i}d\)i-ilirda: 'from the fate')

III.10.5.7. **Sociative**

The suffixes \(-dokka: \) and \(-dottikk\) function as the sociative case markers and are in free variation.

exx: ava:r - dokka: \(\backslash\) 'with him (hon.)'
ava:r-dottikk \(\backslash\)

III.10.5.8. **Purposive**

has only one marker, namely \(-kka:gi \) (exx: u:r - kka:gi 'for the village').

III.10.5.9. **Comparative**

\(-kkirda: \) is the suffix which is used to denote the comparative case sense.

ex: kasaveni - kkirda: 'than Kasava man'

III.10.6. **Kurumba**

Kurumba has ten cases excluding the nominative.
They are: accusative, instrumental, sociative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, causative, purposive and vocative.
III.10.6.1. Accusative

There are two accusative suffixes, viz -e and -ma.

They are in complementation.

exx: magal-e 'daughter' (acc.)
    pili-ma 'tiger' (Acc.)

III.10.6.2. Instrumental

The suffix -o:da is the instrumental case marker
(exx: ikkɔ:da 'by the rice'; beriyɔ:da 'by the stick').

III.10.6.3. Sociative

The suffix -beliye functions as the sociative case formative.

exx: en-beliye 'with me'; ya:ni - beliye 'with elephant'

III.10.6.4. Dative

-ka is the dative case suffix. However another suffix -na is also found to denote dative sense.

exx: agha 'to him/her/it'
    u:ti-ña 'to ooty'

III.10.6.5. Genitive

The suffix - ediator is the genitive case marker
exx: a-ɡ-an-ediator 'his/her/its'; pikki:- ediator pikki 'bird's'.

III.10.6.6. Locative

It is formed by means of two suffixes, namely -1 and -pili. They are in free variation.
III.10.6.7. **Causative**

-inda is the causative case suffix

exx: en-inda 'because of me'
nin-inda 'because of you' (sg.)

III.10.6.8. **Purposive**

The suffix - kabeyri denotes the purposive case.

exx: ya:n-i - kabeyri 'for the sake of elephant'
mar:i kabeyri 'for the sake of Mary'.

III.10.6.9. **Vocative**

The vocative suffix is -o:y.

exx: mar:i-an-o:y 'oh, Maran!'
mar:a:n-an-o:y 'oh, Madan!'

III.10.7. **IRULA**

There are nine cases, viz accusative, instrumental, locative, dative, purposive, sociative, ablative, genitive and vocative.

III.10.7.1. **Accusative**

The suffixes are -ne which occurs after stems ending in -e and -e elsewhere.

exx: mara-tt-e 'tree'
Ve:la - ne 'work'
111.10.7.2. **Instrumental**

The suffixes -a:le occurring after the pronouns and animate nouns, -i after the nouns ending in -a; and -ili elsewhere denote the instrumental meaning.

exx: nan-an-a:le 'with me'
    pana-tt-i 'by money'
    katt-ili 'by the knife'

111.10.7.3. **Locative**

Four suffixes denote the locative case, viz -ili, -i, -kke and -akke. The last two suffixes occur with all nouns provided the predicate contains an action verb. The first two suffixes are morphologically conditioned.

exx: pakka-tt-i/pakka-tt-ili 'in the side'
    mara-kke 'in the tree'
    nan-akke 'with me'

111.10.7.4. **Dative**

-kk and -kke are the dative suffixes.

exx: nan-kk ( > nanukku) 'to me'
    mara -kke 'to the tree'.

111.10.7.5. **Purposive**

The purposive case has two suffixes, viz -kk and -kka:yi. They vary freely.

exx: marund - u - kkuc 'for the medicine'
    pamm - u - kka:yi 'for the fruit'.

III. 10.7.6. Ablative

The suffixes -ilirund and -irund denote the ablative meaning. They are in free variation.

exx: u:rilirundu 'from the village'
     gidattirundu 'from the plant'

III. 10.7.7. Sociative

The sociative case marker -o:de; it occurs with all nouns.

exx: nan-o:de 'with me'
     pa:.l -o:de 'with milk'

III. 10.7.8. Genitive

There are two suffixes for the genitive case viz -a and -tt.

exx: na-n-a 'my'; ni-y-a 'your (sg.)'; mara-tt
     'tree's'; y:me-tt-u > y:nettu 'elephant's'.

III. 10.8. K O D A G U

There are eight cases in this language, viz accusative, instrumental, sociative, dative, purposive, ablative, genitive and locative.

III. 10.8.1. Accusative

The allomorphs -a and -na are the accusative case markers.

exx: aval-a 'her (acc.)'; men-na 'me (Acc.)'.
III.10.8.2. Instrumental

-kondi and -kaynja are used to denote the instrumental case meaning.

exx: katti-n- kondi 'by the knife'
na:da - kaynja 'by me'

III.10.8.3. Dative

The dative suffixes are -gI and -ki. The suffix -gI occurs after stem ending in a nasal.

exx: adan-gI 'to it') and -ki elsewhere
eg: ava-ki 'to her')

III.10.8.4. Sociative

It is formed with the postpositions jotlli, pakka, and ku:da; they are in free variation.

exx: avenda ku:da 'with him'
na:da pakka 'with me'

III.10.8.5. Purposive

The suffix -a:yti is added to the dative to form the purposive case.

ex: na:ka:yti aveni: panina ma:dici 'he did this work for my sake'.

III.10.8.6. Ablative

The ablative suffix is -inji (exx: maninji 'from me'). Another suffix -kaynja is also found as ablative case marker; it occurs only after the genitive form of the noun (exx: na:da kaynja 'from me').
III.10.8.7. Genitive

The markers of the genitive case are -da and -ra.
The suffix -da occurs after personal pronoun and -ra elsewhere.
exx: idi na:-da mane 'this is my house'
me:ji-ra ka:li 'the leg of the table'.

III.10.8.8. Locative

The locative suffixes are -ll (occurring with neuter nouns), -alli with human nouns and pronouns after the genitive form, and -olll with human and neuter nouns.
exx: a: to:ta-t-ll mara undu 'there are trees in that garden', nu:dalli 'with me'.

III.10.9. K A N N A D A

It has seven cases: accusative, instrumental, sociative, dative, genitive, locative and vocative.

III.10.9.1. Old Kannada

III.10.9.1.1. Accusative -a:n, -an, -am, -a: and -a are the suffixes found in the inscriptions.

- a:n and -a: are found in the early period.
exx:
- bildo:n-a:n 'he who has fallen Acc.
- kayy-a 'hand Acc.
- vi:ram-am 'valour' Acc.

These suffixes are optional after non-human nouns.
III.10.9.1.2. **Instrumental**

The allomorphs -im, -in denote the instrumental case sense. They are in free variation. The allomorph -im occurs mostly after the nouns ending in a consonant.

ex: sukhad-in 'with happiness'

These suffixes are also used to express ablative of motion, comparative and adverb of manner (eg. keşay-im bandam 'He came from the lake').

III.10.9.1.3. **Sociative**

The sociative suffix is -odam. Another suffix -berasu is also found to denote sociative sense. Example:

śamasta balam - berasu po:gi 'having gone with all the army'.

III.10.9.1.4. **Dative**

Two suffixes are used to mark the dative case, namely -(k) ke and -(g)ge and both are in free variation.

Examples:

nagara-kke 'to the town'

erasar-gge 'to the king'

mane-ge 'to the house'

III.10.9.1.4. **Locative**

-ul/-ol are the markers of the locative case (exx: okkal ul potti 'having got burnt in the place of residence'). They vary freely.
III.10.9.1.5. Genitive

The suffix -a: is the genitive case marker. It is in free variation with -a.

Examples:

devan-a: pithama:n 'the altar of God'
poleyannan-a sila:karma 'the inscription of Poleyanna'

III.10.9.1.6. Vocative

Vocative is formed by lengthening the final vowel in vowel ending words or by adding e/e: after the singular nouns.

ex: andran-e 'oh, moon'.
candran-e: 'oh, moon'

III.10.9.1.2. Modern Kannada

III.10.9.1.2.1 Accusative

The accusative suffix is -annu (exx: marav-annu 'tree (Acc.)' nann - annu 'me (Acc.)'.

III.10.9.1.2.2. Instrumental

-inda is the instrumental suffix (exx: marad-inda 'by tree'; kattiy-inda 'by knife'

III.10.9.1.2.3. Sociative

-odane is the suffix which denotes the sociative case sense (exx: avan-odane 'with him'). There are postpositions like ku:da and jate/jote which denote also the associative sense.
III.10.9.1.2.4. Locative

The locative case is formed with the suffix -alli.

ex: moneyalli 'in the house'

III.10.9.1.2.5. Dative

-kke/-(g)ge is the dative case marker

exx: marakke 'to the tree'; u:negge 'to the elephant'.

III.10.9.1.2.6. Genitive

The suffix is -a.

avala = her (Gen.)

idu avana mane. This (is) his house.

III.10.9.1.2.7. Vocative

It is formed by lengthening the final vowel in words ending in a vowel or by adding -e to the nouns. The prepositions lo: and le: are also found to denote the vocative sense. lo: occurs before masculine nouns, le: before feminine nouns.

lo: ra:ma: 'oh, Rama'

le: seetha 'oh, Seetha'.

III.10.10. TULU

There are seven case forms in Tulu, viz accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative genitive, locative and vocative. Of these, the nominative represents the bare base to which
other case suffixes are added.

III.10.10.1. Accusative

The accusative case suffix is -nt.

ex: kanji-nt kanola 'take away the calf'

III.10.10.2. Instrumental

The marker of instrumental case is -da.

exx: kanji-da gobbontulle 'he is playing with the calf'

III.10.10.3. Dative

The suffix -dt is used to form the dative case.

ex: kanji-gt kolla 'give to the calf'

III.10.10.4. Genitive

The genitive case marker is -da.

ex: kanji-da ka:rt 'the calf's leg'

III.10.10.5. Ablative

The suffix -dt is used to form the ablative case.

ex: kanji-dt pulua:tnt 'worms have grown on the calf'

III.10.10.6. Locative

Location is formed by the means of four allomorphs, namely -tt, -tu, -dt and -ati.

III.10.10.7. Vocative

The suffix -e forms the vocative suffix when added to the nouns.

ex: inci bala kanji-y-e 'come here, calf'
III.10.11. **TELU Gü**

Telugu has eight cases, viz accusative, instrumental, sociative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative.

III.10.11.1. **OLD TELU GU**

III.10.11.1.1. **Accusative**

The accusative suffixes recorded in OTel. are -n, -nu, -ni and -(n)in.

exx: pa:ra-nu 'brahmin' (Acc.); a:li-ni 'wife' (Acc.).

III.10.11.1.2. **Instrumental**

Instrumentality is formed with the suffixes -nan and -n.

eg: artti-n 'with the desire'

a:t ma:nuatambu-nam 'by his own will'

However the post position ce:ta(n) is also found to express instrumental meaning (eg: vaidumbula ce:ta: tam battam Kattabadi 'having been appointed by the Vaidumbas'.

III.10.11.1.3. **Sociative**

There are five allomorphs, i.e - to: - tolan, - toli, to:n and - to:da to denote the sociative sense. They are in free variation.

exx: samatta paduva - to: bo:ya kot: tambbul goni 'having taken the forts of the Boya with all the army'

nolambi - to:li 'with Nolambi!'
III.10.11.1.4. Dative

The suffixes are -ku(n) and -ki(n).

-ki(n) occurs after stems ending in -i; -ku(n) elsewhere.

-ku(n) alternates with -ku:n in the early inscriptions.

exx:

išere:ni - kin 'to Išre:n'
lo:ke:švara bhatarala - kun 'to the God lo:ke:švara'

III.10.11.1.5. Ablative of motion

The suffix is -undi which is added to the locative form in the early inscription.

ex: ce:bro:lan -undi bejava:da ja:traku vacci 'he, having come from ce:bro:lu for the festival.'

III.10.11.1.6. Genitive

The genitive case is formed by the suffix -a(du) which is found after personal and reflexive pronouns. However the oblique form itself can be used as genitive form.

exx: nana-(du) 'my'
mana(du) 'our'

III.10.11.1.7. Locative

Location is denoted by the postposition - *ul 'inside' (ex: a:ji-ulana ( ≠ a:jilo:n) 'in the battle').

However other suffixes like -an, -andu and -ni are found
used only with inanimate nouns.

exx: u:di - andu. 'in the village'

padumat-an 'in the west'

III.10.11.2.1. Accusative

is formed by the addition of the suffix -a:/-a after nouns ending in -u, and the lengthening of the final vowel elsewhere. -a: and -a vary freely.

ex: ra:mud - a 'oh, Rama'

The suffix - a:ra:/-a:ra occurs after the plural nouns.


III.10.11.2. Modern Telugu

III.10.11.2.1. Accusative

Two variants -nu ard -ni denote the accusative case sense. -nu occurs after the first and second person pronouns singular (exx: ne:-nu 'me'; nin-nu 'you') -ni occurs after all other pronouns and nouns (exx: kukka-ni 'day'.

III.10.11.2.2. Instrumental / sociative

The suffix is - to:

exx: katti-to: 'with knife'

na:-to: 'along with me'

III.10.11.2.4. Dative

-ku and -ki are the dative suffixes. -ku occurs after first person singular, first person plural (exclusive)
Second person singular and second person plural.

-ki occurs after all other pronouns including the first person plural (inclusive) and after all nouns.

Example: na:-ku 'to me'; ma:-ku 'to us'; mana-ki 'to us' (incl.); kukka-ki 'to the dog'.

III.10.11.2.5. Ablative

The ablative suffix is -ninci (exx: madrasu-ninci 'from Madras').

III.10.11.2.6. Genitive

- & and rarely -yokka are the genitive case markers.

Example: na: 'my'; ni: 'your'

na:-yokka 'my'; ni:-yokka 'your'.

III.10.11.2.7. Locative

Four variants -lo:, -lo:, -ni and -llo: denote the locative sense. They are in free variation.

Example: ni:-lo: 'in you' (sg.)

gullo: 'in the temple'.

kotla -llo: 'in the shop'.

III.10.11.2.8. Vocative

The vocative suffix is -a: (exx: akk-a: 'elder sister'; amm-a: 'mother'.)

Five cases are found in this language; they are: accusative, dative, instrumental/locative, ablative and genitive.

III.10.12.1. Accusative

The accusative case suffixes are -ŋ and -u:n. The suffix -ŋ occurs after the oblique suffix -n- (eg: pe:raːl-n-0 pe:raː-n 'boy' (Acc.) and -u:n elsewhere (exx: koːnda:-t-u:n 'ox').

III.10.12.2. Dative

To denote the dative case sense the suffix -k is used (exx: muːraː-t-k 'to the cow').

III.10.12.3. Instrumental / Locative

Instrumental and locative case use the suffix -e to denote instrumentality and location. This suffix occurs with all the nouns except roːn 'house' which takes the suffix -ŋ.

exx: kəy-d-e: 'with the hand'

ruːsiːn-e: 'with the knives'

However the postposition - agga: 'near' is also found after pronouns and human nouns to denote the instrumental meaning (eg: voːn agga: 'with him').
III.10.12.4. Ablative

The ablative case allomorphs are -na:l (which occurs after the noun na:r 'village') and -a:l elsewhere.
exx: na:tana:l (< na:r-t-na:l) 'from the village'
    kuhi:ta:l 'from the well'

III.10.12.5. Genitive

The genitive case is formed with the suffixes -na: (occurring after the noun na:r 'village'); -va: after the personal and reflexive pronouns and -a: elsewhere.
exx: na:tna: (< na:r-t-na) 'of the village'
    na:-va: 'my'
    kuhi:-t-a: 'of the well'

III.10.13. K O N D A

III.10.13.1. Accusative/Dative

The accusative/dative suffixes are -ni after the 1st and 2nd person pronouns and -a elsewhere.
The accusative is optional in the case of non-human nouns.
exx: aya guruve-na: osinar 'they are bringing that Guru'

III.10.13.2. Sociative

The suffix -vale is the sociative case suffix.
ex: korodi -vale sana 'go with the box'

III.10.13.3. Instrumental / Ablative

The suffix -an which is sometimes followed by -d denotes the instrumental / ablative meaning.
III.10.13.4. Genitive

Genitive is formed by the allomorphs -ti/-di/ri,-a and -i in most of the instances.

exx: gorari ti konda de:vun 'the Konda God of hills'
vank-a a:ram 'their (fem. pl.) food'
ver-i inro va:tar 'they came to their house'.

III.10.13.5. Locative

The locative sense is denoted by the suffixes -to/-ro which occur only after a few stems like ilu 'house', na:ru 'village', solu 'fire place', -i after the stem ending in-m and -t(u)/-d(u)/-ru elsewhere.

exx: unrina: -to soRad 'it went into a village'
sa:lam-i nores maRad 'in the cave, there was a tiger'.
mera-t-ektan 'he climbed on the tree'
unripingu nadi -R(u) idtan 'he put a corpse in the middle of the house'.

III.10.14. KU I

III.10.14.1. Accusative

The suffix for the accusative case is -i. It is used to denote the indirect object after some verbs like vespa 'to speak', inba 'to say', to:spa 'to show'. It is to be noted also that the accusative case sign is often omitted if the noun is neuter.

exx: veska gatanju mrahnu -tin-i katitenju 'the wood man cut down the tree'.

ex: kuram-t-an koya: 'cut with an axe'
III.10.14.2. Sociative

The suffixes -ge and -ke denote the sociative sense.
-ge occurs after a stem ending in a nasal and -ke elsewhere.
exx: a:ba-n-ge 'to father'
    aje-n-ke 'with a good man'

III.10.14.3. Dative

The dative suffixes are -gi after the stems ending in a nasal and -ki elsewhere.
exx: a:ba-ki     'to father'
    aje-n-gi     'to mother'

III.10.14.4. Ablative

Several postpositions help to express the ablative sense. -ti, -ki and -rai are some of those postpositions.
exx: eanju .ku:ru-rai di:katenju 'he fell down from the wall'

III.10.14.5. Genitive

The oblique base of the nouns or the nominative form are used as the genitive form.
exx: aja 'mother' → aja:n-    'of the mother'
    a:ba 'father' → a:ba:n-    'of the father'


A number of postpositions such as -ni, -ta and suffixes like -a and -ndo are found to express the locative meaning.
exx: sc:ra:k -ni    'on the hills'
ketanga - ndo 'in the wet fields'
paheri - a 'in the road'

III.10.14.7. **Vocative**

The allomorphs -$ti$, -$di$ (they vary freely and occur after the singular nouns) and -$teru$, -$deru$ (vary freely and occur after the plural nouns) denote the vocative sense. In these, -$di$ and -$deru$ occur after stems ending in a nasal and -$ti$ and -$teru$ elsewhere. However, very often a noun in the vocative is preceded by the exclamation o:- or e- .

exx:

a:bati 'oh! father'
a:bagan - $deru$ 'oh! fathers'
ajan -$di$ 'oh! mother'
 o: kra:$di$-$ti$ 'oh! tiger'

III.10.15. **MALTO**

There are seven cases in Malto, viz accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative of motion, sociative, genitive and locative.

III.10.15.1. **Accusative**

The accusative case suffixes are -$e$, -$en$, -$in$ and -$n$ -$e$ occurs after neuter noun ending in a nasal -$en$ after personal and human interrogative pronouns -$in$ after nouns ending in a consonant other than nasal -$n$ elsewhere.
III.10.15.2. Instrumental

Instrumental sense is expressed by the allomorphs -et, -it and -t.
The allomorph -et occurs after neuter noun ending in a n or -r.
-it after the nouns ending in other consonants.
-t elsewhere.

exx:

man-et 'by the tree'
malet-it 'by the men'
malet-t 'by the man'

III.10.15.3. Dative
-e and -k denote the dative sense.
-e occurs after personal and human interrogative pronouns
-k elsewhere.

exx: en-g-e 'to me'
man-i-k 'to a tree'
III.10.15.4. Ablative of motion

-nte occurring after human nouns ending in a vowel,
-inte after human nouns ending in a consonant and
-te elsewhere, are the ablative allomorphs.

exx:

male-nte  'from a man'
mann-te    'from a tree'
maler-inte 'from the men'

III.10.15.5. Sociative

The sociative sense is expressed by the forms -gusan/-gane:

exx:

a:d a:lorguthiar - gusan ra'i: 'she is with the men'
a:s a:liguthiar - gane: ka:das 'he goes with the women'

III.10.15.6. Genitive

The genitive case suffix is -ki.

ex:  male-ki  'of the man'

III.10.15.7. Locative

The locative allomorphs are -no after neuter nouns ending in a nasal or a vowel, and -eno after personal and human interrogative pronouns and also after the neuter noun ending in a consonant.

exx:  man-no    'in a tree'
en-g-eno     'with a man'
a:de:s-i-no  'in that country'
III.10.16. BRAHUI
III.10.16.1. Accusative / Dative

The suffix is -e. It is obligatory only with the rational objects.

exx: da:shar-e ills: 'he left this village'
   te:na: musi huchch -e sauda: kare:t 'I sold my three camels'.

III.10.16.2. Instrumental

-at is the instrumental case suffix.

ex: da:chukke du: -at halkut 'I caught this bird with my hand'.

III.10.16.3. Sociative

The sociative suffix is -to.

ex: i: na: ma:ra: -to mastungai -a kiva 'I will go with your son to Mastung'.

III.10.16.4. Purposive

The allomorphs of this case are -kin when it co-occur with the present affirmative of the verb, -aki with monosyllabic singular nouns and -ki elsewhere.

exx: khuda:na: pin - aki nane ille: 'for God's name's sake let us go'.

   i: te:na ba:va - ki da: dagha:re dase:t 'I showed this land for my father'.
III.10.16.6. Ablative

The suffix is -a:n.
ex: tugh - a:n bash massut 'I awoke from sleep'

III.10.16.6. Genitive

The genitive suffix is -a: and the preceding n and t are taken as inflectional increments.
exx: khara:s-t-a: 'of the bull'
kan-a: hulli: batane 'my horse has not come'

III.10.16.7. Locative

There are two allomorphs to denote the locative sense, viz - a:ti: and - a:i.

-a:ti: denotes 'rest in' or 'motion into a place'
-a:i means 'motion to or towards'
exx: ut-a:ti: pe:ha:t 'I went into the house'
kana: ura:gh - a:i ba 'come towards my house'.
### Case suffixes in DRAVIDIAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>-otu/-o:tu</td>
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<td>-iliruntu</td>
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III.11. VERBS

Verbs are those which take or are capable of taking tense suffixes. The verb in the Dravidian Languages distinguishes various grammatical categories such as mood, tense, gender and person. The verbs are generally divided into two groups, namely, the finite verbs and the non-finite verbs. The later comprises the participles, verbal participles such as conditional verbal participles, infinitives and relative participle whereas the former includes all those which can function as an utterance.

In the Dravidian Languages, the verbal forms consist of a verbal stem plus suffixes expressing various grammatical categories. The number of the verbal suffixes varies from language to language. Moreover there are simple verbal stems and complex verbal stems. The simple verbal stem may contain a verb root plus one or two grammatical suffixes whereas the complex verbal stem may contain two or more verb roots plus grammatical suffixes, or may simply comprise aspectual and modal auxiliaries. The conjugation of Tamil verbs is usually discussed on the basis of past tense allomorphs. However there is another classification of verbs called strong and weak verbs which is based on the infinitive allomorph. The verbs which take -kka are called strong verbs, those which take -a alone are called weak verbs.
III.11.1. TRANSITIVE AND CAUSATIVE SUFFIXES

Certain verbs are capable of taking a direct object. This type of verbs are called transitive verbs; some others are not and they are called intransitive verbs.

Transitive verbs are subdivided into two groups, i.e. those which, morphologically, contain a transitive marker and those which do not. The first group of verbs are called derived transitives since they are derived from verbs which are either transitive or intransitive to which a transitive marker is added. The second group of verbs are called inherent transitives.

III.11.1.1. T A M I L

There are many pairs of intransitive and transitive bases in which the intransitive ends in a single stop (P) or the combination nasal plus homorganic stop (NP) and the corresponding transitive in a double stop (PP) of the same articulation.

The double stop in the transitive base can be considered as the result of the morphophonemic change, viz (NP) Tr. -- PP.

Examples:

- po:k-ku 'to cause to go'
- per-ukku 'to cause to grow'
There are also certain verbs the bases of which end in 'to show'.

alar-ttu 'to cause to blossom'

kita 'to lie down' —> kita-ppu 'to cause to lie down'

However it should be noted that when the suffix -ttu occurs after verb bases ending in -l, in, -t, and -n, the following changes take place, i.e.:

1. \{\text{n}\} + tt \rightarrow \text{rr}

Example: tin 'to ear' —> tir-ru 'to feed'

akal 'to be removed' —> akarru 'to remove'

2. \{\text{n}\} + tt \rightarrow \text{tt}

Examples: ka:n 'to see' —> kait-tu 'to show'

ni:l 'to be lengthened' —> ni:ttu 'to lengthen'

There are also certain verbs the bases of which end in -i, -y, -r or -t and a few other verbs of the type (C)V in which transitive and intransitive are marked by using different allomorphs of the tense suffixes. For example the allomorphs -nt/-t- of the past tense, -kir- of the
present tense and -v/-um of the future tense are used to express the intransitive meaning when they are added to the verb base.

