CHAPTER I

AGREEMENT
AGREEMENT

One of the obvious differences between Malayalam(M) and Telugu(T), in the area of syntax is the presence of personal ending in T. Unlike those in M, finite verbs in T show agreement with the subjects, in person, number and gender (png).

1.1. Pronouns and verbal endings:

Pronominals in T have the following verbal endings.

1.1.1. First and second person pronouns does not show gender distinction.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person, gender, number</th>
<th>Pronoun-T</th>
<th>verbal ending</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pronoun-M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ist. P.</td>
<td>neenu</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>-naan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ist. P.</td>
<td>meem(u)</td>
<td>-m(u)</td>
<td>We</td>
<td>-nañnal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incl.</td>
<td>manam(u)</td>
<td>-m(u)</td>
<td>We</td>
<td>nammal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. P.</td>
<td>niivu/nuvvu</td>
<td>-vu</td>
<td>You</td>
<td>nii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. P.</td>
<td>miiru</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>You</td>
<td>niññal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Third person pronouns show the following gender distinction.

**TABLE II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person, gender, number</th>
<th>Pronoun-T</th>
<th>verbal ending</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pronoun-M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd. P. masc. sg.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>vaadu</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>viidu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>evadu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. P. fem. sg.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>aame</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>iime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. P. neut. sg.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>adi</td>
<td></td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>idi</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>eedi</td>
<td></td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. P. hum. pl.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>vaaru/vaallu</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>Those people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>viiru/viillu</td>
<td></td>
<td>These people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>evaru</td>
<td></td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neut. pl</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>avi</td>
<td></td>
<td>those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>ivi</td>
<td>-vi</td>
<td>these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>eevi</td>
<td></td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
T expresses four degrees of politeness with regard to the third person pronouns. These forms also show agreement with the verb. Polite forms have plural endings while impolite forms have singular endings. M also expresses three degrees of politeness in third person pronouns but does not show any agreement with the verb. Note the following:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>prounoun-T</th>
<th>verbal ending</th>
<th></th>
<th>prounoun-M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Impolite</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. sg.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>vaadu</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>viju</td>
<td></td>
<td>avan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>evadu</td>
<td></td>
<td>(e)evan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. sg.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>adi</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>idi</td>
<td></td>
<td>aival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>eedi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(e)eval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. sg.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>atanu/atadu</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>itanu/itadu</td>
<td></td>
<td>iyaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>etanu/etadu</td>
<td></td>
<td>(e)eyaal/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polite</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. sg.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>aayana</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>iiyana</td>
<td></td>
<td>addeeham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>evaru</td>
<td></td>
<td>iddeeham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aaru/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(addeeham)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. sg.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>aame/amvida</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>ilme/ilvida</td>
<td></td>
<td>avar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>evaru</td>
<td></td>
<td>ivar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>More polite</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>rem.</td>
<td>vaaru</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>viiru</td>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter.</td>
<td>evaru</td>
<td></td>
<td>she(pol)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table III shows that T uses four different forms for third person masculine singular and three forms for feminine singular. M has got three different forms for third person masculine singular and two for feminine singular.

1.2. Proper nouns expressing masculine singular will have the ending -du. Nouns expressing feminine singular and neuter singular will take the suffix -di. Plural nouns expressing non-human beings take the suffix -yi and plural nouns expressing human beings will have -ru ending. The honourific suffix -guaru takes the verbal ending -ru. -guaru is added to personal names (masculine or feminine) in order to show respect. It can also be added to certain professions, but no pronoun can take this suffix.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gender,number</th>
<th>proper noun-T</th>
<th>verbal ending</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>proper noun-M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.sg.</td>
<td>raamudu/</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>Rama /</td>
<td>raaman/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ravi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ravi</td>
<td>revi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.sg.</td>
<td>siita /</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>sitha/</td>
<td>siita/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>laksmi</td>
<td></td>
<td>lakshmi</td>
<td>leksmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neut.sg.</td>
<td>niiru</td>
<td></td>
<td>water</td>
<td>vellam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neut.pl.</td>
<td>niillu /</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>vellam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i.e. NP+lu)</td>
<td>kookilaalu</td>
<td></td>
<td>cuckoos</td>
<td>kuyilukal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP + -lu</td>
<td>ammaanaannalu</td>
<td></td>
<td>parents</td>
<td>acchanaammana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(+hum.) -gaaru</td>
<td>raamaaraavugaaru -ru</td>
<td>Ramarao</td>
<td>raamaaraavu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siitammagaaru</td>
<td>siita</td>
<td>siita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maastargaaru</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>saaru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.3. Agreement with coordinate subject:

1.3.1. 'and' coordination: (Correlative).

