CHAPTER VII

DERIVATION AND FORMATIONS

7.1. So far we have concerned ourselves with monomorphemic words. The method by which these expand into complex forms is DERIVATION. There are many bound morphemes which are added to nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs called derivational suffixes. We shall now deal with the derivation of complex nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs respectively.

(A) NOUN

7.2. Nouns are formed in the following ways:

1. Suffixation
2. Compounding
3. Phonemic Change
4. Reduplication.

7.2.1. Various suffixes are added to nominal, verbal, proper adjectival and participial bases. The morphophonemic changes are generally in accordance with general rules. Specific ones, whatever, are enumerated just below the suffixes.

(1) Suffixes after nouns:

-tna~tana state, quality and character of -

ha'dra - adultery

he:dir tana - the propensity to adultery.
-da:ra  possessor of -
   pa:lu - share
   pa:lda:ra - partner

-sili  having the habit of -
   tukku - to roam or loaf about
   tuk(k)sili - one who has taken to constant loafing about

-ga  having the quality of -
   upra - height
   upp¬rga - a (high) stor¬

-ika  related to -
   sambanda - relation
   sambandika - a relative

-ka  the thing of -
   likn¬ - a pen
   likn¬ka - a pen

-iga  a vocationer of -
   vaklu - farming
   vakliga - a farmer

-gatra  a practicer of -
   maddu - medicine
   maddatra - a man of medicine, a physician
-kedu state of spoil
(ŋ-gedu)

na:og - shame
na:ogi:du - bereft of shame

-a (masculine formative) being in the state -
bada - poor
badéva - a poor man

-i, -e, -lu (feminine formatives) being in the state -
todu - disposition to eat
todivi - a glutton (female)
bada - poor
badéve - a poor woman

magu - a child
(ŋ-magu)
magilu - a daughter

-va (sg.)
ociru/-vvu (pl.) (after both nominative and genitive cases)
a male person belonging to -
sambanda - relation
samband-ava - a relative (male)
sambändid-ava -

ar-mant - palace
ar-manikó:ru - people associated
ar-maniky:ru - with the palace

ja:ti - community
ja:ti-ju - people of the
ja:ti:y-ju - community
-o:lu
(after genitive case) kfilase - work, service kfilas-o:lu - a female servant

-du-~ddu~-ddu a thing belonging to -
(-du after genitive kuru - calf kavindu - of the calf
of nouns ending in -u or a long vowel; -du/~ddu ca:ddu - of the tea
ca:ddu - of the tea
after genitives of hittali - brass
nouns ending in hittali:du/hittali:ddu - of brass
-i, -i, and -ddu bale - crop
after nominative bale:du/bale:ddu - of the crop
tamra - copper
tamra:ddu - of copper.

(ii) Suffixes after verbs - all denoting the state or quality of the action
-gb nambu - to believe nambge - belief

-a kerta - to call
karya - an invitation

-pu nene - to remember nenepu - remembrance

-vu/-u bara - to come (v~bara)
barvu/baru - coming, arrival.
(iii) Suffixes after adjectives:

-\textit{gatle} \quad \text{to the tune of -}

(after numeral adjectives) \textit{sa:vr-gatle} \quad \text{to the tune of a thousand}

-\textit{maya} \quad \text{covered of -}

(after possessive bangatra - gold adjectives) \textit{bangar-d-maya} \quad \text{full of gold}

After participles i.e., verbal adjectives (ref. 7.4.1.(b))

-\textit{va} (sg) \quad \text{a male person, doing -}

-\textit{o:ru/-\textit{ru} (pl.))} \quad \textit{ka:ru} \quad \text{to protect}

(For morphophonemic change with regard to the non-past participial suffix \textit{-us} ref. 3.7(4).) But \textit{bapp-\textit{va}} \quad \text{he that comes}

this is not applicable \textit{hogo} \quad \text{to go}

in the case of part-

iciple of verbs \textit{kard} \quad \text{to call}

belonging to Class \textit{kard-\textit{va}} \quad \text{he that collected}

IV(a). In addition, \textit{higi} \quad \text{to hold}

it may be noted that \textit{hidido:ru} \quad \text{those that held}

\textit{\textit{va}}, \textit{-\textit{o:ru}}, \textit{-\textit{ru}} & \textit{-\textit{o:lu} (see below) drop their initial vowels after other non-past participial suffixal allomorphs i.e., \textit{\textit{va}}, \textit{\textit{o:}} (ref. 7.4.1.(b))
a female, doing -
baru - to come
bappolu - she that came
bandolu - she that came
idu - to keep
idivoslu - she that kept
ittolu - she that kept

