

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 unrelated 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 subtype 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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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:

అ	a	ఆ	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	t̪	ఠ	(t̪h)	డ	ɖ	ఢ	(ɖh)	ణ	ɳ
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	ɭ	వ	v
శ	ʃ	ష	ʂ	స	s	హ	h		

The homorganic nasal symbol 'o' is represented as:

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

ɳ before t̪ and ɖ

m before p, b; fricatives and word finally.

The aspirated sounds in parantheses are highly infrequent and only marginal for colloquial Telugu. The details of pronunciation may be found in such works as Arden (1873), Lisker (1963), Krishnamurti and Sarma (1968), Sivarama Murthy (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 Brahui¹.

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

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 representative 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 available 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

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 methodological 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 important 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 Baalavyaakaranamu³ 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 paricheedamu 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), deesyamu (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 Paṇinian 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 formulates 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

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 Baalavyaakarapamu 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	<u>du</u> , <u>mu</u> , <u>vu</u> , <u>lu</u>
Second case	<u>nu</u>
Third case	<u>ceeta</u> 'by'; <u>tooda</u> 'with'

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

Fourth case	<u>koraku</u> , <u>kayi</u> 'for'
Fifth case	<u>valana</u> 'by', 'with'; <u>kanṭe</u> 'than' <u>paṭṭi</u> 'regarding', 'about'
Sixth case	<u>ku</u> 'to'; <u>yokka</u> 'of'
Seventh case	<u>andu</u> 'in'; <u>na</u> '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:

	<u>kaaraka</u>	<u>vibhakti</u>
(2) (a)	karta 'agentive'	ceeta 'by'
(b)	karma 'objective'	nu
(c)	karāṇa 'instrumental' and heetu ⁶ 'causal'	ceeta 'by'
(d)	sampradaana 'dative'	koraku 'for; kayi 'for'
(e)	adhikaraṇa '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 nunḍi 'from' in

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 Panini 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 sentences, 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 constructing 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 sentences such as

(3) meemu aaṭalu aadinaamu
 we plays played
 'Ve 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 miscellaneous 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 traditional 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 Caldwell⁷ 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

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, measurements 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'

santooṣambuna 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 classification 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 insights 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 itself⁸ 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

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

nouns ending in ^{e.g.} -du / deevudu 'god', (ii) nouns of more than two syllables ending in -amu, -aamu and -emu such as gurramu 'horse', deesamu 'country' and (iii) all nouns with identical form in nominative and oblique inflexions for example, bidḍa '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 ai), 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

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 representative example for each of this class of verbs, Arden does not seem to be interested in providing the rules for inflections and derivations. 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 unḍu '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' constructions. We will take up his observations for a close scrutiny and elaboration while looking at the syntax of unḍu '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 speculations.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 explanations 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 postpositions 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 (Paṇinian) grammar had eight case relations, since only six are postulated and the genitive and vocative are not treated as kaarakas (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 unḍi 'from' from the past participle of unḍ 'to be', and illustrates with the example

- (2) paralookamu- nuṇḍi vaccenu
 heaven having been came (he)
 'He came from heaven'

Caldwell, unlike the Sanskrit 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) compound 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 etymologies 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, identical 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) ḍu giving viḍu 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 determination 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 reconstructions 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 useful 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 adjectives 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

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 readability and consistency. 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 exemplified 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 construction expressing the tense distinction of past-nonpast in Telugu.

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

(9) neenu aa sangati ceppindi manchildi
said-it

'It is good that I told that news'

(10) neenu aa sangati ceppeedi manchildi
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 paaṭham ceppu-t-unnaanu

I lesson say am

'I am teaching'

(14) neenu paaṭham ceppaṭam leedu

'I am not teaching'.

The negative form in (14) is the same as the existential negative like akkada pustakam leedu 'There is no book there'.

The distinction of verbal tense into past and nonpast is illustrated 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 manamu 'we (inclusive)', for example

- (15) manamu rotte 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 conjugation in complex sentences with dative constructions of other pronouns to denote a wish or desire such as

- (16) aame-ku velḍaam 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 velḷaala(i) ani undi
 her-to go obligative
 'She wants to go/She feels like going'.

This interesting phenomenon with a dative -ku 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^e these examples like

(18) cuuḍa + leeḍu → cuuḷleeḍu

'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 modification 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 illustrated 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 concord is discussed under two main subject types of gerundive and the

(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.

Kelley mentions 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 maata
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 relationships existing between the two nouns in such compounds. This becomes more evident in his formulation of grammatical rules for the distributional (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 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.

C h a p t e r 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

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.

Any of the constituents in the above example (1), paalu or goopi or taaginaadu can be brought into focus by stressing the desired constituent

- (1) (a) goopi paalu taaginaadu
 (b) goopi paalu taaginaadu
 (c) goopi paalu taaginaadu

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 drank the milk, (he did not leave it or throw it away ...)

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

- (1) (a') goopiyee paalu taaginaadu
 'Gopi alone drank the milk'
 (b') goopi paalee taaginaadu
 '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 prominence 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 koṭṭu 'to beat' is transformed into a verbal noun koṭṭindi '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 Word order and 'verbless' sentences

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-vaadu
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 existential 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') raamuḍu manci-vaḍu 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 raamuḍu
 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 taken as having underlying structures like that in (4)(a) and (5)(a) respectively.

(4) (a) neenu raytunu agu
 (5) (a) raamuḍu mancivaadu agu²

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

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 constantly 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-ḍu
- (c) aavu-nu venkanna-ku raamuḍu amm-inaa-ḍu
- (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 raamuḍu 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 location are represented in the noun morphology by too 'with', nunḍi '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 ammīnaadu '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 Focus and the verb

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 amminaarū ?

who

'Who sold the cow to Venkanna?'

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

(7) (c) raamuḍu aavunu evariki amminaaḍu ?

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 predicat 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).

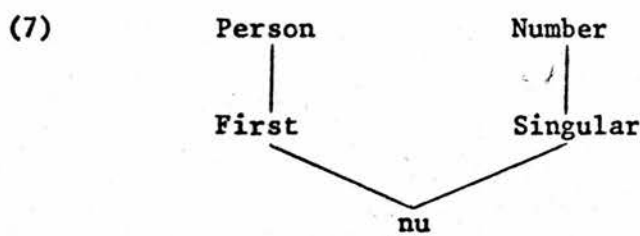
- (2) (a) neenu pustakam kon-inaa-nu
 I book buy-past-I
 (b) pustakam kon-inaa-nu
 book buy-past-I

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 [First person
 singular]

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

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).



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 additional feature has to be taken into account, namely [\pm 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 [\pm 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 [\pm inclusive]. All that mu indicates is that it is first person and plural. The semantic distinction 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 [\pm 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

[we
-inclusive] come-past- [we
-inclusive]
'We came'

(9) maaro vaa-t-ay

[we
+inclusive] come-past- [we
+inclusive]
'We came'

Now let us look at the second person concordial elements.

(10) niivu vyaasam raas-inaa-vu

[Second person
singular] essay write-past- [Second person
singular]
'You wrote an essay'

(11) miiru vyaasam raas-inaa-ru

[Second person
plural] essay write-past- [Second person
plural]
'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 + {
 vaadu
 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) vaadu skuulu-ku poo-taa-du
 He school-to go non-past [Third person
 singular
 masculine]
 'He goes to school'

- (14) aame skuulu-ku poo-tun-di
 she go non-past [Third person
 singular
 feminine]
 'She goes to school'

- (15) vaallu skuulu-ku poo-taa-ru
 They(human) go non-past [Third person
 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 vaadu '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

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) pronouns. This is true of all the instances of verbal predicates. But whenever the predicator is a noun or an adjective, gender agreement with the semantic gender of the speaker or the addressee is essential.