Nouns (+human) in combination with first person will have the first person plural ending -aam, combination of (-human) nouns will have the neuter plural ending -yí, combination of nouns expressing human beings other than the first person will take the plural ending -ru.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Coordinate-NP-T Eg.</th>
<th>Verbal ending</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Coordinate-NP-M Eg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| NP + Ist.P → Ist.P, Pl
[+hum]               | amma(a), neenu(u)   | -aam          | mother and I       | ammayum naanum      |
|                     | atanu(u), manam     |               | he and we          | ayaalum nammalum    |
| NP + NP → neut.pl
(-hum)(-hum)         | kukka(a), pilli(i)  | -yi           | dog and cat        | paṭṭiyum puḍḍayum   |
|                     | pensilu(u), pennu(u)|               | pencil and pen     | pensilum peseṇayum  |
| NP + NP → hum, pl.
(+hum)(+hum)          | raamudu, ravi       | -ru           | Rama and Ravi      | raamaṇum reviyum    |
|                     | aayana, miiru       |               | he and you         | addeṣhavum niṇṇalum |
1.3.2. **Indefinite conjunction** (either...or)

(non-correlative):

Combination with first person will have first person plural ending -aam. Combinations of 'masculine nouns' take du suffix and 'feminine/neuter, nouns' -di. Other combinations of 'human nouns' have -ru ending.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP-non-correlative</th>
<th>Telugu-eg.</th>
<th>verbal ending</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Malayalam-eg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP-oo+Ist.P.oo→1st pl.</td>
<td>aayanoo, neenoo</td>
<td>-aam</td>
<td>he or I</td>
<td>addeehamoo naanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ravoo neenoo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ravi or I</td>
<td>reviyoo naanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP + NP → masc.sg. (masc)(masc)</td>
<td>raamudoo krusnudoo</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>Rama or Krishna</td>
<td>raamanoo krishanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pennoo pensiloo</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>pen or pencil</td>
<td>peenayoo pensiloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ramoo siitoo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rema or Sitha</td>
<td>remayoo siitayoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP-oo + NP -oo → hum. (hum) pl</td>
<td>aayanoo miiroo</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>he or you</td>
<td>addeehamoo nilimaloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raamudoo siitoo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rama or Sitha</td>
<td>raamanoo siitayoo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.4. **Agreement with numerals:** All the numerals in T except **oka** 'one' have plural ending.

**Eg.**

1. T- oka mãniśi unnaa-du
   one man be pṇg(sg)

   M- oru aal untu
   one mañ be
   (One man is there)

2. T- rendu manusyu-lu unnaa-ru
   two man -pl be-pŋ(pl)

   M- rantu manusyu untu
   two man-pl be
   (Two man are there)

1.5. **Agreement with nouns (-human)**

Gerundial nouns have neuter ending

**Eg.**

3. T- vaadu raavadam ayindi
   he coming finished

   M- avante varavu kalinnu
   his coming finished
   (His coming is over)
1.6. Mass nouns have singular ending.

(4) T- aayana raawadam niscayam kaadu
he coming definite not

M- addehattinte varavu niscayam illa
he -poss coming definite not

(His coming is not certain)

(5) T- pancadaara baagun-di
sugar good -neut-sg.

M- pancasaara [nallatu] aaru
sugar good-that be kollaam
{ good

(Sugar is fine)

(6) T- bangaram manci-di
gold good neut-(sg)

M- svarnam [nallatu] aaru
{ good - that 'be kollaam
{ gold good

(Gold is good)
1.6.1. The quantifiers in T anta 'that much' inta 'this much' konta 'so much' enta 'how much' occur with mass nouns which have singular ending.

