2.1. Introduction

It is an accepted view that all grammatical operations in language are structure dependent which in turn require that these grammatical operations are category based. In other words, words in a language are grouped into certain categories as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs etc. These in turn form longer syntactically relevant categories as word groups or phrases such as nominal and verb phrases. Here are some basic properties of the nominal system, the verbal system and word order in Telugu.

2.11. The Nominal System

The noun group or nominal phrases are composed of a single noun or a sequence of nouns other than the head nouns that are in a genetive construction or a noun modified by one or more adjectives. Every noun group or noun phrase has an identifiable head, a noun. Pronouns are a functional category which substitute a noun or a noun group or a noun phrase. Consider the following examples:

1. \( A(((eVMwo) aMxamEndj) ammAyi n\overset{\text{A}}{A}ku\text{e}Vlusu. \)
   (That ((very) beautiful) girl to me is known.
   I know that very beautiful girl
2. *AymeAvAkuweVlusu*

She to me is known. ‘She is known to me’.

Only quantifiers can be optionally be placed in the post nominal (head) position. The head of every noun group noun phrase must be marked for case. A noun group or noun phrase in nominative (explicitly unmarked) is the subject of the clause or sentence. A finite verb of the clause or a sentence shows agreement only with the noun group or noun phrase in nominative. It is possible to place more than one nominative in a sentence or clause in which case the verb shows agreement with the nominal that is in the highest in the order of the ontological hierarchy. Telugu has an extremely interesting phenomenon with regard to the noun group or noun phrase in a clause or a sentence. The entire sentence or the clause may be reduced to a nominal and used as a modifier of one of the noun groups or noun phrases in the sentence or clause as a head of the clause with a focus. The verb will be in the participial adjectival form in that construction. This phenomenon is studied, in detail, in Telugu by Prof Ramarao (1970). His studies brought out many hitherto unobserved facts about the Telugu sentence in general and the noun group or noun phrase in particular. He has established a hierarchy among noun groups or noun phrases in a clause or a sentence interfacing in the process called nominalization.

2.1.2. The Verbal System

Simple verbs in their finite forms are inflected for tense followed by PNG endings or states. In order to indicate aspectual, modal and
voice distinctions in the actions or states denoted by the verbs, various auxiliaries are employed (rf. UmaMaheswara Rao 2001). In Telugu, simple past, future/habitual and progressive or present tense forms of verbs are derived by affixing "A", "wA", and "wunnA", to the root/stem directly as illustrated below:

3. \textit{rAmudu pA\textit{ta} pA\textit{dAdu} llama sang a song’}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{rAmudu pA\textit{ta} pA\textit{dawAdu} ‘Rama will sing a song’}
  \item \textit{rAmudu pA\textit{ta} pA\textit{dawunnAdu} ‘Tlama is singing a song’}
  \item \textit{rAmudu pA\textit{ta} pA\textit{dalanu\textit{ko}V\textit{nnAdu} ‘Rama wished to sing a song’}
  \item \textit{rAmudu pA\textit{ta} pA\textit{dagaladu} ‘Rama can sing a song’}
  \item \textit{rAmudu pA\textit{ta} pA\textit{dAraMBiMcAdu} ‘Tlama started to sing’}
  \item \textit{rAmudu pA\textit{ta} pA\textit{desAdu} ‘Ram has sung a song’}
  \item \textit{rAmudu pA\textit{ta} pA\textit{daboyAdu} ‘Ram was about to sing a song’}
  \item \textit{rAmudu pA\textit{ta} pA\textit{daxalucukunnAdu} ‘Ram wanted to sing a song’}
  \item \textit{rAmudu vAdini p\textit{ta} pA\textit{damannAdu} llama told him to sing a song’}
  \item \textit{rAmudu vAdini pA\textit{daniccAdu} ‘Rama permitted him to sing a song’}
\end{itemize}
rAmudu rAdiki pAta pAdipeVitAdRam sang a song for him/his sake

rAmudu pAta pAdukunnAduRam sang a song for himself

rAmudicewa pAta pAdabadiMxi 'A song was sung by rama'

A verb in Telugu, besides taking the simple inflectional tense marking affixes can also take derivational affixes which change the valency of the verb as illustrated below:

4. kAlu \(\text{intr}\) 'to be burnt
\(kAlcu/kAluvu\) \(\text{tr}\) 'to burn'
\(kAlpiMcu\) \(\text{caus}\) 'to cause to burn'

