

A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF ASSAMESE AND KANNADA

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DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS

CERTIFICATE

I, hereby certify that the thesis on A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF ASSAMESE AND KANNADA submitted by BASANTI DEVI for the award of the degree of doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics in the University of Mysore was carried out at Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore under my guidance.

A.K. BASU
GUIDE

DECLARATION

I, BASANTIDEVI, hereby declare that this thesis entitled A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF ASSAMESE AND KANNADA is the result of bonafide research work done by me under the guidance of Dr. A.K. Basu at Central Institute of Indian Languages. I further declare that this thesis or part thereof has not been the basis for the award of any degree or diploma.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

I. 1. Introduction to the languages

Assamese and Kannada are two major languages specified in schedule VIII to the constitution of India.

Assamese is recognized as the official language of Assam and is the principal language spoken in the Brahmaputra valley. It is also spoken in some parts of some of the neighbouring states. It is the medium of instruction and is used in the mass media. It also serves as the lingua franca between different minor linguistic groups in the state.

The word Assamese is an English one coined on the same principle as Portuguese or Canarese. It is derived from the word Assam which is again an anglicized form of /**ōHōm**/ Historically, Assamese belongs to the Magadhan group of the New Indo-Aryan languages¹, Bengali and Oriya being its sister languages. It began to take a distinct shape from around late 10th century A.D. "Assamese Literature is as old, if not older, than that of Bengali, and down to the commencement of the present century², was as copious". The

earliest specimen of Assamese literature is stated to be a poem called 'Pahrada Sarita' composed by Hema Saraswati. This is dated back to thirteenth century³. However, the Assamese rendering of Ramayana by Madhava Kandali is considered to be the earliest specimen of major work in Assamese literature. From The linguistic peculiarities common to all pre-vaishnavite writers Madhava Kandali cannot be placed later than the fourteenth century⁴.

Assamese has a few dialects. Dialectal variations in Assamese are caused by geographical factors and not by social factors like caste and creed. Dialects in Assamese can broadly be divided into three groups viz, standard dialect, Kamrup dialect and Goalpara dialect. "The standard dialect is that form of speech which is prevalent in and about sibsagar. Over the upper part of Assam valley the language is everywhere the same"⁵. The most salient points of dialectal differences are noticed at phonological, morphological and lexical levels. The range of divergence in intonation is very great.⁶

Kannada is the official language of Karnataka and is the principal language spoken in the state. It is also spoken in some parts of the neighbouring states like Andhra

Pradesh, Maharastra and Kerala. It is the medium of instruction and is used in the mass media in the State.

Kannada belongs to the Dravidian language family. To be more precise, it is one of the four major south Dravidian languages, the other three being Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam.

From the point of antiquity in India, the Kannada language and literature are next only to Sanskrit and Tamil in that order.⁷ The oldest specimens of Kannada "are in the form of a few sentences spoken by some Indian characters in a Greek drama, manuscript fragments of which, dating from the second century A.D. have been found in Egypt".⁸ However, Halmidi inscriptions of 450 A.D. is stated to be the oldest definite record in the language. This inscription shows the already developed stage of Kannada. There is a series of inscriptions dating from the fifth century A.D. but the literature of Kannada begins from the 9th century.⁹

Kannada has several dialectal variations. "We can broadly divide them into three major dialectal groups viz. Southern, Northern and Coastal which are popularly known as Mysore dialect, Dharwar dialect and Kanara dialect."¹⁰

Mysore dialect, spoken mostly in Mysore, the former capital, and Bangalore, the present capital, is recognized as standard dialect. Language variation across the communities is an important social aspect of Kannada language. Social dialects can be broadly classified into two groups viz. Brahmin dialects and non-Brahmin dialects. Dialectal variations may be seen in the phonemic inventory and at various linguistic levels like phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic and semantic. This variation is not restricted to segmentals only. Intonation is a distinctive marker of the dialect. Sanskritization is a salient feature of the Brahmin dialect.

2. Purpose of this study

Both Assamese and Kannada are linguistically well described languages. A number of linguistic studies have been made by renowned scholars in both the languages. In the area of contrastive analysis it is found that there has been a certain amount of work wherein Assamese has been compared with other languages like Bengali and Oriya etc. and Kannada with Hindi, Tamil and Bengali etc. But there has not been a single instance of any published work of contrastive study of Assamese and Kannada. Therefore, the

need for the present study was felt. Since they belong to two different language families dissimilarities are obviously expected. But despite the fact that they are neither genetically related nor geographically contiguous a certain amount of similarities do exist. The present work aims at establishing the contrastive features of these two languages. The similarities will also be discussed.

The study is undertaken primarily out of pure research interest of the researcher. But the following practical implications are also taken into consideration.

Firstly, the findings of the study will be of relevance to language teaching as they can be used in preparing teaching materials. In the words of Fries the most effective materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a "parallel description of the native language of the learner"¹¹. Thus, it is expected that the findings of this study will be useful to Assamese speakers learning Kannada and Kannada speakers learning Assamese.

Secondly, the information obtained from this research will be useful in preparing bilingual dictionaries of Kannada and Assamese.

Thirdly, the findings of this study will certainly have implications for further research work in this area.

Fourthly, translators may find this useful while translating materials from one language to another.

Last, but not the least, the listing of the similarities and differences of two languages spoken in the same country may be of some significance in the context of 'India as a language area'. It is expected that this study will throw light on the common features of Assamese and Kannada amenable to explanation from typological point of view.

3. Data collection

The data for analysis has been collected from standard spoken form of both the languages. Hereafter, Assamese will be referred to as SA and Kannada as SK.

In case of Assamese, the knowledge of the researcher is taken as the basis for investigation since she is a native speaker of standard variety of the language. However, the data was verified at every stage with other educated

speakers of this dialect. For the purpose of further verification help has been taken from published works of other linguists at different points in time.

In case of Kannada, the data is collected from five native speakers of the standard dialect. All of them are highly educated and are in academic field. It was checked with other educated speakers and linguists as well, as and when, it was felt necessary. And for further verification, as in the case of Assamese, published works of other scholars were also consulted.

4. Methodology and levels of analysis

The criteria for contrastive analysis as enunciated by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens. "Every comparative statement presupposes three steps, first the separate description of the relevant features of each language; second the establishment of comparability, third, the comparison itself"¹² are widely accepted by scholars in this field.

The same methodology was tried for the present study too. But however, a few practical difficulties cropped up. Therefore, the methodology used here is slightly modified.

As this study aims at analyzing all the four linguistic levels viz. Phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic, it was felt that the work would be a voluminous one. Additionally, if the languages are described separately it will make it very cumbersome and still more voluminous. Moreover, both the languages are well described and there is a fairly good number of published work. Hence, separate description of the two languages was not felt to be indispensable. Thus, keeping in mind, the cumbersome and voluminous nature of the work it was decided that only those descriptions will be incorporated which are crucial for establishing striking similarities or dissimilarities. For instance, separate descriptions are indispensable while comparing the phonemes and allophones of the two languages.

Because of the reasons stated above in lieu of comparison following complete separate descriptions of Assamese and Kannada the method adopted here is of direct item wise comparison of the linguistic features of the two languages.

For the same reasons, the study will not be carried out in greater details. A detailed study is feasible if it is restricted to only one linguistic level.

While comparing the two languages generally Assamese is discussed first and then Kannada. But this order has not been followed rigidly. Occasionally, Kannada is discussed first when the situation demanded so.

5. Organization of the present work

It is organized into six chapters.

The first chapter consists of the introduction which has five sections as follows:

- (a) Introduction to the language
- (b) Purpose of the present study
- (c) Data collection
- (d) Methodology and levels of analysis
- (e) Organization of the present work.

The second chapter deals with the descriptions of the speech sounds as well as the phonological patterns of the two languages. This is followed by a discussion of their similarities and contrasts.

The third chapter is a description of the morphologies of Assamese and Kannada along with their similarities and contrasts.

The fourth chapter consists of the itemwise descriptions of the syntactic structures of the two languages and their comparisons. Their similarities and contrasts are discussed simultaneously.

The fifth chapter deals with the semantic aspects of the common words of Assamese and Kannada.

The sixth chapter contains a summary of the major findings of the present work.

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

2.0 The phonological systems of the two languages differ to a great extent. SK as a Dravidian language exhibits contrasts which are not found in other languages. SA differs from SK not only because it is an Indo-Aryan language but also because of its language specific characteristics.

In this chapter the phonological systems of the two languages will be discussed in terms of the (a) Phonemic inventory (b) Phonotactics and (c) Morphophonemics. For the reasons already mentioned in the previous chapter discussion will be restricted to the salient points.

2.1 The phonemic inventory: The two languages differ to a great extent as far as the phonemic inventory is concerned.

2.1.1 : The vowels in SA

8A has eight vowel phonemes. Three of them are front vowels, four of them are back vowels and one of them is a central vowel.

They are presented in a tabular form as follows:

	Front	Mid	Back
High	i		U
Higher-mid			0
High mid	e		o
Low mid			E O
Low	a		

Table-1

- 2.1.1.1. /i/ This vowel, as found in the word /bis/ to fan' corresponds to cardinal vowel No.1
- 2.1.1.2. /e/ This vowel as found in the word /bes/ fine' corresponds to cardinal vowel No.2.
- 2.1.1.3. /E/ This vowel, as found in the word /bEs/ to sell' corresponds to cardinal vowel No.3.
- 2.1.1.4. /a/ This vowel, as found in the word /bas/ to choose' corresponds to cardinal vowel No.4.
- 2.1.1.5. /6/ This vowel as found in the word /kola/ 'deaf/, art' corresponds to cardinal vowel No.6.

2.1.1.6. /o/ This vowel as found in the word /kola/ 'black' corresponds to cardinal vowel No.7.

2.1.1.7. /U/ This vowel as found in the word /kUla/ 'lap' can be located between cardinal vowel No.7 and 8. Moreover, its place of articulation is slightly towards the centre^a

2.1.1.8. /U/ This vowel, as found in the word /kula/ 'winnowing fan' corresponds to cardinal vowel No.8.

In addition, SA also has nasalized vowels corresponding to each of the eight vowels. There is phonemic contrast between nasalized vowels and the oral vowels. The following table illustrates it.

Vowel	Word	Meaning
i	tia	'soak'
ĩ	tĩa	'parrot'
è	sei	a word used to chase dogs
ẽ	sẽi	'pods'
E	pEs	presentation (of a case etc)
E	pĒs	feeling of being offended
a	ah	come (you)
ã	ãh	fibre
ô	pôsa	rotten
ô	pôsa	a fishing instrument
o	ghoti	small metallic pitches
õ	ghõti	hair grown in nostrils
Ū	zŪr	strength
Ū	zŪr	fire torch
U	pua	morning
û	pũa	to bask in the sun

Table 2

2.1.2. The Vowels in SK

As opposed to SA, SK exhibits five way contrast as far as vowels are concerned. But unlike SA each vowel contrasts in terms of length. They are presented in the following tabular form.

	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	i:			u	u:
Mid	e	e:			o	o:
Low			a	a:		

Table-3

2.1.2.1. /i/ and /i:/ as found in the words like /biDu/ 'leave' and /bi:Du/ 'location' correspond to cardinal vowel No.1.

2.1.2.2. /e/ and /e:/ as found in the words like /beLe/ 'crop' and /be:Le/ 'lentil' correspond to cardinal vowel No.2.

2.1.2.3. /a/ and /a:/ as found in the words like /aLu/ 'cry' and /a:Lu/ 'servant' correspond to cardinal vowel No.4.

2.1.2.4. /o/ and /o:/ as found in the words like /koDu/ 'give' and /ko:Du/ 'horn' correspond to cardinal vowel No.7.

2.1.2.5. /u/ and /u:/ as found in the words /guLi/ 'pit' and 'gu:Li' 'bull' correspond to to the cardinal vowel No.8.

2.1.3. The Consonants in SA:

There are twenty three consonant phonemes in SA. The consonants can be broadly classified into two groups: the stops and the continuants. For the stops there are contrasts in three points of articulation - the lips, the alveolar ridge and the velum: and four way contrasts in every point as to the presence or absence of voice and aspiration.

There are eleven continuants: the semivowels /w y/; three fricatives /s z h/; one lateral /l/; two frictionless continuants /H/ and /r/ and three nasals /m n and n/.

They are presented in a tabular form as follows:

	Bila- bial		Alveo lar		Pala- tal		Velar		Glot tal		Uvular	
	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd
Unaspirated	p	b	t	d			k	g				
Aspirated	ph	bh	th	dh			kh	gh				
Nasals		m		n								
Fricatives			s	z					h			
Laterals				l								
Continuant				r								H
Glide		w				y						

Table 4

- 2.1.3.1 /p/ is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop as found in words like /pan/ 'betelnut' and /Hap/ 'snake'.
- 2.1.3.2 /b/ is a voiced unaspirated bilabial stop as found in words like /bat/ 'road' and /nirob/ 'silent'.
- 2.1.3.3 /t/ is a voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop as found in words like /tarn/ 'copper' and /mat/ 'voice'.
- 2.1.3.4 /d/ is a voiced unaspirated alveolar stop as found in words like /dat/ 'tooth' and /mod/ 'liquor'.
- 2.1.3.5 /k/ is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop as found in words like /kan/ 'ear' and /nak/ 'nose'.
- 2.1.3.6 /g/ is a voiced unaspirated velar stop as found in words like /ga/ 'body' and /bhag/ 'share'.
- 2.1.3.7 /ph/ is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop as found in words like /phul/ 'flower' and /koph/ 'phlegm'.

- 2.1.3.8 /bh/ is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop as found in words like /bhal/ 'good' and /labh/ 'profit'.
- 2.1.3.9 /th/ is a voiceless aspirated alveolar stop as found in words like /thai/ 'plate' and /kath/ 'wood'.
- 2.1.3.10 /dh/ is a voiced aspirated alveolar stop as found in words like /dhan/ 'paddy' and /badha/ 'obstruction'.
- 2.3.3.11 /kh/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop as found in words like /**khôñ**/ 'anger' and /n6kh/ 'nail'.
- 2.1.3.12 /gh/ is a voiced aspirated velar stop as found in words like /gha/ 'wound' and /bagh/ 'tiger'.
- 2.1.3.13 /m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal as found in words like /**môn**/ 'mind' and /am/ 'mango'.
- 2.1.3.14 /n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal as found in words like /nam/ 'name' and /gan/ 'song'.
- 2.1.3.15 /A/ is a voiced velar nasal as found in words like /**ôñgô**/ 'limb' and /**rôñ**/ 'colour'.

- 2.1.3.16 /s/ is a voiceless alveolar sibilant as found in words like /soku/ 'eye' and **/gô^s/** 'tree'.
- 2.1.3.17 /z/ is a voiced alveolar sibilant as found in words like /zal/ 'net' and /laz/ 'shame'.
- 2.1.3.18 /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative as found in words like /hat/ 'hand' and /mah/ 'month'.
- 2.1.3.19 /l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral as found in the words like /laz/, 'shame' and /bhal/ 'good'.
- 2.1.3.20 /r/ is a voiced alveolar frictionless continuant as found in words like /rati/ 'night' and **/ghô^r/** 'house'.
- 2.1.3.21 /H/ is a voiceless uvular frictionless continuant as found in words like /Hat/ 'seven'
and /deH/ 'country' ^b.
- 2.1.3.22 /w/ is a voiced labio-velar glide which generally occurs in clusters with /s/ and /d/ as found in words like /swami/ 'husband' and /bidwan/ 'learned'.

2.1.3.23 /y/ is a voiced palatal glide which occurs mainly as a second member in consonant clusters as found in words like /nyay/ 'justice and /Hōhay/ help'.

2.1.4 : The Consonants in SK

Contrary to SA the range of consonants in SK is distinguished by variety and complexity. They can be classified into nine groups according to place of articulation and seven groups according to manner of articulation. The stops and affricates exhibit four way contrasts as to the presence or absence of voice and aspiration. The following table illustrates the range of SK consonants.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatoalveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Unaspirated stops	p	b	t	d			ʈ	D	k
Aspirated stops	ph	bh	th	dh			Tʰ	Dh	kh
Unaspirated affricates					c	j			
Aspirated Affricates					ch	ch			
Nasals	m		n				N	ɳ	
Fricatives	f		s	z	ʃ		ʂ		h
Lateral			l				L		
Flap			r						
Glide	v						Y		

Table 5

- 2.1.4.1 /p/ is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop as found in the words /pa:pu/ 'small child', /di:pa/ 'lamp'.
- 2.1.4.2 /b/ is a voiced unaspirated bilabial stop as found in the words like /bisi/ 'hot' and /gu:be/ 'owl'.
- 2.1.4.3 /t/ is a voiceless unaspirated dental stop as found in the words like /dina/ 'day' and /ma:tu/ 'speech'.
- 2.1.4.4 /d/ is a voiced unaspirated dental stop as found in the words like /dina/ 'day' and /adu/ 'that'.
- 2.1.4.5 /T/ is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop as found in the words like /To:pi/ 'cap' and /u:Ta/ 'meal'.
- 2.1.4.6 /D/ is a voiced unaspirated retroflex stop as found in the words like /Dabbi/ 'container' /mo:Da/ 'cloud'.

- 2.1.4.7 /ph/ is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop as found in the words like /phala/ 'fruit' and /kapha/ 'phlegm'.
- 2.1.4.8 /bh/ is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop as found in the words like /bhaya/ 'fear' and /la:bha/ 'profit'.
- 2.1.4.9 /th/ is a voiceless aspirated dental stop as found in words like /thu:/ 'pew' and /anatha/ 'orphan'.
- 2.1.4.10 /dh/ is a voiced aspirated dental stop as found in words like /dhwani/ 'sound' and /ba:dhe/ 'trouble'.
- 2.1.4.11 /Th/ is a voiceless aspirated retroflex stop as found in the words like /Thakku/ 'cheat' and /pa:Tha/ 'lesson'.
- 2.1.4.12 /Dh/ is a voiced aspirated retroflex stop as found in the words like /Dhakke/ 'a drum' and /mu:Dha/ 'dullard'.

- 2.1.4.13 /Kh/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop as found in words like /kha:li/ 'empty' and /mukha/ 'face'.
- 2.1.4.14 /gh/ is a voiced aspirated velar stop as found in words like /ghante/ 'bell' and /me:gha/ 'cloud'.
- 2.1.4.15 /C/ is a voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate as found in words like /caLi/ 'cold' and /ruci/ 'taste'.
- 2.1.4.16 /j/ is a voiced unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate as found in words like /jinke/ 'deer' and /nija/ 'true'.
- 2.1.4.17 /Ch/ is a voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate as found in words like /Chatri/ 'umbrella' and /kacheri/ 'office'.
- 2.1.4.18 /jh/ is a voiced aspirated palato-alveolar affricate as found in words like /jhari/ 'small stream' and /jarjharita/ 'worn out'.

- 2.1.4.19 /m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal as found in the words like /maga/ 'son' and /a:me/ 'turtle'.
- 2.1.4.20 /n/ is a voiced dental nasal as found in words like /na:nu/ 'I' and /anna/ 'cooked rice'.
- 2.1.4.21 /N/ is a voiced retroflex nasal as found in words like /haNa/ 'money' and /aNNa/ 'elder brother'.
- 2.1.4.22 /A/ is a voiced velar nasal which occurs before velar stops as found in words like /benki/ 'fire' and /tangi/ 'younger sister'.
- 2.1.4.23 /f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative which occurs only in loan words like /fi:zu/ 'fees' and /ka:fi/ 'coffee' etc.
- 2.1.4.24 /s/ is a voiceless alveolar sibilant as found in the words like /sa:ku/ 'enough' and /hasu/ 'cow'.
- 2.1.4.25 /z/ is a voiced alveolar sibilant which occurs only in loan words like /zu:/ 'zoo' and /bizi/ 'busy'.