Corresponding quantifiers in M are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anta} & \quad \text{"that much"} \\
\text{itra} & \quad \text{"this much"} \\
\text{entra} & \quad \text{"how much"} \\
\{\text{kuRaccu} & \quad \text{"so much"} \\
\text{kuRe} & \quad \text{\}}
\end{align*}
\]

Eg. (7) T-
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anta} \\
\text{itra} \\
\text{konta silver be neut.sg.} \\
\text{enta}
\end{align*}
\]

M-
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atra} \\
\text{itra} \\
\{\text{kuRaccu} & \quad \text{\}} \\
\text{entra} & \quad \text{silver be}
\end{align*}
\]

(There is some silver)

(8) T- enta pancadaara undi?
\text{how much sugar be-neut.sg}

M- enta pancasaara untu?
\text{how much sugar be}

(How much sugar is there?)
1.6.2. With countables.

anni 'that much'
inni 'this many'
enni 'how many'
konni 'so many' have plural ending.

Corresponding quantifiers in M are:

atra 'that many'
itra 'this many'
etra 'how many'

M- kuRaccu
    kuRe 'so many'

Eg. (9) T-

anni
inni
enni
konni

pustakaalu unna-yi
book-pl be -neut-pl.

M-

atra
itra
etra
kuRaccu
kuRe

pustakannal untu
book-pl be

1.7. The agreement between subject and verb is available in all the tenses. T distinguishes between past and non past tenses. The durative form is used to indicate present tense. M shows past, present and future tenses by separate suffixes.
1.7.1. **Past tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Pronoun</strong></th>
<th><strong>Png</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I'</td>
<td>naan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'We'</td>
<td>nannal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You'</td>
<td>nii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You(pl)'</td>
<td>ninnal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'He'</td>
<td>avan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'They'</td>
<td>avar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'It'</td>
<td>atu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'She'</td>
<td>aval</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The set of sentences in (10) have the following structure in the two languages.
1.7.2. **Non-past:** The non-past tense markers in T are

- -taa/-taa-, -tun/-tun. -tun/-tun- occurs before

the feminine/neuter suffix -di. -taa- occurs elsewhere.

- -taa-/tun occurs with the verbs - anu 'to say',

- tinu 'to eat', konu 'to buy', vinu 'to hear', un 'to be'.

The non-past generally expresses the future
tense in T. Durative is used to express the present
tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Png</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Eg. (11)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T- 'I'</td>
<td>neenu</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'We'</td>
<td>meem(u)</td>
<td>-m(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You'</td>
<td>nuvvu</td>
<td>-vu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You(pl)miru'</td>
<td>paadu-taa- sing-fut</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he'</td>
<td>vaadu</td>
<td>-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>vaaru</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'those'</td>
<td>avi</td>
<td>-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>adi</td>
<td>paadu-tun- sing-fut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'she'</td>
<td>aame</td>
<td>-di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The set of Ss in (11) can be structurally represented as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{T} & : \text{Np} + \text{VB} + \text{fut} + \text{png} \\
\text{M} & : \text{Np} + \text{VB} + \text{fut}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
1.7.3 \text{ Present durative:}
\]

The durative is expressed in T by the form

\[\text{-tuu-}\]

It is used along with the 'be' Vb un- i.e.,

\[\text{VB} + \text{tuu} + \text{un-} + \text{png}\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eg(12)</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Png</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T-</td>
<td>'I'</td>
<td>neenu -nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'We'</td>
<td>meemu -mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'You'</td>
<td>nuvvu -vu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'You(pl)'</td>
<td>miiru -ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he'</td>
<td>vaadu -du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>vaaru -ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'those'</td>
<td>avi -yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>adi -di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'she'</td>
<td>aame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M-</td>
<td>naan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'We'</td>
<td>nannal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'You'</td>
<td>nii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'You(pl)'</td>
<td>niñnal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he'</td>
<td>avan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>avar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'those'</td>
<td>ava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'she'</td>
<td>aval</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above lists the pronouns and their associated Png forms in the context of the given text.
Above example shows that the meaning of the set of Ss in (12) T can be conveyed by four different forms in M. Of these four forms 'continuous' or 'durative' meaning is specifically expressed by the auxiliary verb kont – . The forms -uka + aanu also expresses present continuous sense.