5. mAru \(\text{intr}\) 'to be changed'
\(mArcu\) \(\text{tr}\) 'to change'
\(mArpiMcu\) \(\text{caus}\) 'to cause to change'

6. virugu \(\text{intr}\) 'to be broken'
\(viruvu/virucu\) \(\text{tr}\) 'to break'
\(viripiMcu\) \(\text{caus}\) 'to cause to break'

Beside above illustrated examples of intransitive, transitive and causative alternations bringing changes in the argument structure (or to the valency) of the verb, there are also certain periphrastic mechanisms by which simple verbs can be converted to their respective counter parts
such as intransitives into transitive and transitive into causatives (of various types) by the use of certain class of verbs mostly transitives which lack semantic content (Krishnamurti 1990, UmaMaheswara Rao 2002). Consider the following examples.

7. (a) *virugu* **intr** 'to be broken'
   *viragagoVtu* **tr** 'to break'
   *viragaxiyyi* **intr** 'to break it by force/intentionally

   *arugu* **intr** 'to be grounded'
   *aragagoVtu* **tr** 'to ground'
   *aragaxiyyi* **tr** 'to ground forcibly/intentionally

   *pagulu* **intr** 'to be broken'
   *pagulagoVtu* **tr** 'to break'
   *pagalaxiyyi* **tr** 'to break/split forcibly

(b) *murugu* **intr** 'to be decompose'
   *murugabeVtu* **tr** 'to decomposed'

   *Aru* **intr** 'to be dried'
   *ArabeVtu* **tr** 'to dry'

   c*Aru* **intr** 'to die'
   c*ArageVtu* **tr** 'to kill'
   c*ArabeVtu* **tr** 'to send s'one away'
In the following cases, auxiliary verbs are employed to derive causatives from corresponding intransitive and transitive verbs:

(c) po 'to go'
    poVmmanu 'to say s'one go' (to cause s'one go by asking/requesting)
    ponivvu 'to let s'one go' (to ask s'one go by permission)
    vaccu 'to come'
    rammanu 'to say s'one come' (to cause s'one come by asking)
    rAnivvu 'to let s'one come' (to cause s'one come by permitting)

Considering above examples, it can be said that in the Telugu verbal system, auxiliary verbs are concatenated to the verb stem on a special base to be followed by different inflections form to yield various distinctions of aspect, mood and voice.

2.1.2.1. Agreement in Telugu Verb:

Telugu is a nominative-accusative language with subject (nominative) verb agreement. Agreement in Telugu can be defined in the following way. A finite verb in Telugu exhibits agreement in number, gender, and person with its subject nominal, which is always in the nominative (See Krishnamurti, 1992; Subbarao, 2002). When there are
more than one noun in the nominative then the verb agrees with the noun having the feature [+masculine] but not [-masculine] or [+human/-masculine] and not [-human,-masculine] irrespective of their order in a sentence or a clause i.e. an ontologically higher ranking order noun has a over riding power to percolate it's features to a finite verb.

If a sentence has two nouns, in the nominative form but both are associated with feature [-masculine], then the GNP of the verb agrees with the noun, which is associated with the feature [+animate] and not with feature [-animate].

NOTE: There do not generally occur sentences or clauses in Telugu consisting of two or more nominative nouns sharing the features [+masculine] or [-animate] when the verb is non reciprocative (Rajini Reddy, 1998). In other words there exists a constraint in Telugu Syntax that no two nouns shall occur in the nominative that share identical semantic features or that share identical ontological hierarchical order.

8. (a) \(vAdupu\text{swaka}Mcaxiv\text{Adu} \) ‘He read the book’

| N | N | V (perf) |

(b) \(rAmudu\text{peVnu}k\text{VnnAdu} \) ‘Rama bought the pen’

| N | N | V (perf) |
*rAmudu krishnudu koVttAdu 'Rama Krishna beat'

*slaVa glva koVttiMx'Sita Gita beat'

*peVnnu puswakaMrAsiMx'i Ten book write'

2.1.2.2. Agreement Marking on Finite Verbs:

In Telugu, a finite verb exhibits agreement with the nominative form of a noun in gender, number and person i.e. with a noun that is not marked by any case marker (vibhakti).