**Examples:** mā:y [-nt-, -v-] 'to die'.

But the allomorphs -tt- (past), -kki- (present), -pp/-kkum (future) express transitive meaning when added to the same verb base.

**Examples:** mā:y [-tt-, -pp-] 'to kill'.

In Tamil, the causative suffix is / -vi-pi- x ppi- /. The suffix -vi- occurs after the weak verbs and -ppi after the strong verbs.

These suffixes are generally added to the verbal bases to convert them into causatives.

**Examples:** kal 'to learn' → kar-pi 'to teach';

ula 'to suffer' → ula-ppi 'to cause to suffer'.

But it is to be noted that there are a few instances in which these suffixes are added to intransitive bases. In all cases the following morphophonemic changes take place:

p. → pp/ in the strong verbs
p → v/ in the weak verbs.

There are also a few instances in which the causative suffix varies freely with the transitive suffixes and also instances of free variation between the allomorphs of the transitive suffix itself.
There is another class of verbs in which the transitives are anc intransitive bases in which the intransitive ends with a I

ka:ntu 'to snow'
ka:n-pi

nata 'to walk' --> nata-ppi
nata-ttu' to cause to walk'

exx: ka:n 'to see' --> ka:t-tu 'to show'

III.11.2. MALAYALAM

The formation of transitives and causatives is similar to that of the Tamil languages. But in Malayalam the following phonetic changes take place:

NP --> NN

Dental --> Palatalized after i or y.

In this language also there are many pairs of transitive and intransitive bases in which the intransitive ends with a consonant and the corresponding transitive in a double consonant of the same point of articulation.

Example: a:x-ru 'to grow cool' --> a:x-ru 'to cool'

or the double stop of the transitive base will be the result of the morphophonemic change namely (N)P + Tr. --> PP.

Example:

per-uku 'to be multiplied' --> per-ukku 'to multiply'

There is another class of verbs in which the transitives are formed from intransitives by adding the suffix -ttu. Here also the following sandhi changes take place:
I.11.1.3. KOT A

In one class of verbs a final voiced stop or \( r \) of the
There is another class of verbs in which the transitive suffixes are -c- and -t-. The following changes take place:

- y and nj are dropped before c.
- r and v are dropped before t.

Examples:
- kal- 'to learn' → kal-c- 'to teach'
- ka:yl- 'to become hot' → ka:-c- 'to heat'
- par-d 'to spread over' → par-t 'to spread'
- par-t 'to spread'
- ni-r 'iron becomes longer' → ni-t 'to lengthen'
- ni-r 'iron becomes longer'
- ni-t 'to lengthen'
- ni-r 'iron becomes longer'

There are groups of verbs ending in -v and -y in which the past stem contains the past marker -d- (which changes to -c- after y) in the intransitive and -t- (which changes to -c- after y) in the transitive.

Examples:
- erv -(er-d-) 'to spring up' → erv- (er-t-) 'to make to spring up'
III.11.1.5. KURUMBA

The inherent transitive verbs are those verbs which have stems which take past tense -tn/-in- and non-past tense -x-; past tense -t- and non-past tense -k-, past tense -t- and non-past tense -x-, past tense -d- and non-past tense -x-, past tense -nd- and non-past tense -k-, past tense -nd- and non-past tense -x-. (For detail cf Chidambaramatha Pillai: 1978: 62-80).

III.11.1.4. K A S A B A

It is to be noted from these examples that v before t/d and y before c are dropped.

The causative suffix in Kota is -kc/-gc-. It may be derived from gey- (ge-c-) 'to make, do' (Emeneau 1968: 368).

Examples:

un- 'to drink' --> un-kc- 'to make to drink'

cot- 'to fall in drops' --> cot-gc- 'to make to fall in drops'

III.11.1.5. KURUMBA

The inherent transitive verbs are those verbs which have stems which take past tense -tn/-in- and non-past tense -x-; past tense -t- and non-past tense -k-, past tense -t- and non-past tense -x-, past tense -d- and non-past tense -x-, past tense -nd- and non-past tense -k-, past tense -nd- and non-past tense -x-. (For detail cf Chidambaramatha Pillai: 1978: 62-80).

Transitive

exx: adak-n-i (> adakuni) 'controlled-I'

ulp-n-i (> ulpunii) 'caused to get down'

piri-ñ-i (> pirji) 'got separated-I'
Intransitive

adaŋ-n-i ( > onda:d-ni) 'become controlled-I'
uli-t-i ( > ulci ) 'got down - I'
piri-t-i ( > pirci ) 'separated - I'

Transitive and intransitive verbs are those verbs which have stems which take past tense suffix -t- and -Q- as non-past suffix, -ē- as past tense suffix and -p- as non-past suffix (the derived transitives of this subclass take -X- as transitive suffix); -ā- as the past tense suffix and -Q- as non-past suffix; -ā- as past tense suffix and -p- as non-past suffix; -n- as past tense and -Q- as non-past suffix; -n- as past tense suffix and -p- as non-past suffix; -nd- as past suffix and -p- as non-past suffix.

III.11.1.6. I R U L A

Transitive and intransitive verbs have stems which take past tense suffix -in-, -nd-, -ē- and -ā-. The transitive suffixes are -t-, -X- and -tt-.

-t- occurs after stems of verbs which take past tense marker - in;

-X- after stems of verbs which take past tense marker -nd-, -tt- after stems of verbs taking past tense marker -t-.
III.11.1.7. KODAGU

It has many classes of verbs in which the formation of transitives vary from one class to another. Thus in one set of verbs, base final voiced stops or the cluster, homorganic nasal plus voiced stop is replaced by the corresponding voiceless stop in the formation of transitives.

Examples:

a:g - 'to be' \rightarrow a:-k- 'to make to stay'

Ur-ang- 'to slip down' \rightarrow Ur-ak- 'to let slip down'

In another group of verbs, transitive suffixes -k-, -t- and -Ip- are added to the intransitive verbs. The following changes are noted:

- base final l is lost before -k-
- base final r or n is lost before -t-

Examples:

\[\text{g}l \rightarrow \text{g}l-\text{ak-} 'to leave one's position' \rightarrow \text{g}l-\text{ak-} 'to make to leave'

\[\text{kar-} 'to be digested' \rightarrow \text{kara-} 'to digest'

\[\text{ari-} 'to become dry' \rightarrow \text{a:-t-} 'to dry'

\[\text{ari-} 'to find out' \rightarrow \text{ar:Ip-} 'to inform'

The transitive morpheme has a zero allomorph in another set of verbs. These verbs take the tense suffix allomorphs -v- (non-past) and -nd- (which changes to -nj- after i/y ; past): after i/y ; past) in the transitive.
Examples:

kari- (-v-, nj-) 'to be singed' \(\rightarrow\) kerry (-p-, -e-) 'to singe'

tad (-v- -and-) 'to be obstructed' \(\rightarrow\) tadd (-p-, -t-) 'to obstruct'

III.11.1.8. KANNADA

The causative - transitive suffix in Kannada is -isu.

exx: en 'to say' \(\rightarrow\) en-iso 'to cause to say'

ordu 'to run' \(\rightarrow\) ord -iso 'to cause to run'.

Kannada has a few pairs of intransitive and transitive bases. The intransitive bases and generally in a voiced stop or a homorganic nasal plus voiced stop; the transitive bases end in a voiceless stop.

exx: am-ugu 'to be yield to pressure' \(\rightarrow\) am-uku 'to press firmly'

tur-ugu 'to be crammed' \(\rightarrow\) tur-uku 'to cram'

Kannada has also a few verbs which end in -n, -n and -l. This group of verbs has the corresponding transitive verbs with -tt- which is assimilated to \(\hat{\epsilon}\) or \\(\hat{\eta}\).

exx: na:n 'to get wet' \(\rightarrow\) na:ru 'to moisten'

un 'to eat a meal' \(\rightarrow\) u:du 'to cause to eat'

III.11.1.9. T O D A

Transitives are formed in one group of verbs by substituting the corresponding voiceless stop to a final voiced stop, fricative or trill of the transitive base.
Moreover there is another category of verbs in which the transitive suffixes are -c- and -t-. The final consonant of the stem is lost before the transitive suffix -c-.

The base final l or l/n + t change to t or t.

exx: ko:-y- 'to be hot' --> ko:-c- 'to heat'
     u:-l- 'to roll (intr.)' --> u:-t- 'to roll (tr.)'

In another set of verbs the past stem contains the past marker -s- (which changes to -s- after y) in the intransitive and -t- (which changes to -c- after y) in the transitive. In the transitives that do not end in -y the suffix -f- occurs in the non-past stems.

exx: ūd- (ūd-s) 'to rise' --> ūf- (ū-f-) 'to arouse from sleep'
     twad- (twad-s) 'to be polluted' --> twad-f- (twad-t-) 'to pollute'

The causative suffix in Toda is -et-.

exx: tin- 'to eat' --> tin-et- 'to cause to eat'

III.11.1.10. T U L U

In some dialect of this language, the suffix -pu- is found to denote transitivity.

exx: ka:yu - 'to be hot' --> ka:yi-pu 'to make hot'
     pori - 'to be parched' --> pori-pu 'to parch'
The causative suffixes are -po:- after monosyllabic bases and -o:- after disyllabic bases.

- po: and -o:- are in free variation in disyllabic bases.

exx: tin- 'to eat' --> tin-po:- 'to cause to eat'
     bar- 'to come' --> bar-po:- 'to cause to come'
     o:du- 'to read' --> o:d-o:- 'to cause to read'

III.11.1.11. TELUGU

It has three transitive suffixes viz -cu, -pu and -incu. The suffix -cu is generally added to bases ending in ru, ru, -lu, -nu and -du; the suffix -pu is substituted for the final syllable of some verbs ending in -gu, -cu and -yu; -incu is used to form causative verbs from transitives.

Examples:

ka:ru 'to leak' --> ka:ru-cu 'to make to leak'
     a:du 'to play' --> a:d-incu 'to cause to play'
     udugu 'to end' --> udu-pu 'to cause to end'
     ce:yu 'to do' --> ce:y-incu 'to cause to do'
     ma:yu 'to be destroyed' ma:y-incu 'to cause to become ripe'

III.11.1.12. PENGO

In some group of the intransitive verbs which end in a voiced stop or a nasal plus homorganic stop, there are corresponding transitives ending in a voiceless stop of the same series.
In some pairs of verbs the intransitive ends in a nasal (n, n, m) and the corresponding transitive has either the marker t, c or p before which the nasal is lost.

Exx: un- 'to drink'  →  u:-t- 'to give to drink'
    tin- 'to eat'  →  ti-c- 'to feed'

Some other suffixes like -p- and -t- are also found to be transitive markers of some verbs (ju:- 'to descend'  →  ju:-t- 'to bring down'; ar- 'to fall'  →  ra-t 'to let fall'.

III.11.13. K U I

There are many pairs of verbs in Kui, in which the intransitives end in a voiced stop or homorganic nasal plus voiced stop and the corresponding transitives in the corresponding voiceless stop or s.

Exx:
    e:-g- 'to be open'  →  e:-k- 'to open'
    glo:-ng- 'to be muddy'  →  glo:-k- 'to make muddy'
    a-j- 'to fear'  →  a-s- 'to cause to fear'.

A set of verbs take the transitive marker -p-, -s-, -k- and -t-.
Examples:

e- 'to arrive' → e-p- 'to cause to arrive';
mî- 'to bathe' → mî-s- 'to cause to bathe';
un- 'to drink' → u:-t-/ u:-r- 'to cause to drink'.

The inflected forms of the verb gi- 'to do' are added to the infinitive of a verb which has no corresponding form with the transitive suffix to denote causative or transitive sense.


A few verbs consist of intransitives ending in a voiced stop or homorganic nasal plus voiced stop with the corresponding transitives ending in a voiceless stop.

exx: u:-d- 'to become wet' → u:-t- 'to wet';
u:-fl- 'to hang (intr.)' → tu:-k- 'to hang'.

In another set of verbs it is added one of the transitive markers -t-, -h- and -p-.

Example: un- 'to drink' → u:-t- 'to give to drink'.

In most of the verbs the transitive-causative sense is expressed by the verb ki- 'to make' with a special verbal participle characterized by a labial element except for a very few verbs.

Examples: hi-viki- 'to cause to give';
pis-piki- 'to cause to abandon'.

In Kolami the transitive suffixes are -ap-, -ip-, -p-, -k- and -t-.

Examples: negay- 'to fly' --> neg-ap 'to make to fly'

da:t- 'to cross' --> da:t-ip 'to make to cross'.

Some sets of transitive stems are found corresponding to a single intransitive stem (un- 'to drink' corresponds to un-ip- 'to make to drink', and ur-t- 'to give to drink'.)

In Kolami the transitive suffixes are -ap-, -ip-, -p_, and -t_.

Examples:

negay- 'to fly' --&gt; neg-ap 'to make to fly'
da:t- 'to cross' --&gt; da:t-ip 'to make to cross'.

Some sets of transitive stems are found corresponding to a single intransitive stem (un- 'to drink' corresponds to un-ip- 'to make to drink', and ur-t- 'to give to drink'.)

The suffix -up- is added to the intransitive to form transitive. A few verbs ending in -y or -g take the transitive suffix -p-, then the preceding y or g is dropped before it.

Examples:

a:r- 'to be dry' corresponds to a:r-up- 'to make dry'

ka:y- 'to be hot' corresponds to ka:y-p- 'to heat'.

In this language, the transitive-causative suffix is -ip- /-it. This suffix occurs in most of the verbs but some bases ending in a voiced consonant or homorganic nasal plus voiced consonant substitute for the transitive-causative suffix the corresponding voiceless consonant.

Examples:

ta:k- 'to walk' --&gt; ta:k-ip 'to make to walk'

o:d- 'to break' --&gt; o:d-ip 'to cause to break'.
The transitive suffix is -p- / -t-

exx: ar- 'to cry' ➔ ar-p//ar-t- 'to make to cry'.

The different transitive - causative suffixes are
ta:?a-, a:ba?a- and -d- (which occurs after verbs ending
in n.).

exx: es?- 'to break' ➔ es-ta:?a 'to cause to break'
on - 'to eat' ➔ on-d 'to feed'.

Malto has the transitive - causative suffix -tr- which
has an allomorph -d- after verbs ending in -n and in a few
other verbs. However to the suffix -tr- it can be added anot-
er causative suffix -tit- which converts a transitive base
into a causative one and a causative base into a double causa-
tive base.

Examples: baj - 'to strike' ➔ baj-tr- 'to cause to strike'
et- 'to come down' ➔ et-tr- 'to take down' ——
et-tr-tit- to cause to take down'.

Malto has the possibility of forming intransitive bases from
transitive bases by adding the suffix -gr- to these transi-
tive bases.

Example:
is- 'to tear (tr.) ➔ is-gr 'to be torn'. 
III.11.1.21. BRAHUI

In this language the transitive-causative suffix is -*if-*. But this suffix which has a variant -*f-* after bases ending in a vowel can also be added to a transitive or causative base containing already -*if-* to convert it into a double causative.

Examples:

    ka? 'to die' ---+ kas-*f-* 'to kill' ---+ kas-*f-if
                      'to cause to be killed'.

III.11.1.22. Reconstructed suffixes

The transitive-causative suffixes can be reconstructed to Proto Dravidian. Thus in the (V) PP transitive formation process, the commonly reconstructed suffixes are *-*kk-*, *-*tt-*, *-*tt-*, *-*pp- and *-*cc-*. Moreover the causative suffix in OTa. and Ma., namely -*vi-*( oo-ppi) can also be reconstructed to Proto Dravidian though it was used only in the post Cangam literature in a few instances and in one su:tra of Tolka:ppiyam.

However this suffix is not used in Modern Tamil.

In old Malayalam, it is used commonly but later the V in *vi* has been dropped.

Examples: cey-*vi* ---+ ceyy-*i-* 'to cause to do'--

   it is found in Modern Malayalam (example: o:*t-i-*
                      'to cause to 'run').

The suffix *-*tt-* and its variants *-*tt-* and *-*tt-* occur in all the languages except Telugu and Brahui. The suffix *-*pp-
and its reflexes -ip- (in Parji), -p- (in Gadaba Ool.), -if- (Brahui) occur in all the languages except Kota, Gondi, Kurux and Malto. The suffix *-cc- is not found in Tamil, Malayalam, Kodagu, Kolami, Naiki (Ch.), Kurux, Malto and Brahui. It appears that the process of transitive formation in bases ending in a stop (P) or homorganic nasal plus stop (NP) by replacing it by the corresponding double stop (PP) is in a complementary distribution with the formation of transitives by the addition of a particle of transition or causation to the root.

The two methods of formation (i.e the change of the final plosives and the addition of the suffix) need not be considered as different processes as previously stated by many scholars like Caldwell, Subramanya Sastri, Ramaswami Aiyar etc.

Therefore all derived transitive bases should be treated as consisting of one single transitive morpheme with different allomorphs.
III.11.2. PAST-SUFFIXES

The past tense formation is one of the oldest morphological constructions in Dravidian.

Many of the Dravidian languages have a number of suffixes for the past. These suffixes are added to the non-marked stem in all the languages except Kota and the two-stem Parji verbs and multi-stem Telugu verbs.

III.11.2.1 TAMIL

III.11.2.1.1. Finite Forms

In OTa, the verbs are inflected by four allomorphs which are the past tense markers, namely, t, nt, tt and i (co-in-/iy-).

Thus Old Tamil verbs are generally classified into four classes on the basis of these suffixes. The doubling of the plosive is also found in some verbs, viz miku and mikku.

In Modern Tamil, the past tense markers are t, tt, nt, in and doubling of P (plosive) as PP. Therefore, the verb stems are classified into five classes on the basis of these tense markers.

III.11.2.1.2. Non-Finite forms:

The non-finite forms comprise broadly the adjectival participle and the adverbial participle respectively called peyareccam and vinaiyeccam by the traditional grammarians.

The adjectival participle or relative participle comprises among other subclasses the present relative, future relative...
and negative participles, thus classified on the basis of tense marker: the past relative participle which exhibits the following structure:

Vst. = Past tense - a
e.g.: pati - tt - a patitta 'read'

The formation of the verbal participle is simple in Tamil, i.e. the addition of tense suffix to the stem.

exx: cey + t > ceytu 'having done'
o:t + i > o:ti 'having run'

III.11.2.2. MALAYALAM

III.11.2.2.1. Finite Forms:

In Malayalam among the past tense suffixes there are nn, cc and nn which are originated from a morphophonemic change peculiar to this language, i.e.:

1. \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{* nt} \\
\text{* tt}
\end{array}
\] \rightarrow \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{cc} \\
\text{i}
\end{array}
\]

2. \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{* nt} \\
\text{* nt}
\end{array}
\] \rightarrow \text{nn}

However, in modern Malayalam the following suffixes are found in weak verbs, namely, ćn, t, nn, i and nt whereas in the strong verbs the past markers are cc, nn, tt, t, t and D (doubling).
III.11.2.2. Non-finite forms:

Malayalam shows the same pattern as Tamil regarding the structure of the relative participle, i.e., Vst.-past tense - a.

exx: cey - t - a 'done / that did'

oli - ñn - a 'that avoided'

Moreover the same method of formation of the verbal participle as found in Tamil is also there in Malayalam.

exx: cey + t > ceytu 'having done'

o:t + i > o:ti 'having run'

III.11.2.3. TÓDA

In this language also the secondary stem forms the basis for the past tense. To the secondary stem one of the suffixes -q-, -t-, -d- or -y- is added to the verb base and some changes take place (see Emeneau 1967:376).

In the non-finite form, the past adjective is formed by adding -foy to the secondary stem.

Examples: pi:sk-foy 'that killed'

nato-foy 'that walked'.

III.11.2.4. KODAGU

In the finite forms of Kodagu verbs the following past suffixes are found: -d-, -nd-, -t-, and -i-. The dental suffixes have variants -d-, -nd-, -t- when preceded by the retroflex consonants l and n; the same dental suffixes have variants -j-, nj-, and -c- when they are preceded by the front vowels i and
I that did / done

The palatal consonant y. In the non-finite forms, the
past adverb is formed by adding the suffix -iti (variant -ti
after i) to the past stem of the verb. The past adjective is
formed by adding the adjective marker -e to the stem of the
verb.

ex: ta-nd-e 'that did / done'

III. 11.2.5. KURUMBA

In Kurumba the different past suffixes are -t-, -d-, -nd, -n-,
-c- and -i-.

-t- occurs after the stems which take past tense suffix -t-.
-d- occurs after the stems which take past tense suffix -d-.
-nd- occurs after the stems which take past tense suffix -nd-.
-n- occurs after the stems which take past tense suffix -n-.
-i- occurs only before the verbal participle suffix -n. The
relative participle is formed by the addition of the suffixes
-a and -u.

-a occurs with all stems after past tense suffixes; -u
occurs after non-past tense suffixes -∅ and -p-.

Examples: ede -t-i 'took I'; erka-d-i 'swept I'

ba-nd-i 'came I'; ett-n-i (etni) 'tapped I'

ba-nd-a '(one) who came'; tin-p-u (timbu) '(One)
who will eat'.

III. 11.2.6. IRULA

III. 11.2.6.1. Finite forms:
The Irula past tense suffixes are ∞-t-, ∞-in-, ∞-nd- and
∞-d-. The allomorph ∞-t- occurs after verb stems of class 3 (i.e. verbs which have stems which take -t- as past tense suffix) and after transitive suffix -x-.

Example: tin-t-e:m (> tinre:m) 'ate we'

∞-in- occurs after the stems of class 1 (i.e. stems taking -in- as past tense suffix) and after transitive suffixes -tt- and -t-.

Example: col-in-iri (> conniri) 'told you'

∞-nd- occurs after the stems of class 2 (stems which take -nd- as past tense suffix).

Example: ce:-d-e:m (> ce:de:mu) 'did we'

III.11.2.6.2. Non-finite forms:
The past relative participle marker is -a. It occurs after the past marker.

Example: ce:-d-a 'that done'

III.11.2.7. KASABA
Kasaba has six past tense markers, viz., -t-, -d-, -n, -nd-, -n- and -i-. Of these suffixes -n- has a free variant form with -in- in all places.

∞-t- occurs after the stems of verbs which take the past tense suffix -t- and non-past tense suffixes -k- and -x- and after the transitive suffix -x-.

Example: por-x-t-a:l (> poirita:a:l) 'carried she'
When these are added to the stems po:y- 'go', soll - 'say', permessoll 'boast' and a:: 'be', example: po:y-i-Ø (po:y) 'having gone'.

III.11.2.8. K O T A

The past tense suffix in Kota is formed on a special stem which itself is formed by adding to the verb base one of the suffixes -d-, -t- or -y-. When these are added to the verb base, a few changes take place (see Emeneau, 1967:378). In the finite verb the past tense suffix (added to the special stem) is -v-, with a variant -uk- before the third person suffix -Ø: in the verbs a:g - 'to become' and o:g - 'to go'.
III.11.2.9. KANNADA

The past suffixes are -d-, -t-, -nd- and -id-. The suffix -nd- occurs only in a few verbs; base final -l, -l and lr are lost before -nd-; after 1, -nd- changes to -nd.

The past adjective is formed by adding the adjective marker -a to the past stem.

The past stem itself functions as the past adverb.

III.11.2.10. T U L U

has two finite constructions in the past, viz. immediate past and distant past or perfect.

The immediate past markers are -y-, -t-, -d- (~ -d-); those of the distant past are -tid-, -t- and -d-. They are morphologically conditioned. In the non-finite constructions, the past adverb comprises two participles which are identical with the distant and the immediate past stems plus an additional enunciative vowel i.

To certain verbs the suffix -di is added to the stem.

The adjective marker -i is added to the stem of the distant or the immediate past to form the past adjective.

III.11.2.11. TELUGU

III.11.2.11.1. In the finite constructions, modern Telugu past tense morpheme is /-ē:- (~ -a:- o -in- (~ -ţ-)/.

- - occurs before all personal endings other than 3rd non-mas. sg.-di. It has a variant -a:- after verbs.
containing a short vowel and ending in -n or -du and after the irregular verbs avu/avy- 'to become', and po:/po:y- 'to go'.