(19) neenu palletuuri-vaadu

[First person
singular
masculine]

village

[Third person
singular
masculine]

'I am a villager'

(20) neenu palletuuri-di

[First person
singular
feminine]

village

[Third person
singular
feminine]

'I am a villager'

(21) nuvvu manci-vaadu

[Second person
singular
masculine]

good

[Third person
singular
masculine]

'You are a good fellow'

(22) nuvvu manci-di

[Second person
singular
feminine]

good

[Third person
singular
feminine]

'You are a good girl or woman'

In these examples neenu 'I' and nuvvu '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 palleṭuurivaadu 'villager', mancidi '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	palleṭuurivaada-nu	
	I	villager	I
(20')	neenu	palleṭuuridaana-nu	
	I	village-she	I
(21')	nuvvu	mancivaada-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 palletuuri-vaallu
 we village-they (human)

'We are villagers'

(24) miiru manci-vaallu
 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) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{Adj P} \end{array} \right\}$

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

(3) ravi monna gudi-daggara

Ravi the day before temple-near

kukka-nu koṭṭ-inaa-ḍu

dog-acc beat-past-he

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

(4) ravi upaadhyaayūḍu

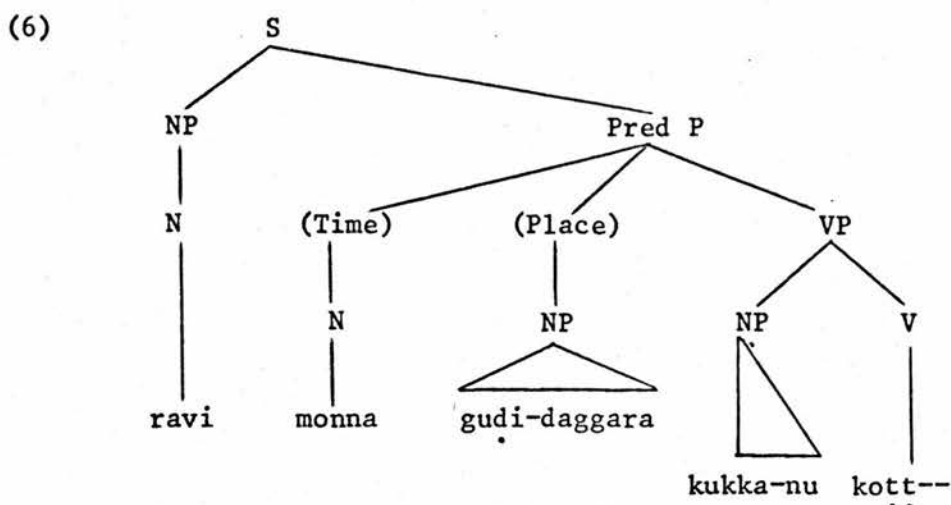
'Ravi is a teacher'

(5) ravi mancivaāḍu

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).



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 postpositional 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 adverbials 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 NP) and ^{the}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 construction 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'

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 baṭṭa 'cloth' and paṇḍlu 'fruits' can optionally take the case ending -nu giving baṭṭanu and paṇḍlanu. With an animate noun like kooḍi '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 sentences will be quite different. I 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 causatives of Telugu⁵ 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 prerequisite 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-ḍu
 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-ḍu
 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) pillooḍu eeḍc-inaa-ḍu
 boy cry past he
 'The boy cried'

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

- (b) gopii pilloon-ṇi eed-pinc-inaa-ḍu
 boy acc. cry make past he
 'Gopi made the boy cry'
- (28) (a) muraḷii paalu taag-inaa-ḍu
 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-ḍu
 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 functions as the transitiviser and to this transitive form a causative marker can be added to get causatives, as in (30) and (31).

- (30) (a) maanu (kinda) paḍ-in-di
 tree down fall past it
 'The tree fell (down)'

- (b) vaḍraṅgi maanu paḍa-goṭṭ-inaa-ḍu
carpenter tree fall beat past he
'The carpenter made the tree fall'
- (c) neenu vaḍraṅgi-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) eṇḍu eṇḍa-beṭṭu eṇḍa-beṭṭ-incu
'dry' eṇḍa-veeyu eṇḍa-veey-incu
eṇḍa-pooyu eṇḍa-pooy-incu
eṇḍa-gaṭṭu eṇḍa-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

- (c) naayana aapani naa-ceeta ceey-inc-inaa-du
 father that work me by do cause past he
 'Father made me to do that work'

Especially the semantic relation between agu 'to become, to happen, to take place' a process-oriented verb and ceeyu '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 ceeyu is 'lexicalised' with reference to agu as 'kill' is to 'die' in English. But these two verbs agu and ceeyu are the verbalisers par excellence 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 intransitive 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) taḷḷidaṇḍrulu aame-ku peṇḍlicees-inaa-ru
 parents her to marriage did they
 'The parents married her (to someone)'
- (37) (a) peṇḍli-ki caalaa ḍabbu 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 ḍabbu kharcucees-inaa-ru
 They marriage to much money expenditure did they
 'They spent a lot of money in the marriage'

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 Ramayyu?' 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 raytu evaru? '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 identity, 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 interrogative structures, such as

(43) aame evaru?

that woman who

'Who is she?'

- (44) avi eemiṭi-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 nemallu 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 construction 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 Attributive: NP + NP/Adj + (cop)

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 paata '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 attribution 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 explicitly 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'

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-kaṅṅe 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 suggests 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 veetaagaallu unḍaaru
 this village in hunters are-they
 'There are hunters in this village'
- (c) pustakaani-ki dummū paṭṭindi
 book to dust caught
 'Dust has gathered on the book'
- (d) aa meeda-ku iravay talupulu unḍaayi
 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 propose 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 subjectivize 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) akkada 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 information' 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 phonological 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 ekkada 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 construction, in that they derive proper interpretation from the context that is already under discussion. This is true of (64), as well,

- (64) maa illu kooneti-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 following sentences will show the constituent phrases clearly.

- (66) (a) *elluṇḍi-ki⁷ penḍli*
 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) *miṭṭingu muuḍugaṅṅala-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 eppuḍu?*
 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

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)

$$(67) \text{ locative} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{loc} + \text{N} + \text{V} \\ \text{loc} + \text{N} + (\text{cop}) \end{array} \right\}$$

2.3.9 Possessive: 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 ravidī
 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 kotta batta '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 ravi is in predicate position with the pronominal suffix -di 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 structures 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 classification 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'

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 nunḍi 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 relation 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

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 verb² 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

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 structures. Chomsky, while adopting these notions, proposes '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 provide 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 conceived 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 providing various case labels for the form and use of the postpositions as well. This means that the grammarians employ the term case, sometimes 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 regarding 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 maintained 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 observations of traditional scholars have many insights to offer. The

kaaraka is defined as "the name given to the relation subsisting between 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 role 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'; karana '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 adhikarana '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', tooḍa '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 in deep structure^{and they} 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 unrevealing 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 \rightarrow M(odality) + P(roposition)

(2) P \rightarrow V + C(ase)₁ + C₂ + C₃

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.

4. Fillmore 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 understood 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.

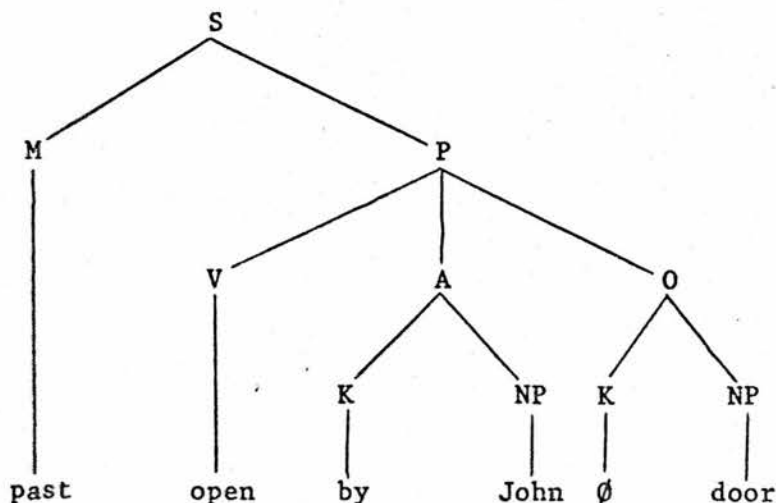
In his later writings, Fillmore adds some more case relations such as Comitative, Time, Source, Goal, Result and Counter-agent to the above inventory; and some of the notions defined above are given new names or their semantic functions are redistributed among other original cases. This aggravates the 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 restrictions 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 John opened the door, 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 representation and these are expanded as $K(\text{asus}) + \text{NP}$, 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 outlined 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' uses⁵. Lyons (1968a: Ch. 7.4)

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 manifest 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) ceṇḍu gooda-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 tamiḷamu 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 inter-relation 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.