9. annaM udikiMxi 'Rice boiled'
   
   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   N & V \\
   [-msc] & [-msc] \\
   [+sg] & [+sg]
   \end{array}
   \]

10. vAdu vaccAdu 'He came'
   
   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   N & V \\
   [+msc] & [+msc] \\
   [+sg] & f+sg
   \end{array}
   \]

11. varRaM kurisiMxi 'It rained'
   
   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   N & V \\
   [-msc] & [-msc] \\
   [+sg] & [+sg]
   \end{array}
   \]
12. *pilli pAlumAgiMxi.* ‘Cat drank the milk’

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{N} & \text{N} & \text{V} \\
[-\text{msc}] & [-\text{msc}] & [-\text{msc}] \\
[+\text{sg}] & [+\text{sg}] & [+\text{sg}] \\
\end{array}
\]

If there is more than one noun in the nominative form, then the verb agrees with the noun that occupies a higher node in the ontological hierarchy irrespective of their order in a sentence or within a clause i.e. a higher ranking order noun has a over riding power to percolate its features to a finite verb. In other words, nouns identified as having [+msc] have over riding capabilities with respect to nouns that have features. Similarly a noun with [+ani] features has over riding power with respect to the noun with [-ani] feature. The following examples illustrate this distribution:

2.1.2.2.1. According to unmarked order:

13. *\textit{vAdu pusuwakaM casivAdu} He read the book’

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{N} & \text{N} & \text{V} \\
[+\text{nom}] & [+\text{nom}] \\
[+\text{msc}] & [-\text{msc}] & [+\text{msc}] \\
\end{array}
\]

14. *\textit{pilli pAlumAgiMxi.* ‘Cat drank the milk’

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{N} & \text{N} & \text{V} \\
[+\text{nom}] & [+\text{nom}] & [+\text{ani}] \\
[+\text{ani}] & [+\text{ani}] \\
\end{array}
\]
2.1.2.2. According to alternate order of a sentence:

15. *puswakaM vAdu caxivAdu* The book he read

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+nom]</td>
<td>[+nom]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-msc]</td>
<td>[+msc]</td>
<td>[+msc]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a sentence has two nouns in the nominative form, and both are associated with the feature [-msc], then the GNP of the verb agrees with the noun, which is associated with the +animate [+ani] and not with the feature -animate [-ani].

16. *AmeV annaM winiMxi* ‘She ate the food’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+nom]</td>
<td>[+nom]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-msc]</td>
<td>[-msc]</td>
<td>[-msc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+ani]</td>
<td>[-ani]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.23. Rules to show agreement marking:

Agreement hierarchy

[+msc] > [-msc] > [-msc]

[+ani]  [-ani]
(1) Unmarked

17).  N    N    V
[+nom] [+nom] [+msc]
[+msc] [-msc]
[+ani] [-ani]

abbAyibOvmmalucesAdu.
The boy toys made.

18).  N    N    V
[+nom] [+nom]
[-msc] [-msc]
[+ani] [-ani]

pillipAluwAgiMxi
The cat milk drank.

19).  N    N_nu   V
[+nom] [+acc] [+nom]
[+msc] [+msc]

abbAyiammAyinigiAdu
The boy thegirl pinched

20).  N    N    V
[+nom] [+acc] [+nom]
[+msc] [-msc] [+msc]

abbAyipulinicaMpAdu.
The boy the tiger killed.
Note there are no sentences or clauses in Telugu consisting of two or more nominative nouns sharing the features [+msc] or [-ani] when the verb is noun reciprocative.

2.1.2.4. Procedure for Appropriate Casemarking:

Case markers show the relation between a noun and a verb in a clause. In most of the Indian languages a case marker may stand for one of the following cases:

1. Nominative
2. Accusative
3. Instrumental
4. Dative
5. Ablative
6. Genitive
7. Locative
8. Vocative
In Telugu there are large numbers of case markers and post-positions are employed to mark any one of the above cases. There are different case markers to represent accusative and dative cases denoting direct object nouns and indirect object nouns. Case markers may depend upon the verb or the noun or both the verb and the concerned noun.

22). $v\text{Adiki } p\epsilon \text{Vnm}\times \text{ov} \text{VrikiMxi}$. ‘He found a pen’.

23). $g\text{Aliki } x\lpa \text{M} \text{AripoyiMxi}$. ‘The light was put off due to wind’.

