LOCALIST   STUDIES   IN   TELUGU   SYNTAX

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The aim of this work is two-fold, being, firstly, to describe
certain important areas of the syntax of modern spoken Telugu and,
secondly, by formulating the description in terms of localist case
theory, to contribute something to the understanding of this approach.
Illustrative support for the localist hypothesis has hitherto been
drawn largely from languages of the Indo-European family.   This
thesis attempts to provide a supplement to this by drawing on a
language of the Dravidian family, which is genetically entirely un-
related to Indo-European.

After an introductory chapter surveying earlier work on the
grammar of Telugu, from which it will become apparent that there has
so far been only a modest amount of work on Telugu syntax in terms
of any recent theoretical model and nothing in terms of the localist
approach, there follows an account of Telugu sentence patterns and
the major elements of Telugu sentence construction.   This is
intended to provide the necessary data on the surface grammar of
the language to make the subsequent proposals regarding underlying
structures more readily comprehensible.   Chapter 3 gives an outline
of the theory of generative localism and makes comparisons with other
current syntactic theories, in particular the case grammar of
Fillmore and generative semantics.

The fourth chapter examines one of the primitive case relations,
namely the one that specifically underlies the spatial locative
constructions of Telugu.   Attention is drawn in the discussion to
the co-relationship between word-order and definiteness and the bearing
this has on a statement of the derivation of existential clauses.

Chapter 5 attempts to show the underlying uniformity between the concrete locatives (spatial locatives) and certain apparently non-concrete phenomena such as possessive and stative expressions, including verbs of cognition, perception and wanting.

The examination of equative clauses that is presented in Chapter 6 focuses attention on agu, the 'copula' of Telugu. The presentation leads to the conclusion that this 'copula' needs to be taken as a basic verb rather than as a dummy element. It also becomes necessary to suggest the need to abandon the Fillmorean principle of one instance per clause of a given case relation.

The locative discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 has been non-directional. Chapter 7 is concerned with directional locatives, that is to say with 'source' and 'goal'. It is shown that these two do not involve two further case relations, since 'goal' can be accounted for as a sub-type of static locative. .

The thesis concludes with a summary account of further worthwhile avenues of research in Telugu syntax which might usefully be handled in localist terms.

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I count myself fortunate that the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the U.K. granted me a Scholarship to study at Edinburgh on the nomination of the Government of India.

Mrs. Rena Somerville made an excellent job of typing this thesis from a nearly unreadable manuscript of 'exotic writing'. I am most appreciative of her skills and advice.

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

The system of transcription used in this work is orthographical,
i.e. a simple transliteration of the Telugu script into the Roman
script.   An orthographical transcription is preferred to a phonemic
or morphophonemic one, so that the constituents of phrases and
clauses appear more clearly in the grammatical description.   The
use of a phonemic transcription would involve the representation of
the numerous Sandhi changes that occur in spoken Telugu.   This
would involve frequent explanation of the different forms for the
benefit of readers who are not native speakers of the language and
would provide an added load of complexity that would obscure rather
than clarify points being made about the syntax of Telugu.

The following table of correspondence between the Telugu script
and the transliteration is provided as a guide.   It will be noted
that the "long vowels" of the Telugu script are represented by
sequences of two vowel symbols in the Roman transcription.   It
should perhaps be added that, strictly speaking, the Roman symbols
used for consonants should be followed by the vowel 'a', the
"inherent vowel" of the Telugu consonant symbols.   It has seemed
simpler, however, not to include this in a list of consonant symbols.

TELUGU SCRIPT AND ROMANISED TRANSCRIPTION

Vowels:

ఎ	a		ఏ	aa			
ఇ	i		ఈ	ii			
ఉ	u		ఊ	uu			
ఎ	e		ఏ	ee		ఐ	ay
ఒ	o		ఓ	oo		ఔ	av

Consonants:

క	k	ఖ	(kh)	గ	g	ఘ	(gh)			
చ	c	ఛ	(ch)	జ	j	ఝ	(jh)			
ట	ṭ	ఠ	(ṭh)	డ	ḍ	ఢ	(ḍh)	ఙ	ṇ	
త	t	థ	(th)	ద	d	ధ	(dh)	న	n	
ప	p	ఫ	(ph)	బ	b	భ	(bh)	మ	m	
య	y	ర	r	ల	l	ళ	ḷ	వ	v	
శ	ś	ష	ṣ	స	s	హ	h			

The homorganic nasal symbol 'ం' is represented as:

    n   before k, g, c, j, t and d

    ṇ   before ṭ and ḍ

    m   before p, b; fricatives and word finally.

The aspirated sounds in parantheses are highly infrequent and only marginal for col ꞏuial Telugu. The details of pronunciation may be found in such worꞏs as Arden (1873), Lisker (1963), Krishnamurti and Sarma (1968), Sivarama Murty (1968) and Subrahmanyam (1974).

A   SURVEY   OF   EARLIER   WORK   ON   THE   GRAMMAR   OF   TELUGU

1.1   General introduction

Telugu is a Dravidian language spoken mainly in the present
state of Andhra Pradesh, India.   Apart from the forty million native
speakers of Telugu in this province, there is a considerable number
of Telugu speakers in the adjacent provinces of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka,
Orissa, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.   Telugu has the largest
number of speakers among the languages of the Dravidian family, in
which Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam occupy second, third and fourth
places respectively.   The speakers of Telugu form the second largest
linguistic group in India, next only to Hindi.

On the basis of comparative and historical studies the Dravidian
languages are classified into three sub-groups.   (i) South Dravidian
consisting of Tamil, Malayalam, Toda, Kota, Badaga, Kannada, Tulu,
Koraga and Kodagu, (ii) Central Dravidian comprising Telugu, Gondi,
Konda, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo and Manda, and
(iii) North Dravidian including Kurukh, Malto and Brahui[1].

The recorded history of the Telugu language goes back to the
second century B.C. when Telugu was used in inscriptions only for

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1.   This subgrouping coincides, rather neatly, with the main
     geographical distribution of the speakers of these languages
     in the southern, central and northern parts of South Asia
     (see Krishnamurti, 1969).

personal names along with Sanskrit and Prakrit texts. Later on, beginning from the sixth century, there are available numerous inscriptions written in Telugu itself. Literary works in the Sanskrit tradition are available from the eleventh century. There are innumerable references to oral literature in the form of folk-songs. This tradition played an important role in evolving a deesi, or indigenous, style as against the Sanskritized high brow style. It is believed that the former style was much nearer to the spoken language of the day and so forms better material for linguistic studies. On the basis of existing materials Mahadeva Sastri divides the history of the Telugu language into four periods, namely, Pre-historic Telugu 600 - 200 B.C., Old Telugu 200 B.C. - 1000 A.D., Middle Telugu 1000 A.D. - 1600 A.D., and New Telugu 1600 A.D. onwards (Mahadeva Sastri, 1969: 1-5).

Present-day spoken Telugu has regional and social differences among the dialects. The main Telugu speaking area in Andhra Pradesh shows three distinct regional dialects: (i) Coastal Telugu (spoken in West Godavari, East Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Visakhapattanam and Srikakulam districts), (ii) Rayalaseema Telugu (spoken in the Districts of Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur, Kurnool and parts of Prakasam district) and (iii) Telangana Telugu (spoken in Hyderabad, Warangal, Medak, Nizamabad, Mahabubnagar, Karimnagar, Nalgonda and Khammammettu districts). (see Krishnamurti, 1962: 99-130). On the scale of social dialects there are considerable differences between literate and illiterate speakers. There is a homogeneity in the speech of literate persons throughout the

regions.   It is to be pointed out, however, that of the three

regional dialects, the dialect of Coastal Andhra Pradesh has

acquired a prestigious position.   The colloquial speech of a

literate person from this area could be said to be a good represen-

tative of modern standard Telugu.   This has been adopted on the

radio, in modern fiction, in journalism and so on.   The literate

speakers from the other two regions (Rayalaseema and Telangana)

accept it as standard and use it in their literary works as well.

The principal aim of the present dissertation is a description

of syntax and semantics (not phonology) of spoken Telugu.   As the

differences noticeable among the Telugu dialects are almost entirely

in the areas of lexicon and pronunciation, this study will not be

seriously affected whichever dialect is taken as the source.   This

being so, it is reasonable to seek data from the most readily avail-

able source.   The sentences described in the following pages are

taken from my own speech and checked with the speech of my wife,

another native speaker of Telugu.   Both of us come from the

Chittoor district.   As we are exposed to the written standard

Telugu through our schooling, we can be said to be representatives

of literate variety of the Rayalaseema dialect.   By this statement

I do not intend to impose on myself any sort of rigid restrictions

with regard to my data.   I shall feel myself free to draw on old

Telugu as well as modern written Telugu, when this appears useful.
shall
I/sometimes make small excursions even into the structure of several

other modern Indian languages with which I am familiar.   This, I

envisage, will only render help in evaluating the viability of the.

theoretical model within which Telugu is described in this work.

As a background for the present work I will present an outline survey of previous accounts of the grammar of Telugu. This is by no means a systematic account of every grammatical work on Telugu, nor is it a history of Telugu linguistics. My intention here is to review some of the interesting grammatical works on the basis of their relevance to the ensuing description of Telugu syntax.

The grammatical literature on Telugu can broadly be divided into two major sections, namely, traditional grammars and modern studies. By traditional grammars I mean the grammatical studies by Indian Telugu grammarians within the framework of the Paninian Sanskritic model as well as the grammatical works of the European philologists written in the western traditional framework. All the grammars of Telugu until the middle of the present century can be designated as traditional. Some of the grammars written with a spirit of comparative historical linguistic methodology appear to be traditional in certain respects. The term modern studies refers to the grammatical analyses of Telugu carried out following any of the recent and contemporary linguistic theories such as Bloomfieldian descriptive linguistics, Harris-type structural analysis, Chomskyan transformational grammar, or Fillmore's case grammar.

1.2 Indian traditional grammars

The writing of grammars in Telugu started as early as the eleventh century. Nannaya, the first poet, is said to have written a Telugu grammar in Sanskrit called aandhra śabda cintaamaṇi. Though there is dispute in regard to the date and authorship of this

work, it seems to have laid the foundations for the study of Telugu grammar within the Sanskritic tradition. From the thirteenth . century onwards there have been grammatical works on Telugu, written in Telugu itself, though the theoretical model and terminology are that of the Sanskrit grammarians.[2]   Grammars in this tradition are written even today and they play an integral part in school and university curricula of Telugu studies.

The language that is described in these grammars is from the classical literature of the period from 1000 onwards, which takes pride in using not only Sanskrit style, but also an abundance of Sanskrit vocabulary.   It is probably this sort of adherence to Sanskrit along with its cultural significance and ritual importance that misled the Telugu grammarians seeking the origins of their tongue in Sanskrit.   The grammars under discussion are moulded after the Sanskrit linguistic tradition in their theoretical outlook.   Their main concern is the structure of words, especially the borrowed Sanskrit vocabulary, the orthography of Telugu, the phonological and Sandhi rules that play an important part in word structure.   Even in places where they pay some attention to sentence structure and the relationships of elements within a sentence, the grammarians are more worried about the form of words and phonological changes and less concerned about the meaning or content of the structure.   This again is an excellent example of Sanskrit tradition wherein the focus is on the formal arrangements

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2.   For a survey of the traditional grammars in Telugu see Mahadeva Sastri (1969: 13-15).

of grammar.   The Telugu grammarians not only accepted the methodo-
logical and stylistic conventions of the Paninian tradition, but
also relegated the native elements in the body of their object
language to a marginal level, focussing on the imitative style in the
great poetic works.   They seem to be very much guided by the nature
of their data which were the verse of Mahaabhaarata and other impor-
tant works, rather than the spoken language of the grammarians
themselves.

As representative of this school of traditional grammars one
could select the treatise of Chinnaya Suri.   His work
Baalavyaakaranamu [3] is the most comprehensive statement of the
available traditional grammars.   Suri published this work in 1858
after a longstanding experience of 20 years in writing several
versions of this grammar in prose and poetry.   In this book he
adopted the Paninian sutra style.   These sutras are in compact,
precise prose of literary Telugu and are numbered and ordered in a
partially systematic way.

The entire grammar is presented under ten chapters.   The first
chapter, sanjnaa pariccheedamu is concerned with the orthography of
Telugu and with the articulatory classification of sounds, and with
the classification of vocabulary items into four main groups of
tatsamas (Sanskrit and Prakrit words), tadbhavas (words borrowed
from Sanskrit and Prakrit and converted into native Telugu in their
structure), deeśyamu (words of pure Telugu or native vocabulary) and
graamyamu (words or language of colloquial speech).   It is the ·

3.   My references to Baalavyaakaranamu are to the commentary by
T. Bhaskararao (1969).

first two varieties of language which are common in written

literature and so the grammarian Suri limits his analysis to those

forms of language only without any explicit statement of his reasons

for doing this.

In the second chapter the question of Sandhi is presented, in

the form of an elaborate account of word level morphophonemic

changes along with a precise statement on the environments.   The

characteristic Dravidian feature of voiceless plosives changing to

voiced ones in the intervocalic position is copiously illustrated.

The treatment and statement of Sandhi rules go beyond the internal

structure of a word.

The chapter on tatsamas concentrates on the general principles

of nominal borrowing from Sanskrit into literary Telugu and the

phonological changes that occur during the naturalization of Sanskrit

words.   Following the Paninian tradition,   Suri assigns numbers to

the Telugu case suffixes rather than naming them.   He also

enumerates case suffixes for his seven classificatory systems and

concentrates on the various morphophonemic changes that take place

when the case suffixes are added to the nominal base.   Suri formu-

lates his rules for the use of number, gender and case formation of

nouns, i.e. noun inflexion, only for   very few selected nominals

from classical Telugu.   The virtue of his attempt is that one can

get a fairly representative statement of the phonology of classical

Telugu from his observations.   Unfortunately he never makes the

theory behind his work explicit.[4]

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4.   For a modern statement on this section of Suri's work see
      Narayana Row (1972).

After the discussion of Sanskrit nominals, Suri turns his attention to the phonologico-morphological formation of accha, the native Telugu vocabulary. The native nominal elements are compared with the Sanskrit nouns, the suffixes that denote the masculine and feminine singular and plural and associated sound changes in the base and suffixes are elaborately illustrated. Under the general name of pronoun Suri discusses the deictic bases aa 'that' ii 'this' and the quantifiers like anni 'that many' indaru 'this many people', along with the first and second person pronouns. A table giving the details of gender, number and case for all the pronouns and for certain numerals is presented.

The fifth chapter of Baalavyaakaraṇamu describes the kaaraka, case relations in Telugu. The entire scheme is portrayed within the Indian kaaraka theory and much attention is paid to the various uses of each case affix under discussion. Kaaraka is taken to be the relation between a noun and a verb in a sentence. The relation between two nominals, for example, is not treated under kaaraka, but taken under samaasa, the compound. In an earlier section on tatsama, Suri enumerates the Telugu vibhaktis under seven broad groups. He numbers them, instead of naming the affixes. According to his plan the Telugu case suffixes are classified as follows:

(1) First case[5]   ḍu, mu, vu, lu
    Second case   nu
    Third case   ceeta 'by'; tooda 'with'

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5. By case here is meant the Telugu case affix, vibhakti, added to the nouns, i.e. case-forms only.

Fourth case	koraku, kayi 'for'	
Fifth case	valana 'by', 'with'; kante 'than'	
	patti 'regarding', 'about'	
Sixth case	ku 'to'; yokka 'of'	
Seventh case	andu 'in'; na 'in', 'at'	

One might roughly translate these numbered cases into syntactic labels of nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative respectively (in terms of western traditional syntactic theory).   The advantage in numbering the affixes is to provide a systematic formalism in showing the occurrence of a particular affix to represent a kaaraka relation.   A particular vibhakti might represent different kaarakas or some kaaraka may be denoted by different vibhaktis at different places.   To show the correlation between the kaarakas and the vibhaktis Suri formulates his rule on the basis of six kaaraka relations.   His tentative scheme for this purpose is as follows:

	kaaraka	vibhakti
(2) (a)	karta 'agentive'	ceeta 'by'
(b)	karma 'objective'	nu
(c)	karana 'instrumental' and heetu[6] 'causal'	ceeta 'by'
(d)	sampradaana 'dative'	koraku 'for; kayi 'for'
(e)	adhikarana 'locative'	andu, na 'in'

There is no mention of the name apaadaana 'ablative' in his rules but he enumerates the use of valana 'from' and nundi 'from' in

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6.   The status of heetu as a case relation is not at all clear in Suri's discussion.   It is not a basic case relation even in Sanskrit works: see Apte (1890: 17-95).

connection with the verbs of fear, fatigue, separation, protection and acquisition. This notion, along with the rest of Suri's case theory and his examples will be discussed in the main body of this work. It suffices here to note that in the above scheme showing the correlation between case relation and affixes, Suri pays more attention to the form and formal changes in the affixes. He is inconsistent in the use of the number of affixes and the affixes themselves in his enumeration, one time giving, for example, fourth case and another time starting from the case affix like ceeta 'by'.

His definitions of kaarakas are taken from Paṇini and other Sanskrit grammarians. Suri in his section on kaaraka also notices the doctrine of the replacement of a particular case affix by another case affix and thereby hints at the many-one and one-many mapping relation between the kaaraka and vibhakti. Apart from the six kaarakas and their affixes noted above, Suri takes up the remaining case affixes that denote comparatives and that occur with existential verbs, the concordial suffixes (his first case affixes on Sanskrit nouns) and the formation of verbal adjectives. All in all Suri, though he follows Sanskrit grammarians in methodology, is not blind to the facts of Telugu. His work had a great influence on the later grammarians.

Next Suri turns his attention to the make-up of compounds in Telugu. Here, as elsewhere, he mainly follows the Sanskritic division of samaasa 'compound' and presents his rules along with the phonological alternations of the base and affixes. His seventh chapter concentrates on the process of deriving nominals from other nouns and adjectives by suffixation. The nouns under discussion are

native Telugu substantives, not Sanskrit borrowings. Among the
derivative noun-forming suffixes that are mentioned and discussed by
Suri are -rikamu, -imi, -na, -ika, -kaadu, -kattiya, -ari, -i, -ta
and -aadi.

The eighth chapter is devoted to the verb. Suri notices the
morphophonological changes in the Telugu verb when it is conjugated
for tense, and concord. He illustrates various shapes of a verb
when it takes auxiliary verbs or other affixes to indicate mood,
verbal noun, verbal participle, infinitive, conditional, reflexive,
causative, interrogative and coordination. Though he limits his
attention to a handful of examples, Suri is able to give the basic
principles behind the verbal conjugation. Here again the focus
seems to be on the shape of the form rather than its meaning. In
many respects Suri is like the western traditional grammarians of
the nineteenth century wherein the grammatical notions are presented
without much explicit discussion. Suri presents his observations
within the Sanskrit tradition and he expects his reader, for obvious
reasons, to be acquainted with the tradition. But the problem with
his descriptions is that they leave too much to the reader,
especially as concerns the meaning and use of sentences. Even when
he is talking about the structure of embedded or coordinated sen-
tences, he is more interested in the formal alternations of the
verbal root and verbal affixes and less concerned with various
grammatical processes that are brought into the verb along with its
formal alternations. The latter processes are just given their
Sanskrit names.

Following a discussion of the verb, Suri turns his attention to
the nouns derived from verbal roots, i.e. on nominal derivations and
associated suffixes.   In this discussion of nominalization principles
Suri restricts his observations to the native Telugu vocabulary, as
these processes cannot be extended to the Sanskrit vocabulary.   This
is one of the examples of his innovation in Telugu grammar.   In con-
structing and stating rules of nominalization, Suri adheres to the
noun-forming suffixes.   It may be observed that the nouns formed in
this way have a generic object relation to their verbs in full sen-
tences such as

(3)   meemu   aaṭalu   aadinaamu

       we   plays   played

       'We played'

(4)   paamu   naalugu   kaaṭlu   karicindi

       snake   four   bites   bit

       'The snake bit (him) four times'

However, Suri limits his observations to the morphophonological
level, even when he is dealing with such essentially syntactic
phenomena.

The last chapter in Baalavyaakaraṇamu is on the residual mis-
cellaneous topics that cannot be fitted in any of the previous
sections and apply to the areas under more than one chapter.   Here
Suri takes up some words and gives their various phonological
alternations and discusses the Sandhi rules.

1.3 European trad.. onal grammars

Starting from the seventeenth century, western European scholars
came in intimate contact with Indian culture and learning.   Their

interests were not limited to Sanskrit, Prakrit, Tamil and Pali only,
but extended to the other languages of India too.   Telugu is no
exception to this movement, though Telugu grammars by European
scholars did not appear until the beginning of the nineteenth century.
Notable among these traditional grammars are A. D. Campbell (1816),
C. P. Brown (1857) and A. H. Arden (1873).   These three pioneers not
only brought their western grammatical tradition to the description
of Telugu, but they were familiar with the native Indian grammatical
tradition as well.   The organization of their grammatical works and
the cited examples, (which are incidentally in Telugu script) and
grammatical discussion show a blend of oriental and occidental
thoughts of the day.

The Telugu grammar by Campbell (1816) is a landmark in the history
of Dravidian linguistics.   It is in his introduction to this work
that Ellis put forward his Dravidian hypothesis stating that Tamil,
Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam were closely related to each other
and they form a distinct group separate from Sanskrit (1816:3). This
hypothesis was taken up, later, by Caldwell[7] in his magnum opus of
1856 and argued for substantially establishing a whole new field of
linguistics in India.   In his own introduction, Campbell compares
his attempt to write a Telugu grammar with Baschi's work on Tamil
grammar and convinces himself of the Dravidian origin of Telugu.
His work is intended to be a primer for teaching and an analysis of

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7.   References to Caldwell's grammar pertain to the second
edition of 1875 as reproduced by the University of Madras in
1961, and listed in the bibliography as Caldwell (1875).

Telugu.   In carrying out this task Campbell presents the alphabet
and certain Sandhi rules and then he has chapters on substantives,
adjectives, verbs and syntax.   The appendix gives numbers, measure-
ments and the division of time in Telugu.

Campbell's observations on Telugu syntax exhibit some interesting
insights.   Case uses in Telugu are compared with those of English.
Following the western grammatical tradition he talks about nominative,
genitive, dative, vocative, local ablative, instrumental ablative,
and social ablative and cites examples from literary Telugu.   As not
all the case affixes fit this division, he then talks of the uses of
certain postpositions.   He is also aware of the fact that a single
affix may be used to denote more than one of the syntactic cases of
his scheme.   He observes "The postposition na, affixed to nouns
denoting inanimate objects ending in u, has occasionally the power
of each of the three ablatives above mentioned

raaju simhaasanamuna guurcundenu
'The king sat up on the throne'
santoosambuna gruhambuna nundenu
'He stayed at home from joy'
balamuna tana pagavaarini jayincenu
'He vanquished his enemies by his powers'."

(Campbell, 1816: 156).   Under syntax, Campbell presents a classifi-
cation of nouns, verbal derivation of nouns, the uses of tenses,
verbal participles, relative participles and clitics.   Campbell's
work may not be systematic by modern standards but his sporadic in-
sights are very valuable, and will be discussed at relevant places in
the main/body of this dissertation.   It is a unique piece of work on

Telugu both as a first grammar by a European and as one which treats syntax in some detail.

Next we turn to the Telugu grammar by Brown (1857) which is an improvement when compared to previous grammars. Brown is aware of the two distinct styles of Telugu, namely, the spoken and the written variety. But he describes the written language only. The organization of his work recalls the traditional Telugu grammars. After presenting orthography he talks of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and participles in Telugu. He describes syntax under arrangement of words, syntax of cases, syntax of the verb and syntax of tenses. Of course his notion of syntax is noticeably different from current ones. His observations, though very much influenced by Greek and English grammar, go a long way in showing at least some similarity in totally unrelated languages at the syntactic level. His method of writing grammar is that of a language teacher in giving ample examples for every rule he postulates. This way his grammar serves its pedagogical purpose. His grammar is a good example of looking at cases from the point of view of use i.e. functional analysis of case. For this, he takes every preposition in English and the translational equivalent of that in Telugu is exemplified, many times with no explanations or grammatical observations. He talks of nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative and ablative cases. He divides ablative into instrumental and locative and never talks of an ablative which indicates movement from a place. However, his implicit assumption that locative and instrumental have some common characteristics is an interesting assumption for a localistic view of language. His examples and observations are worth to be discussed more fully in the later chapters.

The best and most widely used among the grammars written in the European tradition is Arden's (1873). Though written with the intention of being a manual for teaching Telugu to Europeans, this grammar excels all those published to date (i.e. to the present day), in giving a comprehensive account of the grammatical structure of Telugu. In comparison with the then existing grammatical works (both native and European), Arden's attempt to describe the spoken language (as opposed to the written) opened a new dimension in Telugu linguistics.

Arden presents his grammar in three main parts. Part I is an introduction to some philological information on Telugu and its orthography and sounds. Part III sketches an outline of 'the grammatical dialect used in books' explaining the grammatical system of the native Telugu grammarians. It is in Part II that Arden describes the morphology and syntax of the colloquial language. Before going into the details of Arden's grammar, it must be pointed out that he presents his examples in consonance with the trend of the day, in the native Telugu writing itself[8] with English translation. As a text book for language learners this method is, no doubt, helpful but it restricts the use of the grammar to readers with a knowledge of the Telugu writing system.

In Arden's grammar, Telugu nouns are grouped, on the basis of their declension, into two sets - regular and irregular. The regular nouns are further divided into three classes - (i) all the masculine

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8. Wherever Arden's examples are cited in this dissertation, they are transliterated into Roman.

nouns ending in -ḍu / deevuḍu 'god', (ii) nouns of more than two

syllables ending in -amu, -aamu and -emu such as gurramu 'horse',

deeśamu 'country' and (iii) all nouns with identical form in nomina-

tive and oblique inflexions for example, biḍḍa 'child', cevi 'ear'.

The rest of the nouns are termed irregular. Nouns in Telugu have

two numbers, singular and plural, of which only the latter is

marked by a suffix. Gender has a three-way distinction, masculine,

feminine and neuter. The formal structure of the noun itself is

not very helpful in the identification of gender, as it is not marked

explicitly except in a few obvious instances like personal names,

profession indicators and words having person affixes like raamuḍu

'Rama' (a boy's name), peedaraalu 'poor woman' and paatavi 'old ones'

(referring to things). However, the predicate agreement (verbal

concord) is a good indicator of the gender of a subject noun (see

Arden 1873: 61-62 and section 2.2 on verbal concord in this thesis).

It is rather curious that, in his account of the declension of

nouns, Arden recognizes only five cases - nominative, genitive,

dative, objective and vocative. The rest of the case markers

(including loo 'in', na 'in, at, on' and too 'with') are presented

under the broad heading of postpositions. It is not entirely clear

whether Arden wants to maintain any notional or terminological

difference between case (marker) and postposition or whether he

employs these two terms equivalently.

Coming to the formation of cases, Arden lists the case suffixes

for dative (ki/ku), objective (ni/nu) and the vocative (aa). Only

the uses of the dative case, out of his entire case system, are

illustrated. He pays much attention to the changes in the bases of

Telugu nouns when the case suffixes are attached.   While describing

the Telugu adverbs Arden brings in some of the locative postpositions

to show their declension.   This raises the problem of the categorial

status of postpositions and adverbs of place and time in Telugu.   On

formal (structural) grounds the postpositions and adverbs of place

and time behave like nouns in that they are inflected for case

suffixes and take pronominal endings.

When he comes to describe the inflexion of Telugu pronouns,

Arden gives up his vocative case and illustrates only the nominative,

genitive, objective and dative.   On the whole it appears that Arden

does not pay much attention to the syntax of case, even when compared

with his own description of other areas of Telugu syntax.

Pronouns are classified into eight groups.   Under the personal

and demonstrative pronouns Arden presents inflexional paradigms for

first, second and third person pronouns.   The use of plural pronouns

with reference to single persons in honorific address and mention is

explained with examples.   Arden goes on to exemplify the reflexive

pronouns, the interrogative pronouns, the indefinite pronouns, the

demonstrative and interrogative adjective pronouns, the possessive

adjective pronouns and distributive pronouns (i.e. the distributive

quantifiers).   Arden, here, seems to be influenced by the native

grammatical grouping of pronouns.

Pronominal affixes in Telugu are suffixed to any category

occurring in the predicate position of a simple sentence.   This is a

very productive process and it is also used in the formation of nouns

from other categories.   Arden observes - "By affixing vaadu, vaaru,

vaandlu, di (for adi), vi (for avi) to adjectives and to genitive
cases of nouns ... a class of words is formed, to which we shall
give the distinctive name composite nouns"(1873: 95).   For example,
from the adjective cinna 'small', cinna vaadu 'small fellow, boy';
from the noun rottelu 'bread', rottela vaadu 'baker' are formed
(derived).   In the non-predicate position the composite nouns show
structural properties like the pronouns in their case inflexion.
Among the various uses of the pronominal affixes, Arden illustrates
the following - (i) to show the origin of a person or thing, (ii) to
compare two or three entities and (iii) to express possession.

   In a chapter entitled 'on noun sentences' Arden attempts to
describe the syntax and use of the Telugu noun phrase (300-338).   To
put it in modern terminology, he talks about embedding, conjoining,
nominalization, pronominalization, reflexivization, anaphoric
reference and indirect speech.   Throughout this section he compares
his observations on Telugu syntax with the similar syntactic patterns
in English.   Arden instructs his students on the various quotative
and non-quotative uses of ani 'that, having said'.   His examples
are exhaustive, though he does not go into the details of grammar
here.[9]

   Arden's description of the Telugu verb can be reviewed under
two broad headings of morphology and syntax.   First morphology.
Here again he applies the criterion of regularity (of form) in the
verbal bases and divides the verbs into two groups - regular and

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9.   Detailed analyses of Telugu nominals are to be found in Rama
      Rao (1968) and Bolton (1971).

irregular. The regular verbs are classified into three groups –
(i) verbs whose base (root) does not end in -yu or-cu; (ii) verb
roots that end in -yu and (iii) verb roots that end in -cu. The
derivational and inflectional morphology of each class of roots
(such as in forming the verbal noun, verbal participles, taking the
pronominal endings, tense markers and negative forms) is presented
with paradigmatic illustrations. The following seven verbs are
treated as irregular in their conjugation:- avu 'to become', poovu
'to go', vaccu 'to come', iccu 'to give', caccu 'to die', cuucu 'to
see, to look', and teccu 'to bring'. Apart from giving a represen-
tative example for each of this class of verbs, Arden does not seem
to be interested in providing the rules for inflections and deriva-
tions. His chief interest seems to be in describing, though in an
unsystematic fashion, the structure of sentences and in providing as
many exercises as possible for the benefit of his students.

A Telugu verb, according to Arden, can be either positive or
negative. As negative is marked on the verb, Arden 'explains' the
various forms and uses of negation in considerable detail. While
enumerating the structure of 'the Telugu equivalent of the verb 'to
be', he points out the morphological peculiarities of the verb undu
'to be' as well as its copulative and predicative functions. He
notices the relation of existence to that of possession and the
change of nominative to the so-called 'impersonal dative' construc-
tions. We will take up his observations for a close scrutiny and
elaboration while looking at the syntax of undu 'to be' (see Chapter
5 of this work). The structure of verbal nouns, infinitive mood,
verbal participles, adjectival (relative) clauses and adverbial

sentences are illustrated at great length. He also devotes much
attention to the uses of various auxiliary verbs to denote aspect
and mood.

Caldwell's monumental work on the comparative grammar of
Dravidian contains a wealth of information and insightful specula-
tions.[10] To evaluate and draw lessons from his _magnum opus_ will
have far-reaching benefits to the understanding of the structure of
Dravidian languages and to linguistic theory in general. His
universalistic observations deserve a more sympathetic appreciation
than the treatment he has received at the hands of formally-oriented
Dravidian linguists. His accounts of formal relations and his
comparative statements are so tightly bound up with notional explana-
tions that the modern student of Dravidian finds his work more
interesting than the so-called descriptive works. However, I shall
concentrate my attention on Caldwell's remarks on the formation of
cases in Dravidian and point out the relevance of his imaginative
insights to the localist theory of case which claims 'existence' and
'movement' as basic notions in the analysis of grammatical relations.

While opening his discussion on the Dravidian case-system
Caldwell observes "All case-relations are expressed by means of post-
positions or postpositional suffixes. Most of the postpositions are,
in reality, separate words; and in all the Dravidian dialects the
postpositions retain traces of their original character as auxiliary

10. This work was first published in 1856. However, we discuss
    it here after the later grammar by Arden (1873), since in the
    second edition of his book (1875), which we are referring to
    here, Caldwell makes use of material from Arden's grammar.

nouns." (Caldwell, 1875: 252). Unfortunately, he does not substantiate or elaborate his idea of case-relation. As he was familiar with the work of Sanskrit grammarians, he could have been influenced by their distinction of case-relations and case suffixes. However, he is not happy, (rightly so), with the grammarians who accept eight cases for Dravidian after the Sanskritic model. He opines that the number of cases (i.e. case forms) is unlimited in Dravidian, as every postposition annexed to a noun constitutes a new case. For the expository purpose of his grammar he follows the native Tamil grammarians in accepting the number of cases as well as the order of presentation. It may be pointed out, at this point, that Caldwell is mistaken in thinking that the Sanskrit (Paninian) grammar had eight case relations, since only six are postulated and the genitive and vocative are not treated as <u>kaarakas</u> (case-relations).

Coming to his exploration of Dravidian case forms, Caldwell wants to classify them into two broad divisions of nominative and oblique. He argues that there is no nominative case termination in Dravidian as suggested by the native grammarians. The formation of oblique or inflectional form of a base noun is necessary before the case-signs are added. This he calls inflexional increment and lists all the forms found in major Dravidian languages. He envisages these inflexions as having their origin in case-signs i.e. Caldwell hypothesizes that the so-called inflexional increments are nothing but a reduced form of original case signs (and most of these were locatives). Most of these inflected bases are, secondarily, used as possessives and adjectives (their primary origin being that of locative). This interesting idea deserves more attention and I

shall take it up in connection with locative and instrumental in the main body of this work.

The accusative or 'second' case is marked by the case signs ei, e, a, am, annu, anna and nu in various Dravidian languages. These suffixes are either optional or do not appear at all when the noun in question is neuter or has reference to inanimate beings. Commenting on this trait of Dravidian, Caldwell observes – "This probably proceeds from the principle that it is more natural for rational beings to act than to be acted upon; and hence when they do happen to be acted upon – when the nouns by which they are denoted are to be taken objectively – it becomes necessary, in order to avoid misapprehension, to suffix to them the objective case-sign." (1875: 271).

Caldwell not only enumerates the suffixes of instrumental case, but he also indicates and tries to substantiate the formal unity of the instrumental with the locative (and the diachronic priority of the latter). "In Telugu the most classical instrumental is identical with the inflexional locative, and consists in changing ti or ti, the inflexion, into ta or ta .... This form of the instrumental was probably a locative in its original signification, and at all events it is identical with an old form of the locative." (Caldwell 1875: 275). His observations based on formal or derivational grounds have the flavour of localistic grammarians wherein the instrumentals are treated as a sub-type of (one of the) local cases on notional grounds as well. In his discussion of the instrumental case, Caldwell further points out the periphrastic mode of forming instrumental from the preterite verbal participle of the verb 'to

take'.   To illustrate from Telugu (my own example)

(1) Kaṭṭe   tiisukoni   kukkanu   koṭṭu

     stick   having taken   dog acc   beat (imperative)

     'Beat the dog with a stick'

No doubt, this sort of construction has an indication of cause-
effect or temporal precedence-succession.   Still one could also see
an instrumental sense.

After looking at the dative suffixes ku, ki, ge, and ke, Caldwell
makes excursions into various language families, (a characteristic
feature of his work), in search of etymological origin for these
suffixes, as he could not find any definite origin in Dravidian
itself.   It is rather disappointing that he does not even care to
list the various uses of dative or its relation to other cases.
This shows the major trend of his work, namely, to look for formal
etymological origins.

Caldwell thinks that in Dravidian the ablative is a variety of
locative. He is also aware of the origin of ablative undi 'from'
from the past participle of und 'to be', and illustrates with the
example

(2) paralookamu- nuṇḍi   vaccenu

     heaven   having been came (he)

     'He came from heaven'

Caldwell, unlike the Ṣanskrit grammarians, wants to treat
genitive as a separate case.   The type of discussion he pursues
under this heading is treated under samaasa by traditional Indian
grammarians and in modern terms he is talking about (nominal) com-
pound formation.   He is aware that the genitive constructions

indicate possession and are derivable ultimately from locative in
stating that "There is sometimes little difference in signification
between the locative, the genitive, and the adjective; and in
several languages besides the Dravidian the adjectival formative
either appears to have been derived from the possessive suffix, or
to be identical with it." (1875: 288). His observations and ety-
mologies are of general interest in understanding the structure of
nominal compounds and their ultimate notional significance. Like
kaaraka theory, modern case-grammar does not consider 'genitive' as
a true case-relation.

The locative case-endings in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada are
listed and their ultimate origin from il 'house, in the place of' is
suggested. Referring to loo 'in' and andu 'there' 'in that' Caldwell
remarks "loo is more intensely locative in its signification than
andu; it means within ... andu means simply 'in' and is properly a
noun of place. I consider andu, the adverbial noun, there, iden-
tical with andu, the sign of the locative." (1875: 304). He also
mentions the basic nature of locative and talks of genitive as
derived from locative. Finally he also tries to illustrate the
vocative case.

Caldwell does not talk of the verb and its dependents, like
Sanskrit grammarians, in connection with case. His primary concern
is with the base form of nouns, its inflexions and the various case-
terminations suffixed to the noun. In his attempt to fix the
etymologies for his case-signs he points out the interrelated unity
among certain case suffixes and their ultimate derivations. Though
these statements are based on the forms of words, his observations

here and there hold good for meaning-oriented study and provide basic material for the postulation of underlying notional structures for cases.

Bloch (1954) deals with some major aspects of Dravidian morphology and syntax. His point of departure is accepting noun, verb and sentence as fundamental elements of Dravidian (1954: 1) and attempting to account for the interrelations of these categories, particularly noun and verb, within a sentence. Unlike Caldwell he confines his area of enquiry to grammar (as opposed to phonology and Sandhi); unlike Caldwell, he concentrates on languages other than Tamil. He presents his analysis of Dravidian structures under five major headings: the noun, pronouns, pronominalized nouns, the verb and the sentence. Some of his observations, though unsupported by adequate exemplification, strike at the core of the fundamental problem of the status of parts of speech in Dravidian.

Whilst discussing the noun he illustrates the categories of gender, number and case from Dravidian languages. Unlike Caldwell he very rarely attempts to compare and derive the system in a particular language from some other (say Tamil) language, rather he aims to describe each language in terms of its own system. His observations on case-endings are particularly illuminating. After looking at the postpositions in various (Dravidian) languages, Bloch interprets and divides them into two groups i.e. suffixes which have no separate existence and suffixes which have independent existence in the language: "The first case is that of the terminations with grammatical value, accusative, dative, genitive; the second, that of the terminations with concrete value like that of the

locative and often of the ablative." (Bloch 1954: 18). Here one
might recall the European tradition of demi-localist grammarians who
postulate concrete and abstract cases (see Anderson 1971a: 2-8) as a
starting point *for* their syntactic *analyses*.

The Dravidian pronouns are treated under two subdivisions of:
pronouns variable in gender, and personal pronouns. By the first
is meant the demonstrative bases; and Bloch treats them as epithets
saying that these demonstrative stems are used as substantives on
taking nominal terminations. In fact the Dravidian demonstrative
pronouns are derivable from a noun phrase composed of governing
element (here deictic base) and noun. For example, the equivalents
of 'he' in Telugu are composed of the deictic base ii 'this' or aa
'that' plus the gender and number (masculine singular) du giving
viidu or vaadu. Bloch is less illuminating on personal pronouns
and he merely enumerates the forms.

Under a related problem of 'pronominalized nouns' he discusses
what can be called predicate nominals in modern terms. He thinks
that in Dravidian these are similar to adjectives of European
languages. In fact the phenomenon by which Bloch is so struck is
nothing but a kind of agreement on predicate nominals (of Dravidian)
in an equational sentence such as

(3) neenu   raytu-nu

    I   farmer I

    'I am a farmer'

The formation of the Dravidian verb is presented in the three
divisions of personal verb, non-personal forms, and compound verbs

and auxiliaries.   Here Bloch devotes his attention to the form of

verb-stems in various languages.   His last chapter on the sentence

is disappointing in the sense that he hints at many interesting

problems, but never properly illustrates them, though his dictum has

been "the semantic determination precedes, the morphological deter-

mination follows" (Bloch, 1954: 121).

1.4 Modern studies

Within the comparative historical tradition the work of

Krishnamurti (1961) is of primary importance both to Dravidian

studies in general, and to Telugu in particular.   This work mainly

deals with the historical phonology of Telugu and with the recon-

structions of the proto-Dravidian phonemes.   The place of Telugu

within the Dravidian family is stated on the basis of comparative

morphology.   The roots of Telugu verbals and the inflexional affixes

are presented.   Some of the etymologies found in this work are use-

ful indicators of the earlier uses of certain verbal forms like avu

'to become' and its variant kaa and provide formal support for some of

the syntactic-semantic studies undertaken here.

More directly concerned with certain aspects of historical

development of Telugu is the work of Mahadeva Sastri (1969), whose

target is "an attempt at writing a Historical Grammar of Old Telugu

(200 B.C. - 1000 A.D.) and of presenting, in broad outline, the

development of grammatical forms in the language from 1000 A.D. up

to the modern period." (1969: 1).   To accomplish this, Mahadeva

Sastri focuses his attention on the Telugu data available from the

inscriptions of the pre-literary period.   His entire work is

presented in two parts, the first is on grammar and the second the text of the inscriptions with word index. The texts are presented (in Roman) along with English translation, which increases the usability of the material.

Under grammar, Mahadeva Sastri tries to describe, in a phonological tradition, the phonology and morphology of old Telugu and shows the changes that have taken place from the oldest period to present-day spoken Telugu. He has a chapter under the heading "Syntax" wherein some sentence patterns from old Telugu are presented with no descriptive statements. Each chapter in the grammar is divided into three main sections and the materials, along with descriptive statements, are presented under three broad headings of old Telugu (200 B.C. to 1000 A.D.), Middle Telugu (1000 - 1600 A.D.) and New Telugu (1600 A.D. onwards). This book is an appreciable contribution to Telugu linguistics, in that it brings important historical material under scrutiny and helps a modern student to understand the earlier stages of the language, which displays transparently some of the syncretisms found in modern spoken Telugu.

Mahadeva Sastri's phonology and Sandhi in old Telugu are interesting in that there is no aspirated plosive, which is the case with modern colloquial Telugu. Under morphology the following categories are presented along with illustrations of some historical developments - nominal stems, noun derivation, compounds, gender, number, case, pronouns, numerals, verbal roots, various verbal conjugations like participles, tense, personal terminations, mood, voice, infinitive, verbal nouns, negatives, and appellative verbs,

adjectives, adverbs, and particles. Though this list impresses the reader with a splendid coverage of Telugu grammar, in actual descriptions Mahadeva Sastri uses these labels just to present his data with no general discussion of any sort. As far as his observations on Middle Telugu and New Telugu are concerned, there is nothing new either in the way of material or in the way of interpretation of the facts. He devotes much less attention to Old Telugu, as he is constrained by the limitations of material. However, it is fair to say that Mahadeva Sastri amasses the Old Telugu data available to him. In the present work I will be drawing on his material at places where it is relevant.

Now I turn to some of the contemporary descriptive grammatical works which deal with certain aspects of Telugu structure. By this I mean to take up some of the morphologically oriented works written for the purposes of teaching Telugu and/or to study the structure of sentential constituents. For this purpose I shall limit my review to the works of Lisker (1963), Krishnamurti and Sarma (1968), Subrahmanyam (1974), Sivarama Murty (1968), Kelley (1968) and Murti (1972). The majority of these works are written in a spirit of 'morphology as centre' of the grammar, though some of their observations and examples are quite serviceable for a syntactic description. There are quite a number of articles published on the problems of morphology, morphophonemics and related matters during this period which are not of direct relevance to my present purpose and hence not mentioned here.

Lisker (1963) is a modern language teaching manual consisting of graded Telugu materials introduced in thirty lessons. Each lesson

consists of sections of conversations, grammar notes, drills,

translation exercises and word list.   Lisker's discussion of grammar,

no doubt, follows the structuralist method of describing the 'form'

in the language even if it forces one to ignore 'meaning'.   His

grammatical observations of spoken Telugu, however, present (with

examples) the morphology and Sandhi in detail and his materials can

be used profitably in any syntactic study.