- 2.1.4.26 /s/ is a voiceless palato alveolar sibilant as found in words like /si:ta/ 'cold' and /de:sa/ 'country'.
- 2.1.4.27 /S/ is a voiceless retroflex sibilant found in words like /SaSThi/ 'sixth' and /visa/ 'poison'.
- 2.1.4.28 /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative as found in words like /ha:lu/ 'milk' and /de:ha/ 'body'.
- 2.1.4.29 /l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral as found in words like /lipi/ 'script' and /hull/ 'tiger'.
- 2.1.4.30 /L/ is a voiced retroflex lateral as found in words like /biLi/ 'white' and /huLi/ 'sour'.
- 2.1.4.31 /r/ is a voiced alveolar flap as found in words like /rakta/ 'blood' and /karu/ 'calf'.
- 2.1.4.32 /v/ - It is a voiced labiodental glide. It is realized as /v/ when followed by a front vowel as in the case of /Vika:ra/ 'ugly'. It is realized as /w/ elsewhere.¹ For example /wo:du/ 'read'.

2.1.4.33 /y/ is a voiced palatal glide as found in words like /ya:ru/ 'who' and /sa:yu' 'to die'.

2.2 Phonotactics : A study of the phonotactic rules of the two languages reveals that they are not governed by common principles. They are more or less language specific. The phonotactic patterns are discussed as follows:

2.2.1 Distribution of vowels

2.2.1.1 Occurrence of word initial vowels

In SA all the eight vowels can occur in word initial position without any restriction. Some of the nasalized vowels also occur word initially. In SK front vowels are preceded by /y/ and back vowels by /v/ in word initial position.²

2.2.1.2 Occurrence of word medial vowels.

In both the languages all the vowels can occur in word medial position.

2.2.1.3 Occurrence of word final vowels

In S.A. all the vowels can occur in word final position without any restriction.

Although all the vowels can occur in word final³ position in SK the following restrictions maybe noted .

1. The final /a:/ of Sanskrit loan words is regularly raised, shortened and fronted to /e/.

/kala:/ -> /kale/ art'

/a:/ otherwise, does not occur in native words except in the interrogative clitic. The long vowels in SK have highly restricted distribution. They occur in word final position as grammatical morphemes and not otherwise.

1. /a:/ occurs as interrogative clitic and as remote demonstrative.
2. /e:/ and /0:/ in vocative.
3. /u:/ as an inclusive clitic.
4. /i:/ as a proximate demonstrative.

2.2.2 Distribution of consonants

2.2.2.1 Occurrence of word initial consonants.

In SA all consonants can occur word initially except /w y n /.

In SK all the consonants except /N, L/ can occur in word initial position.

2.2.2.2 Occurrence of word medial consonants.

In both the language all the consonants can occur in word medial position.

2.2.2.3 Occurrence of word final consonants.

Nearly all consonants in SA can occur in word final position. The only exception is /w/.

In SK consonants normally do not occur in this position. When a word ends with a consonant an enunciative vowel (u) is inserted in all the cases. But in case of /Y/
4
it is /i/ that is inserted and not /u/. For example:

/tanginakay/ -> /tanginakayi/

2.2.3 Distribution of consonant clusters.

2.2.3.1 Occurrence of consonant clusters.

In SA consonant clusters can occur initially, medially as well as finally. Clusters of up to three consonants are permitted initially and medially while clusters of only two consonants are permitted word finally.

In SK consonant clusters are permissible in word initial and word medial position. Possibility of word final

cluster is ruled out since SK does not permit even single consonants in word final position.

2.2.3.1.1 The following tables show the nature of initial clusters in the language.

	First Member	Second Member
a	/p t k b d g bh dh kh gh m n s h/	/r/
b	/p k g m s/	/l/
c	/t b g kh dh m n s z/	/y/
d	/s/	/p t k th kh m n r l y w/
	/s d/	/w/

The structure of three consonant cluster is as follows:

First Member	Second Member	Third Member
/s/	/p t k m/	/r/

The following are some of the possibilities of SK word initial clusters.

1. Any consonant plus a sonorant like /r l n v m y n/
2. /s/ plus a stop like /k t T d p b /
3. /k/ plus /s/.

The three consonant clusters have a /s/ plus a stop plus an oral sonorant.

2.2.4.1.2: In SA all the permissible initial and final clusters can also occur in medial position.

In SK consonant clusters are found more frequently in word medial position than in word initial position. All the permissible word initial clusters can also occur in word medial position. A cluster of upto four consonants is permissible of which the second member is compulsorily /s/. The third member is a stop and the fourth member is a sonorant.

2.2.3.1.3 The final clusters in SA are very few and limited in nature. All the permissible clusters have a sonorant as the first member. It is illustrated in the following table.

	First Member	Second Member
a)	/m/	/p/
b)	/n/	/t d dh s/
c)	/r/	/t s z h /

As mentioned already there is no word final consonant cluster in SK.

2.3 Morphophonemics

Morphophonemics i.e. the study of sound change is quite simple in both the languages. The salient features of morphophonemics of both the languages are discussed briefly.

2.3.1 : SA Morphophonemics - SA morphophonemics is simple, consonantal alternation is rare. There is vowel harmony among the lower and higher vowels.

2.3.1.1 Vowel harmony

In SA vowels in a word generally maintain harmony in terms of height. The same is extended to the morphophonemic level also. When a suffix containing a high vowel is added to a root which has a low vowel then due to the influence of the high vowel the height of the vowels in the root is raised by one degree at least.

1. /E/ becomes /e/ when followed by /i/ or /u/.

Eta one' eti 'one' (dim)
lEtEra dirty' (man) leteri 'dirty' (woman)
khEl play' kheluoi 'player'

2. /ô/ becomes /o/ when followed by /i/ or /U/

Sagôl	'he goat'	sagoli	'she goat'
Pagôl	'mad' (man)	pagoli	'mad' (woman)
ghôr	'house'	ghorua	'pertaining to home)

3. /Û/ becomes /u/ when followed by /i/

HÛ	'sleep'	Hui	'having slept'
HatÛr	'swim'	Haturi	'having swum'
kÛwôr	'prince'	kuwôri	'princess'

2.3.1.2 Consonant alternation

Consonant alternation is very rarely seen in SA.

Those rare cases are mentioned below:

1. /k/ is occasionally replaced by /g/ when it is followed by /g/ or /gh/.

dak	'mail'	daggari	'mail van'
pak	'cook'	pagghor	'kichen'

However, /dakgari/ /pakghor/ are also considered correct.

2. /t/ is sometimes replaced by /d/ when it is followed by /d/.

Hat	'seven'	Haddin	Hadin	'seven days'
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2.3.1.3 Consonant insertion

There is only one rare example of consonant insertion in SA. /r/ is inserted when the negative marker /ni/ is prefixed to a word.

upay	way, means	nirupay	without any means
bhōy	fear	nirbhōy	'fearless'
bhul	mistake	nirbhul	'without any mistake'

2.3.1.4 Vowel Insertion

Vowel insertion in SA takes place to break consonant clusters generally in word initial syllables and occasionally in word final syllable.

priti =>	piriti	'love'
sneh =>	seneh	'affection'
zōtnō =>	zōtōn	'care'

2.3.1.5 Metathesis

Permutation of sounds or metathesis is also rarely seen in SA.

pōrbō	=>	pōrōb	'festival'
kripōn	=>	kirpōn	'stingy'
britti	=>	birtti	'scholarship profession'

2.3.2 SK Morphophonemics

SK morphophonemic system is not as simple as SA. Before SK morphonemic rules are discussed it needs to be mentioned, here, that Sanskrit loan words do not follow native morphophonemic rules.

2.3.2.1 Consonant alternation process

2.3.1.1.1 Retroflex assimilation

When a non-retroflex consonant occurs after a retroflex consonant it tends to assimilate to retroflexion.

- 1) /d/ becomes /D/ after /N/
ka:N-d-e => ka:NDe
see - pst-lp-sg

- 2) /i/ becomes /L/ after /L/
he:L-al-illa => he:L-l-illa=> he:LLilla
tell - inf - neg.
'Didn't say'.

2.3.2.1.2 Devoicing

When a voiced consonant occurs before a voiceless one the tendency is that the voiced one becomes voiceless.

- 1) /d/ becomes /t/ before /t/
id-tu => ittu
be - pst
'It was'

- 2) /g/ becomes /k/ before /k/
malag - ko => malakko
sleep - refl
'sleep'

2.3.2.2 Insertion process

2.3.2.2.1 The enunciative vowels

Many SK nouns and verb stems end in consonants but the rules require that all words (except some loan words) end in a vowel before a pause. Therefore, an enunciative vowel /u/ is added to consonant final words before a pause. In the case of words ending in /y/ the vowel added is /i/

- 1) bas -> bassu
'bus'
- 2) kaNN -> kaNNu
'eye'
- 3) na:y -> na:Yi
'dog'

2.3.2.2.2 Glide Insertion

When words ending in front vowels are followed by other words or morphemes beginning with another word, /y/ is generally inserted. In case of back and central vowels /v/ is inserted.

- 1) mane - alii => maneyalli
house - loc
'In the house'
- 2) mane - a => maneya?
house - QM
'house?'

- 3) karu - in - a => karuvina
calf - gen
'of the calf.

2.3.2.2.3 Geminatio

Final consonants of monosyllabic stems geminate before they take the enunciative vowel. This is noticed more in case of loan words.

1. hul => hullu 'grass'
2. hat => hattu 'ten'
3. bas => bassu 'bus'
4. pen => pennu 'pen'

2.3.2.2.4 Stop Insertion

/d/ or /D/ is sometimes inserted between a lateral or a nasal and /r/.

- 1) ellaru => ellru => elru=> eldru 'All people'
- 2) kaLLaru => kaLLaru => kaLru => kaLDru 'thieves'.

2.3.2.3 Metathesis

This is rarely seen in the language. Sometimes the vowel /i/ before a sonorant in a three consonant cluster undergoes metathesis and appears after the sonorant.

marisdru => marsidru 'They made x forget'

2.3.2.4 Deletion processes

2.3.2.4.1 Sometimes word final short vowels are deleted when such words occur in the middle of a sentence.

avanu banda me:le hogo:Na => avan band me:l hogo:Na
Let us go after he comes'.

2.3.2.4.2 A short vowel (especially before a consonant) within a word occurring in the penultimate syllable is usually deleted in informal spoken variety.

1) ke:Lide => ke:Lde "I heard"

2) u:r-ige => u:rge 'to town'.

2.3.2.4.3 Degemination

A geminate consonant becomes degeminated when it is immediately followed by a consonant. This environment occurs when a vowel following a geminate consonant is deleted.

1) koTTare => koTTre => koTre 'If given'.

2) namma jana => namm jana => nam jana 'our people'.

The following are some of the important points of contrast.

1. SA is an eight vowel system with five way contrast in terms of height and SK a five vowel system with three way contrast in height.
2. SK has phonemic distinction between long and short vowels whereas SA does not distinguish between long and short vowels.
3. SA has a series of eight nasalized vowels which contrast with the other vowels.
4. Consonants in SK can be classified into nine groups according to place of articulation and seven groups according to manner of articulation. In SA they are restricted to six groups each.
5. /y/ can occur in word initial position in SK but not in SA.
6. SK phonotactic rules require that no consonant can occur in word final position. Therefore the enunciative vowel /U/ is inserted word finally. If the word final consonant is /y/ then /i/ is inserted. In SA, there is no such restriction as to the occurrence of word final consonants.
7. In SK the front vowels are generally preceded by a trace of /y/ and back vowels by a trace of /V/ in word initial position.
8. Long vowels in SK have restricted distribution. They occur in word final position only as grammatical morphemes and not otherwise.
9. Clusters of upto four consonants are permissible in SK which can occur in word medial position. In SA clusters of upto three consonants are permissible.
10. The most salient feature of SA morphophonemics is vowel harmony.
11. SK morphophonemics is relatively complex. There are different types of insertion processes which are not to be seen in SA.

CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY

3.0

This chapter deals with the morphological systems of the two languages. For reasons mentioned already, it is however, restricted to inflectional morphology. Derivational morphology remains outside the purview of this study. Noun phrase and its constituents are studied in a somewhat detailed manner. But all the aspects and constituents of verb phrase could not be included as it was felt that this would make the study much more exhaustive.

3.1 The Noun Phrase

The study of the noun phrases of the two languages reveals many similarities and contrasts. It also throws light on some of the interesting language specific elements.

3.1.1 Gender

Gender system in SA as well as SK is not grammatical : it is semantically based. Nouns denoting male and female entities are assigned masculine and feminine gender respectively. Other nouns which do not denote any such entity are classified as neuter gender.

In SA sex is generally distinguished in three different ways¹ which are discussed as follows:

1 a) By the use of qualifying terms like mota and maiki which means male and female respectively.

m6ta kukura 'cock'

maiki kukura 'hen'

b) By the use of respective definitive markers for male and female in the case of definite entities like -tO and -zoni

hahtU - 'the drak'

hahzoni - 'the duck'

2. By employment of different words for male and female categories. The following list will illustrate it.

lora	'boy'	sUali	'girl'
domora	'male calf'	seuri	'female calf'
dEka	'youngman'	gabhoru	'young woman'

3. By suffixation of feminine markers like - ika, - i, -omi - ni and - ri

Feminine agentive nominal form is derived by suffixing - ika to verb. Its masculine marker suffix is - ok.

likh write' likh - ok writer (male) and

likh - ika writer' (female).

-i is suffixed to masculine forms ending in either a consonant or vowel -a eg.

Masculine		Feminine	
nilaz		nilazi	'Shameless'
lEtEra		letera	'dirty'
burha		burhi	'old'

ni is suffixed to names of profession, surnames or names of communities etc.

Masculine		Feminine	
mastôr	'teacher'	mastôrôni	'teacher's wife/female teacher'
'phukôn	surname'	phukônôni	Wife of phukaa
hindu	'Hindu'(m)	hinduôni	'Hindu'(f)

-ni is suffixed to some words generally with some morphophonemic change.

bagh 'male tiger' baghini 'female tiger' dhoba 'washerman' dbubuai 'washerwoman'.

-ri occurs after a few forms with morphophonemic change,

kola 'deaf man' kalori 'deaf woman'.

A few nouns like naoti 'woman skilled in singing songs' Hipini 'woman skilled in weaving', do not have any corresponding masculine forms.

In SK most nouns are not differentiated for gender and therefore no overt gender marking is seen barring a few exceptions as follows.

huca 'madman' huci 'mad woman'

ja:Na 'smart/clever boy' ja:Ne 'smart/clever girl'

However, the nouns which end in -a inflect for gender when nominative case marker - U is used. The masculine gender marker is - n - and feminine gender marker is - L -.

Sevakanu - 'male servant' sevakaLu 'female servant'

Though the animals are assigned neuter gender in SK the sex of the animal is indicated by putting the truncated forms of the words heNNU meaning 'female' or gaNDu meaning 'male' before the nouns.

gaND ko:ti 'male monkey' heNN ko:ti 'female monkey'

The salient points of contrast between SA and SK gender system are as follows:

- i) In SA nouns are overtly marked for gender but the verb does not agree with subject noun in gender.
- ii) In SK the nouns are not generally marked for gender but the verb always agrees with subject noun in gender.

3.2 Number

SA as well as SK have two way number system i.e. singular and plural. There is no overt marker for singular in any one of the languages.

In SA nouns are obligatorily marked for plural irrespective of whether they are human nouns or non-human nouns. The usual plural suffixes are - **bŪr**, -bilkak, -**hôt**, **lŪk**, **môkha** - **-Hôkôl** the examples of which are given below.

- bŪr is used after animate and inanimate things.

ghôr house' **ghôr-bŪr** "houses'

manuh man' **manuh-bŪr** men'

-**bŪr** and -bilak are generally in free variation.

-**hôt** is used mostly with second and third person non-honorific pronouns (see 3.5).

	Singular	Plural
II person non-honorific	tôy	tôhôt
III person non-male	Hi	Hihôt

Sometimes **hôt** is used after nouns indicating animals and the derived form is used as a term of abuse for human beings.

kukurhôt (you) dogs' **'goruhôt** (you) cows',

- **lŏk** is used after pronouns in an honorific sense (se 3.5)
- **Hôkôl** is used in a much more respectful sense after nouns and pronouns.

'ThêzHôkôl public'

'ThêdithHôkôl scholars'

- mokha is used in a collective but derogatory sense.

In SK it is obligatory to attach plural suffix to human nouns but optional in case of non-human nouns². The plural suffix for most human nouns is - am:. Sometimes there is morphophonemic changes.

ja:Na 'smart boy' jaznaru 'smart boys'

ja:Ne 'smart girl' ja:neyaru 'smart girls'

huDugi 'girl' 'huDugiyaru' 'girls'

Kinship terms ending in a final - a form their plurals³ by the suffix - andiru: .

aNNa 'elder brother' aNNandiru 'elder brother'

akka 'elder sister' akkandiru elder sister'

All other nouns form plural by suffixing - gaLu.

mara 'tree' maragaLu 'trees'

kivi 'ear' kivigaLu 'ears'

ele 'leaf' elegaLu 'leaves'

sometimes human nouns too form plural by suffixing -gaLu.

vidyarthi 'student' vidyarthigaLu 'students'
 daktru 'doctor' daktrugaLu 'doctors'

In SK plural forms of pronouns are formed differently and not by suffixing other plural markers. It is done by substituting /V/ or /r/ for the final consonant as follows:

<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
I	na:nu	na:vu
II	ni:nu	ni:vu
III	ava:nu (m)	avaru
	ava:Lu (f)	avaru
	adu (n)	avu

In SK the third and second person plural forms are also used as corresponding honorific forms.

3.3 The Case System

Both SA and SK have seven point case systems to indicate different relationships between the noun and other constituents of a sentence. In addition, they have vocative case too. Suffixes are added to the noun to indicate the role it plays in sentence ie. the role of a subject or object or goal of a verb or motion or the possessor of

something or the means by which something takes place. They are discussed below:

3.3.1 The Nominative Case

In SA the nominative marker morpheme -e is suffixed to the base form of the noun which occurs as the subject of transitive verbs.

1. baghe manuh khay
tiger-nom man eat-pres-3
'Tiger eats man/human beings'
2. rame porhise
Ram-nom read-pres-prog
'Ram is reading'

The subject of a small group of intransitive verbs also take the nominative marker.

3. rame **hāhise**
Ram-nom laugh-pres - prog
'Ram is laughing'

In SK however, no overt nominative marker is attached to the noun which plays the role of a subject.

3.3.2 The Accusative Case

In SA the accusative marker - K is suffixed to the noun which functions as a direct object in a sentence. The

accusative marker is obligatory with proper names, pronouns and kinship terms. With other nouns the case ending is not used barring a few exceptions.

4. **môy ramôk /tŪmak/** deutak / bohutdin dEkha may
 I Ram-acc /you-acc/ father -acc many day see-ger neg
 I haven't seen Ram /you/ father for a long time.

5. **môy bôltŪ** pElai dilu
 I ball-def. throw-perf.conj giv-pst-1
 'I threw away the ball'

In SK the accusative marker is - annu. It is optional with most direct objects but obligatory in the following circumstances.

a) When the referent is a human being.

6. ra:ja ra:niyannu maduveya:danu
 Raja Rani-acc marry-pst-3p-sg-m
 Raja married Rani.

b) When the direct object noun carries suffixes, clitics etc.

7. avanu ma:msavannu tinnutta:nante
 he mutton-incl eat-non-pst-3p-sg-m
 'It seems he eats meat'.

Generally, the accusative marker does not occur with nouns having neuter gender. But the marker is suffixed when there is definite reference.

8. na:nu mara noDde
 I wood see-pst-lp-sg
 'I saw a tree'

9. na:nu marannu noDde
 I tree-acc see-pst-lp-sg
 'I saw the tree'

3.3.3 The Instrumental Case

In SA the suffix -re is commonly used to mark instrumental case.

10. ami **kôlômErE** likhU
 We pen-instr write-pres-lp
 'We write with pen'

Sometimes the suffix -di is also used.

11. am i nawedi nodi par **hōṬ**

We boat-instr. river cross become

'We cross river by boat'.

SK does not have a separate marker for instrumental case. The suffix -inda is used as both instrumental and ablative marker. Sometimes, the locative marker -alli is also used for this purpose.

12. i: penninda ka:gada bari

this pen-instr/abl letter write 2p-pl

"Write the letter with this pen'.

13. Pennalli kazgada bari

Pen-loc letter write-2p-pl

'Write the letter with a pen'.

The locative -alli is usually used to indicate instrumentality in the sense of transportation.

14. na:nu basnalli ho:gtini

I bas-loc go-npst-lp-sg

'I go by bus'.