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 statement that "the distinction between locatives and possessives is a secondary surface structure distinction based, largely, on the distinction 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 investigated 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, 1974) ^{a and b} 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 8). The application of localist theory to the case system of other languages can be found in such works as Kilby (1972), and Miller ^{a and b} (1974) 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 distinctions 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 (i.e. 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 confining 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 consisting of semantic structure, transformational rules, surface syntactic structure and phonological rules. Phonological rules specify what surface structures correspond to what phonetic representations 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 structures. 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 consisting 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

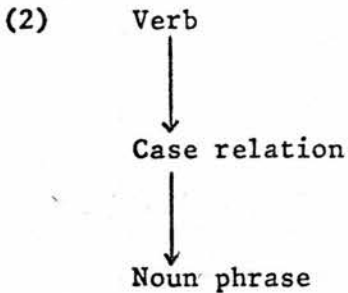
- (1) (a) $S \rightarrow \text{Proposition} + \text{Modality}$
 (b) $\text{Proposition} \rightarrow \text{Verb} + \text{Noun} + \text{Noun} \dots$

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 $\text{Prop} \rightarrow N + V$ that specify the immediate constituents 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 - ^{the} verb 'governs' or 'creates' the case relations (i.e. semantic roles like absolutive, ergative, locative and ablative) and they in turn

govern⁷ their respective nouns. In this way, the categories are hierarchized with respect to dependency and the notion of case relation, as a label for the semantic role that a particular NP fulfils in the proposition, is given a formal definition too. The directionality of the dependency-hierarchy (i.e. government) can be represented as in (2)

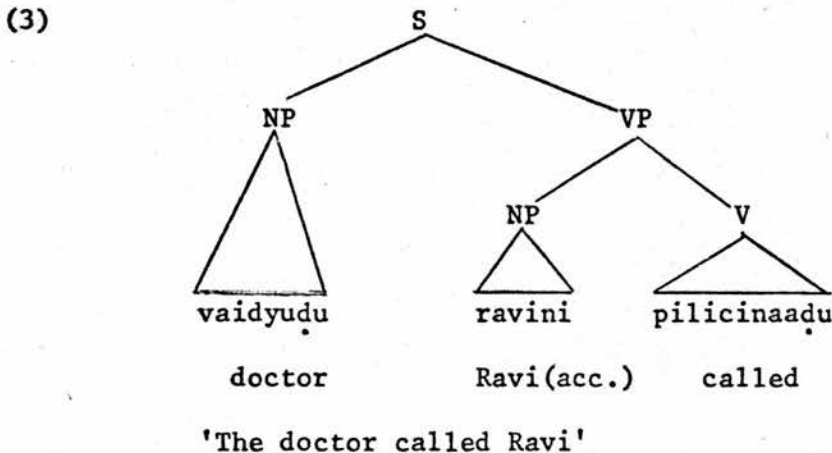


The verb-dependency grammar can be invoked fruitfully with respect to the basic lexical categories of verb and noun; and the notion of functional label (case relation) obtains its natural definition in a dependency formalism. There is no VP constituent embracing all the NPs other than the subject NP 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.

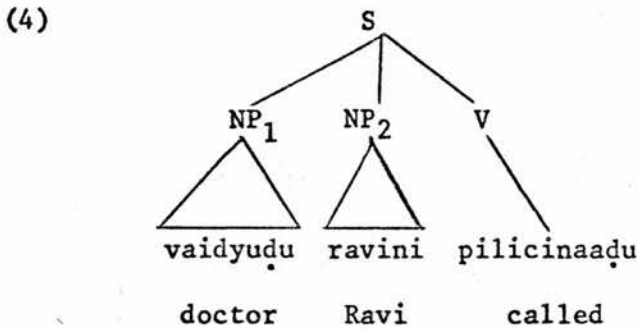
At this stage, a comparison of the dependency notations with the familiar IC-tree notations may be helpful if we go on to replace the constituency rules of other generative grammars by the dependency rules below. I will illustrate it with a Telugu construction. In the Aspects theory, where S is always 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



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

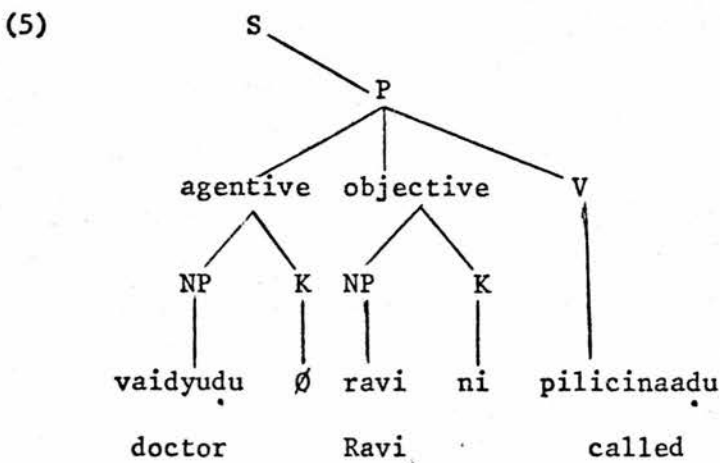
8. In these illustrations the content of modality (or auxiliary or operator) is ignored and the finite verb is represented under the V. This does not affect the point at issue, namely, the basic nomino-verbal relations.

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

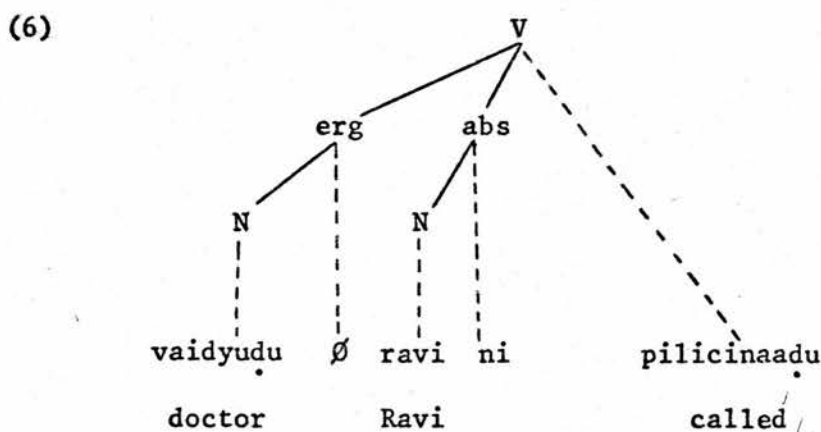


The generative semanticist's argument is that this sort of representation is more easily amenable to the operation of transformational rules like passive, quantifier-lowering and the rest. They accord no syntactic role for VP.

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



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 construction'. In other words, the representation in (5) is claimed to gain a more natural expression in the formalism of (6)



(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-representations to propositions. The unique node V is the governor and the erg and abs are dependents. 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-assignment 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 'absolute'. 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.

$$(8) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{abs} = \boxed{\text{case}}, \quad \text{loc} = \boxed{\begin{array}{l} \text{case} \\ \text{place} \end{array}}, \quad \text{erg} = \boxed{\begin{array}{l} \text{case} \\ \text{source} \end{array}}, \\ \text{abl} = \boxed{\begin{array}{l} \text{case} \\ \text{place} \\ \text{source} \end{array}} \end{array}$$

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, comitative 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 accordance with the subcategorization of the predicate and not vice versa.