Structural description of the set of Ss in (12) is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
T & : \text{Np + VB + pres (dur) + png} \\
M & : \text{Np + VB + pres (dur)}
\end{align*}
\]

i.e. the basic difference between M and T in simple sentence in the three tenses is:

\[
\begin{align*}
T & : \text{Np + VB + tense + png} \\
M & : \text{Np + VB + tense.}
\end{align*}
\]

In the case of the negative forms of these verbs, only the future predicates maintain png agreement with their corresponding subject Nps. Past and present negatives do not maintain such agreement.
1.7.4. **Past negative in T is leedu which is impersonal.**

(*Ex*) 13.

\[
\begin{align*}
T- & \quad 'I' \quad neenu \\
& \quad 'we' \quad meemu \\
& \quad 'you(sg)' \quad nuvvu \\
& \quad 'you(pl)' \quad miiru \\
& \quad 'he' \quad vaadu \\
& \quad 'they' \quad vaaru \quad \text{paada-leedu} \\
& \quad 'she' \quad aame  \\
& \quad 'sita' \quad siita  \\
& \quad 'it' \quad adi  \\
& \quad 'those' \quad avi \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[M- \quad \text{NP } + \text{ pat-i-y-illa} \]
\[\quad \text{(pronoun) sing-past-not}\]

(Past negative has the following structural description).

\[
\begin{align*}
T- & \quad \text{NP} + \text{Vb(Inf)} + (\text{past}. \text{neg}) \\
M- & \quad \text{NP} + \text{Vb(past)} + \text{neg}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

1.7.5. **Present negative:**

In T negation of a verb in the present tense is by the addition of leedu to the gerundial form of the verb. leedu is impersonal in this context.
52

Eg. (14)

T-  'I'  neenu
  'We'  meemu
  'you(sg)'  nuvvu
  'you(pl)'  miiru
  'they'  vaaru
  'he'  vaadu
  'she'  aame
  'Rama'  raamudu
  'Sita'  siita

In M the process is different. Negative of the present form is obtained by adding the negative verb illa to the present tense form of the verb or by adding alla to the -uka form of the verb.

Eg. M- naan { paat-unnu-illa
  'I' sing pres no
  { paatuka alla
    singing no

(I am not singing)

1. There are differences of opinion regarding the grammatical status of the -uka forms in M:

1) -uka forms are verbal nouns (Panikkar (1973), Andrewskutty (1973), Seshagiri Prabhu (1919)).
2) -uka forms are infinitives (Subramanyam, P.S., (1971), Rajaraja Varma (1895)).
3) -uka forms are neither (1) nor (2) but form a separate category (Saraswathy Amma, R (1979)).
Structurally both languages differ in the following way:

T- NP+(VB+adam)+leedu

M- NP+ [(VB + pres. suff)+ illa]
     (VB + uka)+ alla

1.7.6. Future negative

Future negative forms in T takes the personal termination.

Eg. (15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Png</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I' neenu</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'We' meem</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You (sg)' nuvvu</td>
<td>-vu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You (pl)' miiru</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he' vaadu paad-a-</td>
<td>-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they' vaaru sing-neg non-past.</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'those' avi</td>
<td>-vu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'it' adi</td>
<td>-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'She' aame</td>
<td>-du</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In M future is negated by adding -illa to the verbal base or to the -uka form of the verb.

M- naan Paatuka illa
     paat- sing not
     (I will not sing)

the two languages have the structure.

T- Np+(VB+fut.neg+png)

M- Np+(VB+(-uka)+illa. (neg. Vb).
1.8 Modals does not take png. The following mood markers are available in T.

1.8.1. Imperative mood expresses command or request.

Four suffixes -u, -andi, -avee, -raa are used in T in the following contexts. These suffixes are added to the verbal base.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>formal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-andi</td>
<td>polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-avee</td>
<td>between women/husband and wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-raa</td>
<td>impolite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eg. (16) T- nuvvu ceppu 'you say'

miiru ceppandi

nuvvu ceppavee

nuvvu ceppuraa

The usage of these forms other than those specified for (as shown above) arouse sarcasm.