After an excellent summary of Telugu sounds, Lisker discusses

the noun phrase sentence.   Noun phrases are defined as groups of

words which may be replaced by single nouns.   Nouns are a class of

words which may be distinguished in that they are followed by certain

suffixes (Lisker 1963: 8).   Though inexplicit in several ways, these

definitions satisfy the methodological commitments of a certain kind

of structuralist.   The position of an adjective within a noun phrase

is immediately before a noun.   Apart from descriptive adjectives

like _pedda_ 'big', _kotta_ 'new' etc., he also treats the deictic

elements _aa_ 'that' and _ii_ 'this' as belonging to a word-class of

adjectives.   When he describes the formation of nouns from adjec-

tives with pronominal suffixes, he fails to distinguish between the

demonstrative pronouns used primarily for deictic reference like

aayana 'the male adult person over there', 'he' and the concordial

use of pronominal affixes on adjectives (which turn into predicate

nominals) like _pedda vaadu_ 'big man' and _kottadi_ 'new one'.   In

Telugu when a noun occurs in adjectival position there may be some

phonological changes in that a noun like _vaadu_ 'he' changes to _vaani_

'his' as in _vaani pustakam_ 'his book'.   Lisker enumerates various

classes of nouns, presenting their independent form along with

adjectival form.   Still on the noun, Lisker illustrates the formation
of plurals by suffixing various morphemes to the nominal base, along
with the accompanying phonological changes effected thereupon in the
base.   He erroneously suggests -ni as a plural suffix in annii 'all'
deriving it from antaa 'all'.   Annii 'all' refers only to the
countable non-human entities like trees, cows, books and the rest
whereas antaa 'all' refers to the non-countable (mass) nouns such as
grass, strength, intelligence, and specific spatial area in the sense
of 'entire'.   This process is characteristic of interrogatives enta
'how much' and enni 'how many' as well as existential quantifiers
like konta 'some' and konni 'some (countables)'.

Not surprisingly Lisker limits his attention only to the case
suffixes -loo 'in', -ki/-ku 'to', -too 'with', -ni/-nu accusative
along with some other spatial postpositions.   It is amazing to
notice that he is not worried about the word-class distinction
between case suffixes and postpositions.   The sentence pattern in
Telugu is presented under noun sentences and verb sentences, in other
words equational and verbal sentences.   Lisker devotes a very major
portion of his grammatical observations to verb morphology.   The
existential verb 'be' and its correlation with gaa is hinted at.
Negation in Telugu is morphologically marked on the verb and closely
tied up with tense distinction.   The negative suppletive forms of
two verbs un 'to be' and agu 'to become' i.e. lee 'not to be' and
kaa 'is not' are generalized in Telugu to negate the verbal and
equational sentences respectively.   Lisker illustrates them amply.
Among other areas of verb morphology he discusses tense, imperative,
infinitive, conditional, verbal adjective, and verbal nouns.   He
also pays much attention to the verbal roots and effected changes in

correspondence with intransitive, transitive, causative and reflexive forms. Each one of these deserves to be studied from a syntactic point of view. Even to review the entire verbal syntax with a view to reviving and amending Lisker's observations is beyond my present moderate task of a survey.

Written in a similar spirit and with a similar purpose is the course book by Krishnamurti and Sarma (1968). The authors are native speakers and the material as well as grammatical (morphological) observations are more reliable and systematic.[11] Like Lisker, they too aim at teaching their students the (so-called) standard Telugu and present the grammar of this dialect. Here again each lesson starts with model sentences followed by notes on grammar, exercises and word-list. Their grammatical (morphological) observations conceal interesting syntactic facts of Telugu, which it is my intention in this dissertation to explicate and explore. I will confine my comments to the relevant sections of grammatical notes as a prelude to my later description, since in Telugu, much of the semantico-syntactic information is reflected in a somewhat transparent way on the morphological forms.

The sentence pattern in Telugu divides itself into two main classes on the basis of the grammatical category that appears in a predicate position, namely, verb and noun. The latter type is the equational sentence like aayana raytu 'He is a farmer'. Krishnamurti and Sarma call this type 'verbless sentences', as there is no overt predicative or copulative verb in these constructions. However, it

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11. Both Lisker (1963) and Krishnamurti and Sarma (1968) use their own idiosyncratic transcriptions. In quoting their material I render it in my system of transcription for the sake of readibility and consistancy. This, however, does not distort any grammatical facts under study.

may be noted that a form of 'be' is found in negative, relative and other constructions of equationals and also in simple positive sentences when an element is required to carry tense. The postulation of a deep verb in the underlying structure of these 'verbless sentences' will be explored in the following chapters (see Chapters 5 and 6).

The so-called third personal pronouns in Telugu, as in other Dravidian languages, carry the place and person deictic markers as well as the social role and status of the interlocutors engaged in a speech act. Even the formal composition of these deictically based categories (i.e. demonstrative pronouns) indicates that they behave like noun phrases composed of a modifier and a head (noun), which suggests that they have a sentential origin. Krishnamurti and Sarma classify the demonstrative pronouns on the scale of location of the object or person referred to with respect to the location of the speaker and hearer and also the social distance between speaker and hearer or between the speaker and the person mentioned. This latter social aspect is reflected even in the imperative forms, as is the case with verbal concord. That is to say, using plural form with reference to a single entity (both in pronoun and verbal concord) is a favourite mechanism applied here.

In Telugu, adjectives precede the head noun they qualify, (so also the relative clauses). Krishnamurti and Sarma mention possessive adjectives, numeral adjectives, demonstrative adjectives and descriptive adjectives. In their dialect the possessive and demonstrative adjectives do not co-occur, for example

(1) naa   aa   pustakam

     my   that   book

     'That book of mine'

and (2) aa   naa   pustakam

are unacceptable for them.   However, in my dialect these two forms

are acceptable and used frequently.   When adjectives occur in

predicate position they show concord with the subject in taking

concordial elements for number and person like verbs.   This phenomenon

is called pronominal predicate by Krishnamurti and Sarma.   They imply

that this process is limited only to the non-human nouns in subject

position like

(3) ii   pustakam   naadi

     this   book   mine

     'This book is mine'

(4) ii   pustakaalu   naa-vi

     these   books   mine

     'These books are mine'

But, notice that this syntactic structure of expressing possession or

intimacy is also extended to human beings in such examples as

(5) niivu   naa vaada-vu

     you   my he   you

     'You are mine'

(6) vaallu   maa vaallu

     They (human) my they

     'They are mine (my people)'.

   In several fragments under grammar the case suffixes (only some

of them) are presented along with the phonological changes of the

base noun forms.   Under the dative case the use of the suffixes
-ki/-ku is illustrated in sentences having kaavaali 'is wanted' and
telusu 'is known' as main verbs and also their negative equivalents.
The verb 'to be' is discussed to exemplify the locative case even
without giving the locative suffixes and their semantic distribution.
This makes one feel that the titles of Units are very misleading as
far as the grammar is concerned.   Other case suffixes are exempli-
fied here and there in a highly superficial manner, much attention
being given to morphophonemic changes or oblique forms.

Krishnamurti and Sarma devote much attention to verb morphology
in their grammar.   But the use of the imperative is illustrated even
without going into the details of the variation between the verb root
and its imperative form.   Nor do they tell the student of any
semantic restrictions on the formation of imperatives.

The gerund or verbal noun in Telugu is described as a tenseless
verb and its use is said to be restricted to a context where the time
need not be indicated in a construction.   For example

(8)   neenu   aa   sangati   ceppaṭam   mancidi

      I   that   news   telling   good-one

'It is good for me to tell that news'

Krishnamurti and Sarma state that sentences like (8) in most cases
have future meaning, which is not true.   With a time adverbial like
ninna 'yesterday' (8) will definitely mean the past and with another
time adverbial like reepu 'tomorrow' it indicates future.   So there
is no time notion morphologically expressed in (8).   However, they
either ignore or are unaware of another kind of gerundive construc-
tion expressing the tense distinction of past-nonpast in Telugu.

For example (8) above can be rendered to either (9) or (10) to indicate past or nonpast respectively.

(9) neenu   aa   sangati   ceppindi   mancidi
                                      said-it

    'It is good that I told that news'

(10) neenu ' aa   sangati   ceppeedi   mancidi
                                    say-future-it

    'It is good (for me) to tell that news'

Constructions of this kind are quite common in Telugu to express emphasis or focus

(11) aa   sangati   ceppindi   neenu

    'It is I who told that news'

(12) neenu   ceppeedi   aa   sangati

    'It is that news that I tell/I am telling'

(11) and (12) might resemble some sort of clefts in English. If the verbal forms in (9) and (10) are to be accounted as gerundives, this will raise an interesting question as to the status of a category like verbal noun and its coordination with time and tense in Telugu.

Krishnamurti and Sarma in a later Unit mention that the present continuous or durative in Telugu is negated by a gerundive followed by leedu 'is not'. For example

(13) neenu   paatham   ceppu-t-unnaanu
      I   lesson   say   am

    'I am teaching'

(14) neenu   paatham   ceppatam   leedu

    'I am not teaching'.

The negative form in (14) is the same as the existential negative
like <u>akkaḍa pustakam leedu</u> 'There is no book there'.

The distinction of verbal tense into past and nonpast is illus-
trated and the morphology is 'explained'. The fact that the so-
called future form is also used in the sense of habitual is brought
to notice. In Telugu there is a separate future-hortative form
of the verb to express the desire of speaker for some joint action
along with the hearer. Obviously the subject and hence the verbal
concord is the pronoun <u>manamu</u> 'we (inclusive)', for example

(15)   manamu   roṭṭe   tindaa-mu

       we (incl)   bread   eat hortative we (incl)

       'We shall/Let us eat bread'.

A more interesting feature is the use of a similar verbal conjuga-
tion in complex sentences with dative constructions of other
pronouns to denote a wish or desire such as

(16)   aame-ku   veḷdaam   ani   undi

       her-to   go hortative having said is it

       'She wants to go/She feels like going'.

Also noteworthy is the use of an obligative form to denote a similar
sense

(17)   aame-ku   veḷḷaal(i)   ani   undi

       her-to   go obligative

       'She wants to go/She feels like going'.

This interesting phenomenon with a dative -<u>ku</u> construction and its
cooccurrence restrictions on the semantico-syntactic plane will be
pursued later in greater detail.

Krishnamurti and Sarma give detailed illustrations of relative clause, conditionals and the use of some auxiliary verbs. Their work on the whole contains interesting and well-classified sentences with a few grammatical comments.

Another grammar-oriented teaching manual is that of Subrahmanyam (1974). This book is intended to serve as a reference grammar of Telugu. It contains twenty lessons each of which is organized centering around a particular aspect of the grammar. A typical lesson consists of vocabulary, grammatical notes, patterns and exercises, in that order. As is the case with other modern course books, grammar is taken to mean morphology and related Sandhi rules with some sporadic statements on the structure of sentence.

The formation and use of imperatives is the first aspect of Telugu grammar that Subrahmanyam wants to teach his students. Imperative mood in Telugu has separate singular and plural forms. The plural form is extended to refer a single person when the social situation of honorific status is to be distinguished. This social deictic distinction is prevalent in other areas of grammar as well, such as in the third person pronouns and related verbal concord.

Subrahmanyam's analysis of the problem of tense in Telugu is a good representative of existing confusion among the Telugu linguists with regard to verbal tense. He states that Telugu has five finite tenses - past, present, future-cum-habitual, negative and past subjunctive. Even the verb morphology shows that this division is misconceived. The verbal tense in Telugu distinguishes past versus nonpast. What Subrahmanyam calls present is nothing but a progressive aspect. His past subjunctive is a modal notion and his

negative is no tense at all in any sense.

The formation of plurals, the structure of adjectives, numerals and composite nouns are fully illustrated. Case suffixes are presented under nominative, oblique, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive and locative. This list is followed by an enumeration of twenty postpositions. In later sections of his work Subrahmanyam attempts to describe verb morphology of intransitive, transitive and causative expressions along with notes on complex sentences.

As far as the syntactic descriptions are concerned, Subrahmanyam's work is disappointing and at times misleading. His analysis of morphology is quite adequate and the examples listed under 'patterns' are quite usable in any further syntactic analysis of Telugu.

The dissertation by Sivarama Murty (1968) is an ambitious attempt to synthesise the traditional and modern grammatical concepts on modern Telugu. In this work the term grammar is used in its widest possible sense to cover all levels from graphemics to syntax through phonemics, and morphemics. The object language of this work is literary Telugu, though there are many non-literary citations in the main body of the work. I want to restrict my comments to the chapter on 'syntax'. This chapter is concerned with word morphology and with the immediate constituent analysis of sentences.

Sivarama Murty starts his discussion of Telugu syntax by illustrating intraword Sandhi rules that operate between two contiguous constituents in a sentence. Even in a structural model these will be treated under external Sandhi, not in syntax. In a modern generative model these examples like

(18) cuuḍa + leeḍu → cuuḷḷeeḍu

'He cannot see'

will be discussed under phonology.   Such things obviously indicate

the confusion regarding syntax even in the 1960s in the Indian

linguistic scene.

Sentence structure in Telugu is said to be of two basic types —

equational and actor-action type.   The second term is very vague and

no explanation whatsoever is offered.   In fact what Sivarama Murty

means by this is verbal predicative sentences.   But, as one can see,

not all verbal sentences are actor-action type. Following American

structuralist methodology, the Noun Phrase in Telugu is discussed

under two broad headings of endocentric and exocentric. Noun modifi-

cation is illustrated by providing various kinds of attributes such

as adjectives, numerals, relative participles, possessive pronouns and

the like.   Unfortunately none of these constructions is even illus-

trated at sentence length.   All phrases are presented just in

isolation.

Sivarama Murty uses the co-occurrence restrictions of direct and

indirect object to classify verbs in Telugu into four groups i.e. verbs

with no object, with direct object, with indirect object only and

with direct and indirect object.   As examples of this classification

he only gives some verb roots with no full sentences.   He then

enumerates various 'auxiliary' verbs under the heading of operators,

here again just confining himself to unsystematic presentation of the

material with no grammatical principles.   However, he tries to

provide syntactic labels as sub-headings for his data.   Verbal con-

cord is discussed under two main subject types of gerundive and the

other nouns. The syntactic concept of subject is presented as that noun which shows concord on the main verb. The notion of object is expanded to cover direct, indirect objects, postpositional phrases and cognate objects. However, these concepts are neither defined in formal (structuralist) terms nor explained in notional terms.

When he comes to talk about word order in Telugu, Sivarama Murty talks of the order, in such terms as Noun Phrase, Adverbial Phrase and Verb Phrase. The order of constituents within an NP and VP is also exemplified. Turning to verbal negation, he enumerates interesting materials from various types of constructions, and the same is the case with interrogatives. Under particles and post-positions the so-called enclitics and some of the base suffixes are discussed. On the whole there is an elementary assembling of grammatical facts of Telugu syntax with little generalization, but the material collected and classified is a useful basis for further study.

Kelley (1968) is an attempt to classify Noun Phrases in Telugu and to provide some elementary transformations to show the derivation of relative clauses from full sentences. In a Harris—Chomsky spirit Kelley has the following classification of Noun Phrase, based on the modifier preceding the head noun:

(19)   (i)   Demonstrative + Noun   e.g.   aa kurcii

                                                'that chair'

         (ii) Adjective + Noun   e.g.   pedda paṭnam

                                                'big city'

         (iii) Ordinal Numeral + Noun   e.g.   modaṭi yuddham

                                                'the first battle'

(iv) Verbal adjective + Noun e.g. ostunna bandi

'the cart which is coming'

(v) Personals + Noun e.g. naa 'my' and rest of the

personal possessive (adjectival) forms.

Kelleymentions only the ordinal numeral as in (iii) above, but omits

the cardinal numerals that can occur within a Noun Phrase like

(20) naalugu   pustakaalu

four   books

He does not discuss the Noun Phrase formed out of a combination of two

nouns in Telugu, the former functioning as a modifier and the latter

as head of the Noun Phrase.   In his scheme one could represent them as

Noun + Noun.

(21) amma   maaṭa

mother   word

'mother's advice'

(22) meeka   paalu

goat   milk

'goat milk'

These, no doubt, are nominal compounds.   But Kelley's treatment of

these as nominal compounds ignores the different underlying relation-

ships existing between the two nouns in such compounds.   This becomes

more evident in his formulation of grammatical rules for the distri-

butional (co-occurrence) restrictions.   However, his formulation of

the order of elements within a Noun Phrase and the derivation of

relative clauses are fully exemplified.

Under a more impressive title of 'Telugu syntax', Murti (1972)

is an attempt to amass the material from written prose style.   The

selection of this variety of Telugu leads him to talk of the borrowed

prefixes and suffixes, as though they are a productive part of the grammar. Murti looks at phonemes and morphemes in a highly unsystematic fashion, before discussing what he calls groups and clauses. He divides the clause structure of Telugu into seven subheadings of subject groups, complemental groups, verbal groups, adjunct groups, free elements and zero elements. He talks in terms of Halliday's earlier scale and category model, but never makes his classificatory criteria clear. His examples, drawn from written Telugu, are of the type discussed by earlier traditional grammarians, but his analysis is highly unsystematic.

Contemporary developments in syntactic theory such as transformational generative grammar and Fillmorean case grammar have been taken as models for some syntactic studies on Telugu. I will make a brief list of these works here and take up some of them, in detail, at relevant places in the main discussion of my dissertation. First among these is a transformational analysis of Telugu nominals by Rama Rao (1968). Written in the Aspects (Chomsky, 1965) model, this work presents base rules and transformational rules for the derivation of noun phrases in Telugu. Nominal compounds and adjectival phrases are also discussed in outline. Another work concerned with 'noun-phrase sentences' is that of Bolton (1971). Bolton analyses the Telugu noun phrase predicate under the four divisions of the equational sentence, the attributive sentence, the possessive ꞏ sentence and the locative sentence. Her analysis is misleading in several respects and she limits her attention to the surface structures.

The syntax of Telugu verb 'be' is described within a transformational framework by Bhaskara Rao (1972a). This paper is a somewhat detailed description of the existential predicates and it attempts to show some of the similarities between existentials and locatives. I will look closely at some of his interesting suggestions later in Chapters 4 and 5. In another paper Bhaskara Rao (1972b) argues, convincingly, for the derivation of third person pronouns from underlying existentials.

In a series of three papers Krishnamurti (1970a, 1970b and 1971) discusses the verbs of cognition, stative expressions and causative constructions in Telugu within a Fillmorean case grammar model. His examples and interpretations deserve a close discussion and I will attempt to reanalyse his data (see Chapters 5 and 6). Also in a Fillmorean framework is the paper by Baeyer (1970) which attempts to furnish case frames for some Telugu verbs. The problem of coordination in Telugu is attacked from a transformational point of view in two of his papers by Rama Rao (1971 and 1972).

Kumaraswami Raja (1975) is an ambitious attempt at writing a comprehensive transformational grammar of Rajapalayam Telugu, a dialect spoken in the heart of Tamil-speaking surroundings. The theoretical bias of this work is that of earlier generative grammars, particularly Chomsky (1957). The work covers a much wider area of grammar than usual, under four chapters of phrase structure, transformations, morphemics and lexicon.

From this preliminary survey of the Telugu grammars it can be seen that there are not many detailed modern accounts of Telugu

syntax.   The topics that were covered by previous workers are very

limited when compared to the potentially interesting, but unexplored,

areas of the syntax.   In the present dissertation I have attempted

to explore and to describe some of the areas of Telugu syntax from

a contemporary generative localist point of view.   Thus my main

purpose has been to present and discuss the Telugu material, in as

much detail as possible, and to find out the viability of localist

theory with respect to the analysis of a non-Indo-European language.

In this way cross-linguistic evidence for (or against) localism and

related theoretical concepts will be a by-product of my present

endeavour.

Chapter 2

ELEMENTS OF TELUGU SENTENCE CONSTRUCTION

This chapter presents, in outline, some general syntactico-morphological characteristics of Telugu that are essential for an understanding of the grammatical discussion in the later sections of this work.   The description at this stage is pre-theoretical and is limited to certain relevant areas of the syntax.

2.1 Word Order

2.1.1 Some general remarks

We are concerned in this section with the relative order of syntactic elements within a Telugu construction.   In word order studies three elements of traditional grammatical theory are normally taken as basic, namely, Subject (S), Object (O) and Verb (V).   And accordingly languages can be classified into six typological divisions: SOV, SVO, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS.   Empirical studies attest that three of these typologies, VSO, SVO and SOV are most frequent (Greenberg, 1963: 86).   There are certain types like VOS which do not appear at all.   Greenberg hypothesises various restrictions and correlations between the order of three basic elements (mainly the verb) and the rest of the grammatical categories in various languages of the world and proposes a set of word order universals.   His theories have brought different reactions from linguists.   My intention here is not to validate or refute Greenberg's universals,[1]

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1.   For a criticism of Greenberg's hypotheses and for some fresh proposals in regard to word order universals see Anderson (1976a).   Unless otherwise stated the citation of Anderson in this thesis refers to the works of John M. Anderson.

but to point out the problems associated with these grammatical elements, SOV, when applied to the linear order of constituents in Telugu sentences.

The most obvious difficulty is that the notions subject and object in grammar refer to the functional relations of nominals within a sentence whereas the term verb is a part of speech in the traditional sense (Lyons, 1968a: 319-329). If one wants to talk in terms of traditional functional relations it is better to say that the sentence-constituents are subject, object and predicator (as against predicate). Alternatively if one wants to talk in terms of traditional parts of speech one may postulate noun and verb as basic categories for word order studies. The problem with this alternative is to decide as to how many nouns in a sentence can be taken as basic. Even in the first alternative 'object' includes for many people everything in a sentence other than subject and verb. In this respect object is equivalent to the 'complement' of traditional grammars, which covers adverbials of various sorts like time, place, manner, instrumentals and the rest.

Instead of using terminology from two different areas of grammar, namely, functional information (Subject and Object) and categorial information (Verb), one could employ only the primary categorial labels of verb and noun in word order studies. Then by a process of selecting one out of two major lexical categories, verb is selected as the basis and accordingly languages can be classified as verb-initial, verb-middle and verb-final. This can be motivated on the principle of there being only one V per predication, though this classification does collapse some of Greenberg's types.

Some linguists postulate certain underlying word orders that differ from superficial orders for some languages, for example English is claimed to be verb-initial language (McCawley, 1970). Some recent proposals in transformational grammars take languages to be either verb-initial or verb-final (see Ross, 1970) in their underlying structures. The surface structures are then arrived at through various syntactic rules. As my concern here is with surface order of elements in Telugu, I do not intend to go into controversies in word order theories.

2.1.2 Telugu, a verb-final language

In Telugu, as in other Dravidian languages, the 'unmarked' surface structure in simple sentences is verb-final. For example

(1) goopi   paalu   taag-inaa-ḍu

Gopi   milk   drink-past-3p. masc. sing.

'Gopi drank milk'

(2) goopi   monna   sudhaa-nu   karra-too   koṭṭinaa-ḍu

Gopi   day before Sudha   stick-with   beat past 3p.
masc.sing.

'Gopi beat Sudha with a stick on the day before'

In (1) and (2) verb is final and all the other syntactic elements such as direct object, time adverbial, instrumental and agent nominals occur before the verb. The verb in these sentences is also conjugated for number, gender and person, in concord with the subject noun. Verb concord is discussed below in detail.

The verb-final structure of Telugu can be taken as unmarked or as normal word order. In marked instan . Telugu has two mechanisms of focusing on a particular nominal in a sentence: (i) by contrastive stress or emphatic particle and (ii) by so-called cleft formation.

Any of the constituents in the above example (1), <u>paalu</u> or
<u>goopi</u> or <u>taaginaaḍu</u> can be brought into focus by stressing the
desired constituent

(1) (a) <u>goopi</u>   paalu   taaginaaḍu

    (b) goopi   <u>paalu</u>   taaginaaḍu

    (c) goopi   paalu   <u>taaginaaḍu</u>

Here in (1) (a)-(c) the underlined elements bear emphatic stress and
consequently there is a difference both in the presupposition (and
resultant meaning) of these sentences, roughly translatable into
English as

(1) (a) Gopi alone drank the milk, someone else did not
       drink it.

    (b) Gopi drank milk only, (he did not drink something
        else).

    (c) Gopi <u>drank</u> the milk, (he did not leave it or
        throw it away ...)

Another way of focusing constituents (specifically nominals) is to
add an emphatic particle <u>ee</u> to the noun or noun phrase.

(1) (a') goopiyee   paalu   taaginaaḍú

      'Gopi alone drank the milk'

    (b') goopi   paalee taaginaaḍu

      'Gopi drank milk only'

Telugu makes use of the grammatical structure of cleft sentences
to bring any of the nominal elements of a construction into promi-
nence or focus. The nominal that is under focus is brought to the
end of the cleft sentence. For example, let us take sentence (2)
and try to focus on various nominals through the mechanism of
clefting, as in (3)

(3) (a) sudhaa-nu   karra-too   koṭṭindi   goopi

            'It is Gopi that beat Sudha with a stick'

      (b) goopi   karra-too   koṭṭindi   sudhaa-nu

            'It is Sudha that Gopi beat with a stick'

      (c) goopi   sudhaa-nu   koṭṭindi   karra-too

            'It is with a stick that Gopi beat Sudha'.

On these examples of (3) (a)-(c), which have an equative structure,

the verb <u>koṭṭu</u> 'to beat' is transformed into a verbal noun <u>koṭṭindi</u>

'beating-past'.   The noun phrase under focus is placed immediately

after the verbal noun.   The case inflection of all the nominals is

retained irrespective of their position.   This leads one to conclude

that in marked instances the word order is free in the sense that the

change of place of a particular nominal does not result in change of

its semantic role even in clefts, provided the phonetic features of

stress and intonation are properly maintained.

2.1.3 <u>Word order and 'verbless' sentences</u>

The equative and attributive constructions in Telugu contain

nothing but two nominals in the surface structure.   Such sentences

can be called verbless, as there is no overt verb present.   Observe

the following two examples

    (4) neenu   raytu-nu

         I   farmer-I

        'I am a farmer'

    (5) raamuḍu   manci-vaaḍu

         Rama   good-he

      'Rama is a good fellow'

Since there is no verb in (4) and (5), how can the statement that
Telugu is a verb-final language be maintained here?   The equative and
attributive constructions, though verbless above, are not verbless
throughout their occurrence in the language.   Like other 'main verb'
sentences, they have an underlying verb, but this verb is deleted in
the instances under discussion.   This is in congruence with the claim
I will make later that every underlying structure consists at least of
a verb (see Chapter 6).

Further, there is syntactic evidence from negatives and relative
clauses that constructions like (4) and (5) have an underlying exis-
tential verb agu 'become, be'.   The negatives of (4) and (5) are
respectively:

(4')   neenu   raytu-nu   kaadu

       I   farmer-I   be-not-it

       'I am not a farmer'

(5')   raamudu   manci-vaadu   kaadu

       Rama   good-he   be-not-it

       'Rama is not a good fellow'

The verb in (4') and (5') kaadu 'is not' is related to the copulative
verb agu 'be, become' both semantically and morphologically.   It is
composed of kaa, an infinitive of agu, and a negative marker a followed
by the neutral suffix du 'it'.   Due to phonological changes, negative
a is deleted.   The presence of du is explainable in the fact that
Telugu has generalized the equivalent of third person-neuter-singular
suffix for negation with all other persons and numbers in a paradigm.
This has motivation for arguing negation as a superordinate in Telugu,
but I do not intend to pursue this at the moment.

Now consider the relative clause structures of (4) and (5) as they appear in (4'') and (5'') respectively.

(4'')   raytunu   ayina   neenu

        farmer I be-relative I
                  marker

        'I, who am a farmer'

(5'')   mancivaadu ayina   raamudu

        good he   be-relative Rama

        'Rama, who is a good fellow'

It is to be pointed out here that in Telugu the relative clauses are formed by affixing a relative marker a to the past or non-past stem. For example ayina is composed of ag- 'to be', -in- past tense marker and a relative marker.   The head noun appears at the end of the clause.

This suggests that the verb-final hypothesis for Telugu can still be maintained.   In this light, (4) and (5) can be ta⊦en as having underlying structures like that in (4)(a) and (5)(a) respectively.

(4) (a) neenu   raytunu   agu

(5) (a) raamudu   mancivaadu agu [2]

The deletion of this underlying verb is restricted to the unmarked simple declarative sentence;   elsewhere the verb is present even on the surface structure.

2.1.4 Word order and morphology

We have seen that the verb-final structure of Telugu is not very strict, but that even though the nominals are permuted from one place

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2. For similar argumentation and some more evidence see Bhaskara Rao (1972a:194-195).   This has support from other Dravidian languages like Malayalam (Asher, 1968: 95-97) and Naiki (Bhattacharya, 1961-62: 96-97).

to another within a sentence, their grammatical functions are con-
stantly maintained. This suggests that the previous account was
oversimplified and Telugu shows   free word order in a sentence. For
example in (6) all the sentences, (a)-(d), convey roughly the same
propositional meaning.

(6) (a) raamuḍu   venkanna-ku   aavu-nu   amm-inaa-ḍu
          Rama   Venkanna to   cow   sell past he
          'Rama sold the cow to Venkanna'

     (b) venkanna-ku   raamuḍu   aavu-nu   amm-inaa-du

     (c) aavu-nu   venkanna-ku   raamudu   amm-inaa-du

     (d) raamuḍu   aavu-nu   venkanna-ku   amm-inaa-ḍu

This sort of freedom for word shifting is allowed in an inflectional
language like Telugu, as the underlying grammatical functions are
preserved by nominal and verbal morphology.[3]   In (6) the syntactic
function of subject raamudu is reflected on the verb through the
person and number concord of-ḍu, the direct object function is
exhibited by -nu, the accusative case marker in aavu-nu and the
indirect object is represented by-ku in venkanna-ku.   Similarly
other syntactic functions like instrument, source and goal or loca-
tion are represented in the noun morphology by too 'with', nundi
'from' and a, na, loo 'at, in' respectively.

These facts might suggest that the order of arguments is 'free',
but verb still remains at the end .   From this, one may like to
conclude that there is no other alternative, but/the verb-final order in

3. A similar phenomenon is noticed in Australian languages as well
   see Dixon (1972: 5, 59 and 291).

Telugu. This is not true, as there are many instances where a sentence can have the verb as an initial constituent. For example the sentences in (6) can have the verb <u>amminaadu</u> 'sold' in the initial position, but this has to be accompanied by certain semantic and phonological conditions. Semantically the verb-initial of (6) is permitted when the matter of discourse was Rama's selling of the cow to Venkanna, and somebody wants to announce the successful completion of the deal. Secondly in interrogative constructions, where the context is previously mentioned, the verb-initial structures are to be found in Telugu. Phonologically there is a pause or break after the initial verb.

Even in these verb-initial sentences the grammatical relations of nouns are still retained or unchanged. I do not intend to go into the details of functional relations here (which are discussed in the succeeding chapters). It suffices to point out that the free order of constituents in Telugu is made possible by the nominal and verbal morphology.

2.1.5 <u>Focus and the verb</u>

In (6), though all the sentences are rough paraphrases of each other, they differ with respect to the focussed nominal, presupposition, and the kind of question they are intended to answer. They answer, roughly, the following questions respectively. (6)(a) and (b) answer (7)(a).

(7) (a) raamudu venkanna-ku eemi amminaadu ?
                              what

'What did Rama sell to Venkanna?'

(6)(c) is a proper response to (7)(b).

    (7) (b) aavu-nu   venkanna-ku   evaru   amminaaru ?

                                          who

       'Who sold the cow to Venkanna?'

and (6)(d) answers the following question in (7)(c).

    (7) (c) raamudu   aavunu   evariki   amminaadu ?

                                  whom to

       'To whom did Rama sell the cow?'

This means that the nominal under question always occurs before the final verb and thus receives the focus. That is to say, though the grammatical functions are position-independent the semantic function of presupposition is determined by the position of a noun in relation to the verb. This suggests that we have perhaps a SOXV structure, where X = "focus".

2.2 Verbal concord

2.2.1 Introductory

The following is a preliminary statement on the (surface) characteristics of concord in Telugu, as it operates between the 'subject' and 'predicate' within a simple sentence. For expository purposes, the term predicate is employed in the rather restricted sense of verb, noun, adjective or any other grammatical category that fulfils the function of predication. This is supported by the fact that the feature of concord operates between only the subject and predicate in Telugu, but not between object and predicate as in some other languages like Hindi or Mundari. That is to say that concord in Telugu does not operate within the (syntactic) predicate (even if you can motivate the notion VP), but only between subject

and some predicate element like an NP or adjective in a verbless
sentence, otherwise a verb.   This shows that VP is not the domain
of concord, as is clear from (1).

(1)   aame   puulu   kon-in-di

       she   flowers   buy-past-she

       'She bought (some) flowers'

We have argued in the previous section that Telugu is a verb-
final language with an SOV order.   It is to be noticed here that the
subject nominal , on certain occasions, can be omitted on the surface
without any loss of grammatical information.   The personal endings
on the verb indicate the subject so deleted.   Compare (2)(a) and
(b).

(2) (a)   neenu   pustakam   kon-inaa-nu

           I   book   buy-past-I

    (b)   pustakam   kon-inaa-nu

                    book   buy-past-I

Both (2)(a) and (b) mean 'I bought a book', the omission of the
subject being shown in (b).   It can be gathered from (1) and (2)
that the verb morphology in Telugu is crucial to the description of
concordial features such as person, number and gender.   Generally
the finite verb is inflected for tense, person, number and gender,
exhibiting the basic constituent order in (3).

(3)   verb root   +   tense   +   pronominal ending

       kon   inaa   nu

       buy   past $\begin{bmatrix} \text{First person} \\ \text{singular} \end{bmatrix}$

The grammaticalization (on the verb) of modality, aspect, negation
and the like is manifested through 'auxiliary' verbs following the

main verb.   Some of the details of verb morphology are given later
in this chapter.

2.2.2 Person, number and gender

The category of person plays a crucial role in Telugu both in
the formation of pronouns and their verbal concord.   The agreement
markers on the finite verb indicate number and person with respect
to the participant pronouns in the subject position.   In the case of
non-participant (third person) pronouns the third element of gender
also comes into play.   Let us examine some of the relevant features.[4]

(4) neenu   vyaasam   raas-inaa-nu

  I   essay   write-past-I
  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{First person} \\ \text{singular} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{First person} \\ \text{singular} \end{bmatrix}$

  'I wrote an essay'

(5) meemu   vyaasaalu   raas-inaa-mu

  we   essays   write past-we

  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{First person} \\ \text{plural} \\ \text{-inclusive} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{First person} \\ \text{plural} \end{bmatrix}$

  'We wrote essays'

(6) manamu   vyaasaalu   raas-inaa-mu

  we   essays   write-past-we
  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{First person} \\ \text{plural} \\ \text{+ inclusive} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{First person} \\ \text{plural} \end{bmatrix}$

  'We wrote essays'

These illustrations suggest that Telugu employs pronominal
affixes on the verb to realise the process of concord. This implies

---

4.   In the following examples some elementary semantic feature nota-
      tions are represented, though redundant at times, to show the
      interaction of pronominal subjects and their affixes on the verb.

that we have agglutination, in the simplest sense that each morpheme
represents a unique semantic unit.   But notice that the affixes nu
and mu indicate a combination of features.   For example -nu
is a single affix, but it fuses person and number in one morph as
shown in (7).

(7)   Person   Number

               First   Singular

                          nu
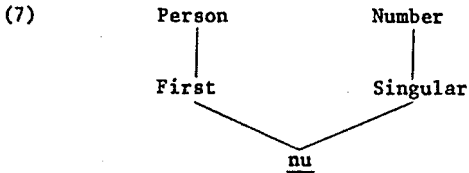
Similarly in -mu we have the fusion of first person and plural
(number).   Though Dravidian languages are generally taken as
agglutinative, the process of fusion does occur in certain areas of
the grammar.

When first person and plural are combined in Telugu, an addi-
tional feature has to be taken into account, namely [±inclusive].
That is to say, in informal terms, there are two first person plural
pronouns manamu 'we' [+inclusive] and meemu 'we' [-inclusive] as presented in
(5) and (6) above.   The feature [±inclusive] indicates the inclusion
or exclusion of the addressee, as manamu necessarily presupposes the
inclusion of addressee (it may or may not include non-participants)
and meemu necessarily excludes the addressee but incorporates at
least one non-participant ('third') person.   However, it is to be
noticed that the first person plural concordial suffix -mu in (5) and
(6) does not show the difference of [±inclusive].   All that mu
indicates is that it is first person and plural.   The semantic dis-
tinction of inclusion or non-inclusion is neutralized in this morph.

The feature of inclusion and its neutralization on the pronominal endings of first person plural is not a consistent characteristic of all the Dravidian languages. On the one hand there is no [±inclusive] distinction marked either on the pronoun or on the concord suffix in Kannada, on the other hand this distinction is clearly marked both in pronoun and affixes in Kui, Kuvi and Pengo, as can be seen in the Kuvi examples in (8) and (9).

(8) maambu   vaa-t-omi

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{we} \\ \text{-inclusive} \end{bmatrix}$ come-past-$\begin{bmatrix} \text{we} \\ \text{-inclusive} \end{bmatrix}$

'We came'

(9) maaro   vaa-t-ay

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{we} \\ \text{+inclusive} \end{bmatrix}$ come-past-$\begin{bmatrix} \text{we} \\ \text{+inclusive} \end{bmatrix}$

'We came'

Now let us look at the second person concordial elements.

(10) niivu   vyaasam   raas-inaa-vu

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Second person} \\ \text{singular} \end{bmatrix}$ essay   write-past-$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Second person} \\ \text{singular} \end{bmatrix}$

'You wrote an essay'

(11) miiru   vyaasam   raas-inaa-ru

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Second person} \\ \text{plural} \end{bmatrix}$ essay   write-past-$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Second person} \\ \text{plural} \end{bmatrix}$

'You wrote an essay'

As in the case of first person pronouns, -vu and -ru also exhibit a fusion of the semantic elements of person and number. The second person plural pronoun miiru is vague with respect to the semantic components of its plurality. It indicates either the conjunction of more than one addressee or the conjunct of at least one addressee with one or more non-participants. In terms of personal pronouns, miiru 'you (plural)' is any of the possible combinations that can be selected from (12)

(12) niivu   + { vaaḍu / aame / vaallu }

      you(singular) + { he / she / they (human) }

These semantic distinctions are not given formal expression either
in the pronouns or in the personal endings.

So far we have looked at the concordial system of participant
(personal) pronouns.   These first and second person pronouns, in
Telugu, show no gender distinction marked on the verb (as is found
in Hindi for example).   When the non-participants occur in the
subject position, the pronominal endings specify the feature of
gender as well, along with person and number.   It should be noted
here that the category of gender in Telugu only applies to nouns
which have the feature [+human].   Consider the following examples

(13) vaaḍu skuulu-ku poo-taa-ḍu
                                    ⎡ Third person ⎤
      He   school-to go non-past | singular |
                                    ⎣ masculine   ⎦
      'He goes to school'

(14) aame   skuulu-ku. poo-tun-di
                                    ⎡ Third person ⎤
      she .   go non-past | singular |
                                    ⎣ feminine   ⎦
      'She goes to school'

(15) vaallu skuulu-ku poo-taa-ru
                                    ⎡ Third person ⎤
      They(human)   go non-past | human |
                                    ⎣ plural   ⎦
      'They go to school'

In (15), vaallu 'they(human)' may include either a combination of
more than one male or female human beings like vaaḍu 'he' and aame
'she' or more than one male or female humans exclusively like 'he and
he' or 'she and she'.   That is to say that the distinction of

masculine and feminine is explicit formally only in singular number
and this distinction is neutralised in plural, wherein the formally
apparent salient features are human and plural only.

Compare (13) to (15) with the following sentences which have
non-human subjects

(16) kukka   parigett-in-di

dog   run-   past $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Third person} \\ \text{singular} \\ \text{non-human} \end{bmatrix}$

'The dog ran'

(17) kukkalu   parigett-inaa-yi

dogs   run   past $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Third person} \\ \text{plural} \\ \text{non-human} \end{bmatrix}$

'The dogs ran'

Even a superficial look at (13) to (17) with respect to gender
in third person pronominal endings suggests certain interesting
distinctions.   These are summarised in (18)

(18) (a) The division of Telugu nouns into human and non-
human is essential for the verbal gender

Noun $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{human} \end{bmatrix}$

(b) The distinction of masculine and feminine is relevant
only for the human nouns.   This again is limited to
the singular number.   In the plural number the dis-
tinction of human versus non-human is significant,
compare (15) and (17).

(c) The feature feminine has an ambivalent position in
the verbal gender.   In the singular it can be classi-
fied under the non-human and in the plural under the

human.   This is why the distinction of masculine and
non-masculine does not hold good for Telugu, wherein
feminine (as well as masculine) is a singulary
feature.

2.2.3 Concord and non-verbal predicators

A look at examples (8) to (11) above indicates that in Telugu the
pronominal endings do not exhibit any gender agreement when the
subject noun is one of the participant (first or second person) pro-
nouns.   This is true of all the instances of verbal predicates.
But whenever the predicator is a noun or an adjective, gender
agreement with the <u>semantic</u> gender of the speaker or the addressee is
essential.

(19) neenu   palleṭuuri-vaaḍu

|First person| |Third person|
|singular | village |singular |
|masculine | |masculine |

'I am a villager'

(20) neenu   palleṭuuri-di

|First person| |Third person|
|singular | village |singular |
|feminine | |feminine |

'I am a villager'

(21) nuvvu   manci-vaadu

|Second person| |Third person|
|singular | good |singular |
|masculine | |masculine |

'You are a good fellow'

(22) nuvvu   manci-di

|Second person| |Third person|
|singular | good |singular |
|feminine | |feminine |

'You are a good girl or woman'

In these examples <u>neenu</u> 'I' and <u>nuvvu</u> 'you' have no formal representation of the feature of gender on them.   However, it is formally reflected on the predicators.   As regards the person concord, one notices only the third person on the predicators though the subject nouns are first and second person pronouns.   This apparent contradiction is reconcilable in the light of the following two facts of Telugu.   Firstly, certain nouns like <u>palleṭuurivaaḍu</u> 'villager', <u>mancidi</u> 'good one' are formed by the addition of personal endings to nouns and adjectives.   The composite nouns so formed are generally marked for the third person only, though they are used in equating even the first and second person pronouns (Arden, 1873: 95-98).   Secondly, these composite nouns, when they are predicators, can be further inflected for the first and second person concord as well.   Observe that (19') to (22') below are equivalents of (19) to (22) respectively.

(19')   neenu   palleṭuurivaaḍa-nu

        I   villager   I

(20')   neenu   palleṭuuridaana-nu

        I   village-she   I

(21')   nuvvu   mancivaaḍa-vu

        you   good-he   you

(22')   nuvvu   mancidaana-vu

        you   good-she   you

In the plural forms of the above sentences the (gender) distinction of masculine and feminine is neutralised, instead the pronominal endings realise the features   person and number only.

(23) meemu   palleṭuuri-vaaḷḷu

      we   village-they (human)

      'We are villagers'

(24) miiru   manci-vaaḷḷu

      you   good-they (human)

      'You are good people'

2.3 Sentence patterns

2.3.1 Introductory

It is clear from the previous section on word order (section 2.1) that Telugu is a verb-final language.   Exceptions to this statement may be shown from what are called 'verbless sentences' that have only two nominals with no representative of the grammatical category of verb such as

(1) venkanna   raytu

                  farmer

      'Venkanna is a farmer'

Against this objection it could be argued that such sentences are at least, if not categorially verb-final, certainly 'predicator-final' (with any category like noun, adjective etc. that predicates being taken as logically equivalent to a verb).   Or one could argue that the constructions like (1) are not verbless in their underlying structures, but contain a copulative verb (as shown in 2.1.3).   I will take up this problem again in my discussion of equationals (Chapter 6).   For the present, however, I merely want to give an informal classification of Telugu sentence patterns.

Within a traditional subject-predicate model, a simple declarative sentence could be discussed as being generated by the following

phrase-structure rules

(2) (a) S → NP pred P

(b) pred P → (Time)(Place) ....$\begin{cases} VP \\ NP \\ Adj\ P \end{cases}$

which indicate that a sentence consists of a noun phrase and a

predicate phrase. The predicate phrase is composed of a verb phrase

or a noun phrase or an adjective phrase preceded by one or more

optional adverbial phrases of time, place and the like. Based on

the obligatory lexical categories contained, the predicate phrase can

be classified into three basic types of verbal, nominal and adjec-

tival predicates, as exemplified in (3) through (5).

(3) ravi   monna   gudi-daggara

      Ravi   the day before   temple-near

      kukka-nu   kott-inaa-du

      dog-acc   beat-past-he

      'On the day before yesterday, Ravi beat the dog near the
       temple'

(4) ravi   upaadhyaayudu

      'Ravi is a teacher'

(5) ravi   mancivaadu

              good-he

      'Ravi is a nice fellow'

In (3) above the constituents monna and gudi-daggara are optional

adverbials of time and place, which are generally taken to be of

sentential adjuncts and outside the domain of VP. ravi is the

subject and kukka the object of the sentence. The constituent

structure of (3) can be represented in a tree diagram as in (6).