-udu-/iddu - a thing which taken or has taken
(-du after the non-past participial suffix. a:du - to play, to speak
Optionally, the non-past participial suffix a:du:du ) playing (n), speaking (n)
is dropped before -du in the case of verbs of Class IV(a). -ddu/-iddu - that which has
occur after the past participial suffix. a:gu - to become
Optionally -ddu occurs a:gu:du/a:giddu - that which becomes
directly after the bases of verbs of Class I, II, & III. For morpho-
phonemic rule ref.
3.7(iii).)

adudu ) that which has been
adidda-du/ ) laboured upon
adidda-du )

a thing which taken or has taken
(-du after the non-past participial suffix. a:du - to play, to speak
Optionally, the non-past participial suffix a:du:du ) playing (n), speaking (n)
is dropped before -du in the case of verbs of Class IV(a). -ddu/-iddu - that which has
occur after the past participial suffix. a:gu - to become
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directly after the bases of verbs of Class I, II, & III. For morpho-
phonemic rule ref.
3.7(iii).)
Two or more free morphemes occur in immediate constituency with close juncture forming complex words. They are the compounds. The preceding morpheme of a compound is the pre-pound and the following one the post-pound. The morphemes sometimes show some allomorphic variations as pre-pounds or post-pounds. They will be indicated in proper places. Otherwise, the general rules of morpho-phonemics are duly observed in the process of compounding. The pre-pounds or post-pounds also can be either simple or complex. Either of them can be the head of the construction. The compounds of this dialect are found to be both endocentric and exocentric. They may be classified on the basis of (i) the type of construction (ii) the form-classes of the pre-pound and post-pounds (iii) the position of the head of the construction.

The following compounds are noticed with reference to Nouns:

1. It may be noted that regularly all yê- or ye- and yô- in post-pounds optionally become ë- or e-, ɔ- respectively after consonants. e.g. hîsr-(y)ettu 'to take up the name'; bi:s-(v)ɔsl 'to throw hurling'.
I. Endocentri Compounds - These are both (i) attributive, and (ii) co-ordinate.

(i) Attributive Compounds - The post-pound is the head in these compounds and they are found to be of the following kinds:

(a) Noun + Noun:
   - mayyi - body
   - banna - colour
   - may-banna - the colour of the body.

Note: The base morphemes themselves, after dropping the stem-formatives and case suffixes, usually occur as pre-pounds, but in some cases the genitives occur explicitly also, e.g. appin-mant 'the father's house'; aevr-pujel 'the worship of God'.

(b) Adjective + Noun:
   - haflu - bad, ruined
   - baqmi - a well
   - hafl-baqmi - a ruined well
   - hennu - a ripe fruit
   - yfel - a leaf
   - haw-fel/henn-fel - a ripened leaf

belli - silver
kōli - an axe
bellis-kōli - a silver axe

ya:va - which
mundi - before
ya:-mundi - how much earlier
voli: - inside
guttu - secret
voli-guttu - the inner secret
(ref. II(i) Note below)

naiku - four
ma:tu - speech
naik-ma:tu - four (i.e. a few) words
bissu - to hurl
ka:la - time
bissu-ga:la - the time for hurling

(Note: (i) The following allomorphic variations are found with regard to certain adjectives:

ya:lla: (post-pound) > -illa/-illa: ; -illa: ; ulla: / -illa: 'all that much'.

ka:lu: (pre-pound) > ka:la - : keli-divner 'some days'.

vanda/vendu (post-pound) > -vanda/-vandu :
ma:tt-vanda/ -ma:tt-vandu 'another'.
vandu (pre-pound)  vak- before k, g : vak-kāṭṭu/
   vag-kāṭṭu 'unity'.

vam - before m : vam-muka 'single
direction'

vap - before h : vap-pottu/
(ref.3.10(vi)) vap-pottu (ref
(ii) below) 'Only
one meal a day'

yārdu (pre-pound)  ik- before k, g : ik-kāṭṭu/
   ig-kāṭṭu 'a dilemma'

im - before m : im-mādi 'twice the
times'.

ip - before h : im-pēttu (ref.(ii)
(ref.3.10.(vi)) below) 'twenty'.

mutru (pre-pound)  mu- before hāttu 'ten'
   mu-hāttu/ muvāttu
   'thirty'.

nālkku (pre-pound)  nal - before 'hāttu':
   nalvāttu 'forty'
   (ref. below)

aydu (pre-pound)  ay - before 'hāttu':
   ayvāttu 'fifty'

aruru (pre-pound)  ar - before 'hāttu':
   arvāttu 'sixty'.
yoslu (pre-pound) > yëpp- before 'hëttu'
    yëpp-hëttu 'seventy'

yeñtu (pre-pound) > yëmb - before 'hëttu':
    yëmbëttu 'eighry'.

hëttu (post-pound) > vëttu after muřru, nałku, yëdu,
    a'ruru (see above).

hëri: (pre-pound) > hëdd - before vowels: hëdd-a:ari
    (when the meaning is 'great' or 'big')

    > hëg - before g: hëg-gëds 'a big
      monkey'.