III.11.2.11.2. In the non-finite constructions, the past adverb is formed by adding -i to the verb base.
ex: cep-p-i 'having told'
The past adjective is formed by adding to the base the suffix -ina. Verbs ending in -d or -g form generally their past adjective with the suffix variant -a before which the final consonants are doubled.
ex: pad-ina --> padd - a 'that fell'

III.11.2.12. G O N D I

III.11.2.12.1 Finite Forms:
The past tense suffix is -t- which has a variant -tt- after the verb un - 'to drink'.
exx: un- 'to drink' --> ùtt

III.11.2.12.2. Non-finite
The suffix is /-si ci -ji/. -ci occurs after verbs ending in -c, -j, -t and -d or -h; -ji after verbs ending in -n; -si occurs elsewhere.
exx: ka:c-ci 'having dug'

III.11.2.13. K O N D A
In the finite forms the past tense marker has two allomorphs, viz. -t- and -it-. The allomorph -it occurs base
ending in a voiced obstruent and in the sonorants a, v, r and l.

\[ \text{e.g: dig - 'to get down' } \rightarrow \text{ dig-it-} \]
\[ \text{pand - 'to plan' } \rightarrow \text{ pand-it-} \]

The allomorph -t- occurs after the remaining bases.

\[ \text{e.g: nik - 'to raise' } \rightarrow \text{ nik-t-} \]
\[ \text{sa:- 'to die' } \rightarrow \text{ sa:-t-} \]

In the non-finite constructions, the suffix /-zi ...-si/ occurs to form the past adverb after bases ending in the
vowels -a, -e, -eː, -o and -oː, and in voiceless obstruents.

\[ \text{e.g: ar-si 'having fallen} \]
\[ \text{ta-si 'having brought} \]

The past adjective is formed by adding to the past tense
stem the adjective marker -i.

\[ \text{e.g: ar-t-i 'that fell'} \]
\[ \text{pand-it-i 'that ripened'} \]

**III.11.2.14. P E N G O**

The suffix -t- is the past tense marker in the finite forms.
A set of sandhi changes take place when it is added to the base (cf: Subrahmanyam, 1971:152).

\[ \text{e.g: ta - 'to bring' } \rightarrow \text{ ta-t-} \]
\[ \text{hi:- 'to give' } \rightarrow \text{ hi:-t-} \]

The perfect tense is formed by the addition of -na to the past tense. The perfect tense expresses both the completion of an action and the state resulting from its completion.
However, the personal terminations are repeated after -na in the first person singular and in the third person plural feminine and neuter, and also in other forms.
e.g: tus-t-an-m-an 'he has put on'
The suffix /-si ò-ci ò-hi ò-zì ò-ji ò-is/ in the non-finite constructions is the past adverb suffix.
e.g: as-sì 'having seized'
nil-ci 'having stood'
The past adjective is formed by adding the adjective marker -i to the past stem of the verb.
e.g: vac-c-i 'that spoke/was spoken'
ed-n-t-i 'that danced'.

III.11.2.15. KUI
The morpheme /-it- ò-ò-t- ò-ò-d/ is the past tense suffix of Kui in the finite forms.
-ò-d occurs after a very limited number of verbs; -ò-t- occurs elsewhere and -ò-it- after a group of verbs described as verbs of first conjugation.
e.g: a:j - 'to cool down' > a:j-it-
nog - 'to wash' > nog-d-
ta:k 'to walk' > ta:k-it-
In the non-finite forms, the past adverb is formed by adding to the verb base the suffix /-a ò-ò-sa ò-ò-ja/.
III.11.2.16. KUVI

The past suffix after verbs of the first conjugation is -it- in the finite forms, -h- after those of the fifth conjugation and -t- elsewhere.

e.g. pa:y-it- 'to beat'
    kak-h- 'to laugh'
    va:-t- 'to come'

In the non-finite forms, the past adverb is formed by adding to the base the suffix /-a -ha- sa ca ja/.

e.g. pa:y-a 'having beaten'
    hi-ha 'having given'
    ven-ja 'having heard'

III.11.2.17. KOLAMI

III.11.2.17.1. In the finite constructions, the past tense morpheme is /-t- -d-/. -d- occurs after only six verbs ending in -n, -r or -l; -t- occurs elsewhere.

e.g. tin -d- 'to eat'
     un -d- 'to drink'
     tik -t- 'to die'
     ar -t- 'to weep'
III.11.2.17.2. In the non-finite constructions, the suffix -t- is found to form the past adverb whereas the past adjective is formed by adding to the past stem the adjective marker -a. e.g: si:-t 'having given'
kuf-k-t 'having called'
tin-d-a 'that are, eaten'
vat-t-a 'that came'

III.11.2.18. NAIKI (Ch.)

In Naiki (Ch.) the past tense suffix is /-t-\ in the finite forms.
e.g: e:n-d- 'to dance' > e:n-t-
tin- 'to eat' > tin-d-

In the non-finite forms, the past adverb suffix is -tun, and, like in Kolami, the adjective marker -a is added to the past stem to form the past adjective.
e.g: pak-tun 'having beaten'
tin-dun 'having eaten'
srup-t-a 'that cut'

III.11.2.19. P A R J I

The past tense morpheme is /-t-\ in the finite forms. -n- occurs in certain verbs ending in -i, -r or -y; -n- occurs after a few verbs; the allo-morph -d- occurs only in three verbs which end in -n: -t- after verbs with stems alternating in p/t; -f- occurs in many verbs. And the following changes take place, i.e.
In the non-finite constructions, the past adverb is formed base itself as the past stem but a vowel e is inserted: > va-n-

Examples:

- ver- 'to come' > ve-n-
- tu:l-er 'to run' > tu:l-er-n-
- tin 'to eat' > tin-d-
- kud- 'to cut' > kut-t-

In the non-finite constructions, the suffix /-i -ci (-c)/ helps to form the past adverb.

E.g.: ver-i 'having come'
      cen-i 'having gone'

III.11.2.20. GADABA (011.)

There are two classes of verbs: the first class uses the base itself as the past stem but a vowel e is inserted between the base and the personal suffix; the second class of verbs forms the past stem by adding the suffixes -t- (variants -t- and -d-) and -n- to the base, in the finite construction.

E.g.: un- 'to drink' > un-d-
      var- 'to come' > va-n-

In the non-finite constructions, the past adverb is formed by the suffixes -i and -si; s becomes z after n.

E.g.: var-i 'having come'
      un-zi 'having drunk'
III.11.2.21. KU RUX:
The allomorphs of the past suffix are -ck- in verbs of base of the type (c)v^2-, -k- in verbs of base of the type (c)vc^2- and before suffixes of first and second persons, -Ø- before those of the third person, /-k--Ø-/ in verbs which do not end in a glottal stop.
In a few verbs ending in -n, the past suffix is /-jk--j-/ and after the base nai- 'to dance', the past suffix is /-ck--c-/.

e.g: ba^2- 'to say' > ba:-ck-an 'I said'
es^2- 'to break' > es-k-an 'I broke'
pit^2 'to kill' > pitt-Ø-a 'it killed'

The past adverb is formed by adding -a:r (optionally followed by ki or dara:) to the base, in non-finite constructions.

e.g: (s^2-ar 'having broken'
bar^2-a:r 'having come'

III.11.2.22. MALTO
The past stem formatives are -c-, -y-, -d-, -j-, -t-, -s- and -q- in the finite constructions. These suffixes are followed by (e)k before the first and the second personal suffixes.

e.g: oin- 'to drink' > on-Ø-
coy- 'to rise' > co:-c-
cog- 'to set loose' > co-q-
Similarly kki£u can alternate with kkinru in the same condition. -kiru and kki~£u occur with the stems bi:r-e: and bi:r-.

III.11.2.23. BRAHUI

The past tense suffix is formed by adding to the base one of the suffixes -a:, -e:, -k- (with a variant ~g- after n) and -is- (variants -s- and -ss-) in the finite constructions.

e.g: bin - 'to pick' > bin-a:;
    bi:r- 'to milk' > bi:r-e:;

III.11.3. NON-PAST SUFFIXES

In Proto-Dravidian the non-past tense is used for present, future and habitual events. This situation leads us to deal only with the present and the future tenses for the sake of clarity and simplicity.

III.11.3.1. TAMIL

Present Tense

The present tense markers are Kiru, -kkiru, -kinru and kkinru. Kiru can freely alternates with -kinru except when it is followed by the plural suffix -ana.

Similarly kkiru can alternate with kkinru in the same condition. -kiru and kinru occur with the stems, the
optative forms of which end in -ka, and -kkiru and kkirru with the stems the optative forms of which end in -kka.

Future Tense

The future tense markers are v, p and pp. Another suffix, viz, -um is also found and has allomorphs -um, -kum and -kkum. It occurs before neuter singular and plural.
The suffix -pp occurs with the stems the optative forms of which end in -kka; p with the stems ending in -n or n, and v with the other stems.

Examples:

Varu-v-e:n  'I will come'
ka:n-p-e:n  'I will see'
tin-p-e:n   'I will eat'
nata-pp-e:n 'I will walk'
o:t-um      'It will run'
paga-kkum   'It will fly'

III.11.3.2. MALAYALAM

The suffix of the present tense is -unnu (exx: varunnu 'coming'); that of the future tense is -um (exx: varum 'will come'). It occurs with all the persons.

III.11.3.3. K O T A

The present-future tense is formed by adding pronominal suffixes to the secondary stem of the verb. The secondary stem historically corresponds to the past stem. It is
formed by adding to the verb base one of the following suffixes: -dr, -t- or -y-.

However, a few irregular verbs insert b(\sim p) oo g(\sim k) (g/k before the third person :o: and h/p elsewhere) between the secondary stem and the pronominal suffixes.

The suffix -kv- (\sim -gv-) added to the base and followed by personal suffixes forms the future tense.

Examples: va-kv-e:n 'I will come'
va-kv-i: 'you (sg.) will come'.

III.11.3.4. T O D A

The formation of the present - future tense is done by adding the personal suffixes to the secondary stem of the verb. This secondary stem is the past stem in origin.

Example: kispi-ni 'I will do'
kispi-mi 'We (excl.) will do'.

The suffix -k-, followed by the pronominal suffixes and added to the base, forms the future tense.

Example: kTy-k-in 'I will do'.

III.11.3.5. KODAGU

The present - future tense suffix is /-v-o-o-p-/. e.g: key-v-i 'I will do work'
key-v-ira 'you (pl.) will work'
III.11.3.6. KANNADA
The present tense is formed with the suffix -ut(t)-.

- \( \text{bar-ut(t)-ene} \) 'I come'

In the verbs agu 'to be, become' and iru 'to be', the present tense has a periphrastic structure, i.e. past adverb + future tense forms of agu (e.g.: \( \text{a(y)-d-ene} \) 'I become').

The present - future tense is formed with the allomorph -v-.

- \( \text{kudu-v-em} \) 'I will give'

- \( \text{kudu-v-a:l} \) 'She will give'

III.11.3.7. TULU
In the present - future tense the suffix is \(-puv-\).

- \( \text{kal-puv-e} \) 'I learn'

The future tense is formed with the suffix \(-p-\).

- \( \text{bar-v-e} \) 'I will come'

- \( \text{kal-p-a} \) 'you(sg.) will learn'

III.11.3.8. TELUGU
The present tense consists of the present adverb and the past - present finite forms of undu 'to be'. Descriptively this construction is analysed as a morphological condition in which the present tense marker is \(-tunna:-\) with a variant \(-to:n\) before 3rd non-mas. sg. suffix.
The future tense suffix is -ta:- with a variant -tun- before the 3rd non-mas. sg. suffix -di.

- I will do
- It will do.

III.11.3.9. G O N D I
In the dialect of Adilabad, the present - future tense suffix is -a:nt- with a variant -nt- occurring after stems of the type (C) and after stems ending in -n.

- I see

/ak- o k- oo-n- oo-a:n-oo-a:r/ is the suffix of the future tense.

- k- occurs before the 1st and 2nd person suffixes; it has a variant -ak- after stems ending in -k or -g; -a:n- occurs before 3rd mas. sg., mas. pl. and non-mas. pl. suffixes; -a:r occurs before the 3rd non-masculine singular suffix.

- I will cook
- they will cook
- It will cook.

III.11.3.10. K O N D A
The suffix /-sin-oo-zin/ is the durative tense marker (durative referring to an action in progress in the non-past time or in the past time).
The non-past suffix is -n-. This -n- is morphologically lost in a few verbs ending in -n and -n.

e.g: ki-zin-a 'I am doing'
ta-n-a 'I bring'

III.11.3.11. PANGO

The present tense is made by the addition of the suffix -a to the forms of the future. A final -g is restored before this -a in the 1st singular and 3rd neuter plural which end in -n.

e.g: hur-n-aŋ-a 'I see'.

The suffix of the future tense is -n-. This -n- is replaced by zero after verbs ending in -n and -n.

e.g: hur-n-aŋ 'I will see'

III.11.3.12. KUI

There is a periphrastic construction which consists of the present adverb of the verb followed by the future tense forms of man- 'to be' as the present tense marker in Kui.

e.g: ta:k-aima-∅-i 'I am walking'.

The future tense morpheme is /-d(∅ -id-) ∅ -n- (∅ -in-) r-. -∅- occurs before the 2nd personal suffixes singular and plural; -n- elsewhere except before the 1st singular suffix where -∅- occurs.

e.g: ko:-∅-i 'I will reap'
ko:-n-e 'It will reap'.
III.11.3.13. KULAMI

There is, in the formation of the present tense, a periphrastic construction consisting of the present adverb of the verb plus the future tense forms of man- 'to be'.

e.g: ve-ci ma'i
'I am striking'

The future tense suffix /-d(-id-)-n-(∞-in-) \~-?:-/. -d- occurs before 2nd person singular and plural suffixes; -n- elsewhere except before the 1st person singular suffix where -?- occurs.

e.g: hi:-d-i
'you(sg.) will give'
hi:-?-i:
'I will give'
hi-n-esi
'He will give'.

III.11.3.14. KOLAMI

In Kolami the present-future tense suffix is -at- before suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons. It has a zero variant before the suffixes of the 3rd person.

e.g: si:-at-un
'I give'
si:-∅-an
'He gives'

The durative tense suffix is /-d-∞-n-∞-un-/.

e.g: si:-d-un
'I am giving'.
si:-n-en
'He is giving'.

The future tense suffix is -dat- before the suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons, and -d- before those of the 3rd person.

e.g: si:-dat-un
'I will give'.
si:-d-an
'He will give'.
III.11.3.15. NAIKI (Ch.)
-t- is the present-future tense suffix in the irregular verbs and -l- in the regular ones. But there is also another suffix -ent- which appears more commonly in forms.
e.g.: an-t-an  'I am'
      var-l-en  'It/she is coming'
      puc-ent-an  'I am opening'.
The present continuous is formed by a periphrastic construction in which the first member is a verb base with the suffix -c-, -cik/-cig (-sik/sig) and the second member the present-future tense form of an- 'to be'.
e.g.: tin-cigantun  'She is eating'.
The future tense suffix is /-at- oo -d- oo -an/; -an occurs before the 3rd non-masculine singular suffix; -d- occurs before the other 3rd personal suffixes and -at- before the suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons.
e.g.: kak-an-Ø  'It/she will do'
      kak-d-an  'He will do'
      kak-at-un  'I will do'.

III.11.3.16. PARJI
-m- is the present tense suffix in Parji
e.g.: ver-m-en  'I come'
The future tense is formed with the suffix -ra- in the North-Western dialect and -iya- in the Southern dialect.
In 1-ending verbs the r of -ra- changes to l.

Another suffix -da- is found to occur after n ending verbs.

e.g: cu:r-ra-n 'I will see'
    cu:r-iya-n 'I will see'
    tu:l-l-ad 'He will run'.

III.11.3.17. GADABA(OLL.)

The present progressive tense is formed by adding to the verb base the present-future forms of -in 'to be'.

The formative of the present-future tense is /-da~ -ta-
~ -ya~/. 

e.g: su:r-in-da-n 'I am seeing'
    vand-da-m 'I (will) cook'.

III.11.3.18. K U R U X

The suffix /-d- -n- -Ø-/ is the formative of the present tense. -n- occurs before the 3rd hum. plural suffix, -Ø- before 3rd non-masculine singular suffix, and -d- elsewhere.

e.g: es-n-ar 'They break'
    is?-Ø-i 'It/she breaks'
    es-d-an 'I break'.

The future tense suffix is -c- (e.g: es?-o-n 'I will break').
The present tense is formed with the suffix \(-n\-i\-\).

\(n\-) occurs before the 2nd singular and plural and 3rd plural suffixes; \(-i\-\) elsewhere.

\(\text{e.g.: band-n-e 'You (sg.) come',}\
\text{band-i-n 'I come'.}

In the future tense the suffix is \(-e\-\) with a variant \(-en\-\) before suffixes beginning with a vowel.

\(\text{e.g.: band-e-n 'I will come'}\
\text{band-en-e 'You (sg.) will come'.}

The present (indefinite) tense suffix is \(-i\-\) with an alternant \(-e\-\) in a few verbs (e.g: bin-i-\(v\) 'I may hear'; kun-e:v 'I may eat').

\(-i\-) is added to the present indefinite forms of all persons except 2nd plural and 3rd singular to form the present-future tense.

\(\text{e.g.: bin-i-va 'I will hear'}\
\text{bin-i-r-a 'They will hear'}.\)
III.11.4. **NEGATIVE SUFFIXES**

The Dravidian Languages can express negation in the morphological structure of the verb. Many of these languages possess a fully conjugated negative tense, a negative adverb and a negative adjective. They have also a prohibitive mood. The negative marker occurs after the stem, in the position of the tense marker. The most common negative markers found in the Dravidian Languages are \(-\emptyset\) and \(-:\emptyset\).

### III.11.4.1. TAMIL

#### III.11.4.1.1. Old Tamil

In old Tamil the negative suffix is \(-a:=-\); it has a zero variant before all personal suffixes other than 3rd neut. sg. and pl. The allomorph of the 3rd neut. pl. is zero after the negative suffix.

*Example:* var - a:tt - \(-\emptyset\) - e:n 'I will not come'

#### III.11.4.1.2. Modern Tamil

Modern Tamil has preserved this type of negative construction in the construction indicating negation in the future in which the negative auxiliary verb ma:ttu occurs after the infinitive of the verb.

*Example:* var - a ma:tt - \(-\emptyset\) - e:n 'I will not come'
In the other verbs, the construction is found only in the 3rd neu. sg. form.

Example: tēriy - a:tu 'It is not known'

However, negation is usually expressed in Modern Tamil by means of syntactic constructions, with the infinitive or participial nouns followed by the negative word illai 'It is not'

Example: ceyya-v-illai '(subject) did not do'.

In the past negation is expressed by either the infinitive of the verb plus illai (example: var-a (v) - illai '(subject) did not come') or by the past participial noun of the verb plus illai (example: pa:r-tt-atu illai '(subject) has not seen'.

In the present, it is expressed by adding illai to the present participial noun (example: varu-kir-atu illai '(subject) is not used to come').

The negative adverb is expressed by the suffix -a:mal (example: anc - a:mal 'without fearing').

In the construction of the negative adjective, the suffix -a:t-a (-a:t- is the negative marker and -a the adjective marker) is added to the base (example: ceyy-a:ta 'that which does not do'). Negative verbal noun is formed by adding to the base the negative marker -a: followed by the nominalizer -mai

Example: kall-a: -mai 'not learning'.
In the present day Malayalam, negation is expressed by adding the word illa 'it is not' to the infinitive, past or present tense form of the verb.

The infinitive + illa denotes negation in the future.

e.g.: ceyy-(a) illa  '(subject) will not do'
      ceyy-unnu illa  '(subject) is not doing'
      cey-tu illa     '(subject) did not do'

The negative adverb suffix is -a:te (e.g: unn -a:te 'without eating').

Two forms are found in the negative adjective: one for the past negative adjective which has the structure: base-a:
(negative) -mn (past) -a (adjective).

e.g.: var-a: ñn - a  'that did not come'

The other form for the non-past negative adjective which has the structure: Base -a:tt (negative)-a (adjective).

e.g.: var-a:tt-a   'that does/will not come'

The negative verbal noun has the structure: Base -a:y (negative) -ka (verbal noun).

e.g.: ceyy-a:y-ka  'not doing'

In the finite forms, the negative suffix expressing negation in all tenses is-Ø- (e.g. tin - Ø - e:(n) 'I eat').

However another construction expressing negation in the past
or non-past and which consists of a
base + a:y (negative) + P (past) / kv (non-past) +
personal suffix is also found.
e.g.: va:r - a:y - p - e:n  'I was not coming'
va:r - a:y - kv - e:n  'I do/will not come'.

Moreover, in many instances, negation in the past is formed
by adding ila: 'it is not' to the past stem of the verb.
e.g.: avn kekn kec - ila:  'He did not do the work'.

The suffix of the negative adverb is -a:d (example: o:g-a:d
'without going'), whereas that of the negative adjective is
-a: with a free variant -a:d.
e.g.: ka:n -a:d 'without seeing'

III.11.4.4. TODA

The negative suffix is -Ø- in the finite forms before all
personal endings except that of the 3rd person where -i
and its variant -ot occur.
e.g.: kMg - Ø - ini  'I do'
kMg - ot - i  'It does'

These forms express negation in both past and non-past.
The negative adverb suffix is -o:Ø (e.g.: tin-o:Ø (without
eating')).
The suffix of the negative adjective is -o:foy
e.g. mO:z - o:foy 'that did/does not sell'.
III.11.4.5. K A S A B A

The negative suffixes are -a:d and -a:--; they are phonologically conditioned (e.g. ekk-a: d - e 'not sending'); (ada: vstx-a:mani 'without worshipping). Another suffix -ele occurs after the past tense marker and a suffix -ma:tt-is also found to occur only after the infinitive suffix.

e.g.: mand - ele 'someone) did not urine'
adikke-ma:tte 'I would not beat'

III.11.4.6. I R U LA

This language expresses negation in the morphological structure of the verb. The negative markers -a:- and -a:d - occur in the position of the tense marker, after the link morph. -a:- occurs before consonant and -a:d-elsewhere. But Irula has also an overt tense distinction past and non-past in the negative forms of all verbs with the suffix -ale. Thus the structure of the verb in its negative form is as follows:

verb - link morph - Tense - ale

e.g.: a:ttn -ale 'did not shake'

Another form of negation is the negative which is restricted only to the future tense when the subject is non-human. Its suffix is ma:t:tt-.

e.g.: varga -ma:tte 'I won't come'
III.11.4.7. KODAGU

In the finite forms there is only one form common to all persons to express negation. It is made by adding to the base (with the formative k in the case of the strong verbs) the negative marker -a.

e.g.: ba -kk - a '(subject) will not come'

There are also a few syntactic constructions to express time along with negation. They contain the word il (le) preceded by either past adverb, perfect adverb or future adverb.

e.g.: ba-nd-ile '(subject) did not come'.

The suffix of the negative adverb is -ate (e.g.: bakk-are 'without coming').

The negative adjective is made by adding to the base the negative marker -at- followed by the adjective marker -e
e.g.: bakk-at-e 'that did/does/will not come'.

III.11.4.8. KANNADA

There are two suffixes in the finite forms, viz.-a- before 3rd neu. sg. and pl. suffixes and -Ø- before the other personal suffixes.

e.g.: no:d -a- du 'It does not see'

no:d -Ø- em 'I do not see'

The negative adverb suffix is -ade (e.g.: ir-ade 'without being').
The negative adjective formation consists of the base followed by the negative marker -ad- which itself is followed by the adjective marker -a.
e.g.: ma:d - ad- a 'that did/does/will not make'.

III.11.4.9. TELUGU

The finite forms show a negative suffix -a- before 3rd
meu. sg. suffix -ndt/-nt and -ay- before the other personal
suffixes.
e.g.: Ke:n-a-nt 'It does not hear'
     Ke:n-ay-a 'We do not hear'

There is another negative suffix -ji/-ri which is added to
the immediate past, distant past and the present-future
stems to express negation.
e.g.: kal-ti-ji 'I did not study' (immediate past)
     kal-tIid-ji 'I did not study' (distant past)
     kal-pu-ji 'I am not studying (present-future).

The negative adverb suffix is -ande in the common dialect
e.g.: bar-ande 'without coming'.

The structure of the negative adjective is: Base + neg. + -i
(adj.)
E.g.: po:v-and-i 'that did/does/will not go'.

III.11.4.10. TELUGU

-a- is the negative suffix in the finite forms. It is
replaced by zero after stem - alternants of the type (C) VELO.
These constructions are found in the future and past tenses in Old Telugu.

* e.g.: cepp-a-nu  
  'I do not tell'
  po:-Ø-nu  
  'I do not go'

Also, the negative verbal noun is made by adding -ami to the base

* e.g.: cu:d-ami  
  'not seeing'

In modern Telugu, negation in the past and the present is expressed syntactically, i.e. with the structure: infinitive + le:du (it is not) in the 3rd non-mas. sg., or verbal noun + adam/-aːtam + le:du.

* e.g.: Cepp-a le:du  
  '(subject) did not tell'

The negative adverb suffix is -aka (the first a is dropped after stems of the type (C) V.)

* e.g.: ceyy-ak-unda:  
  'without doing'
  ra: -kunda  
  'without coming'

The negative adjective suffix is -ani (the a dropped after stems of the (C) V type.)

* e.g.: cu:d -ani  
  'that did/does/will not see'
  ra: -ni  
  'that did/does/will not come'

III.11.4.11. G O N D I

The suffix is /-v-ə o:-/ in the finite forms in the Adilabad dialect whereas it is -vo:- in the Koya dialect.
The negative stem itself can function as a negative adjective which is also formed by adding to the infinitive form the stem il\(_1\)-o::.