The following table depicts the correspondences between cases, case markers and syntactic and semantic relations in Telugu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Case Marker</th>
<th>Semantic Ontological categories</th>
<th>Thematic Role</th>
<th>Syntactic Category</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>[+msc] [+ani]</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Subj</td>
<td>$ab\text{bA}x\text{vaccAdu}$ The boy came</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>f-msc] [+ani]</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Subj</td>
<td>$\text{pili } p\text{A} \text{u wAgiMxi}$ The Cat drank the milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>[-msc] [-ant]</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Subj</td>
<td>$\text{glAsu } pagiliMxi$ The glass broke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>[+msc] [+ani]</td>
<td>Causer</td>
<td>Subj</td>
<td>$v\text{Adu } A\text{meVnuwoSAdu}$ He pushed her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Ni</td>
<td>[+msc] [+ani]</td>
<td>Causee Agent</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>$nenu v\text{Adini } caM\text{pamannAnu}$ I have asked him to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Ni</td>
<td>[+ani]</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>$nenu v\text{Adini } \text{koVittAnu}$ I hit him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>[+ani]</td>
<td>Experiencer</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>$v\text{Adiki } j\text{varaM vacaMxi}$ He has fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>[−ani]</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>vAdu snAnAniki veVUAdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>[+ani]</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>AmeVkuawArdu xoVnikiMxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>[+ani]</td>
<td>Possessor</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>vAdiki dabbulu unnAyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>[−ani] [+space]</td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>vAdiki pillah unnAru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>[−am]</td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>godaki kiitkluMxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>[−ani]</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>gAdiksaeVitu kUkMxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst</td>
<td>Wo</td>
<td>[+hum]</td>
<td>Sociative</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>nenu AmeVwoveVlAnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst</td>
<td>Wo</td>
<td>[+ani]</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>uSvAminiwrudu rAmudiwo wAtakini caMpiMcAdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst</td>
<td>Wo</td>
<td>[−am]</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>nenu paMdunu kawwivo kosAnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst</td>
<td>Wo</td>
<td>[+ani]</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>nenu uAdiwo ceVppAnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>NuMdi</td>
<td>[+ani]</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>awanu nAnuMdi dabbulu wlsukoVnnAdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>NuMdi</td>
<td>[−ani]</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Obj</td>
<td>AmeV DillunuMdi vacMxi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table. 1
2.1.2.4.1. Post positions in Telugu

The following are some post-positions which function as case markers in Telugu:

1. guriMci ‘about (s’one/s’th)’
2. xvArA ‘through’
3. valana ‘because of
4. batti ‘accordingly’
5. patla ‘towards, about’
6. varaka ‘till, until’
7. guMDA ‘through’
8. ceva ‘by (agentive)’
9. kosaM ‘for (s’one/s’th)’
10. vaxxa ‘at’
11. xaggara ‘near’
12. nuMDi ‘from’
13. nuMi ‘from’
14. lonuMei ‘from’ etc..

The choice of the case marker is dependent on the context besides the semantic properties of arguments and the predicates..

2.1.2.5. Case In Telugu:

Argument Structure and case assignment are thus topics, which are closely related to each other. Case expresses the relation between a
predicate and its thematic dependents. The thematic roles assigned via case are selected by the predicate.

2.1.2.5.1. Theoretical approaches:

To give an account of case assignment let us first list some general observations on the Case.

- Case is a means for linking items in utterances. In particular, it is a marking of syntactic argument structure.
- Case is closely connected with thematic structures.
- Languages differ in their realization of case (morphologically, positionally and lexically)
- Some cases vary according to their syntactic environment, others do not

2.1.2.5.2. Argument and Case:

Arguments are closely related to case. Case is assigned to NP. But an NP, which is not an argument, is not assigned case. And a verb with external argument can assign an accusative case.

It is also observed that an NP with case can be assigned a theta-role. That is, case renders an NP argument visible to theta role assignment.

A verb case-marks its object if and only if it theta-marks its subject – (Chomsky 1986b: 139) (rf. Taegoo Chung, 2000).
When a verb assigns a theta role to its subject, it can assign accusative case, or when a verb assigns accusative case, it assigns a theta-role to its subject.

2.1.2.6. Word order

Telugu is a free word order language like most other South Asian languages (Dravidian and Indian). The word order of grammatical functions like subjects and objects is largely free. Internal changes in the sentences or position swap between various word group or phrases will not affect grammatical functions of the nominals but an asserted change of forms of the word groups might be a consequence of such movement.

24. (a) rAmudu slwaku hArAnni paMpiMcAdu
Ram sent Sita a necklace

(b) rAmudu hArAnni slwaku paMpiMcAdu
Ram sent Sita a necklace

(c) hArAnni rAmudu slwaku paMpiMcAdu
Ram sent Sita a/the necklace

(d) rAmudu paMpiMcAdu slwaku harAnni
Ram sent Sita a necklace