When these markers - inda and - allı are used as instrumental marker and are used with human nouns then the postposition -kay is to be inserted between the noun and the case marker. With -allı it is obligatory and with -ında it is optional.

15. i: kelsa na:n kayallı a:gella
This work I-gen post-loc become-neg
'This work is impossible by me'.

3.3.4 The Dative Case

The dative case is used in both the languages when the noun is the indirect object of the verb i.e. recipient of action and also the goal of a verb of motion.

In SA -K and -loi are the dative case markers.

16. **loratŪk kitapkhŃn** dia
boy-dat book-def give
Give the book to the boy

17. **mŃy** kitapkhdn loratUloi anısu
I book-def boy-def-dat bring-perf
I have brought the book for the boy

18. Hi **ghôrôloi** gol
he home-dat go-pst
'He went home'.

In SK -kke is added to the neuter nouns when they end in a, -ge with words ending in -e or -i. It is -ige elsewhere.

19. avaLu kelsakke hodaLu
she work-dat go-pst-3p-sg-f
'She went to work'

20. avaLu mane:ge hodaLu
she home-dat go-pst-3p-sg-f
'She went house'.

In addition to this dative case is used in SK in impersonal constructions. Certain verbs expressing notions such as 'knowing', 'understanding', 'liking', 'being available', 'being sufficient' etc. require their subjects to be in dative case ⁴.

21. idu na:nuge iStâ
this I-dat like
'I like this'

3.3.5 : The Ablative Case

In SA ablative case is indicated by placing the postposition $p \hat{o}$ ra after the noun which is in genitive form.

22. Hi **ghôrôr** **pôra** ahil
he home-gen from come-pst-3p
'He came from home'

In SK the marker -inda which is used as instrumental marker is also used as ablative marker. It has three, morphemic alternants viz. inda, -dinda and -ninda. When the noun ends with the vowel /a/ it takes -dinda, after other vowels, it is -inda and after consonants -ninda.

23. ava nu mandiadinda / gujratninda / bombeinda
he Mandya from Gujrat from Bombay from
banda
come-pst-3p-sg-m
'He came from Mandya / Gujrat / Bombay.'

3.3.6 The Genitive Case

In SA the marker -r is attached to nouns to indicate possession. This occurs after vowels and its morphemic alternant occurs after consonants.

guwahatir - of Guwahati
hatôr - of the hand

In SA genitive is also used in impersonal constructions when the noun is the subject of verbs denoting state of the body, state of the mind, wish etc.

24. **mÛr** **zôr** uthise
I-gen fever rise-pres-3p
'I have developed fever'

The genitive case system in SK is quite complex compared to SA. The genitive marker is basically -a. When the noun denoting neuter gender ends in /a/ then its morphemic alternant -da is used.

kelsada 'of work'
work - gen

When the nouns have optional gender markers like -nu or -Lu then -a is used as genitive marker.

huDuga-nu-a -> huDugana 'of the boy'
akka-Lu-a -> akkaLa 'of elder sister'

Nouns that end in other vowels add -a preceded by morphophonemically inserted /y/ or /v/.

maneya
house - gen 'of the house'
guruva
guru - gen 'of the guru'

In both the languages genitive case has an adjectival function.

SA	Kathôr	ghôr
	Wood-gen	house
	'Woodenhouse'	
SK	marada	mane
	wood-gen	house
	'woodenhouse'	

3.3.7 : The Locative Case

In SA generally location is indicated by suffixing the marker -t to the nouns. Its morphemic alternant occurs after words ending in consonant.

guwahatit
Guwahati-loc 'InGuwahati'

ghôrôt
house-loc - 'Afhome' / 'In the house'

In SK the locative marker -allI is added to the noun after the morphophonemically inserted /Y/ or /V/.

maneyalli
house-loc 'At home / In the house'

Locations of various types viz. proximate, interior, exterior, anterior, posterior are expressed in both the language by means of postpositions following the genitive forms of the nouns:

SA **gôsôr** **Upôrôt**
tree gen up-loc

'on the tree'

SK marada me:le
tree-gen up

'On the tree'

In addition to these seven cases SK has another viz. vocative case. It is used to indicate a calling or summon.

The vocative marker is -e: when the nouns have anything but final /a/ or /i/. When the nouns end with /a/ or /i/ the final vowel is lengthened.

guruve	
guru-voc	'Hey teacher!'
hari:	
Hari - voc	'HeyHari!'

In SA the noun does not inflect to indicate calling or summon. It is done by using certain words.

3.4 Postposition

Both SA and SK have a set of postpositions which are added after the noun phrases, usually after a case marker, to indicate time, location, instrumentality etc. They are similar in function and semantic content to English prepositions.

In SA most of the postpositions are added after the genitive form of a noun or pronoun with which they are related.

ghôrôr	babe	ghôrôr	Ūpôrôt
house-gen	for	house-gen	on-loc
'For home'		'On top of the house'	

With demonstrative pronouns *ei* and *Hei* they are added directly without any case marker.

<i>ei</i>	<i>biHoye</i>	<i>Hei</i>	<i>onuHori</i>
this	about	that	according
'About	this'	'According	to that'

There are some postpositions which can be added to the uninflected forms of nouns.

<i>prôstab</i>	<i>onuHori</i>
proposal	according
'According to the proposal'	

In SK too, most of the postpositions occur following the genitive form of the noun or pronoun.

<i>marada me:le</i>	<i>marada pakkadalli</i>
tree-gen on	tree-gen near-loc
'On the three'	'near the tree'

Some postpositions in SK follow the dative case.

<i>nimmige</i>	<i>oskara</i>
you-pl-dat	for
'For your sake'	

A few postpositions follow accusative case too.

adunnu sersi
 that -ace. including
 Including that'

3.5 Pronouns

Pronouns are generally classified as personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns and indefinite pronouns. Each group of pronouns is discussed as follows:

3.5.1 Personal Pronoun

The following is the complete paradigm of personal pronouns in SK.

Personal Pronouns, SK				
		Singular		Plural
1st Person	na:nu		na:vu	
2nd person	ni:nu		ni:vu	
3rd person	Proximate	Remote	Proximate	Remote
masc	ivanu	avanu	ivaru	avaru
fem	ivaLu	avaLu	ivaru	avaru

Table 1

The following is the complete paradigm of SA personal pronouns:

Personal Pronouns, SA				
	Singular		Plural	
Ist person	môy		ami	
2nd person				
Most informal	tôy		tôhôt	
Informal	tumi		tÛmalÛk	
Honorific/formal	apuni		aÛanalÛk	
3rd person	Proximate	Remote	Proximate	Remote
Most informal	i	Hi	ihôt	Hihôt
Masc				
Fem	ei	tai	ihôt	Hihôt
informal	EÛ	tEÛ	EÛlÛk	tEÛlÛk
Honorific/ formal	ekhet	tekhet	ekhetHôkôl	tekhetHôkôl

Table 2

As is obvious from the above paradigm III person pronouns are distinguished on gender as well as proximity/remoteness dimension. However, gender distinction is restricted to singular number alone. That is true of both the languages.

One important point to be noted here is that the plural forms of II person and III in SK person are used as corresponding honorific forms too.

3.5.2 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronoun in SA is *niz* which inflects for case. It can be used in all the three persons.

25. *moy nizei kamtU korilu*
I refl-emp work-def do-pst-1
'I did the work on my own'

26. *tumi nizokE bhalpUa*
you refl-dat love
you love yourself"

27. *boltU nize nize poril*
ball-def refl-nom refl-nom fall-pst-3p
'The ball fell on its own'.

In SK the reflexive pronoun is *ta:n* which takes different case forms. Its use is restricted to 3rd person human subjects.

28. *alia kelsa ta:ne ma:Dida*
all work refl-emp. do=pst-3p-sg-m
'He himself did all the work'.

3.5.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstative pronouns are usually classified into two groups based on proximity or remoteness of location of the individual or object of reference from the speaker.

Demonstative pronouns exhibit two-way contrast in both SK and SA as seen in the following tables:

Demonstrative Pronouns, SK

	Proximate		Remote	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Informal	ivanu	ivaru	avanu	avaru
fem	ivaLu	ivaru	avaLu	avaru
neu	idu	ivu	adu	avu

Table 3

Demonstrative Pronouns, SA

	Proximate		Remote	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Most informal				
mas	i	ihôt	Hi	Hihôt
fem	ei	ihôt	tai	Hihôt
neu	ei-tÛ eia	eibÛr	Hei	HeibÛr
Informal				
mas+fem	ËÛ	ËÛlÛk	tËÛ	tËÛlÛk
Honorific/formal				
mas+fem	ekhet	ekhet-	tekhet-	tekhet-
		Hôkôl		Hôkôl

Table 4

3.5.4 Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronoun in SA is kUn. Case markers are added to its oblique form ka. The nominative case marker however, is added to kOn and not its oblique form. For non-humans it is ki.

29. kUne khelise
 who-nom play-pres-3p
 'Who is playing?'

30. make kak matise
mother-pR-nom who-acc call-pres-prog-3p
'Whom is mother calling?'

31. kihe matise
who-nom call-pres-3p
'Which (animal or bird) is calling?'

32. tumi ki korisa
you-infl What do-pres 2p-infl
'What are you doing?'

In SK the interrogative pronoun is ya:ru which can take case endings like nouns as in the case of SA. For non-human referents it is e:nu.

33. ya:ru bandaru?
who come-pst-pl
'Who have come?'

34. i: pustaka ya:ruge?
this book who-dat
'For whom is this book?'

35. nimma heseru e:nu
you-pl-gen name what
'What is your name?'

3.5.5 Relative Pronouns

In SA the relative pronoun is *zi* and its oblique form is *za*. It is *zi* in nominative case and *za* in other cases followed by case markers. The neuter relative pronoun is *zih*.

There are no relative pronouns in SK. Thus, relative clauses are introduced by relative pronouns in SA and by the interrogative pronouns in SK. This is discussed in detail in section 4.3.1.

3.5.6 Indefinite Pronouns

In SA the indefinite pronouns are *kUnU* which means 'no body' and *kUnUba* which means 'somebody'. In SK the corresponding indefinite pronouns are *ya:ru* and *ya:ro:*

SA 36. kUnUba ahise
somebody come-pres-perf-3
'Somebody has come'

37. kUnU oha nay
nobody come ger - p-neg
'Nobody has come'

SK 38. ya:ro: bandidare
somebody come-pst-3p-pl
'Somebody has come'

39. ya:ru bandilla
nobody come-pst-neg
'Nobody has come'

3.6 Adjectives

Adjectives are found to be a complicated category in both the languages. Therefore, only the salient points pertaining to adjectives in the two languages will be discussed.

Unless meaning is taken into consideration, the traditionally called adjectives appear as nouns, as they take on the same plural affixes and case-endings in SA. eg. bhal 'good', bhalbUr 'good ones' bhal bUrok to/for the

good ones, bhalor pora 'from the good one' bhal bUror
pora "from the good ones" etc. Some inflect for gender and
some do not.

40. ozola loratU
simple boy-def
'The simple boy'

41. azoli soalizoni
simple-f girl-def (f)
'The simple girl'

But

42. Horu loratO
Little boy-def
'The Little boy'

43. Horu soalizoni
Little girl-def-f
'The Little girl'

When adjectives are used attributively they appear to
the left of the nouns they qualify and when predicatively,
they appear to the right side of the noun.

44. Horu ghor
small house
'Smallhouse'

45. ghurtU Horu
house-def small
'The house is small'

There has been a lot of debate regarding the classification of adjectives in SK. Some scholars treat them as a subclass of nouns while others posit a separate category.⁵

In attributive function adjectives, as in the case of SA appear to the left of the nouns and show no agreement.⁶ They have primarily adjectival than nominal meaning.

46. a: tuNTa huDuga
that naughty boy
'That naughty boy'

47. a: tuNTa huDugi
that naughty girl
'That naughty girl'

48. a: tuNTa huDugaru
that/these naughty boy-pl
'Those naughty boys'

Predicative adjectives in SK behave syntactically like nouns. They agree with the subject of sentence in number and gender.

49. avanu tuNTanu
he naughty-m
'He is (a) naughty (boy)'

50. avaLu tuNTaLu
she naughty-f
'She is (a) naughty (girl/woman)'

51. avaru tuNTaru
they naughty-pl
'They are naughty (persons)'

In comparative constructions the adjective denoting the attribute on which two things are compared inflects for number and gender.

52. i: guDi a: guDiginta doDDdu
this temple that temple-dat-comp big-neu
'This temple is bigger thanthat temple'

3.7 Numerals

Both SA and SK have cardinals as well as ordinals.

SK exhibits a definite pattern in its formation of cardinals but SA cardinals lack such a pattern.

In SK ordinals are formed by the suffix - aneya (reduced to ne: in fast speech) attached to the cardinal numbers eg. eNTu 'eight', eNTneya 'eighth'.⁷

The ordinals are not in much use in SA except in very formal or literary language. Barring a few exceptions like pohila first' the rest of the ordinals used in the language are from Sanskrit.

3.8 Definitives

One of the peculiar characteristics of SA is the addition of post positional affixes to nouns, adjectives and

numerals. All III person pronouns also take on these postpositions. They carry the value of the definite article 'the'. They become part of the words to which they are attached and the case affixes come after them .

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There are two sets of definitives viz. singular definitives and plural definitives. As the plural morphemes themselves are used as plural definitives ie. as the plural morphemes express both plurality and definiteness no separate discussion is made here.

The singular definitives are larger in number and besides expressing singularity and definiteness they always convey some additional sense whether an object referred to is big or small, round or flat or oblong, or in bunches or otherwise. They may also express the senses such as 'respectful' or 'polite' or othersise, as also male or female of men and animals .

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Some of them are mentioned below:

- (i) -ko n/ -koni (diminutive)
maskon - 'the little piece of fish'
maskoni - 'the little (still) piece of fish'

- (ii) -khon. - khoni (dim)
 noikhon - 'the river'
 mEzkhon - 'the table'
 noikhoni - 'the rivulette'
- (iii) -goraki (showing respect)
 manuh goraki - 'the man'
- (iv) -zon (honorific), -zona (more honorific)
 manuhzon - 'the man'
 montrizona - 'the minister'
- (v) -tO, -ta (after numerals), -ti (dim)
 loratU - 'the boy'
 lorati - 'the little boy'
 tinita - 'three'
- (vi) -dal
 skel dal - 'the scale'
 pensildal - 'the pencil'

Only a few of the definitives are mentioned above. One point to be noted here is that most of the singular definitives have their diminutive forms. The diminutive forms are used not only to indicate smallness in size but also to show endearment in case of human beings.

SK does not have any definite markers as such "Definiteness in noun phrases is usually indicated by the absence of any marking. Thus, in referring to an entity presumed to be known to the hearer either by reference in an earlier sentence in the same discourse or by other kind of shared knowledge, the noun occurs in the unmarked form¹⁰

In SK definiteness is also indicated by the use of demonstrative morphemes i: (proximate) and a: (remote).

i: pustaka 'this book'

a: pustaka 'that book'.

3.9 Kinship Term Personal Affixes

Affixation of personal endings to nouns of relationship is a salient feature of SA. "Words of relationship take on different affixes according as the relationship indicated is with the first, the second or the third person. In the case of the second person, the rank of the person also is taken into consideration".¹¹

The suffixes are -o, -er, -era, -ek. With nouns ending in -a they become -r, -ra and -k. The table below¹² will illustrate it

Suffixes	-∅	-Er/-r	-Era/ ra	-Ek/-k
Nouns of relation ship	my	your (most informal)	your (informal)	your (hon) /his
Father	bopai deuta	bap-Er deuta-r	bap- -ra deuta-ra	bap-Ek deuta-k
Mother	ma ai	mar aiEr	ma-ra aiEra	ma-k ai-Ek
Brother	bhai	bhai-Er	bhai-Era	bhai-Ek
Daughter	zi	zi-Er	zi- Era	zi-Ek
Mother -in-law	Hahu	Hahu-Er	Hahu-Era	Hahu-Ek

Table 5

Such inflection is not noticed in SK. Infact, it is not noticed in any other major Indian language. This peculiar feature is attributed to Munda language influence on
13
SA .

3.2 The Verb Phrase

The study of verb phrase of any language entails exhaustive work which the time frame of the present study does not permit. Therefore, for reasons already mentioned in Chapter I, the study was restricted only to a few important aspects of verb.

3.2.1 Finite and Non-finite Forms of Verb

Both SA and SK make clear distinction between finite and non-finite forms. Finite forms can be used independently as the main verb in simple sentences or in the main clauses in complex sentences. Non-finite forms are used only in subordinate clauses. In SA finite forms agree with the subject in person whereas non-finite verbs do not. The sentences 52 and 53 will make the point clear.

52. alohie bhat khale
guest-nom rice eat-pst-3p
'The guest had his meal'

53. alohi bhat khay gol
guest rice perf.conj. go-pst-3p

In SK the finite forms agree with the subject in person, number and gender.

54. avaru u:Ta ma:Didaru
he - pl food do-pst-3p-pl
'He had his food'

55. avaru u:Ta ma:Di ho:gidare
 he-pl food eat-pst part go-pst-3p-pl

3.2.2 The Infinitive

Infinitives in both the languages are formed in a similar manner i.e. by adding suffixes to the verb roots.

In SA the infinitive markers are -ibo and the extended form -iboloi, which becomes -iboloi due to vowel harmony.

56. moy zabo khuzisU
 I go-inf want-pres-lp
 'I want to go'

57. tak kamtU koriboloi diya
 he-acc work-def. work-inf give-pres-2p-infl
 'Allow him to do the work'

In SK infinitives are formed by adding -al to the verb root. The /l/ of -al is deleted if the following word begins with a consonant.

58. ni:nu bar-al be:ku -> ni:nu barabezku
 you-sg. come-inf must
 'you have to come'

59. ni:nu bar-al-e:be:ku
you-sg come-inf-emp, must
'you must come'

Another way of forming infinitives is by suffixing -
okke.

60. na:nu sinema nodokke ho:gtini
I film see-inf go-non pst-lp-sg
'I am going to see a film'.

It has been observed that SA -ib6 is similar to SK -al
and SA -iboloi is similar to SK -okke.

3.2.3 Mood

Both SA and SK have their own ways of indicating the
mood of the speaker. They are discussed as follows:

3.2.3.1 Indicative mood

Indicative mood in both the languages is expressed by
simple statement of facts.

3.2.3.2 Imperative mood

Imperative mood is indicated by using distinct forms in SA as well as SK. The forms are based on politeness or deference, formality or informality, and also on whether the II person is honorific or non honorific.

The following table will illustrate the hierarchy in SK.

	kudi: - 'drink'	ho:gi - 'go'
impolite, casual	koDiyo:	ho:go:
non-polite	kuDi:	ho:gu
polite, plural	kuDi:ri	ho:gi
very polite	kuDi:ri	ho:gri
super polite	ta:vu kuDiri	ta:vu ho:gri

Table 6

In SA, however, politeness is not indicated by plurality or honorific. The most honorific form can be used for an impolite utterance and least honorific can be used for a polite utterance. The marker -sUn when attached to verb stems duly inflected for imperative corresponding to most informal/non-honorific, informal/less honorific and formal/most honorific nature of the II person pronoun,

indicates that it is a request or in other words, a polite command. It is illustrated below:

	dE - 'give'	kha - 'eat'
Most informal/ non-honorific		
impolite	dE	kha
polite	dEsUn	khasUn
Informal/less honorific		
impolite	dia	khUa
polite	diasUn	khUasUn
Formal/Most honorific		
impolite	diok	khaOk
polite	dioksUn	khaOksUn

Table 7

3.2.3.3 Optative

In SA the optative marker is - ok which is added to the root of the verb.

61. bhog wanE tar bhal korok
 god -nom he-gen good do-opt
 May God do him good.

62. Hi kEnsar hoi morok
 he cancer become-perf.conj. die-imp/opt
 'May he die of cancer'

The optative in SK is formed by suffixing -i to the infinitive form of the verb.

63. avanuge de:varu a:ro:gya koDali
he dat God health give-opt.
'May God give him good health'

SK also uses the same form for imprecative.

64. avanu kensar bandu a:gi sayali
he cancer come.conj die-imp/pt
'Let him die of cancer'

3.2.3.4 Hortative

The hortative is a I person imperative calling for joint action by the speaker and addressee.

In SK it is formed by attaching -o:Na to the verb stem.