*E.g.*: u:d-o:: 'that did/does/will not see'

\[\text{u:d-(a)il(1)-o} \]
III.11.4.12. KONDÁ

Non-past negative is formed by adding to the base the negative suffix -ʔ- followed by personal suffixes.

e.g.: ki-ʔ-e  'I do not do'

The past negative contains the base followed by the negative marker -ʔ- which itself is followed by the past suffix -et- ~ -it- ~ ut- / plus the personal suffixes.

e.g.: nes-ʔ-et-a  'I did not know'

The negative suffix -ʔ- added to the base and followed by the extensive marker -enda (which occurs after the past and non-past markers) forms the negative adverb.

e.g.: re-ʔ-enda  'without coming'

III.11.4.13. PENGO

-ʔ- is the negative suffix of the present-future.

e.g.: hur-ʔ-  'I do not see'.

The present negative is formed by adding -a to the present-future negative forms.

e.g.: hur-ʔ-ag-a  'I am not seeing'

The past negative has the following structure:

Base + Negative (~va-) + Past (~t-) + Personal suffixes

e.g.: hur-va-t-ʔ-  'I did not see'

-ʔ- is the negative adverb

e.g.: tin-ʔ  'not having eaten'.

The negative adjective (present-future) consists of the base
followed by the negative suffix -v- and the adjective suffix -i.

e.g.: in-v-i 'that did/does/will not say'

III.11.4.14. KURUMBA

Negative is classified into Negative₁ which is itself sub-classified into durative negation, past, non-past and doubtful negation, and Negative₂.

The durative negative suffix is -lpad-; it occurs after all the stems when followed by the relative participle suffix -a.

e.g.: be:r - lpad -a ' (one) who does not come'

The past negative is expressed by the suffixes -1dīd- and -il-; -1dīd occurs after all stems when followed by relative participle suffix -a or conditional suffix -ani.

-il- occurs before the verbal participle suffix -di.

e.g.: ba:r - 1dīd-a ' (one) who did not come'

The doubtful negation is expressed by the suffix -lidapad- which occurs after all stems when followed by the pronominal suffixes or the relative participle suffix -a.

e.g.: no:d - lidapad - o: 'They might not have seen'

Non-past negative is formed by the suffix -lk- occurring after all stems when followed by the conditional suffix -an.

e.g.: no:d - lk -an 'if (one) will not see'.
Negative suffix 2 contains the negative suffix -l- which occurs after all stems when followed by all the pronominal suffixes.

e.g.: ba-nd-l-e: 'he did not come'

III.11.4.15. KUI

The negative suffix -?- forms the non-past negation

e.g.: tin-?-enu  'I do/will not eat'.

The structure of the past negative is as follows: Base + Negative (-?a-) + Past (-t-) + Personal suffixes.

e.g.: tin-?-a-t-i  'I did not eat'

Beside these constructions expressing negation, Kui has four periphrastic constructions using the present adverb and the perfect participle with the present-future forms of the negative verb sid- 'to be not' and the past negative forms of the same verb.

e.g.: a:nu ta:kai sidenu  'I am not walking'
a:nu ta:kai sidatenu  'I was not walking'

The negative adverb suffix is -range or ara:

e.g.: su:ri-range  'not having seen'.

The structure of the future negative adjective is:

Base + Negative (-?a-) + Future (-n-) + Adjective (-i).

e.g.: tin-?-a-n-i  'that does/will not eat'
In the non-past negative the suffix is `-ʔa-'; the ɔ is dropped before suffixes beginning with a vowel.

*Example:* pa:yi-ʔo-di 'You (sg.) are not beating'

pa:yi-ʔ-e 'It/she is not beating'

The past negative structure is: Base + Negative (-ʔa-) + Past (-t-) + personal suffixes.

*Example:* pa:yi-ʔ-a-t-i 'you (sg.) did not beat'

Beside these constructions there are four more periphrastic constructions (present, imperfect, perfect and pluperfect negative) which are formed on the present and past adverb with the negative conjugated forms of the verb hil- 'to be not' and man- 'to be'.

*Example:* na:nu pa:yi hilʔo 'I am not beating'

na:nu pa:yi hilʔa:tʔe 'I was not beating'

na:nu pa:yi manʔa:tʔe

The negative adverb suffix is `-ʔahanaha/-ʔanaha`

*Example:* pa:yi-ʔaha naha 'not having beaten'.

The non-past negative adjective is formed by adding the suffix `-ʔa` to the base whereas the past negative adjective exhibits the following structure:

Base + Negative (-ʔa) + Past (-t-) + Adjective (-1).

*Example:* pa:yi-ʔa 'that does/will not eat'

to:h-ʔa-t-i 'that did not show'
- 302 -

-? atayi is the negative verbal noun suffix
   e.g.: pa:yi -?atayi    'not beating'.

III.11.4.17. KOLAMI

The formative of the non-past negative is -e-
   e.g.: si:-e-n    'I do not give'.

The past negative structure is as follows:

   Base + Negative (-e-) Past (-t-) + Personal suffixes.
   e.g.: si: -e-t-en    'I did not give'

However, beside these morphological constructions, Kolami has
five periphrastic constructions in which the first member is
a participle and the second member is either the non-past
negative or the past negative of the verb to:t- 'to be not'.
   e.g.: vaato:ten    'I am not coming, will not come'
       a:n vato:ten    'I did not come'

The suffix of the negative adverb is -sel/-setay.
   e.g.: tin-sel    'not having eaten'.

The negative adjective is formed by adding the negative
marker -e- to the base.
   e.g.: tin-e'    'that did/does/will not eat'

III.11.4.18. NAIKI (Ch.)

In Naiki (Ch.) the non-past negative is formed by the negative
suffix -e.
   e.g.: a:r-e-n    'I do not play'
The structure of the past negative is as follows:

Base + Negative (−e−) + Past (−t−) + Personal suffixes

E.g.: aːr -e-t-en 'He did not play'

III.11.4.19. PARJIT

−a− is the negative suffix in the non-past negative forms except in a very limited number of verbs, viz pun - 'to know'; er- 'to be'; or 'to be able'.

An additional −a− is added in the final position of the non-past negative forms.

E.g.: cuːr - a - n - a 'I do/will not see'

The preterite negative is formed by adding the negative suffix −a to the forms of the affirmative preterite conjugation but in the case of verbs in which the past tense marker is −Ø−.

E.g.: cuːr-Ø-en-a 'I did not see'

The suffix −aka is the formative of the negative adverb.

E.g.: cuːr −aka 'without seeing'.

The negative adjective is made by adding the negative suffix −a −a to the base.

E.g.: cen-a 'that did/does not go'

III.11.4.20. GADABA (Q11.)

The suffix is −a− in the formation of non-past negative.

E.g.: suːr-a-n 'I do/will not see'

However, there are many other periphrastic constructions express past progressive negative, present or future
progressive negative.

e.g.: i:l-a-n-i mā:t-on 'I was not falling'
    su:rani mayan 'I am not seeing'
    su:rete sayan 'I will not be seeing'

The negative adverb suffix is -a, generally followed by the particle kerin.

e.g.: su:r - a kerin 'not having seen'

The negative marker -a is added to the base to form negative adjective.

e.g.: pun-a 'that did/does/will not know'

III.11.4.21. KURUX

It has no morphological negative construction. Negation is expressed in this language by adding the negative word mal/ma:l/mal?a 'not' before the affirmative verb forms.

e.g.: mal keras 'he did not go'
    mal-d-ay 'he does/will not go'

There are no negative non-finite forms in Kurux.

III.11.4.22. MALTO

In this language also there is no morphological negative construction. Negation is expressed with the word male 'not' which is added to the affirmative future forms.

e.g.: a:den mala 'I will not select'
But Malto has negative non-finite forms, thus the negative adverb is formed by a construction containing the verb base itself or with the suffix -a followed by balo 'without'.

The negative adverb is formed by

\[ \text{tix-p-a-r} \]

The negative adjective has two different forms which both contain the verb mai.

\[ \text{a:do malu} \]

\[ \text{a:do malpe} \]

that does/will not select

The formation of the present indefinite negative is made by

\[ \text{the negative suffix } /\text{a }\sim\text{ }\emptyset/ \]. It occurs after -p (non-past marker).

\[ \text{e.g.: } \text{tix-p-a-r} \]

'I do/will not place'

The negative present-future is formed by suffixing -a to the conjugational forms of the negative present indefinite. But the 2nd pl. form does not add -a; also -ak instead of -a is added in the 3rd sg.

\[ \text{e.g.: } \text{tix-p-a-r-a} \]

'I do/will not place

\[ \text{tix-Ø-ere} \]

'You (pl.) do/will not place'

\[ \text{tix-p-Ø-ak} \]

'He, she, it does/will not place'.

The past negative conjugation consists of the past stem followed by the present of the substantive verb negative.

\[ \text{e.g.: } \text{tixtavat} \]

'I did not place'

\[ \text{tixtavata} \]

'I was not placing'.
III.11.5. **INFINITIVE SUFFIXES**

Infinitive is one of the grammatical categories through which a variety of meanings are expressed. It exists as an independent non-finite verbal form in many of the Dravidian Languages such as Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Parji, Gadaba and Malto.

III.11.5.1. **T A M I L**

The infinitive suffix is -a everywhere.

III.11.5.1.1. **Old Tamil**

This suffix is preceded by the formative -pp- and -kk- in later Tamil, in the strong verbs.

**Examples:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mara} & \quad \text{pp} & \text{a} & \quad \chi & \quad \text{to forget} \\
\text{mara} & \quad \text{kk} & \text{a} & \quad \chi
\end{align*}
\]

Old Tamil has also forms with a few suffixes which are used as infinitive denoting 'purpose'.

Thus, certain forms with the suffixes -iya, -iyar and -ma:r are found.

**e.g.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka:n-iya} & \quad \chi & \quad \text{to see} \\
\text{ka:n-iyar} & \quad \chi & \quad \chi \\
\text{ka:n-ma:r} & \quad \chi
\end{align*}
\]
In some instances, forms with the suffixes -vaːn (∞-paːɳ) are also found.

e.g. kaːn-paːn 'to see'
      puri-vaːn 'to understand'

Similarly forms with the suffix -paːkkku appear as infinitives in Tirukkural.

e.g. patu-paːkkku 'to suffer'

III.11.5.1.2. Modern Tamil

Here also, the infinitive suffix is -a and its variants are -(k)a and -(kk)a.

-(k)a and -(kk)a occur with conditional and future tense.

The variant -(kk)a occurs with the stems of the keːl class (i.e. stems which take itt as past tense suffix and -kkiru as the present tense suffix) and nata class (i.e. verb stems which take -nt as past suffix and -kkiru as present tense suffix).

Example:

patikka 'to read'

natakka 'to walk'

The variant -(k)a occurs with the stems of the (C)V type and -a with the other stems.

Examples:

poː-ka 'to go'

eːi - a 'to rule'
III.11.5.2. MALAYALAM

III.11.5.2.1. Old Malayalam

Infinitive forms with the suffix -a which is preceded by -kk- in 'strong verbs' and also with the suffix -va:n (∞ -appa:n -- ma:n) are found in old Malayalam.

III.11.5.2.2. Modern Malayalam

In Modern Malayalam the infinitive suffix is -a:n preceded by -kk- after strong verbs generally followed by verbs like kali 'to be possible' and para 'to tall'.

e.g.: kotukka:n kaliyum 'It is possible to give'

avan vara:n paraññu 'he was asked to come'

The forms with the suffix -uka are also used as infinitives and as imperatives.

e.g.: var-uka '(please) come'

III.11.5.3. KOTA

In Kota the suffix is -1 or -lk

e.g.: no:r-lk-ila: '(subject) will not see'

III.11.5.4. KANNADA

Kannada has the suffixes -a, -al and -e in old Kannada; -al is optionally followed by the dative suffix -ke -e occurs only in the old inscriptions and is not found in modern Kannada.
e.g.: un - al (he). 'to eat or drink'
bar - e 'to come'

In modern Kannada the suffixes are -a, and -alu; -alu is optionally followed by the dative suffix -ike or -ikke.
e.g.: bar-a 'to come'
tar-al (ike) 'to bring'

III.11.5.5. T U L U

The infinitive suffix is -ar /-er in this language.
-ar has free variants -yara, -r

e.g.: po:v-ar 'to go'

III.11.5.6. KASABA

-e and -eye are the infinitive suffixes in Kasaba.
They freely vary with each other.
e.g.: Kurikk-e 'to mark'
attekk-e 'to bird'

III.11.5.7. KURUMBA

In Kurumba infinitive is used to express the purposive, effective and simultaneous meanings.

There are four suffixes viz. l, -laye, -Ø and -ka. The first three suffixes convey the meaning of purposive; the last suffix that of effective or simultaneous.
e.g.: belki:-l-be:da '(one) needs not speak'
belki:-laye 'for the purpose of speaking'
a:d-ka (a:duka) 'to dance'
III.11.5.8. **RU LA**

There are two suffixes, viz-a which occurs after a link morph and -a:kk which conveys the meaning 'in order to'. These two suffixes are in free variation.

e.g.: pa:kk-a 'to see'; ki:kk-a 'to tear'

III.11.5.9. **TELU GU**

-an is the infinitive suffix (e.g.: ce:y-an 'to do'; cepp-an 'to tell').

III.11.5.10. **GONDI**

It has the suffix -a: with the free variant -le: as infinitive suffix.

ex: tind-a: X
    X 'to eat'
    tind-le: X

III.11.5.11. **KONDA**

In Konda the suffix is /- den ← -teh - ← -teh - ← -den/. /teh occurs after simple or complex stems ending in voiceless obstruents and in -r, and in simple monosyllabic or disyllabic stems ending in the vowels -a, -e, -e:, -o and -o:.

-teh occurs after verbs ending in -n or -l.
-den after verbs ending in -n or -l.
-deh in the remaining verbs.

exx: nik-teh 'to make up'
    in-teh 'to say'
III.11.5.12. KUI

The infinitive of Kui is /-a ° -pa ° -va ° -ba/.
However another alternative infinitive with the suffix -ondi
preceded by p, v and b respectively in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th
conjugations is also found.

exx: it-a 'to place'
     ve:-pa 'to strike'
     a:-va 'to be'
     in-ba 'to say'
     un-b-ondi 'to drink'

III.11.5.13. KUI

The infinitive suffix is /-ali ° -sali ° -cali ° -jali-hali/
or -nayi.

exx: pa:y-ali 'to beat'
     hi-nayi 'to give'

III.11.5.14. PENGO

It has the suffix /-teŋ ° -deŋ/ as infinitive marker.

exx: ta-teri 'to bring'
     a:-deŋ 'to be, become'
III.11.5.15. KOLAMI

In this language the purposive form is also used as the infinitive. Its suffix is -en which has two variants, namely -eŋk (before voiceless consonants) and -eŋg (before voiced consonants and vowels).

exx: kor-eŋ  'to bring'
     aːd-eŋg  'to play'

III.11.5.16. NAIKI (Ch.)

The infinitive suffix is -en. This form functions also as a verbal noun.

ex: tin-en  un-en  'eating (and) drinking'

III.11.5.17. PARJI

-ᵋ is the infinitive suffix in Parji. However the Northern dialect uses -u as infinitive suffix; it substitutes -uk to final -p/t in verbs having alternate stems in p/t. The Southern dialect uses the suffix -ᵋ which is added to -p ending stems.

exx:  veŋ-ᵋ  'to hear'
     koy-ᵋ  'to reap'
     nil-ᵋk  'to stand'

III.11.5.18. GADABA

The suffix is -ᵋ with a variant -ᵋ. -u is also found.
III.11.5.19. KURUX

\(-a:\/-na:\) is the infinitive suffix.

ex: es-a/:es-na: 'to break'

III.11.5.20. MALTO

The infinitive suffix is -oti.

ex: e:x - oti 'to go'

III.11.5.21. BRAHUI

Brahui uses the verbal noun with the suffix -ing (variant -eng) as the infinitive suffix.

exx: bin-ing 'to hear'

ras-eng 'to arrive'

III.11.6. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

In Dravidian there is a close similarity between the pronominal suffixes of the verbs and the corresponding personal or demonstrative pronouns. All the Dravidian languages other than Malayalam are consistent in showing personal suffixes.

The table below will show the different personal suffixes in the various languages:
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<td>et, or, or, ar</td>
<td>at, ot</td>
<td>e, a</td>
<td>er, or, ar</td>
<td>ev, av</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kur.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>at, t</td>
<td>ay, y</td>
<td>ar, r</td>
<td>as, s</td>
<td>i, n</td>
<td>id/ it</td>
<td>ar, r, f, ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malt.</td>
<td>in, en, on</td>
<td>im, em, om</td>
<td>it, et, ot</td>
<td>m, ne, er, or</td>
<td>ah, ih</td>
<td>eh, oh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>iv, e:v, v, f</td>
<td>in, n</td>
<td>is, e:s ire, e:re</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion:

We have confined ourselves in this descriptive comparative grammar of the Dravidian Languages to broad outlines of the grammatical aspects of these languages, giving mostly cursory indications concerning the phonetism of the Languages and describing the most characteristic phonemes, because an exhaustive study of the comparative phonetics of these languages would need by itself a whole book.

Therefore the variety and the complexity of dravidian phonetics are almost rapidly mentioned.

However a few characteristic phonetic features of the languages have been discussed, namely the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, the initial plosives and the dental and alveolar nasals.

Another phonetic peculiarity worth mentioning are the retroflex consonants found in most of the languages, mainly in those of the South Dravidian group.

The initial consonantal groups, so frequent in the Negro-African Languages are not found in Dravidian.

Geminated consonants are often noted in Dravidian. However, it is mainly the peculiarities of their structure which confer their originality to the Dravidian Languages which are exclusively suffixal, hence agglutinative.
This characteristic gives the means to develop and enrich easily the language.

Also, the Dravidian Languages show a variety of morphological features of which the most important are the Gender-number system, case declensions, pronominal terminations etc., which place these languages among the richest and perhaps the most ancient languages of the world.
Part III

COMPARATIVE STUDIES
"It is by comparison, and only by comparison, that the connections or relationships between languages can be traced, whatever the nature of these relationships may be."

- M. Louis Hjemslev.
IV. COMPARATIVE STUDY

IV.1. Phonology: Contrasts and resemblances

In linguistics, the interpretation of facts should always be subordinated to the method of work applied. As far as comparative phonology is concerned, it is necessary to take into account the functional, structural and systemic criteria and set up strict appropriate rules.

Our method in this study is, beside the description in detail of individual sounds, to compare all the phonemic systems of the languages to be compared, viz. the Dravidian Languages and Pula:r.

We shall take firstly for the comparison, the phonemic systems of the Dravidian Languages as reconstructed from Proto Dravidian and that of Pula:r as proposed by the Direction of Alphabetisation, Ministry of National Education, SENEGAL. First of all the vocalic systems of Dravidian and Pula:r are considered.

IV.1.1. Vowels:

IV.1.1.1. Dravidian

---i--------------------------u-------------

---e-------------------o-------------------

---a----------------------
All the vowels have their corresponding long vowels. 

and au have been studied separately (cf. chapter on diphthongs).

IV.1.1.2. **Pula: r**

```
- - - - i - - - - u - - - 
- - - - - e - - o - - - -
- - - - - a - - - - -
```

All the short vowels have their corresponding long vowels.

We note in the comparison of the two vocalic systems that the system of the Dravidian languages and that of Pula: r are very similar.

In both Dravidian and Pula: r the quality of vowels appear as i i: u u: e e: o o: a a: .

IV.1.2. **CONSONANTS**

IV.1.2.1. **Dravidian**

```
p     t     t'   c     k
m     n     n'     n''
 l    l     l
r
v     y
```
IV.1.2.2. Pula:ra

In the comparison of the two consonantal systems we note that the Dravidian surd plosives p t c k correspond to the Pula:ra surd plosives p t c k; Dravidian nasals m n n correspond to Pula:ra nasals m n n; Dravidian lateral alveolar l and alveolar flap r corresponds to Pula:ra lateral alveolar and alveolar flap r; Dravidian semivowel v corresponds to Pula:ra semi vowel w.

And Dravidian retroflex plosive t : retroflex nasal n; lateral palatal l ; alveolar trill r are not found in the Pula:ra system, on one hand.

On the other hand Pula:ra implosives k d h and m ; sonant plosives b d j g ; velar nasal n ; fricatives f s h q are not found in the Dravidian consonantal system.
The tables below will show the phonemic vowel correspondences and phonemic consonant correspondences between Dravidian and pulâːr.

IV.1.3. Vowel correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>DRAVIDIAN</th>
<th>PULĂːR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eː</td>
<td>aː</td>
<td>aː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>iː</td>
<td>iː</td>
<td>iː</td>
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<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
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<tr>
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<td>eː</td>
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<td>o</td>
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<tr>
<td>oː</td>
<td>oː</td>
<td>oː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1
### IV.1.4. Consonant correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Dravidian</th>
<th>Pular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
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<tr>
<td>d</td>
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<td>y</td>
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<td>y</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
IV.1.4.1. Plosives

P: a voiceless bilabial stop, occurs in the initial position in all the Dravidian Languages.

exx: Ta. Pal 'tooth'; Ma. Pal 'tooth'; Ko. pal 'idem';
     To. Pas 'id' ; Ma. Pal 'id'.

However P occurs in Modern Tamil in the medial position either as the first member of a consonant cluster, the second member of a consonant cluster or as identical consonant cluster.

exx: Ta. aptam 'year'; arpan 'a mean fellow'; appa: 'father'.

But P does never occur in the final position in Dravidian.

In Pula:r P occurs in all positions, viz. initially as a single phoneme, medially either single or as an identical or a non identical consonant cluster, and finally as a single consonant.

exx: Pullo 'a pula:r native speaker';
     Pula:r 'a language spoken by an ethnical group of Senegal';
     lo:pal 'mud'
     bilap 'a kind of big knife'.

b: a voiced bilabial stop, does not occur in Dravidian (refer: chapter on plosives in Dravidian).
In Pular, b occurs in the initial and medial position.  
exx: bas 'sleeping mat, mat'; ba:ba 'father';  
mbu:bu 'fly'; ngelo:ba 'camel'; mbabba 'donkey'.

b: a voiceless bilabial implosive stop, is not found in  
the Dravidian languages.

b: occurs in Pular in the initial position and in the  
medial position.

exx: bid'do 'child', infant'; biro'dam 'milk';  
su6ina:de 'to choose, select'; ko6o 'rain'.

t: a voiceless dental stop; occurs in the initial and  
medial positions in the Dravidian Languages.

exx: Ta. talai 'head, top'; Ka.tal 'head'; Ka. tale  
'id';

Ta. mutu 'old, ancient'; Ma. mutu 'old, ripe'; Go. mutte-  
'old women'.

In Pular, t, a voiceless alveolar stop, occurs in the ini-  
tial, medial and final positions. Examples:  
ti:nde 'forehead'; tu:ba 'pant'; fetel 'gun'; yontere  
'week'; alet 'sunday'; lamset 'blade'.

d: a voiced alveolar stop, does not occur in Dravidian.  
In Pular it occurs initially, intervocatically and medially.

exx: da:nde 'neck'; deftere 'book'; no:da 'crocodile';  
hoddu 'a kind of guitar'; ladde 'forest, bush'. 
d: a voiceless alveolar implosive stop, is not found in Dravidian. It occurs in Pular initially and medially.

exx: dídi 'two'; do 'here'; da 'there'; döyngol 'sleep'; neddo 'person.'

t: a noise voiceless forelingual retroflex stop, occurs medially in all the Dravidian Languages.

exx: Ta. katu 'to pain'
Ma. katu 'pungent'
Gő. kati 'severe (of pain)'
Konda. katu 'sharp'

This phoneme is not found in Pular.

c: a noise voiceless palatal stop: occurs initially and medially in Dravidian.

exx: Ta. cinna 'small, etc.'
Ma. cinna 'id'
Ka. cini 'smallness'
Ta. ma:cu 'spot, stain'
Ma.ma:cu 'spot'
Ka. ma:su 'to be stained'.

In Pular C occurs also in the initial and medial position.

exx: conndi 'powder, flour'
cukayel 'child'
lo:col 'whip'
lə:ci 'tail'.
j: a voiced palatal stop, is not found in the reconstructed proto Dravidian. In Pular, it occurs initially and medially.

exx: jaingo 'tomorrow'
jemma 'night'
wojere 'rabbit'
kobjal 'peel'

\( \gamma \) : a voiceless unaspirated palatal implosive, does not occur in PDr.
\( \gamma \) is found in Pular where it occurs in the initial and medial position.

exx: \( \gamma \)ulbere 'charcoal'
\( \gamma \)o:g- 'to draw water from a well'
\( \gamma \)i: \( \gamma \)am 'blood'.

k: a voiceless velar stop, occurs in the initial and medial position in Dravidian.

exx: Ta. ka:y 'unripe fruit'
Ma. ka:y 'unripe fruit'
Ko. Ka:y 'id'
To. ko:y 'id'
Ta. mukam 'face'
Kol.mokam 'id'
Go mukum 'face'
Pa. mokom 'id'.
In Pular k occurs in the initial and medial position. It occurs medially after nasal and also as an identical consonant cluster.

exx: ka:w 'uncle'  
Kural 'bullet'  
ha:qki 'yesterday'  
wogki 'soul'  
kogko 'small hoe'  
hak:ki 'brain, intelligence'  
lekki 'medicine'.

g, a voiced velar stop, does not occur in Proto Dravidian. In Pular it occurs in the initial and medial position. It occurs medially as an identical consonant cluster and intervocally.

exx: galle 'house'  
go:nga 'truth'  
he:ge 'famine, hunger'  
joe:gem 'six'  
nagge 'cow'.