    > hëd - before t: hëd-dumbë 'a large
      bee'.

    > hëbb- before h: hëbb-baiçu (ref.
      3.10.(6)) 'a
      python'.

    > hëm - before m: hëm-mašri 'a great
      destructor'.

kiri: (pre-pound) > kir -
    : kir-dani 'low voice'.
    (when the meaning is 'low')

(ii) hëttu 'time' as post-pound in this construction has
    an allomorph ~ hëttu after vëndu, yërdù (see above)

(iii) There are certain bound adjectives which occur only
    as pre-pounds in this construction. e.g. wëni-
'every'; prati-~prati-~ 'every'; der- 'every'; mar- 'next'

oni-ga:la - always
prati-yobba - every one
dar-divsa - every day
(Vide SK II.14)
mar-karya - re-invitation

(ii) Co-ordinate Compounds - Both the constituents are heads in these compounds and the following types are observed:

Additive: Noun+Noun - ga:li-mal: 'the wind and the rain'.
(ref. 7.2.4(D))

hann-trdu 'twelve'

Note: (i) hattu 'ten' shows the following allomorph variations before other numerals:

henn - before vandu, yardu: hennardu 'eleven' etc.

had: - before muetu, nalku: hadimu:ru 'thirteen' etc.

had:in - before sydu, atru, : hadin sydu 

yo:lu, yentu 'fifteen' etc. )

(ii) nu:ru 'hundred' has an optional allomorph nu:ra:-, obligatory before radical numerals and optional before Compoundadones.

e.g. nu:ra:-yardu 'hundred two'; nu:ra:-hannardu nu:ra:-hannardu 'hundred twelve'.

Alternative: Noun+Noun - na:k-a:ru 'four or six
(Numerals only) (i.e. a few).

Appositive: Noun+Noun - hag:ja:ti 'the community by name Haiga'
Repetitive : Noun + Noun = hall-halli "every village"

Note : It may be noted that in Repetitive Compounds (ref. 7.3.2., 7.4.2 and 7.5.(ii) also) the last syllable of a tri-syllabic word is generally dropped in the pre-pound.

e.g. hadi-ge "a ship" = hadi-hadigakki "for every ship"
  hadi-ku "to search" = hadi-hadi-ki "having searched thoroughly"
  kilivu "some" = kali-kilivu "some few"
  kilig & "below" = kali-kilig & "quite below"

Reduplicative Compounds - (ref. 7.2.4. below) also are just a variety of this type only.

II. Exocentric Compounds - These are of two types: (i) Directive and (ii) Connective.

(i) Directive Compound

Adverb + Noun : The pre-pound is the head and denotes the particular part of the entity suggested by the post-pound.

e.g. mundi = in front of
  keyyi = the hand
  mun-gayyi = the front part of the head
Note: The adverbs hari-, volta-, kel- have the allomorphs hari-, volta-, kel- as pre-pounds. Similarly hind-, mund- also have, as pre-pounds, allomorphic forms hin- and mun- respectively. Their final -n again is changed to the homorganic nasal of the following stop, e.g. him-ruke 'back of the face (i.e. face averted)'; mun-ya: 'front part of the roof'.

(ii) Connective Compounds: -a, -i or -o occur finally as connectives in these compounds.

(a) Noun+ Noun: tala - head; sherke - pain
tala-sherke - a person causing head-ache

(b) Adjective+ Noun: vanda - one; kānu - eye
vakkānu - a one-eyed person

(c) Noun+Verb: ha:yī - the mouth; ba:gu - to beg
ha:yī-ba:gu - a wanted person

(d) Adverb+Verb: a:gu - across; a:du - to play
a:gu-a:du - a wayward person.

7.2.3. Nouns are formed from verbs by directly introducing a slight internal phonemic change, i.e. either by lengthening the short vowel in the first syllable or effecting a ϕ modification.