In M, the verb root itself functions as the imperative in the context of impolite or intimate relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Suffix -u is added to the verb base in the formal context and the suffix -aatte is added to the past base of the verb to express politeness.
In the imperative Ss, T and M have similar structures:

\[ T \quad M \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Np+VB+imp.suffix.} \]

1.8.2. **Negative imperative**

\[ T \quad = \quad \text{NP+(VB+neg+Imp.marker)} \]

**Telugu**  
Formal - nuuvu cēpp-ak-u
you say neg-imp

Polite - miiru cēpp-ak-andi
you(pol) say-neg-imp(hon)

Close - relationship
nuuvu cēpp-ak-ae
you say-neg-imp.

**Malayalam**  

Formal/Polite-intimate  
nīi niṇṇal paRay atutee/allees  
you say neg-hon.

Polite  
aṇṇu paRay-arut-ee  
You(hon) say -neg-hon.

Impolite  
nīi paRa-y-arutu  
you say neg
The two languages show the following structures:

T- Np+(VB+neg+Imp.suff)
M- Np+VB+proh.+ (hon.suff)
(aux)

1.8.3. Obligative markers are:

- aali in T and -anam in M

Eg. (18)

T- 'I' neenu
    'We' meemu
    'You' nuvvu/miiru
    'he' vaadu
    'they' vaaru
    'she' aame
    'Ravi' ravi
    'Rama' raama

M- 'I' naan
    'We' naa'nal
    'You' nii/ni'nal
    'he' avan
    'they' avar
    'she' aval
    'Ravi' revi
    'Rama' raaman

Structure: T -- M  --- NP+(VB+obl-g-marker).
1.8.4 Probabilitative:

In T, the probability is expressed by the addition of the auxiliary *vaccu* 'may' to the infinitive of the Vb, *vaccu* is impersonal in this context.

Eg. (19) T:- 'I' *neenu* paada *vaccu*

'Se' *meemu*

'he' *vaadu*

'they' *vaaru*

'she' *aamu*

'Rama' *raama*

paada *vaccu* sing may

raa *vaccu* come may

poo *vaccu* go may

i.e. T- Np+(Vb.(inf)+vaccu)

In M probability is shown by the suffix - *sekkum* added to the past base of the verb.

M- 'I' *naan*

'We' *naaandal*

'he' *avan*

'they' *avar*

'she' *aval*

'Ravi' *revi*

'Rama' *raaman*

M- Np+(VB(past)-sekkum).
1.8.5. Optative is expressed by the suffix -daam/daam in T and -aam in M.

Eg. (20) T- 'We(incl.)' manam \{ paadudaam  \\
   sing let(us)  \\
  cee/ddaan \\
 do let (us) \}

(Let us sing/let us do)

In M, the first person plural inclusive pronoun nammal 'we' takes the dative case marker -ku in optative sentences.

Eg. (20) M- namukku \{ paataam  \\
 we-dat sing let (us)  \\
  ceyyaam  \\
 do let (us) \}

The two languages have the following structures for optative Ss:

T- Ist p.pl.pn + VB \{ daam  \\
  daam \}

M- Ist p.pl.pn-dat+VB - aam.

Unlike that of Telugu, in M the suffix -aam cooccurs with the first person singular and plural exclusive pronoun to express optative mood. In such Ss -aam expresses a mood of 'willingness' on the part of the subject NP to perform the action identified by the verb.

Eg. M- 'I'  naan \{ Pook -aam  \\
  'we(excl)'nanñal  \\
 do opt \}

(I/We shall go)

With second person -aam shows imperative mood.
Third person subjects cooccurring with -aam ending verbs also take the dative case marker.

E.g. M- avanu

he - dat
avalkku
She - dat
avarkku
they - dat

(He/she/they can go)

In optative Ss, the following structures are possible in M but not found in T.

M- (a) 1st. p.Pn \{ Sg. pl. incl \} + VB + opt.mark.
(b) 2nd p.Pn - dat + VB + opt.mark.
(c) 3rd p.Pn - dat + VB + opt.mark.