IV.1.4.2. Nasals

m: a voiced bilabial nasal, occurs in all positions. In the final position -m alternates with -n in the Proto Dravidian nominative suffix of some nouns with stem ending in -a.
In Pulaar, m occurs in all the positions.

exx: Ta. mi:n  'fish'
     Ma. Ko. To. Ka. mi:n  'id'
     Kod. mi:ni  'id'
     Tu. mi:nu  'fish'
     Ta. cuma  'to become heavy, bear, support'
     Ma. cuma  'load'
     Ts. cuma  'carrying pad'
     Ta. maram  'tree'
     To. me:n  'id'
     Te mranu  'id'
     Ga (oll) marin  'id'

In Pulaar, n occurs in all the positions.

exx: ma:yo  'sea'
     ma:fe  'curry, sauce'
     ñama:nde  'cabbage'
     njumri  'honey'
     lamdam  'salt'
     kosam  'curd'.

n: a voiced alveolar nasal, occurs in the initial position.

exx: Ta. ni:r  'water'
     Ma. Ko. To. Ka. ni:r  'id'
     Kod. ni:r  'id'

In Pulaar, n occurs in all the positions.

exx: nagge  'cow'
     nayi  'four'
\( \mathcal{n} \): a voiced retroflex nasal, occurs in the medial position in Dravidian.

\text{exx:} Ta. pinai 'unite, fasten'
             Ma. pina 'a tying, yoke'
             Ko. pi:n- 'to become entangled (of ropes)
             Ka. pene 'to unite, tie'

\( \mathcal{n} \) is not found in the Pula:r language.

\( \mathcal{n} \): a voiced palatal nasal, occurs in the initial position though a PDr. *\( \mathcal{n} \) is not included in the table of correspondences in D&D by Burrow and Emeneau. However Krishnamurti has stated that \( \mathcal{n} \) was there in old Ta. and Ma. in the initial position.

\text{exx:} Ta. \( \mathcal{n} \)antu 'crab, lobster'
             Ma. \( \mathcal{n} \)antu 'id'

In Pula:r \( \mathcal{n} \) occurs initially, medially and finally.

\text{exx:} \( \mathcal{n} \)ammi 'food'
             \( \mathcal{n} \)ala:nde 'day'
             bu:\( \mathcal{n} \)a 'gift, presentation'
             mbu:\( \mathcal{n} \)o 'a skin disease'
             Keri\( \mathcal{n} \) 'charcoal'

\( \mathcal{\hat{n}} \): a voiced velar nasal, does not occur in the PDr.
In Pula:r, it occurs in all the positions.

exx: fi:accu 'a kind of sword'
    ñur 'roar'
    ko:loha 'a kind of antilop'
    si:raŋ 'chair, seat, bench'
    dol/n 'hook'

IV.1.4.3. Fricatives

f: a voiceless labiodental fricative, does not occur in PDr.
In Pula:r, it occurs initially, intervocalically and finally.

exx: fo:wrnu 'hyena'
    fetal 'gun'
    fo:fa:ngo 'breath'
    kafu 'festival'
    fof 'all'

s: a voiceless alveolar fricative, is not found in PDr.
It occurs in the initial, medial and final position in Pula:r.

exx: sa:re 'village, place'
    su:du 'room'
    asama:n 'sky'
    ngaska 'hole'
    ka:lis 'money'
h: a voiceless aspirated velar fricative, does not occur in PDr.

In Pula:r it occurs in the initial position and intervocally.

exx: himere 'nose'
     hu:nde 'thing'
     bohi 'a tree'
     kahi 'a tree'

q: a voiced uvular fricative, does not occur in PDr.

q occurs in Pula:r in the medial position only.

exx: togo 'a wish addressed to a person who is coughing'
     mboqu 'barking'

IV.1.4.4. LATERALS

1: a voiced alveolar lateral occurs in PDr. in the medial and the final position.

exx: Ta. eli 'rat'
     Ma. eli 'id'
     Ka. kod.Tu. eli 'id'
     Te. eluka Kol. elka 'id'
     Ta. ka:l 'leg, foot'
     Ma. ko. ka:l 'id'
     To. ko:l 'id'
     Te. ka:lu 'id'

In Pula:r 1 occurs initially, medially and finally.
• medial and final position.

- 333 -

exx: la:wo\'l 'way'
    lo:co'l 'whip'
    alet 'sunday'
    kulol 'fear'

This phoneme is not found in Pula:r.

\[ l \] a voiced retroflex lateral, occurs in PDr, in the medial and final position.

exx: Ta. ila 'young, tender'
    Ma. ila 'id'
    Ka. ela 'tenderness'
    Tu. elatu 'tender'
    Ta. ul 'inside'
    Ko. ul 'the inside'
    Ka. ul 'id'
    Kod ol\' 'id'

This phoneme is not found in Pula:r.

\[ l \] : a voiced retroflexed palatal lateral, occurs in PDr.

in the medial and final position.

exx: Ta. Ma. e:lu 'seven'
    Ka. e:lu 'id'
    Kod. e:lu 'id'
    Tu. e:lu 'id'
    Ta. ki:l 'place below'
    Ma. ki:l 'id'
    Ka. ki:l 'below'

In Pula:r \[ l \] is not found.
IV.1.4.5. **Flap**

\( r \): does not occur word-initially in PDr. It occurs in the medial and final position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta. iravu</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma. iravu</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko. irl</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To. erl</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta. ni:r</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te. irulu</td>
<td>'darkness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kod. ni:r</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu. ni:ru</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Pula:r this phoneme occurs in all positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rawa:ndu</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro:mru</td>
<td>'mouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho:re</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hare</td>
<td>'fight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:mar</td>
<td>'a small drum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja:mbur</td>
<td>'warrior'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV.1.4.6. **Trill**

\( r \): a voiced alveolar trill, occurs only in the medial position in PDr.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta. aru</td>
<td>'to perish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma. aru</td>
<td>'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To. ar(-)</td>
<td>'to cut'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV.1.4.7. Semivowels

V : a voiced labiodental semivowel, occurs in PDr.
in the initial and medial position.

exx:  
  Te. varu 'come, happen'
  Ma. varukku 'id'
  Ko. va:r- 'id'
  Te. vaccu 'id'
  Ta. cevi 'ear'
  Ma. cevi 'id'
  Ka. kivi 'id'
  Te. cevi 'id'
  Go. kevi 'id'

In Pulair, v is not found. It can be considered as equivalent
to w. In that case, w occurs in the initial and medial
position.

exx:  
  wa:ndu 'monkey'
  wojki 'soul'
  awo 'fishing'
  e:wo:de 'scar'
  a:wdi 'seed'
y: a voiced palatal semivowel, occurs in PDr. in the medial and final position.

Exx: Ma. ta:yi 'mother'
     Ka. a:yi 'id'
     Kod. ta:yi 'grand mother'
     Ta. koy 'to pluck'
     Ka. koy 'to cut'
     Kod. koy 'to pluck'.

In Pula:r, y occurs in the initial medial and final position.

exx: ya:re 'scorpion'; ya:du 'the act of going'

yontere 'week'
woyndu 'well'
ndiyam 'water'
leydi 'earth'
njegena:y 'pillow'
cu:ra:y 'encense'.

IV.1.5. Morphophonemics: RESEMBLANCES

In an article entitled 'On morphophonemic rules of Dravidian Bases', Kamil Zvelebil has set up a rule which concerns the (c) CV - type of bases irrespective whether a derivative suffix follows or not. (cf: Linguistics 32, pp 87-95).

The rule is: \((C_1)\overline{VC}_2 \rightarrow (C_1)\overline{VC}_2C_2\)
e.g.: Ta. me:tu (height, hillock)
Ta. vi:cu (to throw)
Ta. mo:tu (to strike, hit)
Ta. cu:ru 'to surround'
Te. so:ku (to touch)
Kuwi (F). bu:ga (cheek)
Ta. me:tu (mound, heap of earth)
Ta. vi:ccu (throw)
Ta. mottu (strike, beat)
Te. bugge (cheek, inside of the cheek)
Ma. cu:ru (what is circular)
Ka. so:ku (to touch)

It is important to note that the same rule can operate perfectly within a few Senegalese languages, namely, Pular, Sereir and Wolof with the specification that the base can contain either a long vowel or a short vowel. Thus, the following rule can be set up.

\[(C_1)V_2 - (C_1)V_2C_2^+\]

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sereir</th>
<th>Pular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se. na:k (cow)</td>
<td>Pu. nagge (cow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se. ŋa:m (to eat)</td>
<td>Pu. ŋamm (food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo. ŋam (food)</td>
<td>Pu. ŋamm (food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se. jab (accept)</td>
<td>Pu. jādd (accept) (imperative 2nd person sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se. god (be far)</td>
<td>Pu. woddi (far)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se. kol (finger)</td>
<td>Pu. kolli (fingers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the comparison of Pula:r with the Dravidian languages, it is interesting to note that, as far as the Dravidian and Pula:r compared lexems are concerned, the rule mentioned above operates perfectly in the direction Dravidian $\rightleftharpoons$ Pula:r and vice versa.

**Examples:**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{DRAVIDIAN} & \rightleftharpoons \text{PULA:r} \\
\text{Ta:} \tilde{n}a:l & (\text{to decline}, \text{descend as the sun}) & : \text{Pu.} \tilde{n}alli: & (\text{it is day advanced, the sun has declined}) \\
cf: \text{DED} 2372 \\
\text{Ko.} \text{ na:g} & (\text{cow}) & : \text{Pu.} \text{ nagge} & (\text{cow}) \\
\text{DED} 3010 \\
\text{Ka.} \text{ u:ju} & (\text{to cry out}) & : \text{Pu.} \text{ wullude} & (\text{to cry}) \\
\text{DED} 647 \\
\text{Ta.} \text{ ta:mary} & (\text{lotus}) & : \text{Pu.} \text{ tamrere} & (\text{a lotus}) \\
\text{(cf: A Tamil phonetic Reader:12) } \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{PULA:r} & \rightleftharpoons \text{DRAVIDIAN} \\
\text{Pu.} \text{ ka:ki} & (\text{cough, rhumatism}) & : \text{Ta.} \text{ kakki} & (\text{whooping cough}) \\
\text{DED} 909 \\
\text{Pu.} \text{ Au:karde} & (\text{to gulp}) & : \text{Te.} \text{ gukka} & (\text{a gulp}) \\
\text{DED} 1539 \\
\text{Pu.} \text{ ubbe} & (\text{big, heavy rains}) & \text{ka.} \text{ ?ubbe} & (\text{rain}) \\
\text{DED} 643 \\
\text{Pu.} \text{ ji:re} & (\text{squirrel}) & \text{Kur.} \text{ cirra:} & (\text{squirrel}) \\
\text{DED} 2477 \\
\text{Pu. da:k-a:de} & (\text{to remain in a place for an undetermined period}) & \text{Te.} \text{ Ka.} \text{ dekku} & (\text{to remain in one's possession}) \\
\end{array}
\]
This common morphological feature may be an important factor in the possible relationship that could exist between Dravidian and African.

IV. 2. Morphology

IV. 2.1. Nouns

IV. 2.1.1. Resemblances

IV. 2.1.1.1. The Noun

Suffixation is the characteristic feature of both the Dravidian languages and Pular. They are agglutinative languages.

In Dravidian the structure of the noun is: root-morpheme plus inflection for number and case (exx: Ta. avan 'he' (Nom.) = av- (root) + an (pronominal suffix) > avanai 'him' (Acc.) = av-(root) + an (pronominal suffix) + ai (accusative case suffix).

Similarly the structure of the Pular noun is: root-morpheme plus class suffix or class marker which undergoes the inflection for number only (exx: rawaindu 'dog' =...
As regards to pronouns, they are considered to constitute a distinct and separate class in the Dravidian languages and also in Pula:r. These languages share also the possession of nominative and oblique forms in the personal pronouns.

Examples:

Dravidian: Ta. na:n 'I' Nom. → en - 'me' obl.
Ma. na:n 'I' Nom. → ena- 'me' obl.
Pula:r: mi/mido 'I' Nom. → -am 'me' obl.

Moreover, it could be established a correspondence between the Dravidian oblique form of the personal pronoun -en (first pers. pl. excl.) and the Pula:r oblique form of the personal pronoun -en (first pers. pl. excl.); also between the Dravidian oblique form -en (1st pers. sg. in Ga., Nk., Kol.) and the Pula:r oblique form -am (1st pers. sg.)

In the Numerals, the only resemblance found is between the Dravidian form na:1- 'four' and the Pula:r one nayi 'four'.

It is also to be noted that each of the cardinal numbers presents itself in a form of numeral adjective in Dravidian and Pula:r (exx: Ta. onru 'one' oruvan 'one man'; Pu. go?to 'one' go?oto (neddo) 'one person').
Another common feature of Dravidian and Pula:r is the formation of substantives derived from verbs by means of common formative suffixes like -al, -ru, -an, -u and -a.

IV.2.1.1.2. Derivative nouns

It is a known fact that languages may be inferred to be genealogically related if they possess not only large proportion of words having correspondence in shape especially in words designating common objects like men, animals, relations, parts of the body etc., but also such words as suffixes. The common derivative suffixes found in the Dravidian and the Pula:r languages help in establishing their close relationship.

The Dravidian languages form substantives derived from verbs or derivative nouns in different modes. In the most cases the mode consists on suffixing formatives to the verbal themes.

Similarly the Pula:r language forms derivative nouns by suffixing formative particles to the verbal themes. The table below will show some resemblances in the formation of derivative nouns by the means of suffixes which are common to the Dravidian languages and Pula:r.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Formative</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. pei-(y)-al</td>
<td>pei = fresh</td>
<td>-al</td>
<td>. pc:w-al (rightness, justice)</td>
<td>fe:w-de = to be right just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a boy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. ud-al (the body)</td>
<td>ud-u = to put on</td>
<td>-al</td>
<td>. ndew-al (following)</td>
<td>rew-de = to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. vay-al</td>
<td>voe = to place</td>
<td>-al</td>
<td>. ke:w-al (multitude numerosness)</td>
<td>rew-de = to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. kina-ru (a well)</td>
<td>kpin-i = a well</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>. y'akku-ru (chewing)</td>
<td>yakk-a-de = to chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. veli-ru (paleness)</td>
<td>vel = white</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>. bobbu-ru (decortication)</td>
<td>bobbu-de = to decorticate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. kad-an (debt)</td>
<td>kad-u = harsh</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>. katt-an (ability)</td>
<td>hattan-de = to be able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. ar-an (virtue)</td>
<td>ar-u = to cut, define</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Root</td>
<td>Formative</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pad-u (suffering)</td>
<td>pad-u = to suffer</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>ngas-u (the digging)</td>
<td>as-de = to dig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa: mag-a (a child)</td>
<td>mag (pl. makkal)</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>ngen-a (the existence)</td>
<td>won-de = to exist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te: a:ta = play</td>
<td>a:d-u = to play</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngu:r-a (the living)</td>
<td>wu:r-de = to live</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV.2.1.1.3. Adjectives:

Though the most common adjectival suffix is -a in the Dravidian Languages, in Kui all adjectives end in -i.

exx:

- der-i 'big'
- neg-i 'good'
- pra:d-i 'old'
- pu:n-i 'new'
- koger-i 'small'

In Pular also all the adjectives which are attribute end in -i.

exx:

- 'o: galle na ma:wn-i = 'This house is big'
  (this house is big)
- ha:1-de go:nga na moyja-i = 'speaking truth is good'
  (To speak/speaking truth is good)
- wutte makko na nayw-i = 'His dress is old'
  (dress his is old)
- ndu: woyndu na lugg-i = 'This well is deep'
  (This well is deep)

But in the case of adjectives epithet, their ending is more or less influenced by the ending of the substantives which they qualify, i.e., there is an agreement between the substantive and the adjective.
The Dravidian language Kui and the African language Pulaar have the suffix -i in the formation of adjective. This common feature constitutes one more element in the comparison between African and Indian languages in view of establishing relationship.

IV. 2.1.1.4. Formation of Interrogation

In the Dravidian languages there is a manner which is the same for all to form interrogation and which consists on suffixing an open vowel to the noun, verb or sentence which forms the principal subject of interrogation. This open vowel is -a: in almost all these languages except Malayalam which uses the suffix -o: (for detail see Caldwell, 1856, 1st Indian ed. 1974 : 442).

Similarly, in the Pulaar language the suffix -a: is added to the noun, verb or sentence to form interrogation.
Therefore, for both Dravidian and Pula:r the following structure can be set up:

**Dravidian:**

(Ta., Ka., Te.) Int. ----> noun verb + a: sentence

(Pula:r) Int. ----> noun verb + a: sentence

Note that Int. = interrogation.

**Examples:**

**DRAVIDIAN**

**Tamil**

1. avar-a: ? 'Is it He?' (Hon.)
2. varînkal-a: ? 'Are you (pl.) coming?'
3. po:nînkal-a: ? 'Did you (pl.) go?'

**Kannada**

4. avan-a: ? 'Is it he?'
5. barutti:y-a: ? 'Do you come?'
6. hogiddir-a: ? 'Had you gone?'

**Telugu**

7. va:d-a: ? 'Is it he?'
8. vasta:r-a: ? 'Are you coming?'
9. poyya:v-a: ? 'Did you go?'

**PULA:r**

10. ko kajko-n-a: ? 'Is it he?'
11. a Há:mi:-n-a: ? 'Have you (sg.) eaten?'
12. o yi:-n-a:? 'Did (he/she/it) see?'
13. kafe heboto-n-a:? 'Is coffee available?'
14. suka o na:t(u)no galle-o-n-a:? 'Did the young person enter the house?'

It should be noted in all the Pula:r examples (sentence 10 to 14) the presence of the link morph -n-.

Pula:r and the Dravidian Languages present a similar interrogative suffix.

IV.2.1.2. Contrasts

IV.2.1.2.1. The Noun

Suffixation is, as already noted, the feature which characterizes the Dravidian Languages and also the only type of affixation in these languages. Thus, the Dravidian noun (N) can be structured as root-morpheme (RM) plus inflection for number and case (Inf. Numb/case)

N -------> RM + Inf. Num./case

Examples:

Ta. mak - an 'son = mak+an
Ga. ku:t-a:l 'lame man' = ku:t + a:l

Since each noun in Dravidian is stated to belong to a particular gender (Shanmugam : 1971 : 1), there are a limited number of nouns having the masculine - feminine contrast and
so the morphological construction is restricted to them only.

ex: Ta. makan 'son'
makal 'daughter'

As regard to the Pula:r Language, the nouns appear in a different pattern and their classification is not based on the gender-number distinction because syntactically there is no such grammatical category as gender in this language (cf: chapter on gender and number).

Therefore, in Pula:r, the noun has the following structure: stem (st.) plus class marker (cl.m.)

\[ \text{N.} \rightarrow \text{st + cl.m.} \]

**Examples:**

- wa: - ndu 'monkey' = wa: + ndu
- ba: - di 'monkeys' = ba: + di
- jup - ngo 'arm' = jup + ngo
- ju: - de 'arms' = ju: + de

The different class markers or class suffixes are inventoried chapter on the class system (see Part I).

**IV.2.1.2.2. Gender-number:**
The category of gender in the Dravidian Languages is, as pointed out by Andronov (1977: 40, 1st Indian ed.) lexicogrammatical. As already noted certain substantives have
formatives of gender and many have not; some reveal masculine and feminine suffixes, as for instance the human nouns, but many do not exhibit such suffixes. However, in the Dravidian languages, gender is reflected either in the pronominalisation, in the adjectival concord or in the subject predicate concord.

Thus syntactically gender-distinctions are found in the pronominal reference in the finite verbs (e.g: Ta.vantaːq 'he came'; vantaːl 'she came'; vantaːr 'they (hum.) came') and in the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (e.g: Ta. avan 'that man'; aval 'that woman'; atu 'that thing' in the third person).

Gender-distinctions are also found in the adjectival concord which is maintained in the constructions: Numeral + Noun (e.g: Kã. obba maga 'one son'; obba (lu) magalu 'one daughter') and in the demonstrative pronoun + Noun (e.g: Kol. am ma's 'that man'; at pilla 'that woman'; avr ma.sur 'those men').

As regards to the classification of the nouns into gender-number categories the Dravidian languages show a hierarchical arrangement because at this level there is difference at this level between the system found in the singular and the plural.

Tamil, for example, has only number distinction in the non-human nouns, and masculine and feminine distinction in the singular of human nouns.
In Telugu, feminine is part of the neuter in the singular and part of masculine in the plural.