* e.g. idu - to place > itdu - some thing to place upon, a prop.
7.2.4. Reduplication is a method of repetition of a word by specific substitution. They are a variety of Repetitive Compounds. Both nouns and verbs of the dialect are found to undergo such a process, while conveying the meaning '....and the like, ... etc.' (A) One mode of reduplication is to substitute gi-/bi- and gi:-/bi:- in the second occurrence for the initial CV and CV: in the case of nouns and only gi- and gi:- in the case of verbs. The following examples with regard to nouns may be noted:
cinna-ginna (Vide KB-74) - 'the gold etc', tatt-gitt (Vide HMG II-28) - 'the plate etc'; di:pa-gipa (Vide SB I-24) - 'the light etc', uit-gita (Vide KM II-23) - 'meals etc'. These also occur as cinna-binna, di:pa-bi:pa etc in everyday speech. It may be noted that the case suffixes may or may not be dropped in the first occurrence viz. atsi-gisi:ge (Vide KB-11)/ atsi:gi:si:ge - 'for a drink etc'. (B) There is a different mode of reduplication also - namely, substitution by a synonym as evidenced in the following examples: udiga-todaga - 'dress etc', tindi-tinasa - 'eatables etc'.

Another mode of reduplication is substitution by an alliterative empty morph as pre-pound or post-pound.

\[\text{e.g. } \text{pill-} - \text{child} \quad \text{chill-} - \text{pill-} \quad \text{'small children'}\]
\[\text{divru-} \text{God} \quad \text{divru-dindru} \quad \text{'Gods and dictions'}\]

Yet another mode is by the addition of an associative morpheme as the post-pound.

\[\text{e.g. } \text{gida-mara} \quad \text{plant and trees (i.e. a forest)}\]
\[\text{bandu-baliga} \quad \text{relatives and family (i.e. kinsmen)}\]
\[\text{uta-asri} \quad \text{food and drink (i.e. hunger (Vide SRE II-4) necessities)}\]

It may be noted that this is more in the nature of an additive compound, in which the pre-pound does not subject itself to any morpho-phonemic change and the compound is characterised by close juncture only.

\[(B) \text{ V E R B}\]

7.3. Verbs are formed in the following ways:

1. Suffixation
2. Compounding
3. Periphrastic construction
4. Reduplication.

7.3.1. Certain suffixes are added to verbal, nominal and adverbial bases.
(i) Suffixes after verbs:

- **su**
  - **mugi** - to end
  - **mugisu** - to cause to end
  - **hattu** - to climb (oneself)
  - **hatsu** - to cause (some body) to climb.

**Note:** By adding **-su** and other suffixes verbal bases that cannot participate in objective constitutes (i.e. intransitive verbs) are made capable of participating in them (i.e. transitive), and those that can, form their causals. It is noticed - (i) verbs ending in **-i** and **-£** generally take their length before **-su** and optionally follow the general rules also.

  E.g. **hidi** - to hold : **hidi:su/hidi:su** 'to make some body or thing hold'
  - **karit** - to call : **karit:su/karit:su** 'to get one called'

(ii) The verb *ye:lu* has an allomorph **yeb** - before **-su** e.g. **yebsu** 'to make one get up.'

**-su/ -su**

- **ali** - to be destroyed : **ali:su** 'to cause to be destroyed'
  (after a few verbs ending in **-i** and **-£**)
  - **alisi:** 'to wipe off'
kali - to leave: kalasu 'to send'
(≈ka(ə))
kaliou 'to take off'.

It may be noted that out of the two alternative suffixes, the first one is used with a wider and the second one with a restricted meaning.

-vu/-gu ili - to climb down: ilivu/iligu
(after a few verbs ending in -i and -preceded by \( \text{ka}- \) to fall: kadivu/kidigu
l or d)

(ii) Suffixes after nouns: The same suffixes occur after nouns to form verbs.

-su niscrya - decision
niscrysu - to decide

-su/-ou modi - a fold: modisu 'to arrange in folds'
modiou 'to close or roll up'.