65. u:ruge ho:go:Na
town-dat go-hort
'Let us go to town'

In SA the word /bola/ expresses hortative mood. It follows the verb marked for first person.

66. ami ghoroloi zaUbola
we house-dat go-pres-1p-hort
'Let us go home'

3.2.4 Tense and PNG markers - Finite verbs are marked for tense in both the languages. In SK they also agree with the subject noun in person, number and gender (PNG). In SA they are marked only for person and not number and gender.

The PNG markers differ according to the tense of the verb they mark. The following tables are illustrative of SK PNG markers.

3.2.4.1 Present Tense PNG markers

The PNG markers that occur in the present tense are illustrated below with the help of the verb /ba:/ 'come'.

SK present Tense PNG markers

Person	Pronoun	PNG markers	example	Gloss
I Person singular	na:nu	i:ni	barti:ni	'I come'
I Person plural	na:vu	i:vi	barti:vi	'we come'
II Person singular	ni:nu	i:ya	barti:ya	'you come'
II Person plural polite	ni:vu	i:ri	barti:ri	'you come'
III Person Singular masculine	avanu	a:ne	barta:ne	'hecomes'
feminine	avaLu	a:Le	barta:Le	'she comes'
neuter	adu	atte	baratte	'it comes'
III Plural/ polite	avaru	a:re	barta:re	'they/he/ she come(s)'
III neuter plural	avu	ave	barutve	'they come'

Table 8

3.2.4.2 Future/habitual PNG markers

SK does not have a regular future tense. But the verb /iru/ 'be' is an exception and is marked for future tense. The present tense PNG markers are added to the stem *idd* - to indicate present tense. When the same markers are added to the stem *irt-* they indicate future or habitual in the sense of 'will be' or 'be' (always) respectively.

SK future/habitual forms

Person	Pronoun	Present	Future/habitual
I person singular	na:nu	iddi:ni	irti:ni
plural	na:vu	iddi:vi	irti:vi
II Person Singular polite	ni:nu	iddi:ya	irti:ya
Plural	ni:vu	iddi:ri	irti:ri
III Person Singular Masculine	avanu	idda:ne	irta:ne
Feminine	avaLu	idda:Le	irta:Le
Neutor	adu	ide	irate
III Person Plural, polite	avaru	idda:re	irta:re
III Person Plural neutor	avu	ive	irutve

Table 9

3.2.4.3. Past tense PNG markers

The past tense PNG markers are attached to the past stem of the verb. Generally the initial vowels of the PNG markers are deleted. The verb /ba:/ 'come' is used here for illustration.

SK Past tense PNG markers

Person	Pronoun	PNG markers	example	Gloss
I Person singular	na:nu	e	bande	'I came'
I Person plural	na:vu	vu	bandvu	'we came'
II Person singular	ni:nu	e~i	bande/ bandi	'you came'
II Person plural polite	ni:vu	(i) ri	bandri	'you came'
III Person Singular masculine	avanu	a	banda	'he came'
feminine	avaLu	(a)Lu	bandLu	'she comes'
neuter	adu	(i)tu	bantu	'it comes'
III Plural/ polite	avaru	(a)ru	bandru	'they/he/ she came(s)'
III neutor plural	avu	(a)vu	bandvu	'they came'

Table 10

3.2.4.4. Contingent PNG Markers

The contingent is a form the verb that translates as English "might (do something)." It has PNG marker attached to the past stem. These markers are similar to past tense PNG markers except that they have long vowels. It is illustrated below with the help of the verb /ba:/ 'come'.

SK Contingent PNG markers

	Pronoun	Contingent PNG marker	Example	Gloss
I Person Singular	na:nu	e:nu	bande:nu	I might come
Plural	na:vu	e:vu	bande:vu	We might come
II Person Singular	ni:nu	i:ye	bandi:ye	You might come
Plural/ polite	ni:vu	i:ri	bandi:ri	You might come
III Person Singular masculine	avanu	a:nu	banda:nu	He might come
III Person singular feminine	avaLu	a:Lu	banda:Lu	She might come
III Person Singular neutor	adu	i:tu	bandi:tu	It might come
III Person Plural/ polite	avaru	a:ru	banda:ru	They might come
III Person Plural neutor	avu	a:vu	banda:vu	They might come

Table 11

In SA the verbs agree with the subject noun only in person and not in number and gender. The person markers vary in accordance with the tense of the verb. 8A makes five way distinction. These markers have their morphophonemic variations in accordance with the final sound of the verb. Since no distinction between gender and number is maintained five different verbs marked for five tenses are illustrated in a single table as follows:

Tense markers for SA verbs with different endings

Tenses/Persons	-ô kô 'to say'	-a kha 'to eat'	-E dE 'to give'	-Ū HŪ 'to sleep'	-c kôr 'to do'
Present					
I Person	kô - Ū	kha - Ū	di - Ū	HŪ - Ū	kôr - Ū
II Person most informal	kô - ô	kha - ô	di - ô	HŪ - ô	kôr - ô
II Person informal	kŪ - a	khŪ - a	di - a	HŪ - a	kôr - a
II Person formal /honorific	kô - y	kha - y	di - e	HŪ - E	kôr - E
III Person	kô - y	kha - y	di - e	HŪ - E	kôr - E
Past					
I Person	ko - lŪ	kha - lŪ	di - lŪ	Hu - iŪ	kor - ilŪ
II Person most informal	ko - li	kha - li	di - li	Hu - li	kor - ili
II Person informal	ko - la	kha - la	di - la	Hu - la	kor - ila
II Person formal /honorific	ko - le	kha - le	di - le	Hu - la	kor - ile
III Person	ko - le	kha - le	di - le	Hu - le	kor - ila
Future					
I Person	ko - m	kha - m	di - m	Hu - m	kor - im
II Person most informal	ko - bi	kha - bi	di - bi	Hu - bi	kor - ibi
II Person informal	ko - ba	kha - ba	di - ba	Hu - ba	kor - iba
II Person formal /honorific	ko - bô	kha - bô	di - bô	Hu - bô	kor - ibô
III Person	ko - bô	kha - bô	di - bô	Hu - bô	kor - ibô
Perfect					
I Person	ko - isŪ	kha - isŪ	di - sŪ	Hu - isŪ	kor - isŪ
II Person most informal	ko - isô	kha - isô	di - sô	Hu - isô	kor - isô
II Person informal	ko - isa	kha - isa	di - sa	Hu - isa	kor - isa
II Person formal /honorific	ko - ise	kha - ise	di - se	Hu - ise	kor - ise
III Person	ko - ise	kha - ise	di - se	Hu - ise	kor - ise
Past Perfect					
I Person	ko - isilŪ	kha - isilŪ	di - silŪ	Hu - isilŪ	kor - isilŪ
II Person most informal	ko - isili	kha - isili	di - sili	Hu - isili	kor - isili
II Person informal	ko - isila	kha - isila	di - sila	Hu - isila	kor - isila
II Person formal /honorific	ko - isil	kha - isil	di - sil	Hu - isil	kor - isil
III Person	ko - isil	kha - isil	di - sil	Hu - isil	kor - isil

Table 12

3.2.5 Auxiliary verbs

Both the languages have auxiliary verbs which are basically of two types. They are discussed below:

3.2.5.1. Modal Auxiliary Verb

SA as well as SK have a few modal auxiliary verbs which convey such notions as may, might, can, must, should, ought, could etc. and their negatives. However, the two languages exhibit their peculiarities in the formation as well as semantic nuances of these forms.

In SK these modal auxiliary verbs are attached to the infinitive form of the verb and they are not marked for PNG. The following sentences will illustrate the shades of meaning that verbs acquire when the modal auxiliary *be:ku* is attached.

67. *na:nu ho:gbe:ku*

I go-inf mod

I must / need / ought to go

68. *na:nu na:Le alli irbe:ku*

I to-morrow there be -mod

'I must/should be there to-morrow'

69. ava nu u:ruge hogirbe:ku
 he-sg town-dat go-inf be mod.
 'He must have gone to the town'.

Though be:ku itself does not take any tense or PNG markers other auxiliary verbs like iru be' and a:ga become marked for tense can be attached to it.

70. avanu bandirbe:ku
 he-sg come-pst be mod
 'He must have come'

71. adu be:kagatte
 that mod become-non-pst
 'That will be/become necessary'

72. avanu barbeikagittu
 he come-inf mod become-pst
 'He ought to have come'

The negative form of be:ku is be:Da which has a polite form be:Di.

SK also has a very strong negative modal ku:Dadu.

73. joD ha:kkoNDu guDiyolage hozga
 shoe wear-refl pst-part temple-inside-dat go-inf
 ku:Ddu
 mod-neg
 '(One) should never go into a temple while wearing
 chappals'.

The modal auxiliary verb bahadu, which is realized as
 bozdu due to morphophonemic rules is also attached to the
 infinitive form of the verb and has the meaning can/may.

74. allaru izvaga ho:gbo:du
 all now go-inf-mod-
 'Everyone can go now'.

75. i: pustaka no:Dbo:da
 this book see-inf-mod-QM
 'Can (I) see this book?'

The negative of bahadu is ba:radu which is realized as
 bazrdu.

76. allige hozgabazrdu
 there-dat go-int mod-neg
 '(one) should not go there'.

In SA all the three modal auxiliary verbs are attached to infinitive forms of verbs. The modal *lage* is like 8K *be:ku* semantically. It does not take any person markers but takes tense markers. Sentences 77 - 79 are illustrative of this.

77. mUk ei kitapkhon lage
I-dat this book-def mod-pres
'I need this book'

78. mUk ei kitapkhon lagisil
I-dat this book-def mod-pst-perf
'I needed this book'

79. mUk ei kitapkhon lagibo
I-dat this book-def mod-fut
'I will need this book'

Its negative is formed by attaching the negative prefix to it.

mUk ei kitapkhon nalage
I-dat this book-def neg-mod-pres

Pay is another modal auxiliary which indicates possibility of some action or event.

80. Hi itimodhye zabo pay
he already go-inf. mod
'He may have already gone'

81. khali pEtot dorob khabo napay
empty stomach-loc medicine eat-inf neg-mod
(One) should not take medicine in empty stomach'

The modal auxiliary paro in SA is equivalent to SK bo:hadu. It differs from the other modals in the sense that it can inflect for tense as well as person. Its meaning is may / can.

82. Hi gari so labo parE
he vehicle drive-inf. mod-pres-3p
'He can drive a vehicle'

83. moy dilliloi zabo parU
I Delhi-dat go-inf mod-pres- lp
'I may go to Delhi'.

Its negative form is nUwaro and not naparo due to morphophonemic changes.

84. Hi gari solabo nUwarE
he vehicle drive-inf. neg-mod-pres-3p
'He cannot drive a vehicle'

The sentence 85 illustrates another possibility. This can occur after the infinitive form of the same modal to indicate negative possibility.

85. moy kamto koribo nUwaribo parU
I work-def do-inf neg-mod-inf mod-pres-3p
'I may not be able to do the work'.

3.2.5.2 Aspectual Auxiliary Verbs

There is a set of verbs in both the languages, which, when added to the main verbs in a sentence, impart aspectual meaning. Such words in 8K are referred to as 'Vectors' by Bhat, D. NS (1977). They are similar to main verbs in their morphology and syntax. But semantically they do not express the lexical meaning of main verb when used as aspect markers.

The following is a list of these aspect markers in SK as given by Sridhar (1990),

Markers Lexical Meaning Aspectual Meaning

Markers	Lexical Meaning	Aspectual Meaning
/biDu/	leave	Completion, finality, suddenness undesired action.
/ho:gu/	go	Completion, unintended action
/a:Du/	play	reciprocal, duration
/no:Du/	see	attemptive, experimentive
/ha:ku/	put	exhaustive, undesirable action
/koDu/	give	benefactive
/koLLU/	take	reflexive, self-benefactive

Sentences 86-92 illustrate this respectively.

86. avanu bidbiTTa
he fall-pp-pf-pst-3p-sg-m
'He fell down'

87. ha:lu keTTahogide
milk spoil-pp-pf-pres-3p-sg-m
'The milk has gone bad'

88. sainikaru ka:da:Didaru
soldier-pl fight-pp-pl-pst-3p-pl
'The soldiers fought (each other)'

89. mane kaTTino:Du, maduve maDino:Du
house build-pp-pf-pres 2p5g marriage do-pp-pf-2sg.
'Try building a house', try performing a marriage'

90. avanu alia tindha:kda
 he all eat-pp-pf-pst-3p-sg
 'He ate up everything'
91. avaru bardkoTTaru
 he-pl (hon) write-pp-pf-pst-3p-pl
 'He wrote it (for someone's benefit'
92. avanu baTTe ogedukoNDa
 he cloth wash-pp-pf-pst-3pSg-m
 'He washed cloth'

SA too has a few aspectual verbs like the SK ones. Their semantic as well as syntactic properties have not been discussed so far. The following is a list of the most commonly found ones.

Markers Lexical Meaning Aspectual Meaning

/za/	go	Completion, unintended, suddenness
/dE/	give	Completion, intended, benefactive as well as malefactive
/pEla/	throw	Exhaustive, undesirable.
/sa/	see	Attemptive, experimentative
/ho/	become	Completion, intended.

Sentences 93-98 are illustrative of the same.

93. gilastU mUr hator pora porigol
tumbler-def I-gen hand-gen from fall-perfconj-give-pst-3p
'The tumbler dropped from my hand'.
94. minai mok bohut Hohay kori dile
Meena-nom. I-dat much help do perf.conj.give-
pst-3P
'Meena helped me a lot (benefactive)
95. loratOE khGnGtE bGltO pElai dile
boy-def-nom anger-loe ball-def throw-perf conj give-pst-3p
'The boy threw away the ball out of anger'(malefactive)
96. loratUe gUteibUr mithai khai pElalE
boy-def-nom all sweet eat-perf conj throw -pst-3p
'The boy ate up all the sweets (undesirable)
97. Hi Ebar sEsta kori sale
he once trial do-perf.conj.see-pst-3p
'He tried once'
98. loratUr bhat khayhol
boy-def-gen cooked rice eat-perf.conj become-pst-3p
'The boy finished eating his meal'.

3.2.6 Causative Verbs

Causative verbs can be formed in both the languages by adding causative suffixes to the non-causative verbs.

In 8A they are formed by adding the suffixes -a, -Da and -ua to the verb roots. These causative morphemes are morphologically conditioned. Sometimes the roots undergo morphophonemic changes.

A verb like /kor/ takes the causative suffix -a.

99. moy kamtU koralU
I work-def do-caus-pst-lp
'I got the work done'

A verb like /rakh/ takes the causative suffix -a.

100. bakhon rokhUa
bus-def stop-caus-2p
'(You) stop (cause to stop) the bus'.

A verb like bohtakes the causative suffix -Da.

- 101 moy alohik bohualu
I guest-dat sit-caus-pst-lp
'I made the guest sit'.

Double causatives can be formed by adding an additional or a different causative marker. For example, the verb /kor/ usually takes the causative suffix -a. But double causative of the verb can be made by suffixing the causative marker -Da which is normally affixed to some other verbs.

102. moy kamtU kUnUmotE korUa1U
 I work-def somehow do-dl-caus-pst-lp
 'I got the work done somehow (by somebody through somebody else)'.

Sometimes, the resultant form has a different meaning.

103. moy onath loratUk porhuam
 I orphan boy-def-dat read-dl-caus-fut-lp
 'I will bear the expenses of the orphan boy'

In SK verbs are causativized by attaching the causative suffix -isu to the verb.

104. avanuge tai u:Ta ma:Disbe:ku
 he-dat mother meal do-caus-must
 'The mother has to feed him'.

Double causatives in SK are formed by repeating the causative suffix.

105. amman kayalli huDugan u:Ta ma:Disisbe:ku
mother-gen hand-loc boy-acc. food do -dl caus. mod
Someone should make the mother feed the child'.

The following are some of the important points of contrast as far as Morphology is concerned.

- 1) In SA the nouns are overtly marked for gender but the verb does not agree with subject noun in gender. In SK, on the contrary, the nouns are not generally marked for gender but the verb always agrees with the subject noun in gender.
- 2) In SA nouns are obligatorily marked for plural irrespective of whether they are human nouns or non-human nouns. But in SK it is obligatory to attach plural suffix to human nouns but optional in case of non-human nouns.
- 3) SA has an overt nominative marker when the noun is a subject of transitive verb and occasionally of intransitive verb. SK does not have any such marker.
- 4) In SA accusative marker is obligatory with proper names, pronouns and kinship terms. It is not used elsewhere. In SK it is generally optional but obligatory when the referent is a human being.

- 5) SA has instrumental markers but SK does not have. Instrumental case in SK is indicated by oblique or locative markers.
- 6) In impersonal constructions where the noun is the subject of certain notions like knowing, understanding, liking, physical and mental states, being available, being sufficient etc. SK uses dative case whereas SA uses genitive case. Moreover, the verbs know and understand do not occur in impersonal constructions in SA.
- 7) In SA ablative case is indicated by placing the postposition *pora* after the genitive form of the noun but in SK it is indicated by affixing ablative marker *inda* and its variants.
- 8) SK has overt marking for vocative case but SA does not have.
- 9) In SK plural forms of II person and III person are used as corresponding honorific forms too. SA makes clear three way distinction between formal or honorific, informal and non-honorific forms of II and III persons.
- 10) SA has a set of relative pronouns which are pro-forms of interrogative pronouns. In SK relative clauses are introduced by interrogative pronouns.

- 11) In SK adjectives inflect for PNG in accordance with their function ie. they inflect when they have predicative function and not when they have attributive function. In SA on the contrary, only a set of adjectives undergo inflection and they do so irrespective of their function.
- 12) In comparative constructions the adjectives denoting the attribute on which two objects are compared inflects for number and gender in SK. In SA such inflections do not occur.
- 13) One salient feature of SA morphology is the presence of definitives which can be suffixed to nouns, adjectives, and numerals. They carry the value of English definite article 'the' SK does not have such definitives.
- 14) An interesting feature of SA morphology is the affixation of personal endings to kinship terms which vary according to the relationship between the speaker and addressee and also the status of the addressee.
- 15) In SK the finite verbs are marked for person, number and gender whereas they are marked only for person in SA.
- 16) SA makes clear distinction between past, present and future. It also distinguishes between past and present

perfect tense. In SK verbs are not marked for future tense but there is a separate set of contingent markers not found in SA.

17) As far as modal auxiliaries are concerned the following are noticed:

(a) In SK the modal auxiliary be:ku itself does not inflect but other auxiliary verbs which can be attached to it inflect. In SA on the contrary its equivalent lage can be marked for tense.

(b) be:ku has its negative form be:Da but in SA negative is formed by prefixing the regular negative marker.

18) (a) Some of the aspectual verbs of SK match with those of SA in their lexical as well as aspectual meanings. But while SK koDu is benefactive its equivalent in SA dE is both benefactive and malefactive though they have common lexical as well as aspectual meaning.

(b) SA does not have any equivalent of SK koLLU and a:Du.

19) in SK double causatives are formed by repeating the causative marker. In SA they can be formed in two ways viz.

(a) by affixing an additional causative marker to the already causativized verb.

(b) by affixing a causative marker to a particular verb which normally takes a different causative marker.

CHAPTER IV

SYNTAX

4.0 Word Order

The basic word order in a sentence in both SA and SK is subject - object - verb. It is, however, subject to variations in both the languages due to stylistic reasons. Traditionally, a simple sentence is described as consisting of a subject and a predicate. For example -

	Subject		Predicate
		object	Verb
106. SA	Hi	loratUk	matile
	he	boy-def-acc	call-pst-3p
	"He called the boy"		
107. SK	avanu	huDugan	karda
	he	boy-acc	call-pst-3p-sg-m
	"He called the boy"		

4.0.1 Subject- The subject of a sentence is usually a noun or a noun phrase. It usually occurs in the nominative case. In SA nominative marker -e is suffixed to the noun when the verb is transitive. SK on the other hand, does not have any overt nominative marker. The following sentences will make the point clear.

108. SA ram Hule
Ram sleep-pst-3p
"Ram slept"

109. SA rame bhat khale
Ram-nom cooked rice eat-pst-3p
"Ram had his meal"

The following sentences are from SK.110 correspond to SA.108 and 111 to SA 109.