Tamil gender-number system can be represented as follows:

```
Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-Human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>Sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas.</td>
<td>neu. sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>neu. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ep. pl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

However each of the languages has its own arrangement according to the gender-number system which characterises it.

Unlike the Dravidian languages, Pula:r does not exhibit gender at the syntactic and morphological level.

In this language, gender is neither reflected in the pronouns, adjectival concord, nor in the subject-predicate concord. It is at the semantic level only (and this is of no interest in our study) that Pula:r distinguishes masculine and feminine on the basis of sex as far as human and non-human beings are concerned (see for detail chapter on Gender number in Pula:r). To give an illustration of the absence of gender in Pula:r, we shall consider the following substantives.
No indication of gender is revealed in these substantives. It may be concluded that the absence of gender in Pular is a contrasting element in the comparison of this language with Dravidian.

IV.2.1.2.3. Personal Pronouns:

The nominative forms of the Dravidian personal pronouns are characterized by the presence of a long vowel (examples: Ta. na:n ; Ma. na:n; Ko. a:n ; To. o:n; Te. me:nu; Kas. na:ni 'I'). And the oblique forms of the pronouns are characterised by the shortening of the long vowel which is present in the nominative forms.

Examples: Kas. na:ni 'I' ---→ na- 'me' (acc.);
Kol. a:n 'I' ---→ an-(obl.);

1. gorko 'men'
2. debbo 'woman'
3. asama:n 'sky'
4. ngori 'cock'

All these substantives can be accompanied by the third person pronoun singular 0 'the' (example: /gorko o/ 'the man'; /debbo o/ 'the woman'; /asama:n o/ 'the sky' /ngori o/ 'the cock'); they can therefore be replaced by this pronoun. Example:

/o ya:ni:/ which may mean 'He (the man) /, she (the woman) /, it (the sky or the cock) has fallen.'
Tu. yəːnt 'I' --> en- (obl.)

In the Pulaar language no long vowel is found in the form of the personal pronoun in the nominative; therefore there is no shortening of long vowel to form oblique forms.

Moreover, syntactically, the Pulaar personal pronouns present themselves, in the nominative, as simple and compound forms when they function as subject.

They are considered as simple forms when they are subject of a verb conjugated in the past and future tenses.

Examples:

- mi (yə:no) 'I had gone
- a (arat) You (sg.) will come
- o (amat) He/she/it will dance
- en (ngari:) We (incl.) have come
- min (njaːta:) We (excl.) will not go
- on (mbaːli) You (pl.) spent the night
- be (cali:) They refused

But they are considered as compound forms when they are subject of a verb conjugated in the present tense. Then, some morphemes are added to these simple forms to obtain what we have called compound forms.
The tables below will illustrate the contrastive nature of the personal pronouns in both Dravidian and Pular.

Beside these fundamental morphological and syntactical differences, it should also be pointed out that no form of a personal pronoun in the Dravidian languages resembles the Pular ones. The tables below will illustrate the contrastive nature of the personal pronouns in both Dravidian and Pular.

### IV.2.1.2.3.1. Dravidian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ta.na:n</td>
<td>na:ñkal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Ma. ña:n</td>
<td>na:ñkal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka. na:n</td>
<td>na:m(oka,)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te. ne:nua</td>
<td>me:mu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### IV.2.1.2.3.2. Pulaːr

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>oblique</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta. ni:</td>
<td>niːŋkal</td>
<td>un-</td>
<td>uŋkal-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Ma. ni:</td>
<td>nin-</td>
<td>nin-</td>
<td>nin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Ka. niːnu</td>
<td>miːru</td>
<td>nin-</td>
<td>mim-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te. niːnu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nin-</td>
<td>mim-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Ta. taːn</td>
<td>taːŋkal</td>
<td>tan-</td>
<td>tan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Ma. taːn</td>
<td>taːm</td>
<td>tan-</td>
<td>tam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka. taːn</td>
<td>taːm</td>
<td>tan-</td>
<td>tam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te. taːnu</td>
<td>taːmu</td>
<td>tan-</td>
<td>tam-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Person</th>
<th>mi</th>
<th>Y en</th>
<th>-am</th>
<th>-en</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miːdo</td>
<td>Yen</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Y miːen</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II Person</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>on</th>
<th>-ma</th>
<th>-on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ada</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III Person</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>be</th>
<th>-mo</th>
<th>-be</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>omo</td>
<td>obe</td>
<td>-mo</td>
<td>-be</td>
<td>-be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | makko |
| | | -makko |
It results that Dravidian personal pronouns differ from its Pular counterparts. The only case of resemblance which could be taken into account is the first person plur. obl. form em-(ka.) and its correspondent first person pl. obl. form in Pular - on. All the other pronouns contrast when Dravidian and Pular are compared.

IV.2.1.2.4. Case formation

One of the characteristic features of the Dravidian languages is the existence of case formation found in all of them.

Caldwell has argued on the origin of the formation of cases in these languages, stating that 'all the case-relations are expressed by means of postpositions or post-positional suffixes...,' and that '...most of the postpositions are separate words in reality...' even though '...they have lost the faculty of separate existence in the more cultivated dialects'. (Caldwell, 1856, 3rd Ed., 1st Indian Ed. 1974 : 253.).

Each Dravidian language has a particular case system; the number of case suffixes vary from one language to another but show a certain uniformity in the use of the same signs of case in the plural as in the singular.
However the usage of Dravidian grammarians has restricted the number of cases to eight. The Dravidian Languages have in common the absence of nominative case terminations but the inflectional base of the noun includes the formative if there is any.

The Dravidian languages distinguish also two categories of nouns: those which are used as nominative and which constitute also the inflectional base, and those, in which the nominative form is different from the oblique form.

In the first category of nouns the nominative and the base of the oblique cases are identical. The case-signs are added to the nominative without any link except the glide v or y which is inserted to prevent hiatus.

In the second category of nouns the nominative form and the oblique form are distinct and the base undergoes some alternations before receiving the addition of case suffixes.

As regard to the Pula:r language, it can be said that one of the characteristic features of this language is the absence of case formation. In Pula:r, the noun does not vary and is not inflected may it be an accusative, dative, genitive or ablative form. We shall take for illustration the following sentences:
1. mi la:ri:-ma (I have looked at you)
2. mi winda-t-ma (I will write to you)
3. mi ya:di-he-ma (I went with you)

Note that -t- in example 2 is the future tense marker, -he- in example 3 means 'with'.

In all these examples the oblique form of the second personal pronoun singular -ma 'you' does not change or take any additional morpheme. It remains the same form in spite of functioning as accusative in example 1; dative in example 2; and sociative in example 3.

Remark: However it is worth noting that the meaning of certain cases like instrumental and sociative is expressed in this language in the verb itself by means of derivative suffixes like -ir- and -or- for instrumentality, -du- for sociativity, but never in the noun.

exx: ʔa:m-ir-(de) < ʔa:m-де 'eat with / by'
wa:l-or-(de) < wa:l-a:de 'sleep, lie down by'
 ya:-du- (de) < ya:-de 'go with'

The absence of case system in Pułar constitutes one more contrasting element in the comparison between Dravidian and Pułar.
IV.2.2. Verbs

IV.2.2.1. Resemblances

IV.2.2.1.1. Tenses

IV.2.2.1.1.1. Past tense

The Dravidian Languages possess various suffixes to form past tense; many of these languages have the suffix -i- in the formation of the past.

The simple past, for instance, exists in all the Dravidian languages except Tulu (Andronov, 1970:75) and among the suffixes which help to build the forms of this tense there is the suffix -i- in Tamil and Malayalam. In Kannada -i is suffixed to the crude verb stem to form the past; Telugu forms the preterite verbal participle by adding -i to the verb stem.


**Tamil**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>'to buy'</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>va:nku</td>
<td>vank-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu:nku</td>
<td>tu:nk-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe:cu</td>
<td>pe:c-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa:tu</td>
<td>pa:t-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko:ru</td>
<td>ko:r-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
are the formants of the simple past, present perfect and -i/-i:) are found to form the past tense. These suffixes its variant /-i:/N/-ino/ and /-i:no/ (which incorporate are also used in the formation of the past participles.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Malayalam} & \text{Kannada} \\
\text{ma:tt-} & \text{ma:tt-i} \\
\text{ilak-} & \text{ilak-i} \\
\text{a:t-} & \text{a:t-i} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Telugu} \\
\text{preterite verbal participles} \\
\text{kon-i} & \text{'having bought'} \\
\text{kan-i} & \text{'having seen'} \\
\text{ce:s-i} & \text{'having done'} \\
\text{ra:s-i} & \text{'having written'} \\
\end{array}
\]

Similarly, in the Pula:r language, the suffixes \(-i\) and its variant \(-i:/\sim/-ino/\) and \(-i:no/\) (which incorporate \(-i/-i:)\) are found to form the past tense. These suffixes are the formants of the simple past, present perfect and are also used in the formation of the past participles.

Examples:

IV.2.2.1.1.1. a) Preterite

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{base} & \text{past stem} \\
\text{imm-a:de} & \text{'to get up'} & \text{imm-i:} \\
\text{dar-a:de} & \text{'to stand'} & \text{dar-i:} \\
\text{wa:l-a:de} & \text{'to lie down'} & \text{wa:l-i:} \\
\text{uddu-de} & \text{'to close'} & \text{udd-i} \\
\end{array}
\]
The table will show the similarities that exist between the Dravidian past suffixes and the Pula:r ones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dravidian past suffixes</th>
<th>Pula:r past suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LANG.</td>
<td>Simple past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTa.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xod.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kas.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This common feature is important because Caldwell (1856: 3rd Ed. P. 495) has remarked that: "The mode in which a language forms its preterite constitutes one of the most distinctive features in its grammatical character, and one which materially contributes to the determination of the question of its relationship."

IV.2.2.1.1.2. Non-past tense

IV.2.2.1.1.2.1. Future tense

Among the suffixes which help to build the future tense in Naiki, the suffix -at is found. This suffix occurs before the suffixes of the first and second persons.

Examples:

kak-at-un 'I will do'
kak-at-um 'we will do'
kak-at-i 'you (sg.) will do'
kak-at-ir 'you (pl.) will do'

In Pula:a:r, the suffix -(a)t and its variant -(o)to are used to build the simple future. They are added to the verb root but are always preceded by the format -a- (in verbs of the conjugational class I) or -o- (in verbs of conjugational class II).
Thus, it can be said that Naiki (Ch.) has a non-past suffix (future tense suffix) -at which resembles the Pular future tense suffixes -(a)t and -(o)to.

\[ \text{Nk (ch.) fut. tense suffix} \quad \text{Pular fut. tense suffixes} \]

\[ -\text{at-} \quad (a)-t; (o)-to \]

**IV.2.2.1.1.3. Negative suffixes:**

The most common negative suffix found at the morphological level in the Dravidian languages is -a:-/-a-. For instance in Literary Tamil the negative form of the verb is denoted by the suffixes -a: and -a:t; this negative suffix -a: and its variants occur only when they are followed by a neuter suffix or adjective or participle suffix (see for details P. Kothandaraman: 1977). In Old Malayalam the negative suffix -a: is also found in the finite verbs. Kodagu, Kasaba, Irula, Kannada, Tulu and Telugu have also the negative suffix -a in their finite forms.
mative form of the verb in the simple future tense for
and its variant /-a:ko/ (which incorporates -a:) for verbs
of the conjugational class II.

### Tamil
1. και-n-a-:tu
   'It will not see'
2. ceyy-a-:tu
   'It will not do'
3. teriy-a-:tu
   'It will not know'

### Old Malayalam
4. ni:mutiy-a:
   'You (sg.) will not perish'
5. na:n ceyy-a:
   'I will not do'
6. ni:ariv-a:
   'you (sg.) will not know'

### Kasaba
7. ekk-a:q-e
   'not sending'
8. pirikk-a:q-e
   'not separating'

Similarly, negation is expressed in the Pula:r
language by adding the negative suffix -a: to the affir-
mative form of the verb in the simple future tense for
verbs of conjugational class I.

9. mi hul-(a)-t-a:
   'I will not eat'
   (I eat will not)

10. o hul-(a)-t-a: 
    'He will not fear'
    X 'He
    X She
    She
    She
    X it
    X it

and its variant /-a:ko/ (which incorporates -a:) for verbs
of the conjugational class II.
11. mi imm-(o)-t-a:ko 'I will not get up'
    (I get up will not)
12. o abb-(o)-t-a:ko 'He will not follow'
    (He, She, it follow will not)

In the present tense the variants of the negative suffix /-a:/
and /-a:ni/ in verbs of class I.

13. mi fitt-a:ni 'I do not sweep'
    (I sweep not)
14. a udd-a:ni 'You (sg.) do not close'
    (you close not)

and /-a:ki/ in verbs of class II.

15. be ngimm-a:ki 'they do not get up'
    (they get up not)
16. en njo:d-a:ki 'we do not sit'
    (we incl. sit not)

Yet, a table could show clearer the resemblances between the Dravidian negative suffixes and the Pulair ones.
Many Dravidian Languages share with Pula:r the negative suffix \(-a:\). This feature constitutes one more element in establishing relationship between Dravidian and Pula:r.

### IV.2.2.1.1.4. Formation of Imperative

Caldwell (1856 : 1st Indian Ed. 1974 : 192) has noted, regarding the formation of the imperative mood, that the Dravidian Languages use the crude root of the verb without any addition, as the imperative of the second person singular. "This is the general rule", he added, "and the few apparent exceptions that exist are to be regarded either as corruptions or as euphonic or honorific forms of the imperative.
The same idea is shared by Subrahmanyan (1971: 453) when he remarked that in many of the Dravidian Languages the verb base itself functions as the second person singular imperative.

In Pulä:r too, verbs of the conjugational class I, use the crude root of the verb, without any addition, as the imperative of the second person singular. Thus, the following structures are obtained:

Dravidian:

\[
\text{Imp. II pers. sg.} \rightarrow \text{verb root + } \emptyset
\]

Pulä:r:

\[
\text{Imp. II pers. sg.} \rightarrow \text{verb root + } \emptyset
\]

\[
\text{verbs of cl. I} \rightarrow \text{verb root + } \emptyset
\]

exx:

Dravidian

Ta.

1. ke:1 'Mear, ask' (≤ ko:tkka)
2. col 'Tell' (≤ colla)
3. pa:tu 'sing' (≤ pa:ta)

Ko.

4. o:g-∅ 'go'
5. tin-∅ 'eat'
6. org-∅ 'sleep'
Many of the Dravidian Languages share with Pula:r the manner in which they form the imperative of the second person sing. This common feature may be considered as positive in establishing relationships between Dravidian and Pula:r.

IV.2.2.1.5. Infinitive suffixes

Though the Dravidian infinitives suffixes contrast with their Pula:r counterparts at the morphological level, there are some which, syntactically, like the infinitives in Pular function as verbal nouns. It is the case of the infinitive in Konda, Naiki, Kurux and Brahui.

Pula:r infinitive functioning as verbal noun has been discussed in the chapter which deals with infinitive in this language.
Therefore, this grammatical feature shared by both Dravidian and Pula:r may be retained as one more element towards the relationship that may exist between these languages.

IV. 2.2.2. Contrasts

In the Dravidian Languages the verb distinguishes various grammatical categories such as mood, gender and person etc. Moreover verbs are divided, in these languages, into finite and non-finite verbs. Non-finite verbs comprise participles, verbal participles such as conditional verbal participles, adverbial participles and adjectival or relative participles.

Another characteristic feature of the Dravidian verb is that the number of verbal stems varies from one language to another, and there are simple verbal stems (i.e. those which contain one verb root plus one or two grammatical suffixes) and complex verbal stems (i.e. those which contain two or more verb roots plus grammatical suffixes).

In Pula:r, the verb does not (unlike its Dravidian counterpart) distinguish mood, gender and person in its form. It contains only a single verbal stem plus tense markers and aspectual auxiliaries (for detail see chapter on the Pula:r verb).
Moreover Pula'ir verbs cannot be clearly divided into finite and non-finite verbs since such verbal constructions as participles, verbal and conditional verbal participles, and adjectival participles, are not found in this language. The infinitive form only could be considered as belonging to non-finite verbs because, as it has been discussed earlier, the infinitive form is also the verbal noun.

All the verbs have uniformly one verbal stem and hence there are no simple and complex verbal stems.

IV.2.2.2.1. Transitive and causative suffixes

In the Dravidian languages, the verbs that are syntactically transitive are divided into two classes: those that morphologically contain a transitive marker (they are called derived transitives and those that do not (they are called inherent transitives).

Both the inherent transitive verb and the intransitive verb are same at the morphological level, hence they are indiscriminately termed 'intransitive'. Thus 'transitive' is restricted to derived transitive.

Therefore transitives are formed by adding suffixes to the intransitive form of the verb.

Example: in Tamil, the suffix -ttu added to the intransitive verb ka:n 'to see' results in the formation of the transitive
verb ka:t-tu 'to show' after the following morphophonemic change viz. \((n + tt \rightarrow tt)\) has taken place.

Similarly causatives are also formed by adding suffixes. As regard to the Pula:r language, there is no suffix to form transitives neither at the syntactic nor at the morphological level. However causatives can be formed with the help of derivative suffixes such as -nu-, -in-.

exx: ma:y-n(u)- 'cause to die' (< ma:y-de 'to die')
    ma:y-in 'make to die'
    la:r-n(u)- 'cause to look' (< la:r-de 'to look')
    dog-n(u)- 'cause to run' (< dog-de 'to run')
    dog-in- 'make to run'

These suffixes are directly added to the verb root. Therefore, the absence of transitive suffixes in Pula:r, and also the particular way this language forms causatives, constitute a contrasting element in the comparison between the Dravidian Languages and Pula:r.

IV.2.2.2.2. Past Suffixes
Each of the Dravidian Languages has in its finite and non-finite forms various suffixes in the construction of past tense. In many languages these past tense suffixes are used to classify verbs into various classes. However there is no an uniform pattern of verb-stems found in all the languages; certain have a single stem verbs, others a
two stem or a multi stem verbs. In the latter past suffixes are added to the marked stem whereas in the former they are added to the non-marked stem.

Most of the non finite forms are formed from the past stem.

The Tamil past suffixes in the finite forms are: -tt-, -nt-, -in- and Doubling.

Malayalam past suffixes are : - ñn-, -t-, nn-, -i- and nt- in weak verbs ; they are -cc-, -nn-, -tt-, -t-, -t- and the Doubling in strong verbs.

Kannada has the following suffixes to form the past :-d-, -t-, -nd- and -id-.

In Telugu the formants of the past in the finite forms are -ę: -, -a:-, -in- and -∅-.

In Pula:ri, as it has already been noted, there is no distinction finite and non-finite forms since the latter are virtually absent in the language.

Also, the past suffixes are not used to help to classify the verbs. The classification of verbs is made on the basis of the infinitive marker. Moreover it is to be noted that this language has only single stem verbs and there is no verb using the base itself as a past stem. The structure of the verb in the past is:
The Dravidian languages have various non-past suffixes which differ from one language to another.

The non-past suffixes are -kiEU, -kki£u, -ki~EU and kki!lEU "in the present tense in Tamil, and -v-, p-, pp- in the future tense.

The table below will show the contrasting past suffixes in Dravidian and Pula:r:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dravidian</th>
<th>Pula:r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finite Verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta. -t-, -tt-, -nt-, -in-</td>
<td>-i, -i:, -ino, i:no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ãñ-, -t-, -i-, -nt-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma. -cc-, -nn-, -tt-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t-, -t-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka. -a-, -t-, -nd-, -id-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te. ₋, a:, -in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV.2.2.2.3. **Non Past suffixes:**

The Dravidian languages have various non-past suffixes which differ from one language to another.

The non-past suffixes are -kiEU, -kki£u, -kinru and kkinru in the present tense in Tamil, and -v-, p-, pp- in the future tense.
Malayalam present tense suffix is -unnu, that of the future tense is -um.

In Kannada the present tense suffix is -ut(t)-, that of the present-future tense is -puv- oo -p- -b- and that of the future tense is -p- oo -v- -b-.

Telugu present tense suffix has four variants, viz, -to:n- which occurs before 3rd non-mas. sg. in verbs of stems of the (c) Vn-type and to:n- in verbs of the other stems; -tunna: - before other pronominal suffixes in verbs of the (c) Vn-type and -tunna: in verbs of other stems.

In Pula:r the simple present tense shows a complex construction; it is formed with the help of the personal pronoun to which is affixed suffix(1) plus verb stem, plus suffix2 (or Formative suffix). Thus the structure of the present tense is as follows:

\[ P \rightarrow \text{Pers. pr.} + \text{Suffix}_1 + \text{Vst.} + \text{Formative} \]

Almost like the present tense, the future tense is formed by the verb stem plus suffix2 (or Formative a, o) + tense suffix.

\[ F \rightarrow \text{Vst.} + \text{Formative} + t \sim to (\text{tense suffix}) \]

(1) Suffix1 comprises the different morphemes affixed to the person1 pronoun. They are - do for the 1st and 2nd person sg., -mo for the 3rd pers. sg., -en for the 1st pers. pl., -on 2nd pers. pl. and - be for the 3rd pl.
The Tables below will show the contrasting non-past suffixes between the Dravidian languages and Pula:r.

### IV.2.2.2.3.1. Dravidian non-past suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Ta. 
- kiru, -kkiru  | -v, -p, -pp  |
| - kinru, -kkinru |              |
| Ma. 
- unnu          | -um          |
| Ka. 
- ut(t)         | -p, -v / -b  |
| Te. 
- ton, to:n     | -tun-, -tun-|
| tunna:, tunni:  | -ta:, -ta:- |

Table 1

### IV.2.2.2.3.2. Pula:r non-past suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Pers.pr.) + Suff. + Vst. + a</td>
<td>-Vst. + Formative a + -t -to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formative [a]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.
Similarly Malayalam forms negation by adding the word illa 'it is not' to the infinitive, past or present.
tense form of the verb. Moreover the infinitive plus illa
denotes negation in the future. Telugu also uses syntactical
constructions in the formation of negation. In this lan-
guage, negation in the past is expressed by the infinitive
plus le:du 'it is not'. Thus the following structure can
be retained:

Neg. \(\rightarrow\) infinitive + negative word.

It is this last aspect of Negation in Dravidian that inter-
ests us the most because it contrasts with the system of
Negation in Pula:r.

In the Pula:r language, negation can be expressed
at the morphological structure of the verb alone. No syn-
tactical constructions such as infinitive or participial
noun + negative word are found. Hence the contrast at the
syntactical level:

Dravidian: Ta.

Ma. Neg. \(\rightarrow\) Infinitive participial + negative word

Te. noun

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{illai} \\
\text{ille} \\
\text{le:du}
\end{align*}
\]

Pula:r: Neg. \(\rightarrow\) zero

It is to be added that number of the Dravidian languages
do not have negative suffixes which resemble the Pula:r
ones. Separate tables will show the dissemblances:

IV.2.2.2.4.1. Negative suffixes in Dravidian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tenseless</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>-∅-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>-∅-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>-∅-</td>
<td>-ot-</td>
<td>-ot-</td>
<td>-∅-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>-∅-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>-∅-</td>
<td>-uj-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go.</td>
<td>-∅-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konda</td>
<td>-∅-</td>
<td>-?-</td>
<td>-?-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kb.</td>
<td>-lk-</td>
<td>-lk-</td>
<td>-lid-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol.</td>
<td>-e-</td>
<td>-j-</td>
<td>-e-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuvi</td>
<td>-?o</td>
<td>-?o</td>
<td>-?a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK.</td>
<td>-e-</td>
<td>-e-</td>
<td>-e-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

IV.2.2.2.4.2. Negative suffixes in Pulaːr

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tenseless</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P'</td>
<td>-aːni</td>
<td>-aː</td>
<td>aːni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UL</td>
<td>-aːki</td>
<td>-aːko</td>
<td>aːki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.
These tables show that many of the Dravidian Languages exhibit very different negative suffixes than those found in Pulair.

IV.2.2.2.5. Infinitive Suffixes

The infinitive is formed by means of the suffix -a in Tamil, Malayalam, Toda, Kannada, Telugu, Irula and Gondi. This suffix is directly added to the verb stem (to the marked stem in -kk- in Tamil and Malayalam and to the non-marked stem in other cases).

exx: Ta. var-a 'to come'
Ma. po:k-a 'to go'
To. ku:r-a 'to gather'
Ka. ma:r-a 'to do'

The Dravidian Languages distinguish various infinitive suffixes. A table will show the infinitive suffixes of the different Dravidian languages.
## IV.2.2.5.1. Dravidian Infinitive Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a:ξ</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-deň</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-lk</td>
<td>-erξ</td>
<td>-eye</td>
<td>-laye</td>
<td>-a:kk</td>
<td>-č</td>
<td>-č</td>
<td>-čč</td>
<td>-čč</td>
<td>-čč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **-a**: In Ta., Ma., To., Ko., Ka., Tu., Kas., Kb., Ir., Go., Kond., NK., and Br., this suffix is used to form the infinitive. It appears in all the languages listed.