-vu/-gu yeđi - a place: yeđivu/yedigu 'to stumble'
(i.e. to keep in place)

(iii) Suffixes after adverbs:

-su bađi-bađa - fastly
bađi-bađisu - to speak at a stretch (irrelevantly).
-gudu - to sound  sar-gudu 'to sound as if someone moved fast' (after onomatopoeic adverbs and interjections)

vo:-gudu 'to say "Vo!"' (i.e. to answer a call)

7.3.2. Two or more verb bases are combined to form compounds.
They are all endocentric, and attributive or subordinate:

(a) Noun + Verb: The pre-pound is in the nominative or accusative in accordance with its being either the topic or the object in relation to the verb.

madivy - marriage; a:gu - to become
madivy-a:gu - to marry

kari:di - purchase; ma:du - to do
kari:di:-ma:du - to purchase

Note: The verb padu 'to experience' has alternative allomorphs -br:du/-bidu after nominatives.

  e.g. sram:-padu } to exert oneself.
  { srami:-bdu/-bidu }
  suka:-padu } to enjoy oneself
  { suki-bdu/-bidu }

(b) Adverb + Verb: hind: - back; tirgu - to turn

hin-tirgu - to return

muni* - in front; ca:ou - to stretch
mun-ca:ou - to stretch ahead.
(c) Finite Verb + Finite Verb:  
be:\ku - to be wanted
basically (productive - non-productive)  
aigu, ma:du  
aigu - to become
be:k-aigu - to be required

saiku - to be enough
ma:du - to do
saik-ma:du - to stop, to exhaust.

(d) Non-finite Verb + Finite Verb:  
teslu - to float
a:du - to play (lit.)
(idiomatic)
tes:t-a:du - to go on float-
(Vide HKI-8)  

h\rd\du - to start
ng\ - to go
h\rt-ng\ - to start off

kollu - to kill

ha:ku - to put (lit.)
(idiomatic)

bi:gu - to leave (lit.)
(idiomatic)

kond-ha:ku - to take away life.

kond-ha:k-bi:du - to take away life
(Vide SA-24)  

Note: Three points are observed in this connection:

(1) The following verbs have special idiomatic meaning when they occur as post-pounds in the above compound -
meaning: action repacked

kođu - " : doing for others

bidu, ha:ku, idu - " : doing it thoroughly,
(after transitive verbs) outright.

ho:gu, bi:lu - " : "
(after intransitive verbs)

(ii) 'kođu' with its idiomatic meaning can occur
directly after verbs ending in -i and -e.

  e.g. hidî-kodu/ hidi-kodu 'to let any body hold'
  bard-kodu/.bar-kodu 'to write for some body'
  else'.

(iii) 'bidu' has an alternative allomorph -budu in this
compound. e.g. ma:d-bidu/ budu 'do it outright'.

7.3.3. Periphrastic constructions are of two kinds: (a) Reflexive
formations, and (b) Secondary Tense formations.

(a) A Reflexive verb is formed by adding -ki, the imperative
singular form of a bound root ka-, to the non-past
completive gerund of verbs. In the case of bases
ending in -i and -e it may be added directly. The
morpho-phonemic changes follow the general rules. For
special rule with reference to trisyllabic verbs ending
in -ku and -gu ref. to 5.7.2.(b).

  e.g. idu - to keep > it - k]) (vide YM II-18) - to
  keep for oneself.
pads - to obtain > padid-ko/padi-ko (Vide YiF-14) -
to obtain for oneself.

veli - to stay > valid-ko/valiko - to stay for
oneself.

The root kəl- has the following allomorphs under the
texts and in the locations noted below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Imperative general</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>notæ-kɔ 'You (sg.) see yourself'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Per.Sg.</td>
<td>-kəl</td>
<td>kutɔ-kəli (HMOJ-10) 'You (pli please sit down'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Other persons and numbers)</td>
<td>-kəl</td>
<td>kyətə  'You (pli please lie down'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ kyətə/</td>
<td>kyətə/    'saying'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kyətəta 'playing etc'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Non-past progressive gerund KG, KM, KBC, -kətə te:t-kətə (HKI-6) 'floating.'
| HK, HMP | -kətə          | nəni-kətə (SB II-9) 'remembering' |
| KB, SB   | -kətə          | kyətta 'playing etc' |
| YM, SK   | -kyətta        | he:k-kyətta (YMI-58) |
| ~ kyətta/ | ~ kyətta/      | kyətta/ 'saying' |
|         |                | kyətta/ 'playing etc' |
### Context
(iii) Non-past completive gerund (ref. 5.3.2.(a)(iv) reflexive gerund)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KG, KB, KM, KBC, HK</td>
<td>-kəndu/ -kəndi</td>
<td>ha:yu-kəndi (KBCI-19) 'having put' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMP, HMG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YM, SK, SB, SA, SHM, SHK</td>
<td>-kyəndu/ -kyəndu</td>
<td>ku:dis-kyəndu [SHM-19] 'having made one sit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Before -b in a compound