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

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:

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

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 proposition. This claim of the localists is closely connected with the related innovation of allowing multiple case relations for a particular argument. And secondly, ^{against} 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 prolonging 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 indicating that every ergative (agentive) predicate takes an erg argument 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, envisages 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) wherein *loc* is realised as 'allative'. Out of the three 'local' oppositions of source, place and goal, I propose to take up, first of all, the notion of place at. 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 unḍaayi
 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 peṭṭe-kinda-(na) undi

ball box underneath at is

'The ball is under the box'

(b) kooḍi iṅṅi-pay-na undi

fowl house top at is

'The fowl is on top of the house'

(c) pilli paṅṅa-pakka-na undi

cat verandah side at is

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

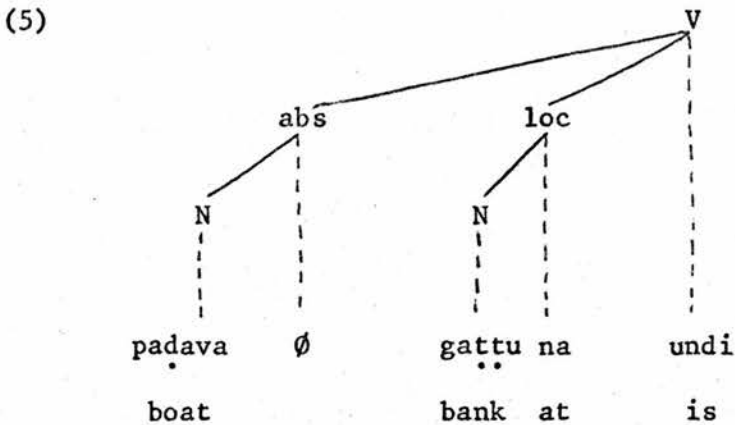
which clearly show the physical location of the entities like ball, fowl and cat with respect to the 'secondary distinctions' of top, bottom, side, etc. of box, house and verandah.

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 uṅḍu '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 predications like (1) to (3) can be represented as in (4)

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

(ii) loc ---> loc// — 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).



The tree diagram indicates that the locative predicate undi 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 exposition 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 extrapositional 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) paḍava 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) gaṭṭu-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 baṭṭalu peṭṭe-loo uneinaadu
 washerman clothes box in put
 'The washerman put the clothes in the/a box'

(b) caakali baṭṭalu eeṭi-loo utikinaadu
 washerman clothes stream in washed
 'The washerman washed the clothes in the stream'

The verb uncu in (8)(a) obligatorily requires the locative complement peṭṭe-loo 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 uncu ('to put' is related to the existential uṇḍu 'to be (at a place)'. The former is the dynamic, non-stative variant of the static or stative uṇḍu². In (8)(b) the verb utuku 'to wash' does not require the locative phrase, eeṭi-loo 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.

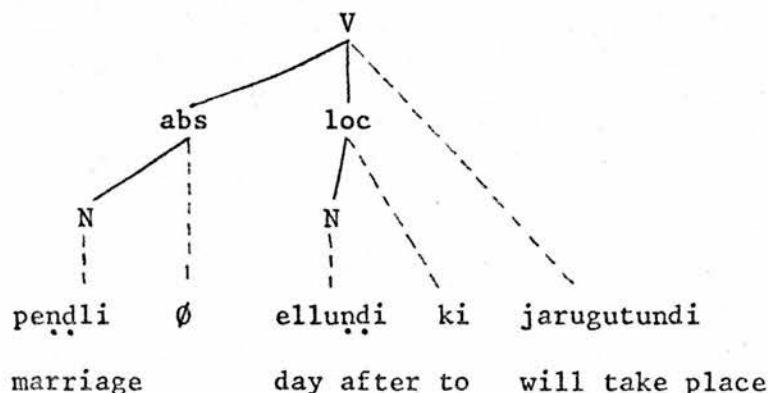
2. The transitivity (or causative) relation between these two lexical items is transparent: uṇḍu is a stative-locative verb and uncu an agentive (or ergative) verb.

- (i) kurrooḍu toṭṭi-loo uṇḍaadu
 boy cradle in is
 'The boy is in the cradle'
- (ii) amma kurrooṇ-ṇi toṭṭi-loo uncindi
 mother boy - acc cradle in put
 'Mother put the baby in the cradle'

place', or agu '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 representation as in (10).

(10)



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 extrapositional complex structure 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 constituents. 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) koṇḍa-miida guḍi 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) guḍi koṇḍa-miida undi
 'The temple is on the hill'
- (c) kootulu tirupati-loo undaayi
 'The monkeys are in Tirupati'

for its own sake, but only to the extent that [[±] definiteness] interacts 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 ekkāḍa 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) kooṭa-loo raṇi undi
 palace in queen is
 'There is (a) queen in the palace'

(b) kooṭa-loo oka raṇi 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 raṇi 'queen' is preceded by aa 'that', as it is contradictory to use a definite marker to express an indefinite entity.

(18) * kooṭa-loo aa raṇi 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) raṇi kooṭa-loo undi
 'The queen is in the palace'

(b) aa raṇi kooṭa-loo undi
 'The queen is in the palace'

In the underlying structure of this abs + loc + V type of constructions, 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 representations 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 raṇi kooṭa-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 scrambling⁴ 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

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 structure consisting loc and abs. In this light we conclude:

- (21) (i) abs in locative predicates must be specified as [\pm 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 [$\begin{array}{c} \text{abs} \\ + \text{definite} \end{array}$].

4.4 Existential clauses

Sentences with the underlying indefinite locative having [$\begin{array}{c} \text{abs} \\ - \text{definite} \end{array}$], 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 description 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

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 constructions in Kodagu, another Dravidian language, see Garman (1973: Chapter 3.2).

(28) (a) eḍlabāṇḍlu unḍaayi

bullock carts exist

'Bullock-carts exist', 'There are (such things as)
bullock-carts'

(b) doomalu unḍaayi

mosquitoes exist

'Mosquitoes exist', 'There are (such things as)
mosquitoes'

(c) daari undi

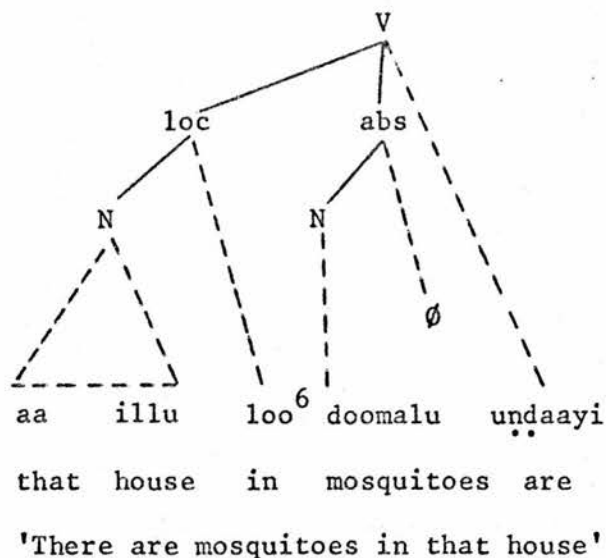
path exists

'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 locatives.

In their underlying structure the sentences of (28) have a loc argument that indicates the place of an entity. This can be illustrated with the help of (28)(b) whose underlying structure is that of (29).

(29)



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 inṭloo '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 unḍaayi
 demons are/exist
 'Demons exist', 'There are demons'

(b) tella kaakulu unḍaayi
 white crows exist/are
 'White crows exist', 'There are white crows'

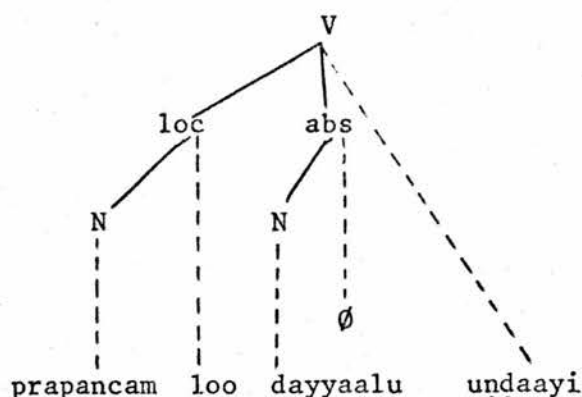
where the existence of certain entities, namely, demons and white crows, is arguable. Someone might claim to have seen a demon in a cave and a white crow in a strange place. These facts of 'knowledge of the world' seem to be closely interwoven into the distinction and connection of locative and existential 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 unḍaayi
 world in
 'There are demons in the world'

(b) inglaṅḍ-loo tella kaakulu unḍaayi
 'There are white crows in England'