- **-a:ξ**: In Ta., Ma., To., Ko., Ka., Tu., Kas., Kb., Ir., Go., Kond., NK., and Br., this suffix is used to form the infinitive. It appears in all the languages listed.
- **-e**: In Ta., Ma., To., Ko., Ka., Tu., Kas., Kb., Ir., Go., Kond., NK., and Br., this suffix is used to form the infinitive. It appears in all the languages listed.
- **-l**: In Ta., Ma., To., Ko., Ka., Tu., Kas., Kb., Ir., Go., Kond., NK., and Br., this suffix is used to form the infinitive. It appears in all the languages listed.
- **-a**: In Ta., Ma., To., Ko., Ka., Tu., Kas., Kb., Ir., Go., Kond., NK., and Br., this suffix is used to form the infinitive. It appears in all the languages listed.
- **-deň**: In Ta., Ma., To., Ko., Ka., Tu., Kas., Kb., Ir., Go., Kond., NK., and Br., this suffix is used to form the infinitive. It appears in all the languages listed.
- **-en**: In Ta., Ma., To., Ko., Ka., Tu., Kas., Kb., Ir., Go., Kond., NK., and Br., this suffix is used to form the infinitive. It appears in all the languages listed.
- **-ing**: In Ta., Ma., To., Ko., Ka., Tu., Kas., Kb., Ir., Go., Kond., NK., and Br., this suffix is used to form the infinitive. It appears in all the languages listed.
In Pular the infinitive suffixes are -de and -a:de.

- de occurs with verbs which take -i, -i: and -i:no as past tense suffixes; -a:de occurs with verbs which take -i: and -i:no as past tense suffixes.

It should be recalled that the classification of the Pular verbs has been done on the basis of these infinitive suffixes. Thus the verbs which take -de as infinitive suffix belong to conjugational class I; those which take the suffix -a:de to conjugational class II.

Here also a table is needed to show the Pular infinitive suffixes.

IV.2.2.5.2. Pular infinitive suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive suffixes</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>-de</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>-a:de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV.2.2.6. Pronominal suffixes

All the Dravidian Languages except Malayalam show pronominal suffixes or personal terminations at the end of the verb. These suffixes are, for most of them, very similar to the personal and demonstrative pronouns.
The resemblances between the personal pronouns and the personal terminations will be given in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANG.</th>
<th>PERSONAL PRONOUNS</th>
<th>3rd ms. sg.</th>
<th>3rd Fem. sg.</th>
<th>3rd nc. sg.</th>
<th>Hum. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>avan</td>
<td>aval</td>
<td>atu</td>
<td>avarka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>avanu</td>
<td>avalu</td>
<td>adu</td>
<td>avanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>va:du</td>
<td>a:me</td>
<td>adi</td>
<td>va:ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unlike the Dravidian Languages, Pula:r has all its verbs which are not inflected by pronominal suffixes or personal terminations. In this language the personal pronoun alone indicates the person, the verb does not.

exx: mi-ðo ha:la 'I am speaking / I speak'
   (I am speaking )
a-ðo ha:la 'You (sg.) are speaking / you speak'
   (you (sg.) are speaking)
on-on ka:la 'you (pl.) are speaking / speak
   (you pl.) are speaking)
o-be ka:la 'They are speaking / speak'
   (They are speaking)

This feature of the Pula:r language constitutes one more contrasting element in its comparison with the Dravidian languages.
Conclusion:

It appears, in the comparison of the Dravidian Languages with Pulâːr, that these languages present many contrasting features at the phonological, syntactical as well as morphological level. The absence of retroflex and dental consonants, gender, case declensions, transitive suffixes and personal terminations in Pulâːr, the absence of implosive consonants and initial prenasalized stops in Dravidian, constitute a major interrogation and a serious handicap towards the attempt of establishing whatsoever type of relationship between the Dravidian Languages and Pulâːr.

However, in spite of all these dissimilarities, the Dravidian Languages and Pulâːr show also many resemblances.

They can be considered as being exclusively suffixal languages: juxtaposition of suffixes exhibiting an important process which enriches easily the languages. A number of suffixes are found to be shared by both Dravidian and Pulâːr, namely derivative, adjectival, interrogative, negative and tense suffixes. Moreover these languages share also many other grammatical aspects such as the lack of relative pronoun and the relative scarcity of gender (in Primitive Dravidian).
This situation obviously may lead us to think like Berezin (1969:49) that if the same grammatical meanings are expressed in the same grammatical forms in the compared languages, it can be sure of their close relationship because the importance of grammatical criteria is that words can be borrowed but grammatical forms cannot.

IV. 3. Comparative lexicology

Languages may be inferred to have genealogical relationship if they possess large proportion of words or at least root elements of words having correspondence in shape, especially in words designating common objects like men, relations, animals, parts of the body, elements, trees etc; or expressing common actions or states like being, eating, drinking, sleeping, ascending, descending, ploughing, weaving etc.

However it is true also that vocabulary is a shaky criterion on which to base language kinship, though it may be observed that there are certain basic words like names of family relationships and numerals which are hardly ever borrowed. Therefore, vocabulary is, by no means, an important factor in the comparison of languages in view of establishing their relationship.
This chapter will deal with common vocabulary (i.e., words and root elements of words, having more or less correspondence in shape) and referring to common objects like kinship, parts of the body, customs, myths and beliefs, death and existence, aesthetics, colours, smells, animals and birds, calling for animals, places and shelters, instruments, fruits and cereals, sounds and noises, time; or denoting activities of the body, physical and moral states, interjections; or making negation and affirmation. However, it is not claimed in this study, to establish historical relationship on the basis of principles of the comparative method, viz. on the basis of internal and external reconstructions, but rather to provide data for further research work in the field of historical linguistics.

The data are taken mostly from the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (DED) and its supplement, for the Dravidian part.

The Pulaar data are taken from the various dialects of that language and as spoken at the present time in Senegal.

### IV.3.1. Vocabulary referring to kinship and men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dravidian</th>
<th>Pulaar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aba 'father'</td>
<td>baːba 'father'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kui dialect of F.K

Cf: N. Lahovary: 1963:204 also
also

apppa: 'Father'  
Ta.  
ba:b  'father'
Se:re:r (A Senegalese language close to Pula:r)

.hummah  'mother'
Br.  
.yumma  'mother'

Dial. of Tuk.

.patti  'female'
Br.

.Pati  'old woman; grandmother
Dial. of P.F

.patti  'old woman; grand
mother'
Ta.

Dialect of P.F

Br.

cf: N. Lahovary: 1963:201

cf: M.K. George: 1971:11

cf: Lahovary., 1963: 194-95

bandhu 'relative
Ma.

bannu 'relative'
Dialect of Tuk.

mbiru (wrestler, generally a strong and power-
ful person).

birudu (strong, capable person
Te.  
Dial. of PK.

Virutan (hero, warrior)
Ma.

cf: Lahovary., 1963: 194-95

payan (boy, male child)
Ta.

payku:n (child)
Dial. of PF.
IV.3.2. **Vocabulary indicating places and shelters**

- **u:ré** 'village, place, town'
  - Ta.
- **u:ru** 'village, place'
  - Tu.
- **wuro** 'village, town'
  - Dial. of Tuk.
- **Sa:re** 'village'
  - Dial. of F.K
- **su:du** (room, house)
  - Dial. of FK.
- **u:tu** (house)
  - Hindu Nadar Dialect of Ta.
- **Kita** (dwell)
  - Ta.
- **ngidá** (a dwell or a shelter dug in the earth for animals)
  - Dialect of FK.
- **ku: ndu** (hen coop)
  - Ta.
- **ngu:nu** (hen coop)
  - Dialect of Tuk.
- **kuti** (hut)
  - Ma.
- **kudi** (grass which serves to cover huts)
  - Dialect of FK.
gutta (post in a house for tying buffaloes)
Go. MU

Gutta (post in a house for tying buffaloes) 

Dialect of F.K.

bayal (open space, field)
Ko.

Bayal (open space; field)
Dialect of FK.

also
vayal (paddy field)
Ta.

Bayal (open space; field)
Dialect of FK.

kada (edge, side)
malto
cf: DEDS 929

Gada (side, side of river)
Dialect of FK.

IV.3.3. Vocabulary referring to parts of the body

kut (clitoris)
Ko.

Kut (clitoris)
Dial. of FK.

also
cot

Ee.

(a Senegalese language of the same family)

cuttu (private part, anus)
Ta.

cut (private part, anus)
Dial. of FK.

cf: DED 2249

Sutte (anus)
Dial. of FK.

cunni (male organ)
Ta.

Sunnin 'to circumcise, cut the prepuce of the male organ'
Dial. of PF.


geddu (a place in a house where goats and sheep are tied)
Dialect of F.K.

geddu (a place in a house where goats and sheep are tied)

Dialect of F.K.
IV.3.4. Vocabulary referring to myths and beliefs

- kule' (ghost, apparition)
  Tu.
  cf: DEDS 1598
  Dial. of FK.

- kulli: (ghost, any unprecise animal). This term is always used to frighten children.

IV.3.5. Vocabulary referring to death and existence

- ma:y (to die)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 3946
  Dial. of FK and Tuk.

- ma:yde (death)

- nattu (to extinguish, perish, die)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 2964
  Dial. of Tuk.

- nattu (de) (to die, cease to live, extinguish)

- uru (urr) to be
  Ta.
  also
  Dial. of Tuk. and FK.

- uru (to be, exist)
  Ka.
  cf: DED 608

IV.3.6. Vocabulary referring to aesthetics

- cennu (beauty, elegance, grace)
  Te.
  cf: DED 1999
  Dial. of FK.

- saññi (that which fits, is handsome, correct)
  Te.
  Dial of FK.
IV. 3.8. Vocabulary denoting smells

- ceyya (to be red)
  - Ta.
  - cf: DED 1607

- u:ri (to snuff up)
  - cf: DED 2235

IV. 3.9. Vocabulary referring to animals and birds

- na:g (female buffalo calf)
  - Ko.
  - also na:k' (female calf)
  - Tu.
  - cf: DED 3010.

- a:mai (turtle)
  - Ta.

- cirra: (squirrel)
  - Kur.
  - also Jeri (squirrel)
  - Ko.
  - cf: DED 2077.

- nagge (cow)
  - Dial. of FK. and Tuk.
  - also na:k'L.. (cow)
  - Se.

- coyy (specific adv. denoting total redness)
  - Dial. of FK.

- ca:ni (bad)
  - Te.
  - cf: DED 282.

- ka:ni (ugly, bad)
  - Dial. of PF.

- ka:ni (bad)
  - Dial. of PF.

- ka:ni (ugly, bad)
  - Dial. of PF.

- ca:ni (bad)
  - Dial. of PF.

- ka:ni (ugly, bad)
  - Dial. of PF.
. Kojna (black faced monkey) . go:nji (pl.) a kind of monkey

Kui
also
Ko:nti (monkey) Ga. (S)
cf: DED 1819.

. kutti (young dog) . Kuti (young dog)

Ts.
cf: DED 1390

. pitta (bird) . mbitta (a kind of pigeon)

Te., Ko., NK.
cf: DEDS 3418.

. pura: (pigeon, dove) . pura:lu (a bird)

Ta.
cf: DED 3555

IV.3.10. Vocabulary denoting calling for animals

. ku:r (a call for fowls) . ku:r Ku:r (a calling for fowls)

Kui

. cu: (sound uttered in setting on dogs) . su: (sound uttered in setting on dogs)

Ta.
cf: DED 2241.
IV.3.11. Vocabulary concerning instruments

1. Musical instruments
   - tama tama (drum)
   - tama/tama:ru (a small drum)

2. Instruments for agriculture
   - kōnti (curved hoe)
   - konko (a small curved hoe)

3. Fishing instruments
   - pal (net)
   - mbar:la (fishing net)

4. Other instruments
   - ande' (vessel)
   - anda (vessel for putting incense)

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[Notes and additional information]

Claudie...
IV.3.12. Vocabulary referring to fruits and cereals

- mango (mango)
- basal (sleeping mat)
- dadi / dadol (waistband)
- pañay (large round water pot)
- sonna (great millet)
- mokka (maize)
- andi (a germ of mangoes etc.)
- suña (a kind of millet)
- andere (a germ of millet etc.)

cf: DED 3394
Dial. of Tuk.
Dial. of FK.
Dial. of FK.
Dial. of FK.

cf: DED 3363
Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.

Ko.
IV.3.13. Vocabulary denoting sounds and noises

- potupota (to fall noisely as stones or fruit one after another)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 3674
  Dial. of FK.

  a. vav (barking)
  Ka.
  cf: DED 4328
  Dial. of FK.

  b. pata pata (to rattle)
  Ta.
  also
  pat pat: (any rapid succession of sounds)
  Kur.
  cf: DED 3178
  Dial. of FK.

- gunu gunu (murmuring)
  Ka.
  cf: DED 1405
  Dial. of FK.

- kucukucu (to whisper)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 1365.

- ku:ku: (out cry)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 1551
  Dial. of FK.

- gudugudu (thunder, roar)
  Ka.
  cf: DED 1382.

- hunuhunu (murmuring)
  Dial. of FK.

- kusukusu (a feeble, hard-to-perceptible noise)
  Dial. of FK.

- ku:ku: (a kind of bird; also the cry of that bird)
  Dial. of FK.

- gudugudu (thunder, roar)
  Dial. of FK.
IV.3.14. Vocabulary concerning numerals

- na:ñku (four) -
  Ta.
  cf: Lahovary, 1963:148

- nayi (four) -
  Dial. of FK. and Tuk.

IV.3.15. Vocabulary concerning flowers

- ta:maray (lotus) -
  Ta.
  cf: Tamil phonetic Reader, p 12.

- tammere (lotus) -
  Dial. of FK.

(Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore)
IV.3.16. Vocabulary referring to time

- Sarti (time)
  Tu.
  cf: DED 2033

- veti (to dawn, break as day)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 4504

- pandi (antiquity, years past, former time)
  Ko.
  cf: DED 3296

- ṇałi (to decline, descend as the sun)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 2372

IV.3.17. Vocabulary referring to sizes and shapes

- kun (small)
  Ko.
  cf: DED 1371

- kutu (small)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 1390.

- cavu (emaciated)
  Ta.

- sarti (time, given time)
  Dial. of FK.

- we:t- (dawn, break as day)
  Dial. of FK. and Tuk.

- fanti, fani (that which is old, outdated)
  Dial. of FK.

- ṇàllu(de) (to decline as sun, be day advanced)
  Dial. of FK.
. tolle' (fat, stout)

Tu.
cf: DED 501.

. cittu (smallness)

Ka.
also
cittu (anything small)

Ta.
cf: DED 2073.

. ci:val (thinness of cloty)

Ma.
cf: DED 2167

. kuntai (shortness)

Ta.
also
Kuntal (dwarf, short man)
guntal (short)

Ta.
cf: DEDS 1390.

. tippe (heap)

Ka.
also
tippe (heap, pile)

Tu.
cf: DED 2641.

. d:le (fatness, strength

Lial. of FK.

. cetti (a small bit, a

very small part)

Dial. of FK.

. cewal (thinness)

Dial. of FK.

. kunt(e) (pl) short pieces

as wood etc. (sg) huntere

Dial. of FK.

Kuntal (a big, short

piece)

. tippere (a heap, pile)

Dial. of FK.
IV.3.18. Vocabulary denoting physical and moral states
a) Tiredness
   - omay (fatigue)
   - comal (< som(de) 'to be tired')

   Dial. of FK.

   also

   Ta. somay (fatigue)

   cf: DED 2352

b) feelings
   - gili (fear)
   - huli (< hul(de)) that which is fearing.

   Dial. of FK. and Tuk.

   - vili (to cry)
   - willu (de) to cry

   Dial. of FK.

   cf: DED 4460.

   - o:lam (cry of lamentation)
   - o:lannde (shout, roar, loud cry),
   - o:la:de (to cry)

   Dial. of FK.

   cf: DED 837.

IV.3.19. Vocabulary concerning the human activities
a) The activities of the mouth:
   - kati (to bite)
   - nat- (bite)

   Dial. of FK.

   Ta.

   cf: DED 945

   cu:mpu (to suck, fondle with the lips)
   - sumb-(a:de) (to suck, fondle as tobacco powder in the mouth)
Tu.

cf: M.B. Emeneau, comparative Dravidian Phonology, 21546

• kappa (to bite)

Pe.
also
kappu (to cram into the mouth)

Ta.
cf: DEDS 1025

• mukku (to put any dry grain into the mouth and gobble)

Ka.
also mokku (to eat greedily in large mouthfuls)

Tu.
cf: DED 4011

• in- (to say)
ko, kol, SR

Tupe (to spit)
malto
cf: DED 2725

Kunukunu (to speak through the nose, to mur mur)

Ta.
cf: DED 1405

• nappu (de) (to cram into the mouth)

Dial. of FK.

also
kappu (to cram into the mouth)

Dial. of FK.

• mu:k-(a:de) (to put any dry food into the mouth and gobble)

also
mokk (a:de) (to eat greedily in large mouthfuls)

Dial. of FK.

• inn(u:de) (to say, tell, call)

Dial. of PF.

• tu:pe (spittle)

Dial. of Tuk.

• hunukunu (murmuring)

Dial of FK.
also
gunu gunu (murmuring)
Ka.

. gu:h- (to swallow)  
Te.
cf: DEDS 1539
also
. gukka (a gulp)
Te.

b) The activities of the arms

. gutye (to give a blow with the fist)
Malto
cf: DED 1536
. vicUf:u (swing as the arms in walking)
Ta.
also
vi:ccu (throw, swing)
Ta.
cf: DED 4479

. tappu (to strike, [sat])
Irula Dialect of Tamil
cf: A descriptive grammar of Irula Dialect, p 523
also
tappu (to beat gently as cloths)
Ta.

. gu:h-a:de (to put into the mouth and swallow)
Dial of FK
also
. gu:hande (a gulp)
Dial. of FK.

. gutte (blows with the fist)
Dial. of FK.

. wiccuru (< *wicc-u[de])
the act of swinging as the arms in walking or throwing a fishing line
Dial. of FK.
c) The activities of the legs:

- tatt (to leap)
  Hindu Nadar Dalal of Ta.
  cf: A Descriptive study of Kanyakumari District.

- doddu (de) (to leap, jump)
  Dial. of FK.

- c:ttu (running)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 877

- dal (a: de) (to be down, to sleep)
  Dial. of TUK.

- take (to touch)
  Malto
cf: DED 2434
also
takku (to come in contact)
Ta.
cf: DED 2570

- remmu (to pull out)
  Ta. (K)
cf: DED 4243

- tadd (de) (to pull out the grass from a paddy field, to cultivate)

- lel (to lie down)

- taddu (de) (to leap, jump)
  Dial. of FK.

- doddu (<dog-de) = running
  Dial. of FK.

- takk (a: de) (to come in contact)
  Dial. of FK.
• uːn (to fix into the ground by pressure)
  Ko.  
  cf: DED 650

• viːi (to cry)  
  Ma.  
  cf: DED 4460

• uːlu (to cry out)  
  Ka.  
  cf: DED 647

• uru (urr) : to be  
  Ta.  
  Ka. uru (to be, exist)  
  cf: DED 608

• tari (to stop)  
  Ta.  
  cf: DED 2522

• soŋku (to catch, attack)  
  Ka.  
  cf: DED 2346

• toŋku (to hang, be dependent)  
  Ta.  
  cf: DED 2863

• un-de (to crush, grind fix into the ground)

• wullu (de) (to cry)
  Dial of FK.

• wuːr (de) (to be, exist. live)
  Dial of FK.

• dar-ːaːde (to stop, stand)
  Dial of FK.

• songu- (to catch, attack)
  Dial of FK.

• toŋgu (to prevent to go, to hang)
  Dial of FK

• tongal (prevention of going, hanging)
coli (to strip off, peel off)
Ta.
cf: DED 2336

cende (to remove in small quantities from a heap)
Malto
cf: DED 2310

ir- (to put down)
Pa.
also
Ta. iri (to drop down)
cf: DED 426

khuli (to fear)
Br.
cf: DED 1501

tOEJethe r)

ku:r- (to join, meet, assemble come together)
Kuwi (SU)
also Konda Ku:r (to come together)
cf: DEDS 1160.

mur? (to cover)
Ma.
cf: DEDS 802.

ma:ju (to disappear)
Ta.
cf: DED 3940.

soli (< sol-de): that which is stripped off
Dial of FK.

sendu(de) (to share, remove from a whole in smaller quantities)
Dial. of FK.

huri (a:de) (to surround join together and surround)
Dial. of FK.

huri (a:de) (to surround join together and surround)
Dial. of FK.

ir(de) (to put down into something as mud etc.)
Dial. of FK.
huli (< hul-de): that which is fearing
kulol (fear)
Dial. of FK.

mu:r (de) (to cover)
Dial. of FK.
majju (de) (to disappear, be lost)
Dial. of FK.
• pir (quarrel, fight)
  To.
  cf: DED 3708
• na:tu (to enter)
  Te.
  cf: DED 2958
• ma:y (to die)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 3946
• marru (to hide)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 3961
• kumi (to gather)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 1449
• kuppu (to heap up)
  Ka.
  cf: DED 1440
• natu (to perish, die)
  Ta.
  cf: DED 2964
• na:nudi (rumour, report saying)
  Te.
  cf: DEDS 3137

• pi:ro (< pi:r-de) = quarrel fight
  Dial. of PF.
• na:t-(u)de (to enter)
  Dial. of PF.
  also na:t-de (to enter)
  Dial. of TUK.
• ma:y(de) (to die, perish)
  Dial. of FK.
• maru(de) (to hide, keep)
  Dial. of PF.
• hum (de) (to tie, unite by tying)
  kumi (knots)
  Dial. cf F.K.
• huppu(de) (to pur, heap up)
  Dial. of FK.
• nattu (de) (to die, perish)
  Dial. of TUK.
• nanu (de) (to hear as rumour, saying)
IV.3.20. Vocabulary referring to solitude

onti (that which is single, solitary)  * wonti: (that which is alone, solitary)

Te.

cf: DED 834  Dial. of FK.

IV.3.21. Vocabulary denoting rumour

na:nudi (rumour, saying report)  * nanu(de) to hear, know by rumour

Te.

cf: DEDS 3137  Dial. of PF.

IV.3.22. Vocabulary denoting space

pette  * pete (lump of rocks, mountain)

Ka.

cf: DED 3606  Dial. of FK.

ge:ri (street, passage)  * Ke:rol 'sg.) (border, boundary small passage between fields)

Te.

also

Tu. Ke. ry (street)  Ke:ri (pl)

cf: DED: 1669  Dial. of FK.

kada (edge, side)  * gada (edge, side, bank of a river).

Malto

cf: DEDS 929  Dial. of FK.
IV.3.23. Vocabulary referring to pronouns

. ya:m (obl. em-) we (excl.)
Ta.
also
To. em (we)
cf: DED 4231

. en (we incl.)
Dial. of FK.

. a:n (one who is mine)
Ka
cf: DED 4243

IV.3.24. Vocabulary marking negation and affirmation

I. Negation

. alla (no)
Ma.
cf: K.M. George, Malayalam Grammar and Reader, p. 1971:21
also
Ka. illa (no)
ila ( a man who has not)

. ala: (no)
Dial. of Tuk.
cf: DED 2106

also
ala: ( < * was-de) = that which has not

II. denoting affirmation

. ate (yes)
Ma.

. a: (Yes)
kui
cf: lahovary, 1963:124

. (h) atte (yes, true)
Dial. of FK.

. ha: (yes)
Dial. of FK.
IV. 3.25. Terms referring to interjections

- a: (interj. expressing Wonder, admiration, pity)
  Ta. Dial. of FK.
  cf: DED 281

- ayyo: (interj. expressing astonishment, compassion)
  Ka.
  cf: DED 780 Dial. of Tuk.

- kata (interj. expr. distress, displeasure)
  Ka.
  cf: DED 21 Dial. of FK.

General Conclusion

As already noted, comparison of the Dravidian Languages with Pulaːr show a number of contrasting features at the phonological and morphological level. Phonologically, retroflex and dental consonants (l, l, n, n, t, t) which are found in most of the Dravidian Languages, are not available in the Pulaːr phonological system.

Moreover, the implosives (ɓ, ɓ, ɓ) and the initial prenasalized stops (mb-, nd-, ng-) found in Pulaːr are not there in the Dravidian Languages.

Morphologically, gender, case declensions, pronominal suffixes or personal terminations, transitive suffixes, non-finite forms of the verb, all, characteristic grammatical
aspects of Dravidian, constitute contrastive elements when these languages are compared with Pula:r.

Besides these differences, there are number of phonological, lexical and grammatical resemblances found in the compared languages, viz., derivative, adjectival, interrogative, negative and tense suffixes.

This comparison forcibly leads us to take part in the debate regarding the nature of the relationship that may exist between the Dravidian and African Languages.

A few but significant grammatical correspondences, plus a considerable number of similar morphemes and root-morphemes as those found in this thesis, constitute undoubtedly positive and favourable elements towards the hypothesis already proposed by certain scholars to connect Dravidian with African.

But, unless the exponents of this hypothesis work on the basis of a solid linguistic research to produce convincing results, it will be certainly very premature to speak about direct genetic relationship, though similarities and affinities do really exist between the Dravidian Languages and some African Languages like Wolof, Pula:r and Se:re:r.

A definitive answer to this question would be given with the help of not only linguistic studies but also anthropological, ethnographic, archaeological and general historic considerations.
IV. 4. I N D E X

IV.4.1. Pular Vocabulary

ala: : no, that has not (Dial. of Tuk.)
am : mine (Dial. of FK. and Tuk.)
amre : turtle (Dial. of FK.)
anda : vessel for putting incense (Dial. of FK.)
andere : germ of millet, maize etc. (Dial of FK.)
ara:de : to have sexual intercourse (as animals) (Dial. of Fk.)
attam : first rain setting on the beginning of the rainy season (Dial. of Tuk.)
atte : Yes, true (Dial. of FK. and TUK.)
ayyc: : interj. expr. astonishment, compassion (Dial. of Tuk)
a: : interj. expr. wonder, pity, admiration (Dial. of FK. and Tuk.)
banda : relative, cousin (Dial. of Tuk)
basal : sleeping mat (Dial. of FK.)
bayal : open space, uncultivated field (Dial. of FK.)
ba:ba : father (Dial. of FK. and Tuk.)
cabi : key (Dial. of FK.)
cetti : a very little bit (Dial. of FK.)
cewal : thinness (Dial of FK.)
comal : fatigue (Dial. of FK)
coyy : adv. denoting total redness (Dial. of Fk).
dadol : waistband; dadi (pl) (Dial. of FK.)
dara:de : to stop (Dial. of FK.)
da:ka:de : to stay somewhere for a long time, to live (Dial. of FK.)
doddu : running (Dial. of FK)
dolle : strength, force (Dial. of FK. and TUK.)
en : we (incl.) (Dial. of FK.)
fani : old, outdated (Dial. of FK.)
fanti :
gada : side, bank of river (Dial. of FK.)
gawol (sg.) : big hole (Dial. of FK.)
gawi (pl.) : a kind of monkey
go:hru : (Dial. of FK.)
gudugudu : to thunder, roar

gutte (pl.): blows with the fist

gh a:de : to gulp, swallow

gu:tu : a secret anger

hadda:de : to tie around the waist (Dial. of FK)
habbude : to tie, join by tying (Dial. of FK)
ha: : yes (Dial. of FK)
hulde : to fear (Dial. of FK)
humde : to tie (Dial. of FK)
huntere : a short piece (Dial. of FK.)
huppude : to heap up, pour (Dial. of FK.)
innude : to tell, say (Dial. of PF.)
irde : to put down into (Dial. of FK.)
ittude : to remove, share (Dial. of FK.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ittande</td>
<td>to portion out (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jalde</td>
<td>to laugh (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji:re</td>
<td>squirrel (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kallu</td>
<td>road (originally made of stones) (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kara</td>
<td>dry wood sticks to for making fire (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kata</td>
<td>misfortune (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:ndi</td>
<td>milk of a cow that has calved (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:ni</td>
<td>ugly, bad (Dial of PF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kedde</td>
<td>what is left, remains (as food etc.) (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kele</td>
<td>boy or girl friend (Dial. of PF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke:rol</td>
<td>boundary, passage separating two pieces (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke:ri (pl)</td>
<td>boundary, passage separating two pieces (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolce</td>
<td>hoofs (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konko</td>
<td>curved hoe (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kottu</td>
<td>vagina, female organ (Dial of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko:ce</td>
<td>over cooked food sticking at the saucepan (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko:li</td>
<td>a kind of tree (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubbol</td>
<td>coiffure (female) (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudude</td>
<td>to beat with the first (Dial of PF,)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudi</td>
<td>grass with which huts are covered (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumpa</td>
<td>curiosity, what is kept in secret and curiosity (Dial. of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:fi</td>
<td>preposition denoting smallness (Dial. of PF,)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusukusu</td>
<td>faint noise, murmur, whisper (Dial of FK.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunte</td>
<td>small, short pieces (Dial of FK)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kuti kuti : a call for a young dog (Dial of FK)
kutu : a small piece (Dial of FK)
cry of a
ku:ku: : a surd/bird (Dial of FK)
ku:ral : gathering around, coming together (Dial. of FK.)
ku:rkur : a call for fowls (Dial. of FK.)
lela:de : to lie down (Dial of Tuk.)
makka : maize (Dial of TUK.)
majjude : to disappear, get lost (Dial. of FK.)
manda : anything that covers the head (Dial. of FK.)
mango : mango (Dial. of FK.)
marude : to hide (Dial. of PF.)
ma:y : die (Dial. of FK.)
ma:yde : death (Dial of FK.)
me: : the bleating of goats, sheep (Dial. of FK)
me:yde : to roam (Dial. of FK.)
mu:ka:de : to put into the mouth and gobble (Dial. of FK.)
mur:de : to ler (Dial. of FK. and Tuk.)
nagge : cow (Dial of FK. and Tuk.)
nakkude : to stick (Dial. of FK.)
nanude : to hear, learn by rumour (Dial. of PF)
nattude : to die, perish (Dial. of Tuk.)
nat:ude : to enter (Dial. of Tuk.)
nallude : to decline. descend as the sun (Dial. of FK.)
nolde : to be spoiled as food, meat etc. (Dial. of FK.)
appude : to bite, cram into the mouth (Dial. of FK.)
natde : to bite (Dial. of FK. and Tuk.)