110. ra:ma malkoNda
Ram sleep-refl-pst-3p-sg-m
"Ram slept"

111. ra:ma u:Ta ma:Dda
Ram meals do-pst-3p-Sg-m
"Ram had his meal"

As far as agreement between subject and verb is concerned there is an important point of contrast. In SA the verb agrees with the subject only with respect to person. In SK the verb agrees with the subject in person, number and gender as well (Eg.3.2.4). The sentences from 111 to 113 from SA and 114 to 116 from SK will make the point clearer.

112. Hi kitab porhE

he book read-pres-3p

"He reads books"

113. tai kitab porhE

she book read-pres-3p

"She reads books"

114. HihotE kitab porhE

they-nom book read-pres-3p

115. avanu pustaka odtane

he book read-non-pst-3p-sg-m

"He reads books"

116. avaLu pustaka odtaLe

she read-non-pst-3p-sg-f

"She reads books"

117. avaru pustaka odtare

read-non-pst-3p-pl

"They read books"

4.0.2 Predicate - A predicate generally consists of a noun or noun phrase and a verb. It is true of both the languages.

		Subject		Predicate	
				Noun	Verb
118.	SA	Hi		kitab	porhE
		he-non-hon		book	read-pres-3p
119	SK	avanu	pustaka		odtane
		he	book		read-non pst-3p-sg-m

The noun or noun phrase contained in the predicate is the object of the verb. The object of a verb generally occurs with accusative case markers. Viz. -6K in SA and anna in SK. In SA neuter nouns are never marked with accusative case markers. In SK it is optional. When neuter is marked so it refers to a particular thing.

120. Hi sinemak sale
he cinema-acc. see-pst-pl

Sentence 120 is a wrong one as the object noun is marked for accusative case.

121. avanu sinma no:Dda
he cinema see-pst-3p-sg-m
"He saw a film"

122. avanu sinman no:Dda
he cinema-acc. see-pst-3p-sg-m
"He saw the film"

An important point of contrast is noticed in case of rational nouns. In 8K rational nouns obligatorily take accusative markers. But in 8A it is governed by the kind of verb. If the verb denotes sensory perception accusative marker is optional - but without the marker is more common. In case of other verbs it is obligatory.

123. moy loratU dekhilU
I boy-def see-pst-phal
"I saw the boy"

124. moy loratUk matilU
I boy-class-acc. call-pst-lp
"I called the boy".

The corresponding sentences in 8K will be

125. na:nu huDugan no:Dde
I boy-acc se-pst-lp-sg

126. na:nu huDugan ka:rde
I boy-acc call-pst-lp-sg

Sometimes a sentence may consist of two noun phrases
i.e. the predicate may not have any overt form of the verb
i.e. the copula. Such sentences called equational sentences
are found in both the languages.

127. SA tekhet Hikkhok
he-hon teacher

128. SK avaru me:stru
he-pl/polite teacher
"He is a teacher"

4.0.3 The noun phrase - A noun phrase generally consists of
the following common constituents.

- a) a proper noun SA ram ahil
 SK ram banda
 "Ram came"
- b) a pronoun SA Hi ahil
 SK avanu banda
 "He came"
- c) a common noun SA Hikhok ahil
 SK me:stru bandaru
 "The teacher came"

- d) a numeral + a common noun SA tinita lora ahil
SK mu:ru huDugru bandaru
"Three boys came"
- e) demonstrative particle + numeral + common noun SA Hei lora tinita ahil
SK a: mu:ru huDugru bandaru
"Those three boys came"
- f) Demonstrative particle + numeral + adjective + common noun mUr Hei Horu lora tinita bhay
SK a mu:ru cika huDugru
nanna tammandiru
- g) noun (definitive) SA Sualizoni ahil
girl - def
"The girl came"
SK huDugi bandLu
'The girl came'
- h) adjective + noun + (definitive) SA dhunia sUalizoni ahil
SK channagiro huDugi bandLu
- i) adjective + definitive SA dhuniazoni sUali ahil
- j) Relative clause + noun

129. SA zisUalizoniE mUk kitapkhon dile Hei soalizoni ahil

130. ya:vu huDugi nainuge pustaka kotidaLu
a: huDugi bandLu
"The girl who gave me the book has come"

The exact equivalents of sentences as found from g to i are not found in SK as it does not have any definitive marker. Definiteness in SK is indicated by demonstrative pronouns with reference to the context.

4.0.4 The Verb Phrase - A verb phrase in both SA and SK consists of a verb and an optional noun phrase. A verb may consist of the following elements.

a) a verb stem + tense marker + PNG markers

SA moy zam

I go-fut - Ip

SK na:nu hogtini

I go-nonpst-lp-sg

b) a verb stem + infinitive + modal

SA zabo lagibo

SK ho:g be:ku

c) a verb stem + infinitive or gerund + negative

SA zUa nay

SK ho:glilla

d) a verb stem + aspect + tense + PNG

SK ho:gbiTTe

go-inf. asp-pst-lp-sg

(I) went off

SA kori salU

do-inf-asp-pst-lp

(I) made an attempt

4.0.5 Adjective - Syntactically adjectives have two functions in both SA and SK viz. attributive and predicative. In SA predicative and attributive adjectives have the same form but in SK the predicative adjective agrees with the subject in number and gender.

SA

SK

Hi dusto	avanu tuNTanu	"He is naughty"
tai dusto	avaLu tuNTaLu	"She is naughty"
ihot dusto	avaru tuNTaru	"They are naughty"

When the function is attributive the adjectives appear to the left of the noun they modify and there is no agreement with the subject.

SA

SK

Hei dusto	loratoU	a: tuNTa huDuga	"That naughty boy"
Hei dusto	sUalizoni	a: tuNTa huDugi	"That naughty girl"
Hei dusto	lorabUr	a: tunTa huDugaru	"Those naughty boys"

In addition to the primary adjectives both the languages have a set of participial adjectives derived from

verbs. The derived adjectives too, appear to the left of the nouns they modify. One important point of contrast is noticed in SK in its distinction between past perfect adjectival participle, past adjectival participle and present perfect participles. This distinction is indicated in SA by means of temporal adverbs. The sentences 13-135 illustrate this.

131. band - a - huDuga - 'The boy who came'

132. band - ir-o: - huDuga - 'The boy who has come'
band-ir-o:

133. band - idd - a huDuga - 'The boy who had come'

134. eimatro oha loratU
just now come-perf.conj. boy-def
The boy who has come just now.

134. zoa mahot oha lorato
last month loc come-perf.conj.boy-def.
The boy who came last month.

135. moy ohar agotei oha loratU
I come-gen before-emp-come-perf-conj. boy-def
The boy who had come before I came.

4.0.6 Adverb - Generally the adverb immediately precedes the verb in both SA and SK but due to stylistic

reasons the order may vary. Adverbs can be simple as well as derived. Adverbs can also be classified as adverbs of place, time and manner.

	Adverb of place		Adverbs of time		Adverb of manner	
SA	agphal	pisphal	etia	tetia	khorkoi	lahE lahE
SK	munde	hinde	i:ga	a:ga	be:ga	nidha:na
Gloss	front side	back side	now	then	quickly	slowly

In both the languages it is possible to derive adverbs from nouns, verbs and adjectives and additionally out of onomatopoeic words. In SA the regular adverbial marker koi and in SK the quotative marker - anta is suffixed to the onomatopoeic form. For example, SA dhupuskoi means '(fall) with a thud' and SK phaTTanta means 'quickly'.

Sentential adverbs ie. adverbs that modify whole sentences are possible in both SA and SK.

136. SA Hosakoi, Hi iyaloi ahil
 true-advlm he here-dat come-pst-3p

137. nijva:glu, avanu illige banda
 true-advlm he-sg here-dat come-pst-3p-sg-m
 "Truly, he came here"

4.1 Interrogations - Interrogative sentences are formed both in SA and SK by a variety of ways.

4.1.1 Yes-No questions - The two languages have their own ways of forming yes-no questions.

In SA Yes-No questions are formed either by suffixing the question marker *-ne* to the verb or by using the question word "neki". It follows the verb immediately. A question formed with *neki* is a neutral yes-no question. An interrogative sentence formed by suffixing *-ne* also implies a polite request or a presupposition etc.

138. tumi kamtU koriba neki?
you-infl work-def do-fut-2p-infl-Q word
"Will you do the work"?

139. tumi kamtO koribane?
you-infl work-def do-fut-2p-infl-Qm
"Will you (please) do the work?"

Sentence 138 is a neutral question whose answer is either yes or no. But sentence 139 is more a polite request than a yes-no question. It may also be used to indicate surprise (with appropriate intonation). However, semantic nuances of *-ne* and *neki* are very subtle.

In SK yes-no questions are formed by suffixing -a: to the finite verb.

140. ni:nu kelesa maDtia?
you-so work do-non.pst-2p-sg
"Will you do the work"?

Another way of forming neutral yes-no questions is to cliticize the question word e:nu 'what' to the right of the statement. In other words this question word is accompanied by the vocative clitic as in 141.

141. nimma ta:yi a:fisige ho:giddare:nri?
your mother office-dat go-pre-perf-Q-voc
"Has your mother gone to the office"?

The vocative clitics in SK indicate the sex of the addressee and the nature of the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Formation of this kind of question is not possible in SA.

When the focus of a yes-no question is a specific constituent rather than the entire statement both the languages use cleft constructions. But there is an important point of contrast in the way they are formed

In SA the questioned constituent is placed before the verb which is followed by the yes-no Q.word.

142. kaliloi gaoloi Hi zabo neki?

To-morrow village-dat he-non go fut-3p QM

"Is it he who is going to the village to-morrow"?

143. Hi gaoloi kaliloi zabo neki?

Is it tomorrow that he is going to the village?

144. Hi kaliloi gaoloi jabo neki?

"Is it to the village that he is going to-morrow"?

In the above sentences, questioned constituent is brought to a place (before the verb) where a WH word occurs in a WH question. The corresponding WH sentence will be as follows:

145. kaliloi gaoloi kUn zabo?

to-morrow village-dat who go-fut-3p

146. Hi gaoloi ketia zabo?

"When is he going to the village"?

147. Hi kaliloi koloi zabo ?

"Where is he going to-morrow"?

In SK in addition to clefting the question marker -a: is suffixed to the questioned constituent and the verb marked for PNG is converted into its gerund form.

148. ava na na:Le u: ruge hozgodu?
 he-Qm to-morrow town-dat go-ger

149. na:Lena avanu u:ruga ho:godu?
 "Is it to-morrow that he is going to the town?"

150. avanu na:Le ho:godu u:ruga?
 Is it to the vilage that he is going to-morrow?

In SA yet another variety of yes-no question can be formed by adding the word zanU immediately after the verb.

151. tumi kamtU koriba zanU?
 you-infl work-def do-fut-3p infl Q word.

Here the presence of the word zanU indicates uncertainty and doubt and the answer to such a question is generally expected to be negative and is an indirect suggestion to the listeners not to act.

152. boroHun dibo pare - zaba zanU?
rain give-fut may go-fut-2p-infl Q word?
"It may rain - would you go"?

This category of questions is not found in SK.

4.1.2 Alternative Questions - Alternative questions are formed in SA by inserting the particle *ne* in between the alternatives.

153. tumi sah nE k6fi bhal pUa?
you tea or coffee like-2p-infl
"Do you like coffee or tea"?

In SK they are formed by suffixing the clitic *-o:* to the right of each of the constituents expressing an alternative.

154. ni:nuge isTa ti:no: ka:fino:
you-sg-dat like tea-or coffee-or
"Do you like tea or coffee"?

In SK it is also possible to form alternative questions using *athava* 'or' and *illa* 'not'. The clitic *-o:* is also retained, *illa* is used usually with clausal alternatives.

155. ni:nuge ka:fi athava: ti: ya:du isTa?
 you-sg-dat coffee or tea which like
 "Which one do you like - coffee or tea"?

156. si:te manege ho:daLo illa a:fisige hozdaLo:
 sita house-dat go-pst-or not office-dat go-pst-or
 "Did Sita go home or to the Office"?

In SA athava is used only in co-ordinate sentences. An equivalent of sentence 156 is also not found.

4.1.3 Question Word Questions - Question word questions are referred to commonly as WH questions since in English question words start with Wh or h.

In SA question words begin with K and in SK with y and e. The following table will illustrate it.

Eng	what	who	when	where	how much	which one	why
SA	ki	kon	ketia	kot	kiman	kontU	kiyô/kelei
SK	e:nu	ya:ru	ya:va:ga	ye:lli	estu	ya:vdu	ya:ke

As far as question words are concerned there is an important point of contrast. The equivalent of 'where' in SA is kot when it indicates location. But three different forms are used to indicate destination viz. KŪphalE, keni

and Koloi. KUphalE is the most formal and Koloi is the most informal.

In SK destination is indicated by suffixing accusative/dative markers -ge to the root ye:lli with the resultant form ye:llige.

In both the languages the question words occur before the verb.

157. SA tumi ki korisa
you-infl, what do-pres-prog-2p-infl
"What are you doing"?

158. tumi ketia ahiba
you-infl when come-fut-2p-infl
"When are you coming"?

159 and 160 are the corresponding sentences in SK.

159. ni:nu e:nu maDtaidia
you-sg what do-pres-prog-2p-sg

160. ni:nu ya:va:ga bartia
you-sg when come-pres-Qp-sg

Ordinarily, yes-no question markers do not occur when a WH question word occurs in a sentence.

4.1.3.1 Reduplicated Question Words

Reduplicated question words occur in both the languages.

SA	SK	English
kot-kot	ye:lli-ye:lli	"Where all"
ki-ki	e:nu e:nu	"What all"
kUn-kUn	ya:ru ya:ru	"Who all"

The contrast lies in the fact that in SA case markers are added to both the forms whereas in SK they are added to the last form.

161. tumi biyaloi kak kak matila?
you-infl, marriage-dat who-dat invite-pst-2p-infl
"What different people did you invite for the marriage"?

The corresponding sentence in SK is 162.

162. ni:nu ya:ru ya:ruge madhuvege karde
you-sg who who-dat marriage-dat/acc invite-pst-3p-sg

4.1.4 Tag Questions - Tag questions are found in both the languages.

In SA they are formed in three different ways. The primary method is one in which a declarative affirmative

sentence is followed by equational affirmative hoy+Q particle ne + equational negative nohoy.

163. eikhon tUmar kitap - hoyne nohoy
this-def you-gen book Equ-Q part E neg

This sentence would literally translate as -
"This is your book - yes or no"?

If the sentence is declarative negative then the tag is formed by equational negative nohoy + question particle zanU?

164. eikhon tomar kitap nohoy - hoy zanU?
"This is not your book - is it"?

There is another way of forming tag question in which a declarative sentence is followed by equational negative particle nohoy followed by question particle zanO. It is applicable to both affirmative and negative sentences.

165. Hi ghoroloi gol - nohoy zanU?
he home-dat go-pst - negative Q part

166. apuni barua - nohoy zanu?
you hon Barua - E-neg O part

165 and 166 would literally translate as follows:

"He went home - isn't it"?

"You are Mr.Barua - isn't it"?

SA exhibits yet another way of forming tag questions which is quite close to English. When the declarative affirmative sentence is emphatic then the tag is formed by repeating the verb in its gerund form preceded by negative particle and followed by question particle zanU.

167. HitU skuloloi gol nay zUa zanU?
he-nonhon-emp school-dat go-pst-3p pneg.go-ger Q part

"He has gone to school - hasn't he"?

When the sentence is negative then the negative is not required in the tag.

168. Hito azi skulloi nogol-gol zan0
he-non.hon to-day school-dat neg.-go-pst-3p Q part

In SK tag questions are generally formed in this way. A declarative sentence is followed by the equational negative particle alla to which yes-no interrogative clitic a: is suffixed. This is used to verify all kinds of propositions - equational and others.

169. ni:vu bandidiri, alva?
you-pl come-pst-pl E.neg.part-Q.cl
"You came didn't you"?

170. ni:vu Sivarao alva?
"You are Shiva Rao, aren't you"?

171. avanu u:Ta ma:Dlilla, alva
he food do-neg cl Eneg part-QM
"He didn't eat - did he"?

Sometimes, the word *haudu* which means 'yes' is inserted before *alva*: "?

172. avanu u:Ta mazDlilla - haudu alva:?
he-sg food do-pst-PNeg.part yes E.neg. part-QM
"He has not had his food - has he"?

173. ni:vu Siva Rao _ haudu alva:?
you-pl/ShivaRao - yes Eneg part-QM
"You are ShivaRao - aren't you"?

4.2 Negation

The two languages differ to a great extent in the way the negatives are formed. Negative forms in SK are

classified as synthetic and analytic¹. As the synthetic forms do not exist in SA the equivalents of SK be:Da, be:Di ba:rDu are not found in SA.

174. mUk ei kitapkhon nalage
I-dat this book-def neg-need
"I don't need this book"

175. na:nuge i: pustaka be:Da
I-dat this book not needed

It is clear from sentences 174 and 175 that in similar context as above negative marker is prefixed to lage which means 'needed' in SA whereas in SK there is synthetic negative form like be:Da. SK be:Da has its honorific form be:Di which is used depending on the status of the addressee.

In SA nay negates propositions and nohoy negates equational sentences. The corresponding negative words in SK are illa and alla.

176. tekhet Hikkhok nohoy
he-hon teacher E neg part
"He is not a teacher"

177. tekhet ghorot nay
he-hon house-loc p neg.part
'He is not at home'

The corresponding SK sentences will be 178 and 179.

178. ava ru me:stru alla
he-pl teacher E.neg. part

179. ava ru manenalli illa
he-pl home-loc E.neg part

4.2.1 In SA verb is negated by prefixing the negative marker na - to verb stems indicating present tense, future tense and past tense, na - becomes nU -, ne nU - ni etc. in harmony with the vowels in the verb.

180. m6y nazaU
I neg-go-pres-lp
"I don't go"

181. moy nogolu
I neg-go-pst-lp
"I didn't go"

But in case of present perfect tense the propositional negative *nay* follows the gerund form of the verb.

183. Hi dEkha nay
he-non-hon see-ger preg part
"He hasn't seen"

183. moy zUa nay
I go-ger-pneg part
'I haven't gone'

And in past perfect negative the gerund form of the verb is followed by the past form of the verb 'be' marked for person and prefixed with negative marker *na*.

184. Hi dEkha nasil
he-non-hon see-ger neg-be-pst-perf-3p
"He didn't see"

184. m y zUa nasilU
I go-ger neg-be-pst-perf-3p
"I didn't go"

In SK the prepositional negative form *-illa* is suffixed to different verbal stems indicating different tenses and aspects.

186. avanu u:ruge hozglilla
 he-sg town-dat go-pst-Pneg part
 "He didn't go to the village"
187. avanu u:ruge hoigodilla
 he-sg town-dat go-ger-Pneg part
 "He doesn't/won't go to the village"
188. avanu bandilla
 he-sg come-pst-Preg part
 'He did not come'
189. avanu bartaila
 he-sg come-be-pres-Pneg part
 "He is not coming"

The important point of contrast as it is obvious from the above sentences, is that negative marker is prefixed to the verb in SA whereas it is suffixed in SK.

4.2.2 Negative participles - There are adjectival and verbal participles in both the language.

4.2.2.1 In SA negative adjectival participle is formed by prefixing negative marker to the verb stem and the resultant form is tenseless.

190. Hei noha loratU
that neg-come-ger boy-def
"That boy who does not/has not did not come"

But in SK negative adjectival participle is formed by adding *ada* to verb stems marked for durative and perfective aspects.

191. a barada huDuga
that come-pras-Pneg. part boy
"That boy who doesn't come"

192. a bandillada huDuga
that come-pst-neg-neg boy
"That boy who did not come"

4.2.2.2 Negative Verbal Participles - They are formed in 8A by prefixing negative marker and suffixing adverbial marker - *koi* to the gerund form of the verb. It is followed by a finite form of the verb.

193. Hi EkU nUkhUwakoi gol
he-non-hon nothing neg-eat-ger-adv go-pst-3p
"He went without eating anything"

In SK negative verbal participle is marked by adding
ade to the verb stem.

194. avanu e:nu tinnade ho:da
he-sg what/nothing eat-neg go-pst-3p-sg-m
'He went off without eating anything'

4.2.2.3 Negative verbal participle with negative aspectual
verb.

This kind of structure is found in both SA and SK. In
both the languages the two negatives neutralise the meaning.