1.8.6. **Permissive**: In T -nii and in M -atte expresses the permissive mood. -nii occurs with the first and third person pronouns in the accusative case.
Eg. (21)

\[
\begin{align*}
T- & \quad \text{I(ace) nannu} \\
& \quad \text{he(ace) vaanni} \\
& \quad \text{they(ace) vaallani} \\
& \quad \text{she(ace) aameni} \quad \text{paadani} \\
& \quad \text{sing let} \\
& \quad \text{cuunnii/cuudani} \\
& \quad \text{see let see let}
\end{align*}
\]

In M the permissive marker - atte occurs with first person and third person pronouns as the subject:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I' naan} & \quad \text{ooka-tte} \\
\text{We' nannels} & \quad \text{go let}
\end{align*}
\]

(Let me/us go)

(i.e. (you) permit me/us to go/on with your permission

I/We take leave)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he' avan} & \quad \text{ookatte} \\
\text{she' avar} & \quad \text{go let} \\
\text{they' avar} & \quad \text{go let}
\end{align*}
\]

(let him/her/them go)

Permissive Ss have the structure as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
T- & \quad 1st \text{ p.pn} \quad -\text{acc+Vb(inf)-nii} \\
& \quad 3rd \text{ p.pn} \\
M- & \quad 1st \text{ p.pn} \quad +\text{Vb-atte} \\
& \quad 3rd \text{ p.pn}
\end{align*}
\]
1.8.7. **Capabilitative:** In T capabilitative mood is expressed by the auxiliary *gala* - 'to be able to' which takes all the person number gender markers. This auxiliary is added to the infinitive form of the verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I'</td>
<td>neenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we'</td>
<td>meemu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you(sg)'</td>
<td>nuvvu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you(pl)'</td>
<td>miiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he'</td>
<td>vaadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>vaaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'she'</td>
<td>aame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'those'</td>
<td>avi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In M capability is expressed by the auxiliary verb *kaliy*- 'to be able to'. *kaliy*- also occurs after the infinitive (purposive). In M this verb requires a noun in the dative case in the subject position.

(22) **M- eniykkku**
I-*dat*)

paat-aan kaliyum
sing-inf able-fut.

ninakku
you(*dat*)

ceeyaan kaliyum
do(inf) able-fut

avarkku
{they(*dat*)

avanu
he(*dat*)
T and M have the following structure in the capableitive Ss.

**T-** Np+Inf+gala+png

**M-** Np-dat+Inf+kaliy+tense marker

1.8.8. Negative capableitive is expressed in T by the aux lees. In M the negative verb illa is added to the verb kaliy- in this context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T- Pronoun</th>
<th>Png</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I' neenu</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we' meemu</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you' nuvvu</td>
<td>paad-lease-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you(pl)' miiru</td>
<td>sing(inf)neg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he' vaadu</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they' vaaru</td>
<td>ceyya-lease-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'she' aame</td>
<td>do(inf)-neg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that' adi</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'those' avi</td>
<td>-du</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cannot sing/do)

| M- I-dat enjikkku | paataan kaliy-illa |
| You-dat ninakkku | sing(inf)-able-not |
| They-dat avarkku | ceyyaan kaliy-illa |
| he-dat aavana | do(inf) able not |

**T-** Np+Inf.(vb)+lee-png

**M-** Np-dat -inf.(vb)+kaliy-(tense)+illa.
1.9. **Equational or copular type of sentences:**

In equational type of sentences two nouns or noun phrases are put in apposition. In M the verb aanu occurs in such sentences. In T a copular verb is not overt.

eg. (24) T- adi pustakam
    that book

    M- atu pustakam aanu
    that book be(cop)

eg. (25) T- atanu raamudu
    he Rama

    M- atu raaman aanu
    that Rama be(cop)

The affirmative copular sentences have the following structure.