(6)

```
                          S
            _____|_____
           NP                              Pred P
           |                  _____|_____
           N              (Time)      (Place)              VP
           |                |            |            _____|_____
           |                N            NP          NP           V
           |                |            |           |            |
         ravi            monna      gudi-daggara
                                                  kukka-nu    kott--
```
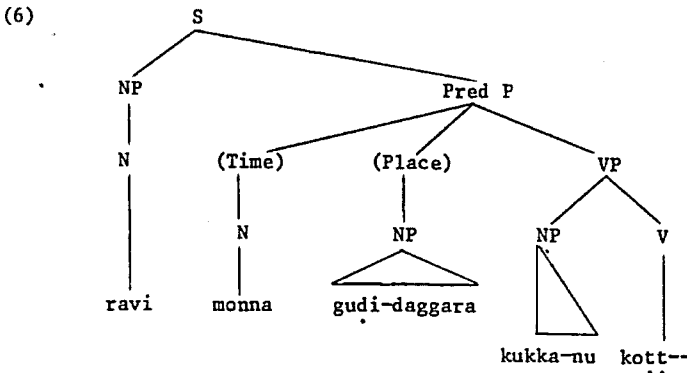
The rules in (2) appear to work well with the above examples at
the level of parsing or immediate constituent analysis.   But when
one attempts to get into the details of underlying structure of noun-
verb relations, the VP has to be expanded to include various post-
positional phrases such as locative phrase, instrumental phrase,
direction and the rest.

(7)   VP → (P.P) (P.P) (P.P.) V.

Here one has to accept all the noun phrases, other than the subject
NP, as parts of VP.   In fact some of them like time and place adver-
bials can be either optional, hence adjuncts or obligatory (i.e.
complements) of a sentence.   What is less illuminating in this
analysis is the special status given to the subject NP and lumping
together the rest of the obligatory NPs under the undifferentiated
class of the 'constituents of VP'.

Within the Aspects model, which is committed to VP as a major
constituent of sentence, there is no way to account for the semantic
characteristics (or roles) of NPs except classifying the Telugu verbs
as non-object verbs, object verbs, and double-object verbs, as is
done by Bhaskara Rao (1972a: 154-155);   along with the following
examples.

(8) uyyaala   uugindi

     cradle   swung

     'The cradle swung'

(9) neenu   pustakam   raastunnaanu

     I   book   writing

     'I am writing a book'

(10) moohan   naaku   pustakam   icceedu

     Mohan   me   book   gave

     'Mohan gave me a book'

The notion of VP as a sentential constituent is very unhelpful in a
work that concentrates primarily on the nomino-verbal relations in a
Telugu simple sentence.   Instead, I present the surface Telugu
structures in terms of two major grammatical categories of noun (or
         the
NP) and/verb (or predicate element).   Moreover, verb is taken as a
central constituent of a sentence.   This is necessary in any case to
make explicit the governing status of the verb in generating the
semantic (case) roles occupied by nouns.   This elementary description
will be useful for a further subclassification of Telugu verb within
case frames.   This approach accords no (undue) special status to a
particular NP, such as 'subject' in standard transformational studies.
All the NPs are presented along with the predicate element (typically
verb) to indicate their role with respect to the verb or predicator.

    The following,then, are some of the basic sentence patterns of
Telugu recognisable on the surface structure:

(11) Phrase structure: Traditional name:

    (i)   NP + V   intransitive

    (ii) NP + NP + V   transitive

    (iii) NP + NP + NP + V   causative

(iv)	NP + NP + (cop)	equative
(v)	NP + NP/Adj + (cop)	attributive
(vi)	(a) loc + NP + (cop)	locative
	(b) loc + NP + V	
(vii)	(a) poss + NP + (cop)	possessive
	(b) poss + NP + V	
(viii)	NP + direct + loc + V	directional

This preliminary classification forms a reliable background for the presentation of the material at this stage. The traditional names for these constructions are retained here to facilitate the description; these will, however, be more fully discussed later from a semantico-syntactic viewpoint. Each one of these sentence types is to be further explicated and illustrated. But first, let us observe that the above classification is set up only with respect to the proposition or nucleus of the sentence thereby excluding the extranuclear constituent or adjunct. (See Lyons: 1968a, 334).

2.3.2 Intransitive

This traditional name for the NP + V constructions correlates with what are called 'one-place' verbs or 'single argument' predicates in modern linguistics. In syntactic terms the NP in such constructions is called the subject and V the predicate. The semantic relations that obtain between NP and V will be postponed until the case relations are taken up systematically. It suffices here to note that this simple construction type in Telugu is highly common and the verb conjugation can be more readily explained (for a majority of paradigms at least) taking the intransitive forms as basic. The NP + V construction is found in such examples as

(12) batta cinig-in-di

   cloth   be torn past it

   'The cloth is torn'

(13) paṇḍlu   raal-inaa-yi

      fruits   fall past they

      'The fruits fell'

(14) venkanna   egir-inaa-du

                 jump past he

      'Venkanna jumped'

In these examples adverbials of time and location can occur optionally
(as adjuncts) but they are not obligatory for the internal structure
of this type of construction.   However, this omissibility of adjuncts
should not be confused with the concordial omission that is recoverable
from pronominal endings in such examples as

(15) vacc-inaa-nu

      come-past-I

      'I came'

the full form of this being (15')

(15') neenu   vacc-inaa-nu

      I   come past I

That is to say, in (15) though the NP of an intransitive construction
is absent in its full form, it is still an obligatory constituent.
This kind of omission is not restricted to intransitive constructions.
In fact it is more common with complex embedded constructions.

2.3.3 Transitive

    Following the traditional accounts, the NP + NP + V constructions
are called transitives.   As Lyons (1968a:351) points out, this term
is applicable to the majority of two-place verbs.   Without going into
the details of semantico-syntactic relations of NPs and verb in these
constructions, let us present some Telugu examples.

(16) ravi   baṭṭa   cimp-inaa-ḍu

           cloth   tear past he

'Ravi tore the/a cloth'

(17) śankar   paṇḍlu   raalc-inaa-ḍu

           fruits   fall-make past he

'Sankar made the fruits fall'

In many grammars, the NPs in constructions like (16) and (17) are
analysed as subject and object and the entire construction is
referred to as a single object construction (Bach, 1974: 106) on
syntactic grounds.   In a semantically based analysis these construc-
tion types will be described as causatives, but, at this stage, I
prefer to call them transitives, reserving the term causative for
three-place verbs.   This decision, though based on the Telugu verb
morphology, helps us to understand the formal representation of
sentence types.   And in an informal (pre-theoretical) discussion the
distinction of transitive and causative is better kept apart for a
language like Telugu with rich grammaticalisation of these two classes
on its verb conjugation.

2.3.4 Causative

NP + NP + NP + V indicates that the sentences under discussion
have a three-place verb.   The syntactic (formal) and semantic
(notional) relations manifested in Telugu equivalents of three-place
verbs deserve a full investigation.   For the present I restrict my
attention to the formal aspect of these constructions.   By causatives
or three-place expressions is meant constructions like (18) and (19).

(18) neenu   ravi-ceeta   baṭṭa   cimp-inc-inaa-nu

     I   Ravi hand at cloth   tear cause past I

'I made Ravi tear the cloth'

(19) neenu   śankar-ceeta   paṇḍlu   raal-p-inc-inaa-nu

I   hand at   fruits   fall make cause past I

'I made Sankar make the fruits fall'

In informal terms, it may be observed that these constructions have two agents and a patient.   The first agent or the initiator-controller agent <u>neenu</u> 'I', is the one that has verbal concord and is a syntactic subject of the construction.   The second agent or performer-agent <u>ravi</u> and <u>sankar</u>, take the postposition <u>ceeta</u> 'at the hand of', 'by', and denote the person who actually does the work of tearing or making something fall.   Another way of translating (18) and (19) into English would be 'I got the cloth torn by Ravi.' and 'I got the fruits knocked down by Sankar.'   This rendering, though clumsy, makes the point clear that it is Ravi and Sankar who perform the act under instructions.   The postposition <u>ceeta</u> marks the performer-agent in this type of causative sentence.   Even in certain varieties of non-causative constructions (i.e. passives) <u>ceeta</u> indicates the agent of an action, in such examples as

(20) (a) goopi   vijaya-ceeta   debbalu   tin-inaa-ḍu

                              by   beatings   eat past he

Lit: Gopi ate/received blows at the hands of Vijaya.

i.e. 'Gopi was beaten by Vijaya'

(b) aapani   moohan-ceeta   avu-tun-di

that work   by   become non-past-it

Lit: That work will become/happen at the hands of Mohan.

i.e. 'That work will be done by Mohan'

In (20) (a) and (b) <u>ceeta</u> indicates the persons who perform the act. Also notice that the verbal concord here is with the patients (or the affected) <u>goopi</u> and <u>pani</u> 'work' respectively.   These syntactic facts

raise some problems for the concept of case hierarchy and subject-
ivalization.

It may not be out of place here to mention the formation of the
postposition ceeta.   This is in fact the locative inflexion of the
word ceeyi 'hand' in a paradigm such as in (21).

(21) Nominative   ceeyi

      genitive   ceeti

      locative   ceeta/ceetiloo

      dative   ceetiki

      instrumental   ceetitoo

(Nominative etc., here, are purely inflexional labels as found in
traditional grammars of Telugu).   Also observe the following
sentence

(22) pustakam   goopi-ceeta   undi

      book   hand at   is

      'The book is in the hands of Gopi' or 'Gopi has got the book'
wherein ceeta shows its original spatial locative function of place.
This postposition is generalized, in instances such as (18) to (20),
to denote the nominal which functions as the source of the process or
action indicated by the verb.

In transitive and causative constructions the patient noun is
inflected and takes accusative marker -nu or -ni.   But it is to be
noted that this accusative inflexion is obligatory only if the patient
noun under discussion is animate;   otherwise it is optional. That is
to say, in the instances such as (16) to (19) the patient noun batta
'cloth' and pandlu 'fruits' can optionally take the case ending -nu
giving battanu and pandlanu.   With an animate noun like koodi 'fowl'

the accusative ending occurs obligatorily as in (23)(a) and (b).

(23) (a) śankar   kooḍi-ni   camp-inaa-ḍu

Sankar   fowl-accusative kill past-he

'Sankar killed the fowl'

(b) neenu   śankar-ceeta   kooḍi-ni   camp-inc-inaa-nu

I   by   fowl acc. kill cause past-I

'I had the fowl killed by Sankar'

This correlation of animate noun and obligatory presence of accusative case suffix is a general characteristic of Telugu and other Dravidian languages. The absence of the accusative marker -ni in (23) will render the sentences odd as it violates the principle of cooccurrence of animate noun and accusative suffix.

Still on/the causative, it will be noticed that the causatives are introduced as three-place verbs above. This is surely in contradiction with the accepted convention in modern linguistics wherein three-place verb or three-place predicate generally refers to a syntactic construction consisting of subject, direct object and indirect object such as

(24) goopi   siita-ku   gaajulu   icc-inaa-ḍu

Gopi   Sita-to   bangles   give past he

'Gopi gave some bangles to Sita'

No doubt both (18) and (24) have three nominals along with a verb in the surface structure. But the underlying semantico-syntactic representations of these two sets of sent·   will be quite different. ⌐ presented the causative constructions as three-place verbs in order to show the transparency of Telugu morphology as to the underlying relations among intransitive, transitive and causative constructions

which I will take up later.   I keep the notion of causativity

distinct from what I termed here causatives, invoking the former

(i.e. causativity) to show the semantico-syntactic relation between

intransitive and transitive on the one hand and between transitive

and causative on the other.   In this light, the traditional causa-

tives of Telugu[5] as in (18) and (19) may be taken as consisting of

'two causativities' (causativity 1 and causativity 2), as it were.

Still, why not call (24) a three-place predicate? Certainly, it

is a three-place predicate.   But I am taking the liberty of a

linguist in using this term to show Telugu causatives as three-place

verbs.   Secondly, the status of indirect object constructions is

quite different (in terms of case relations) from that of causatives.

The underlying differences and similarities between so-called indirect

object constructions and others such as locatives, causatives, datives

and reflexives will be discussed later.   For the present, I want to

elaborate the surface (grammatical) structure of intransitives,

transitives and causatives.

2.3.5 Morphology of intransitive, transitive and causative verb

The agglutinative character of Telugu verb morphology, like that

of other Dravidian languages, permits the 'grammaticalization' of

causativity involving up to two agents.   This is clearly manifested

in transitive (single agent) and causative (two agents) verbs.

Telugu verb morphology should be analysed from a semantic viewpoint

to understand the structure of sentences more fully.   As a pre-

requisite towards this goal, I present some more illustrations of

_____

5.   For a traditional account, see Arden (1873: 154-156).

intransitive, transitive and causative constructions that show the
semantico-syntactic relations transparently in their verb morphology.[6]
(In the following examples, (a), (b) and (c) indicate intransitive,
transitive and causative constructions respectively.   The absence of
any one of these in a paradigm is shown accordingly.)

(25) (a) daaram   teg-in-di

           thread   break past it

           'The thread broke'

      (b) goopii   daaram   temp-inaa-du

                      thread   break past he

           'Gopi broke the thread'

      (c) neenu   goopii-ceeta   daaram   temp-inc-inaa-nu

           I   by   thread   break cause past I

           'I had the thread broken by Gopi' or 'I made Gopi
             break the thread'

(26) (a) diipam   aar-in-di

           light   extinguish past-it

           'The light went off'

      (b) ravi   diipam   aarp-inaa-du

                     light   extinguish past he

           'Ravi put the light out'

      (c) neenu   ravi-ceeta   diipam   aar-p-inc-inaa-nu

           I   Ravi by   light   extinguish cause
                                              past I

           'I made Ravi put the light out'

(27) (a) pilloodu   eedc-inaa-du

           boy   cry   past he

           'The boy cried'

---

6. For a further description of intransitive, transitive and causa-
    tive constructions and the related verb morphology see
    Krishnamurti (1971: 21-33).

(b) goopii   pilloon-ni   eed-pinc-inaa-du

       boy   acc.   cry make past he

    'Gopi made the boy cry'

(28) (a) muraḷii   paalu   taag-inaa-du

          milk   drink past he

    'Murali drank milk'

(b) amma   muraḷii-ki   paalu   taap-inc-in-di

    mother   to   milk   drink make past she

    'Mother fed milk to Murali'

(29) (a) talupu   terucu-kon-in-di

       door   open itself past it

    'The door opened'

(b) ravi   talupu   teric-inaa-du

       door   open past he

    'Ravi opened the door'

(c) neenu   ravi-ceeta   talupu   teri-pinc-inaa-nu

    I   Ravi by   door   open make past I

    'I made Ravi open the door'

In the above examples, transitive and causative suffixes are added to
the base of the verb to form sentences.   With certain roots an
'auxiliary' verb suffixed to the infinitive of principal verb func-
tions as the transitivser and to this   transitive form a causative
marker can be added to get causatives, as in (30) and (31).

(30) (a) maanu   (kinda)   pad-in-di

       tree   down   fall past it

    'The tree fell (down)'

(b) vaḍrangi   maanu   paḍa-goṭṭ-inaa-ḍu

    carpenter   tree   fall beat past he

    'The carpenter made the tree fall'

(c) neenu   vaḍrangi-ceeta   maanu   paḍa-goṭṭ-inc-inaa-nu

    I   carpenter by   tree   fall beat cause past I

    'I had the carpenter make the tree fall'

(31) (a) kuuragaayalu   uḍik-inaa-yi

       vegetables   boil past

       'The vegetables (are) cooked'

(b) siita   kuuragaayalu   uḍaka-beṭṭ-in-di

             vegetables   boil put past

    'Sita cooked the vegetables'

(c) neenu   siita-ceeta   kuuragaayalu

    I   sita by   vegetables

    uḍᵃka-beṭṭ-inc-inaa-nu

    boil put cause past I

    'I made Sita cook the vegetables'

Similarly with paradigms such as

(32) kuurconu   kuurcoo-beṭṭu   kuurcoo-beṭṭ-incu

    'sit'   'make to sit'   'make to make to sit'

(33) enḍu   enḍa-beṭṭu   enḍa-beṭṭ-incu

    'dry'   enḍa-veeyu   enḍa-veey-incu

       enḍa-pooyu   enḍa-pooy-incu

       enḍa-gaṭṭu   enḍa-gaṭṭ-incu

       'dry'   'make to dry'

and others.   It is to be pointed out that the 'auxiliary' verb used
as transitivizer in these examples is, in fact, a main verb in its
own right elsewhere in the language.   In the above example the

translation 'dry (trans)' has four different 'auxiliaries' each
denoting a specific manner in which one gets things dried.   For
example enḍa-beṭṭu means to keep something in the sun's heat in order
to dry, such as vegetables, fish, grass, etc... enḍa-veeyu literally
means to throw certain objects under the sun's heat to dry.
enḍa-pooyu to pour out, grain especially, in the sun's heat to dry
and enḍa-gaṭṭu to tie an object like cloth or skin to a pole in order
to dry or to hang so that it may dry.   I cannot go into various
semantic details of these verbs here, though they are of some
interest.   Out of this complex semantico-syntactic phenomenon I
chose to illustrate only the process of causativity.

So far we have looked at some of the examples that reflect the
syntactic relations of intransitive, transitive and causative verbs
somewhat clearly in their verb morphology (through the process of
suffixation to the verb-stem).   However, Telugu is not lacking in
suppletive forms.   Consider

(34) (a) raamayya   vacc-inaa-ḍu

              come past he

          'Ramayya came'

     (b) peddalu   raamayya-nu   ra-ppinc-inaa-ru
          elders   acc   come cause past they
          'The elders made Ramayya to come'

(35) (a) aapani   ayy-in-di
              that work   happen-past it
              'That work is finished'

     (b) neenu   aapani   cees-inaa-nu
          I   that work   do   past I
          'I did that work'

 (c) naayana aapani   naa-ceeta ceey-inc-inaa-ḍu

    father   that work me by   do cause past he

    'Father made me to do that work'

Especially the semantic relation between <u>agu</u> 'to become, to happen, to

take place' a process-oriented verb and <u>ceeyu</u> 'to do, to make' an

action-oriented verb, as reflected in (35) is to be kept in mind to

understand the many other verbs in Telugu. Though these two are

semantically related their morphology is suppletive and <u>ceeyu</u> is

'lexicalised' with reference to <u>agu</u> as 'kill' is to 'die' in English.

But these two verbs <u>agu</u> and <u>ceeyu</u> are the verbalisers <u>par excellence</u>

in Telugu, in that they are used to derive or create a verb from a

noun. They occur in combination with a noun to form the intransi-

tive and transitive verbs respectively. The following two examples

show this process clearly

 (36) (a) aame-ku peṇḍli ayindi

     her to marriage happened-it

     'She is married'

   (b) talḷidaṇḍrulu aame-ku   peṇḍlicees-inaa-ru

     parents   her to marriage did they

     'The parents married her (to someone)'

 (37) (a) peṇḍli-ki caalaa dabbu kharcu ay-in-di

     marriage to much money expenditure happened-it

     'A lot of money was spent for the marriage'

   (b) vaallu peṇḍli-ki caalaa dabbu kharcucees-inaa-ru

     They   marriage to much money expenditure did they

     'They spent a lot of money in the marriage'

(c) śankar   vaalla-ceeta   pendli-ki   caalaa

they   by   marriage to   much

ḍabbu   kharcu ceey-inc-inaa-ḍu

money   expenditure do cause past

'Sankar got them to spend a lot of money in the
marriage'

The characteristics of <u>ceeyu</u> as an ACTION verb (as opposed to the
HAPPEN-verb <u>agu</u>) are well reflected in the formation of periphrastic
causatives in Telugu.   In this type of construction <u>ceeyu</u> acts to
derive or form transitives from intransitives.   We noticed above
that (16) and (17) are transitive parallels of intransitives in (12)
and (13).   But with the application of periphrastic causitivity, we
can have (16') and (17') below as near paraphrases of (16) and (17)
respectively

(16')   ravi   batta   cinigeet-atlu   ceesinaadu

Ravi   cloth   tear   that manner   did-he

'Ravi made the cloth to tear'

(17')   Śankar   pandlu   raaleet-atlu   ceesinaadu

fruits   fall that manner   did

'Sankar made the fruits fall'

I am not claiming or proposing that (16) and (16') are exact para-
phrases of each other.   (16) represents the causativity as manifested
in verb morphology through grammaticalization and (16') represents the
causativity as manifested in a periphrastic construction.   This
formal difference appears to correlate with a semantic (intuitive)
difference in (the underlying structure of) these sentences.   However,
at this stage, I leave this controversial question aside, as it is
not my main concern.

2.3.6 Equative: NP + NP + (cop)

So far we have looked at some examples of sentences whose predicate is a main verb i.e. verbal predicate constructions. Telugu, like many other languages, also has predicators which are not verbs categorially. But these non-verb categories like noun, adjective or adverb function as predicators in many simple sentences. In their superficial structure at least, they appear to be verbless predicates. They may optionally contain a copulative verb, which, if present, is inflected for the concordial features of the main noun in the construction. One type of such sentences is the equative in Telugu. An equative construction is one in which an entity is identified or equated with another entity. For example in (38)

(38) raamayya   raytu

                 farmer

     'Ramayya is a farmer'

the identification of Ramayya as farmer is carried out and it answers the question raamayya evaru? 'Who is Ramayya?', This construction also exhibits the notion of classification of Ramayya as farmer, something like Ramayya is (a member) of the class of farmers. As Telugu does not grammaticalize the distinction of classification and identification, (38) is ambiguous in this respect and is prone to either of the interpretations.

The two constituents in (38) are interchangeable depending on the focus of the question. Suppose, for example, the question is to find out who the farmer is, then (38) can be reversed to answer this query, giving (39)

(39) raytu   raamayya

    'Ramayya is the farmer'

The interchangeability of constituents as in (39) indicates the

notion of definiteness. This is a more likely answer to the query

<u>raytu evaru</u>? 'Who is the farmer?'.

    Structurally the equatives in Telugu are NP + NP constructions

with an optional copula in the simple declaratives. In the absence

of the copula, the nominal predicate exhibits the concordial features

(as explained in the preceding section) just like a verbal predicate.

The NP + NP structures indicate various types of notions like iden-

tity, class-membership, class-inclusion, role type, or profession,

among others, as illustrated below

    (40) aame   siita

        that-woman   sita

        'She is Sita'

    (41) neenu   vidyaarthi-ni

        I   student   I

        'I am a student'

    (42) cilukalu   paksulu

        parrots   birds

        'Parrots are birds'

    The same construction type is used for forming certain inter-

rogative structures, such as

    (43) aame   evaru?

        that woman who

        'Who is she?'

(44) avi   eemiti-vi?

      those things what they

      'What are those (things)?'

The NP + NP constructions are commonly found indicating the
notion of possession as well.   In such instances the possessor NP is
inflected for the person, number and gender of the possessed NP.   In
the unmarked cases the possessed NP is the first constituent of the
sentence and the possessor the second.

(45) aa   eddulu   venkanna-vi

      those   oxen   venkanna-they

      'Those oxen are Venkanna's'

(46) ii kalam   naadi

      this pen   my it

      'This pen is mine'

(47) vaadu   maa-vaadu

      he   our he

      'He is our fellow' or 'He is my boy'

Similarly with kinship terms such as

(48) nuvvu   maa tammudu

      you   our younger brother

      'You are my younger brother'

Depending on the semantic properties of the lexical item in the
predicate position, the NP + NP constructions exhibit a multiplicity
of notions.   With place names, for example, they indicate the place
of origin or the place to which a person or thing belongs

(49) vijaya   haydaraabaadu-di

      vijaya   she

      'Vijaya is from Hyderabad' or 'Vijaya belongs to Hyderabad'

(50) ii   nemaḷḷu   tirupati—vi

      these peacocks   tirupati they (non-human)

      'These peacocks are from (belong to) Tirupati'

There is no ablative or allative in these sentences.   There are

only two nouns and one of the nouns is equated with the other, and

hence these constructions can be labelled copulative.   But so far

there is no overt representation of the copula.   Before bringing any

evidence for the copula, it is appropriate to look at another con-

struction type, namely attributive, which resembles the NP + NP

construction in several respects.   And the arguments for the presence

or absence of the copula hold good for both of these sentence patterns.

2.3.7 <u>Attributive: NP + NP/Adj + (cop)</u>

    This construction can roughly be called an adjective predicate,

keeping in mind the problem of uncertain categorial distinction

between nominal and adjective when they occur as predicators.   From

a semantic point of view the nominal and adjectival predicates fulfil

a similar function of classifying or saying something about the other

('subject') NP.   On formal grounds the adjective in a predicate

position 'behaves' more like a noun, being nominalized through the

process of concord.   For example, let us look at the descriptive

adjective <u>paata</u> 'old', both in pre—nominal (i.e. modifier) position

and in a predicate place.

    (51) paata   pustakam   cinigi—pooy—indi

          old   book   be torn went it

          'The old book got torn'

Here in the modifier or pre—nominal position (within an NP) the

adjective is clearly identifiable.   Now consider

(52) aa   pustakam   paata-di

      that   book   old-it

      'That is an old book'

(53) aa   pustakaalu   paata-vi

      those   books   old ones

      'Those are old books'

wherein paatadi and paatavi resemble the demonstrative pronoun adi
'that thing' and avi 'those things', not only in shape but even with
respect to noun morphology in that they (paatadi and paatavi) can be
inflected for the category of case (marking). This might force one
to take these lexical items as nouns.   No doubt they are nouns in
their present shape taken in isolation.   But their derivational
history will show that they are derived from adjectival sources.   In
this way (52) can be derived from (54)

    (54) aa pustakam   paata pustakam

          that book   old   book

through the transformational processes of pronominalization, which
deletes pustakam in its second occurrence giving

    *(55) aa pustakam paata

which (55) then takes the concordial features to get (52).   That is
to say, that in Telugu adjectives appear in predicate position as
well as in attributive position, their function being that of attri-
bution or qualification to a noun.   •

    In their surface structure the adjectival predicates (52) and
(53) exhibit some properties parallel with nominal predicates as in
(40) to (50).   One such similarity is the superficial 'verblessness'
of these constructions.   This absence of a surface verb is limited

to the declarative mood of these sentences. Consider the negative
equivalents of (41) and (52) as in (41)(a) and (52)(a) respectively.

    (41) (a) neenu   vidyaarthi-ni   kaadu

              I   student   I   be-not-it

              'I am not a student'

    (52) (a) aa   pustakam   paata-di   kaadu

              that   book   old-one   be-not-it

              'That is not an old book'

Here kaa 'not be', the suppletive variant of the verb agu 'to be,
become', is present in surface structure.

    The occurrence of agu is not limited to negatives.   In the
relative clause equivalents of (41) and (52), a form of agu is
present, as can be seen in (41)(b) and (52)(b).

    (41) (b) vidyaarthi-ni   ay-in-a   neenu

              student-I   be-past-   I
                             relative

              'I, who am a student'

    (52) (b) paata-di   ay-in-a   aa   pustakam

              old one   be-past-relative that   book

              'That book, which is old'

Complex structures such as the disjunctive expressions comprising (41)
and (52), overtly reflect the verb agu.   There is no other way of
forming such expressions.   (41)(c) and (52)(c) show the verb expli-
citly both in its positive and negative form.

    (41) (c) neenu   vidyaarthi-ni   av-du-n-oo

              I   student-I   be-subjunctive-I-doubt

             kaa-n-oo   teliyadu

             be not-I-doubt   be known-not-it

             'It is not known whether I am a student or not'

(52) (c) aa   pustakam   paatadi av-noo   kaadoo   ceptaaru

          that   book   old one   be-doubt   be-not-   tell-they
                                                              doubt

          'They will tell (us) whether that book is an old one
          or not'

These facts suggest that the attributive and equative construc-
tions are not verbless throughout their occurrence in the language.
The absence of the copulative <u>agu</u> 'be, become' is strictly limited to
the positive, non-time specific NP + NP or NP + Adjective phrase type
of constructions.   At this stage, the argumentation is inconclusive.
But the suggested lines of enquiry will be elaborated in the approp-
riate places along with the discussion of relevant data.

Before leaving this section, it has to be noticed that the
attributive predicates in Telugu can be either adjectives or nouns.
The reason for calling them attributive is semantically based in that
the category in predicate place attributes some quality to, or
describes the property of, the main noun in the clause. Consider
the following sentences with a   noun as predicator:

(56) neenu   laavu

     I   fatness

     'I am fat'

(57) aame   caalaa   nalupu

     she   very   blackness

     'She is very dark'

(58) ii   muuṭa   baruvu

     this   bag   weight

     'This bag is heavy'

These examples also exhibit the structural similarity between the equational and attributive constructions.

One of the questions that arises at this stage is, what is the difference between NP + NP + (cop) construction as equative and as attributive? Formally there is no significant difference between these two construction types. This problem is closely associated with the fact that the categorial status of adjectives in Telugu, as in other Dravidian languages, is very unclear. Among modern linguists, Nadkarni (1971) has explored, in some detail, the nature of adjectives in Dravidian. Two of his syntactic tests for Kannada, namely, the comparative test and the intensifier test can profitably be employed to differentiate between equative and attributive in Telugu, as well.

For this purpose I wish to select the examples of (38) and (56) above as representatives of equative and attributive respectively. Structurally, both of these are NP + NP + (cop) type of constructions. But being an equative (38) does not cooccur with the intensifier caalaa 'very', nor does it make a comparative construction, as is shown in (38)(a) and (b).

(38) (a) * raamayya   caalaa   raytu

              Ramayya   very   farmer

         * 'Ramayya is a very farmer'   .

(38) (b) * raamayya   goopi-kante   raytu

              Ramayya   Gopi-than   farmer

         * 'Ramayya is more farmer than Gopi'

On the other hand, the construction type of (56), since it is an attributive, coocurs with both these syntactic tests as shown in

(56)(a) and (b)

   (56) (a) neenu   caalaa   laavu

              I   very   fatness

             'I am very fat'

 ·(56) (b) neenu   goopi-kante   laavu

              I   Gopi than   fatness

             'I am fatter than Gopi'

The ungrammaticality of (38)(a) and (b) and grammaticality of (56)(a) and (b) go some way as evidence towards the suggestion that though categorially there is no difference between NP + NP + (cop) as equative and as attributive, semantically (or functionally) there is a definite difference between these two construction types. The lexical meanings of _raytu_ 'farmer', and _laavu_ 'fatness' are crucial for the cooccurrence constraints of the intensifier and comparative irrespective of their categorial affiliation. It also suggest that the function of attribution need not always necessarily be manifested by the category of adjective or verb alone, even nominals can be employed to qualify or attribute. The classification of Telugu nouns on the basis of their equative and attributive function and related semantic criteria may reveal some interesting insights into the universality of traditional 'parts of speech', as proposed by Lyons (1966).

2.3.8 Locative: loc + NP + V

In this section we will be concerned with the structure of locational expressions. These constructions, typically, locate an object or person or a thing in a place. Syntactically the entity so involved is in the nominative (uninflected) case-form and the place in question is expressed through a locative case-phrase. Observe the following examples in (59).

(59) (a) koṇḍa-payna   guḍi   undi

     hill on   temple   is-it

     'There is a temple on the hill'

 (b) ii   uur-loo   veeṭagaaḷḷu   uṇḍaaru

     this   village in hunters   are-they

     'There are hunters in this village'

 (c) pustakaani-ki   dummu   paṭṭindi

     book to   dust   caught

     'Dust has gathered on the book'

 (d) aa   meeḍa-ku   iravay   talupulu   uṇḍaayi

     that   palace to   twenty   doors   are-they

     'That palace has twenty doors'

The locative case-phrase consists of a noun or a NP followed by
a postposition.   The entire construction can be called a locative
postpositional phrase, whose structure is

   (60) loc → NP + postposition

The noun or pronoun that occurs in a case phrase undergoes certain
phonological changes before taking the postpositions.   These changes
in the noun-form have been discussed by previous scholars under
oblique suffixes (see Subrahmanyam, 1974: 99-103) and I do not pro-
pose to repeat their accounts here.   In (59) only three postpositions,
payna 'on, upon', loo 'in', -ki/-ku 'to' are represented.   The rest
of the important locative postpositions and their function will be
discussed in the succeeding chapters (particularly in Chapters 4, 5
and 7).

The verbal concord in (59) is always between the nominative and
the finite verb.   Unlike English, Telugu does not subjectivalize the

locative phrase in the above constructions.

The linear order of the constituents in (59)(a) to (d) is clearly loc + NP + V, which is the unmarked or preferred word order. This order is used in Telugu to indicate the indefiniteness of the object or person located, as can be seen in the English translation as well.   Each of these sentences is a proper answer to a typical question, such as

(61) akkaḍa   eemi   undi?

at that place what   is

'What is in that place?'

and it shows that the entity or thing under question is an indefinite one.   In other words, the locative phrase supplies the 'old informa-tion' and the nominative gives the 'new information'.

The loc + NP + V order can be changed to NP + loc + V order in a marked context, which change may be accompanied by certain phonolo-gical factors. There is an optional break or pause after the first nominal in this order as in (59)(a')

(59) (a') guḍi,   koṇḍa-payna   undi

temple   hill   on   is

'The temple is on the hill'

where the comma is to be interpreted as an optional pause.   The order in (59)(a') brings out the notion of definiteness with regard to the entity or thing represented in the nominative.   This type of construction makes a normal response to a query like

(62) adi   ekkaḍa   undi?

that thing   where   is

'Where is it?'

In (62) the thing or entity is already mentioned (or given) and new
information is being sought as to its place of location.

All the illustrations in (59) have a finite verb, which is
inflected for concordial features.   This leaves us with the impression
that the locative construction necessarily contains a verb (on the
surface).   But Telugu has locative constructions with no superficial
verb which may form a class of so-called 'verbless' sentences.   Let
us look at some of the examples

    (63) (a) edinbara-loo   cali   (b) Vijayavaada-loo veedi

                        in   coldness   in   heat

              'It is cold in Edinburgh'   'It is hot in Vijayawaada'

The class of nouns that can cooccur with such 'verbless' constructions
is very limited.   In (63) both cali and veedi are climatic nouns.
Even within climatic nouns, some of them like vennela 'moonlight',
vaana 'rain' have limited usage, occurring only when the context of
discourse is already mentioned.   They form a kind of elliptical con-
struction, in that they derive proper interpretation from the context
that is already under discussion.   This is true of (64), as well,

    (64) maa   illu   kooneeti-daggara

              my   house   reservoir-nearness

          'My house is near the reservoir'

which makes an acceptable reply to a question like

    (65) mii   illu   ekkada?

              your   house   where

          'Where is your house?'

Notice that (65) is also a 'verbless' locative construction, though it
is an interrogative.

Locative constructions lacking an overt verb are more prevalent
with temporal (locative) expressions. These constructions are made
up of a time adverbial that is (morphologically) a locative phrase
and the entity being referred to in a nominative phrase. The follow-
ing sentences will show the constituent phrases clearly.

(66) (a) ellundi-ki[7]   pendli

           day after-to   marriage

           'The marriage is day after tomorrow'

      (b) janavari   padnaalgu-na   sankraanti

           January   fourteen-at/on (a festival)

           'Sankranti is on the 14th of January'

      (c) miitingu   muudugantala-ku

           meeting   three hours-to

           'The meeting is at 3 o'clock'

      (d) ennikalu   1979-loo

           elections   in

           'The elections (will take place) in 1979'

      (e) vindu   eppudu?

           feast   when

           'When is the feast?'

The underlying (semantic) structure of constructions represented in
(63) through (66) will be discussed later (see Chapter 4). Here it
may be emphasized that the temporal expressions show certain parallel
distribution to locative constructions even with respect to appearing

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7. The multifarious uses of the dative form -ki/-ku will be discussed
    at many places in this work. In the literal translation the gloss
    is given as 'to' in order to retain one of its original meanings.
    The free English translation will show the particular semantic
    extensions and distinctions reflected in this case ending.

in 'verbless' predication types.   The possible candidate for the

status of deep verb is undu 'to be, to exist' with these constructions,

though jarugu 'to happen, to take place' is an alternative choice with

the examples of temporals in (66). To recapitulate, the surface

structure of locative constructions can broadly be divided into two

classes, one with verb and the other devoid of an overt verb.   In

the latter case the verb is not absent in all occurrences.   In fact

I will argue for postulating an underlying verb (locative copula) and

show the syntactic and semantic motivation for it in succeeding

discussion.   For the present it suffices to keep track of the phrase

structure as in (67)

(67)   locative → $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{loc + N + V} \\ \text{loc + N + (cop)} \end{Bmatrix}$

2.3.9 <u>Possessive</u>: poss + NP + V

The notion of possession can be realised in different ways in

different languages or through different surface structures even

within a language.   A possessive construction consists, minimally, of a

possessor and the possessed.   The syntactic reflexes indicating the

interaction of possessor and the possessed, can broadly be divided

into three categories in Telugu:

(68)   (a) ravi-ki   baṇḍi.   undi

Ravi-to   cart   is-it

'Ravi has a cart'

(b) baṇḍi   ravidi

cart   Ravi-it

'The cart is Ravi's'

(c) ravi   baṇḍi

Ravi   cart

'Ravi's cart'

The last of these is not a sentence, but an adnominal possessive expression consisting of the possessor followed by the possessed. This phrase bears structural similarity to a noun phrase composed of adjective and the head noun like <u>kotta baṭṭa</u> 'new cloth' and it is transformationally derived from a structure like the (a) variant. In this study we are not concerned with nominal compounds or adnominal ('genitive') phrases like (c), but in full constructions of the (a) and (b) varieties.

In (68)(a) the possessor is in the dative case-form and the possessed in the uninflected nominative form. The verbal concord is between the possessed and the verb. Notice the structural similarity between this and the locative phrases enumerated in (59). This formal parallellism and many other common transformational properties between locatives and possessives will be explored in Chapters 4 and 5. The English translation of (68)(a) might give the impression that it is a 'have construction'. But there is no such equivalent reflected in the Telugu example. Secondly the unmarked word order of possessive construction is poss + NP + V and the entire construction is an indefinite possessive. The interchanging of places between poss and NP within the clause will bring the notion 'definiteness' into focus and the entire construction can be called a definite possessive.

The structure of (68)(b) is that of an equative construction in having two noun phrases juxtaposed with no surface verb. The possessed (object or thing) is in the nominative form and the possessor <u>ravi</u> is in predicate position with the pronominal suffix <u>-di</u> which indicates the third person, singular non-masculine in

appearing as a concordial element.   At some stage of its derivation
this construction can be supposed to have the following intermediary
structure

   (69) ii   baṇḍi   ravi baṇḍi

         this   cart   Ravi cart

         'This cart is Ravi's cart'

and the rule of pronominalization gets us to (68)(b). However, the
pertinent characteristic to be remembered here is that Telugu uses
what are called pronominal predicates as one of the syntactic struc-
tures to realise the concept of possession.   (On pronominal predicates
see Krishnamurti and Sarma, 1968: 30-35.)

    The nouns that appear as possessed (objects) can be classified on
semantic grounds into various groups. I will attempt such a classifi-
cation and related syntactico-morphological explanation in Chapter 5,
the difference, for example between -ki phrases and -daggara phrases
within a possessive construction.   More immediately, it is to be
remarked that just as we have 'verbless' locatives in (63) to (66), we
also get possessive constructions with no surface verb. Consider the
sentences in (70)

   (70) (a) siita-ku   siggu

             sita to   shyness

             'Sita is shy'

       (b) goopi-ki   garvamu

             Gopi to   pride

             'Gopi is proud'

       (c) taata-ku   daggu

             grandfather to   cough

             'Grandfather has a cough'

(d) aame-ku   naluguru   pillalu

    she to   four-human   children
                  class

    'She has four children'

The class of nouns that can appear as nominatives in such structures

is very limited.   The constructions in (70) optionally take the

existential verb uṇḍu 'to be' in positive constructions and they

obligatorily require this verb in the negative, relative and some

other forms.   Secondly the sentences in (70) denote a permanent

quality of the person expressed in the dative phrases.   The contin-

gent equivalents of these are formed with the addition of gaa uṇḍu at

the end of the possessed noun, though this does not cooccur with the

structure in (d).   The problem of possessive is very complicated in

Telugu.   I will attempt to untangle some of these questions in the

succeeding chapters.

2.3.10 Directional constructions

    In this section I have so far presented a non-technical descrip-

tion of certain sentence patterns in Telugu.   Particular attention

has been paid to the structure of case phrases and predicates.   Within

case phrases we have to accord special recognition to the directionals.

Directional constructions are made up of an entity that moves, the

source of the movement and the terminal point (goal) of the movement.

Observe the following

(71) (a) raamuu   ḍillii-nuṇḍi   madraas-ku   vaccinaaḍu

        Ramu   Delhi from   Madras to   came-he

       'Ramu came to Madras from Delhi'

(b) raayi   goopuram-payn-nuṇḍi neela   paḍindi

     stone   tower   top from   floor   fell-it

     'The stone fell on the floor from (on top of) the tower'

The entity under reference is in the nominative form and it shows grammatical agreement on the verb. The source phrase contains a noun followed by the ablative postposition nuṇḍi 'from'. The morphological make-up of nuṇḍi is that of a locative case ending, na/n 'at' and the past verbal participle form of the existential verb uṇḍi 'having been'. The literal translation, then, of nuṇḍi is 'having been at' and ḍillii-nuṇḍi would be 'having been at Delhi'. This etymology shows a verbal derivation for a directional postposition in Telugu, but notice that uṇḍi makes a postposition only in combination with the locative case ending na/n 'at', otherwise it is simply a past verbal participle. Observe the difference between (a) and (b) in (72)

(72) (a) eenugu   podaloo   uṇḍi   bayaṭa   vaccindi

          elephant   bushin   having   outside   came
                            been

      'The elephant was in the bush and came out'

(b) eenugu   podaloo-nuṇḍi   bayaṭa   vaccindi

                 bush in at having
                      been
     'The elephant came out of (from) the bush'

The structure as in (72)(a) is commonly used to form the subordinate clauses within a complex sentence

(73) aame   paalu   taagi   nidrapooyindi

     she   milk   having drunk   slept

     'She drank milk and slept'

Sometimes the subordinate phrase even indicates the cause of the ef. + or result denoted in the finite verb. (For further comments on this topic, see Rama Rao: 1971 and 1972.) The participle form in (72)(a) and (73) reflects its temporal priority to the action denoted by the finite verb i.e. the chronological precedence is realised in

the participle construction. It may be feasible to extend this notion of temporal priority even to sentences like (71)(a) and to interpret that the location of Ramu was at Delhi before he moved to (or came to be located at) Madras. Thus, the principal meaning of nuṇḍi is 'place from which' and it denotes a place (or event) from which one had moved away prior to the action or process denoted by the finite verb. The traditional notion of apaadaana 'ablative' as "the movement away from a fixed point", seems to be transparently reflected in the meaning of the Telugu postposition.

The goal or end-point of the movement in (71)(a) is indicated by the so-called dative marker -ku 'to' and the entire postpositional phrase can be called the 'allative'. Notice that this -ku phrase also appears in the locative phrase of existential sentences as in (59)(c) and (d), and in the possessive phrase of possessive constructions in (70). The various functions and the underlying structure of -ki/ku phrases will be discussed in detail below. It suffices here to say that the data presented in this chapter will form the basic material for a localist investigation of some aspects of case relations in Telugu. Before taking up these problems any further, I wish to present a brief sketch of the localist theory.

Chapter 3

THE THEORY OF GENERATIVE LOCALISM

3.1 Introductory

Implicit in the preceding enumeration of Telugu construction

types was the assumption that a simple sentence is composed of a

predicate and one or more nominals (Lyons: 1966; Fillmore: 1968a;

Anderson, 1971a: 14-33 and Chafe, 1970: 95-104). This bifurcation

of sentential elements into predicators and nominals has much in

common with the logician's division of a proposition into predicate

and arguments. As Fillmore summarizes these notions, "A predicate

is a term which identifies some property of an object or some rela-

tion between two or more objects. The objects concerning which a

predicate asserts something are the arguments of that predicate."

(1968b: 373).[1] Accordingly the predicates are classified as one-

place, two-place, three-place and the like. Predicate in this sense is

not to be confused with the predicate phrase of Chomsky (1965) which

includes all the NPs other than the subject noun. The NPs to which

Chomsky assigns the 'function' of object, place, time, direction and

the like, are treated as having a direct link with the predicator in

the works of Fillmore, Anderson, Chafe, Halliday, Lyons and other case

grammarians.