hununu : murmuring (Dial. of FK.)

okkude : to give, offer (Dial. of FK.)

o:la:de : to shout, cry out (Dial. of FK.)

patapata : to rattle (Dial. of FK.)

pati : old woman (Dial. of PF.)

pamnu : water pot (Dial. of FK.)

pete : lump, rocks, mountain (Dial. of FK.)

pi:ro : fight, quarrel (Dial. of PF.)

potupotu : to fall noisely (Dial. of FK.)

pura:lu : bird, a kind of pigeon (Dial. of FK.)

remude : to cultivate, pull out grass from the field (Dial. of FK.)

safi : tasty (Dial. of FK.)

sarti : time, time fixed (Dial. of FK.)

sa:re : village, place (Dial. of FK.)

sa;Yde : to cancel, abandon, disappear (Dial. of FK.)

somde : to get tired (Dial. of FK.)

suninde : to circumcise (Dial. of PF.)

su:du : room, house (Dial. of FK.)

su:na : a kind of millet (Dial. of FK.)

taddude : to leap, jump (Dial. of FK.)

taggude : to roll, draw back (Dial. of FK.)

takka:de : to touch, come in contact (Dial. of FK.)

tappude : to beat, strike (Dial. of FK.)
tama  : a kind of small drum (Dial. of FK.)
tata  : a kind of fort, a wall to resist (Dial. of FK.)
tikkude  : to get angry (Dial. of Tuk.)
tippere  : heap (Dial. of FK.)
tongude : to retain, hang as animals (Dial. of TK.)
tongal  : prevention of going, hanging (Dial. of FK.)
tokkude  : to tie, form a knot (Dial. of FK.)
tu:pe  : spittle (Dial. of Tuk.)
ukkude  : to put inside (Dial. of PF.)
unde  : to grind (Dial. of FK.)
u:be  : big rains (Dial. of FK.)
u:rde  : to smell (Dial. of FK.)
we:t(de) : to dawn, breaks as day (Dial. of FK.)
wiccude : to throw (as the arms in walking) (Dial. of FK.)
wi:rde  : to fly (Dial. of PF.)
wonta:de : to be alone, solitary (Dial. of FK.)
wow  : barking (Dial. of FK.)
wullude : to cry (Dial. of FK.)
wuro  : village, place (Dial. of Tuk.)
wutte : dress (Dial. of FK.)
wu:rde  : to live, be, exist (Dial. of FK. and Tuk.)
birodam : milk (Dial. of FK.)
mba:la : fishing net (Dial. of Tuk.)
mbitta : a kind of pigeon (Dial. of FK.)
IV.4.2. II. DRAVIDIAN VOCABULARY

IV.4.2.1. Tamil

anda : take (Dial. of Tuk.)
ngu:nu : hen coop (Dial. of Tuk.)

motion DED 289
interjection expressing wonder, admiration, pity DED 281
turtle DED 1981
taste DED 281
emaciated DED 1977
key DED 1677
sound uttered in setting on dogs DED 2241
to be red DED 2073
to strip off, peel off DED 2336
male organ DED 1977
sound uttered in setting on dogs DED 2241
to suck 2154 b (Emeneau, 1970)
anus DED 2249
to drop down DED 426
whooping cough DED 909
to cram into the mouth DED 945
to bite DED 945
dwell DED 1277
tree DED 1867
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>DED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kucukucu</td>
<td>to whisper</td>
<td>1365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumi</td>
<td>to gather</td>
<td>1449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuntai</td>
<td>shortness</td>
<td>1390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunukunu</td>
<td>to murmur</td>
<td>1405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutu</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>1390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:-ku:</td>
<td>young dog</td>
<td>1390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:-ku:</td>
<td>outcry</td>
<td>1551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:ndu</td>
<td>hen coop, P1, 1563</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantai</td>
<td>head, skull 3831, Emeneau, 1970</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:ngay</td>
<td>mango</td>
<td>3919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marru</td>
<td>to hide</td>
<td>3961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:ju</td>
<td>to disappear</td>
<td>3940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:y</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td>3946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me:y</td>
<td>to roam</td>
<td>4179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakku</td>
<td>to lick (2945, Emeneau: 1970)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natu</td>
<td>to perish, die</td>
<td>2964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:nku</td>
<td>four</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ña:1</td>
<td>to decline, descend as the sun</td>
<td>2372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oli</td>
<td>to roar</td>
<td>837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onti</td>
<td>one who is alone, that which is single</td>
<td>834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ottu</td>
<td>running</td>
<td>877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patapata</td>
<td>to rattle</td>
<td>3178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payan</td>
<td>boy, male child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa:tti</td>
<td>old female</td>
<td>3608</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pi:ram : mother's milk DED 3465
potupotu : to fall noisely as fruit one after another DED 3674
pura: : pigeon DED 3555
somay : fatigue DED 2352
takku : to live in a place DED 2443
tari : to stop DED 2522
takku : to come in contact DED 2570
tokku : to assemble, form as a whole DED 2861
toftku : to hang DED 2863
tofkal : hanging DED 1863
uri : to sliuff up DED 2235
uru : to be DED 608
utai : clothes DED 502
ur : village, place, town DED 642
uru : to ooze DED 648
varu : to come DED 4311
ve[i : to dawn DED 4504
vicuru : swing (as the arms in walking) DED 4479
virtu : valour (lahovary, 1963 : 194-95)
viccu : throw DED 4479
Hindu Nadar Dialect of Tamil:

tatt : to leap

IV.4.2.2. Malayalam

alla : no (K.M. George, 1971 : 21)
ate : yes (K.M. George, 1971 : 1)
bandhu : relative (K.M. George, 1971 : 11)
ci:val : thinness of cloth DED 2167
kallu : stone (K.M. George, 1971 : 25)
kuntan : cripple DED 1408
kuti : hut DED 1379
manta : skull (3831, Emeneau : 1970)
mur : to cover DED 802
pa:na : water pot DED 3394
tata : resistance; what impedes DED 2460
vala : net (K.M. George, 1971 : 129)
vili : to cry DED 4460

IV.4.2.3. Kannada

aduppu : to squeeze, to be depressed
ayyo : interj. expr. compassion, astonishment
a:n : one who is mine
bayal : open space, field (Cheikh T. Ndiaye, 1977: 74 Ph.D thesis)
bira : warrior, valiant (Lahovary, 1963: 194 - 95)
bau-du : flesh (Lahovary, 1963: 194 - 95)
calla : laugher DED 1962
cittu : smallness DED 2073
datti : waistband DED 2455
dengu : sexual union DED 430
dollu : huge belly DED 501
gili : fear DED 1308
gudu : to thunder DED 1382
gunugunu : murmuring DED 1405
guttu : a secret DED 1393
?ubbe : rain DED 648
kandi : a cow that has calved DED 1187
kata : interj. expr. distress DED 21
kede : to drop DED 1277
kele : union, friend DED 1678
kuppu : to heap up DED 1440
me : the bleating of sheep DED 4174
mukku : to put any dry grain and gobble DED 4011
pa: sak : sleeping mat DED 3363
pette : lump DED 3606
savi : that has taste, savoury DED 1981
soňku  : to catch, attack  DED 2346

tikku  : to treat harshly  DED 2525

tippe  : heap  DED 2641

udu    : to put a dress round the waist and fasten there by tucking

ulu    : to cry out  DED 647

uru    : to be, exist  DED 606

vav    : barking

IV.4.2.4. Telugu

birudu  : strong, capable person (Lahouary, 1963: 194-95)


cennu  : beauty, grace  DED 1999

gerei  : street, passage  DED 1669

guh-   : to swallow  DEDS 1539

karra  : wood, stick  DED 1169

kani   : bad  DED 282

natu   : to enter  DED 2958

nanudi : rumour, report  DEDS 3137

oggu   : to offer, to give  DED 606

pitta  : bird  DEDS 3418

remmu  : to pull out  DED 4243

so:ma  : fatigue  DED 2352

taggu  : to draw back, reduce  DED 2597

tama tama : a drum
IV.4.2.5. Tulu

ande : vessel DED 110
andi : a germ of mangoves etc. DED 106
birdu : a strong person
gavi : hole DED 1119
gumpu : secret DED 1389
ke:ry : street, lane DED 1669
kule : ghost, apparition DEDS 1598
kunte : dwarf, short man DED 1390
na:ku : female calf DED 3010
noli : anything glutinous DED 2397
Sarti : time DED 2033
tippe : heap, pile DED 2541
tolle : fat, stout LD 501

IV.4.2.6. Kota

ar : have sexual intercourse
guntal : short DED 1390
in- : to say
Jeri : squirrel DED 1607
kolk : hoof DED 1519
kun : small DED 1371
kut : clitoris DED 1704
IV.4.2.7. **KUI**

*a:* : yes (Lahovary, 1963: 125)

*hu:* *bbu:* : coiffure (female) DEDS 1755

*ko:* *nja:* : black-faced monkey DED 1819

*ku:* *r:* : to assemble DEDS 1160

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IV.4.2.8. **Malto**

*aba:* : father (Lahovary, 1963: 204)

*cende:* : to remove in small quantities

*gutyey:* : to give a blow with the fist DED 1536

*kada:* : edge, side DEDS 929

*take:* : to touch DED 2434

*tube:* : to spit DED 2725

*ite:* : to divide (As a share)

---

IV.4.2.9. **Kurux**

*cirra:* : squirrel DED 2077

*ittna:* : to portion out DED 391

*konko:* : shaped like a hook DED 1689

---

**mokka** : maize

**na:* *g:* : female buffalo calf DED 3010

**pandi** : antiquityl years past DED 3296

**u:* *c:* : to pour away DED 480

**u:* *n:* : to fix into the ground DED 650

**vav** : barking
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV.4.2.10. Naiki</th>
<th>IV.4.2.11. Brahui</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>konki</td>
<td>hummah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucce</td>
<td>khuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitta</td>
<td>lel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:y-</td>
<td>patti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa'r</td>
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<th>IV.4.2.12. Pengo</th>
<th>IV.4.2.13. Toda</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kappa</td>
<td>pir</td>
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<td></td>
<td>em</td>
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<tr>
<th>IV.4.2.14. Kolami</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:y-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- curved hoe DED 1689
- cooked vegetables DED 1467
- bird DEDS 3418
- to leave, abandon DED 2028
- mother (Labovary, 1963: 201)
- to fear DED 1501
- female DED 3608
- village (Andronov, 1977: 66)
- town, place (Labovary, 1963: 217)
- to bite DED 1025
- quarrel, fight DED 3708
- we·(excl.) DED 4231
- great millet DED 2359
- to leave, let go, release DED 2028
IV.4.2.15. Gondi (Ph)
khudda: a blow DED 1536

IV.4.2.16. Konda
ku:r- to join, come together, meet DEDS 1160

IV.4.2.17. Parji
ir- to put down DED 426

IV.4.3. III. COMMON VOCABULARY

Malto. aba father
Ta. appa: id.
Te. ba:ba id.
Pula:r ba:ba father
Ka. aduppu to squeeze, compress, to be depressed
Pula:r duppude to be breathless, to squeeze
Ma. alla no
Pula:r alla: no, that has not
Tu. ande vessel for putting toddy
Pula:r anda vessel for putting incense
andi germ of mangoes etc.
Pula:r andere germ of millet, maize etc.
Ko. aɾ to have sexual intercourse
Pula:r ara:de to have sexual intercourse (animals)
Ma. ate : yes
Pula:r atte : yes, true
Ta. attam : motion
Pula:r attam : first rain indicating the beginning of the rainy season.
Ka. ayyo: : interj. expr. astonishment, compassion; also Ta. ayyo : interj expr. wonder, admiration astonishment.
Pula:r ayyo: interj. expr. admiration, compassion
Ta. a: : interj. expr. wonder, admiration, pity
Pula:r a: : interj. expr. admiration or pity.
Ta. a:mai : turtle
Pula:r amre : turtle
Ka. a:n : one who is mine
Pula:r am : mir:
Ta. a:ppu : tie, bandage
Pula:r habbude : to tie
Ma. bandhu : relative
Pula:r banda :
Ka. bayal : open space; also Ta. vayal : field
Pula:r bayal : open space, uncultivated field
Ka. ba:du : flesh
Pula:r bandu : body
Ka. bira : warrior, valiant; also Te. birudu: strong, capable person
Pula:r mbiru : wrestler, valiant person
Te. cakka : handsome
Pula:r saññi : that which fits beautifully
Ka. calla : laughter
Pula:r jal(de) : to laugh
Ta. cavi : taste
Pula:r safi : tasty
Ta. (Dial.) caytta:n : devil
Pula:r seyutta:n : devil
Ta. ca:vi : key
Pula:r ca:bi : key
Malto cende : to remove in small quantities
Pula:r sendude : to share, remove in quantities
Te. cennu : beauty, grace, elegance
Pula:r senna:de : to be gracefull, elegant, clean, elegance conscious.
Ta. ceyya : to be red
Pula:r coyy : adv. denoting complete redness
Kur. cirra : squirrel
Pula:r ji:re : squirrel
Ta. cittu : anything small: also Ka. cittu smallness
Pula:r cetti : anything small, a very little bit.
Ma. ci:val : thinness of cloth
Pula:r cewal : thinness
Ta. coli : to strip off, peel off
Pula:r solde : " "
Ta. cunni : male organ
Pula:r sunninde : to circumcise
Ta. cu: : sound uttered in setting on dogs
Pula:r su: : sound uttered in setting; su:na:de:
to utter sound in setting on dogs
Ta. cu:mpu : to suck
Pula:r sumba:de : to suck (as tobacco powder)
Ta. cu:ttu : annus
Pula:r sutte : anus
Ka. datti : waistband
Pula:r dadol : waistband
Ka. de:ngu : sexual union
Pula:r dingude : to erect, have sexual desire
Ka. do:ilu : hug' belly
Pula:r do:le : force, strength, fatness
Tu. gavi : hole
Pula:r ga:wol : big hole
Te. ge:ri : street, passage
Pula:r ke:rol : small passage which serves as a
boundary between two parts.
Ka. gili : fear
Pula:r hulde : to fear; kulol. fear; huli : that
which fears
Ka. gudu : to thunder
<p>| Pula:r | gudugudu | thunder, roar |
| Tu. | gumpu | secret |
| Pula:r | kumpa | curiosity, that which is kept secret |
| Ko. | guntal | short |
| Pula:r | kuntal | a short piece |
| Ka. | gunugunu | murmuring |
| Pula:r | ãunuãunu | murmuring |
| Ka. | guttu: | secret |
| Pula:r | gu:tu | a secret anger |
| Malto | gutye | to give a blow with the fist |
| Pula:r | gutte | blows with the fist |
| Te. | gu:h- | to swallow |
| Pula:r | gu:ha:de | to put into the mouth and gobble |
| Kui | hubbu: | coiffure (female) |
| Pula:r | hubbude | to make a female coiffure |
| Br. | hummah | mother |
| Pula:r | yunma | mother |
| Ko. | in- | to say, tell |
| Pula:r | innude | to tell, say |
| Ta. | iri | to drop down; also Pa. ir: to put down |
| Pula:r | irde | to put down |
| Malto | ite | to divide |
| Pula:r | ittande | to share, portion out |
| Kur. | ittna: | to portion out |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ittude</td>
<td>to remove (as share)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>Jeri</td>
<td>squirrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ji:re</td>
<td>squirrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malto</td>
<td>kada</td>
<td>edge, side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>gada</td>
<td>side, edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>kakku</td>
<td>whooping cough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ka:ki</td>
<td>cough, cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>kallu</td>
<td>stone: also Ta. Kallu: stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>kallu</td>
<td>road (generally made of stones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>kandi</td>
<td>a cow that has calved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ka:ndi</td>
<td>milk of a cow that has calved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe.</td>
<td>Kappa</td>
<td>to bite; also Ta. kappu: to cram into the mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ñappude</td>
<td>to bite, cram into the mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>Karra</td>
<td>wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>kara</td>
<td>dry sticks for making fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>kata</td>
<td>interj. expr. distress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>kata:</td>
<td>misfortune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>kati</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ñatde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>ka:ni</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>Ka:ni</td>
<td>bad, ugly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>kede</td>
<td>to drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>kedd.e</td>
<td>that which remains, is left, dropped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>kele</td>
<td>union, friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>Kele</td>
<td>: boy or girl friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>ke:ry</td>
<td>: street, lane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ke:rol</td>
<td>: small passage used as boundary between fields.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>: swell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ngida</td>
<td>: a dwell dug into the earth (for animals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>Kolk</td>
<td>: hoof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>kolce</td>
<td>: hoofs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ko:li</td>
<td>: tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ko:li</td>
<td>: a kind of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kur.</td>
<td>konko</td>
<td>: shaped like a hook; also NK. Konki: curved hoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>konko</td>
<td>: a small curved hoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui</td>
<td>ko:nja</td>
<td>: black -- faved monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>go:ra</td>
<td>: a kind of monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go.</td>
<td>khudda:</td>
<td>: a blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>kudude</td>
<td>: to give a blow with the fist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>khuli</td>
<td>: fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>kulol</td>
<td>: fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK.</td>
<td>kucce</td>
<td>: cooked vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ko:se</td>
<td>: over cooked food sticking at the bottom of the cooking vessel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>kucukuce</td>
<td>: to whisper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>kusukusu</td>
<td>: undistinguished noise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>kule'</td>
<td>: ghost, apparition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pula:r  kulli: : apparition
Ta.  kumi : together
Pula:r  kumol : knot, joining by a knot
Ko.  kun : small
Pula:r  kuñ : adv. denoting smallness
Ta.  kuntai : shortness; also Tu. kunte : dwarf, shortman; ma. kuntan a cripple
Ta.  kunte : short pieces, (as of wood etc.)
Ta.  kunukunu : to murmur
Pula:r  munufunu : to murmur
Ta.  ku:ndu : hen coop
Pula:r  ngu:nu : hen coop
Kui  ku:r : to assemble; also konda ku:r : to come together, join.
Pula:r  hu:ra:de : to assemble around, to come together around, to surround
Br.  lel : to lie down
Pula:r  lela:de : to lie down
Ma.  manta : skull; also Ta. mantai : head, skull
Pula:r  manna : anything that covers the head (for males)
Ta.  marru : to hide
Pula:r  marude : to hide
Ta.  ma:ju : to disappear
Pula:r  majjude : to disappear, get lost
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ta.</th>
<th>ma:y</th>
<th>: to die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ma:y</td>
<td>: die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>me:</td>
<td>: the bleating of goat, sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>me:</td>
<td>: the bleating of goat, sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>me:y</td>
<td>: to roam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>me:yde</td>
<td>: to roam (as insect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>mokka</td>
<td>: maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>makka</td>
<td>: maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>mukku</td>
<td>: to put any grain and gobble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>mu:ka:de</td>
<td>: to put any food and gobble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>mur</td>
<td>: to cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>mur:de</td>
<td>: to cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>makkun</td>
<td>: to lick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>nakkude</td>
<td>: to stick, to lick and stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>nattu</td>
<td>: to perish, die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>nattude</td>
<td>: to perish, die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>natu</td>
<td>: to enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>nattude</td>
<td>: to enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>na:g</td>
<td>: female buffalo calf; also Tu. na:ku female calf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>nagge</td>
<td>: cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>na:nku</td>
<td>: four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>naiy</td>
<td>: four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>na:nudi</td>
<td>: rumour, report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>nanude</td>
<td>: to hear, learn by rumour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ŋallude</td>
<td>: to decline as the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ŋallude</td>
<td>: to decline as the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>noli</td>
<td>: anything glutinous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ŋolde</td>
<td>: to be rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>oggu</td>
<td>: to give, offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>okkude</td>
<td>: to give, offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>oli</td>
<td>: to roar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>o:la:de</td>
<td>: to roar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>onti</td>
<td>: that which is alone, solitary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>wonti:</td>
<td>: that which is alone, solitary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ottu</td>
<td>: running</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>doddū</td>
<td>: running</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko.</td>
<td>pandi</td>
<td>: antiquity, years past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>fanti</td>
<td>: outdated, old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>patapata</td>
<td>: to rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>patapata</td>
<td>: to rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>patti</td>
<td>: female; also Ta. pa:tti: old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>payyan</td>
<td>: male child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>paykuŋ</td>
<td>: a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>pa:na</td>
<td>: a large round water pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>pa:nu</td>
<td>: a large round water pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>pa:sak</td>
<td>: sleeping mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi/English</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>basal : sleeping mat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>pette : lump</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To.</td>
<td>pir : quarrel, fight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>pi:ro : quarrel, fight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>pitta : bird; also NK. pitta : bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>mbitta : a kind of pigeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>pi:ram : mother's milk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>birodam : milk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>potupotu : to fall noisely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>potupotu : to fall noisely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>pura: : pigeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>pura:lu : a kind of pigeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>remmu : to pull out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>remde : to pull out (as grass in a field)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>sarti : time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>sarti : time fixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>savi : that has taste, savoury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>safi : tasty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>sa'r : village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>sa:re : village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol.</td>
<td>sa:y : to leave, abandon; also NK. sa:y : to abandon, nelease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>sa:ye : to cancel, abandon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>somay : fatigue; also Te. so:ma: fatigue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>sonde</td>
<td>to be tired; comal: tiredness, fatigue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol.</td>
<td>sonna</td>
<td>great millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>su:na</td>
<td>a kind of millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>taggu</td>
<td>to draw back, reduce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>taggude</td>
<td>to draw back, reduce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>takku</td>
<td>to live in a place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>da:ka:de</td>
<td>to live in a place, stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>tamatama</td>
<td>drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>a small drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>tappu</td>
<td>to beat, strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>tappude</td>
<td>to beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>tari</td>
<td>to stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>dara:de</td>
<td>to stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>tatt</td>
<td>to leap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>taddude</td>
<td>to leap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>resistance, what impedes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>fortification (for resistance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ta:kkku</td>
<td>to come in contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>ta:ka:de</td>
<td>to touch, come in contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ta:maray</td>
<td>lotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>tammere</td>
<td>lotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>tikkku</td>
<td>to treat harshly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>tikkude</td>
<td>to get angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>tippe</td>
<td>heap, pile; also Tu. tippe: to heap up.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pula:r tippere : heap, pile; also Tu. tippe : to heap up

Tu. tolle' : stout, fat

Pula:r do:le : force, strength

Ta. tokku : to assemble, form as a whole

Pula:r tokkude : to tie, form as a whole by tying

Ta. tongal : hanging; tongu : to hang

Pula:r tongude

tongal : to prevent to go; to hang, tie, retain prevention of going, hanging, retaining.

Ka. udu : put a dress round the waist and fasten there.

Pula:r hadda:de : put a dress round the waist and fasten there

Ka. ulu : to cry out

Pula:r wullude : to cry

Br. ura : town, place

Pula:r wuro : town, place

Ta. uru : to snuff up

Pula:r uru:de : to snuff up, smell.

Ta. uru : to be; also ka. uru: to be

Pula:r wu:ride : to be, exist, live

Ta. ur : village, place, town

Pula:r wuro : village, place, town

Ko. u:n : to fix into the ground

Pula:r unde : to grind, let fall on the ground by pressure
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ma.</th>
<th>vala</th>
<th>: fishing net</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>mba:la</td>
<td>: fishing net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>vara</td>
<td>: to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>warde</td>
<td>: to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka.</td>
<td>vav</td>
<td>: barking; also Ko. vav: barking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>wow</td>
<td>: barking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>vethi</td>
<td>: to dawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>we:tdi</td>
<td>: to dawn, break as day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>vicuru</td>
<td>: to swing (as the arms in walking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>wiccude</td>
<td>: as the arms in walking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>virtu</td>
<td>: valour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>mbiru</td>
<td>: valiant person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>vi:ccu</td>
<td>throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula:r</td>
<td>wiccude</td>
<td>&quot;(as a fishing line)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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