195. rajue Hei sinemakhon nUsUakoi nerile
Raju-nom that cinema-def see-ger advim neg-leave-pst
pef-3p

196. rajue Hei sinemakhon saihe erile
Raju-nom that cinema-def see-perf-conj-emp leave-pst-3p

The meaning of 195 and 196 is actually the same which
is close to "Raju somehow managed to see the film".

The corresponding sentences of 195 and 196 in SK will
be 197 and 198.

197. ra:ju a: sinema no:Dade biDlilla
Raju that cinema see-ger-Pneg leave-Pneg

198. ra:ju a: sinema noDbiTta
Raju that cinema see-leave-pst-3p-sg.

4.3 Subordinate Clause - Subordinate clauses are formed in a number of ways in the two languages. But only two major forms of subordination ie. Relativization and conditionals will be discussed as the time does not permit more details.

4.3.1 Relative Clause - The two languages seem to exhibit similar patterns in their formation of relative clauses. Both SA and SK have two types of relative clauses viz. sentential relative clause and participial relative clause. Sentential relative clauses however, are found more commonly in written language than in spoken language. In spoken language participial relative clauses dominate.

4.3.1.1 Sentential Relative Clause : In SA sentential relative clauses are marked by the presence of the following:

- i) The relative marker zi (which) preceding the relativized element.
- ii) The remote demonstrative adjective Hei (that) at the beginning of the head noun phrase.

199. zi mahuhzonE mUk kitapkhOn dile
 which man def-nom I dat book-def give-pst-3p
 Hei manuhzOn mUr koka
 That man-def I-gen grandfather

The corresponding sentence in SK will be marked by the simultaneous presence of three morphemes.

- (i) the relative marker ya:va 'which' preceding the relativized element.
- (ii) The interrogative clitic o: attached to the last element of the relative clause; and
- (iii) The remote demonstrative adjective a: that at the beginning of the head noun phrase.

200. ya:vu manusya na:nuge pustaka
 which man I dat book
 ko:tidaro: a: manusya namma ta:ta
 give-pst3-clite that man grandfather

The sentences 199 and 200 show that full lexical noun phrase is retained in both the clauses in both SA and SK.

4.3.1.1.1 Pronominal relative clause - Both the languages exhibit several possibilities of pronominalization.

The relativized noun phrase remains but the head NP, together with the determiner, may be replaced by a pronoun indicating remoteness.

SA 201. zi manuhzone mUk kitapkhon
 which man-def-nam I-dat book-def
 dile tekhet more koka
 give pst-3p he-hon-rem I-gen grandfather.

202. ya:vu manusia na:nuge pustaka koTidaro:
 which man I-dat book give-pst-ep-pl
 avaru namma ta:ta
 he-pl-rem I-pl-gem grand father

'The man who gave me the book is my grandfather.

In SA it is possible to have a sentence where the head NP is pronominalized, the NP in the relative clause is deleted and the relative marker alone is retained.

203. zi mUk kitapkhon dile tekhet mUr koka
 which I-dat book-def give-pst-3p he-hon-rem

In SK however the NP in the relative clause is pronominalized with interrogative pronoun.

204. ya:ru na:nuge pustaka kotidaro: avaru namma ta:ta

SK has a third possibility in which the relativized NP may be pronominalized with interrogative pronoun while the head NP remains lexical.

205. ya:ru namuge postaka kotidarU: a manusya namma ta:ta

This kind of relative clauses with backward pronominalization are rare but quite grammatical especially, when the relativized NP is non-subject.

206. ya:vadannu huDukalu ni:vu istu

which thing-acc search-inf you-pl this book

kaSTa paTTiro: a: pustaka illi: ide

difficulty endure-pst-3pl that book

The book looking for which you took so much trouble is right here'.

Such backward pronominalization is not found in SA.

As for word order, the relative clause precedes the main clause in both the languages.

4.3.1.2 Participial Relative Clause - Participial relative clauses are formed by converting the verb into a relative participle, deleting the PNG marker and placing it in front of the co-referential noun. However, the other features like aspect, negation etc. are retained. This is principal method used in both the language with very little language specific variations.

In SA the verb is converted in to its gerund form.

207. kukure loratUk kamurile. Hei
dog-non boy-def-acc bite-pst-3p that
loratU mUr bhai
bey I-gen younger brother
"The dog bit the boy. That boy is my younger brother".

208. kukure kamUra loratU mUr bhai
dog-nom bite-ger boy-class I-gen younger brother
"The boy who was bit by the dog is my younger
brother"

When the tense referred to is future then the future form of the verb is retained in its participial clause. Future form of the modal lage is suffixed to the future form of the verb.

209. kailoi/kalioi iyaloi Eta lora ahibo.
to-morrow here one boy come-fut-3p
Hei lorato mOr bhai
that boy-def my younger brother

The corresponding participial relative clause is 210.

210. kailoi/kaliloi iyaloI ahibologia loratU
 to-morrow here come-fnt-3 modal boy-def
 mUr bhai bhat-def
 my younger brother.

In SK the suffix-a is added to the verb when it refers to the past tense but -uva when it refers to the non-past.

211. nenne huDuga banda, a huDuga nanna
 yesterday boy come-pst-3p-m that boy I gen
 tamma.
 younger brother.

The resultant participial relative clause in 212.

212. a: nenne banda huDuga nanna tamma
 that yesterday come a boy I-gen younger
 "That boy who came yesterday is my younger brother"

213. angaDiya hinde tangina maDa ide
 shop-gen behind coconut tree is-pres-3p-n

The participial relative form of the above sentence is.

214.

214. hinde tangina mada iruva angaDi
 behind coconut tree be-rp shop
 "The shop behind which there is a coconut tree"

Since PNG markers are removed from the noun in participial relative clauses they result in ambiguities in SK. But such possibilities are less in SA.

215. ko:ti tinda ele
monkey eat-pst-rp leaf

Sentence 215 has three possible meanings:

- (i) The leaf which the monkey ate (ii) The leaf off which the monkey ate (iii) The leaf which ate the monkey.

However, the third meaning is not possible in SA due to the presence of overt nominative case marker.

216. bandore khowa pat
monkey-nom eat-rp leaf

- i) "The leaf that the monkey ate"
ii) "The leaf off which the monkey ate"

It was also examined in detail as to which elements of the sentence can be relativized (both SRC and PRC) in both the languages. It is found that they exhibit more or less similar patterns. They are not discussed here as space and time do not permit it.

4.3.2 Conditional Clauses - Conditional sentences are formed in both the languages by suffixing a form to the past stem. The conditional clause usually precedes the main clause.

In SA the suffix -e is added to the past stem of the verb.

217. Hi ahile moy zam
he - come-pst-cond I go-fut-lp

In SK the suffix - are is added to the past stem.

218. avanu bandare na:nu ho:gtini
he come-pst-condt I go-non-pst-lp-sg.

In SA conditional sentences can also be formed by inserting the subordinator zodi in between the two clauses, zodi is equivalent of 'if' in English. It is formed exactly the same way as English conditional sentences are formed. The verb in the if clause agrees with the subject in person and it is in present tense.

219. Hi ahe zodi moy zam
he come if I go-fut-lp
If he comes I will go

As far as conditionalization of aspectual verbs, modals and quotative verbs is concerned the two languages do not exhibit any significant difference.

4.3.2.1 Negative conditional : Negative conditionals are formed in the two languages in the following ways.

In SA negative conditionals are formed by prefixing negative marker na- and suffixing -e to the past stem of the verb.

220. Hi nahile m6y nazaU
he neg-come-pst I neg-go-pres-lp
"If he does not come I won't go".

Negative conditionals can also be formed by inserting subordinator zodi 'if' in between the two clauses in the same way as the affirmative conditional. The verbs are prefixed with negative markers.

But SK exhibits quite different patterns. Negative conditionals are formed in SK by using:

- (i) The negative participle which ends in -ade eg. tarade 'not having brought'.
- (ii) Past form of the verb idd 'to be' as the base for the conditional suffix yielding iddare. The aspectual auxiliary ho:gu 'go' is also sometimes used, resulting ho:dare.

221. mi:na barade iddare/hoidare na:nu baruvudilla
Meena come-neg.part. be-cond/go-condl I come-ger-neg
"If Meena does not come I will not come"

4.3.2.2 Emphatic conditional- when the speaker has some doubt about the proposition then emphatic conditionals are formed by adding emphatic markers.

In SA emphatic marker -he is suffixed to the conditional form of the verb.

222. Hi ahilehe moy zam
he non-hon come-pst-cond-emp I go-fut-lp

In SK the emphatic form ta:ne is inserted in between the two clauses.

223. avanu bandare ta:ne, na:nu ho:gbo:hdu
he-sg come-pst-cond emp I go-inf-can.

4.3.2.3 Hypothetical conditional - hypothetical conditionals are also formed in both the languages.

In SA it is formed by using the gerund form of the verb thak ie. 'to be' and conditional form of the verb ho i.e.

'to become' in the subordinate clause and hypothetical conditional form hEtEn suffixed to the verb in main clause.

224. mUr hatot paisa thoka hole
I-gen hand-loe money be-ger become-cond
moy bideHoloi goluhEtEn
I foreign-dat go-pst-hyp cond
"If I had money I would have gone abroad".

In SK, however, it is formed in a different way. It uses the perfective aspect in the subordinate clause and the past perfect progressive in the main clause.

225. nanna hattira ka:su iddidare
I gen near money be - perf
na:nu phori:n ho:gtidde
I foreign go-pst perf-prog
"If I had money I would have gone abroad".

4.3.2.4 Concessives - Concessive clauses are formed in both the languages by suffixing a clitic to the conditional form.

In SA the clitic - 0 is suffixed

226. boroHun ahileU moy zam
rain some-pst-cond-cc I go fut-lp
'Even if it rains, I will go'

An equivalent of 226 is formed in SK by suffixing the concessive clitic -U: to the conditional form of the verb.

227. male: bandaru: na:nu ho:gtini
rain come-pst-cond I go-non-pst

4.4 Coordination - Sentences may be co-ordinated in both the languages by using coordinating words corresponding to 'and', 'but' and 'or'.

4.4.1 "and" coordination - Any number of sentences can be coordinated by placing the coordinating word corresponding to "and" after each coordinated element. But when 'and' has to occur repeatedly then only the last one is retained usually. Both the languages exhibit similar patterns.

SA 228 rita ghoroloi gol aru nita
Reeta house-dat go-pst-3p and Neeta
skuloloi gol
school-dat go-pst-3p
"Reeta went home and Neeta went to School".

The corresponding sentence in SK will be as follows:

229. rita manege ho:daLu mattu ni:ta skuluge hodaLu
Rita home-dat go-pst-3p-f and Neeta - school-dat go-pst
3p-f

But in informal speech the two sentences are co-ordinated by a simple means of juxtaposition without the coordinating word 'mattu'.

4.4.2 "but" coordination - Any number of sentences can be co-ordinated in both the languages by placing the words corresponding to 'but' before the last coordinated elements.

In SA the corresponding word is kintu and in SK a:dare.

230. mUr hatot Huta ase kintu bezi nay
I-gen hand-loc thread be-pres but needle neg
"I have thread but no needle"

Sentence 231 is the corresponding sentence in SK.

231. nanna hattira da:ra ide a:dare su:ji illa
I-gen near thread be-non-pst but needle neg

4.4.3 "or" coordination - As far as this kind of coordination is concerned the two languages exhibit difference.

In 8A they are formed by placing any one of the words viz. ba, naiba, notuba, nohole, oth6ba etc. between the disjuncts. But they differ in their semantic, pragmatic properties.

232. ram ba hori kUnUba EZon ahibo
Ram or Hari someone one person come-fut-3p
"Either Ram or Hari will come"

In SK there are two ways of expressing this.

- 1) by attaching the elitic - o: to the right of each member of the disjunctive set.
- 2) using the word athava or illa between two members in disjunction. However, both devices may be found occasionally in the same sentence.

233. narayana bassinalli hogutta:ne athava
Narayan bus-loc go-non-pst 3p-sg-m or
trainalli hozguttane, karalli hogella.
train -loc go-non-pst-3p-sg-m car-loc go-inf-neg
"Narayan will go either by bus or by train but not by car"

234. ru:pa: baruttalo: illa avaLa gaNda
Rupa come-3p-sg-f-el or she-gen husband
baruttaino: gottilla
come-3p-sg-m-cl know-neg

"It is not known whether Rupa will come or Rupa's husband will come".

Other features of coordination are not discussed here for reasons already mentioned in Chapter I.

4.5 Reflexives - The two languages exhibit differences in the ways reflexivity is expressed.

In SA the reflexive pronoun niz is used to indicate, reflexivity. It inflects for case. Emphasis marker -i and -he can also be attached to it.

235. tar nizer EkU nay
he-gen refl-gen nothing E neg
"He has nothing of his own"

236. moy nizei golu
I refl-emp go-pst-lp
"I myself went"

237. Hi niZehe zane
he refl-emp know-3p
"He alone knows it"

In 8K the reflexive pronoun ta:n is used in similar ways. It also takes different case forms.

238. alla taznege bekante
all refl-dat-need-quot
"It seems he needs everything for himself"

239. avanu tanna abhipra:ya heLda
he refl-gen wish/intention tell-pst-3p-sg-m
"He expressed his intention"

SK has another way of expressing reflexivity. It has a reflexive auxiliary koL (the past tense of which is koND)² It is suffixed to the past participial form of the verb and it inflects for different tense, aspect and agreement features.

240. amma anna baDisikoNDaru
Mother rice serve pp-refl-pst-3p-pl
"Mother has served herself food"

241. ni:vu kuztkoLLi
you-pl sit-refl-2p-pl
"Please be seated"

242. ravi batte ogedukoNDa
Ravi clothes wash-pp-refl-3-sg-m
"Ravi washed his clothes (by himself)".

243. na:nu amman baiskoNDe
I mother-gen scold-caus-refl-pst-lp
"I got myself scolded by my mother"

This reflexive auxiliary KOL in SK is semantically complex expressing a variety of meanings. There is no form in SA corresponding to or close to it.

4.6 Anaphora - Anaphoric relations are expressed in both the languages by means of deletion and pronominalization.

4.6.1 In conversation usually first person and 2nd persons are deleted.

244. kali rabir ghoroloi goisilu
yesterday Rabi-gen house-dat go-pst-perf-lp
"I went to Rabi's house yesterday".

245. nenne ravi manege ho:gidde
yesterday Ravi house-dat go-pst-lp-sg.
"I went to Ravi's house yesterday".

In long narratives when third person occurs repeatedly as the subject it is deleted. It appears initially.

4.6.2 Pronominalization of both subject NP and object NP is possible in both the languages. Once the participant is introduced it can be anaphorically referred to by personal pronouns like he/she/it/they or him/her/it/them.

Since both SA and SK exhibit very similar patterns the details are not discussed here.

4.6.3 Anaphoric reference of locative adverbs is also possible in both the languages.

246. dilli bohut durot. taloi relere
Delhi very/much far-loc. there rail-instr.
zabo lage
go-inf mod

The corresponding sentence in SK is as follows:

247. dehli tumba du:ra allige trainalli ho:gbe:ku
Delhi very/much far there train-loc go-inf-mod

4.7 Reciprocity - Reciprocity is expressed in both the languages basically by some sort of reduplication of numeral 'one'. But however, there are language specific differences.

In SA reciprocity is expressed in two ways -

i) Combination of one in its nominative form + other one in any form other than nominative.

248. EzonE anzonok dise
one-nom other one-dat give-prog-3p
"One gives to the other one"

ii) Combination of pro-forms of demonstrative pronouns, proximate and remote. Proximate demonstrative pronoun pro-form is usually in nominative case and remote one is in non-nominative case. Another feature is that the appropriate definitives must be affixed to the pro-forms.

249. izonE Hizonok Hohay kora usit
dempr PF-nom PF-rem-dat help do-ger should
"One should help one another"

In SK reciprocity is expressed by means of a reduplicated form of the numeral 'one' with the first element in a non-nominative case and the second in nominative case as opposed to SA in which the second element is in non-nominative case. In the case of human participants the human form of 'one' obba is used. With non-humans it is ondu.

250. bassu ka:ru ondakkondu dikki hoDedavu
bus car one-dat-one collision hit-pst-3p-pl-n
"The bus and the car hit each other"

251. na:vu obbarallobbaru visva:sa iDabe:ku
we one-hum-loc-one-hum trust-keep-mod.
"We must trust each other".

4.8 Comparison - Comparison is expressed in different ways in the two languages.

4.8.1 In SA comparison is expressed by affixing a comparative post position -koi following the standard of comparison which is in the locative case. Comparative sentences in SA have two types of structures.

i) Standard of comparison (SC) follows the object of comparison (OC).

252. mina ninatkoi besi salak

Meena Neena-loc-comp pp much/more clever

Meena is cleverer than Neena.

ii) Object of comparison following the standard of comparison.

253. guwahatitkoi tezpur dhunia

Guwahati-loc-comp pp Tezpur beautiful

"Tezpur is more beautiful than Guwahati"

254. EnEkoi ziy thokatko moray bhal

in this manner living-loc comp pp death-emp good

"It is better to die than to live like this".

In SK comparison is expressed by affixing comparative postposition - inta to the standard of comparison. Unlike SA the standard of comparison is in dative case. The order of elements in a comparative sentence in SK is as follows:

Object of comparison + standard of comparison with dative case marker and comparative postposition + adjective or adverb.

255. mi:na ni:naginta calak
Meena Neena-dat-comp pp clever
"Meena is cleverer than Neena".

In SK too optionally but rarely the object of comparison may follow the standard of comparison.

256. hi:ge ba:Luvudakkinta sa:ve va:si
this living-dat-comp death-emp-better
"It is better to die than to live like this"

In SA sometimes the word *besi* which means 'more or much' is used (252) SK has a word *va:si* the lexical meaning of which is better.

4.8.2 Superlative - Neither SA nor SK has a superlative particle (Like Eng-est). In both the languages superlative is expressed by using the equivalent of 'all'.

In SA the universal quantifier (ie. equivalent of all) *HokolU* is followed by the comparative post-position and it is in locative case.

257. rozot HokolUt koi buddhiman
Rajat all-loc comp.pp intelligent
"Rajat is the most intelligent of all"

The quantifier may also be followed by a standard of comparison (sc). And the SC undergoes inflection.

258. rozot HokolUlorakoi buddhiman
Rajat all boy-loc-comp pp intelligent
"Rajat is the most intelligent of all the boys"

SK also follows the same patterns. 259 and 260 are the sentences corresponding to 257 and 258 respectively.

259. rajat ellaruginta buddhimanta
Rajat all-dat-comp pp intelligent.

260. rajat ellahuDuguruginta buddhimanta
Rajat all boy-pl-dat-comp pp intelligent.

4.9 Equatives - Equatives are expressed in both the languages in a similar manner.

4.9.1 It can be formed by using an adverb of equation following the standard of equation.

In SA the adverb Homan is inserted following the standard of equation. The standard of equation takes the genitive form.

261. mina rinar Homan Ukho
Meena Reena-gen equ tall
"Meena is as tall as Reena".

Usually the emphatic particle -e can be suffixed to the equative word in affirmative sentence.

262. mina rinar Homane UkhU
Meena Reena-gen Equ-emp. tall

But the emphatic particle is never affixed in negative sentences and affirmatives with verbal predicates.

263. mina rinar Homan UkhU nohoy
Meena Reena-gen Equ tall E.neg
"Meena is not as tall as Reena"

264. mina rinar Homan douribo nUware
Meena Reena-gen Equ run-inf neg-can
"Meena cannot run as fast as Reena"

In SK the adverb aSTu is used with its different pro-
forms. The standard of equation is in oblique form.

265. mi:na ri:naSTe ettara

Meena Reena-obl-Equ-tall

Meena is as tall as Reena

266. mi:na ri:naSTu ettara allLa

Meena Reena-obl-Equ tall neg

"Meena is not as tall as Reena"

267. mi:na ri:naLastu jo:ragi ho:DallaLu

Meena Reena-pbl-Equ fast run-neg-f

"Meena cannot run as fast as Reena"

4.9.2 Equatives can also be used in both the languages without an overt standard of equation. In such cases a pro-form of the equative post-position is used in SA. In SK it remains the same.