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kəm</td>
<td>kar-kəm-bəndu (KB-20) 'brought with (him)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kyem</td>
<td>nəd-kyem-bənni (YM II-20) 'You (pl.) see and return'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kə:</td>
<td>nek-kə: -bəndu (KB-85) 'having lifted and brought'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Note
After penultimate conjunct consonant in the preceding word -kə:- has an optional allomorph gal- and k- in some of the other allomorphs also is replaced by g-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) -ko ~ -go</td>
<td>kunt-go (HMPI-41) 'You (sg.) sit down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) -kəndu ~ -gəndu</td>
<td>it-gəndu 'having kept'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-kəndu) ~ -gəndu</td>
<td>wəp-gəndu 'having agreed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kyəndu ~ -gyəndu</td>
<td>həc-gyəndu 'having applied'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(YM II-64)
(b) Secondary Tenses of verbs are formed generally by adding the finite forms of the verb *iru* 'to be' to the specific gerundial of the basic verb. Both the positive and negative forms are thus derived.

The various secondary tense formations of the verb *maigu* 'to do' are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Positive</th>
<th>Primary Tense</th>
<th>Secondary Tense</th>
<th>Gerund of basic verb</th>
<th>Finite of <em>iru</em></th>
<th>Example of <em>maigu</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Non-past</td>
<td>Incomplete progressive</td>
<td>non-past + non-past</td>
<td>midt-irt+</td>
<td>'I will be doing'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>non-past + non-past</td>
<td>maid-irt+</td>
<td>'I will have done'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Past</td>
<td>Incomplete progressive</td>
<td>non-past + past</td>
<td>midt-idd+</td>
<td>'I was doing'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>non-past + past</td>
<td>maiddid+</td>
<td>(See Note below) 'I had done'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prior-completive</td>
<td>non-past + -id+ past</td>
<td>maiddidd+</td>
<td>'I had had done'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Perfect</td>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>past + past</td>
<td>maaidik(k)-idd+</td>
<td>(See Note below) 'I have had done'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>past + past</td>
<td>maaidipp+</td>
<td>'I may be doing'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Contingent</td>
<td>Incomplete progressive</td>
<td>non-past + contingent</td>
<td>maiddipp+</td>
<td>'I may have done'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Tense</td>
<td>Secondary Tense</td>
<td>Gerund of basic verb</td>
<td>Finite of 'iru'</td>
<td>Example of 'iru'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior-</td>
<td>non-past + completive</td>
<td>māt-idd-icc</td>
<td>'I might have done'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Imperative</td>
<td>non-past + imperative</td>
<td>māt-iru</td>
<td>'be doing'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compleitive</td>
<td>non-past + imperative</td>
<td>māt-ikku</td>
<td>'be in the state of having done'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Two points regarding the morpho-phonemic changes in this connection may be noted: (i) In the case of non-past completive of verbal bases belonging to Class 2 (a) & (b) - i+i' > i: while forming the past completive (ii) In Perfect Completive formations, māt- of the past completive form of the basic verb before -iru is optionally degeminated and i-dd- the past stem of 'iru' itself is invariably subjected to the same process. (For examples see above)

**II Negative:**

(A) With regard to (i), (ii), (iii) above the Negatives are formed just by adding -ille to the Positive forms.

*e.g.* Non-past Incompletive : māt-iru-illē

'I will not be doing'.

I
Non-past Completive : maːd-irtn-illɛ
'I will not have done'

Past Incomplete : maːdt-idn-illɛ
'I was not doing'

* Completive : maːdiːdn-illɛ
'I had not done'

* Prior-Complete : maːdid-idn-illɛ
'I had had not done'.

Perfect Completive : maːdɪq(k)-idn-illɛ
'I have had not done'.

(B) In the case of (iv) and (v), the Negatives are formed by adding the respective negative form of 'iru' to the respective positive gerunds of the basic verb, except in the Contingent Prior-Completive in respect of which -irlikk+-illɛ is added to the non-past completive gerund of the basic verb.

E.g. Contingent Incomplete : maːd-irɛ
'I may not be doing'

* Complete : maːd-irɛ
'I may not have done'.

* Prior-Complete : maːd-irlikk-illɛ
'I might not have done'.

Imperative Incomplete : maːd-irɛːda/ irɛːda
'Do not be doing'

* Complete : maːd-irɛːda/irɛːda
'Do not be in the state of having done'.

Imperative Prior-Completive: ma:dikk-aqa/aida

'don't be in the state of having had done.'