The underlying structure of (32)(a), for example, can be shown as in (33)

(33)



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 existentials 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 constructions like (27) and (25)(a) and (31) can be derived from underlying locative constructions and there seems to be no need to postulate existential predications as independent underlying structures. 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 he '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) vaṅṅiṅṅ-loo veēḍi
 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 ikkaḍa

your book here

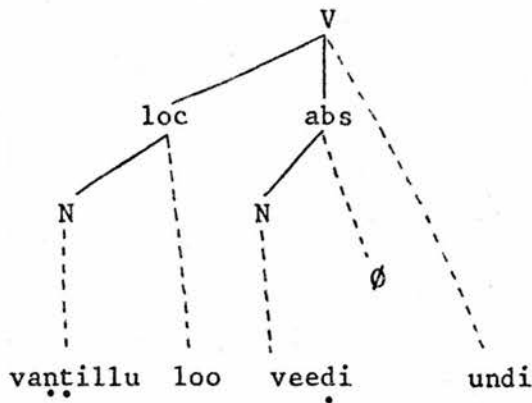
* 'Your book here'

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 constructions 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 constructions. 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 unḍu 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 uṇḍeedi 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 kaa negative to get (42')

(42') santa-loo uṇḍeedi 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 uṇḍu-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 uṇḍu is implicitly present in seemingly verbless locative constructions of (36).

The structure of (42) also suggests that we need the verb uṇḍu 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 eedc-in-di
 She cry past she
 'She cried'
- (b) aame eedus-tun-di
 She cry nonpast she
 'She will cry/cries'

whereas uṇḍu exhibits a three-way distinction of tense-past, present

(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 ammiundu-inaa-du

Ravi field having be past he
 sold

'Ravi had sold the field'

(b) ravi polam ammiundu-daa-du

having be present he
 sold

'Ravi has sold the field'

(c) ravi polam ammiundu-taa-du

having be future he
 sold

'Ravi might have sold the field'

(50) (a) neenu katha cep-taa-un-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 consideration, it can be observed that the use of a locative verb un 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 superordinate locative construction. Examples (49) and (50) also indicate the intimate connection between the morphology of un 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 un. 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 un̄du, 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-na 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 un̄du, 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 differentiates 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 derivation for uncu.

Another verb exhibiting a similar semantic connection with uṇḍu is petṭu 'to put', to place, to keep', though there is no morphological (formal) connection between them.

(55) lalita kaḍava gaṭṭu-na petṭindi
 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 and petṭu 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 loo 'in' and na '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 underlying case relations. In modern accounts of Telugu (see Baeyer, 1970; Bhaskara Rao, 1972a) the postposition a/na 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 a and na are highly frequent and they indicate 'punctual' location, the positioning of something at a point.

(56) (a) aame canka-na biḍḍa uṇḍaaḍu
 her lap in child is

'There is a child in her lap'

(b) vaalḷu niḍa-na kuurcuṇṇaaru
 They shade in sat

'They sat in tree-shade'

(c) draakṣa nakka nooṭa⁷ uṇḍindi
 grapes fox mouth in was

'The grapes were in the fox's mouth'

7. Phonologically nooṭa derives from

nooru + a --> nooṭa 'in the mouth'

mouth in

Similarly eeṭa 'in the river', noṣaṭa '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 unḍaayi
 jewels hand at are

'The jewels are with Sita'

Other postpositions that manifest the 'place at' include daggara 'near', bayāṭa '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 unḍu '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 unḍaayi
 that old man to goats are/exist

'The old man has (some) goats'

(2) (a) maa uur-loo guḍi leedu
 my village in temple is/exist not

'There is no temple in my village'

(b) aa manīṣi-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' constructions 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 distinction 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 represented 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 toṭṭa '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 inanimate 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 maavallu (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 adjective 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 underlying structures: eeti niilḷu 'river water', paamu puṭṭa 'snake-pit, ant hill', niilḷa toṭṭi 'water tub', raati midde 'stone house' ceṭṭu paṭṭa 'tree bark, bark of the tree', kaagitapu paḍava 'paper boat', bhuumi pannu 'land tax', guḍi 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 paamu puṭṭa 'snake-pit', for example, can be interpreted as having an underlying structure like (9) at some stage of its derivation.

- (9) paamu puṭṭa-loo undi
 snake pit in exists/is

This simplex consists of a bs and loc along with the existential verb undu. 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 particular nominal into prominence and when this rule applies on a structure like (9) the verb assumes the relative participial form of unna 'existing' and either of the nouns could be relativized being shifted to the post-verbal position as in (10)(a) and (b).

- (10) (a) puṭṭa-loo unna paamu
 pit in be-relative snake
 non-past

'The snake which is in the pit'

- (b) paamu unna puṭṭa
 snake be-relative pit
 non-past

'The pit where the snake is/exists'

Notice that the locative phrase puṭṭa-loo when appearing after relative participle in (10)(b) does not retain the postposition -loo. The postposition deletion rule operates in Telugu whenever a postpositional 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 unna and gets us to the nominal compound. This tentative outline

suggests that a compound like paamu puṭṭa '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 Possessive and word order: 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, and 'predicate-possessive'. The 'dative-possessive' namely, the so-called 'dative-possessive'/as illustrated in (4), has 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 unḍaayi
 Sita to books exist
 'Sita has books'

(b) pustakaalu siita-ku unḍaayi
 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 unḍaayi
him to hounds exist
'He has (some) hounds'
- (b) veetakukkalu atani-ki unḍaayi
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 differentiate 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 aḍavi-loo unḍaayi
 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 siggu 'shyness' and raamu are the surface subjects of (19)(a) and (b) respectively.

5.2.3 Possessive and case-markers: In the majority of the sentences discussed under possessive, the postpositional phrase representing the possessor is composed of a noun followed by the postposition -ki/-ku. This case suffix is generally labelled as 'dative' in the traditional and structuralist grammars. The multifarious functions of -ki/-ku are analysed under appropriate sections at several places in this work. In the possessive construction, the -ki/-ku 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 santoosangaa 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 -ki/-ku 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 constructions. 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 constructions 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) santooṣam '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 spatial 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 aaḍukunṭaaru
 children well nearness play

'The children play near the well'

(25) siita-ceeta kalaalu unḍaayi
 Sita hand at pens are
 'There are (some) pens in Sita's hand'

(26) uureegimpu deevaalayam-centa unḍenu¹
 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 ḍabbu undi
 my near money exists
 'I have money' or 'There is money at me'

(b) naa-ku ḍabbu 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 undaayi
 Lalita near books exist
 'Lalita has books' or 'There are books near Lalita'
- (b) lalita-ku pustakaalu undaayi
 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 khadgamulu undenu
 soldiers near swords existed
 'The soldiers had swords' or 'There were swords at/near the soldiers'
- (b) saynikula-ku khadgamulu undenu
 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 guḍa 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 unḍaayi
 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 puujarlu undaaru
 temple in priests exist
 'There are priests in the temple'

(b) gudi-ki puujarlu 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 loo or tili in (a), and -ki/-ku 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 loo and -ki/-ku 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 iṅṭi-ki talupulu uṅḍaayi
 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 post-position in such instances, both for existence and possession.

In general discussions, the notion of 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 talidandṛulu unḍaaru
 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 talidandṛulu 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

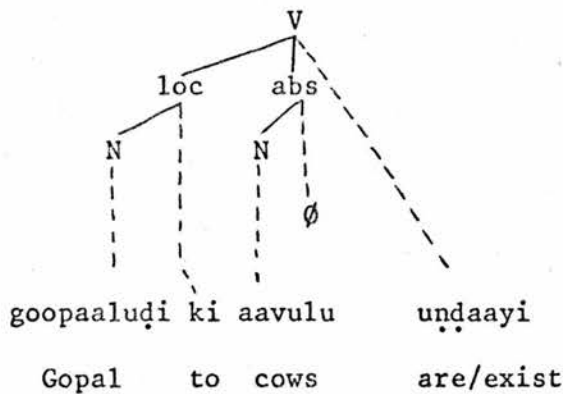
phrase as well as daggara-phrase are acceptable, but one denotes ownership and the other only existence and availability. This suggests that the so-called dative suffix -ki/-ku specialises in expressing the inherent relation, whereas the other postpositional phrase indicates only the notion of alienability or separability. In certain contexts the -ki/-ku phrase is ambiguously extended to denote mere existence also, whereas the daggara-phrase is never found indicating the notion of inseparableness.