The logician's use of predicate and argument coincides, to a

large extent, with the linguistic categories of predicators and

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1. The relevance of the 'predicate calculus' of symbolic logic to
   linguistic theory is discussed by Lyons (forthcoming), McCawley
   (1972) and Seuren (1969).

nominals. In this sense predicator serves as a cover term for the lexical categories of verb, adjective, noun (or any other item) that occur in the predicate position and nominal as including noun, noun phrase, pronouns, deictics and the rest that function as potentially referring expressions. Suppose we postulate predicator and nominal as categories in underlying (semantic) representations, then we need mapping rules between these and the linguistic categories (like verb, noun, etc.) that appear in the surface (syntactic) structure. To avoid these complex mapping relations, contemporary linguistic theory opts for using categorial labels such as NP, VP, AdjP and the like in both underlying and superficial representations (as, for example, Chomsky and other generative linguists). But it was soon realised that the categories like VP are not simple undecomposable units and they need not be given the status of an underlying category (see Fillmore, 1968a; Anderson, 1971a and 1976a: 9-21). Instead of using such terms as VP, these linguists preferred to take verb (V) as the centre of a sentence and the nouns as indicating certain semantic roles. That is to say, in place of the logician's predicator and argument, the linguist requires only verb[2] and noun as basic categories both in his underlying and surface representations. The linguist's practice has empirical support in that there are no languages which do not differentiate these two basic categories, though the inflexional processes affecting these items and the status

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2. In some versions of modern syntactic theory the lexical category of adjective is taken as a subset of verb (Lyons, 1968a: 323-25; Anderson, 1969a; Lakoff, 1970) and underlying lexical categories are limited to nouns and verbs and a clear distinction is drawn between them and the grammatical categories of tense, mood, aspect, case, number and definiteness (Lyons, 1966).

of other lexical and grammatical categories may vary, considerably, from language to language. Hence it appears to be a reasonable strategy to make use of these two primitive lexical categories in studying the semantic and grammatical relations that obtain in a language; this is what I propose to do with Telugu. But before we embark upon the analysis of noun-verb relations in Telugu, it would be useful to look at some of the proposals concerning modern linguistic theory.

3.2 Grammatical functions in transformational grammars

In the pre-Chomskyan era of American linguistics the analysis of a sentence was confined to the parsing of its immediate constituents (IC analysis for short) and the sentential constituents were classified into phrases like noun phrase, verb phrase etc. Chomsky inherited this classificatory system and formalised a grammar capable of assigning phrase-structure in his transformational syntax. In the well formalized variety of his theory (Chomsky, 1965), the grammar of a language consists of three sub-components: syntactic, semantic and phonological. The syntactic component generates both the deep structure and the surface structure of sentence (hence the name generative syntax) and the meaning of the sentences is derived from deep structure via semantic interpretation rules; the phonological rules link the surface structures to phonetic representations. The syntactic component is divided into two parts: the base component and the transformational component. The base generates the deep structures and the transformations convert these into surface structures. The base itself contains the categorial rules and the lexicon.

Following traditional grammarians, Chomsky postulates three
kinds of information in the base structure: (i) categorization and
constituency, (ii) functional relations and (iii) subcategorization
rules or syntactic features (1965:64). In traditional grammars the
notions 'subject', 'object' and 'predicate' refer to surface struc-
tures. Chomsky, while adopting these notions, preposes 'deep subject'
and 'deep object' in his analysis. But instead of having these
notions in his underlying (semantic) representations, he opts for a
configurational definition. Accordingly, subject is defined as that
category (NP) which is directly dominated by the category S (sentence)
and object as that which is directly dominated by VP. The main verb
of the sentence (as opposed to Aux) is also defined in configurational
terms which undermines the central character of verb in a sentence.
Secondly, as far as arguments are concerned, Chomsky's proposals work
only with subject and object (deep or surface) but they fail to pro-
vide a configurational definition for other predicate complements like
place, time, direction and the like (for a criticism of Chomsky's
proposals see Anderson, 1976b: Ch. 1.2).

This difficulty was realised by many linguists working within the
Chomskyan framework and they proposed to eliminate the notions of
'subject' and 'object' from the underlying structures and to introduce
semantically oriented labels into the base in order to capture the
relations subsisting between the verb and various nouns in a sentence.
Fillmore was the first linguist who in a series of papers (1966,
1968a, b; 1969a, b; 1970a, b and 1971a) challenged the Chomskyan
proposals on grammatical functions and argued, convincingly, for the
introduction of the notion of 'case relation' into underlying

representations.   Independent of Fillmore, 'semantic-case' proposals
were put forward by Anderson (1968a, b, 1969a, 1971a, b, 1972, 1973a,
b, c, 1975, 1976a and b), Lyons (1968a: Ch.8) and Halliday (1967-68
and 1970), among others. The works of Anderson and Lyons are con-
ceived within the framework of transformational syntactic theory
(though they draw heavily on western traditional, 'notional', grammars
in their semantic explanations) whereas Halliday's proposals are
couched in his own systemic framework.   We shall return to a detailed
discussion of some of the case theories below.   But first we want to
clarify a terminological problem in regard to case.

3.3 The notion of case

In western grammatical theory the category of case is recognized
both as a separate inflexion of the noun and as the relation of the
noun to its 'governor', the verb (Anderson, 1976b: Ch.1.1).   As we
have seen above (Ch. 1.3) the Telugu grammars written in the European
tradition talk of various cases in Telugu, limiting their observations
sometimes to the declension of nominal bases only and sometimes pro-
viding various case labels for the form and use of the postpositions as
well.   This means that the grammarians employ the term case, some-
times to refer to the morphological variations in the noun (as is done
by Caldwell in his division of case forms into nominative and oblique)
and sometimes to include the postpositional words and the accompanying
component of meaning (as for example, Campbell's classification of
Telugu cases into nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative,
sociative, instrumental, ablative and vocative).

In a language like Telugu the distinction of cases (case endings)
and postpositions is not very clear, though one could invoke a

morphological criterion of 'independent occurrence'. On this basis
most of the postpositions in Telugu occur as separate words in the
language, whereas the case endings do not appear in isolation; they
always occur along with a nominal. A rough classification on this
basis will show that -ki/ku 'to', ni/nu 'accusative' and a/na 'in'
can safely be called case forms, whereas there is uncertainty regard-
ing loo 'in' and too 'with'. The rest of the postpositions like
ceeta 'by', nundi 'from', valana 'on account of', gurinci 'concerning'
and the like are surely postpositions and etymologically they are
derived either from a verb or from a noun. However, this contrast
between case endings and postpositions loses its weight in a study,
like this one, where interest is focussed on the semantico-syntactic
relations and morphological variations are treated as one of the
mechanisms for representing the underlying relations (further
discussion on the status of case is to be found in Lyons, 1968a:
289-304; Fillmore, 1968a: 5-21, and Anderson, 1971a: 1-11).

Unlike the European tradition, Indian grammatical theory main-
tained a systematic distinction between the grammatical (morphological)
category of case, vibhakti and the underlying functional category,
kaaraka. Pāṇini, the originator of this distinction, is alleged to
have postulated separate deep and surface levels of syntax in his
analysis of Sanskrit (Kiparsky and Staal:1969; Ananthanarayana:1970).
This interpretation of kaaraka theory within the modern framework of
generative grammar may look like a forced interpretation, but it is
to be remembered that the ancient Indian grammarians were concerned
as much with meaning as with form. In this connection the observa-
tions of traditional scholars have many insights to offer. The

kaaraka is defined as "the name given to the relation subsisting be-
tween a noun and a verb in a sentence. Thus any relation subsisting
between words not connected with the verb will not be called a
kaaraka." (Apte, 1890:17). Apte treats the kaaraka system under the
general heading of government, which is taken as 'the power which a
word has to regulate the case of a noun or pronoun'. He uses the
notion of 'verb as governor' in identifying the semantic roles of
nouns in a predication. We shall pursue this point further
(section 3.6) below.

Faddegon explicated the concept of kaaraka in commenting that,
"By kaarakas Pāṇini understands the logical or ideational relations
between a noun and a verb or more precisely between an object or
anything conceived after the analogy of an object and an action or
anything conceived after the analogy of an action" (Faddegon, 1936:18).
From these observations it can be understood that kaaraka is the
underlying semantico-syntactic relation between the noun and the verb;
and vibhakti is the case form that realises the semantic róle of the
noun.

While reviewing the Telugu traditional grammars above (Ch. 1.2),
we noticed that the Indian grammarians had a system of complex
mapping rules between kaaraka and vibhakti. To achieve this goal
they first identify and define the meaning relations into six major
semantic categories: "kartaa 'the independent'; karma 'that which
is primarily desired by the kartaa'; karaṇa 'the most effective means
(in the accomplishment of the action); sampradaana 'one whom the
kartaa has in view in the act of giving something'; apaadaana
'movement away from a fixed point'; and adhikaraṇa 'the locus of the
action'" (Ananthanarayana, 1970:16).

The _vibhaktis_ in a language (say, Telugu) are grouped into seven natural classes, which are numbered as first, second, third and so on. At this stage, each numbered class (say _tritiiya_ _vibhakti_ 'the third case') is a label referring to the entire case suffixes of the group and not to the individual morphological cases themselves, (say _ceeta_ 'by', _tooda_ 'with', _valla_ 'by, from', _dvaaraa_ 'through' in Telugu).[3] The grammarian, then, postulates rules for the mapping relations between _kaarakas_ and case-forms by referring to the natural class of the latter. There are many difficulties of detail to work with this system; but my intention has been to recall that the _kaaraka_ theory has a two-level approach comparable to the distinction of case-relation and case-form of contemporary case grammars; and also to the general notion of logical structure and grammatical structure of generative linguistics.

3.4 Fillmore's case grammar

We have seen above that the _Aspects_ theory of transformational grammar provides a configurational definition for grammatical functions such as subject and object; and these functional notions are postulated both in relation to the deep structure and surface

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3. Here one is faced with the question of criteria for the sub-grouping of case endings into the _kaaraka_ _vibhaktis_. At least from the Telugu grammars, it looks as though there are common semantic properties which are shared by these case affixes under a particular group. As my knowledge of Pāṇinian theory is limited to its reflection in Telugu works, I am not competent to comment on the Sanskrit grammarians. However, the principle under discussion provides an attractive insight into the question of correlation between semantic functions and grammatical elements.

structure.   Fillmore, and many other linguists like him, came up with

problems that cannot be satisfactorily treated in transformational

syntax.   Particularly, he pointed out that the notions 'subject of'

and 'object of', as invoked by Chomsky, indicate a conglomeration of

heterogenous concepts, as semantically there is no single unifying

deep characteristic that is common to all the instances of their

occurrence.   He proposed that 'subject' and 'object' deserve no place
                        and they
in deep structure/ought to be relegated to the superficial structure

of sentences.   To put it in other words, these functional relations

are in fact surface neutralisations of underlying semantico-syntactic

relations, which are called case relations by Fillmore.

The second major problem that Fillmore attacked relates to the

division of the sentence into its constituents.   In traditional

western logic and grammar a sentence is bipartitioned into subject

and predicate.   As this division is reflected in transformational

syntax, the predicate phrase comprises the predicator and all the NPs

except the subject NP.   In this analysis a special status is accorded

to subject;   and the non-subject NPs that realise various semantic

functions of place, time, means, direction, goal etc., are generated

under a preposition-phrase dominated by VP, which is ultimately

dominated by predicate.   Fillmore points out that it is very un-

revealing to give all importance to a particular NP (subject) and

relegate the others under the (undifferentiated) node of predicate.

He proposes to do away with the distinction of NP and preposition-

phrase in the base component and wants to treat all the NPs in a

sentence (including subject NP), as if they were preposition-phrases.

To express this 'equal status of NPs' the traditional subject-predicate

division and the related Chomskyan notations are not suitable. The modern predicate calculus of symbolic logic classifies sentence (more appropriately, proposition) into predicate and arguments. Depending on the number of arguments in a proposition the predicate is called one-place, two-place, three-place and the like. Fillmore, like generative semanticists, draws parallels between predicate and argument of logic and predicate (verb) and NPs of a grammatical sentence. In this spirit, he envisages a proposition as comprising a verb and a number of NPs each of which is associated with the verb in a particular way.

In expounding and developing his theory as a modification to the _Aspects_ type of transformational theory, Fillmore accepts the existence of a separate level of deep structure independent of semantics. It is as part of this syntactic deep structure that he postulates his noun-verb relations. But unlike early transformational grammars, the 'covert categories' are of central importance. The case relations invoked in the base are relevant to the semantic projection rules in a way that 'deep subject' is not. Unfortunately, the framework within which these ideas were presented, prevented Fillmore from expressing his 'meaning-based' notions more clearly. His enterprise is a good representative of the fact that it is difficult, and sometimes quite misleading, to maintain a strict separation of semantics and syntax in linguistic analysis.

To overcome some of these problems with the _Aspects_ theory, Fillmore approaches sentence analysis from a different point of view. The basic structure of sentence is taken as containing modality and

proposition.[4]   Modality includes sentential-scope elements such as tense, negation, aspect, mood, interrogation and the like; the proposition contains nouns and verb.   Each noun in the proposition fulfils a semantic role that it contracts with the main verb.   It is this semantic function carried out by the NPs within the proposition that is defined as a case relation.   Fillmore proposes the following phrase structure rules in the base

    (1) S ---> M(odality) + P(roposition)

    (2) P ---> V + C(ase)$_1$ + C$_2$ + C$_3$ ....

The content of rule (2) is the centre of Fillmore's theoretical proposal.   He addresses himself to the syntax and semantics of the verb and case relations as they are reflected in English.   The category of V is simple enough to accept as predicator par excellence; but the cases need further explication.   Fillmore takes the case relations to be universal, innate concepts in that they should be applicable to any natural language.   He provides the following semantic characterizations of case notions.   (Fillmore, 1968a: 24-25).

    (3) Agentive (A), the case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb.

          Instrumental (I), the case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb.

          Dative (D), the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb.

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4. Fil.. ore is not alone in formulating this sort of classification. Seuren (1969) maintains a similar distinction ('operators' and 'nucleus').

Factitive (F), the case of the object or being resulting
from the action or state identified by the verb, or under-
stood as a part of the meaning of the verb.

Locative (L), the case which identifies the location or
spatial orientation of the state or action identified by
the verb.

Objective (O), the semantically most neutral case, the case
of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action
or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic
interpretation of the verb itself; conceivably the concept
should be limited to things which are affected by the action
or state identified by the verb.

In his later writings, Fillmore adds some more case relations such
as Comitative, Time, Source, Goal, Result and Counter-agent to the above
inventory; and some of the notions defined above are given new names
or their semantic functions are redistributed among other original cases.
This aggravates the problem of evaluating Fillmore's case theory in that
it appears to lose its original appeal in failing to offer any basic
constraints on the number and nature of case relations. Many scholars
expressed their scepticism about case grammars. Having said that, one
ought to be aware of the theoretical problems involved in devising a
semantically based framework for syntactic studies. Fillmore is aware
of these problems and suggests some remedies in his recent work (1971a).
We will come back to interpret some of his problems and proposals within
a localist framework (see particularly Ch. 5, 6 and 7).

Fillmore's case relations are semantic primitives and are an
integral part of the base component. The lexicon in this grammar

marks the subclassification of verbs (predicators) with respect to 'case-frames'. In this way the cases determine the selectional re- strictions for the verb. One of the anomalies of this system is that the verb, on the one hand, is central for the assignment of roles (to nominals) on the other hand, it is dependent on the nouns for its appearance in a construction. This irregularity is rectified in a grammar where verb not only assigns case roles for nominals, but also imposes semantic constraints on the nature of co-occurring nominals. (This is generalised in verb dependency case grammars, see Anderson 1971a, b and 1972).

Though Fillmore abandoned the notions of subject and predicate of Chomskyan grammar, he could not get away from the IC-trees of phrase structure grammars. He abandoned the categorial status of VP as a sentential constituent (which is crucial for Chomsky), and accords a principal position to the verb within a proposition. But his formalism prevents him from representing this crucial distinction. He is forced to treat the verb and case (relation) as if they are co-constituents of the proposition (P). For example, the deep structure of the sentence <u>John opened the door</u>, with an agent (A) and object (O) is represented in the phrase structure tree of (4)

(4)
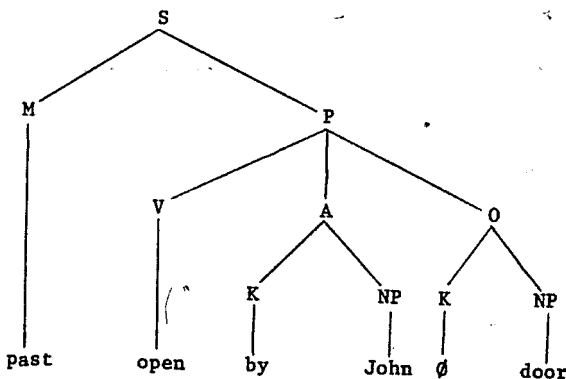
The underlying functions A and O are assigned a categorial represen-
tation and these are expanded as K(asus) + NP, where K stands for case
marker.   Fillmore claims that the underlying case relations can be
reflected through various grammatical categories such as case-forms,
pre/postpositions, verbal concord and the rest.   In such a theory
the presence of K in the deep structure indicates that there is still
confusion between constituent elements and relational elements. Some
of these problems are redressed in the case grammar framework out-
lined below (sect. 3.6).

Fillmore provides various transformational rules that convert
the deep structures (as in (4)) into surface structures. The grammar
also specifies a significant hierarchy among the cases in respect to
subjectivization.   Fillmore also attempts to show the applicability
of his case grammar to a wide variety of linguistic phenomena such as
possession, verbal concord, typology etc.... More crucial in his
theory are various constraints on the occurrence of cases, such as
the concept of one occurrence of a particular case per proposition,
i.e. no case can occur more than once in a clause.   A single NP is
associated in underlying structure with only one case relation.
There are no combinations or clusters of case relations that are
invoked by the same NP.   Conjunction is limited to instances of the
same labelled relation.   There are many problems that remain unclear
in this framework; for example, the status of equational sentences
with respect to case relations is a point at issue.

3.5 The background to localist case grammar

Fillmore, as we have shown in the above survey, gave a new
interpretation to the notion of case by postulating it as a deep

syntactico-semantic category (i.e. the case relation) within the framework of transformational generative grammar. Similar in some respects to this modern view of case - but independent and more constrained - is the theory of case as expounded and explicated in the works of Anderson (1968a, b, 1969a, b, 1971a, b, 1972, 1973a, b, c, 1976a, b), Lyons (1968a: Ch.8), Miller (1972, 1974) and others. This latter theory of grammatical functions (especially Anderson, 1971a), has come to be known as the localist theory of case. It is within this theoretical framework of localism that we intend to describe Telugu sentence structure. The reasons for selecting this particular approach as against the other contemporary linguistic (syntactic) theories such as Extended Standard Theory, Fillmore's Case Grammar and Generative Semantics, to mention only three of the well-known ones, will be made clear at various points in this work. One overwhelming reason is that the localist hypothesis offers a uniform approach to the investigation of noun-verb relations, which is lacking in other theories. As a background to my discussion of case relations in Telugu, I intend to set out the framework and some of the fundamental assumptions of the localist theory of language.

In western grammatical theory the notion of case is, as I have said above, employed in a systematically ambiguous fashion to refer both to case-form and case use (i.e. case function). Within the case functions the grammarians make a distinction between the 'concrete' or 'spatial' uses and the syntactic' or 'abstract' uses[5]. Lyons (1968a: Ch. 7.4)

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5. Similar observations are made by Bloch (1954:12-21) with regard to the formation of case suffixes in Dravidian. He divides them into two groups of 'terminations with grammatical value' and 'terminations with concrete value'. The first comprises accusative, dative and genitive; and the second locative and ablative. (see Ch. 1.3 above).

divides cases into two groups of 'local' and 'grammatical' functions
respectively.   Generally the local functions include that of the
locative, ablative and various spatial distinctions and related
semantic oppositions found in a language.   The grammatical functions
encompass uses of the nominative, accusative, dative, genitive,
comitative, instrumental and agentive.   The case-forms in a language,
however, cannot be strictly classified in this discrete fashion.   The
problem lies in the fact that one and the same case marker may mani-
fest either the local or grammatical functions.   "From antiquity
grammarians have argued about the relationship between the 'local'
and 'grammatical' functions of the category of case.   In the classical
languages, the 'local' and the 'grammatical' functions of a particular
case are often hard to distinguish; so that it is tempting to say
that one is derivable from the other, or that both are derivable from
some more general principle which is neutral with respect to the spatio-
temporal and the syntactic." (Lyons, 1968a: 301).   This problem can
be illustrated from the uses of –ki/–ku in Telugu, which manifest
various distinctions in the language.

   (1) (a)   cen̪du   goo̪da-ku   tagilindi

              ball   wall to   hit

              'The ball hit the wall'

      (b)   amma   liila-ku   ravike   iccindi

              mother   to   blouse   gave

              'Mother gave a blouse to Leela'

      (c)   naaku   tami̪lamu   telusu

              me to   Tamil   is known

              'I know Tamil'"

(d) taata-ku   draakṣa   tinaalani   undi

grandfather grapes   eat-must-   is
to   having said

'Grandfather wants to eat grapes'

(e) aa   sangati   evari-kii   ceppaku

that   news   who to ever tell-not-imparative

'Don't tell that news to anyone'

From the viewpoint of local and grammatical functions it can be said
that the (a) and (b) instances above manifest local or spatial meaning
and the rest grammatical meaning.   But the problem that is of more
theoretical interest would be to investigate the basic meaning for
various uses and to interrelate them, i.e. why should a single case
form have both concrete and syntactic uses, and why these particular
ones?

Such an attempt with respect to the 'case meaning' in the analysis
of Greek oblique forms was carried out by the Byzantine grammarian
Maximus Planudes.   He granted central importance to the directional
notions of 'Source', 'Place' and 'Goal' in designing his theory of
case and he identified these functions with the Greek case endings of
genitive, dative and accusative respectively.   "Maximus takes an
entire semantic field, namely relative location and movement, and
assigns it to the three Greek oblique cases so that in its most basic
distinctions of approaching, static position, and separation
it is exhaustively divided between them.   It is assumed that all the
other, non-spatial, meanings of the oblique forms are derivable by
metaphoric transfer from one or other of these basic distinctions."
(Robins, 1972:49).   In other words, the 13th-14th century Byzantine

grammarian proposed that the 'spatial' or 'concrete' uses of the case endings are not only to be interpreted in terms of direction and location, but also that their 'abstract' or 'grammatical' uses are to be conceived as extensions of the former. This approach of Maximus that postulates a unified meaning for each case, is generally taken as the starting point of the localist theory of case.[6]

Hjelmslev (1935:36-40) mentions that this tradition of localist theory was advanced by some 19th-century grammarians, notable among them being Wüllner, Bopp and Garnett. Their observations were concerned with the case system of Greek, Latin, German and other European languages. During the present century Hjelmslev himself found the localist hypothesis relevant to his analysis of case systems in terms of 'local' and 'syntactic' cases. However, this theory did not attract much attention from scholars and as a reaction against localism already in the 19th century an anti-localist theory of syntax was developed according to which the nominative is the case of the subject, accusative the case of the direct object, dative the case of the indirect object and genitive the adnominal case (see Miller 1974a).

With the advent of transformational generative grammar the interrelation between syntax and meaning has become the central issue of current linguistic studies. The present-day linguist is taught to analyse linguistic material with the distinction of language-independent underlying structure and language-specific superficial structure.

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6. Further accounts of the contribution of Maximus Planudes to the localist theory of case are detailed in Hjelmslev (1935:10-13), Anderson (1971a:5-7; 1973c; 1976b:Ch.2.4) and Jessen (1974: Ch.4).

Within this spirit, a small number of papers and books has appeared
which advocate a localist interpretation of language-structure. First
among these are two papers by Lyons (1967 and 1968a) on existential,
possessive and locative sentences.   Lyons proposes, on syntactic and
semantic grounds, (both synchronic and diachronic), that locative
sentences are the underlying source of the existential and possessive
constructions in a variety of languages.   He argues that there is a
natural connection between existential and deictic sentences which are
ultimately derived from locatives.   The underlying similarities
between locative and possessive sentences are summed up in the state-
ment that "the distinction between locatives and possessives is a
secondary surface structure distinction based, largely, on the dis-
tinction between animate and inanimate nouns." (Lyons 1968b:500).   The
possessive constructions are taken to be a subtype of locatives.   It
is hinted that this hypothesis can be extended to the indirect object
(dative) also in that the dative case and the case of 'motion towards'
have striking similarities.   Lyons' hypotheses amount to saying that
the 'non-spatial' constructions (possessive and dative) are basically
a metaphorical extension of the spatial (locative) constructions, which
is the fundamental assumption of localism.   The grammar of locative,
existential and possessive sentences in Malayalam is described in
Asher (1968), wherein for the first time the Dravidian evidence is
discussed in detail and it supports the theoretical lines suggested
above.   The relationship between these sentences in Swahili is inves-
tigated in Christie (1970).   I will be addressing myself to some of these
problems in Telugu in the immediately succeeding chapters (4 and 5).

The first detailed statement on the localist theory of case is that
of Anderson (1971a), which is a revival and reformulation of the notion

of case-meaning within a framework of transformational generative
grammar. The fundamental assumption in this book is that the various
grammatical functions of nouns in a clause are ultimately derived from
the two primitive 'local' notions of location and direction. The so-
called 'syntactic' or 'abstract' functions are nothing but an extension
of the basic notions. Anderson explicates this hypothesis by providing
syntactic and semantic evidence from English and other languages. He
argues that the underlying case relations can be kept to a minimum
number of four and these are constructed on the primitive notions of
place and source. We will come back to this criterion and related
principles, in connection with localist syntax.

Anderson extends this hypothesis to other areas of grammar such
as tense and aspect (1973a) conjunction (1973c) quantifiers (1973d,
1974b) word order (1976a) and a host of other areas of linguistic
theory. However, in my present work, I will focus my attention on
case relations in Telugu, though I will point out the relevance of
this theory to other dimensions of Telugu grammar (see Chapter 9). The
application of localist theory to the case system of other languages
can be found in such works as Kilby (1972), and Miller (1974b) on
Russian, Brown (1972) on Twi, a West African language, and a large
number of other works listed in Anderson (1976b). A thorough
investigation of selected topics from Russian syntax by Miller (1970a, b;
1972a, b; 1973a, b; 1974a, b) has significantly advanced and enriched
the localist hypothesis. His proposals on aspect, tense, mood, case,
stativity, and verb-dependency will be discussed at several places in
this work. Jessen (1973 and 1974) has extended the localist hypothesis
to formulate a 'theory of journey' whereby temporal and aspectual dis-
tinctions are interpreted as journeys into non-spatial 'worlds',

similar to concrete journeys.

Thorne (1972) puts forward a localist theory of the definite article from a semantic point of view. He argues that definite noun phrases like the man should be derived from underlying structures containing a deictic sentence as a relative clause attached to the noun; i.e. from man who is there. The relevant transformations of adjective-fronting and deletion will derive the man. This derivation is extended to the use of definite article in discourse as well. Thorne proposes that the in anaphoric situations also should be derived from the spatial meaning of which is there. He observes: "The claim that it is characteristic of natural languages that expressions for spatial relationships should acquire extended use as expressions of more abstract relationships forms the basis of the so-called 'localist' theory of case. So that these remarks could perhaps be construed as the basis for a localist theory of one definite article." (1972:564). Thorne extends his hypothesis further to demonstrate the underlying similarity between the deictic adverbs there and here on the one hand and the time adverbs of then and now, in that both the sets originate from the speaker's relation to location.

Another related contribution to generative localism comes from Lyons' hypothesis that deictic adverbs form the source for the act of reference in language (Lyons, 1975). He concerns himself with the problems of reference in philosophy and linguistics. The formation of 'demonstrative pronouns' is derived semantically as a combination of locative information of proximate and distal plus the descriptive information of person, number, sex and animacy. Though the latter is language-specific, it is the locative information that forms the basis

of deictic distinctions that are claimed to be the source of reference.

Thus we have seen that the basic assumptions of localism spring from some Byzantine grammars of Greek. This hypothesis has been recently revived and extended to various dimensions of linguistic structure within the context of modern generative grammars. At first sight the ideas of localism appear to be purely 'notionalistic', but presently we will explore the formalism within which these semantically oriented interpretations can be given proper expression thereby enabling the theory to be more amenable for syntactic description. The reason for calling this approach generative localism is that the basis of linguistic descriptions is attributed to the meaning of language-structure which is taken as basically deriving from the notions of place and movement. As Miller (1974a:244) puts it "The basic assumption is that human beings perceive and think of all phenomena in the external world in terms of objects being located in a place or moving from one place to another. This location and direction can be "concrete" or "abstract". It is further assumed that the semantic structures postulated by linguists should reflect directly this view of reality." Support for such a perceptual strategy is available even from the studies of child language acquisition reported in Clark (1973).

3.6 Localist syntax: an outline

Since the publication of Chomsky's Aspects (1965), syntactic theory even within the transformational generative model has taken different directions. Chomsky himself has revised his views calling his latest positions 'lexicalist', or Extended Standard theory. The controversy between Chomsky and the generative semanticists such as

Lakoff, McCawley, Ross and Postal centres around the questions of syntactic deep structure, semantic rules and lexical insertion in the base, among other differences. For Chomsky, syntax is central and it specifies both a deep and a surface structure, and semantics is strictly interpretative. The generative semanticists deny the existence of a separate (syntactic) deep structure independent of semantic structure and so there is no question of semantic projection rules. For them semantics is all-important for syntactic descriptions, hence the name generative semantics. Fillmore's case grammar was cast within the Chomskyan deep syntactic framework and his case relations were conceived as primitives within the base component of the grammar.

The localist case grammar as expounded by Anderson is much closer to the generative semanticists' concept of a theory of grammar. In this framework there is no separate level of syntactic deep structure in the base and hence there is no question of a separate set of semantic projection rules independent of syntactic rules. In other words, instead of semantic rules and transformational rules of Chomsky, there is a single system of rules which converts semantic representations into surface syntactic structures. Meaning is central in matters of well-formedness. The notional concepts of Place and Source (or location and direction) are taken as the principal criteria to invoke the case relations in the underlying structures of the grammar and hence the name generative localism. In this view of grammatical theory, the underlying predicate-noun functions (' '. case relations) are all-important in formulating a syntactic theory. It is claimed that the semantic information is given its proper place

through the introduction of case roles in syntactic descriptions. The generative basis of the grammar is claimed to spring from the introduction of 'local' functions into the structure of language. The various 'non-local' functions are interpreted as an extension of or an abstract variant of the 'local' functions.

.   We have so far mentioned four major syntactic theories that are currently advanced and constantly revised and modified by the adherents of each model.   From a syntactic point of view the first two approaches, namely, Extended Standard theory and generative semantics are rightly called Autonomous Syntax and Semantic Syntax respectively (see Seuren, 1972; for further elucidation of this controversy).   In a similar spirit, one might call the case grammars advocated by Fillmore and Anderson Deep Case Syntax and Localist Case Syntax (or simply, Localist Syntax) respectively.   The reasons for this renaming should be obvious (at least with respect to Fillmore) from the preceding sections; and I will attempt to outline the basic principles and organisation of grammar in localist syntax in the remainder of this chapter.   As we pointed out above, there are many similarities in theoretical assumptions between semantic syntax and localist syntax, though there are crucial differences of detail in matters of the organisation of grammar and in the areas of focus within linguistic theory.

    In many current syntactic descriptions, the sentence is generally taken as consisting of a proposition and an extra-proposition.   It is divided into proposition and modality by Fillmore (1968a), nucleus and operator in Seuren (1969), and similar proposals are implicit in the works of Anderson, Bach (1968), McCawley and others.   In this respect there seems to be a fair amount of agreement between linguists

and the logicians of predicate calculus. The proposition consists
of the basic lexical categories of predicators and nominals or
function and argument in the logician's terminology. Under the
operator or modality content of the sentence such scope-bearing
elements as negation, quantification, conjunction, modality, time,
etc., are discussed. These notions have their relevance to the
entire simple sentence (i.e. proposition) rather than to noun or verb
only. As I am interested in the primitive semantic relations between
nouns and verbs (i.e. predicate-argument functions), I will be con-
fining my analyses to the structure of the basic proposition; and
only indirectly look at some of the modality contents where relevant.

Following the proposals of McCawley (1971a, 1971c and 1973) and
Anderson (1971a, 1976b), a grammar of a language can be taken as con-
sisting of semantic structure, transformational rules, surface
syntactic structure and phonological rules. Phonological rules
specify what surface structures correspond to what phonetic represen-
tations and I will not be concerned with this aspect of the structure
in my grammar. In this theory of language-structure, there is no
place for a separate deep syntactic structure as envisaged by Chomsky.
The concepts of the human mind (the precise nature of which is not
clear to anyone) are supposed to be reflected in 'meaning' in natural
languages. The semantic representations postulated by linguists
should be able to reflect these concepts. Semantic structures are
universal in that their applicability is not limited to a particular
language. Transformations are viewed as a set of constraints with
respect to the mapping of semantic representations on to surface
syntactic structures. It is precisely with this area of grammar –

namely semantico-syntactic structures and transformational rules –
that we will be concerned throughout this work.   Many linguists have
pointed out that the boundary between semantics and syntax is an
artificial one.   Another problem that is constantly argued about is
what should be an appropriate formal representation of semantic struc-
tures.   In this matter too I follow McCawley's proposal that the
semantic representations should be of the same formal nature as
syntactic representations;   though his constituency-trees will be
replaced by dependency-trees as proposed by Anderson.

In the following discussion, then, a sentence is viewed as con-
sisting a basic proposition and modality component.   The proposition
is equivalent to a simple declarative tenseless clause composed of
two basic categories of nouns and verb.   Each noun expresses a
particular functional relation with the state or process denoted by
the verb or predicator.   This functional relation is called the case
relation, which is a primitive notion in the semantico-syntactic
structure.   These remarks can, informally, be represented as follows

   (1)   (a)   S ---> Proposition + Modality

         (b)   Proposition ---> Verb + Noun + Noun ....

The semantic component requires two types of rules, namely,
subcategorization rules and constituency rules.   The subcategorization
rules are introduced as constraints on the predicate, i.e. verb.
These are features on the verb, which also introduce the case relations
into the grammar.   The constituency rules are the phrase-structure
rules of the type Prop ---> N + V that specify the immediate consti-
tuents of a clause.   We have noticed above (section 3.4) that
Fillmore's formal representations were inadequate as he was following

the notation of IC-trees to formalise his case relations. This

problem can be solved by adopting a dependency notation as suggested

by Robinson (1970a) and particularly the verb-dependency notations as

proposed by Anderson (1971a, b, etc..; see Miller, 1972b and 1974a).

In case grammars of all persuasions the category of verb (or

predicate) is viewed as the pivot of the simple sentence. The

nominals in the clause play a particular semantic role assigned to

them by the verb. Even in traditional grammars the verb is described as

'an indispensable element' (Benveniste, 1966:133) and the ancient

Indian grammarians emphatically asserted that there is no sentence

which lacks a finite verb (Matilal, 1966 and Săvulescu, 1975). Even

in modern structural linguistics reference to the notion of 'head of

a phrase' in Bloomfield's theory indicates that constituents were

viewed in terms of 'heads' and 'modifiers'. This notion does not

find its natural expression in the subject-predicate grammars of

Chomsky. From a semantic angle, Chafe gives a central place to verb

and he even claims that the verb is the characteristic element of

the sentence (1970:96-98). The centrality of the verb is realised

by the generative semanticists as well, though their adherence to

the IC-trees forces them to treat verbs as co-constituents of NPs.

A grammar committed to the all pervading importance of functional

relations finds a more natural expression in a verb-dependency

formalism. It is implicit in case grammar that the case relations are

generated by the predicate or verb, which is the 'governor' of its

'dependents', the nouns. There is a natural hierarchy in dependency -

verb 'governs' or 'creates' the case relations (i.e. semantic roles

like absolutive, ergative, locative and ablative) and they in turn

govern[7] their respective nouns. In this way, the categories are
hierarchized with respect to dependency and the notion of case rela-
tion, as a label for the semantic role that a particular NP fulfils
in the proposition, is given a formal definition too.   The direc-
tionality of the dependency-hierarchy (i.e. government) can be
represented as in (2)

(2)   Verb

         |
         ↓

         Case relation

         |
         ↓

         Noun phrase
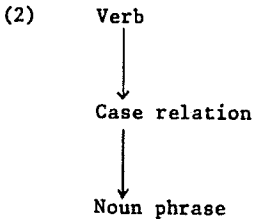
The verb-dependency grammar can be invoked fruitfully with
respect to the basic lexical categories of verb and noun; and the
notion of functional label (case relation) obtains its natural
definition in a dependency formalism.   There is no VP constituent
embracing all the NPs other than the subject NP as in the autonomous
syntax; nor the syntactic labels of subject and object.   The
grammatical relations are represented as label relations holding
between two fundamental categories of the proposition. One obvious
question that arises at this point is whether this reduction of basic
categories to N, V and functional label has an empirical validity
with respect to Telugu and other Dravidian languages.   What about
other categories such as adjectives, adverbials and the rest?   I will
take up some of these problems with respect to Telugu in the succeed-

---

7.   The notion of government as opposed to concord is clarified in
      Lyons (1968a:241) where he talks of principal and dependent
      members of a syntactic construction.   Moreover, this distinction
      as he explains, is a traditional one implicit in the study of
      construction-types.

ing discussion (particularly Chapter 5 and 6). However, it is to be pointed out that in limiting the categories to a finite number, Anderson is accepting the view that adjectives can be subsumed under verbs as advocated by Lakoff, Postal, Lyons and other linguists.

At this stage, a comparison of the dependency notations with the familiar IC-tree notations may be helpful if we go on to replace the constituency rules of other generative grammars by the dependency rules below. I will illustrate it with a Telugu construction. In the Aspects theory, where S is always rewritten as NP and VP (or Pred Phrase), the VP dominates from null to any number of NPs; the following IC-tree representation is quite familiar.[8]

(3)
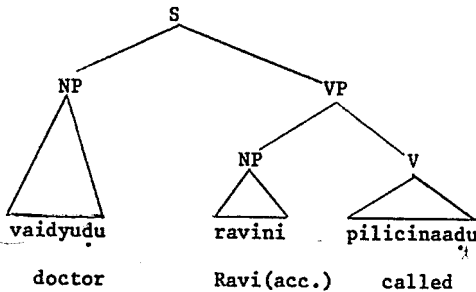
'The doctor called Ravi'

As we have seen before (section 3.2) Chomsky prefers configurational definition of grammatical functions and argues that it is redundant to indicate them in the base representations. The notion of VP as an underlying category was found untenable both by Fillmore and by the generative semanticists. The latter preferred to eliminate VP as a dominating category and to treat V as a co-constituent of all

---

8. In these illustrations the content of modality (or auxiliary or operator) is ignored and the finite verb is represented under the V. This does not affect the point at issue, namely, the basic nomino-verbal relations.

the NPs (consonant with their commitment to the logical notation of functors and indices). They claimed the following type of represen-tation to be more natural; which also can be interpreted as 'no NP is more intimately related to V than the other'.

(4)

```
                        S
            NP₁     NP₂      V
           /\      /\         \
          /__\    /__\         \
        vaidyudu  ravini   pilicinaadu

         doctor    Ravi       called
```
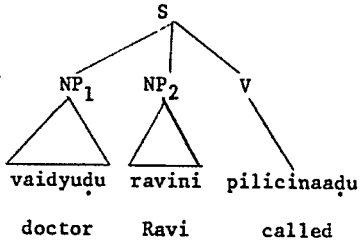
The generative semanticist's argument is that this sort of represen-tation is more easily amenable to the operation of transformational rules like passive, quantifier-lowering and the rest. They accord no syntactic role for VP.

Fillmore, being dissatisfied with the Chomskyan configurational analysis of grammatical relations, introduced the semantic notions of case relations into the base and assigned semantic (categorial) labels to each 'actant'. But as he was still following the IC-tree nota-tions, he was forced to adopt the following formalism.

(5)

```
                S
                 \
                  P
           agentive  objective   V
            /\        /\          |
           /  \      /  \         |
          NP   K    NP   K        |
          |    |    |    |        |
        vaidyudu Ø  ravi  ni   pilicinaadu

         doctor      Ravi         called
```
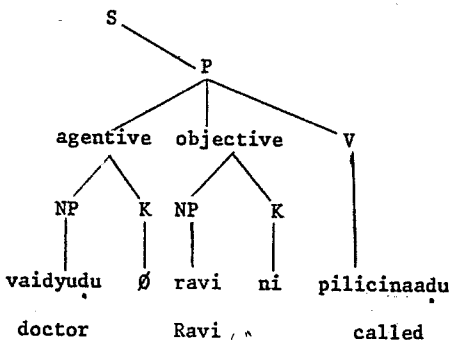
He expressed his dissatisfaction with the unrevealing character of this formalism in respect of the central pursuit of case grammars. "Notational difficulties make it impossible to introduce 'case' as a true primitive as long as the phrase-structure model determines the form of the base rules." (1968a: 3, footnote 2). Fillmore needed a mechanism to show that all the NPs are complements of V and are dependent on it. This underlying assumption is made more explicit in the verb-dependency grammars as explicated by Anderson in his localist case grammar. He goes even further in proposing that the proposition (sometimes called clause) should be replaced by the unique category V to show its relational character as the 'head of a con-struction'. In other words, the representation in (5) is claimed to gain a more natural expression in the formalism of (6)

(6)


```
                          V
              erg       abs
          N    ¦    N    ¦
          ¦    ¦    ¦    ¦
       vaidyudu  Ø  ravi  ni      pilicinaadu
        doctor       Ravi          called
```
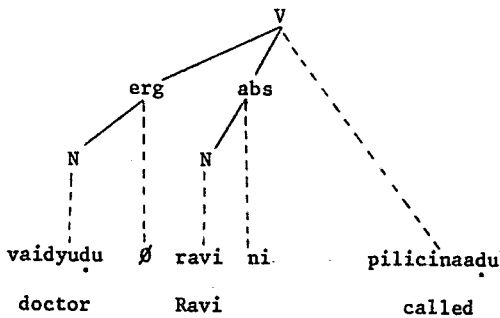
(erg = ergative; abs = absolutive; we will come back to comment on these labels. Erg and abs can be taken at this stage as equivalents of Agentive and Objective in Fillmore).

The dependency structure in (6) assigns proper tree-representa-tions to propositions. The unique node V is the <u>governor</u> and the erg and abs are <u>dependents</u>. The cases in turn govern the nouns that are dependent on them. V is the head of the construction and the

cases are invoked as its modifiers. In the tree-notations the solid (or continuous) lines indicate the path of government, subordination being from V to N through the cases. The discontinuous (or broken) lines attach lexical items to lexical categories. They perform the function of category-assignment in mapping the categories on to the lexical items (see further Lyons, 1968a:161 and Anderson, 1971a:27-31 and 1976b:2.2). In short, in this notation the entire gamut of case relations is invoked and represented with the help of two fundamental categories of V and N.

It is also to be noticed that there is no rewriting of the case- label into K(asus) + NP as in Fillmore. The surface case-forms are, rather assigned directly to the case labels through category-assign- ment rules. Though only N is represented in the tree diagrams the notion of NP is still retained. But this time with the understanding that the N is the characteristic element of the NP. We will attempt to clarify various other notational problems as we encounter them in the particular areas of grammar. But it is to be emphasized at this stage that - "Within the dependency framework outlined here, verbs (or predicators) and nouns are basic with regard to different aspects of the semantic representation. Verbs are central relationally: they govern the case functions contracted by nouns. Nouns are primary referentially; they terminate (non-recursive) dependency trees." (Anderson, 1971a:31).

One of the questions repeatedly raised/against Fillmore's case grammar is whether there is any compelling motivation for limiting the number of cases to a particular finite number. Fillmore himself is very inconsistent in this respect both with regard to the number of

primitive notions and the basic criterion or criteria on which these semantic labels are invoked. This seemingly unsurmountable problem is given a natural explanation in the localist conception of case relations as expounded by Anderson. He proposes that the inventory of case relations can be limited to four on the basic conceptual criterion of location and direction. "Underlying grammatical functions are in general organised basically in terms of oppositions involving location and direction. Semantic representations are constructed out of predications that are locational or directional or non-locative non-directional, and in particular many 'abstract' functions involve location or direction. That is, functions like 'agentive' or 'dative', as well as 'ablative' and 'locative', can be characterized semantically with respect to such notions; spatial location and direction represent only the most concrete manifestation of such." (Anderson, 1973a:10-11).

The basic principle involved in this hypothesis is that human beings perceive the 'reality' of the world (physical and conceptual) in terms of 'entities' being located at a place and moving from or to another place. Even this dichotomy of location and movement is ultimately devised on a single notion of location (or place) and its polarity, namely, direction (or source). In other words, the directional component needs minimally to specify a place and a source. These latter two concepts form the basis for the introduction of 'ablative' and 'locative' into the groundwork of grammatical functions. This basic 'local' criterion is, then, extended to the realm of human actions as well, wherein an 'agent' is conceived as the source of the action. This notion of agency correlates with the grammatical

function of 'ergative' in transitivity clauses.   There is an entity
present in every proposition expressing the semantic object that
undergoes the movement in any of the above primitive notions, which
receives the label of 'absolutive'.   It is a case relation found in
every proposition and in this sense can be taken as a neutral role.

These informal remarks on invoking the case relations on the
semantic dimensions of place and source can be represented as in (7)

(7)

Case	abs	loc	erg	abl
PLACE	No	Yes	No	Yes
SOURCE	No	No	Yes	Yes

A close reading of this table indicates some of the theoretical claims
made by the localists.   First of all the entire phenomenon of noun-
verb relations can be studied with the help of only four basic meaning-
relations.   And these four divide into semantically natural sub-
groups on the basis of their common properties in sharing the basic
notions of place and source.   Observe the following features of each
case relation.