Note: (1) It will not be considered out of place to include the following three items of secondary formation also under this category:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal form</th>
<th>Additive morpheme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Verbal</td>
<td>+-iddu (Perfect III Par. Neu.Sg of 'iru')</td>
<td>Necessitative</td>
<td>ma:qu:d-iddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neuter - noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'has to be done'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Infinitive</td>
<td>+-illt. (Negative of 'iru')</td>
<td>Non-Necessitative</td>
<td>ma:qu:d-illt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'has not to be done'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+-ekku</td>
<td>Permissive</td>
<td>ma:qu:l-ekku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'may do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+-aga</td>
<td>Non-Permissive</td>
<td>ma:qu:l-aga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'may not do'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) All these Periphrastic Constructions are in the nature of Verbal Compounds as the constituents occur with close juncture.

7.3.4. Verbs are reduplicated in only two ways (ref. 7.3.4 (A) & (B):
(c) **ADJECTIVE**

7.4. Adjectives are formed by - (1) Suffixation or replacives, and (2) Compounding & Reduplication.

7.4.1 (a) The following adjectives are derived from Nouns and Pronouns:

(i) **Possessive Adjective** - The genitival of Nouns when they qualify other Nouns act as adjectives, indicative of the kind denoted by them.

*e.g.* cinnid-tætæ - plate (made) of gold
mudn-maga - son (object) of affection

(ii) **Pronominal Adjective** - The pronouns *du*, *idu*, *ya:va* have their adjectival forms as *a:*, *i:*, and *ya:* respectively. *e.g.* a: *manisya 'that man'; i: *hudigi 'this girl'; ya: *rittı 'which manner'.

(iii) **Numeral Adjective** - It has been already noted (ref. 6.II(ii)(b)) that numerals belong to the class of Neuter-Noun adjectives. But as nouns they take
-ne: and become ordinal adjectives: e.g. यांग्रेन: दुसू -
second child.

| Note: | (i) A particular point to be noted is that only vandu and यांग्रेन are differentiated for persons or things and even as qualifying adjectives they are in agreement with the gender of the noun qualified. They have the following allomorphs before the suffixes noted below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vandu/ vandu ~ vobb/-vabb-</td>
<td>before -a (masculine formative ref. 7.2.1.)</td>
<td>vobb गांड़ा in 'one uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-lu (feminine formative)</td>
<td>vobb बिंगा in 'one female'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yandu ~ ibb-</td>
<td>before -ru (the plural suffix)</td>
<td>ibb जना in 'two people'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) The adjectival suffix -ne: is added to the bound morpheme मार- 'next' also which then has an allomorph मार- e.g. मार: नेसा: डिना 'the next day'.

(iv) Adverbial Adjective - Defective Noun adverbs (ref. 6.3.(a)(ii) and locative adverbs (ref. 6.3.(b)(ii)(ii) take -मार- for to form adjectives. e.g. हिटे:कंडिन (Vide SK II-37) 'of the back yard'; वर्षा (Vide SK II-23), वर्षा (Vide YM I-77) 'of the year'; कटिवा (Vide YM-4) 'of the below side'. | Note: | Exceptionally विसेल 'the upper side' is found to take -ला in the example: विसेल (Vide YM I-65) 'the upper end of the saree'. |
Common Adjectives - Nouns are generally converted into adjectives - (i) some by adding -i: and (ii) others by adding -a:i: or -idda.

e.g. (i) hani - a drop : hani: ha:lu 'a little milk'
    agîla - width : agîli: ko:n: 'a broad room'

(ii) sâri - right : sâry-a:i: 'proper'

duddu - money : dudd-idd jêna 'wealthy people'

(b) Verbal adjectives i.e. participials are formed by adding the following suffixes to the various stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Non-past General Positive + -a</td>
<td>KG, KB, KM, the base + -ui</td>
<td>korn: kôlîsa 'the work of calling'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contingent (Others in the optionally)</td>
<td>KBO, BK, HMP, (Else- HMG. where)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SB, SA,</td>
<td>-a:</td>
<td>u:dî: nemûni 'the method of wearing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SHM, SHK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YM, SK.</td>
<td>-o:</td>
<td>purreysît kailo 'time of fulfilment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Past General Positive + -a</td>
<td>tancî dudî 'money that we brought'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 & 5. The bound verb a:îr-(ref.5.2.9.) takes the suffix -a after the non-past negative gerundial. e.g. ko:îlîrstd sul:î (Vide P.18-KO) 'a public woman that cannot (or could not) dance'. ball- takes the suffix directly e.g. ball jêna 'people that know or knew'.