5.2.4 Possessive as underlying loc: 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 constructions 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 constructions, rather than the basic case relations governed by the verb. In the majority of instances one and the same verb unḍu 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 suggested 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 traditional 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 differences. 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.

(41)



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

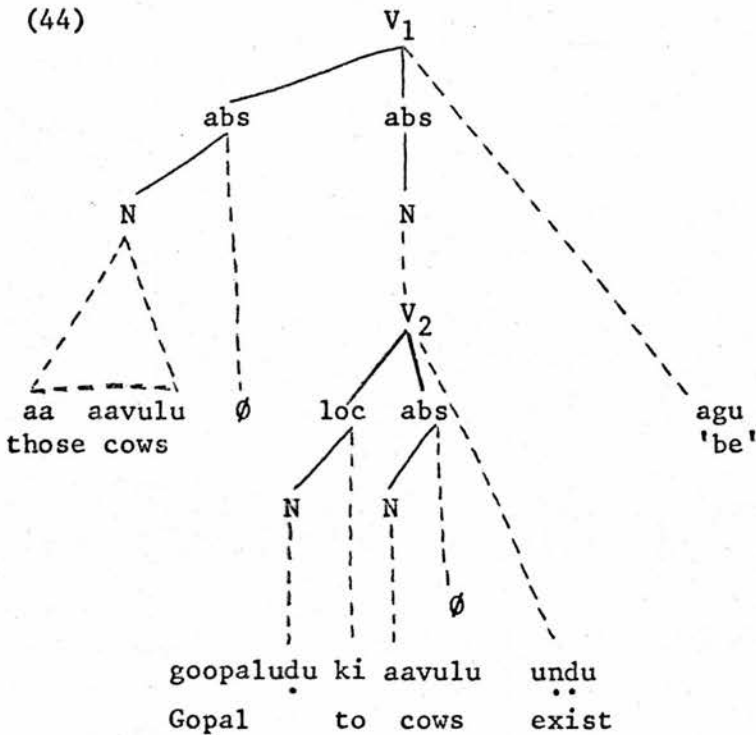
(42) aavulu goopaaludi-ki undaayi
 cows Gopal to exist

'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 structure of this complex sentence has a representation like that in (44)



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 goopaaluḍivi
 those cows Gopal they (non-human)
- (b) avi goopaluḍi 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 underlying 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 hẽ
 him of four children are

'He has four children'

(48) (a) gurraala-ku kōmmulu unḍavu
 horses to horns not are

'Horses have no horns'

(b) ghodõ-ke siing nahĩĩ hote
 horses of horns not are

'Horses have no horns'

(49) (a) mohan-ku kaaru undi
 Mohan to car is

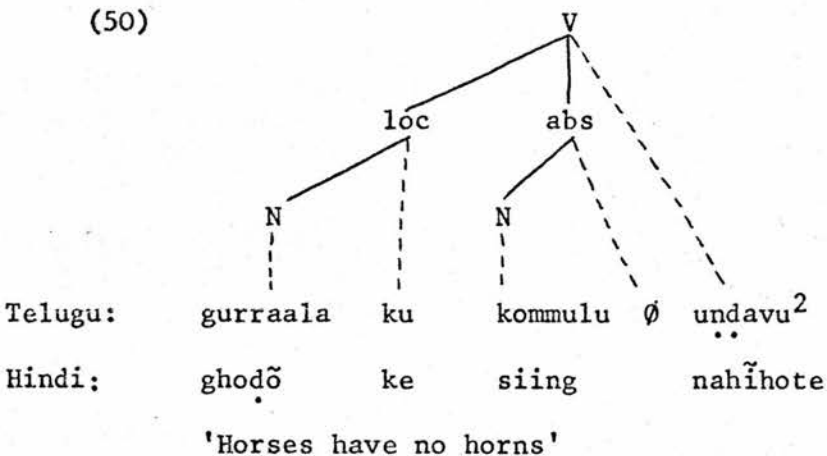
'Mohan has a car'

(b) moohan-kii ek kaar hẽ
 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.



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 Some stative expressions and their non-stative counterparts

So far in this chapter we have been mainly concerned with possessive constructions. It will have been observed that the most

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 correspondences. This will compel us to go beyond the stative locative clauses even at this stage of our discussion.

5.3.1 Verbs of cognition: 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 telusu 'to be known', erugu 'to know' and vaccu 'to come'. Apart from these, one might include such verbs as the following under the general heading of the verbs of cognition: arthamagu 'to be understood', artham ceesikonu 'to understand', anipincu 'to think, to feel', toocu 'to think, to occur', anukonu 'to opine, to feel, to think', aaloocincu 'to think', gnaapakam unḍu 'to remember', maracu '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 -ki/-ku 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:

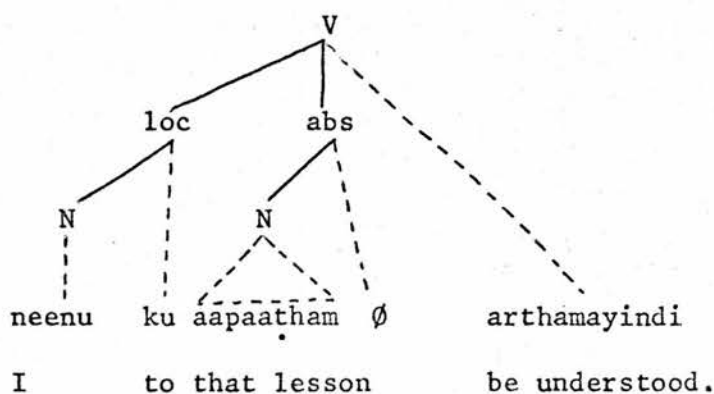
- (51) naa-ku aa sangati telisindi
 me to that fact be known-it
 'I knew/learnt that fact'

(52) naa-ku aa paāṭham arthamayindi
 me to that lesson be understood
 'I understood that lesson'

(53) siita-ku aa maāṭalu gnaapakamūṇḍaayi
 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 underlying 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)



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]].

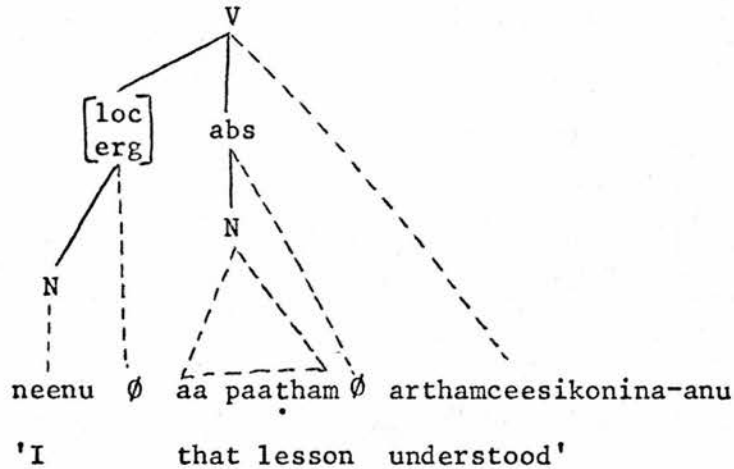
A native speaker of Telugu will be able to notice that (51) through (53) are surely somehow related to (51') through (53'). These two pairs of constructions are not totally synonymous, but their

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 some 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)



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 ergativization 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 exemplified 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 maatalu fininaadu
 Ravi those words heard-he
 'Ravi listened to those words'
- (b) ravi-ki aa maatalu 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 tagilinaadu
 me to he touched-he
 'He touched me' (accidentally)
- (62) (a) aame mallepuulu vaasanacususindi
 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 inconsistency 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 subjectivization. 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 koṭṭinaanu
 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) [- $\begin{bmatrix} \text{loc} \\ \text{erg} \end{bmatrix}$ [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 'experiential' 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 koopamгаа undi
 Ravi to anger is-it
 'Ravi is angry'
- (c) ravi koopamгаа uṇḍinaaḍu
 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 uṇḍindi
 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 constructions with such spatial locatives as santaloo racca 'it is noisy in the market' and vaṅṭiṅṭloo veedi '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 undu 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'