268. SA mina Himan UkhU nohOy

Meena that much tall neg

"Meena is not that tall"

269. mi:na aSTu ettara allLa

Meena that much tall neg

"Meena is not that tall"

In both the languages it is possible to interpret the above sentences depending on the discourse Context, whether the subject is as tall as the person implied or the subject is not tall enough to carryout the task under discussion. In SA it is also possible to indicate proximity or remoteness of the topic of discussion.

In both the languages it is possible to consruct equative sentences by means of relativization.

270. rina ziman Uokho mina Himan UkhU nohoy
Reena Equ PF tall Meena Equ PF tall E neg
"Meena is not as tall as Reena is"

271. ri:na eSTu ettara mi:na aSTu ettara alla
Reena Equ.PF tall Meena Equ.PF tall
"Meena is not as tall as Reena is"

4.10 Possession

Both the languages exhibit similar patterns in expressing possession. There are two ways of expressing possession.

4.10.1 In SA the possessor noun or pronoun takes the genitive form and it is followed by possessed' noun.

272. eikhon mUr kitap
this-def I-gen book
"This is my book"

In SK too the 'possessed' noun follows the possessor' noun which is in genitive form.

273. idu nanna pustaka
this I-gen book
"This is my book"

4.10.2 In SA possession is also expressed by using a lexical item *hat* which means 'hand'. It is inserted in between the possessor noun/pronoun and possessed noun. The possessor noun, as usual, is in genitive case and *hat* is in locative case. The possessed noun is followed by verb 'be'.

274. mor hatot Ekhon kitap ase
I-gen hand-loc one book be-pres-3p
"I have a book with me"

In SK the post-position *hattira* or *baLi* (both meaning 'near') is used. It is inserted in between the possessor noun or pronoun and the possessed noun.

275. nanna hattira ondu pustaka ide
I-gen near one book be-pres
I have a book with me"

4.10.3 Predicative possessives are also found in both the languages.

In SA the possessed noun occurs as subject and is followed by the possessor noun or pronoun and the definitive is suffixed to the possessed noun instead of the demonstrative pronoun.

276. Ei kitapkhon mUr
this book def I-gen
"This book is mine"

In SK too the possessed noun occurs as the subject and is preceded by demonstrative particle and followed by possessor noun/pronoun which is marked for number and gender of the possessed noun.

277. i: pustaka nandu
this book I-gen-n-sg

4.10.4 SK has another possibility. Instead of using post-position the dative form of the possessor

noun/pronoun is used. Certain kinds of possessions like inalienable possessions and possession of relatives is indicated by dative constructions. This may be with or without verb 'be'.

278. nanuge eredu kaNNive

I-dat two eye - 3p-n-pl

"I have two eyes"

279. nanuge mu:ru heNNu makkaLu idda:re

I-dat three female children be-non pst-3p-pl

"I have three daughters"

4.11 "Emphasis - in both the languages it is possible to emphasise the whole sentence or any constituent of a sentence.

4.11.1 - Sentence emphasis is conveyed in SA by the adverbs like nisooy niscoykoi etc. or by attaching -i clitic to the verb stem.

280. moy niscoy ahim

I-nom certainly come-fut-lp

281. Hi ohai nay
he-non-hon come-gen-emp pneg
"He has not come"

In SK sentential emphasis is conveyed by the adverbs khaNDita or niscayaba:gi or by the clitic -e: attached to the verb stem.

282. na:nu khaNDita bartini
I certainly come-in-pst
"I will certainly come"

283. avanu bande illa
he-sg come-pst-emp pneg

4.11.2 Constituent emphasis - A constituent can be emphasised in various ways.

4.11.2.1 Stress can fall on any of the constituents. The emphatic meaning can be interpreted depending on where the stress falls.

284. SA rupa kailoi kolikotaloi zabo
Rupa to-morrow Calcutta-dat go-fut-3p
"Rupa is going toCalcutta to-morrow".

285. ru:pa na:le kalkatage he:gtaLe

Rupa to-morrow Calcutta-dat go-non-pst-3p-f

Rupa is going to Calcutta to-morrow.

The stress related meaning will be the same in both the languages as follows:

i) If the stress falls on the first constituent (Rupa) the meaning is, it is Rupa (not somebody else) who is going to Calcutta.

ii) If the stress falls on the second constituent (to-morrow) it means, it is to-morrow that she is going to Calcutta (not some other day).

iii) If it falls on the third constituent (Calcutta) the meaning is it is to Calcutta that she is going (not somewhere else).

4.11.2.2 Particles (clitics) - clitics can be attached to any of the constituents.

In SA three clitics viz. -i, -he, and -0 are used to emphasize any constituent, -i, -he can be attached to both nouns/pronouns and verbs. The inclusive clitic -0 is attached commonly to nouns/pronouns and rarely to verbs.

286. mayei mUk poisa dile
mother-emp I-dat money give pst-3p
"Mother herself gave me money".

287. mayehe mUk paisa dile
mother-emp I-dat money give-pst-3p
"Mother alone (none else) gave me money"

288. mayeU mUk poisa dile
mother-inc I-dat money give-pst
"Mother also gave me money"

The following are examples of how clitics are attached to verbs.

289. Hi goleine
he-non hon go-pst-emp-QM
"Has he gone (so early!)?"

290. Hi porilhe IogElogEi tUponi ahil
he lie-pst 3p-emp immediately-emp sleep come-pst-3p
"As soon as he lied down he fell asleep"

291. tai gan gay aru nasEU
she-non song sing and dance pre-3p-inc
"She sings and dances too"

Sometimes the clitic *-i* is attached to the verb to indicate definiteness of the act referred to by the verb in which case the finite form of the verb is reduplicated.

292. moy zamei zam
I go-fut-emp go-fut-lp
"I will go" (Nothing can stop me)

In SK the elitics *-e:* (exclusive) and *-U:* (inclusive) can be attached to a constituent to indicate emphasis.

293. ammane: nanuge ka:su koTaru
mother-emp I-dat money give-pst-3pl
"Mother herself gave me money"

294. ammanu: nanuge ka:su koTaru
mother-inc I-dat money give pst-3pl
"Mother also gave me money"

The clitics are attached to verbs in the following ways:

- i) When the constituent emphasized is the main verb then the clitic is attached to the past participle form of the verb followed by the regular form of the verb.

295. na:nu ho:ge ho:gottini
I go-pstp-emp go-npst-is

Semantically 295 is similar to SA 292. But syntactically there is slight difference. In SA the clitic is attached to the future form of the verb and in SK it is attached to the past participle form.

ii) When the verb phrase contains aspectual elements the clitics are attached to the main verb but there is no reduplication.

296. magu: malage: biTTiTu
Child sleep-pstp-emp leave-pst-3p-n
"The child went off to sleep"

297. avanu horoTe ho:da
he go-pst-p-emp go-pst-3p-sg-m
"He went away" (eg. without waiting for any body).

4.11.2.3 Movement - Emphasis can also be indicated by moving a constituent from one place to another. Though both SA and SK have SOV as basic word order, it is flexible in both the languages permitting freedom in positioning of the constituents.

298. SA moy kali ghoroloi goisilu
I yesterday home-dat go-pstperf-lp
"I went home yesterday"

298 exhibits the usual order but the adverb kali can be emphasized by its placement before the verb.

299. moy ghoroloi kali goisilu
I home-dat yesterday go-pst-1
"I went home yesterday" (not some other day)

300 and 301 are the sentences in SK corresponding to 298 and 299 of SA.

300. na:nu nenne manege ho:gide
I yesterday home-dat go-pst-lp-sg.

301. na:nu manage nenne ho:gide
I home-dat yesterday go-pstlp-sg

4.12 Reduplication - Though the morphology of reduplicatives differ greatly, their semantic functions are similar in the two languages. The following are some of their semantic functions and their corresponding syntactic structure.

4.12.1 Intensification or emphasis - Verbs and adjectives are reduplicated to emphasise the quality of verbs and nouns they modify.

4.12.1.1 Reduplication of adverbs

302. SA tai khordhorkoi ahil
she-non hon fast-red- adv come-pst-3p
"She came fast"

303 is the corresponding sentence in SK.

303. ava:Lu be:ga be:ga bandaLu
she fast red come-pst-3p-f

4.12.1.2 Reduplication of adjectives

304. mor gorom gorom sah bhal lage
I-gen hot hot - tea good mod
"I like hot-tea"

The corresponding sentence in SK is as follows.

305. nanuge bisi bisi ti: iSTa
I-dat hot hot tea like
"I like hot tea"

4.12.1.3 Reduplication of verbs

In SA the process involves suffixing of the emphatic marker *-i* to the first of the reduplicated forms of the verbs which are in the future tense marked for person.

306. tai zabo*i* zabo
she-non hon go-fut-3p-emp go-fut-3p
"She will definitely go" (nothing can prevent her)

In SK the emphatic marker is suffixed to the infinitive form of the finite verb and it is followed by the finite form of the verb marked for PNG.

307. avalu ho:ge ho:gtaLe
she go-pst p-emp go-non pst-3p-sg-f
"She will definitely go" (nothing can prevent her)

To indicate prolonged duration duratively marked verbs can be reduplicated.

308. saOte saOte loratU dEka hol
see-dur see-dur boy-def young become-pst-3p
"In the course of time the boy became young"

In SK the corresponding sentence is.

309. noDta: noDta: huDuga doDoanu a:gidane
see-prog see-prog boy big-m become-non pst-3p-sg

In SA it is also possible to have reduplication of the verb 'be' used as progressive marker.

310. Hi goi thakUtE thakUtE Eta bagh dekhile
he-non hon go-dur be-dur be-dur one tiger see-pst-3p
"While going he saw a tiger"

But in SK it is the main verb that is reduplicated.

311. avanu ho:gta ho:gta iddaga ondu hull noDda
he-sg go-dur go-dur be-pro one tiger see-pst-3p-sg-m

SK has another interesting feature. Reduplication of modal verbs (both affirmative and negative) is possible. But SA does not permit this.

312. nanuge i: pustaka be:ke be:ku
I-dat this book mod-emp-mod
"I must get this book"

313. nanuge i: pustaka be:De be:Da
I-dat this book mod-neg-emp mod-neg
"I don't need this book at all"

4.12.2 Interrogative pronouns and their pro-forms can be reduplicated in both SA and SK to give a sense of distribution.

314. ki ki lage
what what mod
"What all is needed?"

315. kUn kUn ahil
who who come-pst-3p
"Who all came?"

The corresponding 8K sentences are 316 and 317.

316. e:nu e:nu be:ku
what what modal

317. ya:ru ya:ru bandaru?
who who come-pst-3p-pl

In SK it is also possible to reduplicate the demonstrative pronouns.

318. ava:r ava:r makaLu ava:ru ava:rige muddu
dem pr-gen dem pr-gen children dem pr dem pr-dat dear
"Each one's child is dear/lovable to him"

4.12.3 Enumeration - when numerals are reduplicated it has the function of enumerating pairs, sets etc. of things in both the languages.

319. iyaloi duzon duzonkoi manuh ahibo lage
here two two-adv man come-inf modal
"People must come here in pairs"

320. illige eredu eredu jana barbe:ku
here two two man come-modal
"People must come here in pairs"

In SA when a numerical unit is reduplicated it also means plurality of the unit.

321. hazar hazar manuh ahisil
thousand thousand man come-pst-pef-3p
"Thousand's of people came"

4.12.4 Echo word reduplication - Sometimes a word is partially reduplicated by substituting one syllable for a new syllable and retaining the other syllables. The meaning will be "X and things like it".

322. mUr azi bhat sat EkU khaboloi mon nay
I-gen to-day rice red nothing eat-inf desire pneg
"To-day I don't feel like having rice (meal) or anything)"

The corresponding sentence in SK is as follows:

323. nanuge ibattu u:Ta gi:Ta e:nu maDoke iSTa illa
I-dat today meal red what do (eat)-inf desire pneg
"To-day I don't feel like having meal or anything"

4.12.4 Reduplication of onomatopoeic forms - In both the languages onomatopoeic forms can be reduplicated to form adverbs.

In SA the adverb marker -koi is suffixed to the reduplicated form.

324. tai khilkhilkoi hahile
she ono-red-adv laugh-pst-3p
"She giggled"

In SK the quotative word anta follows the reduplicated form.

325. avanu phaTanta heLda
he-sg ono-quot say-pst-3p-sg-m
"He quickly answered"

In SA reduplicated onomatopoeic forms can function like verbs.

326. jethiE tiktikaysE
lizard-nom ono red.pres-3p
"Lizard is clicking"

326. kUnUbai duarot toktokaysE
someone door-loc ono-red-pres-3p
"Someone is knocking at the door".

4.12.5 In SA the meaning of reduplicated forms sometimes changes partially or completely.

327. tai kamtoU monE monE korileE
she work-def mind-loc red do-pst-3p
"She did the work quietly/secretly"

Although the meaning of the word mon is mind, the meaning of the duplicated form is quietly/secretly.

The following are some of the important points of contrast. Some of the contrasts have already been identified while working at morphological level. They have already been mentioned in Chapter III. Those contrasts are not repeated here.

- 1) SA differs from SK in its agreement between verb and subject. Because the verb agrees with the subject only in person as opposed to SK in which it agrees in person, number and gender (4.0.1).
- 2) When demonstrative particle is added to a combination of numeral + noun then there is a change in the order in SA. The order will be demonstrative particle + noun + numeral i.e. the noun precedes the numeral. The order remains unchanged in SK (4.0.3).
- 3) When the focus of yes-no question is a specific constituent then both the language, use cleft constructions. In SA the questioned constituent is placed before the verb which is followed by yes-no question word. In SK in addition to clefting the question marker -a: is suffixed to the questioned constituent. Then the verb marked for PNG is converted into its gerund form (4.1.1).
- 4) In interrogative sentence destination is indicated by suffixing accusative / dative marker -ge to the root ye:lli in SK. In SA on the contrary, there are three different forms to indicate destination viz. kOnphalE keni and koloi. The lexical meaning of all the three words is the same but their semantic nuances vary. Of the three kUnphale is most formal and koloi is most informal.

- 5) In SA case markers are added to both the forms of reduplicated question words. In SK case markers are added to the last form (4.1.3).
- 6) In negative sentences, both propositonal and equational, the negative marker is prefixed to the verb in 8A and suffixed in SK.
- 7) SK has a reflexive auxiliary KOL which is suffixed to the past participle form of the verb. Then it inflects for tense, aspect and other agreement features. It is semantically very complex. SA does not have any such form corresponding to it.
- 8) Though both the languages exhibit similar patterns in expressing possession SK has an additional method. Inalienable and human possession is indicated by dative form of the possessor noun with or without verb 'be'. No postposition is required.
- 9) In case of any reduplication, not merely question word reduplication, the case markers are added to the final form in SK but to both the forms in SA.
- 10) Verbs can be reduplicated in both the languages but in SA both are in finite form marked for person. In SK the first one is in infinitive form. The second one is in finite form marked for PNG (4.12.4.5).

- 11) Both affirmative and negative forms of modal auxiliary verb can be reduplicated in SA. In SA the affirmative form can be reduplicated but negative forms cannot be reduplicated.
- 12) In SA reduplicated onomatopoeic forms can function like verbs (4.12.4.5).
- 13) In SA sometimes the meaning of reduplicated forms changes partially or completely.

CHAPTER V

SEMANTICS

5.0 The meaning system of a language is largely determined by the culture of that particular linguistic community. "As a matter of fact the meanings into which we classify your experience are culturally determined or modified and they vary considerably from culture to culture. Some meanings found in one culture may not exist in another".¹ For example the meaning /trisanku/ in Indian languages 'neither on earth nor in heaven' metaphorically a state of great uncertainty does not exist in English or any European language. Assamese has many meaning distinctions correlating with different types of rain and use separate words to express these distinctions based on density, frequency, continuity etc. Such meaning distinctions cannot be expected of a language like Rajastani as it seldom rains in Rajasthan.

Bengali /jol/ and Assamese /zol/, which are cognate words, have the same meaning i.e., 'water'. But /zol/ in Assamese has reference to 'holy water' and the word for ordinary water is /pani/. Thus, /zol/ in Assamese has an additional meaning component. Assamese has two words to mean 'to fall'. They are /por/ and /Hor/. /por/ is used

when something, that is not attached to a body, falls. But when something is attached to a body, detaches from it and then falls then the verb used is /Hor/ Thus, when tooth or fruit or leaf falls then the verb used is /Hor/ and when for example, a bottle falls from the table or a human being falls the verb used is /por/.

Hindi has the generic term /batcha/ which is used to refer to young ones of both humans and animals. But many of the languages distinguish between the two.

Assamese has two words to mean 'to be born' - one referring to human beings and the other to animals.

These meaning differences are noticed mainly when one attempts to translate a text from one language to another.

Meanings can be classified as lexical meaning, morphological meaning and syntactic meaning. This study, however, is restricted to lexical meaning alone. But the full vocabulary of any major language is extremely large and would require a life time of research to compare, item by item, with any other full vocabulary. Therefore, keeping in mind the time constraints, this study is restricted only to SA and SK common vocabulary.

5.0.1 This chapter contains semantic analysis of SA and SK common vocabulary which is quite large. This commonness may be ascribed to borrowing from common sources like Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic languages and lastly English. However, the etymological aspects of these words are outside the purview of this study.

A particular point of interest, here, is the presence of common words in the basic vocabulary in spite of the fact that the two languages are not genetically related. They are not in contact either.

5.1. The following restricted list will show the range of common lexical items that occur in basic vocabulary.

5.1.1 Words denoting food or eatables.

Some words denoting food stuff are common to SA and SK. Some of them have similar phonological shape while others have slightly variant shapes.

SA SK Gloss

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min	mi:nu	'fish'
manso	ma:msa	'meat'
bhendi	bende(ka:yi)	'ladies finger'
mula	mu:langi	'radish'
palok	pa:laku	'spinach'

mithi	mentia	'fenugreek'
nemu	nimbe (haNNu)	'lemon'
ruti	roTTi	'chappati'

\ka:yi\ and \haNNu\ in 8K are generic terms refering to vegetable (raw) and fruits (ripe) respectively.

5.1.2 Words denoting utensils

There are a few words denoting utensils common to both the languages. They are however, very limited. Some have same meaning; some have similar meaning.

SA	SK	Gloss
patro	pa:tre	vessel
/lUta	lo:ta	tumbler (SK)
		metallic pitcher (SA)
samUs	camca	spoon
zazara	jalori	strainer

5.1.3 Words pertaining to time

Both SA and SK use same words to denote days of a week except for Sunday which is /dewbar/ in SA and /bha:naba:ra/ in SK.

SA	SK	Gloss
din	di:na	'day'
rati	ra:tre	'night'
Hondhya	sanje	'evening'
madhyahno	madhya:hna	'noon'
ghonta	ghanTe	'hour'

5.1.4 Words denoting relation

SA and SK have a very few common kinship terms. Infact only two have been identified so far. SA /mama/ and SK /ma:ma/ mean 'maternal uncle' SK /na:dini/ means 'husband's sister' and SA /nonond/ means 'husband's younger sister'.

5.1.5 Words denoting abstract notions etc.

There are many common words which denote abstract notions, physical state, state of mind etc.

SA	SK	Meaning
usit	ucita	'correct' appropriate
Haydho	sa:dhya	'possible'
hinHa	himse	'violence' 'trouble' (SK) 'jealousy' (SA)
nagorikota	naigarikate	'Citizenship' (SA) 'Civilization' (SK)
sikitsa	cikitse	'treatment'

poritaṭ	parita:pa	'sorrow'	
kUp	kozpa	'anger'	
oybhyaH	abhyasa	'practice'	habit'
proHonHa	pra:samse	'praise'	
udahoron	u:daharane	'example'	

5.2 As has already been mentioned, this study aims at exploring the semantic range of the lexical items common to these languages. It has been observed that similar words, apparently of the same origin, have acquired varied meanings across the two languages. Some words refer to the same object, notion or idea in both the languages. Some have related meanings. For example, the word /pod/ in SA means 'verse' but its SK equivalent /pada/ means 'word'. SA /bhdroV and SK /bhadra/ have quite different meanings. In SA it means 'cultured', 'gentle' and in SK it means 'safe' 'careful'. There is yet another group of words having one common meaning in both the languages but with an extended meaning in one or both the languages. For example SA /odhikar/ and SK /adhikazra/ mean 'rights' but SK has an extended meaning i.e. 'power'.