(8)   abs = $\begin{bmatrix} \text{case} \end{bmatrix}$,   loc = $\begin{bmatrix} \text{case} \\ \text{place} \end{bmatrix}$,   erg = $\begin{bmatrix} \text{case} \\ \text{source} \end{bmatrix}$,
        abl = $\begin{bmatrix} \text{case} \\ \text{place} \\ \text{source} \end{bmatrix}$

That is, loc and abl are grouped together as place relations and erg
and abl are sources, respectively source of an action and source of a
spatial movement.   Abs and loc are non-sources and they are goals
only in the presence of erg and abl respectively, as the goal of the
action and the spatial goal.   Abl shares the property of place with
loc and source with erg.   This theory claims that the other putative

case relations such as dative, instrumental, factitive, paths, comi-
tative and the like represent either (i) a contextually determined
variant of the four basic case-relations or (ii) combinations of some
of the four or (iii) combinations of a case-relation with other
elements of substructure in the grammar. We will come back to a
further discussion of this principle with regard to the Telugu
materials at several places in this work.

The principle of verb as the central element of a proposition
is, further, utilised for the introduction of the case relations into
the structure of grammar. In the localist theory (Anderson, 1976b:
Ch.2) the cases are invoked by the use of feature notation, i.e.
predicates (V) are simply subcategorized lexically in terms of loc,
abl, abs and erg. For Fillmore's case-frames the roles of nouns are
primary, and verbs (predicates) are classified on the basis of cases.
In the localist framework the case relations are introduced in accor-
dance with the subcategorization of the predicate and not vice versa.

$$(9) \qquad V \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} loc \\ abl \\ erg \\ abs \end{bmatrix}$$

Verb may or may not be further subcategorized as each of the loc, abl,
erg and abs. This allows for all the possible predicate types in a
language, each type associated with a different set of case features
selected from the following dependency structures:

$$(10) \qquad \begin{array}{lll} \text{(i)} & V & \longrightarrow & abs \\ \text{(ii)} & loc & \longrightarrow & loc \\ \text{(iii)} & abl & \longrightarrow & abl \\ \text{(iv)} & erg & \longrightarrow & \begin{bmatrix} erg \; / & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [abl] \\ [loc] \\ [abs] \end{array} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

The array of case relations is specified in this formulation of the
dependency rules.   The rules in (10) are strictly ordered.   Rule (i),
then, specifies that every predicate takes an absolutive argument.
An important claim of the localist theory, namely, every proposition
must contain at least one abs, is invoked in this formalism.
Absolutive is the only obligatory case in each clause in that the
others may be absent from any particular clause.   This is why abs is
directly introduced by a dependency rule on the V, whereas the others
are introduced with a prior selection of a particular predicate type.
In other words, abs is universally present in each and every proposi-
tion.   This claim of the localists is closely connected with the
related innovation of allowing multiple case relations for a particular
argument.   And secondly, as/Fillmore's "one-instance-per-clause
principle", more than one instance of the same case relation within a
proposition is postulated.   These two principles, in fact, solve
some major problems of case grammar and answer the scepticism expressed
against case grammars (see particularly Anderson 1976b: Ch.1, for a
detailed discussion of these theoretical claims).   Instead of pro-
longing the discussion at this stage, I propose to take up these
problems as they appear in my succeeding analyses of Telugu.

Rule (ii) and (iii) in (10) state that every locative predicate
takes a loc argument and every ablative (directional) predicate takes
an abl argument.   Rule (iv) is somewhat complicated.   It is to be
interpreted as ind cating that every ergative (agentive) predicate
takes an erg argum t provided the clause also contains at least one
of the other three case relations.   The notion of erg is a complex
one and this complexity is further increased in a grammar where the

combination of more than one case relation is allowed for a single
argument.   Rule (iv) is intentionally simplified at this stage for
the purposes of exposition and integration of the theoretical points.

In the following analysis of Telugu verbs, the lexical entries
for verbs or 'case-frames' are not presented separately.   This is
to avoid the repetition of the information already given in connection
with each verb, i.e. the subclassification of verb is implicitly
present in the case arrays found with each predication type.   In the
analysis of case relations of Telugu that follows, then, I will be
talking in terms of the localist framework as outlined in this section
and as detailed in the writings of Anderson.   The emphasis of my
investigation will be on a syntactic description of Telugu within the
semantically based localist theory of case.

Chapter 4

SPATIAL   LOCATIVE

4.1   Introductory

Localist case grammar, as outlined in the preceding chapter, en-
visages limiting the underlying case relations to a minimum number of
four, namely - absolutive, locative, ergative and ablative. In terms
of the traditional dichotomy of 'local' and 'grammatical' functions,
loc and abl can be called 'local' and abs and erg 'grammatical'.   The
case relations loc and abl share the common semantic property of being
Place relations, and they are opposed to and differentiated from each
other on the scale of Directionality in that loc is a non-directional
and abl a directional relation.   In this chapter I propose to describe
some of the syntactic and semantic properties of the spatial-locative
expressions of Telugu.   In other words, the non-directional, static
or 'concrete' uses within the locational predications will be our main
concern.   The non-spatial or 'abstract' uses will be explored in the
following chapter, mainly to bring home the underlying uniformity of
grammatical and semantic characteristics between the 'concrete' and
'abstract' functions of loc.   In this way, we shall be able to
explain some of the basic principles of localism wherein the abstract
functions in language are claimed to be an extension of the concrete
functions.

In localist analysis the case relation abs is claimed to be
necessarily present in every clause and in this sense it is a neutral
(not a neutralized) category.   The interaction of abs and loc and the
resulting syntactic reflexes in Telugu will occupy our attention in

this chapter.   Some major aspects of the syntactic and semantic
correlates of abs when it occurs along with loc and abl
will be analysed under directional predications (in Chapter 7) where-
in loc is realised as 'allative'.   Out of the three 'local' opposi-
tions of source, place and goal, I propose to take up, first of all,
the notion of <u>place at</u>.   In localist analyses the semantic oppositions
of place and goal are grouped together under the label of loc, and the
source is postulated as a distinct case relation of abl (cf. Anderson
1971a:Ch.11 and 1976b:Ch.2).   We will investigate the validity of
this principle and adduce evidence from Telugu at several places in
this work (particularly in Chapters 5 and 7).   But first of all
let us take a close look at the case relation loc along with abs as
they are manifested in Telugu sentences.

In its most concrete uses, the case-form locative relates an
object with a place by indicating the location of the object with
respect to the place.   The simple locative specification can be
illustrated by examples like

(1) paḍava   gaṭṭu-na   undi

boat   bank at   is

'The boat is at the bank'

(2) piṭṭalu   komma-na   uṇḍaayi

birds   branch at/on are

'The birds are at/on the branch'

where the physical (spatial) location of the 'objects' boat and birds
is indicated as being at the bank and branch respectively.   More
complex relations between object and place are introduced depending on
the nature of the object and place represented in the nominals.   For

example, with two-dimensional and three-dimensional objects, the
locative relations tend to indicate the finer locational distinctions
imposed by the internal structure of the 'physical universe' as in

    (3) (a) banti   pette-kinda-(na)   undi

              ball   box   underneath at   is

              'The ball is under the box'

        (b) koodi   inti-pay-na   undi

              fowl   house top at   is

              'The fowl is on top of the house'

        (c) pilli   panča-pakka-na   undi

              cat   verandah side at   is

              'The cat is at the side of/near the verandah'

which clearly show the physical location of the entities like ball,
fowl and cat with respect to the 'secondary distinctions' of top,
bottom, side, etc. of box, house and verandah.

In these sentences there is a locative phrase indicating the
spatial location of the object expressed in abs. Depending on the
semantic classification of the noun appearing in the locative phrase,
the choice of a particular case ending either simple, like na 'at' or
complex, like pakka-na 'at the side of' is made in the grammar. The
predicate or verb undu 'to be' assigns the case role of loc to one of
the nouns in its complemental structure. The case relation of abs is
obligatory in each and every predicate and it is selected directly from
the dependency structure of predicate. The rules required for predica-
tions like (1) to (3) can be represented as in (4)

    (4) (i)   V --->   abs

         (ii) loc ---> loc// $\left(\overset{\frown}{-}\right.$ V

which is interpreted as: every clause takes an abs argument; and
every locative predicate selects a loc argument, and it appears
before the verb.   The underlying structure of (1), for example, can
be represented as in (5).

(5)
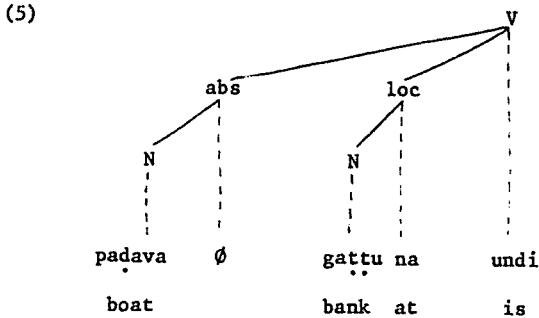
The tree diagram indicates that the locative predicate undu governs
two case relations in its array of cases.   The lexical assignment rules,
as represented by the broken lines, show that the abs in Telugu is not
morphologically realised in any case marker and the loc is reflected in
na.   The transformational rule of subject selection chooses abs as
the subject and the verbal concord automatically reflects the subject
agreement features on the verb, as in -di.   At this stage the
discussion is kept to an elementary level for the convenience of exposi-
tion of Telugu materials within a localist framework.   Before
proceeding into any further description of locative phrases, it is
essential to keep track of a crucial syntactic distinction with
respect to locative phrase in general.

4.2 Sentence-adjunct and predicative complement

While discussing contemporary syntactic theory, we noticed
(cf. Chapter 3.1) that many linguists tend to divide the sentential
elements into a two-fold division of nuclear and extranuclear

constituents. The former is taken as the proposition, consisting of nominals and predicate and the latter as representing various semantic and syntactic functions of place, purpose, time, condition, negation, mood and the like. The enumeration of sentence patterns in Telugu (cf. Chapter 2.3) was also based on these proposals, and was limited to the constituents of the proposition, as these are crucial for a study of case roles. This distinction gets blurred with respect to locative phrase in Telugu, because of the fact that at times it is uncertain whether the locative is a constituent of the nucleus or a member of the extranuclear elements. Following the proposals of Lyons, however, these two uses of the locative phrase will be called predicative complement and sentence-adjunct respectively. As he points out, "The difference between an adjunct and a complement is, in principle, quite clear: the former is an optional (extranuclear) constituent, and the latter an obligatory (nuclear) constituent of the sentence" (Lyons, 1968a: 345). Lyons draws this distinction within a 'subject-object grammar' of the Standard Theory type, where a sentence is always analysed as consisting of subject and predicate, and predicative complement refers to the obligatory nominals other than the subject noun that are required by the 'main verb'. The theory of case grammar, on the other hand, treats all the obligatory nouns in a clause (including the so-called deep subject) as complements of the verb in assigning the underlying semantic roles (i.e. case labels) to each of them. In this context, then, the notion predicative complement needs to be reinterpreted as referring to the obligatory participant case roles that are governed by the verb within the propositional content. Sentence-adjuncts, as

explained by Lyons, can be reinterpreted as referring to the optional circumstantial roles that bear the extrapropositional content.[1]

In a localist account of Telugu sentences the basic case relations are postulated only with respect to the participant roles. The elementary outline, in (4) and (5), of the locative construction as consisting of abs and loc, shows that the locative is a complement not an adjunct. But the facts of Telugu sometimes go against this hypothesis in that even a locative phrase, as in (1) above, can be detached from a clause without leaving an ungrammatical string.

(6) padava   undi

      boat   is/exists

    * 'Boat is'

This new sentence (6) can be taken in two quite different ways. With no overt manifestation of loc it may either be interpreted as saying a 'universal existential truth' that "as for boats, they do exist" or be taken as an elliptical variant of (1), making a proper answer to a question like

(7) gattu-na   eem   undi?

      bank at   what   is

      'What is at the bank?'

The first of these interpretations will be taken up again with respect to the status of existential sentences in Telugu.   The second interpretation, being elliptically determined, can be treated as a contextual variant of the clause with an obligatory locative phrase.

---

1. Compare the division of semantic functions of nominals into participant and circumstantial by Halliday (1970). Anderson (1976b: Chapter 2) also invokes this dichotomy in deciding whether a particular semantic function is to be regarded as a primitive case relation or a derived one.

The distinction between locative complement and locative-adjunct can be more clearly observed in such examples as the following:

    (8) (a)   caakali   battalu   petțe-loo   uncinaadu

              washerman   clothes   box   in   put

              'The washerman put the clothes in the/a box'

        (b)   caakali   battalu   eeti-loo   utikinaadu

              washerman   clothes   stream in   washed

              'The washerman washed the clothes in the stream'

The verb <u>uncu</u> in (8)(a) obligatorily requires the locative comple-ment <u>petțe-loo</u> to express the 'propositional meaning' of the sentence. Even here the locative phrase may optionally be detached in Telugu, but only within an elliptical context, otherwise the deletion is blocked. Since ellipsis is not the main province of any fuller syntactic description, we claim that the locative phrase in such sentences is an obligatory constituent of the construction. Morphologically, the locative verb <u>uncu</u> (to put' is related to the existential <u>uṇḍu</u> 'to be (at a place)'. The former is the dynamic, non-stative variant of the static or stative <u>uṇḍu</u>[2]. In (8)(b) the verb <u>utuku</u> 'to wash' does not require the locative phrase, <u>eeti-loo</u> to 'complete' its meaning. The locative phrase can be detached without any change in the propositional meaning of the construction. This clearly indicates locative as a category of sentence-adjunct.

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2.   The transitivity (or causative) relation between these two lexical items is transparent: <u>uṇḍu</u> is a stative-locative verb and <u>uncu</u> an agentive (or ergative) verb.

      (i)   kurrooḍu   totti-loo   uṇḍaaḍu

           boy   cradle in   is

           'The boy is in the cradle'

     (ii)   amma   kurroon-ṇi   totti-loo   uncindi

           mother   boy - acc   cradle in   put

           'Mother put the baby in the cradle'

The evidence of Telugu as regards the syntactic complement and
adjunct is not conclusive with respect to the locative phrases. It
suffices to bear in mind that in this study we are concerned with the
locative complement and not with the various uses of locational
adjuncts.   The distinction of temporal complements and adjuncts is
much less clear than the spatial locatives in Telugu.

In a traditional analysis, time adjuncts and temporal
complements are generally treated under the label of time adverbials.
A localist grammarian would treat the temporal expressions as a
sub-class of locatives (see Anderson 1973a: Chapter 3 and Jessen
1973).   The question of temporal expressions is further complicated
in Telugu by the fact that many sentences with temporal complements
lack an overt verb (see Chapter 2.3.8 above).   Witness the following
'nonverbal' constructions:

(9) (a) aagaṣṭu   padahaydu-na   svatantradinootsavam

          august   fifteenth at/on   independence day
                                          celebrations

          'The independence celebrations (are held) on the
          15th of August'

     (b) peṇḍli   ellunḍi-ki

          marriage   day after to

          'The marriage (is/will be) day after tomorrow'

     (c) ennikalu   eppuḍu?

          elections   when

          'When (do the) elections (take place)?'

If these sentences are 'verbless', it is rather contradictory to talk
in terms of predicative temporal complements. A native speaker of
Telugu will supply one of three verbs undu 'to be', jarugu 'to take

place', or <u>agu</u> 'to occur, to happen' to the above sentences.   These
verbs are present even in surface structure in the negative, relative
and conditional constructions.   In other words, it can be assumed
that the underlying structure of these sentences contains a locative
verb that governs a loc relation.   The underlying loc, in general,
may be realised either as a spatial or a temporal relation depending
on the lexical content of the noun or NP that is contained in the
locative phrase (a comparison of (1) with the sentences in (9) will
make this point clear).   The localist theory claims that both the
spatial and temporal relations are derivable from the same underlying
structure.

Postponing the substantiation of this theoretical claim for the
moment, it can still be maintained that the construction-types found
in (9) contain a lexical verb in their underlying structure.   The
absence of this verb is effected through the operation of an optional
verb-deletion transformation, that is prevalent with many other
structures such as possessive, equative, attributive and existential
sentences.   In the light of this understanding, the underlying
structure of (9)(b), for example, can be given a schematic represen-
tation as in (10).

(10)

			V
	abs	loc	
	N	N	
pendli	∅	ellundi	ki	jarugutundi
marriage		day after	to	will take place
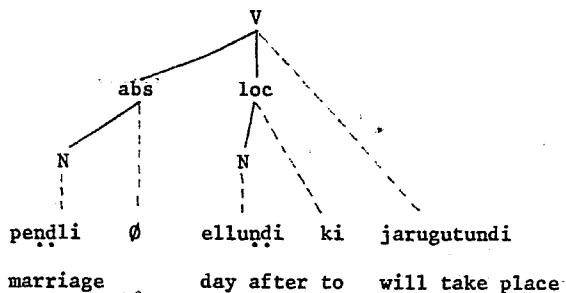
This representation suggests that a verb like _jarugu_ requires two cases in its frame, one of which (abs) specifies the event and the other (loc) indicates or 'locates' the event in time. There is still no decisive syntactic evidence from Telugu to differentiate whether _elluṇḍiki_ in (10) is an obligatory complement or an optional adjunct. This problem is due to the fact that the structure of Telugu permits an alternative construction of (10), even without the temporal loc

    (11) peṇḍli   jarugutundi

       'Marriage will take place'

but this is again a focussed situation, wherein (11) gives a meaning like "as for marriage, it will take place", and differs from (10) in its presupposition. The grammatical tense on the Telugu verb does not help us to differentiate between the optional and obligatory use of a temporal locative. There are many related problems that are not clear in the semantics and grammar of time and tense. Unless these are sorted out, nothing definite could be said about the distinction of predicate complement and adjunct with respect to temporals in Telugu. However, it is to be borne in mind that both the locative and temporal adjuncts (not the complements, where the distinction is feasible) have an extrapropositional complex struc-ture in their underlying representation. I wish to restrict my observations here to the obligatory spatial locatives that are required in a Telugu sentence.

4.3 Word-order and definiteness

    The locative constructions that we have so far been able to look at exhibit two distinct patterns in the arrangement of their consti-tuents. The essential structural characteristics and meaning of these construction-types will be discussed in this section. The

first of these patterns was introduced as consisting the linear
order of loc + NP + V (cf. Chapter 2.3.8) and can be illustrated
with such examples as in (12)

(12) (a) bhaaratdeesam-loo   saadhuvulu   undaaru
         India   in   Sadhus   are
         'There are Sadhus in India'

     (b) konda-miida   gudi   undi
         hill top/on   temple is
         'There is a temple on the hill'

     (c) tirupati-loo   kootulu   undaayi
                  in   monkeys   are
         'There are monkeys in Tirupati'

Let us reiterate that these sentences have a locative phrase as
clause-initial element, followed by an absolutive phrase and with
the verb in final position.   The second pattern was introduced
(section 4.1 above) as showing the linear order of NP + loc + V,
wherein the absolutive phrase appears as the clause-initial element and
the locative immediately precedes the final verb.   The following
sentences will exemplify the surface structure of this construction-
type.

(13) (a) saadhuvulu   guha-loo   undaaru
         Sadhus   cave in   are
         'The Sadhus are in the cave'

     (b) gudi   konda-miida   undi
         'The .ple is on the hill'

     (c) kootulu   tirupati-loo   undaayi
         'The monkeys are in Tirupati'

In both of these clause-types the finite verb exhibits concord with
the nominal in the absolutive phrase, i.e. the (surface) subject
in such sentences is always the nominal other than the locative.
The verb uṇḍu is a locative-existential verb and we will have
occasion to come back to a detailed description of its syntax at
several places (particularly in this and the following two chapters).

While discussing the problem of word order in Telugu, we noticed
that the order of constituents within a sentence is freely permutable
without affecting their basic functional role (cf. Chapter 2.1). But
change in the linear order of elements does have some semantic effect
that deserves particular attention with respect to locational con-
structions. The permutation of the NPs representing loc and abs in
(12) and (13) is closely linked with the notion of definiteness. It
is essential here to point out that Telugu, like other Dravidian
languages, has no exact syntactic device equivalent to the definite
article the in English. But it does not mean that the Dravidian
languages lack the mechanism for expressing and distinguishing the
semantic feature of $[\pm$ definiteness]. For a start, this notion is
sometimes exhibited by the deictic (demonstrative) particles aa
'that' and ii 'this', when they are extended to perform as anaphoric
expressions, such as

(14) raamu   oka   paṭṭaṇamu   cuusinaaḍu

              one   city   saw

     aa   paṭṭaṇaani-ki   raaju   leedu

     that city of   to   king   be not past

     'Ramu saw a city. The city had no king'

However, we are not interested here in the notion of definiteness[3]

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3.   A general-theoretical account of definiteness and deixis can be
     found in Lyons (1975) and Thorne (1972).

for its own sake, but only to the extent that $[\pm$ definiteness] inter-
acts with the locative constructions.

The two surface orders of constituent elements in locative
clauses (with a verb) are those of

(15) (i)   loc + abs + V

(ii)   abs + loc + V.

the first of these, as illustrated in (12), indicates that the
'entities' referred to by the abs argument are indefinite.   The
second order of constituents, as exemplified in (13), indicates that
the entities represented by abs argument are definite.   In other
words, these noun phrases represent a particular definite entity
which the speaker and hearer are already aware of, or they refer to a
'second (anaphoric) mention' of these, as it were.   More clearly,
the semantic difference between (12)(b) koṇḍa-miida guḍi undi 'there
is a temple on the hill' and (13)(b) guḍi koṇḍa-miida undi 'the temple
is on the hill' is that in (12)(b) the absolutive argument is
indefinite whereas in (13)(b) it is definite.   It goes without saying
that the English translation of these Telugu constructions clearly
exhibits the difference.   Since there is a difference in regard to
definiteness of abs between (12)(b) and (13)(b), they make proper
answers to two different types of questions, such as (16)(a) and (b)
respectively

(16)   (a)   koṇḍa-miida   eem   undi?

hill   on   what   is

'What is on the hill?'

(b)   guḍi   ekkaḍa   undi?

temple   where   is

'Where is the temple?'

(16)(b) tells us that the speaker already has a particular (definite) temple in mind and he is enquiring about the place of its location, whereas (16)(a) indicates that the speaker wants to know what entity (implicitly indefinite) is located on the hill.

Just as the deictic elements aa 'that' and ii 'this are used to indicate definite reference in Telugu, existential quantifiers like konni, kondaru, konta 'some' and the numeral oka 'one' are sometimes employed to manifest the notion of indefiniteness. The co-occurrence of aa 'that' and oka 'one', (the syntactic devices of definiteness and indefiniteness respectively), with the abs argument in the above patterns of (15), reinforces the point at issue.

(17) (a) koota-loo   raani   undi
         palace in   queen   is
         'There is (a) queen in the palace'

     (b) koota-loo   oka   raani   undi
         'There is a queen in the palace'

Though both these examples can be taken as referring to an indefinite queen, (17)(b) with an optional oka 'one' preserves the notion of indefiniteness more transparently. The same concept (or meaning) cannot be expressed in the following example where raani 'queen' is preceded by aa 'that', as it is contradictory to use a definite marker to express an indefinite entity.

(18) * koota-loo   aa   raani   undi .
         'There is the queen in the palace'

Whenever the underlying abs is definite, Telugu employs the reverse order of loc and abs as found in (19). The presence of aa along with the surface abs argument, only makes the definiteness clearer

(19) (a) raani   koota-loo   undi

'The queen is in the palace'

   (b) aa   raani   koota-loo   undi

'The queen is in the palace'

In the underlying structure of this abs + loc + V type of construc-
tions, the [+ definiteness] feature on the abs is always present. It
is this feature that is represented through aa 'that' in (19)(b).
aa has an anaphoric reference, which is [+ definite] by definition.
This suggests that the structures like (19)(b) with a representation
of the notion of definiteness, can be selected as underlying represen-
tations of abs + loc + V constructions. An optional transformation
deletes the aa, whenever it is found to be redundant on the surface
structure. If we select the feature of [+ definite] on the underlying
abs, it would be odd to get the following pattern.

(20) * oka   raani   koota-loo   undi

   * 'A queen is in the palace'

the resulting acceptable structures being those of (19).

    From this discussion it appears that the unmarked word order for
locative sentences in Telugu can be postulated as loc + abs + V.
This is the preferred sequence of elements even for the so-called
'existential constructions'. The selection of [+ definite] on the
underlying abs automatically triggers a transformational rule of
scrambling[4] that results in the surface order of abs + loc + V. In
other words, the principal difference between these two surface
orders relates to the semantic feature of definiteness on the abs

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4. Kuno (1971) gives a transformational analysis of the problem
    of word order in locative sentences.

argument.   Both of them are derived from the same underlying struc-
ture consisting loc and abs.   In this light we conclude:

    (21) (i)   abs in locative predicates must be specified
              as $[\overset{+}{-}\text{ definite}]$.

        (ii) Underlying indefinite locative structure correlates
              with loc + abs + V order of elements on the
              surface.

       (iii) Underlying definite locative structure correlates
              with abs + loc + V order on the surface.

In this sense, most of the constructions described in the immediately
preceding two sections can be taken as the underlying definite
locatives having $\begin{bmatrix} \text{abs} \\ \text{+ definite} \end{bmatrix}$.

4.4   Existential clauses

    Sentences with the underlying indefinite locative having
$\begin{bmatrix} \text{abs} \\ \text{- definite} \end{bmatrix}$, seem to correspond to the so-called existential
sentences in Telugu, if they can be distinguished at all from
locative sentences.   The nature of the supposed distinction between
locative and existential constructions is not clearly discernable
either from the general theoretical discussion or from the descrip-
tion of Dravidian syntax.   Recent works such as Lyons (1967, 1968b),
Thorne (1971), Asher (1968), Kuno (1971) and Clark (1970) have, no
doubt, enhanced our understanding of these sentences.   Many of these
accounts, in fact, support Lyons' theory that existential sentences
are implicitly locative in that the existence of an entity is
interpretable only with reference to a particular spatiotemporal
situation.   The existential and locative sentences are, first of
all, illustrated by Lyons with the following examples

(22) Existential: (a) Lions exist

                (b) There are lions (in Africa)

(23) Locative: (a) The book is on the table

                (b) There is a book on the table.

He then gives syntactic and semantic evidence from English and other languages to show that the existential sentences are merely a sub-type of locatives. Lyons' proposals amount to saying that the existential sentences need not be taken as independent structures in the underlying structure of the grammar, but as only the superficial variants of the locative. Some linguists tend to use the term 'existential sentences' to refer to what Lyons would call locatives, as in (23). For example, compare the following sentences of Kuno with Lyons' examples to see the lack of clear-cut distinction between existential and locative sentences: "The term 'existential sentence' will be used to refer to sentences such as:

(24) (a) There are two books on the table

    (b) Two books are on the table

which state the existence of certain indefinite objects in some place." (Kuno, 1971: 333). No doubt Kuno's existentials can be restated as locatives, equivalent to (21)(ii) above, within a localist framework.

    More immediate to our present concern is to investigate what sort of evidence Telugu and other Dravidian languages provide with respect to the connection or distinction between locative and existential constructions. As we have seen above (4.2), many of the locative sentences in Telugu can appear without a loc on the surface (compare (1) with (6)). The construction lacking the

loc can be interpreted as existential. This suggests that the existential is a reduced form of the underlying locative. However, there have been some attempts to distinguish existential from locative sentences within Dravidian at least for expository purposes. Asher, while discussing one of the 'be' verbs in Malayalam, namely untͽ, observes - "Though there is little in Malayalam grammar to justify making a clear-cut distinction between the first two [existential and locative], examples will once again be given in separate groups in order to make contrastive statements easier." (1968:98). He then illustrates these two with the following examples:

    (25) Existential: (a) daivam   untͽ

                       'God exists' 'There is a God'

                (b) siloonil   aanakal   untͽ

                     Ceylon-in   elephants   are

                     'There are elephants in Ceylon'

    (26) Locative: (a) ninṟe   peena   meesappuṟattͽ /untͽ

                     thy   pen   table-on   is

                     'Your pen is on the table'

                (b) unni   viittil   untͽ

                     Unni   house-in   is

                     'Unni is at home'

The structural pattern of the sentences in (25) and (26) is that of the formulaic representations in (15)(i) and (ii) respectively. Secondly in a language like Malayalam with three verbs of 'being', it is of some relevance that both of these construction-types require one and the same predicator untͽ. This syntactic requirement can, no doubt, be taken as an indicator of their underlying similarity.

Thirdly, the correlation of definiteness and word order presented in (21)(ii) and (iii) corresponds to the existential and locative sentences in (25) and (26) respectively. A natural conclusion that emerges from these facts is that in Malayalam too the existential sentences can be analysed as underlying locatives.[5]

Now let us turn to sentences like (25)(a) that are generally given as typical illustrations of existential predications in Dravidian. Structurally, they consist of an abs argument followed by the locative verb undu 'to be'. In such constructions of Telugu the finite verb also shows the subject concord with the abs argument. Bhaskara Rao (1972a:162) describes these sentences as 'absolute existentials' and says that the verb 'be' does not have a complement. His examples are:

(27) (a) deemudu   unnaadu

          'God exists'

      (b) dharmam   undi

          'Law exists'

      (c) satyam   undi

          'Truth exists'.

The nominals representing the abs argument here, are abstract. But this is not a crucial factor for Telugu, where it is not uncommon to have sentences even with abs argument being exhibited by such non-abstract nominals as book, table, garden, pen, car, cart, way, tree etc... For example, the following sentences having no complement of 'be' are quite normal in Telugu though the nouns of abs do not represent any abstract entities.

---

5. For an extensive discussion of locative and existential construc-
    tions in Kodagu, another Dravidian language, see Garman (1973:
    Chapter 3.2).

(28) (a) eḍlabaṇḍlu   unḍaayi

bullock carts   exist

'Bullock-carts exist', 'There are (such things as)
                       bullock-carts'

(b) doomalu   uṇḍaayi

mosquitoes   exist

'Mosquitoes exist', 'There are (such things as)
                      mosquitoes'

(c) daari   undi

path   exists

'Path exists', 'There is a path'.

The requirement that the so-called 'absolute existential' requires
a nominal referring to an abstract entity (as suggested by Bhaskara
Rao) holds no water.   Further, the sentences in (28) will be
supplied with a loc predicative complement by native speakers when
asked for a full representation.   This loc complement, when realised
on the surface, will appear as the initial constituent of the sentence,
which suggests that these sentences are underlying indefinite loca-
tives.

In their underlying structure the sentences of (28) have a loc
argument that indicates the place of an entity.   This can be illus-
trated with the help of (28)(b) whose underlying structure is that
of (29).

(29)

```
                              V
                             /|\
                   loc      abs \
                  /\  \     /\   \
                 N   \  \   N  \   \
                /\    \  \  |   \    \
               /  \    \  \ |    ∅    \
              /    \    \  \|          \
             /_____\    \  |           \
            aa    illu   loo⁶ doomalu  undaayi

            that   house   in   mosquitoes   are
```

'There are mosquitoes in that house'
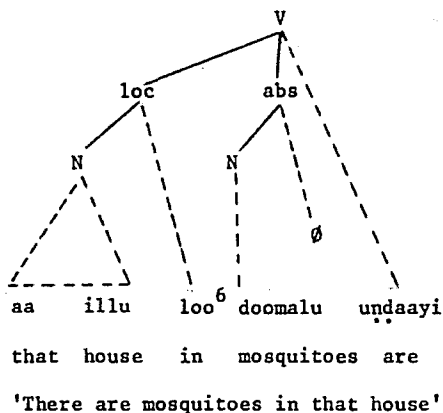
The underlying loc is deleted by a deletion transformation.   This
transformation operates whenever the information pertaining to the
spatial situation of the abs argument is not required on the surface
or whenever there is an NP identical to the loc in the preceding
clause, as in (30):

    (30) madraasu-loo   vimaanaalu   undaayi

          Madras   in   aeroplanes   are

          elektrik   rayillun   undaayi

          electric   trains-too   are

          'There are aeroplanes in Madras and (there are) electric
          trains too'

In (30) loc deletion in the second clause operates as a result of
conjunction reduction whereas loc argument deletion from (29) makes
the construction as indicating a more general truth as in (28)(b),
which renders the meaning "as for mosquitoes, they do exist." By

---

6.   A phonological rule converts illu + loo into intloo 'in the
     house'.   In the tree representation this particular noun is
     given as a representative of the loc argument, but it does not
     mean that other spatial nouns cannot appear here.   All that I
     want to emphasize is that loc is present in underlying structure.

implication the entities under discussion, say mosquitoes, exist somewhere in the (physical) universe.   But the grammar of Telugu, and other languages, optionally deletes the reference to this non-specific universe.

This point may become clearer if we take entities whose existence may well be considered questionable.   I am thinking of such sentences as the following

(31) (a) dayyaalu   undaayi

           demons   are/exist

           'Demons exist', 'There are demons'

      (b) tella   kaakulu   undaayi

           white   crows   exist/are

           'White crows exist', 'There are white crows'

where the existence of certain entities, namely, demons and white crows, is arguable.   Someone might claim to have seen a demon in a cave and a white crow in a strange place.   These facts of 'knowledge of the world' seem to be closely interwoven into the distinction and connection of locative and existential sentences.   I wish to argue that the sentences of (31) have a loc in their underlying structure, which loc may be taken as in (32)

(32) (a) prapancam-loo   dayyaalu   undaayi

           world   in

           'There are demons in the world'

      (b) inglaand-loo   tella   kaakulu   undaayi

           'There are white crows in England'

The underlying structure of (32)(a), for example, can be shown as in (33)

(33)

```
                              V
                              /|\
                             / | \
                   loc     abs   \
                   /|       /|    \
                  / |      / |     \
                 N  |     N  |      \
                 :  |     :  |       \
                 :  |     :  |        \
                 :  |     :  ø         \
                 :  |     :  :          \
              prapancam loo dayyaalu   uṇḍaayi
```
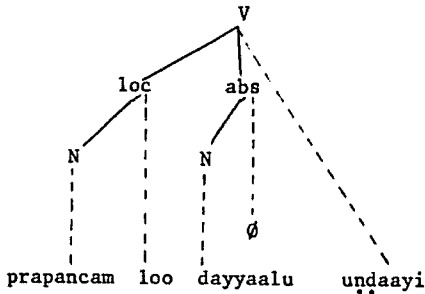
Also noticeable in these examples is the fact that with the exception

of god, a unique entity, most of the entities in the so-called exis-

tentials have a plural number. This plurality may be a factor

rendering the entities a more general reference and more non-specific.

An entity in the singular as in (28)(c) tends to bear reference to a

specific situation. The non-specific reference in the former type

is one of the reasons for the deletion of loc.

The loc deletion transformation is quite frequent in Telugu and

we will take it up again. The discussion so far suggests that con-

structions like (27) and (25)(a) and (31) can be derived from under-

lying locative constructions and there seems to be no need to

postulate existential predications as independent underlying struc-

tures. The loc deletion transformation that we are talking about

pertains to the underlying predicative complement, not to the sentence-

adjunct. It is generally observed that the locative and temporal

adverbials appear as extra-nuclear elements with various types of

constructions (see 4.2 above). But in Telugu even the predicative

complement gets deleted and this deletion reflects some semantic

phenomenon like having reference to 'universal or eternal truth' or

the statement of essential qualities. Otherwise the so-called

existentials are derivable from the underlying structures of locatives.

This has the consequence of reducing the number of underlying clause-types and thus simplifying the grammar.

4.5 Verbless locative constructions

In general discussions of the functions of the verb 'to be', at least four functions are distinguished: existential, locative, equative and attributive (Lyons 1968a:388).   We have tried to produce some evidence for a unification of existential and locative sentences in the grammar of Telugu.   This leaves us with two groups among the functions of 'be', namely locative and attributive-cum-equative.   A natural question to ask about this classification would be whether there is any evidence, syntactic or otherwise, to support this sort of bifurcation.   Telugu and other Dravidian languages clearly distinguish these two uses of 'be' in their syntax by using two different lexical verbs, as can be noticed from the following examples:

(34) (a) araṭipaṇḍu   buṭṭaloo   undi
           banana   basket in   is
           'The banana is in the basket'

      (b) aavulu   ceṭṭudaggara   uṇḍaayi
           cows   tree nearness   are
           'The cows are near the tree'

(35) (a) aame   siita   (avunu)
           She   sita   is
           'She is Sita'

      (b) aame   sannam   (avunu)
           She   thinness   is
           'She is slim'

The sentences in (34) are locative and have uṇḍu 'to be', 'to exist' in their structure, whereas the sentences in (35) being equative and attributive have a different lexical verb avu 'to be'. The English translation of these sentences conceals this distinction and makes them look alike. Even Hindi obscures this distinction by using one and the same verb of hε 'to be' (see Kachru, 1968). The classification discernable in the surface structure of two Telugu verbs of 'being', i.e. uṇḍu and avu seems to correlate with the logician's distinction of 'existential' and 'predicative' or 'copulative' function.

Sometimes all the above three functions of 'be', namely locative, equative and attributive, are grouped together under the label of 'copulative'. From this point of view, the use of uṇḍu would be called 'locative copulative' and that of avu simply copulative. In fact Arden (1873:176-184) had implicitly used this dichotomy in dividing the Telugu verb 'to be' into a noncopula (uṇḍu) and copula (avu or its absence). I want to argue that the notion of copula is very general and vague enough to conceal the underlying properties of various clause types, and it is not of much use for a description of Telugu syntax. Instead, both uṇḍu and avu are not only to be treated as different verbs of 'be' but also as underlying lexical predicators. This proposal might seem to go against the facts of Telugu as found with the verbless sentences, wherein two nouns or NPs are simply juxtaposed without the presence of any verbal element whatsoever. But the absence of a surface verb is limited to certain contexts and we will examine the details of these throughout the present and the following two chapters. In this section, however, I

will confine my observations to the so-called verbless locatives.

At this point it is worthwhile to recall that the locative constructions in Telugu have two distinct patterns: surface structures that obligatorily require the verb and those with an optional verb; it is this latter type that we described as exhibiting the pattern of loc + N + (cop) earlier (Chapter 2.3.8). The following examples will serve to illustrate the structural properties of these constructions.

(36) (a) vantint-loo   veeḍi
           kitchen in   heat
           'It is hot in the kitchen'

      (b) santa-loo   racca
           market in   noise
           'It is noisy in the market'

      (c) deevaalayam-loo   karpuuram   vaasana
           temple   in   camphor   smell
           'There is a smell of camphor in the temple'

      (d) eḍinbara-loo   cali
           Edinburgh in   coldness
           'It is cold in Edinburgh'

Notice that in these examples a property (like coldness, heat, smell, etc.) is ascribed to a particular region (like kitchen, temple, etc.). To this extent there is the attribution of a quality to a particular place rather than to a particular person, though there is noticeable syntactic similarity between these two. Compare (36) with the following in (37)

(37) (a) raamuu-ku cali

    to coldness

  'Ramu is cold'

  (b) ravi-ki garvamu

     to pride

  'Ravi is (a) proud (fellow)'

Whether the nominal in the loc is a place or a person, Telugu makes use of the same verbless construction and this syntactic similarity shows their underlying uniformity (we will take this up in the following chapter).

The sentences of (36) also exhibit the generic property of a place which by definition is an essential characteristic (of that place). The verbless locatives are rather limited to expressing such permanent traits of regions (the elliptical instances of question-answer type do not, of course, provide counter-examples to this statement). Since there is no essential property-place relation in the following instances of verbless locatives, they are unacceptable.

  (38) (a) * maysuur-loo mahaaraaju

    * 'Maharaja in Mysore'

  (b) * kooneet-loo ceepalu

    lake in fish

   *'Fish in lake'

  (c) * nii pustakam ikkada

    your book   here

   * 'Your book here'

This suggests that the verblessness of (36) is limited to a set of generic constructions with no specification of tense, negation,

aspect and the like.   It is clear that the verblessness of locatives
is not a common property of Telugu syntax, as can be gathered from
the ungrammaticality of (38).   The sentences of (38) require the
locative verb uṇḍu to render them acceptable.   Even the construc-
tions in (36) take uṇḍu optionally and they definitely require this
verb in all other contexts except the generic variety.

From these facts, one of two opposing conclusions could be
drawn: (i) The locative verbless constructions are verbless even in
their underlying structure and the presence of uṇḍu in the surface
structure is just to function as a 'dummy carrier' of grammatical
elements like tense, negation, aspect and the like, or (ii) The
locative verb uṇḍu is a lexical verb in the underlying structure and
it governs the two case relations of loc and abs.   Its absence on
the surface structure is limited to a stereotype of generic construc-
tions.   The first proposal amounts to saying that the verb uṇḍu is
merely a copula necessitated by the grammar of Telugu. We reject
this hypothesis on two grounds: firstly, it is odd to take a verb
as being generated transformationally;   after all it is the verb
that assigns semantic roles to the nouns, not vice versa.   Secondly,
the facts of Telugu suggest that the locative verb is a deep verb in
the base structure and its deletion is limited to particular instances.
Hence we opt for the second proposal, namely, the sentences of (36),
(37) and (38) contain the locative verb uṇḍu in their underlying
structure as shown in (39) with the help of (36)(a).

(39)
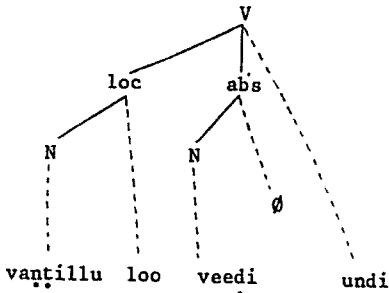
The verb-deletion transformation operates on such structures of Telugu only when the notion of essential property is part of the meaning of the constructions. And this deletion gets us sentences like (36).

In all other instances, a reflex of uṇḍu is retained even in the surface structure of these sentences as can be seen from the following negative of (36)(b)

(40)   santa-loo   racca   leedu

        market in   noise   is not

        'There is no noise in the market' or

        'It is not noisy in the market'

There is another negative available to the locative sentences (as to others) with kaadu 'be not so and so' as in (41)

(41)   santa-loo   racca   kaadu   .... (arupulu)

        market in   noise   be not   (shoutings)

        'It is not noise that there is in the market ....
        (but shouting)'

i.e. (41) is an emphatic negation of the particular nominal racca 'noise' and it denies the existence of noise but presupposes the existence of something else, say, shouting. In this sense it is a contrastive negation. Telugu uses the syntactic device of cleft-

formation (see Chapter 2.1.2) to focus on a particular argument within a sentence and the focussed nominal is shifted to a post-verbal position by the clefting transformation.   The underlying positive structure of this 'focussed' sentence is that of

    (42)   santa-loo   undeedi   racca

           market in   be-nonpast noise
                         relative
                         marker-it

       ? What there is in the market is noise'

Here again there is the affirmation of the existence of noise in contrast with the denial of the existence of some other event, say, shouting.   Being a cleft sentence, (42) behaves like an equative in that it takes the <u>kaa</u> negative to get (42')

    (42')   santa-loo   undeedi   racca   kaadu

           market in   be-non-past noise   be not
                      relative-
                      thing/it

       Lit: 'The thing that exists/is in the market is not the
               noise'

In such constructions of Telugu the <u>undu</u>-deletion transformation is in operation.   It is after this deletion that we get (41).   In other words, I am suggesting that the underlying structure of (41) is that of (42') and the verb <u>undu</u> is implicitly present in seemingly verbless locative constructions of (36).

The structure of (42) also suggests that we need the verb <u>undu</u> even for the cleft sentence formation of the so-called verbless locatives.   The negation in (40) is not to be confused with that in (41).   The former is a locative (existential) negation and the latter an equative-negation.   It is the former variety that is of relevance here to support our claim that the so-called verbless locatives are in

fact derived from an underlying structure with a lexical verb uṇḍu, and its deletion is limited to a specific instance of Telugu syntax.

4.6 Some properties of uṇḍu and other locative verbs

In this chapter, we have so far been looking at the two case relations abs and loc as governed by a single locative verb, uṇḍu 'to be'. We observed that there are at least two deletion transformations operating on underlying structures containing this verb, namely, loc deletion and verb deletion.   One noticeable fact is that in no clause can these two transformations operate simultaneously and this might suggest that the loc argument and the verb uṇḍu are two primary factors that distinguish the locative clauses from rest of the Telugu constructions.   uṇḍu is a stative locative verb indicating the place of an entity.   Its syntax and morphology deserve more attention in a fuller description of Telugu than I had been able to give.   It is also the Telugu equivalent of 'have-verb' and we will take up its various non-spatial uses in the following chapter.   For the moment let us examine some of its syntactic and morphological characteristics.