T- Np+Np

M- Np+Np+aanu

1.9.1. In the negation of nominal predicates the negative verb kaadu occurs in T corresponding to the negative copula alla in M.
Eg(26)

T- adi pustakam kaadu
that book not

M- atu pustakam alla
that book not

(That is not a book)

Eg(27) T- atanu ramudu kaadu
he Rama' not

M- atu raaman alla
that Rama' no

In this context M and T show structural similarity.

i.e. T-

M- } Np+Np+neg.cop.

kaa - is the suppletive alternate of the Vb agu 'to become'

The negative verb kaa 'to become' in T takes the personal markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malayalam</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Png</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaanu</td>
<td>I sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaamu</td>
<td>I pl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaavu</td>
<td>II sg,III neut.pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaaru</td>
<td>II pl,III pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaadu</td>
<td>III masc.sg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaadu</td>
<td>III fem.neut.sg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However addition of personal markers to the verb *kaa* - gives two meanings in certain context.

Eg. *T- neenu presidentunu kaanu* 'I am not a President/

I cannot become a President.

1.10. Existential sentences in M have the verb *untu*

The corresponding verb in T is *un*- 'to be' which take all the personal markers.

**Existential Sg:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malayalam</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>png</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unnaa-nu</td>
<td>I sg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unnaa-mu</td>
<td>I pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unnaa-vu</td>
<td>II sg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unnaa-ru</td>
<td>II pl, III pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unnaa-du</td>
<td>III masc.sg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un-di</td>
<td>III fem,net.sg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaaa-yi</td>
<td>III neut.pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The be (existential) verb in T, *un* - can have the following forms with the respective personal endings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-future</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>png</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eg(28)</td>
<td>T- 'I'</td>
<td>neenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'We'</td>
<td>meemu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'you' (sg)</td>
<td>nuvu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'you' (pl)</td>
<td>miiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he'</td>
<td>vaadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>vaaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'those'</td>
<td>avi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'she'</td>
<td>aame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'it'</td>
<td>adi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M- 'I'</td>
<td>naan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'We'</td>
<td>naõnal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td>nii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'you' (pl)</td>
<td>nõõnal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he'</td>
<td>avan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>avar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'she'</td>
<td>aval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'those'</td>
<td>ava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>atu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Structurally, M and T differ in the Existential Ss as follows:

T- Np+(place advb)+un-+aa+png
M- Np+(place advb)+untu
1.10.1. Existential verbs in nonfuture tense are negated by the negative verb leet+png in T. In M they are negated by the negative verb illa.

Eg. (29)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>T-</th>
<th>M-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I'</td>
<td>meenu</td>
<td>naan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'We'</td>
<td>meemu</td>
<td>nānḥal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You(sg)niivu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You(pl)miiru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he'</td>
<td>vaadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>vaaru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'she'</td>
<td>aame</td>
<td>ivite illa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'It'</td>
<td>adi</td>
<td>there neg(exist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those</td>
<td>avi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Structure:

T- Np+(place advb)+leet-+png
M- Np+(place advb)+illa.
**Future** In future tense the existential verb **un-** takes all the personal endings.

Eg. (30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I' neenu</td>
<td>akkada untau</td>
<td>there be-fut</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we' meemu</td>
<td>akkada untau</td>
<td>there be-fut</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you' niivu</td>
<td>akkada unda</td>
<td>there be-neg</td>
<td>-vu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you(pl)' miiru/</td>
<td>akkada unta</td>
<td>there be-neg</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they' vaaru</td>
<td>akkada untau</td>
<td>there be-fut</td>
<td>-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he' vaadu</td>
<td>akkada untau</td>
<td>there be-fut</td>
<td>-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'she' aame</td>
<td>akkada untau</td>
<td>there be-fut</td>
<td>-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'it' adi</td>
<td>akkada untau</td>
<td>there be-fut</td>
<td>-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those avi</td>
<td>akkada untau</td>
<td>there be-fut</td>
<td>-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'she' aame</td>
<td>akkada untau</td>
<td>there be-fut</td>
<td>-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'it' adi</td>
<td>akkada untau</td>
<td>there be-fut</td>
<td>-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
M - 'I' - naan

'we' - naññal

'you' (sg) nii

'you' (pl) ninñal

'he' - avan

'she' - aval

'they' - avar

'those' - ava

avite unt-aak-um

there be-aux-fut
(will be there)

avite unt-aak-(att)-illa

there be-aux-1.m-neg
(will not be there)
Existential Ss in the future tense can have the structure:

\[ T- \text{Np+(place adv)+un-} \begin{cases} \text{taa-a-(neg)} \\ \text{non-past} \end{cases} + \text{png} \]

\[ M- \text{Np+(place adv)+unt-aak} \begin{cases} -\text{um(fut)} \\ -(\text{att}) \text{ illa} \\ \text{L.m neg} \end{cases} \]

1.11.1. Dative constructions: Impersonal verbs:

Though the verbs in T generally take the person, number, gender markers, there are a few verbs, such as those discussed below, which are used as impersonal. In these types of verbal constructions, a dative nominal occupies the subject position.