A sample of around four thousand common words were examined. Then their meanings were verified with native speakers. Loan words are generally found in abundance in the philosophical and technical vocabulary of any developed

language. But the common words of such special vocabulary are excluded from the domain of this study.

Upadhyaya has classified Hindi Kannada common vocabulary into four groups viz. words of similar shape and same meaning, words with slightly different shape but same meaning, words of similar shape with different meaning and words of similar shape but with extended meaning². While classifying the SA and SK vocabulary it was found that majority of the words can be classified on this basis but some words were found to be problematic in that they would not unquestionably fit into anyone of these categories. For example, the word /kone:/ in Kannada means 'end' and its Assamese equivalent /kUn/ means 'corner'. Now these meanings are neither same nor completely different. They are somewhat related. A number of words showed such tendencies of having related meanings. Similarly, there are some words which share the same meaning but their distribution is selectionally restricted. For example, the word \garbhini\ means 'pregnant' in both the languages but in SA it is with reference to animals and not human beings.

To handle such cases, it became imperative to make further classifications. Thus, based on the findings of this study, SA and SK vocabulary is classified into following broad categories.

1. Words having similar form and same meaning
2. Words having slightly different form and same meaning.
3. Words having similar form and different meaning.
4. Words having similar form and related meaning.
5. Words having slightly different form and different or related meaning.
6. Words having similar form and one common meaning with extended meaning in one or both the languages.
7. Words having similar form and same meaning but with selectional restriction in their occurrence.

The format used to present these words under different categories is not the same. It varies from one category to another and that will be mentioned when each category is discussed. The words under each category are arranged alphabetically. However, the list is illustrative and by no means exhaustive. Therefore, in case of some categories it was found to be imperative to resort to a very restricted word list. They are discussed as follows:

5.2.1 Words having similar form and same meaning

Words under this category are more or less similar in phonological shape but they are by no means identical mainly due to language specific phonological rules viz. distinction between long and short vowels, insertion of enunciative vowel in word final position or Sanskrit \a\ becoming \e\ in

word final position in SK and loss of distinction between long and short vowels, the classic case of Sanskrit sibilants becoming /H/ etc. in case of SA. Under this category SA words are listed in column 1 and SK words in column 2. Column 3 contains the common meaning.

	SA	SK	Meaning
1.	oHobhyo	asabhya	uncultured
2.	irHa	l:rse	jeolousy
3.	upay	upa:ya	means, plan
4.	kotha	kathe	story, tale
5.	kobita	kavite	poetry
6.	koph	kapha	phlegm
7.	kUp	ko:pa	anger
8.	khali	kka:li	empty
9.	dip	di:pa	lamp
10.	natok	na:Taka	drama
11.	nomuna	namu:ne	sample, model
12.	barta	varte	news
13.	bhag	bha:ga	share, portion
14.	mukh	mukha	face
15.	labh	la:bha	profit

5.2.2 Words having slightly different form and same meaning.

The phonological structure of the words under this category vary to some extent but their common meaning is

retained. The phonological differences here cannot be explained by any general rule and that explains why they could not be classified under category 1:

	SA	SK	Meaning
1.	adha	ardha	half
2.	ita	iTTige	brick
3.	kom	kammi	deficiency, less
4.	khEsEra	khacara	refuse, bad quality
5.	gha	ga:ya	wound
6.	zUr	joDi	pair
7.	totkhonat	taksa:na	immediately
8.	dhwoni	dani	sound
9.	dharabahik	dha:ravahi	serial
10.	pEtari	pettige	box
11.	bazi	banje	barren woman
12.	mUs	mi:se	moustache
13.	moyla	mailige	impure, dirty
14.	HodyohotE	sadyakke	for the time being
15.	soukhin	Souki	fashionable

5.2.3 Words having similar form and different meaning

This group contains words which are phonologically more or less similar but they differ semantically. Column 1 contains the SA words followed by their meanings and column 3 contains SK words followed by their meanings.

SA	Meaning	SK	Meaning
1. aday	(having) recovered or paid	a:daya	income
2. onuman	guess	anuma:na	doubt
3. uponyaH	novel	upanya:sa	speech, lecture
4. koutuk	humour, joke	kautuka	curiosity
5. khondit	segmented, made into pieces	khandita	certainly
6. goraki	master, owner	giraki	customer
7. gourob	pride	gaurava	respect
8. zatok	one who is born	ja:taka	horoscope
9. totporota	alertness, agility	tatparate	devoted interested
10. torol	liquid, weak (reason)	tarala	unsteady
11. dah	burning	da:ha	thirst
12. protikar	remedy	prati:ka:ra	revenge
13. bhondo	hypocrite, cheat	bhanda	clown
14. mugdho	fascinated	mugdha	naive
15. lUbhi	greedy	lo:bhi	stingy

5.2.4 Word having similar form and related meaning

This group consists of words which share phonological similarity but not semantic similarity. Their meanings

cannot be stated to be different either. They are found to be somewhat related. However, no general rule could be formulated as to how and to what degree the meanings are related.

SA	Meaning	8k	Meaning
1. arUgyo	recovery (from desease)	a:ro:gya	health
2. aHa	hope	a:se	desire
3. oswabhabik	unnatural	asva:bha:vike	artificial
4. onador	negligence	ana:dara	disrspect
5. kopal	forehead	kapa:la	skull
6. kutumbo	relative	kutumba	family
7. khazona	revenue	khajaine	treasure
8. saya	shadow	cha:ya	resemblance
9. zati	nation, race	ja:ti	caste
10.dana	cattle food	dana	cattle
11.nosto	spoilt	naSTa	loss
12.prolap	delirium	prala:pa	prattle
I3.prani	living beings	pra:Ni	animal
14.byobhisar	adultery	vyabhica:ra	prostitution
I5.bhat	cooked rice	bhatta	paddy

5.2.5 Words having slightly different form and different or related meaning

This group contains common words which share neither phonologically nor semantically. Their meanings are either different or related.

SA	Meaning	Sk	Meaning
1. oHozyo	unbearable	asahya	disgustful
2. kotari	knife	kattri	scissors
3. gosay	god	gosa:yi	sage
4. zozman	priest	yajama:na	master, husband
5. dEwor	husband's younger brother	devaru	god
6. nam	name	na:ma	sacred mark on forehead
7. biggapon	advertisement	vigna:pane	request
8. mat	voice	ma:tu	speech
9. morzyoda	dignity	marya:de	respect
10. rumal	hand kerchief	ruma:lu	turban
11. HohobaH	living together	sahava:sa	company

5.2.6 Words having similar form and one common meaning with extended meaning in one or both the languages.

The words under this category have common meaning in addition to which they have an extended meaning in one or

both the languages. Column 1 contains the SA words and column 2 SK words. Column 2 contains common meanings followed by the extended meanings in column 4. The language in which the extended meaning occurs is given in brackets.

SA	SK	Common meaning	Extended Meaning
1. opokar	apaka:ra	harm	offence(SK)
2. odhikar	adhika:ra	right	right (SK)
3. ortho	artha	meaning, wealth	to understand (SK)
4. iswor	i:swara	god	Lord Shiva (SK)
5. usit	ucita	correct, appropriate	free (SK)
6. kagoz	ka:gada	paper	letter (SK)
7. kuli	ku:li	labourer	daily wager (SK)
8. koutuhol	kutu:hala	curiosity	anxiety (SK)
9. zal	ja:lu	net, conspiracy	fake (SA)
10.din	dina	day	day time (SA) daily (SK)
11.sorsa	carce	discussion	querrel (SK)
12.Honskar	samaska:ra	last rites, individual culture	social, religions reformation (SA)
13.nityokormo	nityakarma	daily duties	nature calls (SA)
14.pokkho	paksa	side	party (SK)
15.bhumika	bhu:mike	introduction, preface	role (SA)

5.2.7 Words having similar form and same meaning but with selectional restrictions in their occurrence.

These words share commonness both phonologically and semantically. As they exhibit some restrictions in their occurrence in one of the languages, they could not be listed under category 1. Since such words are found to be very limited they are discussed individually.

SA /gorbhini/ and SK /garbhini/ mean the same i.e. 'Pregnant'. But in SA it is used with reference to animals like cow, goat, cat etc. and not human beings. The word that is associated with human beings is \gorbhawoti\. Thus the word \gorbhini\ in SA has selectional restriction i.e. it cannot take a human subject whereas in SK it has no such restriction - it can take both human and non-human subjects.

/carma/ in SK means 'skin' which may be either human or animal but its equivalent /sormo/ in SA is exclusively with human reference. The word /sal/ is used with reference to animals which can be used with reference to human beings too in colloquial speech. In SK the word /carma/ is extended to mean 'leather' also. SA has a separate word for 'leather' i.e. /samra/ thus SK /carma/ can occur in a variety of contexts.

5.3 In addition to the already classified words there exists a host of words the semantic features of which need to be discussed. They could not be classified as their number is not sizable enough. Some of them are discussed.

/khuni/ in SA means 'murderer' and its corresponding form /khu:ni/ in SK means 'murder'. Apparently these two meanings are related yet they cannot be classified under the same category. They are not related in the same way as the words discussed in section 5.2.4 are. /khu:ni/ signifies action in SK and its corresponding form signifies agent in SA.

/lUha/ in SA means 'iron' and its corresponding form \lo:ha\ in SK means 'metal'. In this case the sense is that of general and particular. In SK it carries a generic sense and in SA it is not generic.

Comparison of the common lexical items throws light into another significant point. Many common words having same meaning show contrast in their usage. Most of these words are of Sanskrit origin and they occur in literary form in SA which is an Indo-Aryan language while they occur in spoken form in SK which belongs to Dravidian language family. For example /anna/ 'cooked rice' /mi:nu/ 'fish'

/pustaka/ 'book' /sna:na/ 'bath' occur in spoken form of SK and their corresponding SA words /onno/, /min/, /pustok/ and /snan/ occur in literary variety.

Similarly there are some words like /biswaH/ 'faith' /olonkar/ 'jewellery' /moyur/ 'peacock' which occur in spoken variety of SA and their corresponding viswa:sa' /alamkazra/ and /mayu:ra/ occur in the literary variety of SK.

This is, however, a case of stylistic variation and is outside the domain of semantics. Therefore, no discussion is pursued.

The following are some of the important findings of semantic analysis:

1. There is a very large group of common words which have similar phonological form and common meaning.
2. There are some common words which are phonologically very similar but semantically they differ to a great extent.
3. There are some common words which have similar phonological form but they do not share a common meaning. However, their meanings cannot be stated to be completely different. The meanings are somewhat related.

4. There is another group of common words which not only have phonologically similar form but also have a common meaning. In addition to the common meaning they have an extended meaning in one or both the languages.
5. There is yet another group of words which are phonologically similar and have one common meaning. But there are selectional restrictions about their occurrences in one of the languages.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

6. This chapter is based on the analysis and findings of the foregoing chapters. Both the languages were compared and contrasted at four linguistic levels viz. phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic. However, detailed analysis at each level was felt to be too cumbersome and too time consuming to be permitted by the timeframe of the present study. Therefore, the study was carefully restricted to certain important categories at each level.

The study has identified many similarities and contrasts between the two languages. Since it is basically a contrastive study only the contrasts will be highlighted in this chapter.

It has been found that maximum number of contrasts are identified at morphological level followed by phonological level. Contrasts at syntactic level are relatively less. It may be mentioned, here, once more, that semantic analysis of the two languages is restricted to common vocabulary of both the languages. Therefore, no claim that the whole semantic systems of both the languages were compared and

contrasted can be made. Thus, semantic contrasts are based solely on vocabulary items. Further, the full vocabulary of any language is too large to be compared with the 'full vocabulary of another language. Therefore, it is restricted to selected four thousand words found to be common to both the languages. Despite its limited range contrasts are identified at semantic level too.

6.1 The following are some of the contrasts identified at phonological level.

6.1.1 SA has eight vowel phonemes which make five way contrast in terms of height. But there is no distinction between long and short vowels. On the contrary SK is essentially a five vowel system with three way contrast in terms of height. But it has phonemic distinction between long and short vowels. Thus, it has ten vowel phonemes.

6.1.2 In SA each of the vowels has a corresponding nasalized vowel. These nasalized vowels maintain phonemic contrast with the non-nasalized ones. Such contrasts are not found in SK.

6.1.3 The phonemic inventory of consonants is much larger in SK where consonants can be classified into nine groups according to place of articulation and

seven groups according to manner of articulation. In SA they are restricted to six groups each.

- 6.1.4 One important feature of SK phonotactics, is non-occurrence of consonants at word final position. Thus inunctiative vowels /U/ and /i/ are inserted, /i/ is inserted when the final consonant is /y/. /U/ is inserted when the final consonant is other than /y/.
- 6.1.5 Another salient feature of SK phonotactics is that front vowels are preceded by a trace of /y/ and back vowels by a trace of /v/ in word initial position.
- 6.1.6 One salient feature of 8A morphophonemics is vowel harmony. Vowels in a word maintain harmony in height. If the suffix in a word has a high vowel then the height of vowels in the root is raised to the same or close to the height of the vowel in the suffix. Such vowel harmony is not noticed in SK.
- 6.1.7 SA morphophonemics is relatively simple. It does not have many of the insertion processes that SK has.

6.2 The following are some of the important contrasts found at morphological level.

6.2.1 Nouns in SA are overtly marked for gender but the verb does not agree with subject noun in gender. In SK, on the contrary, nouns are not generally marked for gender but the verb always agrees with the subject noun in gender.

6.2.2 In SK the plural forms of II person and III person pronouns are used as respective honorific or polite forms. In 8A on the contrary, there is a set of non-honorific, informal and honorific forms corresponding to both the persons.

6.2.3. The following points were identified when the case systems were compared:

- a) SA has an overt nominative marker when the noun is the subject of transitive and occasionally of intransitive verb. SK nouns are never marked for nominative case.
- b) In SA only pronouns, names and kinship terms take accusative markers and it is obligatory. In SK it is obligatory when the referent is a human being and when the direct object carries suffixes, clitic etc. otherwise it is optional.

- c) In SK dative is also used in impersonal constructions where the noun is the subject of certain notions like knowing, understanding, liking, certain physical and mental state etc. But in SA impersonal construction subjects are marked for genitive case.
- d) In SK same markers are used for ablative as well as instrumental cases. SA has separate marker for instrumental case. Ablative case is indicated by placing the post position /pura/ which is equivalent to English preposition 'from' and the noun is in genitive form.
- e) In SK there is overt marking for vocative case but in SA there is no vocative case marker.

6.2.4 SA has relative pronouns but SK does not have a separate set of relative pronouns and therefore, relative clauses are introduced by interrogative pronouns.

6.2.5 The inflection of adjective is determined by their function in SK. They inflect when they have predicative function and not in case of attributive function. In SA only a set of adjectives undergo inflection and they do so irrespective of their function.

6.2.6 A salient feature of SA morphology is the presence of definitives. These definitives can be suffixed to nouns, adjectives and numerals and they carry the value of English definite article 'the'. Such definitives are not found in SK.

6.2.7 Another interesting feature of SA morphology is the affixation of personal endings to kinship terms which vary according to the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. The relative status of the speaker and addressee is also a determining factor.

6.2.8 In SA verbs are distinctly marked for past, present and future. In SK they are not marked for future. They are marked for past. Verbs marked for present also have future reference.

6.2.9 Both the languages have aspectual verbs. Some of these verbs share lexical as well as aspectual meaning with the corresponding verbs in the other language. But however, there is no one to one correspondence between them.

6.3 Some of the contrasts identified and established at syntactic level are mentioned as follows:

- 6.3.1 The two languages differ greatly in their agreement between subject and verb. In SK the verb agrees with the subject in person, number and gender whereas it agrees only in person in SA.
- 6.3.2 In SA both predicative and attributive adjectives have the same form. But in SK predicative adjectives agree with the subject in number and gender.
- 6.3.3 When the focus of yes-no question is a specific constituent then both the languages use cleft constructions. In SA the questioned constituent is placed before the verb which is followed by yes-no question word. In SK, in addition to clefting, the question marker -a: is suffixed to the questioned constituent. Then the finite verb marked for PNG is converted into its gerunding form.
- 6.3.4 In interrogative sentences in SK destination is indicated by suffixing accusative -dative marker -ge to the root ye:lli with the resultant form yellige. In SA, on the contrary, there are three different forms to indicate destination viz. kOnphale, keni and koloi of which kOnphale is most formal and koloi is most informal.

6.3.5 Negative sentences are formed in SA by prefixing negative marker and in SK by suffixing the same to the verb. That is true of both prepositional and equational negative sentences.

6.3.6 SK has a set of synthetic negatives the equivalents of which are not found in SA. Negative forms in SA are analytic.

6.3.7 SK has a reflexive auxiliary koL which is suffixed to the past participle form of the verb. It is semantically complex. SA does not have any reflexive auxiliary.

6.3.8 The following differences are noticed in case of reduplication:

a) Reduplicated forms of verbs are used in both the languages for emphatic purpose. In SA both are in finite form marked for person and the emphatic marker is attached to the first form. In SK the last one is in finite form marked for person, number and gender. The first form is in infinitive and emphatic marker is attached to it.

b) In SA case markers are affixed to both the forms of reduplicated words whereas in SK they are affixed to the last form.

c) In SA reduplicated onomatopoeic forms can function like verbs.

6.4 This section contains the semantic contrasts based on common vocabulary as listed below:

6.4.1 There are some common words which are phonologically very similar but semantically they differ to a great extent.

6.4.2 There are some common words which have similar phonological form but they do not share a common meaning. However, their meanings cannot be stated to be completely different. They are somewhat related.

6.4.3 There is another group of common words which not only have phonologically similar form but also have a common meaning. In addition to this, they have an extended meaning in one or both the languages.

6.4.4 There is yet another group of words which are phonologically similar and have one common meaning. But their occurrence is selectionally restricted in one of the languages.

These are some of the major findings at different levels. The details of these findings have already been discussed in each chapter.

In conclusion, it can be stated that though the study was carried out in a restricted way, it was successful in identifying and establishing the similarities as well as differences as hypothesized earlier.

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Chapter II

Notes

- a) The exact place of articulation of the vowel /D/ has not been located by any instrumental study. It is more rounded than /o/ and is not as back as /U/. Therefore, its location between cardinal vowel No.7 and 8 is an impressionistic one.
- b) Many of the linguists have described this sound as a velar fricative. But the researcher feels that the sound is not the same as /x/. Moreover, no friction noise is perceived. Therefore, it is impressionistically described as a frictionless continuant.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

1	acc	-	accusative
2	advlm	-	adverbial marker
3	aux	-	auxiliary
4	cc	-	concessive clitic
5	comp	-	comparative
6	comp pp	-	comparative postposition
7	cl	-	clitic
8	concl	-	conditional
9	caus	-	causative
10	dat	-	dative
11	def	-	definitive
12	dem pr.	-	demonstative pronoun
13	dur	-	durative
14	emp	-	emphatic
15	E neg	-	Equative negative
16	Equ	-	Equative
17	f	-	feminine
18	fut	-	future
19	gen	-	genitive
20	ger	-	gerund
21	hon	-	honorific
22	inc	-	inclusive clitic
23	inf	-	infinitive
24	infl	-	informal

25	instr	-	instrumental
26	loc	-	locative
27	m	-	masculine
28	mod	-	modal
29	n	-	neuter
30	neg	-	negative
31	nonpst	-	nonpast
32	nom	-	nominative
33	non hon	-	non honorific
34	obi	-	oblique
35	ono	-	onomatopoeic word
36	PF	-	pro-form
37	PP	-	postposition
38	Perf	-	perfective
39	Perf conj	-	Perfective conjunctive
40	Pl	-	Plural
41	Pneg	-	positional negative
42	Pres	-	present
43	Prog	-	progressive
44	Pron	-	pronoun
45	Prox	-	proximate
46	Pst	-	past
47	Pst P	-	past participle
48	PNG	-	person, number, gender
49	QM	-	question marker

50	QW	-	question word
51	red	-	reduplicative
52	rem	-	remote
53	refl	-	reflexive
54	rp	-	relative pronoun
55	SA	-	Standard Assamese
56	SK	-	Standard Kannada
57	Sg	-	singular
58	Voc	-	vocative
59	1p	-	first person
60	2p	-	second person
61	3p	-	third person

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