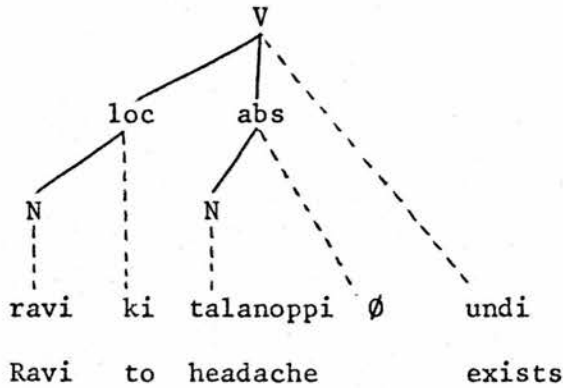
There are other syntactic environments where a reflex of the underlying verb is compulsory, such as negative, relative and conditional variants of the above clause-type:

- (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 unṭee ...
 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)



It is a syntactic fact of Telugu (cf. 4.5) that in the aspectually determined non-past habitual instances the underlying verb undi 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 gaa element indicates the temporary nature of the experience under focus. The (d) instances, where available, show a -ki/-ku phrase, but this time they are governed by a directional 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, -ki/-ku, 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 maamiḍipaṇḍu kaavaali
 me to mango be desired
 'I want a mango'
- (b) siita-ku nagalu kaavaali
 Sita to jewels be desired
 'Sita wants jewels'

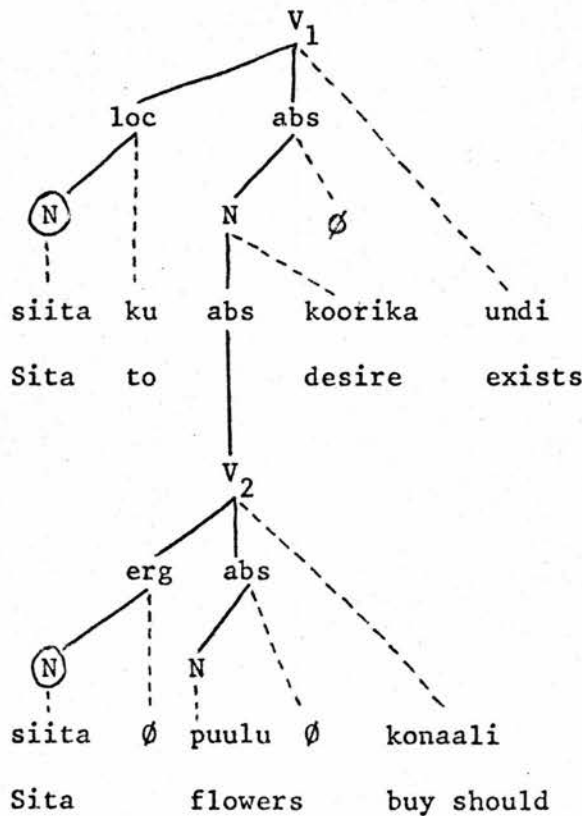
In these structures it is obvious that the desire is reflected in the -ki/-ku phrase and the desired object in the uninflected nominal form. Unlike the other stative expressions the final verb of these sentences is not conjugated for any concordial elements. It is a complex verb composed of kaa, the 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).

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

$$(82) \text{ loc } (x\text{-ku})_{\text{loc}} \quad \text{abs} \left(\text{s } (x \text{ should buy } y)_{\text{s}} \right)_{\text{abs}} \quad \text{v}(\text{undi})_{\text{v}}$$

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

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 parallels 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 underlying uniformity. Instead of postulating each one of these constructions 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.

 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	uṇṭe
		negative	lee	hil	illa
	Predidative	positive	avu/agu	aa	aaṇe
		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).

- (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 autonomous functions of 'being' and 'becoming' in the surface form of agu 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-law be
 '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- brother	became

'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 avu. The syntax and semantics of this verb and its connection to and distinction from another "be" verb unḍu 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: unḍu, the locative-existential and agu, the predicative or copulative, as is clear from (1). The combination of these two forms of "be" in the verbal complex of gaa unḍu (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 gaa³ followed by the existential unḍu and it carries various functions that are interesting from a syntactic point of view.

3. The element gaa is a phonological variant of kaa, the infinitive of agu 'to be'. Earlier grammarians like Campbell (1816:194-195) and Mahadeva Sastri (1969: 255-258) tend to ascribe the dynamic meaning of 'become' to gaa in such contexts.

- (8) (a) raamaaraavu mantri gaa unḍaadu
 Ramarao minister be exists
 'Ramarao is a minister'
- (b) maa celle tiicar gaa undi
 my younger teacher be exists
 sister
- 'My sister is a teacher'
- (9) (a) goopii santoosam gaa unḍaadu⁴
 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 unḍu 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 nidaanagaa raasinaanu
 I slowness wrote
 'I wrote slowly'
- (iii) vaadu gattigaa maatlaadtaadu
 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 particular form be generalized in the manner adverbials? What is 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 iṅṅ-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 unḍu 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 ṭiicar
 'My sister is a teacher'

- (11) (a) goopi-ki santooṣam
 Gopi to happiness
 'Gopi is happy'

- (b) ii iṅṅ-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 inṭ-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 uṇḍu '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 uṇḍu. (12) and (13), however, provide us with some evidence for assuming that agu is basic for (8) and uṇḍu 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) atadu rangaaraavu

that man Rangarao

'He is Rangarao'

(15) ravi vyaapaarastuḍu

Ravi merchant

'Ravi is a merchant'

(16) maamidipandlu pandlu

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 kaagitapubuṭṭa
 that paper-basket
 'That is a paper-basket'

(b) kaagitapubutṭa 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 construction 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 ravi⁵

'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 identificatory 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 uṇḍaadu
 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 questions: (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 avnu 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 sneehituḍu 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 kaa element in (28) and (29) is the infinitive form of agu '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 agu;

(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 unḍu to carry the grammatical elements, but a form of agu is still retained. Observe the following:

(34) (a) venkanna ṭiicar gaa unḍinaadu
 Venkanna teacher be was

'Venkanna was a teacher'

(b) venkanna ṭiicar gaa unṭaadu
 Venkanna teacher be will be

'Venkanna will be a teacher'

Here, the existential unḍu is 'behaving' like an auxiliary verb⁶ 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 unḍu appears as an auxiliary indicating certain grammatical distinctions. Observe, for example, the presence of leedu (a suppletive form of unḍu) along with a main verb like paadu 'to sing', in exhibiting the p̄st-negative:

(35) (a) siita paṭa paḍindi

Sita song sang

'Sita sang a song'

(b) siita paṭa paada leedu

Sita song sing be not past

'Sita did not sing'

This shows that just as a verb like paadu needs an auxiliary verb to

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, agu 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 agu is present in complex structures like (36)

(36)	avi	paṅḍlu	avnoo	kaadoo	teliidu
	they	fruits	be doubt	be-not doubt	not known

'It is not sure whether they are fruits or not'

Both in its positive and negative forms agu is found in (36).

The structure of equatives in various sentence-types enumerated above shows that the verbal element agu 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 transformational 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 agu will obtain a natural explanation by postulating it as a basic verb of equative constructions. In this hypothesis, agu 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 transformation on the structures like (37) and there is no demand of a large number of addition-transformations to get such

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

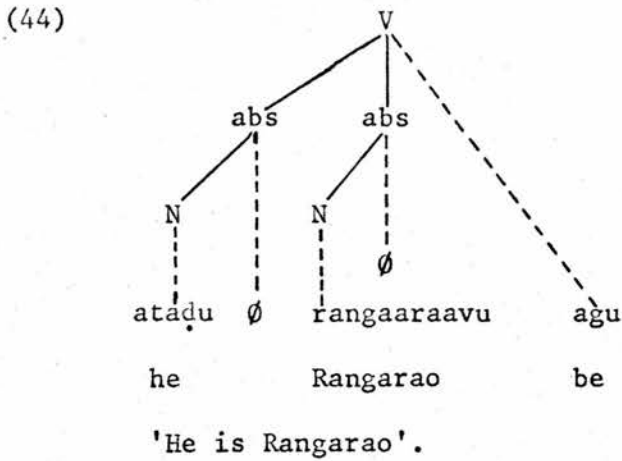
new case relation of essive in order to account for equationals. This is no doubt one of the ways of resolving this problem, but it adds another case label to the already existing unconstrained inventory of case relations (cf. 3.4).