The most noticeable peculiarity of uṇḍu is in the area of tense-distinction.   In all other verbs of Telugu tense is morphologically classifiable into a two-way distinction of past and non-past

(43) (a) aame   eeḍc-in-di

She   cry past she

'She cried'

(b) aame   eeḍus-tun-di

She   cry nonpast she

'She will cry/cries'

whereas uṇḍu exhibits a three-way distinction of tense-past, present

and future - in the Rayalaseema dialect that is the primary source
of this work.   Observe the following paradigm of the simple finite
forms of uṇḍu:

    (44) (a)   aame   int-loo   und-in-di

                 she   house in   be past she

                 'She was at home'

          (b)   aame   int-loo   uṇ-ḍaa-di / un-di

                                       be present she be she

                 'She is at home'

          (c)   aame   int-loo   uṇ-ṭun-di

                                       be future she

                 'She will be at home'

In the coastal dialect of Telugu the present and past forms are
neutralised in that they are represented by one and the same form
as in aame unnadi 'she was/is' (see Krishnamurti and Sarma: 1968:48).
So for the coastal dialect the distinction of future and non-future
with respect to uṇḍu seems to be more appropriate.   However in the
negative forms of these sentences both the dialects show the distinc-
tion of future and non-future, so that the negative equivalent of
(44)(a) and (b) will be as manifested in (45) and the negative of
(44)(c) is that of (46).

    (45) aame   int-loo   leedu

          'She is not at home'

    (46) aame   int-loo   uṇḍadu

          'She won't be at home'

The non-future negative variant of uṇḍu as found in (45), is
used as the 'negative marker' with all the non-uṇḍu verbs in their
past tense.   For example, the negative equivalent (43)(a) would be

(47 aame   eedava   leedu

      she   cry-infinitive be-not

      'She did not cry'

leedu in such negative past tense forms does not show any person

concord with the subject noun

(48) vaadu   eedava   leedu

      'He did not cry'.

In other words, leedu is a sort of 'auxiliary' in such sentences and

it follows the 'main verb'. This suggests that the grammar of Telugu

may provide testable evidence to show that the category of negation

is derivable from the extranuclear content of a sentence as envisaged

by Anderson (1972), Fillmore (1968a) and others.

Aspect is another area of Telugu syntax that we come across the

verb undu.   Both perfect and progressive forms of any verb in Telugu

require undu to carry these aspectual distinctions.   In such instances

undu shows concord for number, gender and time.   The following

examples will make the structural characteristics clear.

(49) (a) ravi   polam   ammiund-inaa-du

           Ravi   field having be past he
                                      sold

           'Ravi had sold the field'

      (b) ravi   polam   ammiun-daa-du

                                having   be present he
                                sold

           'Ravi has sold the field'

      (c) ravi   polam   ammiun-taa-du

                                having   be future he
                                sold

           'Ravi might have sold the field'

(50) (a) neenu   katha   cep-taa-und-inaa-nu

        I   story   say non- be past I
                            past

    'I was telling a story'

(b) neenu   katha   cep-taa-un-daa-nu

        I   story   say non- be present I
                            past

    'I am telling a story'

(c) neenu   katha   cep-taa-un-taa-nu

        I   story   say non- be future I
                            past

    'I will be telling a story' or 'I tell a story'

Pending the detailed analysis of Telugu aspect for a future considera-
tion, it can be observed that the use of a locative verb undu to
carry the aspectual distinctions in Telugu provides some good evidence
for the localist hypothesis of Anderson (1973a: Chapter 5; 1973b)
and Miller (1972a) that aspect derives from an underlying superor-
dinate locative construction. Examples (49) and (50) also indicate
the intimate connection between the morphology of undu and the
aspectual distinctions available in a dialect. For example, the
coastal dialect of Telugu manifests the past and present perfect by
one and the same form, as it has only a two-way distinction in the
tense-marking of undu. Instead of distinguishing (49)(a) and (b),
both the constructions will be represented by one and the same form
as in (51)

(51) ravi   polam   amm(i)unnaadu

    'Ravi has/had sold the field'.

Similarly, in the case of progressive both of (50)(a) and (b) from
the Rayalaseema dialect would be rendered by the same construction

of the coastal dialect as in (52)

    (52)   neenu   katha   ceptunnaanu

         'I am/was telling a story'.

This comparison of dialects shows that the morphological properties
are crucial for a syntactic study of Telugu.

Apart from uṇḍu, there are several other verbs that involve loc
necessarily in their underlying structure. We shall exemplify some
of the more important members of this set.

kala 'to be, to exist, to have' was used as an existential verb
in Old Telugu and is also found in the written style of Modern
Telugu.

    (53) (a)   saroovaramu-ña   hamsalu   kalavu

           lake   in   swans   exist/are

           'There are swans in the lake'

       (b)   stambhamu-na   hari   kaladaa?

           pillar   in   Lord Hari exist-he-question

           'Is there Hari in the pillar?'

       (c)   aa   nagaramu-na-ku   raaju   kaladu

           that   city at/in to   king   exists

           'There is a king of that city' or 'That city
           has a king'

kala shares many syntactic properties with uṇḍu, such as occurring
as predicator of existential clauses, taking the same negative form
lee 'be not' and occurring as a 'possessive predicator'. It is also
a stative (or static) verb, and its dynamic or active form is
kaligincu 'make to be'. In spoken Telugu kala is more frequently
used to indicate possession and we shall discuss this later.

uncu ' to put' is both morphologically and semantically related
to uṇḍu and it is the dynamic variant of the latter.   In its array
of cases loc is obligatorily present along with erg, which differen-
tiates uncu from uṇḍu

   (54)   neenu   pustakam   ikkaḍa   uncinaanu

         I   book   here   put

     'I put the book here'

(54) has three case relations [erg, abs, loc] in its underlying
structure. The interaction of erg and loc suggests a complex deriva-
tion for uncu.

Another verb exhibiting a similar semantic connection with undu
is peṭṭu 'to put', to place, to keep', though there is no morpholo-
gical (formal) connection between them.

   (55)   lalita   kaḍava   gaṭṭu-na   peṭṭindi

      Lalita   water pot bank at/on put

     'Lalita put the pot on the bank'

This verb too requires the three cases [erg, abs, and loc].   Both
(54) and (55) necessarily imply the following, (54') and (55')
respectively:

   (54') pustakam   ikkaḍa   undi

      'The book is here'

   (55') kaḍava   gaṭṭu-na   undi

      'The pot is on the bank'.

This suggests that uncu a   peṭṭu contain uṇḍu in their underlying
structure and they are causative equivalents of uṇḍu and hence they
are to be derived from complex structure.

4.7 The main spatial postpositions

It might be useful to end this chapter by listing the more important members of the postpositions that are exponents of loc. We have already printed out (see 4.1) that the shape and dimension of objects sometimes require complex postpositions. Throughout this chapter a number of examples are provided where the underlying loc is manifested by <u>loo</u> 'in' and <u>na</u> 'in, on, at' in Telugu. Without repeating them, it is necessary to notice that the postpositions are only one of the mechanisms of Telugu syntax to indicate the under- lying case relations. In modern accounts of Telugu (see Baeyer, 1970; Bhaskara Rao, 1972a) the postposition <u>a/na</u> is generally ignored, with the vague impression that it is not frequent in spoken Telugu. At least in the dialect with which I am familiar the forms <u>a</u> and <u>na</u> are highly frequent and they indicate 'punctual' location, the positioning of something at a point.

    (56) (a) aame   canka-na   biḍḍa   uṇḍaadu

               her   lap   in   child   is

              'There is a child in her lap'

      (b) vaaḷḷu   niiḍa-na   kuurcuṇṇaaru

               They   shade in   sat

              'They sat in tree-shade'

      (c) draakṣa   nakka   nooṭa[7]   uṇḍindi

               grapes   fox   mouth in   was

              'The grapes were in the fox's mouth'

---

7. Phonologically <u>nooṭa</u> derives from

           nooru + a --> nooṭa 'in the mouth'
           mouth   in

  Similarly <u>eeṭa</u> 'in the river', <u>noṣaṭa</u> 'on the forehead'.

ceeta 'at hand, by, with' is a complex postposition derived from
ceeyi 'hand' + a 'in/at' and it is used to indicate the place of an
object at a person.

(57) nagalu   siita-ceeta   uṇḍaayi

      jewels   hand at   are

      'The jewels are with Sita'

Other postpositions that manifest the 'place at' include daggara
'near', bayata 'outside', loopala 'inside', mundara 'in front of'
venaka 'at the back of' miida/payna 'upon, on top of', kinda
'underneath, below' and the rest.   Instead of stating the uses of
all these postpositions at one place I have discussed them with
respect to the verbs that manifest them in Telugu syntax.   I have
confined my examples to the spatial uses of the postpositions here
and the non-spatial uses will be taken up in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

NON-SPATIAL LOCATIVE

5.1 Introductory

The previous chapter (see 4.1) was essentially concerned with the 'concrete' functions of loc. As indicated there, we shall in this chapter be concerned with the 'abstract' functions of loc, that is to say with its occurrence in sentences where one would not wish to claim the presence of the semantic property of 'concrete' place-relation. In the different sections of the present chapter we shall be discussing the syntax and semantics of a number of different groups of verbs, including verbs of possession and stative verbs. As will become apparent, we shall be concerned in the majority of instances with the verb undu 'to be, to exist'. Specifically, this verb occurs in one type of sentence where our knowledge of certain other languages might lead us to expect some other verb, namely in possessive sentences. This is because in Telugu the same verb is used for both the concepts of 'being' and 'having'. Compare (a) and (b) below:

(1) (a) aa   ciira-ku   maraka   undi

          that   sari to   stain   be/exists

          'There is a stain on that sari'

     (b) aa   musaloodi-ki   meekalu   undaayi

          that   old man   to   goats   are/exist

          'The old man has (some) goats'

(2) (a) maa   uur-loo   gudi   leedu

          my   village in   temple   is/exist not

          'There is no temple in my village'

(b) aa   manisi-loo   balam   leedu

    that   man   in   strength is/exists not

    'The man has no strength'

(3) (a) aame   campa-na   macca   undi

    she/her   cheek on/at   mole   is/exists

    'There is a mole on her cheek'

(b) aame   manasu-na   koorika   undi

    she/her mind at/in   desire   is/exists

    'She has a desire in her mind'

The structural similarity between the 'be' and 'have' construc-
tions is quite transparent and we shall come back to a detailed
investigation of the grammatical aspects of this parallelism.   It
suffices here to point out that this similarity does not mean that
Telugu does not distinguish between 'being' and 'having', but rather
that the distinction is shown in a different way, namely in the
content or semantics of the noun or NP chosen in the locative and
absolutive phrases.   Notice also the presence of the same case-forms
ki, loo and na in both the instances of 'concrete' and 'abstract'
functions above.   The (b) instances, are apparently 'abstract' when
compared to the (a) instances.   Constructions like the (b) instances
do not indicate the 'concrete' or physical space of an object.   The
wide variety of such phenomena in Telugu will be studied under the
heading of 'non-spatial' locative and their similarity to and distinc-
tion from the spatial locative will be explored in this chapter.
More particularly, we will concentrate on the so-called 'dative' as it
is reflected in the functions of the postpositions-ki/-ku in Telugu.
One class of sentences that exhibits the extension of spatial locative

to non-spatial 'abstract' phenomena is possessive and we shall first
of all attempt to describe the grammatical structure of these
sentences.

5.2 Possessive constructions

5.2.1 Essential structures:

The concept of possession as manifested
in Telugu has already been introduced (see 2.3.9) into our discussion.
We have noticed that there are at least three different types of
(superficial) structures available in Telugu to indicate this notion.
Observe the following three expressions which could, informally, be
labelled as 'dative'possessive', 'predicate-possessive' and 'adnominal
possessive' (or 'genitive') respectively:

(4) venkanna-ku   caalaa   tootalu   undaayi

     Venkanna to   many   gardens   are

     'Venkanna has many gardens'

(5) aa   toota   venkannadi

     that   garden   venkanna-it

     'The garden is Venkanna's'

(6) venkanna   toota

     'Venkanna's garden.'

The essential structural characteristics of these expressions need
to be detailed before going into the further details of (the
semantics of) possessive in Telugu.   The construction-type represen-
ted in (4) consists of a 'dative-phrase' (or ku/ki-phrase) that
indicates the possessor or owner.   This phrase appears as the initial
element of the entire sentence and it is composed of a noun followed
by the postposition -ku.   Then follows the possessed object, tootalu
'gardens' and it is the surface subject of the entire construction in
that the finite verb shows number and person concord with this noun.
The verb, that appears as the final element, is the same locative-

existential uṇḍu whose properties have occupied us earlier (see
Chapter 4.3 to 4.6).   This suggests that Telugu, even in its surface
structure, makes use of one and the same verb to express the
apparently locative-existential as well as the possessive.   In its
superficial grammatical properties, (4) is also similar to the
examples in (1) through (3), in having the structure of postpositional
phrase + nominal + verb.

The second of our possessive constructions, as found in (5),
consists of two noun phrases juxtaposed to each other without any
reflex of the verbal element on the surface.   The order of these two
NPs is also of some significance with regard to the notion of
definiteness.   In (5) the noun indicating the possessed object occurs
as the initial constituent and this (noun) is uninflected.   The
second and final noun phrase has a complex structure.   It indicates
the possessor, namely venkanna and is in concord with the 'possessed-
noun', which shows that the noun representing the possessed is the
surface subject of this construction.   The concordial suffix under
discussion is -di which is the pronominal of third person, non-
masculine, singular (see Chapter 2.2.3) in this instance a copy of
tooṭa 'garden'.   This sort of pronominal copying on predicate nouns
and predicate-adjectives is quite common and the phrases like
venkannadi are variously called composite nouns (Arden, 1873:95-98)
or pronominal predicates (Krishnamurti and Sarma, 1968:23-37) in the
conventional Telugu grammars.   We will come back to the details of
its syntactic and semantic 'derivation' later.

The 'predicate-possessive' construction-type is not limited to
the instances where the possessed is an inaminate object of singular

number as one would be tempted to conclude from (5). But it is found
in Telugu to indicate possession even when the possessed is animate,
human or non-human, as can be gathered from the following paradigm of
illustrations:

(7) (a) aa   kukka   raamayyadi
        that   dog   Ramayya-it
        'That dog is Ramayya's'

    (b) aa   eddulu   lalitavi
        Those   oxen   Lalita-they (neuter)
        'Those oxen are Lalita's'

    (c) aa   kuuloollu   maavaallu   (d) vaadu   maavaadu
        those   workmen   our they (human)   he   our-he
        'Those workmen are ours'   'He is ours'

In cases like (7)(c) and (d), at least two readings are possible,
namely, kinship relation (unspecified) and possession.

The third variety of possessive as represented in (6) is obviously
not a sentence, but a 'genitive or adnominal possessive' phrase, in
traditional terms. Structurally it is composed of two nouns that
indicate possessor and possessed in that order. Morphologically
this is similar to an adjective phrase that consists of an adjective
followed by a noun. Certain nouns when appearing in the adjective
position show a different morphology from their 'nominative' forms,
as in (8)

(8) (a) raamuni   tammudu
        Rama's   younger brother
        'Rama's younger brother'

    (b) inti   kappu
        houses   roof
        'Roof of the house'

(c) gurrapu   tooka

    horse's   tail

    'Horse's tail'

The nominative forms of the nouns (in the above adjective position)
would be raamudu, illu and gurramu respectively. But in a large
number of adnominal possessive-phrases' as in (6) such a morphological
distinction is lacking. The possessive adjective is construed simply
from the order of the elements in that the adjective precedes and the
noun follows in Telugu (see Kelley, 1968). The salient point to be
noticed here is the overwhelming structural similarity between adjec-
tive phrases and the adnominal possessives (or genitives). It is
this morphological inflection of the noun that has tempted several
grammarians to talk of a 'genitive case' in grammatical discussions.

Also worth mentioning in this connection is the fact that the
majority of nominal compounds in Telugu bear a striking structural
similarity to the adnominal possessive. Let us list some of the
compounds though we will not be able to concentrate on their under-
lying structures: eeti niillu 'river water', paamu putta 'snake-
pit, ant hill', niilla totti 'water tub', raati midde 'stone house'
cettu patta 'tree bark, bark of the tree', kaagitapu padava 'paper
boat', bhuumi pannu 'land tax', gudi candaa 'temple subscription'
and polam pani 'farm work'. The structural complexity of N + N
compounds is obvious from general discussions (see Lees, 1960; Chomsky,
1970) in that they are reductions of the various underlying case
relations. However, the study of compounds is not my main concern
here, though I shall indicate one possible interpretation of the
adnominal possessives within a localist framework.

The compound like <u>paamu putta</u> 'snake-pit', for example, can be interpreted as having an underlying structure like (9) at some stage of its derivation.

(9) paamu   putta-loo   undi

     snake   pit   in   exists/is

This simplex consists of a bs and loc along with the existential verb <u>undu</u>.   Out of the two nouns in (9) either of them can be selected as focus of our attention.   The transformational process of relativization is one of the syntactic devices which brings a parti- cular nominal into prominence and when this rule applies on a structure like (9) the verb assumes the relative participial form of <u>unna</u> 'existing' and either of the nouns could be relativized being shifted to the post-verbal position as in (10)(a) and (b).

(10) (a) putta-loo   unna   paamu

          pit   in   be-relative snake
                       non-past

     'The snake which is in the pit'

     (b) paamu   unna   putta

          snake be-relative   pit
                 non-past

     'The pit where the snake is/exists'

Notice that the locative phrase <u>putta-loo</u> when appearing after relative participle in (10)(b) does not retain the postposition <u>-loo</u>. The postposition deletion rule operates in Telugu whenever a post- positional phrase is shunted to the post-relative participial position.   In a succeeding stage, the transformational rule of verb- deletion operates on (10)(b) which deletes the relative participle <u>unna</u> and gets us to the nominal compound.   This tentative outline

suggests that a compound like <u>paamu</u> <u>puṭṭa</u> 'snake-pit' is derived from a sentence like (9) on which the transformational rules of relativization and participial (verb) deletion operate in that order, and the seemingly simple looking surface structures show a complex derivation in a detailed investigation.   A particular nominal compound was illustrated here merely to show that similar grammatical rules operate on the formation of 'adnominal possessives' which again superficially neutralise the various underlying relations between nouns and predicator.

5.2.2 <u>Possessive and word order</u>: So far we have enumerated three superficial structures that manifest the concept of possession. Now we want to focus our attention on the first two of these patterns, namely, the so-called 'dative-possessive'/as illustrated in (4), has and 'predicate-possessive'. The 'dative-possessive' another word order available in Telugu.   In the following sentences, the (a) and (b) instances stand as alternative examples of 'dative-possessive' and the (c) as 'predicate-possessive'.

(11) (a) siita-ku   pustakaalu   uṇḍaayi

          Sita to   books   exist

          'Sita has books'

     (b) pustakaalu   siita-ku   uṇḍaayi

          books   Sita to   exist

          'The books are Sita's'

     (c) pustakaalu   siitavi

          books   Sita-they (non-human)

          'The books are Sita's'

(12) (a) raamu-ku   gaḍiyaaram   undi

          Ramu to   wrist-watch   exists

          'Ramu has-a-wrist-watch'

    (b) gadiyaaram   raamu-ku   undi

         wrist-watch   Ramu to   exists

         'The wrist-watch belongs to Ramu' or
         'The wrist-watch is Ramu's'

    (c) gadiyaaram   raamudi

         wrist-watch   Ramu-it

         'The wrist-watch is Ramu's'

(13) (a) atani-ki   veetakukkalu   undaayi

         him   to   hounds   exist

         'He has (some) hounds'

    (b) veetakukkalu ·   atani-ki   undaayi

         hounds   him   to   exist

         'The hounds belong to him' or 'The hounds are his'

    (c) veetakukkalu   atanivi

         hounds   his-they (non-human)

         'The hounds are his'

(14) (a) aame-ku   nemali   undi

         her to   peacock   exists

         'She has a peacock'

    (b) nemali   aame-ku   undi

         peacock   her to   exists

         'The peacock belongs to her' or 'The peacock is
         hers'

    (c) nemali   aamedi

         peacock   her-it

         'The peacock is her's'

The sentences in (a), (b) and (c) are certainly related to each

other in that they all indicate the possession or ownership of certain

'objects' by some people.   But it would be misleading to suggest
that they are totally synonymous.

There are certain syntactic and semantic factors that differen-
tiate these three groups of possessive constructions.   First among
these is the order of constituents.   The (a), (b) and (c) instances
have the following surface word order, respectively:

(15)   (a)   possessor + possessed + verb

       (b)   possessed + possessor + verb

       (c)   possessed + possessor-compound.

The appearance of the possessor at the beginning of the (a) instances
followed by the possessed, indicates that the nominal representing
the possessed is indefinite.   In the (b) and (c) instances the order
possessed-possessor indicates that the nominal representing the
possessed is definite.   In the underlying structure of these
possessive sentences the possessed nominal, which will be abs in our
hypothesis, has to be marked for the feature $[\pm$ definite$]$.   The
selection of $[-$ definite$]$ will, then, get us to the order in the (a)
instances, and the selection of $[+$ definite$]$ to the (b) and (c)
instances.   In other words, the word order in these constructions is
closely related to the semantic notion of definiteness.   Recall here
that we have already noticed similar phenomena with respect to the
existential and locative sentences in our previous discussion (see
Chapter 4.3 and 4.4):   cf. (16a) and (16b) below:

(16)   (a)   aḍavi-loo   kootulu   uṇḍaayi

             forest in   monkeys   exist

             'There are monkeys in the forest'

(b) kootulu   adavi-loo   undaayi

     monkeys   forest in   exist

     'The monkeys are in the forest'

In parallel to the existential and locative constructions, the
basic word order for the possessive sentences in Telugu would be
that found in (15)(a). The operation of the transformational rule
of scrambling on this basic order will get us the order found in
(15)(b) and (c). This rule of scrambling is tightly related to the
notion of definiteness.

The (b) and (c) instances are much more closely connected to
each other in having reference to a definite object of possession, as
against the indefinite reference found in (a). Structurally the (c)
instances are non-verbal sentences whereas the (b) instances have a
finite verb.   The absence of a verb in the surface structure of the
(c) instances, is but one of the syntactic devices employed by Telugu
to indicate a permanent tie or association between two entities.
This is why the (c) instances can be used to refer to a particular
definite object; and these are more commonly found in deictic
situations like the following

(17) aa   kalaalu   moohanvi

     those   pens   Mohan-they (non-human)

     'Those pens are Mohan's'

(18) ii   khadgamu   raajugaaridi

     this   sword   king-honorific-it

     'This sword is the king's'

We shall have occasion to elaborate this syntactic characteristic with
reference to the inherent or generic properties of people, places and

objects, wherein we will show the correlation between verbless stative constructions and the notion of essential quality.

It should be clear from the (a) and (b) instances of (11) through (14), that the surface subject in these sentences is the argument referring to the possessed. In contrast with English, where the possessor is the most favoured candidate for the 'subjecthood' in such constructions, Telugu and other Dravidian languages choose the abs argument as their surface subject and this noun governs the verbal concord. Once again the possessive sentences show a parallel structural distribution to the locative sentences in the realm of subject agreement as well. With both the structures there is no rule of locative-subjectivization in Telugu, the preferred subject being the noun or NP representing the abs. In other words, the principle of subject formation in spatial and non-spatial (possessive) constructions is that the argument abs has precedence over the argument loc. This subject formation rule is applicable only to the stative (locative and possessive) sentences on which no rule of ergativization has operated. The ergativization transformation is commonly used with certain stative constructions of Telugu like the (b) instance of (19)

    (19) (a) raamu-ku   siggu   veesindi

               Ramu   to   shyness   occurred

               'Ramu felt shy'

        (b) raamu   siggu   padinaadu

               Ramu   shyness   felt he

               'Ramu felt shy'

The connection between the structures like (19)(a) and (b) will be

discussed in the following section.   It suffices here to point out
that <u>siggu</u> 'shyness' and <u>raamu</u> are the surface subjects of (19)(a)
and (b) respectively.

5.2.3 <u>Possessive and case-markers</u>:   In the majority of the sentences
discussed under possessive, the postpositional phrase representing
the possessor is composed of a noun followed by the postposition
<u>-ki/-ku</u>.   This case suffix is generally labelled as 'dative' in the
traditional and structuralist grammars.   The multifarious functions
of <u>-ki/-ku</u> are analysed under appropriate sections at several places
in this work.   In the possessive construction, the <u>-ki/-ku</u> indicates
the possessor; with the other stative verbs it signals the person
who is in a particular state, and with the existential verbs it
occurs with the locative-phrase, to name but only three of its
functions.   Observe the following three examples:

(20) (a) anna-ku   naalugu   cokkaalu   undaayi

           elder brother four   shirts   exist
           to

           'My brother has four shirts'

      (b) ravi-ki   santoosamgaa   undi

           Ravi to   happiness be   exists

           'Ravi is happy'

      (c) raati-ki   sunnam '   undi

           stone to   lime-mark   exists

           'There is a lime-mark on the stone'

One and the same case-form is manifesting at least three distinct
uses of possession, state and location.   Another common function of
<u>-ki/-ku</u> is to indicate the terminal point of a moving entity or
Goal.   This indication of Goal is essentially of two sorts.   The
first exemplified by (21) below, occurs with the verbs of movement.   The

second, exemplified by (22), relates to the function customarily known
as the 'indirect object'.

(21)   pillalu   badi-ki   pooyinaaru

       children   school to   went

       'The children went to the school'

(22)   ravi   lalita-ku   puuvulu   iccinaadu

       Ravi   Lalita to   flowers   gave

       'Ravi gave flowers to Lalita'

Some of these constructions will be discussed in greater detail in
Chapter 7.

In this section we will concentrate on the syntax of -ki/-ku as
it is manifested in the possessive sentences (as in (20)(a)) and
compare it with the uses of other postpositions in similar construc-
tions. But first of all, the question that naturally arises is what
is the connection and distinction between (20)(a) and (b) on the one
hand, and (20)(b) and (c) on the other. Why should these construc-
tions be labelled possessive, stative and locative respectively, in
spite of the fact that one and the same case-marker is found in all
three examples? Syntactically they are similar in several respects:
in having a -ki/-ku phrase, in showing concord with the abs argument
and in having a finite verb undu 'to be'. The main noticeable
difference among them is the lexical meaning of the nominals that
appear in these sentences. For example, in (20)(a) the abs argument
is represented by cokkaa 'shirt' which is a concrete object when
compared to the abs argument in (20)(b) santoosam 'happiness' which
is an 'abstract' feeling. People possess things like shirt etc.
and the 'states' like happiness etc. occur to them. Apart from

this, there is not any other noticeable difference in the syntactic
structure of these two sentences, though no doubt there is some
semantic difference.   (20)(c) differs from these in having raayi
'stone' as its locative phrase whereas the other two have human beings
in similar positions.   These elementary facts suggest that sptaial
and non-spatial constructions can be derived from the same underlying
structure.   In other words, in line with the localist proposals
(Anderson 1971a, 1973b, 1967, 1968b and Miller 1974a), all three
sentences in (20) can be derived from the base structure consisting
loc and abs. The differences that are noticeable among them are
exclusively confined to the lexical meaning of nominals present in
loc and abs.   It is not necessary to postulate possessive and stative
as primitive case relations; they are nothing but predictable variants
of loc. We will return to this problem in more detail below.

Apart from -ki/-ku, there are other postpositions in Telugu that
are found in some possessive constructions.   These endings include
such postpositions as daggara 'near, nearness', vadda 'near', ceeta
'at the hand of', centa 'near' and others that share in certain contexts
functions of -ki/-ku in expressing the notion of possession.   In their
basic meaning they indicate spatial relations as can be gathered from
the following examples:

(23) maa   illu   kooneeti-daggara   undi

      our   house   reservoir nearness   is

      'My house is near the reservoir'

(24) pillalu   baavi-vadda   aadukuntaaru

      children   well nearness   play

      'The children play near the well'

(25) siita-ceeta   kalaalu   undaayi

Sita   hand at   pens   are

'There are (some) pens in Sita's hand'

(26) uureegimpu   deevaalayam-centa   undenu[1]

procession   temple   nearness   was

'The procession was at/near the temple'

It is hard to maintain the 'concrete' spatial relations distinct
from the non-spatial relations like possession. The sentence in
(25), for example, is ambiguous between these two readings in Telugu.
It can be interpreted either as purely existential as the above
translation of (25) is meant to be, or it can be interpreted that 'Sita
owns the pens'.

These four case-markers commonly occur in a kind of possessive
construction, wherein they signal the possessor. We have already
noticed that -ki/-ku occupy a similar position in such constructions.
Now let us examine the extended use of the postpositions daggara, vaada,
ceeta and centa in possessive constructions and compare them with the
-ki/-ku-constructions in order to see the semantic distinction and
connection between these two types of sentences.

(27) (a) naa-daggara   dabbu   undi

my   near   money   exists

'I have money' or 'There is money at me'

(b) naa-ku   dabbu   undi

me to   money   exists

'I have money'

---

1. This example is from written Telugu. centa is not common in the
colloquial style, where we get daggara instead. The pronominal
ending -nu and the past tense e are also peculiar characteristics
of the written style.

(28) (a) lalita-vadda   pustakaalu   uṇḍaayi

Lalita near   books   exist

'Lalita has books' or 'There are books near Lalita'

(b) lalita-ku   pustakaalu   uṇḍaayi

Lalita to   books   exist

'Lalita has books'

(29) (a) goopi-ceeta   bangaaram   undi

Gopi hand at   gold   exists

'Gopi has gold' or 'There is gold in the hands of Gopi'

(b) goopi-ki   bangaaram   undi

Gopi to   gold   exists

'Gopi has gold'

(30) (a) saynikula-centa   khaḍgamulu   uṇḍenu

soldiers   near   swords   existed

'The soldiers had swords' or 'There were swords at/near the soldiers'

(b) saynikula-ku   khaḍgamulu   uṇḍenu

soldiers   to   swords   existed

'The soldiers had swords'

Each of the (a) instances above is translated in two ways to indicate the apparent ambiguity of the constructions. The possessor-possessed relation found in them is but one of the two interpretations available; the other interpretation being simply the location of the object near/at a particular person without necessarily signalling the notion of ownership. The second reading also indicates the availability of the object at/from a particular person. In the (b) instances of -ki/-ku phrases there is no possibility for such an

ambiguity. They indicate that the owner-owned relation is more a permanent one, for example (27)(b) can also be translated as 'I am rich'. The inherently possessive relation that exists between the possessor and possessed is clearly manifested in the -ki/-ku phrases of Telugu, whereas the other postpositional phrases are prone to the existential as well as possessive interpretations. In other words, the -ki/-ku phrases indicate a more permanent or inherent relation between the two entities whereas the other postpositions are used to indicate a non-inherent or contingent relation between the possessor and the possessed. This sort of distinction is very transparently preserved in such Telugu examples as (31)

(31) atani-ki   dabbu   undi,   kaanii   prastutam

     him   to   money   exists   but   at the moment

     atani-daggara / ceeta   paysaa   guuda   leedu

     him   near   near   penny   also   not be

     'He is a rich man, but he hasn't any money with him
     at the moment'

Where the -ki phrase indicates that 'he possesses money', i.e. 'he is a rich man', the -daggara/ceeta phrase clearly shows the availability or non-availability of money with respect to a particular time.

The minimal distinctions noticeable between the functions of the locative case-suffix loo 'in' and -ki/-ku are also of some interest at this point.

(32) (a)   aa   uur-loo   nemallu   undaayi

         that   village in   peacocks   exist

         'There are peacocks in that village'

(b) aa uuri-ki nemallu undaayi

that village to peacocks exist

'That village has peacocks' or 'There are
peacocks for that village'

(33) (a) gudi-loo puujaarlu undaaru

temple in priests exist

'There are priests in the temple'

(b) gudi-ki puujaarlu undaaru

temple to priests exist

'The temple has priests' or ' There are priests
for the temple'

Garman (1973:Ch. 3.2) has observed a similar distinction in Kodagu,
another Dravidian language. His examples are

(34) (a) aa tootatili kuuva undaa?

that estate in well exist question

'Is there a well in that estate?'

(b) aa tootaki kuuva undaa?

that garden to well exist question

'Is there a well for (the use of) that estate?'

The (a) and (b) instances of (32) through (34) may be labelled as the
existential and possessive constructions respectively. Their superficial
structure shows that the main difference
between them is the presence of <u>loo</u> or <u>tili</u> in (a), and <u>-ki</u>/<u>-ku</u> in
(b). A natural conclusion from these facts could be that the
existential and possessive constructions in Telugu are distinguished
through the case-endings found in the syntax; in that they are
identified with <u>loo</u> and <u>-ki</u>/<u>-ku</u> phrases respectively; since the
remaining structure of these sentences is identical. This is a
perfectly valid argument based on the distributional properties.

A closer examination of these sentences will show that the (a) and (b) instances differ not so much in their underlying case relations, but in the area of the semantic field on which each construction focusses its attention.   In the (a) instances the prominence is given to the spatial existence of entities, like peacocks and priests, with respect to the multidimensional objects or places like villages and temples.   The existence of an entity at a particular point is in focus.   In the (b) instance the meaning-focus is turned on to the possessor-possessed relation.   This necessitates a metaphorical extension of the PLACE nouns, like village and temple, to that of possessor.   This imposition of a 'human institution' like ownership on the non-human spatial nouns correlates with the syntactic device of using a -ki phrase.   Notice that the notion of existence is not relevant to the (b) instances. This suggests that both the (a) and (b) instances can be derived from the underlying base structure of loc and abs;   their difference in case-markers correlates with the feature of focus on a particular semantic field at a given time.

Notice also that many of the -ki/-ku constructions are ambiguous between the locative and possessive, if the latter can be maintained at all as a distinct relation from the former.

(35) aa   iṇṭi-ki   talupulu   uṇḍaayi
     that   house to   doors   exist
     'That house has doors' or 'There are doors to that house'

(36) aa   tooṭa-ku   kance   undi
     that   garden to   fence   exists
     'The garden has a fence' or 'There is a fence for that garden'

These sentences are ambiguous between the entities in abs being parts of or owned by the entities in loc phrase. The part-whole relation suggests that they are locative. The owner-owned relation, then, can be interpreted as a metaphorical extension of the former. This is probably one of the reasons why Telugu uses the same postposition in such instances, both for existence and possession.

In general discussions, the notion o⌐ possession is classified into two distinct types: 'alienable' or 'separable' and 'inalienable' or 'inseparable' (see Fillmore, 1968a:61-80; Anderson, 1971a:113-118). This distinction is clearly marked in Telugu by the use of -ki/-ku and daggara respectively. The inherently relational concepts like body parts, kinship etc. are found only with the -ki/-ku phrases

(37) naa-ku   talidandrulu   undaaru

      me to   parents   exist

      'I have my parents (living)'

(38) naa-ku   kaallu   viriginaayi

      me to   legs   broke (intr.)

      'My legs are broken'

The use of the postposition daggara 'near' in place of -ku in the above examples will not express the intended meaning of relationship but rather contingent existence of the entities.

(37') naa-daggara   talidandrulu   unnaaru

      'Somebody's parents are near me'

(38') naa-daggara   kaallu   viriginaayi

      'Somebody's legs were broken near me'

Further, the sentences in (37') and (38') are of doubtful acceptability. With a separable entity like, say a pen, both the -ki/-ku

phrase as well as <u>daggara</u>-phrase are acceptable, but one denotes

ownership and the other only existence and availability.   This

suggests that the so-called dative suffix -<u>ki</u>/-<u>ku</u> specialises in

expressing the inherent relation, whereas the other postpositional

phrase indicates only the notion of alienability or separability.

In certain contexts the -<u>ki</u>/-<u>ku</u> phrase is ambiguously extended to

denote mere existence also, whereas the <u>daggara</u>-phrase is never found

indicating the notion of inseparableness.

5.2.4 <u>Possessive as underlying loc</u>: The syntactic and morphological

manifestations of possession and their correlation with certain

semantic properties have occupied our attention so far.   A more

interesting question to raise is what is the status of these construc-

tions in the underlying structure of the grammar? Is possessive to

be accorded the place of a primitive case relation? No grammarian

that I am aware of has proposed such a solution.   One particular

model of case grammar, associated with Fillmore, envisages deriving

the possessive from the underlying Dative (Fillmore, 1968a:61-83).   In

this theory Dative (which was later renamed as Experiencer) is a

primitive case relation in addition to Locative.   The Telugu evidence

that we have been examining may be interpreted within this model as

manifesting the two basic case relations Dative and Objective.   This

means Fillmore's case grammar adds the case relation of Dative to the

inventory of his basic primitives in order to cope with structures like

possessives.   But the Telugu facts have also indicated that one and

the same case-marker is used many times to denote possession as well

as location.   Further, throughout this chapter we have enumerated

numerous structural parallels between the syntax of locative and

possessive constructions.   We also came across the instances where

the distinction between locative and possessive is necessitated purely

by the lexical meaning of the grammatical items present in the con-

structions, rather than the basic case relations governed by the verb.

In the majority of instances one and the same verb uṇḍu is found both

in the locative and possessive constructions.   It will be a false

step to conclude that these similarities and parallelism are merely

coincidental in Telugu.   On the contrary the Telugu evidence supports

the hypothesis that possessives are underlying locatives. (Lyons, 1967;

1968a: Ch.8.4.4 and 1968b; Anderson, 1971a: Ch. 7.3; 1973b and Miller,

1974a).   We do not require an underlying category Dative, as sugges-

ted by Fillmore, in our grammar.   The possessive in Telugu is nothing

but a contextually determined variant of the case relation loc.   Thus

the underlying structure of possessives, on par with spatial locatives,

needs the case array of loc and abs.

Earlier in this chapter (5.2.1) three syntactic expressions

manifesting the concept of possession were enumerated under the tradi-

tional names of 'dative-possive', 'predicate-possessive' and 'genitive'.

Within the localist framework (as outlined in Chapter 3), we propose

to analyse them as consisting of the case relations loc and abs in

their base structures.   The superficial structural difference among

these three patterns is the result of the transformational operations.

In other words, the underlying uniformity of the possessive as loc

can be maintained despite the apparent superficial syntactic differ-

ences.   There is no place for the possessive verb in the base

structure distinct from the loc predicators.   A formal representation

and a somewhat detailed derivation of the three Telugu construction-

types will be our next main concern.   These patterns are repeated in

(39) for the sake of immediate reference.

(39) (a) goopaaludi-ki aavulu undaayi

   Gopal to cows exist

   'Gopal has cows'

 (b) aavulu goopaaludivi

   cows Gopal-they (non-human)

   'The cows are Gopal's'

 (c) goopaaludi aavulu

   Gopal of 'cows'

   'Gopal's cows'

The essential structural (superficial) differences among these sen-
tences have already been discussed. Leaving them aside, we can still
see the common indicator of possession in the form of possessor and
possessed of these sentences. It is the -ki-phrase in (39)(a) that
is often described as dative in Telugu, but the case-marker dative
is but one of the formal representations of possessive.

 The underlying structure of all the three sentence-patterns of
Telugu can be schematically represented as in (40)

(40)
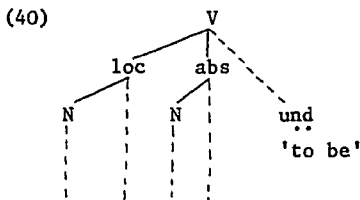
This is obviously similar to the base structure of spatial locative
described in Chapter 4. Among the three possessives under discussion,
the type in (39)(a) preserves the base structure most faithfully; the
other two are reduced forms. In this spirit, the underlying structure
of (39)(a) would be as represented in (41)

(41)

        goopaaluḍi ki aavulu   uṇḍaayi

         Gopal   to   cows   are/exist
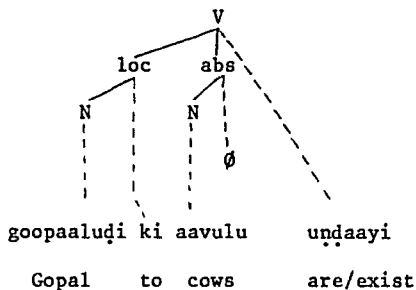
The case relation of loc is occupied by the possessor and the mapping
of this case relation on the case-form -ki is obvious from the above
representation.   The surface subject of this construction is the
nominal representing the abs argument.   Unlike what happens with the
spatial locatives, the verb-deletion transformation does not operate
on (41).   There is not much difference between the underlying and
superficial structure of (39)(a).

     The derivation of (39)(b) is complicated by some syntactic facts
of Telugu.   Suppose we take (39)(a) as the unmarked basic order for
possessives, the addition of [+ definite] to the underlying abs will
result in an interchange of positions between loc and abs.   That is,
the definite variant of (39)(a) would be

    (42)   aavulu   goopaaludi-ki   uṇḍaayi

         cows   Gopal   to   exist

         'The cows belong to Gopal' or 'The cows are Gopal's'

The appearance of abs in initial position in (42) indicates that we
are talking about a definite set of entities.   This notion of
definiteness is retained in the structures like (39)(b) as well.
Telugu makes use of the syntactic device of cleft formation to focus
on a particular argument within a construction.   Through the use of
this device on (42) we arrive at the following structure in an
intermediate stage

(43) aa   aavulu   goopaaludi-ki   unna   aavulu   agu

those cows   to   be-rel.   cows   be

'Those are the cows that belong to Gopal'

Being a cleft it will take the copulative agu 'be' in its positive
and kaadu 'not be so and so' in the negative.   The underlying struc-
ture of this complex sentence has a representation like that in (44)

(44)

goopaludu ki aavulu   undu
Gopal   to cows   exist
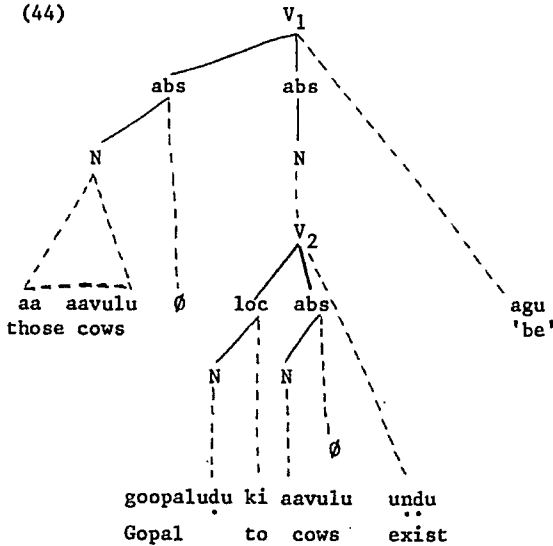
The operation of relative transformation on the structure of V_2 in
(44) gives us the construction in (43).   On this structure, then, the
participial (verb) deletion transformation, (which is quite common in
spatial locative structures too) operates;   this deletes the unna and
the case-element -ki and gives us a structure like

(45) aa   aavulu   goopaaludi   aavulu   agu

those cows   Gopal   cows   be

The underlying verb agu in such structures of Telugu as (45) is
optionally deleted and this deletion results in the so-called-non-
verbal or verbless sentences.   On the remaining structure of (45), the

pronominalization transformation operates to delete one of the
identical reflexes of abs, namely 'cows' above, through the process
of copying. Depending on which of the two identical abs has been
selected, the following structures will be found in the surface
structure.

(46) (a) aa   aavulu   goopaaludivi

           those cows   Gopal   they (non-human)

      (b) avi   goopaludi   aavulu

           They   Gopal   cows
           (non-human)

This brief outline will be sufficient to show that the so-called
predicate-possessive is a syntactic variant indicating the under-
lying locative structure of possession.

     Regarding the 'genitive', the possessive par excellence of
conventional grammars, I have nothing much to add to our discussion
above (5.2.1).   Just as the notion of 'dative' as a primitive case
relation is untenable so is that of 'genitive'.   Our example in
(39)(c) is derivable from the underlying structure of (41) with the
help of the transformational operations of relativization and
participial deletion, as outlined above.   Another point about the
'genitives' is that they are purely transformational reductions of
various underlying case relations, the details of which need greater
attention than I can devote in this work.   However, we have evidence
from Telugu that the 'dative' and 'genitive' structures have the
common function of indicating the concept of possession on the
surface.   Both of them are, of course, derivable from the underlying
loc.   In this regard, the systematic translational equivalents

available between Telugu and Hindi highlight the relevant point under discussion. Observe the following possessive sentences wherein the (a) examples from Telugu have the 'dative' suffix -ki/-ku; and the (b) examples from Hindi show the same relation systematically with the help of a 'genitive' suffix kaa/ke/kii:

(47) (a) atani-ki   naluguru   pillalu   kalaru

       him   to   four   children   are

       'He has four children'

   (b) un-ke   caar   bacce   h$\tilde{\text{e}}$

       him of   four   children   are

       'He has four children'

(48) (a) gurraala-ku   kommulu   un.davu

       horses   to   horns   not are

       'Horses have no horns'

   (b) ghod$\tilde{\text{o}}$-ke   siing   nah$\tilde{\tilde{\text{ii}}}$ hote

       horses of   horns   not   are

       'Horses have no horns'

(49) (a) mohan-ku   kaaru   undi

       Mohan to   car   is

       'Mohan has a car'

   (b) moohan-kii   ek   kaar   hε

       Mohan of   one   car   is

       'Mohan has a car'

These examples show that one and the same case-relation may be expressed by different case-forms in different languages. More importantly, why should the 'dative' ending in Telugu be a systematic equivalent to the 'genitive' marker in Hindi? This is because of their remote relation to the concept of possession. The localist analysis

as applied to these examples will show that both these structures are
ultimately derivable from a uniform underlying structure consisting
of loc and abs as schematized in (40).   It is due to the syntactico-
morphological make-up of individual languages that we get different
case-forms on the surface| The mapping relation between case-relation
and case-forms will show that the 'dative suffix' in Telugu and the
'genitive suffix' in Hindi are eventually related to the basic
category of loc.   This can be given the tree-node representation as
in (50), taking (48) as our typical illustration.