(Vide YM II-50)
(iii) Negative General Negative + -a karyad u:ta
Ger undial *a feast for which one
is not invited*
ai:gi:gid:hasg:ta
(Vide KBC II-39)
in a way that has not
come*.
ka: ha:ikd:gi:dd
yam: (Vide KM II-19)
a buffalo which has
not yielded any young
ones*.

(The negative gerundial suffixes drop their
final -e before the participial suffix -e.)

(0) (i) Adjectives indicating 'a particular kind' and 'a particular quantity' are derived by suffixing -anta: and
-e:stu respectively to genitives of nouns and participles
of verbs.

e.g. dsvru - god : dsvr-anta: 'like (i.e. kind
of) a god'.
ma:du - to do : ma:dv-anta: 'kind of doing'.
ke:lu - to hear : ke:l:d-anta: 'kind of one that
has been heard'.
nin:nu - you (sg.): nin:n-e:stu 'as much as you'.
tin:nu - to eat : timb-e:stu 'as much as can be
eaten'.
a:gu - to become: a:d-e:stu 'as much as has
become'.

| Note: | It is found that -e:stu 'this much' also occurs after
the morphemes int- an allomorph of inta: 'this kind',
and vandu 'one'. e.g. int-e:stu 'a specific quantity'.
vand-e:stu (Vide KM II-41) 'some quantity'. |
(ii) Adjectival sense is derived by adding -a: in the case of a few nouns:

* e.g. beli"g - morning; munc - early
  beli"g(a) - munc - in the early (part of)
  Vide XBO I.49
  huttu - birth; kurda - a blind man
  huttu: - kurda - a man, blind since birth.

7.4.2. Adjectives are also derived by compounding of synonymous adjectives and repetition and reduplication of single adjectives:

* e.g. sanna-dogga - small and big (i.e. of all kinds)
  oglo-hailu - good and bad
  dog-dogga - very big
  sall-selpa - very little.
  sanna-ginna/ binna - small and the like
  hailu-gilu/ biitu - bad and the like

(B) ADVERB

7.5. Adverbs are derived by suffixation and repetition and reduplication.

(A) The following suffices are added after nouns and adjectives:

- i: (after neuter-nouns): sari - right
  sari: haid 'beat rightly
  (i.e. soundly)

- aigi (after all nouns): viitu - total
  viit-aigi bennu 'come together'

- maidi (after adjectives): gana: - good
  gana:-maidi hailu 'Speak well'.

(B) The following suffixes are added after verbs and other forms with various denotations:

**LOCAL:**

- **alii** (after genitives of nouns): *voor-alii* (Vide SHM-4) 'at their place'
  - **participles:** *ipp-alii* 'in a place where one is'.
  - **and-alii** 'in a place where one has seen'.

**TIME:**

**Non-past**

- **aga** 'when' (after participles): *
  - **valige** 'before' (after genative of neuter verbal noun): *
  - **varige** 'till' (after non-past participle): *
  - **valige** 'till' (after non-past or by past participle): '
    - **tunaka** 'till' (after non-past participle): 'till one calls'.
  - **skairæ** 'while' (after all bases and optionally after non-past participles of verbs of Class IV (d).
    - **hag-skairæ** (Vide YM I-29) - 'while playing'.
    - **hag-skairæ** (Vide YM I-33) - 'while going'.

- **aga** 'when' (after participles): *
  - **valige** 'before' (after genative of neuter verbal noun): *
  - **varige** 'till' (after non-past participle): *
  - **valige** 'till' (after non-past or by past participle): '
    - **tunaka** 'till' (after non-past participle): 'till one calls'.
  - **skairæ** 'while' (after all bases and optionally after non-past participles of verbs of Class IV (d).
    - **hag-skairæ** (Vide YM I-29) - 'while playing'.
    - **hag-skairæ** (Vide YM I-33) - 'while going'.
'till, as: beilvenare
(after non-
soon as: 'till or as soon as
past participle)

by the time: ka:tn:app-atting? (Vide SH-26)
by the time one was
seeing.'

by the time it
becomes morning'

by the time one
comes'.

'after' : ma:du:duka:va 'after
one did.'

(after
neuter
verbal noun)

'immediately after
it was said.'

(as soon as: 'as soon
as one did.'

(as soon as: 'as soon
as one had
gone.'

immediately after
the after:
finite
past III
Per. Neu.
(Sg.)

(0) Adverbs also are repeated and reduplicated.
e.g. b?lg-b?iga = quite speedily.
asa-giga = now and then.

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