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 agu 'to be' as the underlying governor of this construction obtains the case array of

(43) agu [- [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)



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 distinguishes 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 agu equivalent to other main lexical verbs. The case array of agu is taken as consisting of two instances of the same case, abs, within an equative clause. The postulation of agu 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 agu 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 Place, which is but one of the semantic dimensions involved in the invocation of the primitive case relations. Source 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 paḍindi
 ball cot from floor top/on fell
 'The ball fell on the floor from the cot'

- (2) prayaaṅikulu bassu-nundi kindi-ki diginaaru
 passengers bus from down to descended
 'The passengers got down from the bus',¹

- (3) venkanna polam-nundi iṅṅi-ki pooyinaaḍu
 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 kindi-ki. This could be treated as a complex postposition. But there is a no less good case for treating kindi here as a nominal, with the suffixed case form -ki. It is this second alternative that we interpret kindi-ki 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 nunḍi 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 unḍu 'to be'. The morphological derivation may be represented, informally, as in (4)

- (4) na + unḍ + 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) prayaanikulu bassu-na unḍaaru
 passengers bus in/on are
 'The passengers are on the bus'

- (7) venkanna polamu-na unḍaaḍu
 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 unḍenu
 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 baṭṭalu utukutundi
 Sita clothes washes
 'Sita washes the clothes'
- (b) siita baṭṭalu aaraveestundi
 Sita clothes to dry-throws
 'Sita dries the clothes'
- (c) siita baṭṭalu 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, nunḍi 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 inṭi-ki pooyinaadu

house to went

'Venkanna went home'

(c) venkanna polamunundi inṭi-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, participialization 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 manifesting the source or abl in Telugu. In other words nunḍi 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 \rightarrow abl

(ii) abl \rightarrow 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.

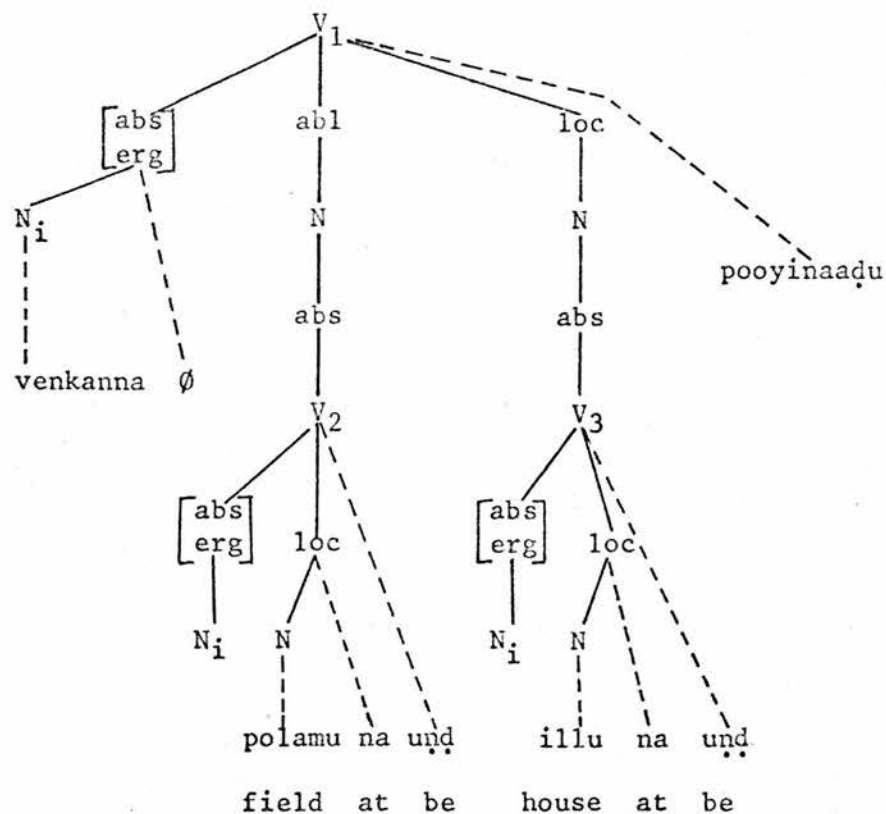
The abs in (1) through (3) also needs a further comment in order to give a full account of the meaning of the entities referred to. The moving entity in (1) is different from (3) with respect to the notion of agentivity. 'Ball' in (1) is not only inanimate, but also it is a non-performing entity, i.e. 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)



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 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{abs} \\ \text{erg} \end{bmatrix}$ 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 participial construction in Telugu. The motivation for postulating undu 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 in̄ti-ki pooyinaadu
 Ramayya house to went
 'Ramayya went home'

(b) raamayya int-loo undaadu
 house in is

'Ramayya is at home'

(17) (a) pitṭa cettu-miida vaalindi
 bird tree on perched

'The bird perched on the tree'

(b) pitṭa cettu-miida undi
 bird tree on is

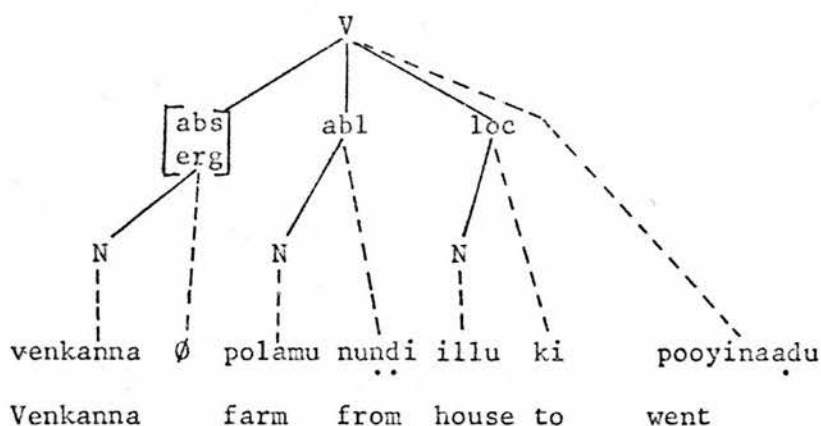
'The bird is on the tree'

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 derivable from (15) in some such fashion as the following: The predication dominated by abl, namely V₂, undergoes the participle transformation which converts the combination of the postposition na and uṇḍ into nuṇḍi. The predication dominated by loc, V₃, 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)



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

- (b) kaḍava gaṭṭu-na undi
 pot bank at/on is
 'The pot is on the bank'
- (21) (a) ravi nagalu siita-ceeta iccinaaḍu
 Ravi jewels Sita hand at gave
 'Ravi gave the jewels to (the hands of) Sita'
- (b) nagalu siita-ceeta unḍaayi
 jewels Sita at the are
 hands of
 'The jewels are with Sita'
- (22) (a) neenu pustakaalu balla-miida peṭṭinaanu
 I books table on top of put
 'I put the books on the table'
- (b) pustakaalu balla-miida unḍaayi
 books table on top of are
 'The books are on the table'
- (23) (a) amma paatra-loo niilḷu poosindi
 mother dish in water poured
 'Mother poured water in the dish'
- (b) paatra-loo niilḷu unḍaayi
 dish in water are
 'There is water in the dish'
- (24) (a) naanna naa-ku ḍabbu iccinaaḍu
 father me to money gave
 'Father gave me (some) money'
- (b) naa-ku ḍabbu 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, absolute, locative, ablative and ergative. The criterion for limiting to such

a small number is that of the pre-theoretical notions of Place and Source, 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 Source relation. The traditional grammatical labels of 'Indirect Object' and 'accusative' can be analysed as Goal relations, which are ultimately derivable from loc. The complementizers like -nu, -naku and -koosam 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 undu 'to be' manifests many of these functions.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- 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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