(50)

Telugu:	gurraala	ku	kommulu	Ø	undavu[2]
Hindi:	ghodõ	ke	siing		nahĩhote

'Horses have no horns'
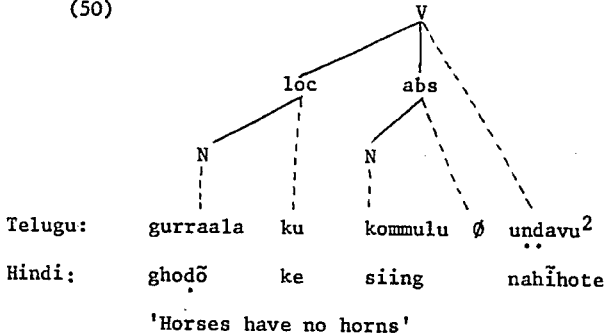
From the foregoing discussion, it should be clear that in consonance
with the localist case theory we can interpret the various possessive
constructions in Telugu as clauses consisting of abstract loc and abs.
The 'abstract' use of loc in expressions like possessive is claimed to
be an extension of the 'concrete' or 'spatial' locative detailed in
Chapter 4.

5.3 <u>Some stative expressions and their non-stative counterparts</u>

    So far in this chapter we have been mainly concerned with
possessive constructions.   It will have been observed that the most

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2.   Here, as elsewhere in the tree representation, I am ignoring
    the problems of tense, negation, mood and the like for the sake
    of simplicity. This will not hinder our main argument.

commonly used case-form in these constructions is -ki/-ku. In the
present section we shall examine a number of other constructions in
which -ki/-ku is used. Some of these have already been introduced
above (see 5.2.3). Here we shall focus our attention on verbs which
can be included under the general heading of 'stative' predicators.
Out of the multifarious functions of -ki/-ku, the notion of 'being at
a point or place' and the concept of 'motion towards' as found in
conjunction with the verbs of cognition, verbs of experience (mental
and physical), verbs of perception and related predicates will be
discussed here. The syntax of these predicators and their similarity
to and distinction from the locative constructions will be studied,
so that we can see the relevance of the localist theory to this area.
By calling these constructions 'stative', we do not mean that the
possessives discussed above are quite different from them. In fact
it is hard to find any crucial distinction between possessive and
stative even in surface structure. It is appropriate in such
circumstances to start our discussion with the help of the surface
structures as they occur with some of these 'abstract' verbs and
proceed from there to a detailed description. The category 'stative'
is generally contrasted with the notion of 'active' or 'agentive'
verbs in theoretical discussion; more appropriately the feature
[stative] is sometimes negatively characterized as [- agentive]. In
this sense most of the verbs described under the heading of locative
and possessive above are stative, though there are corresponding
agentive variants available in Telugu verb morphology. We have
deliberately restricted our attention to the stative verbs in order
to go into the intricacies of their syntax rather than simply survey-

ing the different construction types.   We will also examine the
syntax of some of the HAPPEN verbs and contrast them with ACTION-
verbs to see the interrelated semantic and morphological correspon-
dences.   This will compel us to go beyond the stative locative
clauses even at this stage of our discussion.

5.3.1 <u>Verbs of cognition</u>: First among these stative expressions,
we will enumerate what can be called, informally, verbs of cognition.
Under this class of verbs in Telugu, Krishnamurti (1970b) limits his
description to <u>telusu</u> 'to be known', <u>erugu</u> 'to know' and <u>vaccu</u> 'to
come'.   Apart from these, one might include such verbs as the follow-
ing under the general heading of the verbs of cognition: <u>arthamagu</u>
'to be understood', <u>artham ceesikonu</u> 'to understand', <u>anipincu</u> 'to
think, to feel', <u>toocu</u> 'to think, to occur', <u>anukonu</u> 'to opine, to
feel, to think', <u>aaloocincu</u> 'to think', <u>gnaapakam uṇḍu</u> 'to remember',
<u>maracu</u> 'to forget' and the like. The structural characteristics of
the sentences with some of the cognitive verbs show significant
resemblance to those of the spatial locative constructions.   They
have a postpositional phrase, particularly a –<u>ki</u>/–<u>ku</u> phrase in the
majority of the instances, that denotes the person who 'experiences'
the cognition.   Then there is the uninflected nominal which indicates
the 'fact' that is to be known, and the finite verb is in number and
gender agreement with this nominal, as can be gathered from the
following examples:

> (51) naa–ku   aa   sangati   telisindi
>
>   me   to   that   fact   be known–it
>
>   'I knew/learnt that fact'

(52) naa-ku   aa   paaṭham   arthamayindi

      me to   that   lesson   be understood

      'I understood that lesson'

(53) siita-ku   aa   maaṭalu   gnaapakamundaayi

      Sita to   those words   remembrance be

      'Sita remembers those words'

One of the interesting facts about these constructions is that the -ki/-ku phrase indicates the 'abstract place' at which the cognition rests. Just as in the spatial locative constructions we can notice the existence of X at a particular place Y, here we are talking about the existence of knowledge at some human person. The class of nouns that can appear with -ki/-ku in such sentences is severely restricted. Parallel to the locative verbs, the cognitive verbs can be interpreted as consisting of loc and abs in their under-lying structure, but this time the loc being 'abstract' rather than 'concrete'. In this way, the remote structure of (52) can be represented as in (54).

(54)

      neenu   ku aapaaṭham ∅   arthamayindi

      I   to that lesson   be understood.
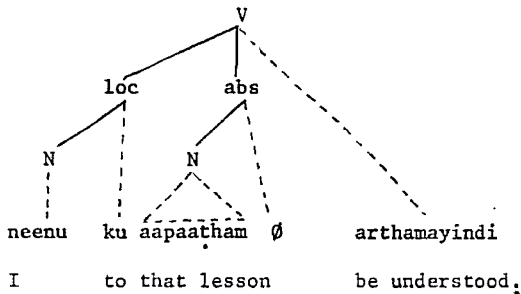
A phonological rule will convert neenu + ku into naaku 'to me'. The underlying structure (54), then, is taken as a typical representative of the sentences with cognitive verbs.

There are two lexical items within the set of cognitive verbs which are morphologically 'defective', in that they are not conjugated like the other verbs.

(55) goopi-ki   iita   telusu

      Gopi to   swimming   be known

      'Gopi knows how to swim'

(56) lalita-ku   kannada   vaccu

      Lalita to   Kannada   comes

      'Lalita knows Kannada'

In (55) the notion of ability on the part of Gopi is ambiguously detectable.   But the morphological fact to be pointed out is that both telusu and vaccu are not conjugated for any of the concordial or tense features.   In the case of (56) the directional verb vaccu is used to indicate the concept of possession of knowledge. Apparently a directional verb by definition denotes a source and a goal minimally, though a particular instance may focus on either of them.   (56) has focus on the goal with no mention of the source, as it is irrelevant to the present context.   In this sense the -ku in (56) exhibits the goal of knowledge which means that the location and goal are manifested by the same postposition.   The directional verb in Telugu is extended to the non-directional stative function as well.   As it focusses on a particular state rather than the entire 'movement', only that state is manifested in (56) by the -ku phrase (see further Chapter 7).

Unlike the possessive constructions, the verbs of cognition appear to have 'active' or 'ergative' counterparts of their stative predications.   (51) through (53), for example, can have the following

'agentive' syntactic paradigms:

(51')   neenu   aa   sangati   telusukoninaanu

        I   that   fact   be known reflexive-past

        'I found out that fact' or 'I learnt that fact'

(52')   neenu   aa   paatham   arthamceesikoninaanu

        I   that   lesson   understood

        'I understood that lesson'

(52')   siita   aa   maatalu   gnaapakamceesukuntundi

        Sita   those words   remembers

        'Sita (will) remember(s) those words'

The superficial structural composition of (51') through (53') is not
similar to that of (51) to (53). In the former instances there is no
-ki/-ku phrase and the verbal concord shows that the subject of these
sentences is the nominal referring to the person who undergoes the
cognition, as it were. In this respect the constructions (51')
through (53') resemble those with transitive verbs (see Chapter 2.3.3).
The make-up of the 'verbal complex' in these structures can be
decomposed into verb root + reflexive marker + tense + concordial
elements. The presence of reflexive in conjunction with an active
verb signals, in majority of instances, that the agent denoted by the
(surface) subject is also the 'recipient' of the action denoted by the
verb. In this sense the verbs in (51') through (53') may be taken to
have the case array as in (57)

(57) [—— [erg] [abs]]·

A native speaker of Telugu will be able to notice that (51)
through (53) are surely somehow related to (51') through (53'). These
two pairs of constructions are not totally synonymous, but their

connection cannot be denied.   The above analysis suggests that the former set has a case array of [- [loc] [abs]] whereas the latter have [- [erg] [abs]].   This solution would be contradictory on the grounds that two apparently related sentences are shown to have two different underlying structures and thus captures no generalizations. In a theoretical framework like Fillmore's case grammar the only way is the above solution.   The case frames in that model would be [- [Dative] [Objective] for the former set and [- [Agentive] [Objective] for the latter.   If this line of argument is pursued, the entire foundations of case theory become rather shaky, as they are failing to capture the native speaker's intuition regarding the intersentential relationship.

Instead, we want to maintain that the underlying structure of (51') through (53') is also basically the same as represented in (54), i.e. the base case-relations are loc and abs as postulated for (51) through (53).   But the native speaker can also tell you that there is a definite difference between these two sets.   (51) through (53) denote that there is no effort involved on the part of the 'experiencer' whereas (51') through (53') indicate that there is considerable effort or volition on his part to 'know' the facts.   This difference and the connection between these two sets can be maintained by introducing the notion of case-feature as proposed by Anderson (1971a, 1976b). According to this hypothesis, case is both a labelled relation and a feature in conjunction with s ve other case-relation.   This is one of the significant theoretical differences between Fillmorian case grammar and localist theory.   Accordingly, both the construction types under discussion are claimed to have the primitive case-relations

of loc and abs.   The instances in (51') through (53') can be claimed

to have derived as a result of the combination of [erg] as a feature

along with the primitive loc.   In other words, (52') for example, is

derived from (58).

(58)

$$
\begin{bmatrix} loc \\ erg \end{bmatrix} \quad abs
$$

V

N

N

neenu   ∅   aa paatham ∅ arthamceesikonina-anu

'I   that lesson   understood'
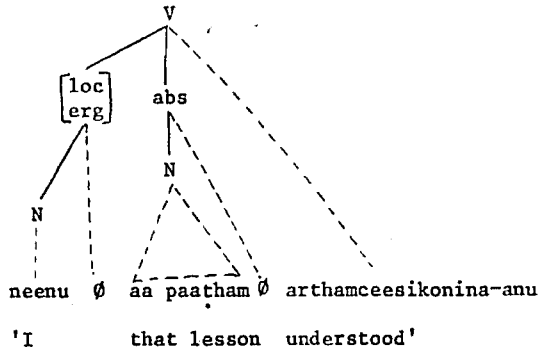
A comparison of (58) with (54) will show the analysis being

pursued.   The locative as found in (54) has undergone the process

of ergativization which latter stage is represented in (58) (see

Anderson, 1971a: Ch. 7 for detailed argumentation).   The ergativiza-

tion of locatives is not in any way peculiar to the verbs of cognition

in Telugu, it also operates with such other pairs as English please

and like.   We will also find similar structures with experiential

verbs, the characteristics of which will be taken later and with a

set of attributive constructions (see Chapter 6).

5.3.2 Verbs of perception: Another set of verbs which exhibits a

parallel relationship between the stative and active counterparts is

what is known as the verbs of perception or sensation.   The post-

position -ki/-ku commonly occurs with the [- agentive] set of this

pair.   We will confine our attention to the four pairs, as exempli-

fied below:

(59) (a)   neenu   kooti-ni   cuusinaanu

           I   monkey acc.   saw-I

           'I looked at a monkey'

      (b)   naa-ku   oka   kooti   kanipincindi

           me to   one   monkey   appeared-it

           'I saw a monkey'

(60) (a)   ravi   aa   maaṭalu   fininaaḍu

           Ravi   those   words   heard-he

           'Ravi listened to those words'

      (b)   ravi-ki   aa   maaṭalu   vinipincinaayi

           Ravi to   those   words   hear-they (non-human)

           'Ravi heard those words'

(61) (a)   neenu   atan-ni   taakinaanu

           I   him acc.   touched-I

           'I touched him' (expressly)

      (b)   naa-ku   atanu   tagilinaaḍu

           me to   he   touched-he

           'He touched me' (accidentally)

(62) (a)   aame   mallepuulu   vaasanacuusindi

           she   jasmines   smell saw-she

           'She smelt the jasmines' (expressly)

      (b)   aame-ku   mallepuulu   vaasanaveesinaayi

           her to   jasmines   smell occurred-they

           'She smelt the jasmines (accidentally)

The English translation of the (a) and (b) instances does not carry the distinction between them. The noticeable differences in their syntactic structure form a good guide for investigating the semantic distinctions. In informal terms, we can say that all the

sentences of (59) through (62) consist of a 'main verb' and two arguments. In the (a) instances the argument referring to the experiencer of the sensation turns out as the (surface) subject, whereas in the (b) instances the subject is the argument which refers to the 'stimulating entity' like smell, noise, etc. One of the two noun phrases present in both types, the (a) instances show an optional 'accusative-phrase' indicating the abs argument, the same argument appears with no inflexion in the (b) instances. The -ki/-ku phrase in the (b) instances is related to the subject noun in the (a) instances in that in both phrases indicate the 'experiencer', though in one place he is intentionally or volitionally participating in the action denoted by the verb and in the other place he is just a passive participant.

The four paradigms of active and stative counterparts exhibit their relationship through their morphology. The verbs cuucu and kanipincu are not very transparent in this respect. In written style, however, kanu 'to look at' is paradigmatically in productive use, in such instances as

(63) (a) raakumaari   hamsa-nu   kanenu
          princess   swan acc.   saw-she
          'The princess looked at the swan'

      (b) raakumaari-ki   hamsa   kanipincenu
          princess   to   swan   appeared-it
          'The princess saw the swan'.

The other paradigms are too obvious to need further comment.

The (b) instances in the above sentences can be interpreted as deriving from underlying structures of loc and abs. But the loc and

abs here are somewhat different from the stative locative construction
with undu 'to be' wherein they simply indicate the existence of an
entity in a place. In the (b) instances of (59) through (63), the
arguments representing abs may be a dynamic or moving entity whose
terminal point is the entity manifested by the -ki/-ku phrase. In
other words, these verbs may be interpreted as directionals. On this
count it is contradictory to label them as stative. This inconsis-
tency is reconcilable, if we interpret the (b) instances as non-static
(as against static undu), which focus on a particular state of the
movement, namely, the end point of the action. Since there is no
agency involved the moving entity is given prominence in the sub-
jectivization. The (a) instances with an agent, who participates
willingly, can then be taken as consisting of the case relations of
erg and abs. But notice that these are somewhat different from the
totally ergative constructions like

(64)   neenu   kukka-nu   kottinaanu

       I   dog-acc   beat

       'I beat a dog'

wherein the agent does not 'undergo' in any sense the action indicated
by the verb. Unlike this, in the (a) instances of (59) through (63)
the erg argument simultaneously represents the initiator as well as
the recipient of the action. Thus, they can be interpreted as
deriving from a frame like [- [loc] [abs]], where the loc has
undergone the ergativization transformation as suggested above. Their
final underlying structure being as that of (65)

(65)   [- $\begin{bmatrix} loc \\ erg \end{bmatrix}$ [abs]].

It is the case-feature of erg that makes the (a) instances take
imperatives, the absence of which blocks the imperative in the (b)

instances:

(66) (a) kukka-nu   cuudu

          dog-acc   see-imperative

          'Look at the dog'

(b) *kukka-nu   kanipincu

The -ki/-ku phrase in the (b) instances is not limited to the above

stative expressions. It turns up in the causative constructions as

the Goal of the action noticed in the finite verb.

(67) naanna   naa-ku   kooti-ni   cuupincinaadu

     father   me to   monkey-acc   showed

     'Father showed me a monkey'

This sentence has the case relations of erg, loc and abs separately

represented on the surface as well, though we may have to view the

causative as deriving from a superordinate structure. However (67)

also provides evidence for the generalization that dat (indirect

object) in a three-place construction is nothing but an underlying

loc and that there is no argument in favour of postulating dative as

an underlying independent case (see further Chapter 7).

5.3.3 Experiential verbs: Structural parallelism between the spatial

and non-spatial expressions has been the central focus of our

discussion. The parallelism noticeable between locative-existential

sentences and 'experiental' predicators of various kinds will be

investigated in this section. The term 'experiential' is not a very

precise and illuminating term for the phenomenon under study. However,

it will become clear as we exemplify from Telugu using this term as a

common label for 'physical' and 'psychological' experience. As with

other abstract stative predicates, the experiential verbs also occur

in sentences incorporating the -ki/-ku phrase.   The syntax of these
constructions is much more complex than the spatial expressions that
were studied in Chapter 4.

The physical or 'bodily' experience of animate beings can be
illustrated by such examples as the following:

(68)   (a)   siita-ku   talanoppi

Sita   to   headache

'Sita has a headache'

(b)   siita-ku   talanoppigaa   undi

Sita   to   headache   is-it

'Sita has a headache'

(69)   (a)   vaadi-ki   aakali

him   to   hunger

'He is hungry'

(b)   vaadi-ki   aakaligaa   undi

him   to   hunger   is-it

'He is hungry'

(c)   vaadu   aakaligaa   undaadu

he   hunger   is-he

'He is hungry'

(70)   (a)   atani-ki   jabbu

him   to   sickness

'He is sick'

(b)   atani-ki   jabbugaa   undi

him   to   sickness   is-it

'He is sick'

(c) atanu   jabbugaa   undaadu

     he   sickness   is-he

     'He is sick'

At least three structural patterns are distinguished in expressing the experience of pain, hunger, thirst, disability, disease and the like. These three sentences are no doubt interrelated, but their superficial constructional differences are not just a matter of coincidence. In all of these clauses there is a human being (other animate beings like dog or cat also will do) who suffers from (or enjoys) the pain (or pleasure) indicated. Structurally the sufferer is signalled by the −ki/-ku phrase in both the (a) and (b) instances whereas in the (c) instances he is manifested by an uninflected (i.e. nominative) form of a noun. The noun referring to the pain is the subject of the sentence in the (b) instances and the noun referring to the sufferer turns up as the subject of the (c). Notice also that in the (b) and (c) instances there is an element, gaa immediately following the nouns indicating pain. Both of these structures have a finite verb in the shape of undu. There is no such verbal element in the sentences of (a). The surface patterns of these three structures can informally be represented in such categorial terms as in (71).

(71) (a) N − ku   N

      (b) N − ku   N gaa be

      (c) N   N gaa be

These construction-types are not limited to the verbs of physical experience; the three-way paradigm is very productive with verbs of psychological experience or predicators of human feelings. Observe

the following examples with uṇḍu and some other verbs:

(72) (a) ravi-ki   koopam

           Ravi to   anger

           'Ravi is angry' (by disposition)

      (b) ravi-ki   koopamgaa   undi

           Ravi to   anger   is-it

           'Ravi is angry'

      (c) ravi   koopamgaa   undinaadu

           Ravi   anger   was-he

           'Ravi was angry'

      (d) ravi-ki   koopam   vaccindi

           Ravi to   anger   came-it

           'Ravi became angry'

      (e) ravi   koopi/koopastuḍu

           Ravi   angry person

           'Ravi is an angry man'

(73) (a) naa-ku   siggu

           me to   shyness

           'I am shy'

      (b) naa-ku   siggugaa   undindi

           me to   shyness   was-it

           'I was shy'

      (c) neenu   siggu   padinaanu

           I   shyness   fall-past-I

           'I felt shy'

      (d) naa-ku   siggu   veesindi

           me to   shyness   occurred-it

           'I felt shy'

(e) ? neenu   siggumanisini

    I   shyness-man-I

    'I am a shy person'

There are large number of predicators that occur in similar Telugu constructions (see Krishnamurti, 1970a for further examples; we will take up some of these structures in Chapter 6 again). Even if we limit our attention to a selected set of paradigms, several of interesting syntactic facts and semantic correlations emerge.

The various sentences under each number are definitely related to each other, though they are by no means a set of totally synonymous expressions. All of them indicate that a particular animate being undergoes a certain experience (physical or mental). To that extent they are connected to each other. Each one of the sentences differs from the rest in focussing on a specific state (or profile) of the experience. There are certain aspectual distinctions like habitual, essential versus contingent that impose severe restrictions on the formation of these sentences. The (a) instances of the above examples are generally preferred for denoting the generic or essential property of a person. In this sense they are also habitual in indicating the normal habit or disposition of the individual in question. These sentences, for example, take an adverbial like 'always', which shows that their reference is to an inherent property.

(69) (a') ravi-ki   ellappuḍuu   aakali

          Ravi to   always   hunger

          'Ravi is always hungry'

(72) (a') ravi-ki   ellapuḍuu   koopam

          Ravi to   always   anger

          'Ravi is always angry'

The use of nonverbal predications in manifesting the essential
characteristics of entities is one of the favourite syntactic devices
of Telugu.   Recall here that we have noticed parallel verbless con-
structions with such spatial locatives as <u>santaloo racca</u> 'it is noisy
in the market' and <u>vantintloo veedi</u> 'it is hot in the kitchen'
(cf. 4.5).   Parallel to the locative constructions, the (a) examples
above can be derived from an underlying structure with <u>undu</u> governing
loc **and** abs.   The presence of this verb on the surface also does not
render these constructions unacceptable.   Thus as a synonym of (73)(a)
we can have a superficial structure, as in (73)(a')

    (73) (a') naa-ku   siggu   undi

                me   to   shyness   exists

                'I am shy'

There are other syntactic environments where a reflex of the
underlying verb is compulsory, such as negative, relative and condi-
tional variants of the above clause-type:

    (74) (a) goopi-ki   garvam   leedu

               Gopi to   pride   not exists

               'Gopi is not proud'

          (b) goopi-ki   unna   garvam ...

               Gopi to   be-rela-   pride
                               tive

               'The pride that Gopi has ...'

          (c) goopi-ki   garvam   untee ...

               Gopi to   pride   be-conditional

               'If Gopi is proud ...'

This suggests that the (a) instances of above paradigms can be taken
as having an underlying existential verb of 'being'. With the

experiential predicates this spatial locative verb is extended to
denote abstract states as well.   In other words the experiential
constructions are a predictable sub-type of locatives ultimately
derivable from structures like (75), which is a representation of
(68)(a)

(75)

```
                         V
                        /|\
                       / | \
                     loc abs \
                     /\  /\    \
                    /  | /  \    \
                   N   |/    \     \
                   |   N      \      \
                   |   |       \       \
                  ravi ki talanoppi  Ø   undi
                  Ravi  to  headache      exists
```
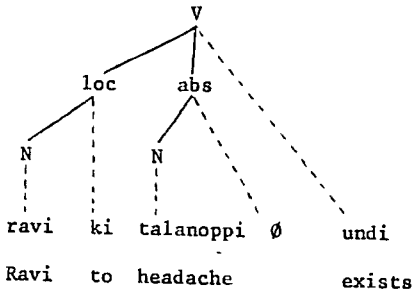
It is a syntactic fact of Telugu (cf. 4.5) that in the aspectually
determined non-past habitual instances the underlying verb _undu_ is
optionally deleted.   The operation of this rule on (75) results in
the non-verbal locative (spatial or non-spatial) constructions
(cf. 4.5).

The (b) examples in (68) through (73) refer to the transitory
or contingent condition as opposed to the essential or inherent
disposition manifested in the (a).   The (b) instances have an element
gaa attached to the noun representing the 'feeling'.   This element
has its etymological origin from the verb _agu_ 'to be, to become' in
that it is an infinitive of the verbal root (we will take up this
problem in Chapter 6 in connection with attributives).   In the (b)
examples the surface subject is still the nominal representing the
underlying abs.   The sentences in (c) have the experiencer as the
surface subject.   They are derived from structures like (75) through
the process of locative subjectivization, i.e. the subject formation

rule while operating on the loc transforms it into the surface
subject. Here again the <u>gaa</u> element indicates the temporary nature
of the experience under focus. The (d) instances, where available,
show a -<u>ki</u>/-<u>ku</u> phrase, but this time they are governed by a direc-
tional verb rather than an existential verb. They indicate that
particular state of affairs has happened or occurred and imply that
the state came into existence after the process denoted by the verb
has taken place. They represent only the final state (or goal) of
the process indicated in the sentence without referring to the causal
agent or source of the experience. The full structures of such
sentences can be observed from clauses like (76)

(76)   ravi-ki   siitapravartana-valana

       Ravi to   Sita's behaviour by / because of

       haani   kaligindi

       harm   happened

       'Ravi suffered on account of Sita's behaviour'

which has the case structure of ablative very well preserved. The
entire sentence has the case array of loc, abl and abs. The above
(d) instances are a reduction of this structure which do not retain
the ablative and focus only on a specific state. In this way (77)
below can be taken as a partial structure of (76).

(77)   ravi-ki   haani   kadigindi

       Ravi to   harm   happened

       'Ravi was harmed'.

Here again it may be pointed out that one and the same postposition,
-<u>ki</u>/-<u>ku</u>, occurs manifesting the stative locative as well as the goal
or allative of a directional predication (cf. Chapter 7 for further

discussion). The (e) examples of (72) and (73) have an equative structure and they indicate an inherent quality of the person concerned. Their structural derivation and relation to locative clauses is investigated in greater detail in the following chapter.

5.4 Remarks on the verbs of 'want'

Another set of verbs that can be described as involving a sort of non-spatial locative includes the verbs of 'want' or 'desire'. The syntax of these verbs is complicated in that various modality notions like obligation, wish etc. are combined with the principal predicators through 'auxiliary' verbs. Observe the structure of the following sentences

(78) (a) naa-ku   maamidipandu   kaavaali

me   to   mango   be desired

'I want a mango'

(b) siita-ku   nagalu   kaavaali

Sita to   jewels   be desired

'Sita wants jewels'

In these structures it is obvious that the desire is reflected in the -ki/-ku phrase and the desired object in the uninflected nominal form. Unlike the other stative expressions the final verb of these sentences is not conjugated for any concordial elements. It is a complex verb composed of kaa, the infinitive form of agu 'to be' followed by the verb valayu 'to desire, to like, to love'. In written style valayunu occurs as a conjugated variant. This verbal form has attained the function of 'obligative mood' and appears as an 'auxiliary' following the 'main verb' as in the above examples of (78).

Compare the sentences of (78) with those in (79), where a cognate
nominal like <u>koorika</u> 'desire' appears in place of an intended object.

(79) naa-ku   koorikalu   uṇdaayi

      me to   desires   exist

      'I have (lots of) desires'

Now let us look at some of the examples that have a structure similar
to (79), but the cognate nominal will have a sentential complement
specifying the detaᵢls of the intension or desire:

(80) (a) siita-ku   puulu   konaali   ani   undi

           Sita to   flowers   buy   having   is-it
                                    obligation   said

           'Sita wants to buy flowers'

      (b) upaadhyaayuḍi-ki   vidyaarthulu   samskrutamu

           teacher   to   students   Sanskrit

           neercukoovaali   ani   undi

           learn obligation   having   is-it
                                said

           'The teacher wants that the students should learn
           Sanskrit'

These complex structures consist matrix and embedded sentences. (80)
(a) is a reduced form of a complete structure like the one represen-
ted in (81)

(81) siita-ku   siita   puulu   konaali   anee ⌐

      Sita to   Sita   flowers   buy   say non-
                                                       past

      koorika   undi

      desire   exists

lit: 'There exists a desire at Sita that Sita should buy
      flowers'

The underlying structure of this sentence would be taken as consisting

a loc which is manifested in the -ku phrase, and an abs with a

sentential complement. The complement sentence has a subject NP

identical to the desirer in the matrix sentence. The structural

pattern of (81) can be given a formulaic representation as in (82)

with the help of predicator and case relations

$$(82) \quad _{loc}(x\text{-}ku)_{loc} \quad _{abs}\Big(_s(x \text{ should buy } y)_s\Big)_{abs} \quad _v(undi)_v$$

This suggests that apart from the sentential (s) complement embedded

under abs, the basic case structure of the verbs of 'want' is similar

to that of existential locatives and possessives in having undu

governing the loc and abs. In this light, the relevant underlying

structure of (81), for example, is shown to be that of (83) within a

dependency tree node.

(83)
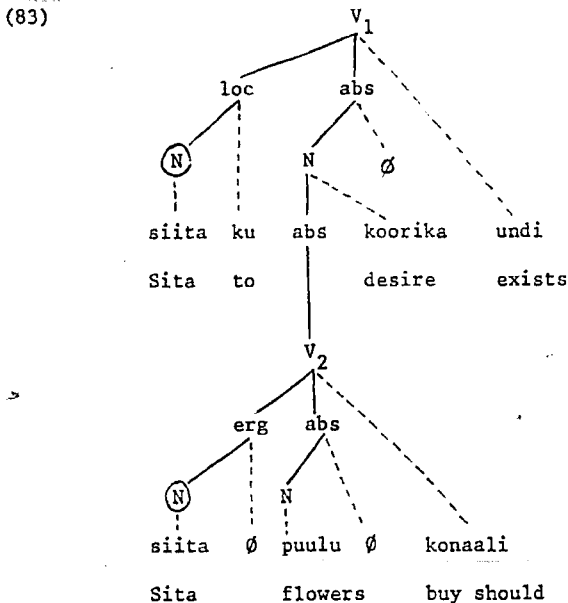
In this representation the grammatical element of mood is not

given a complete account, as this complex phenomenon involves an

elaborate analysis which will take us beyond the principal point of

discussion.   Accordingly, both the modal function and the central

predicator are given under V_2 as <u>konaali</u> 'should buy'.   The identity

of the wisher or desirer and the buyer is represented by a cipher

around the identical NPs.   On the structure of (83) the identical

NP-deletion transformation operates which results in the deletion of

<u>siita</u> and the governing erg of the embedded sentence.   This gives us

the structure like

    (84) * siita-ku   puulu   konaali   koorika   undi

             Sita   to   flowers   buy should desire   exists

It is a fact of Telugu syntax that the structures like (84) need a

quotative marker immediately after the embedded sentence[3].   The

quotative morpheme <u>ani</u> or <u>anee</u> is the past or non-past relative form

of the verb of speaking <u>anu</u> 'to say'.   This <u>anee/ani</u> is introduced

by a quotative formation rule on the remaining structure of V_2, which

will result in (85)

    (85)   siita-ku   puulu   konaali   anee   koorika   undi

          Sita   to   flowers   buy should   say   desire   exists

                                              non-past

                                            relative

The cognate noun koorika 'desire' in (85) serves the purpose of sur-

face subject and the verbal concord shows it clearly.   After this

subjectivization rule has been carried out, the original nominal

(whose features of number, person and gender are reflected on the verb)

is optionally deleted in Telugu except the instances where ambiguity

may arise otherwise (cf. 2.2).   In other words, a pronominalization

3.   For the details of the morphology and syntax of quotative marker
    in Telugu see Rama Rao (1972a)

rule assists to delete the cognate noun from (85) and this gets us to the shallow structure of (80)(a) reproduced here as (86).

(86) siita-ku   puulu   konaali ani undi

'Sita wants to buy flowers'

Since there are no identical NPs in a sentence like (80)(b), the subject of the embedded sentence is retained on the surface as well. In other respects (80)(b) is identical to (80)(a).

We have limited our attention just to a particular instance of the verbs of want in order to show the underlying parallelism between these and the spatial locative expressions. The above analysis points out toward the conclusion that the verbs of want or intension in Telugu can also be taken as abstract variants of spatial locative, i.e. the verbs of want are a sub-type of locative, they need not be postulated as a separate class by themselves. This is yet another reduction in the number underlying clause-types needed in the base structure of our grammar.

5.5 Summary

Our investigation of certain areas of Telugu syntax in the present and the preceding chapter has shown some interesting parallel-isms between 'concrete' and 'abstract' locative sentences. The existential, possessive and various types of stative expressions tend to exhibit similar grammatical structure in Telugu. These structural correlates have been argued to be proper guiding lines of their under-lying uniformity. Instead of postulating each one of these construc-tions as an underlying clause type, we have postulated locative as the underlying case relation from which existential, possessive and stative expressions are derived with the help of transformational

rules. In this way the underlying clause types are reduced and an amount of simplicity is gained in the grammar without needing complicated rules and feature notations.

The category 'subject' is shown to be purely a superficial syntactic phenomenon, i.e. there is no such element as deep subject as envisaged by Chomsky and others. Within the locative constructions (consisting the case relations of loc and abs) either of the underlying relations may be manifested as the surface subject. In the theoretical model of Subject-Object grammars the locative sentences and their abstract variants receive no proper analysis. They are dumped together under the postpositional phrase even without differentiating between their occurrence in the complement and adjunct position. The generative semanticists' approach also does not bother to give prominence to the underlying noun-verb relations. Case grammar proposals as put forward by Fillmore, no doubt, go some way in disentangling some of these problems. But within this model the locative-existential sentences would be treated as consisting the case array of Loc and Obj and the possessive as well as stative as consisting Dat or Experiencer and Obj. This solution will definitely undermine the underlying uniformity among the sentences under discussion.

The localist case grammar account, on the other hand, explains the problem at hand by theorizing that the structural parallelism found among locative, existential, possessive and stative predications of Telugu is not fortuitous, but derives from their underlying uniformity. In other words, all these constructions are superficial variants of the same underlying structure. The underlying structure

of these sentences is taken as consisting of a locative verb which governs loc and abs. The dative of traditional grammars as well as Fillmore's Experiencer are shown to be positional variants of the underlying loc. Their difference from spatial loc is due to the type of nouns and the verb found in the clause, rather than the underlying case relations. The possessive, stative and related abstract constructions are treated as metaphorical extensions of the spatial-locative.

Chapter 6

EQUATIVE   CLAUSES

6.1   'Being' and 'becoming'.

Out of the four functions of the verb 'to be', the locative

and existential (along with their extended abstract variants) have

been described in the preceding two chapters.   We shall turn our

attention in this chapter to the equative constructions.   These

construction types present a host of theoretical and descriptive

problems for any grammar of Telugu.   The syntactic facts

associated with such sentences are strikingly unique in having no

overt verb on the surface in certain instances.   This characteristic

has led to them being labelled as 'verbless' or nonverbal sentences.

One of the questions that we want to address ourselves is: are they

really verbless throughout their derivation?   While introducing these

constructions (Ch. 2.3.6) we have already hinted at some syntactic

evidence which suggests that the verblessness of these sentences is

at most a marginal or secondary (superficial) property.   We will attempt

to pursue this line of argument in a somewhat detailed fashion in

order to examine the validity of the notion of basic and derived verb.

As we have noted already, in theoretical discussions and in

grammars of English the functions of the 'copula' are broadly divided

into the two groups of locative and predicative (cf. 4.5).   The

syntactic facts of English, wherein one and the same lexical form of,

"to be" occurs in both of these constructions, do not transparently

differentiate the locative and predicative functions.   Many linguists

have claimed (Lyons, 1966, 1968a, 322-323;   Bach, 1967) that the verb

'to be' in both instances is not to be taken as a basic lexical item

of deep structure, but only a 'dummy carrier' of grammatical elements.
These proposals will be examined in greater detail later in this
chapter.   But first of all I wish to bring forth the translational
equivalents of the verb 'be' in both of its locative and predicative
functions.   Unlike English, Dravidian languages distinguish these
two 'copulas' through two different lexical items.   Let us list
these verbal forms, before we take them up for a more thorough
scrutiny.   For the sake of exemplification, we will present these
Dravidian verbal forms taking "be" as our starting point.   The
locative-existential and predicative 'copula' forms (both positive and
negative) from Telugu, Kuvi, and Malayalam are given in (1) as
representatives of the Dravidian phenomena.[1]

(1)

			Telugu	Kuvi	Malayalam
"BE"	Locative	positive	uṇḍu	man	uṇṭə
		negative	lee	hil	illa
	Predidative	positive	avu/agu	aa	aaṇə
		negative	kaa	aa?a	alla

The verbal forms listed under locative manifest the notions of
existence and possession as well.   The superficial resemblance of
these three classes of sentences has been shown to derive from an
underlying uniformity (see Ch. 4.4 and 5.2).   Consequently, the number
of underlying sentence types in the grammar is reduced in postulating
locative
/as the only essential basic clause-type from which the other two
types are derived.   In contrast with the locative verb uṇḍu, Telugu

1.   The Malayalam examples are taken from Asher (1968) and the
      Kuvi items above and elsewhere in this dissertation are from
      my own work (Ramakrishna Reddy, in press).

and other Dravidian languages have another 'predicative' form <u>avu</u> or <u>agu</u> 'to be, to become'. It is this lexical item that occurs with the equative both in the positive and negative constructions (see Ch. 2.3.6 and 2.3.7). The function of this verb is labelled as copulative and the verb a copula in earlier Telugu grammars (Arden, 1873: 179). The verbal-form <u>agu</u> has both a static and a dynamic reading, translatable as 'be', and 'become' respectively; the former indicating the 'copulative' or 'predicative' function and the latter expressing change of state or achievement.[2] Observe the ambiguity in the following conditional sentences:

(2) atanu   adhyakṣuḍu   ayitee   prasangistaaḍu

he   president   be/become   speak
                        conditional

'He will speak if he is a president'

'He will speak when/if he becomes a president'

(3) aame   ḍaakṭar   ayitee   mandu   istundi

she   doctor   be/become medicine give
                        conditional

'If she is a doctor, she will give medicine'

'When/if she becomes a doctor, she will give medicine'.

Out of these two interpretations manifested in one and the same lexical item, it is the static or stative reading that is more commonly found with the equative constructions. It is a syntactic fact of Telugu that this verb does not appear in the positive, non-past, non-aspectual, simple sentences. In other words, the components of (2) and (3) have the following structures of (4) and (5) respectively wherein the (a) instances refer to a particular 'state' and the (b) to a change of state or a 'process'.

2. In Chafian terms, <u>agu</u> indicates the semantic functions of 'state' and 'process' in its static and dynamic versions respectively (Chafe, 1970: Ch.9).

(4) (a) atanu   adhyaksudu

      he   president

      'He is a/the president'

    (b) atanu   adhyaksudu   avutaadu

      he   president   become-will

      'He will become a president'

(5) (a) aame   daaktaru

      she   doctor

      'She is the/a doctor'

    (b) aame   daaktaru   avutundi

      she   doctor   become-will

The neutralization of the two autonymous functions of 'being' and 'becoming' in the surface form of <u>agu</u> is the reason for the lexical ambiguity found in (2) and (3). The distinction between the static and dynamic uses is retained in kinship relations as can be gathered from a comparison of the sentences in (6) and (7).

(6) (a) karnudu   kunti-ki   koduku   avtaadu

      Karna   Kunti to   son   be

      'Karna is the son of Kunti'

    (b) siita   bharatudi-ki   vadine   avtundi

      Sita   Bharata   to   sister-in-   be
                                      law

      'Sita is Bharata's sister-in-law'

(7) (a) neenu   mii   akka-nu   pendlaaditee

      I   your   elder acc.   marry-conditional
                         sister

      nuvvu   naa-ku   baavamaradi   avtaavu

      you   me to   brother-in-law   become

      'When I marry your sister, you will become my brother-in-law'

(b) maa talidandrulu ravi-ni dattuteccinaaru

  our   parents   Ravi acc adopted

  ganuka vaadu naa-ku tammudu ayinaadu

  therefore be me to younger- became
                brother

'Since my parents adopted Ravi, he became my brother'

The kinship relations as expressed in (6) indicate an inherent or unbreakable tie between two persons, whereas the sentences of (7) are intended to show a kinship relation achieved (achievable) within the limits of social institutions.

The sentences in (6) manifest a "be" relation and those of (7) a "become" relation, though the lexical item in both the sets is <u>avu</u>. The syntax and semantics of this verb and its connection to and distinction from another "be" verb <u>undu</u> is one of the unexplored areas of Telugu syntax. It may be reiterated, to avoid confusion, that "being" is manifested by two different lexical items: <u>undu</u>, the locative-existential and <u>agu</u>, the predicative or copulative, as is clear from (1). The combination of these two forms of "be" in the verbal complex of <u>gaa undu</u> (which we have already encountered in 5.3.3) marks certain aspectual distinctions which are still to be worked out. This compound verb is composed of the copulative <u>gaa</u>[3] followed by the existential <u>undu</u> and it carries various functions that are interesting from a syntactic point of view.

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3. The element <u>gaa</u> is a phonological variant of <u>kaa</u>, the infinitive. of <u>agu</u> 'to be'. Earlier grammarians like Campbell (1816:194-195) and Mahadeva Sastri (1969: 255-258) tend to ascribe the dynamic meaning of 'become' to <u>gaa</u> in such contexts.

(8) (a) raamaaraavu   mantri   gaa   uṇḍaaḍu

     Ramarao   minister   be   exists

     'Ramarao is a minister'

  (b) maa   celle   ṭiicar   gaa   undi

     my   younger   teacher   be   exists
            sister

     'My sister is a teacher'

(9) (a) goopii   santooṣam   gaa   uṇḍaaḍu[4]

     Gopi   happiness   be   exists

     'Gopi is happy'

---

4. Arden (1873:98) mentions that adverbs in Telugu are formed by
affixing gaa to adjectives or nouns. In this view, (9)(a) will
be taken as consisting an adverb like 'happily'. It should
also be pointed out that the occurrence of gaa as 'adverbialiser'
is not restricted to the instances where uṇḍu is the immediate
finite verb. It is more commonly found with other verbs as
exhibiting the function of a manner adverbial:

    (i)   aame   tondaragaa   bhoonceestundi
        she   quickness   eats
        'She eats fast'

    (ii) neenu   nidaanamgáa   raasinaanu
        I   slowness   wrote
        'I wrote slowly'

   (iii) vaaḍu   gaṭṭigaa   maaṭlaaḍtaaḍu
        he   loudness   speaks
        'He speaks loud'

Selection of gaa (a phonological variant of the predicative) as
adverbial marker is not peculiar to Telugu, but it is a general
characteristic of the Dravidian languages. Why should this
ᵖʳ ticular form be generalized in the manner adverbials? What
ᵤ its derivation? Is it related to agu? These are some of
the problems for which I have no immediate answers in this
dissertation and they will be taken up at a later time.

(b) ii   int-loo   caalaa   cali   gaa   undi

     this   house in   very   coldness be   exists

     'It is very cold in this flat'

The equative sentences in (8) as well as the attributive sentences

in (9) appear with the verbal element of gaa uṇḍu to denote certain

aspectual distinctions.   Observe that the constructions in (8) and (9)

have their verbless counterparts in (10) and (11) respectively.

(10) (a) raamaaravu   mantri

           'Ramarao is a minister'

      (b) maa   celle   tiicar

           'My sister is a teacher'

(11) (a) goopi-ki   santoosam

           Gopi to   happiness

           'Gopi is happy'

      (b) ii   int-loo   caalaa   cali

           this   house in   very   coldness

           'It is very cold in this flat'

Sentences in (10) are the equative or identifying clauses in that they

are composed of two nominals, one representing the identifier and the

other the identified.   Their sequence shows that the identifier

appears as the initial element and the identified as the second

element of the construction.   The sentences in (11), on the other

hand, are composed of a postpositional phrase followed by a noun,

the former manifesting the person or place to whom/where the property

denoted by the latter is attributed. (Cf. 4.5 and 5.3 for further

details of their syntax)   In an imprecise and unrevealing fashion,

the sentences in (10) and (11) can be labelled as 'verbless'.   But

observe the difference between the verbs that will appear with these sentences in their negative variants, for example, in (12) and (13) respectively:

(12) (a) raamaraav   mantri   kaadu

                        minister   be-not

      'Ramarao is not a minister'

    (b) maa   celle   tiicar   kaadu

          my   younger   teacher   be-not
                  sister

      'My sister is not a teacher'

(13) (a) goopi-ki   santoosam   leedu

          Gopi to   happiness   exist-not

      'Gopi is not happy'

    (b) ii   int-loo   cali   leedu

          this   house in   coldness   exist not

      'It is not cold in this flat'

In (12) we have kaadu 'be not' the negative form of agu 'to be' and in (13) leedu 'to exist not', the suppletive form of undu 'to exist, to be'. This suggests that the equative clauses such as (10) take the predicative 'be' and the attributives like (11) take the locative-existential 'be' for their 'copulative' function (if the category of copula has any status in the grammar at all). Compared to these instances the sentences in (8) and (9) are complicated and it is hard to decide which is their principal verb and which is an 'auxiliary' out of the complex of gaa undu. (12) and (13), however, provide us with some evidence for assuming that agu is basic for (8) and undu is primary for (9). If this is so, how are we to account for the occurrence of the entire complex in (8) and (9)? There are

several semantically motivated aspectual and temporal distinctions,
like essential versus contingent, that trigger these syntactic
(structural) differences (cf. 5.3).

6.2 The structure of equatives

In this section we will confine our attention to what are known
as the predicative nominals in order to examine the character of their
underlying structure.   The label predicative nominal or nominal
predicate itself is obvious enough in suggesting that the function of
predication in such sentences is being carried by a noun rather than
a verb.   This is why such constructions are also known as nominal
sentences (cf. Benveniste, 1970). We have already introduced the
structural composition of such sentences (cf. 2.3.6) as consisting of
two nominals juxtaposed to each other without any surface verbal
element (in the declarative, non-past forms).   These constructions can
be illustrated with the following simple sentences:

(14)   ataḍu   rangaaraavu

that man   Rangarao

'He is Rangarao'

(15)   ravi   vyaapaarastuḍu

Ravi   merchant

'Ravi is a merchant'

(16)   maamiḍipanḍlu   panḍlu

mangoes   fruits

'Mangoes are fruits'

(17)   venkanna   naa   sneehituḍu

Venkanna   my   friend

'Venkanna is my friend'

(18)   indiraagaandhi   pradhaanamantri

       Indira Gandhi   prime minister

       'Indira Gandhi is the prime minister'

Various underlying semantic factors are carried out by these non-verbal (predicate nominal) sentences.

In (14) there is involved the notion of identification, in that a particular male human being is identified as Rangarao. The two nominals of the construction manifest identifier and identified respectively (cf. Halliday, 1967: 223-236). In other words, one nominal is equated with the other and hence the name equative predication. In such constructions the order of the nominals is reversible without interfering with the basic meaning. For example (14) can have a counterpart as in (14')

(14')   rangaaraavu   atadu

       Rangarao is that man'

But this interchange of elements is accompanied by a change in focus and presupposition. (14) is an acceptable answer to a question like 'Who is he?' whereas (14') makes a proper answer to a question like 'Who is Rangarao?'. In the former instance the speaker and hearer presuppose the knowledge of a particular male adult (either in the deictic or non-deictic situation) and they are interested to identify him. In the latter instance they are familiar with a name, but want to identify the person bearing that particular name. Personal names are definite entities by definition, but the reversibility of nominals is quite common even with other classes of nouns as in (19)

(19)   (a)   adi   kaagitapubutta

           that   paper-basket

           'That is a paper-basket'

(b) kaagitapubuṭṭa   adi

'That is a paper-basket'

However, both in (14) and (19) the function of identifying or
equating two entities is successfully carried out.

Sentences like (15) differ from (14) in their meaning , though
their structural characteristics are similar.   (15) indicates that
a particular individual is a member of the class of merchants and such
sentences are called the class-inclusion constructions.   The nominal
that refers to a particular member appears at the front of the con-
struction followed by the nominal referring to the profession. The
reversal of this order is closely connected with the feature of
definiteness. For example (15') differs from (15) not only in its
presupposition, but also in regard to definiteness

(15') vyaapaarastuḍu   ravi [5]

'Ravi is the merchant'

as is clear from the English translation.   The underlying structure
of constructions like (15) is suggested to contain a locative by
Anderson (1971a: 206-208; 1973a: 54-56).   In this view (15) will be
interpreted as deriving from an underlying structure of a sentence
like (20)

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5.   (15') is open to at least two other interpretations: in the first
place it is a thematized or focussed construction translatable as
'It is Ravi who is the merchant', as compared to normal identifica-
tory function found in (15). Secondly (15') is an appositive
construction exhibiting the function of a relative clause like.(i)

(i) vyaapaarastuḍu   ayina   ravi
merchant   be relative Ravi
'Ravi who is a merchant'

and it can be taken as a reduced version of (i).

(20) ravi   vyaapaarastula-loo   okaḍu

    Ravi   merchants   in   one-he

    'Ravi is one of the merchants'

Also notice that (15) has another near synonymous expression as in (21)

(21) ravi   vyaapaarastuḍu   gaa   uṇḍaaḍu

    Ravi   merchant   be   exists

    'Ravi is a merchant' (presently)

We have noticed similar examples in (8) above. The main distinction between (15) and (21) is one of permanency versus temporariness. The structures like (15) suggest that the relation between the two nominals is more of an essential one. Notice that there is no indication of tense or aspect in the structure of (15). In this way it is an 'unmarked' form, though its 'full' structure necessarily requires a verb. (21) on the other hand denotes that the state of affairs expressed (in the sentence) is prevailing at the time of utterance. In other words, (21) is temporally restricted whereas there is no such restriction on (15).

Structures like (16) indicate class-inclusion: the entities characterized as mangoes are included among the entities characterized as fruits (cf. Lyons, 1968a: 389). Such constructions give the impression of being tautologous and they can be multiplied endlessly. Syntactically they seem to resemble structures like (15) in signalling the fact that a particular entity is a member of a set of entities, though the occurrence of gaa-uṇḍu will be quite awkward with such constructions. (17) is superficially similar to other constructions though it indicates a social relationship. The nominal predications

like (17) are highly frequent with (inherent) kinship relations, as
further exemplified in (22)

(22) (a) siita   maa   amma

sita   my   mother

'Sita is my mother'

(b) aame   atani   kuuturu

she   his   daughter

'She is his daughter'

Even unique social roles like the prime minister, the president and
the queen are represented through the N + N constructions of Telugu,
as is evident from (18).   Definitely the function of identification
is prevalent in (18) as well, in this instance the identified happens
to be a unique entity.   There is no syntactic device in Telugu
equivalent to 'the' to specify this uniqueness in such constructions.

This preliminary survey of a type of nonverbal sentences shows
that at least two distinguishable functional interpretations of
locative and equative are available with the predicative nominal
sentences.   The equative and locative share certain restrictions
between them and we will return to an analysis of their syntactic and
semantic correlates.   But first of all, in regard to sentences like
(14) through (18), I wish to raise at least the following two ques-
tions: (i) Are these constructions 'verbless' in their underlying
structure as well, and if so, how does a verb dependency case grammar
(detailed in 3.6) cope with them?   (ii) What is the underlying case
structure of these predication-types?   These two problems are
pertinent with regard to the theory of case grammar which envisages
every clause as consisting of verb (predicator), the governor, and
nouns (arguments), the governed.   Case relations are interpreted as
labels of semantic roles that are assigned to the nouns by the

governing verb.

6.3 agu as an underlying verb

The first of these problems regarding the presence or absence of a verb and the status of the 'identified nominal' is closely linked with the general problem of syntactic categories in Dravidian. The very name predicative nominal means that the function of predication is fulfilled by a nominal category, rather than a verb. With such an interpretation, there may be no need of a separate underlying verb for the equatives enumerated above. In this way these constructions can be taken as verbless even in their base structure and the presence of any verbal reflex is simply to carry the grammatical categories of tense, mood and aspect. Lyons'(1968a: 322-323) analysis of verb 'be' as a dummy carrier can in this way be applied to the above sentences of Telugu as well, which have no reflex of the verb on the surface. But this line of argument also means that we need a representative of a verb in certain other contexts and a large number of transformations of addition are suggested by Bach (1967) and Lyons as an answer to this problem.

As against this proposal, I wish to argue that the equative sentences in Telugu have an underlying basic verb on a par with other construction-types. This verb has the static reading of agu 'to be' as detailed above (cf. 6.1). Just as other basic verbs (predicates) have their complements (cf. 4.2), agu has its predicative complement as well, this time the complement being the noun reflecting the function of 'identified'. This suggests that we can eliminate the category of predicative nominal as a viable term and treat such nouns as simply complements of agu. But let us first of all put forward some of the syntactic facts which compel us to treat agu as a basic

verb of the equative sentences.

The sentences (14) through (18) have the structural pattern of
NP + NP with no indication of any verbal element. Notice that all of
these sentences are positive, declarative, non-aspectual, and non-
temporal variants. But there is another synonymous expression of
these sentences which exhibit <u>avnu</u> on the surface, as can be gathered
from the following examples of (23) through (27).

(23) atadu   rangaaraav   avnu

     He   Rangarao   is

     'He is Rangarao'

(24) ravi   vyaapaarastuḍu   avnu

     Ravi   merchant   is

     'Ravi is a merchant'

(25) maamiḍipaṇḍlu   paṇḍlu   avnu

     mangoes   fruits   are

     'Mangoes are fruits'

(26) venkanna   naa   sneehiṭuḍu   avnu

     Venkanna   my   friend   is

     'Venkanna is my friendp

(27) indiraagaandhi   pradhaanamantri   avnu

     Indira Gandhi   prime minister   is

     'Indira Gandhi is the prime minister'

The instances of (14) through (18) are similar in meaning to those of
(23) through (27) respectively (cf. Bhaskara Rao, 1972a: 193-200 for
further discussion on this point). The absence of a verbal element
in the former instances is but a variant of the latter instances with a
'full' verb.

In the negative counterparts of (14) through (18) a reflex of
the underlying verb is faithfully preserved.   Let us illustrate this
phenomenon with the help of two representative sentences:

(28) atadu   rangaaraavu   kaadu

     he   Rangarao   be-not

     'He is not Rangarao'

(29) ravi   vyaapaarastudu   kaadu

     Ravi   merchant   be-not

     'Ravi is not a merchant'

As we have already explained, the <u>kaa</u> element in (28) and (29) is the
infinitive form of <u>agu</u> 'to be'.

In the formation of relative clauses from equational sentences,
the underlying verb is transparently manifested, as in (30) and (31)

(30) vyaapaarastudu   ayina   ravi ...

     merchant   be relative   Ravi

     'Ravi who is a merchant ...'

(31) naa   sneehitudu   ayina   venkanna ...

     my   friend   be relative   Venkanna

     'Venkanna, who is my friend ...'

The conditional clauses necessarily require the presence of <u>agu</u>;

(32) ravi   vyaapaarastudu   ayitee ...

     Ravi   merchant   be-conditional

     'If Ravi is a merchant ...'

(33) Venkanna   naa   sneehitudu   ayitee

     Venkanna   my   friend   be-conditional

     'If Venkanna is my friend ...'

The two sentences are ambiguous between the stative and process
interpretations, as in the case of (2) and (3). We intended to
concentrate on static equivalents, as it is the 'be' that is dubbed
'copula', rather than the 'become' verb.

When the specification of a tense other than present-habitual is required, the N + N constructions depend on uṇḍu to carry the grammatical elements, but a form of agu is still retained. Observe the following:

(34) (a) venkanna   tiicar   gaa   undinaadu

       Venkanna   teacher   be   was

       'Venkanna was a teacher'

(b) venkanna   tiicar   gaa   untaadu

       Venkanna   teacher   be   will be

       'Venkanna will be a teacher'

Here, the existential undu is 'behaving' like an auxiliary verb[6] following the main verb of gaa (a variant of agu). In a verb-final language like Telugu the auxiliaries follow the main verb and receive the agreement features for tense, person, number and gender. In (34) agu, being a main verb, appears in its infinitive form preceding the auxiliary verb. This type of construction is not peculiar to agu in any way. Even with other main verbs, a form of uṇḍu appears as an auxiliary indicating certain grammatical distinctions. Observe, for example, the presence of leedu (a suppletive form of uṇḍu) along with a main verb like paaḍu 'to sing', in exhibiting the past-negative:

(35) (a) siita   paaṭa   paaḍindi

       Sita   song   sang

       'Sita sang a song'

(b) siita   paaṭa   paaḍa   leedu

       Sita   song   sing   be not past

       'Sita did not sing'

This shows that just as a verb like paaḍu needs an auxiliary verb to

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6. The syntax of 'auxiliary' verbs in Telugu might show that auxiliaries are also main verbs, but I cannot pursue this argument in this work (see Anderson, 1972).

carry certain grammatical distinctions, <u>agu</u> also, being a main verb,
takes the help of an auxiliary verb as in (34). The formal similarity
can be observed by comparing (34) with (35)(b). A reflex of static <u>agu</u>
is present in complex structures like (36)

(36) avi   pandlu   avnoo   kaadoo   teliidu

they   fruits   be doubt   be-not   not known
                            doubt

'It is not sure whether they are fruits or not'

Both in its positive and negative forms <u>agu</u> is found in (36).

The structure of equatives in various sentence-types enumerated
above shows that the verbal element <u>agu</u> is obviously present in one
shape or other. The proposal of treating 'be' as a copula would
require us to interpret all these sentences as being a result of trans-
formational operations on the verbless underlying structure. The
basic form of this approach will be equivalent to the single instance
of present-habitual as in (14) through (18). But notice the complexity
in the transformational rules on the one hand and the unmotivated
claim of having a verbal element (in some variants), which is not a
part of the base structure, on the other. Instead, the various
occurrences of <u>agu</u> will obtain a natural explanation by postulating it
as a basic verb of equative constructions. In this hypothesis, <u>agu</u>
will be a principal lexical entry on par with other verbs and the
underlying structure of equatives is as in (37).

(37) NP + NP + V

This verbal element need not be treated as merely a linking device
(i.e. copula), but a 'full' verb. This proposal needs just a single
verb-deletion tran. rmation on the structures like (37) and there is
no demand of a large number of addition-transformations to get such

constructions as negative, relative, conditional, concessive, dubitative and the rest. The operation of verb-deletion is not in any way peculiar to agu, we have already noticed such an operation with undu (cf. 4.5).

There are other Dravidian languages like Gondi, Parji and Naiki which exhibit an agu equivalent even in their 'present-habitual' tense. Observe, for example, the following Gondi sentences reported by Pandurangachar (1975):

(38) yeer   naavoor   marii   aandur

     he   my-he   son   be-present-he

     'He is my son'

(39) id   naavaa   miyaar   aand

     this   my   daughter be-present-she
     she

     'She is my daughter'

(40) iv   naavaa   roohk   aandung

     these   my   houses   be-present-they
                                     (nonhuman masc.)

     'These are my houses'

In Naiki also, clauses with an identificatory function show the occurrence of 'be' verb in the shape of an even in the 'present-habitual' tense; as can be seen from the examples in (41) and (42) taken from Bhattacharya (1961-62: 95-97):

(41) aan   raaja(k)   ant-an

     I   king   be-present-I

     'I am a king'

(42) iiv   een   an-t-i

     you   who   be-present-you

     'Who are you?'

The evidence from Gondi and Naiki, two sister languages of Telugu, can be taken as faithfully representing the underlying structure of

equative sentences as postulated in (37). It is a language-
specific fact of Telugu that this base verb is deleted in the one
particular instance of 'present-habitual' tense. From the above
discussion, it can be concluded that the equatives in Telugu and
other Dravidian languages contain a verbal element, and on a par
with other lexical verbs the aa or agu deserves to be treated as an
underlying verb. Thus there is no necessity for having the 'copula'
as a dummy carrier of grammatical features.

6.4 The viability of Fillmore's "one-instance-per-clause principle"

From the point of view of proposition-types, it appears that
(37) can be called a 'two-place predicate', since the verb is
postulated as an underlying basic verb. The next question we should
consider is the nature of the case relations between the governing
predicator and the arguments in (37). The equative sentences by
definition identify a particular entity with another entity, which
is clear even from the name 'equational'. Intuitively one perceives
that the identifier and identified should show one and the same
semantic role. By generalising this, a decision can be made that
both the arguments in (37) contract the same case relation, call it
X. But this X will have to occur more than once within the same
proposition. Fillmore (1968a: 23-25 and 1971a) suggests that no
case relation can occur more than once in a single clause except in
coordination or embedding. Thus our guess about having two tokens
of X in the same proposition will go against his principle of "one-
instance-per-clause". In his analysis Fillmore faces problems
regarding the case structure of the 'resemble' verbs in maintaining
this hypothesis. As for equationals, he does not suggest any
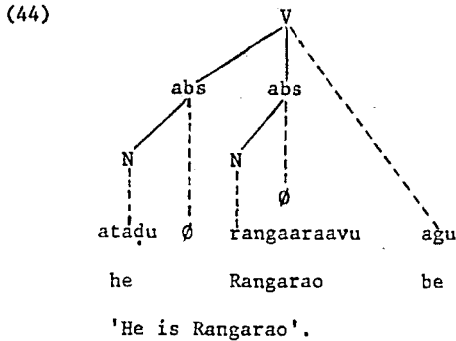solution. Working within his framework, Stockwell et al propose a

new case relation of essive in order to account for equationals.
This is no doubt one of the ways of resolving this problem, but it
adds another case label to the already existing unconstrained inven-
tory of case relations (cf. 3.4).

Anderson (1976b:Ch. 1.5) proposes to relax this constraint of
one-instance-per-clause and to allow more than one occurrence of a
single case, namely abs, in the same proposition. Through this he
also attempts to answer some of the criticisms levelled against
Fillmore by Jackendoff (1972:Ch. 2) and to show the viability of case
grammar against the theory of thematic relations advocated by Gruber
and Jackendoff, among others. This principle of limited multiple
case tokens per proposition amounts to saying that the absolutive case
is simultaneously an obligatory and an optional relation. As an
obligatory semantic role it imposes a constraint on propositions
requiring the presence of at least one abs per proposition. The
optional variant of abs may or may not be present in a given clause,
as in the instances of other case relations. In the light of this
proposal, it is relevant to view the equationals in Telugu as
consisting of two instances of abs. The verb <u>agu</u> 'to be' as the
underlying governor of this construction obtains the case array of

(43) <u>agu</u>   [- [abs] [abs]].

In this way the representation in (37) resembling a 'two-place-
predicate' can be saved from being interpreted as an agentive clause.
It is given a more convincing description through (43) in bringing
out the referential identity of two arguments by allowing two instances
of the same case relation within a single proposition. With this
understanding, an equational sentence like (14), for example, can be

represented as in (44)

(44)

```
                        V
                       /\
                      /  \  \
              abs    abs    \
             /│     /│       \
            / │    / │        \
          N   │  N   │         \
          ¦   │  ¦   │          \
          ¦   │  ¦   ∅           \
        atadu ∅  rangaaraavu    agu
          ·
         he     Rangarao        be
```

'He is Rangarao'.

This underlying structure, as well as the formula in (37), indicates
that _agu_ should be accorded the status of a lexical (deep) verb,
rather than a mere copula.   Relaxing the Fillmorean constraint as
suggested by Anderson points towards a natural explanation of
equatives without either complicating the derivation or having to add
another primitive semantic role to the case relations detailed in 3.6
above.

6.5 Summary

Starting from two antonymic senses of 'be' and 'become' reflected
in a single verbal element of _agu_, we surveyed certain characteristics
of the static reading.   The dynamic variant of 'become' shall be
taken up in the following chapter.   Unlike English, Telugu distin-
guishes lexically the locative-existential from the predicative-
copulative "be".   The former has occupied us in the preceding
chapters of 4 and 5.   The latter has been analysed in some detail in
connection with the equative constructions.   In general syntactic
theory, the 'be' verb in equatives is commonly treated as a copula,
a linking element of surface structure.   As against this, it is
argued on the syntactic evidence of Telugu and Dravidian languages

that we should give the status of a base or underlying verb to <u>agu</u> equivalent to other main lexical verbs. The case array of <u>agu</u> is taken as consisting of two instances of the same case, abs, within an equative clause. The postulation of <u>agu</u> as deep verb simplifies the transformational complexity necessitated otherwise. The principle of limited multiple case tokens per proposition as suggested by Anderson is taken as a proper explanation in taking <u>agu</u> as a predicator governing two instances of abs.

At the surface superficial level the equatives in Telugu appear as verbless and they tend to form a type of apparent counter examples to a verb dependency case grammar (cf. 3.6). We tried to furnish sufficient evidence to reanalyse equative sentences as consisting of an underlying verb. When the governing predicator is properly identified the arguments are assigned their proper semantic roles by the predicator.

Chapter 7

DIRECTIONAL CLAUSES

7.1 Introductory

Our discussion of Telugu sentences so far has been confined to the stative locational clauses, both in their spatial and abstract variants. The case relation of loc is generated on the basis of the meaning of **P**lace, which is but one of the semantic dimensions involved in the invocation of the primitive case relations. <u>Source</u> is the other crucial semantic dimension, whose characteristics will be explored in this chapter. The notions of Place and Source along with Goal make the complete set of 'local' oppositions (Lyons, 1968a: 7.4.6). Out of these three semantic distinctions, the localist theory envisages to select only Place and Source as basic 'meanings' in establishing the universal semantic roles and to treat Goal as a predictable variant of Place in the presence of Source within the same clause. We shall examine this principle in some detail later. The locational sentences (analysed in Ch. 4 and 5) require the basic case array of abs and loc. The addition of Source into our clause types compels us to generate a new case relation of ablative (abl, for short) as outlined in 3.6 above.

7.2 Locational and Directional

The basic structural characteristics of directional predications differ from those of locatives in several ways. The principal verb of directionals implicitly requires three arguments under its dominance: one representing the entity (or object) that is involved in the movement (i.e. the object that moves); the second argument

reflects the source of the movement and the third exhibits the goal

or terminal of the movement.   Observe the following examples, which

show all the three arguments on their surface structures:

    (1)   banti   mancamnundi   neela-miida   padindi

          ball   cot   from   floor top/on   fell

          'The ball fell on the floor from the cot'

    (2)   prayaanikulu   bassu-nundi   kindi-ki   diginaaru

          passengers   bus   from   down to   descended

          'The passengers got down from the bus'[1]

    (3)   venkanna   polam-nundi   inti-ki   pooyinaadu

          Venkanna   farm from   house to   went

          'Venkanna went home from the farm'

The order of constituents in these sentences is that the moving

entity appears at the beginning of the clause, then follows the

nominal indicating the source, which is followed by the goal.   The

finite verb, of course, appears at the end.   This can be taken as

the unmarked word-order for the directional sentences in Telugu.

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1.   As the word-by-word gloss and the free translation of this

    sentence suggest, there is a slight problem about the

    categorial status of <u>kindi-ki</u>.   This could be treated as

    a complex postposition.   But there is a no less good case

    for treating <u>kindi</u> here as a nominal, with the suffixed

    case form -<u>ki</u>.   It is this second alternative that we

    interpret <u>kindi-ki</u> in this sentence as goal.

The nominal referring to the moving entity is the (surface) subject of these sentences, as can be seen from the concordial elements on the verb. In all the instances this nominal is uninflected. The other two arguments are structurally more complex and their morphology reflects certain interesting facts which bear striking resemblance to some of the locative constructions detailed in Ch. 4. The source-phrase, for example, has a postposition in the shape of nuṇḍi following the simple or complex noun phrase. As we have already indicated (cf. 2.3.10), nunḍi is derived from the combination of a spatial case-marker -na and the participle form of the existential verb uṇḍu 'to be'. The morphological derivation may be represented, informally, as in (4)

> (4) na + uṇḍ + i   --> nunḍi
>
>   at   to be participle   'from'
>   marker
>
>   lit: 'Having been at'

This shows that the rendering of nunḍi as 'from' in (1) through (3) is a convenient translation but tells us little about the origin of the expression. The derivational meaning of this postposition can be more clearly seen from the following which have some implicational relations with (1) through (3) respectively:

> (5) banti   mancamu-na   undi
>
>   ball   cot   at/on   is
>
>   'The ball is on the table'

> (6) prayaaṇikulu   bassu-na   uṇḍaaru
>
>   passengers   bus in/on   are
>
>   'The passengers are on the bus'

(7) venkanna   polamu-na   undaadu

     Venkanna   farm at/in   is

     'Venkanna is in the farm'

In modern colloquial Telugu the occurrence of -na is quite infrequent,
its function being taken by such other postpositions as loo 'in,
inside', or miida 'on, top', depending on the shape of the object
referred to (cf. 4.1). However, this does not render (5) through
(7) either ungrammatical or unacceptable. In written style such
locational sentences with -na exhibiting the loc relation are quite
common, as in (8) and (9)

(8) raaju   simhaasanamu-na   undenu

     king   throne   in/on   was

     'The king was on the throne'

(9) saroovaramu-na   taamaralu   unnavi

     lake   in   lotuses   are

     'There are lotuses in the lake'

The grammar of such locational sentences as (5) through (9) has
been described in greater detail above (cf. 4.3 to 4.7). The
important point to note here with respect to the directional-
phrases is that the combination of a locative postposition and the
participle form of existential verb is generalized as the marker of a
source. This use of locative participle construction as an ablative
marker is explainable both from the viewpoint of the meaning of an
ablative relation and from the syntactic structures of Telugu and
other Dravidian languages. First of all, let us look at the grammatical
facts which suggest the intended meaning of source-phrase rather
transparently.

7.3 Coordinate structure for abl

The grammar of coordination in Telugu, where there is no separate coordinator like the English 'and', employs the syntactic device of participle construction to derive the surface structure from the complex embedded sentences.

(10) (a) raytu   polam   dunninaadu

           farmer   field   ploughed

           'The farmer ploughed the field'

    (b) raytu   ginjalu   naatinaadu

           farmer   seeds   sowed

           'The farmer sowed the seeds'

    (c) raytu   polam   dunni   ginjalu   naatinaadu

           farmer   field   having   seeds   sowed
                          ploughed

           'The farmer ploughed the field and (then) sowed the seeds'

(11) (a) siita   battalu   utukutundi

           Sita   clothes   washes

           'Sita washes the clothes'

    (b) siita   battalu   aaraveestundi

           Sita   clothes   to dry-throws

           'Sita dries the clothes'

    (c) siita   battalu   utiki   aaraveestundi

           Sita   clothes   having   to dry-throws
                       washed

           'Sita washes the clothes and (then) dries them'

The (c) instances of complex sentences are formed out of the conjoining of (a) and (b). The identical NPs in (a) and (b), both subject and object, get deleted by the conjunction reduction rule before we arrive

at the final structures in (c). The transformational properties of this class of sentences are discussed in Rama Rao (1971 and 1972).

For our present purposes, we want to concentrate on the participle form and the associated semantic import. In each of the (c) instances of (10) and (11) there is a combination of two 'actions' performed by the same person. These two actions are not simultaneous, but they are temporally ordered. (10)(c), for example, indicates that the ploughing preceded the sowing or the sowing followed the ploughing. This chronological happening of events or actions is represented by the use of the participle-form i, which always accompanies the verb expressing the earlier (or first) event. The close link between the participle form and tense marking in Telugu might suggest that the i is a past tense marker. But the temporal concord of the entire sentence is reflected on the finite verb, not by the participle form. What in fact the participle form does is simply to indicate that a particular event has taken place prior to the event denoted by the finite verb. Observe, for example, the sentence in (11)(c) has a non-past temporal reference. But still the i indicates the chronological priority of 'washing' to 'drying'. In this way the i has to be interpreted as a marker of temporal priority relative to the finite verb, rather than a past tense marker per se.

Now let us turn to the characteristics of coordinate structure, as they are manifested in the directional sentences like (1) through (3). As the derivation in (4) suggests, nundi is a participle form translatable as 'having been at', similar to the embedded sentences in the (c) instances of (10) and (11). The underlying structure of the directional sentences also involves embedding, which is ultimately

realised through the participle construction on the surface.   Let us
illustrate this formal parallelism by presenting the decomposition of
a directional like (3), as in (12)

(12) (a) venkanna   polamu-na   undinaadu

           Venkanna   farm   at   was

           'Venkanna was in/at the farm'

      (b) venkanna   inti-ki   pooyinaadu

                          house to   went

           'Venkanna went home'

      (c) venkanna   polamunundi   inti-ki   pooyinaadu

                          farm   at having house to   went
                                 been

           'Venkanna went home from the farm'

           lit: 'Venkanna was at the farm and (then) went home'
This shows that on a par with (10) and (11), the directional sentence
in (12)(c) is also a conjoined complex structure composed of two
simplexes.   The transformational rules of identical-NP deletion
through conjunction, participalization of the embedded predicator and
the like are equally applicable here as well.

The crucial difference is in the lexical meaning of the verbs in
each clause.   In constructions like (12)(c), the participle verbal
form of undi 'having been' clearly indicates the earlier location of
Venkanna before he went home.   Thus it is the entire combination of a
spatial locative postposition na, the existential verb undu which by
definition indicates the existence of an entity at a place, and the
participle-form i which denotes priority of an event in relation to the
event expressed in the finite verb that is manifest   · the source or
abl in Telugu.   In other words nundi denotes the place from which a

movement takes place prior to reaching the Goal expressed in the simple locative.

7.4 The analysis of a directional sentence

The spatial directional sentences are generated in the grammar in rewriting the predicate as abl (cf. 3.6). Every directional predication takes an abl argument. The subcategorization and dependency rules may, informally, be represented as

(13) (i) V ---> abl

(ii) abl ---> abl

which is to be interpreted as stating that the governing verb in one of its subcategorizations, generates the abl relation and every abl predicate takes an abl argument. With the addition of abl to the primitive case categories, the sentences like (1) through (3) shall be interpreted as having the case array of (14)

(14) [- [abs] [abl] [loc].

As this representation suggests we are recategorizing Goal as loc, the details of which are discussed in the following section.
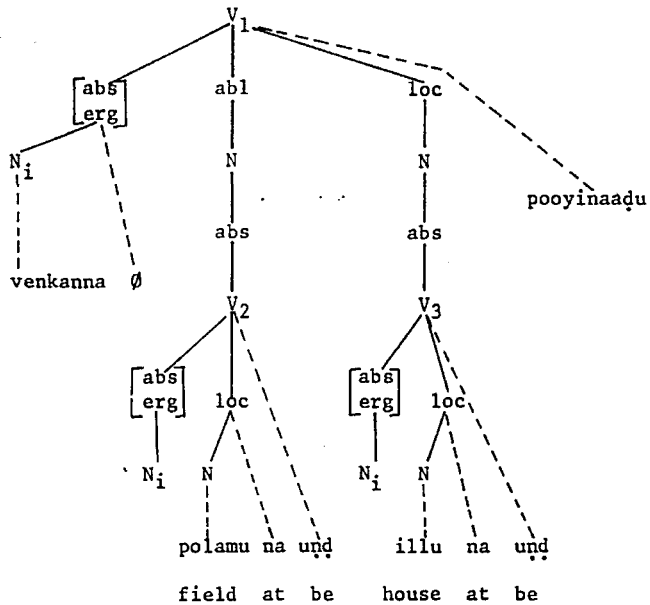
The abs in (1) through (3) also needs a further comment in order to give a full account of the meaning of the entities referred to. The moving entity in (1) is different from (3) with respect to the notion of agentivity. 'Ball' in (1) is not only inanimate, but also it is a non-performing entity, i.e. there is no scope of agentivity. On the other hand 'Venkanna' in (3) is performing the act of going intentionally, i.e. he is a performing agent. One way of representing this difference is to assign the role of abs to the former and that of erg to the latter. The assignment of erg to 'Venkanna' in (3) would show that there is no abs in the sentence. This will raise a theoretical objection against the claim that there is at least one instance of abs in every clause (cf. 3.6). This apparently counter

example is resolvable by recategorizing erg as a feature on the category of abs in the instances like (3). Recall that we have already come across a situation wherein erg was introduced as a feature (cf. 5.3). In other words, erg is both a primitive case label as well as a feature on abs. (We shall not be able to go into the details of erg in this dissertation.)

Incorporating the insights that we derived from the coordinate structures into the localist framework would provide a more natural description of the directional sentences in Telugu. The difference between the directional and locational constructions is minimally maintained with the addition of one more primitive relation, abl, to the already existing labels of loc and abs. That is to say the locative constructions require the case array of loc and abs (as detailed in Ch. 4 and 5) whereas the directionals require an additional category of abl as well. Their connection is also shown in their case array in that both locational and directional sentences implicitly demand loc and abs. They share the common property of having loc and abs as governed by their principal predicators.

In the light of the above exposition, the underlying structure of a directional sentence like (3) can, informally, be represented as in (15), which incorporates the embedding analysis.

(15)


```
                              V₁
                    ┌──────────┼──────────────┐
                 ⎡abs⎤        abl             loc    ╲
                 ⎣erg⎦         │               │       ╲
                Nᵢ             N               N         ╲
                 ┊            │               │         pooyinaaḍu
                 ┊           abs             abs
            venkanna  ∅       │               │
                               V₂              V₃
                          ┌────┼──╲       ┌────┼──╲
                       ⎡abs⎤  loc  ╲   ⎡abs⎤  loc  ╲
                       ⎣erg⎦        ╲  ⎣erg⎦         ╲
                        Nᵢ   N       ╲  Nᵢ   N        ╲
                         ┊   ┊        ╲   ┊   ┊        ╲
                      polamu na uṇḍ      illu  na  uṇḍ
                       field  at  be    house  at  be
```

        is
This/only a partial representation, but the point being made is clear

enough. The N_i is intended to denote the referential identity of the

nominals.   The complex label of $\begin{bmatrix} abs \\ erg \end{bmatrix}$ suggests that the moving entity

is also an agent.   The embedded structures of V_2 and V_3 (under abl and

loc respectively) show the two locations of the entity, namely, the

earlier and the latter locations as it were.   On par with the other

coordinated structures, the structure governed by V_2 is ultimately

transformed into the participal construction in Telugu.   The motiva-

tion for postulating uṇḍu under the loc relation as well derives from

the implicational relations discernable between the static and dynamic

verbs (cf. 6.1). For example, observe the implicational connection

between (a) and (b) instances:

    (16) (a) raamayya   inti-ki   pooyinaadu

               Ramayya   house to   went

               'Ramayya went home'

    (b)   raamayya   int-loo   undaadu

                        house in   is

    'Ramayya is at home'

(17) (a)   pitta   cettu-miida   vaalindi

           bird   tree on   perched

          'The bird perched on the tree'

      (b)   pitta   cettu-miida   undi

           bird   tree on   is

          'The bird is on the tree'

The (a) instances imply the state of affairs found in (b).
Incidentally, (17) also provides a transparent piece of evidence for
grouping Goal and location as a single semantic relation, in that the
Goal of a movement (generated by a directional verb) and the location
of an entity (as governed by a static verb) are realised by one and
the same postposition of miida 'on', 'at'.

The surface structure of the directional sentence (3) is deri-
vable from (15) in some such fashion as the following: The predication
dominated by abl, namely V_2, undergoes the participle transformation
which converts the combination of the postposition na and und into
nundi. The predication dominated by loc, V_3, comes under the
operation of verb-deletion necessitated by the semantic effect of
implication. The static -na is also deleted along with the governing
verb. The Goal is indicated by the directional postposition -ki/-ku.
Within a verb dependency-tree this surface structure can be shown as
in (18)

(18)

venkanna	∅	polamu	nundi	illu	ki	pooyinaadu
Venkanna		farm	from	house	to.	went
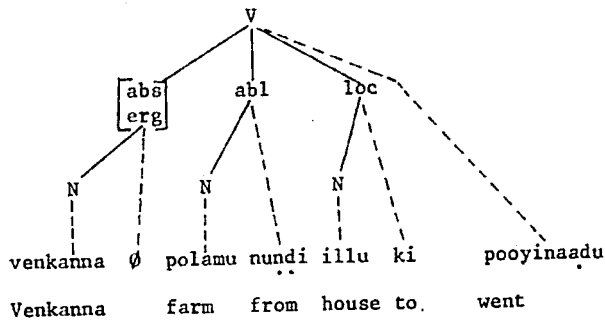
7.5 Notes on some related problems

The Telugu evidence discussed in this chapter shows that abl has to
be postulated as an underlying primitive semantic role in order to
account for the directional sentences.   There are several problems
closely connected with abl that deserve a detailed investigation
though we shall not be able to describe them here.   However, some of
the interesting problems are listed in order to indicate the relevance
of the theoretical model being pursued to these areas as well.   One
such important problem concerns the status of Goal, whether it is to
be treated as a case relation as suggested by Fillmore (1971a) or is
it to be treated as a variant of some other basic relation.   From the
paradigm of three 'local' oppositions, Source and Location are accorded
a deep semantic role through the postulation of abl and loc as case
relations, respectively.   The problem concerned is with the remaining
'local' function of Goal.   As we can gather from examples (1) through
(3) the Goal or 'allative' indicates the final or terminal point at
which the moving entity ends its journey.   There is crucial evidence
from the directional predications and their implicational relation with
non-directional stative predications like (17) that Goal can be
recategorized as a variant of loc in the presence of abl.   This means
that there is no necessity to add Goal as a primitive category to the

existing list of case relations, but it can be taken as a predictable sub-type of locative.

This principle can be substantiated with the help of the syntax of postpositions, in that one and the same postposition appears to denote loc in a stative-locational sentence and Goal of a directional sentence as in (17). This principle obtains its support also from the abstract directional predications wherein the source of the action happens to be an agent labelled as erg. Though we are not investigating the status of erg in any greater detail in this work, the similarity between erg and abl as the Source relations and the uniformity of loc and Goal as the Place relations will be illustrated with some examples. We focus our attention on unifying the Goal with loc rather than on the characteristics of erg. In the following examples, then, the (a) examples, being abstract directionals, signal a Goal and (b) instances, being non-directional (stative), signal only a location. But notice that Goal in (a) and loc in (b) are manifested by one and the same postposition of Telugu.

(19) (a) vaadu   talupu-ku   pasupu   puusinaadu

      he   door , to   turmeric   smeared
                                mark

      'He smeared the door with turmeric'

     (b) talupu-ku   pasupu   undi

         door   to   turmeric   is
                        mark

         'There is a turmeric mark on the door'

(20) (a) liila   kadava   gattu-na   uncindi

         Leela   pot   bank at/on   put

         'Leela put the (water) pot on the bank'

(b) kaḍava   gaṭṭu-na   undi

     pot   bank at/on   is

     'The pot is on the bank'

(21) (a) ravi   nagalu   siita-ceeta   iccinaadu

     Ravi   jewels   Sita hand at   gave

     'Ravi gave the jewels to (the hands of) Sita'

   (b) nagalu   siita-ceeta   undaayi

     jewels   Sita at the   are
                      hands of

     'The jewels are with Sita'

(22) (a) neenu   pustakaalu   balla-miida   pettinaanu

     I   books   table on top of   put

     'I put the books on the table'

   (b) pustakaalu   balla-miida   undaayi

     books   table on top of are

     'The books are on the table'

(23) (a) amma   paatra-loo   niiḷḷu   poosindi

     mother   dish   in   water   poured

     'Mother poured water in the dish'

   (b) paatra-loo   niiḷḷu   undaayi

     dish   in   water   are

     'There is water in the dish'

(24) (a) naanna   naa-ku   dabbu   iccinaadu

     father   me to   money   gave

     'Father gave me (some) money'

   (b) naa-ku   dabbu   undi

     me to   money   is

     'I have (some)money'

It should be observed that there is a visible implicational relation between the dynamic or active instances of (a) and the stative or static instances of (b). In informal terms, the (a) instances may be sketched out as consisting of the three case relations of erg, abs, and loc and the (b) instances as simply abs and loc.

    (25) (a) [- [erg] [abs] [loc] V

          (b) [- [abs] [loc] V

Leaving the crucial difference between erg and abl aside for the moment, it is to be emphasized that both erg and abl share the common property of being Source relations; source of action and source of movement respectively (cf. 3.6); Anderson, 1976b: Ch. 2). Their difference lies on the dichotomy of agentive and non-agentive sources, the characteristics of which are not investigated here. The crucial point I want to draw the reader's attention to is that there is sufficient underlying uniformity between loc and Goal to suggest that the latter is merely a contextually determined (predictable) variant of the former in the presence of an abl. Thus abandoning the notion of Goal from our basic case categories and associating it with loc, we also bring out the similarity between 'allative' and 'indirect object', which labels are commonly found in conventional grammars in conjunction with directional and agentive verbs respectively.

In this light, a consideration of the postpositions in the (a) and (b) instances of (19) through (24) reveals certain interesting syntactic and semantic correlates. The -ku phrase in the active and stative expressions of (19) indicates the space where an entity exists. Similarly the -na phrase in (20); the ceeta phrase in (21); the miida phrase in (22) and the loo phrase in (23). Regarding the -ku

phrase in (24) different interpretations are possible.   In
traditional terms, this -ku phrase will be taken as 'Indirect Object'
and the Fillmorean case grammar approach would label it as 'Dative'.
The same -ku phrase in (19) will receive the label of Locative in
Fillmore's analysis.   Instead of having 'Dative' as a basic semantic
role, the solution in (25) suggests that it has to be recategorized as
a sub-type of loc within a localist framework.   Thus, there seems to
be no compelling motivation for postulating Goal and Dative as
. primitive case relations.   The implicational relationship between (a)
and (b) of (19) through (24) suggests that both of these (Goal and
Dative) can be interpreted as variants of a single underlying case
relation of loc.   This solution offers a 'natural explanation' in that
various occurrences of the same token (of case-form) are shown to have
underlying uniformity.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

Contemporary syntactic theory is no longer a monolithic block of orthodox doctrine. There are competing theoretical proposals such as Extended Standard theory, generative semantics, Fillmore's case grammar and localist case grammar, among others. There is a growing need for fresh alternatives within the theory, particularly with reference to a detailed description of a single language. One such attempt of analysing Telugu syntax within the framework of localist case grammar was the aim of the preceding chapters. Modern linguistic theories are based mainly, if not exclusively, on detailed descriptions of Indo-European languages. The present work attempted to see the viability of one such theory, generative localism, in the application of the model to a detailed description of a non-Indo-European language.

As a background to the entire work, a survey of earlier grammatical studies on Telugu was outlined. This was followed by a nontechnical description of Telugu sentence patterns in order to provide the necessary information on the typological characteristics of the language. Special attention was given to such surface syntactic properties as word-order, concord, focus, and a basic classification of phrase structures.

The theory of generative localism as expounded by Anderson (1971a , 1976b) claims that the underlying nomino-verbal relations can fruitfully be limited to a minimum number of four, namely, absolutive, locative, ablative and ergative. The criterion for limiting to such

a small number is that of the pre-theoretical notions of <u>Place</u> and <u>Source</u>, or location and movement. A comparison of this theory with other current syntactic theories reveals some of its merits. I have, however, limited my investigation to the case relations of abs, loc and abl. As a result of this decision, the following areas of Telugu grammar were analysed in some detail.

The spatial locative sentences, whose principal predicator is uṇḍu 'to exist, to be', are analysed as having the underlying case relations of loc and abs. Sufficient exemplification is provided to treat existentials as underlying locatives. Many similarities between the syntax of spatial locative and apparently non-spatial instances like possessive, experiential and various stative predications were noticed. This parallelism is taken to spring from their underlying uniformity. The latter group of structures are taken as a sub-type of underlying loc and this reduces the number of basic clause types required in a grammar. The central thesis of localism, namely that the non-spatial phenomenon is nothing but a metaphorical extension of the principles of spatial locatives, is found to have significant relevance to the grammar of Telugu. The equational and directional clauses are the two other aspects of Telugu syntax that are given a localist treatment.

Other areas of the syntax of Telugu, though less obviously susceptible to being fitted in this framework, can nevertheless be handled by the same theoretical approach. The restriction of time and space has not permitted discussion of them in this thesis, but we shall in these concluding lines give a brief list of the more important among them. These will form topics for further research.

The temporal expressions of Telugu from one of the most amenable
areas for a localist study; so does aspect and deixis.   The notion
of agentivity can be studied more fruitfully as a <u>Source</u> relation.
The traditional grammatical labels of 'Indirect Object' and 'accusa-
tive' can be analysed as <u>Goal</u> relations, which are ultimately
derivable from loc.   The complementizers like <u>-nu</u>, <u>-naku</u> and
<u>-koosam</u> can be interpreted as indicating embedded loc relations.
The whole area of 'auxiliary' verbs in Dravidian deserves to be
explored within this framework, as even their surface structures
show that the existential <u>undu</u> 'to be' manifests many of these
functions.

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AL   Acta Linguistica (Hafniensia). Revue Internationale
de linguistique structurale. Copenhague.

CLS   (Papers from the annual regional meeting of the)
Chicago Linguistic Society. Chicago.

EWPL Edinburgh Working Papers in Linguistics. Edinburgh.

FL   Foundations of Language. International Journal of
Language and Philosophy. Dordrecht-Holland.

IIJ   Indo-Iranian Journal. The Hague and Paris.

IL   Indian Linguistics. Journal of the Linguistic Society
of India, Poona.

IULC (distributed by) Indiana University Linguistics Club.
Bloomington.

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society. New Haven.

JL   Journal of Linguistics. The Journal of the Linguistics
Association of Great Britain. London.

LAUT (distributed by) Linguistics Agency, University of
Trier. Trier.

Lg   Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America.
Baltimore.

LI   Linguistic Inquiry. Cambridge, Mass. and London.

MSLL Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics,
Georgetown University. Washington, D.C.

RRLing Revue Roumaine de Linguistique. Bucarest.

SL   Studia Linguistica. Revue de linguistique générale et
comparée. Lund.

WPLU Working Papers on Language Universals, Stanford
University, Stanford, California.

YPL York Papers in Linguistics. York, England.

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