Eg. (31) Pronoun(oblig)+dat vb

\[ T- \begin{cases} \text{'I'} & \text{naaku} \\ \text{'We'} & \text{mana-ku} \\ \text{'You'(sg)nii-ku} & \text{a:\text{aa} katha that story} \text{telusu know} \\ \text{'You'(pl)mii-ku} \\ \text{'he'} & \text{vaadi-ki} \text{aayan(ni) he (acc) teliiidu know not} \\ \text{'they'} & \text{vaari-ki} \\	ext{'she'} & \text{aame-ku} \\ \text{'It'} & \text{daani-ki} \end{cases} \]

The set of the Telugu Ss in (31) have the structure:

\[ T- \text{Np-dat+Np(acc)+} \begin{cases} \text{telusu} \\ \text{teliiidu} \end{cases} \]
Eg(32)

T- 'I' naa-ku

'You' (sg) nii-ku oka pustakam

'You' (pl) mii-ku one book

'he' vaadi-ki want

'they' vaari-ki oka panimanisi one servant maid

'she' aame-ku

'It' daani-ki

Ss(32) have the structure

NP-dat + Np + kaavaali

In M also a dative - NP occurs in the subject position with the verb aRiy- 'to know'

Eg.(31)

M- a) eniykkku aa katha aRiyaam/aRiyilla
I-dat that story know know not

b) eniykkku addeehatte aRiyaam/aRiyilla
I-dat he (acc) know know not

In M, the set of Ss(31) have the following structure:

M- NP-dat+Np-acc+ {aRiyaam } {aRiyilla }

In Ss(31)-(a) and (b) it is possible to use a nominative NP in the subject position in M.
i.e. (c)  
naan aa katha aRiyum  
I _ that story know-fut  

(I will know that story)

(d)  
naan addehatte aRiyum  
I _ he (acc) know-fut  

(I know him)

The verbal forms in Ss(c) and (d) differ from those in (a) and (b). Ss(a) and (c) differ in meaning while (b) and (d) does not show meaning differences, i.e. when the subject and object occurring with the verb aRiyum are human, two structural possibilities are there in M:

i.e.  
M- Np(+hum)+Np(+hum)acc+aRiyum

Np(+hum)-dat+Np(+hum)acc+aRiyaam

Eg. Ss 31(b) and (d) —

The verb meaning 'to want' in Malayalam veenam also require a dative - Np in the subject position.

Eg.(32)  
M- eniykkku  
I- dat  
ninakku  
you-dat  
avarkku  
Thay-dat  
oru pustakam veenam  
one book want  
oru joolikkaariyee veenam  
one servant-maid(acc) want

Malayalam Ss(32) have the structure:

M- Np-dat+Np+veenam
1.11.2. **Dative constructions: verbs ending in third person neuter sg:**

There are a few verbs in T which take the third person neuter singular ending when they occur in dative constructions as in the following.

(i) the negative copular verb *kaadu* occurring in constructions of the type:

\[ \text{Np-dat+(Np)+Np+kaadu} \]  

\[ (+\text{abstract}) \]

**Ex.** (33)

- **T-** aameku atani *istam* kaadu
  
  she-dat he-acc liking not
- **M-** avalkku ayaale *istam* \{alla\} \{illa\}
  
  she-dat he-acc liking not
  
  (she does not like him)
  
  or
  
  (she has no liking for him)

(34)

- **T-** naaku atani *istam* kaadu
  
  I-dat he-acc liking not
- **M-** eniykku ayaale *istam* \{alla\} \{illa\}
  
  I-dat he-acc liking \{illa\} not
  
  (I have no liking for him)/(I donot like him)

In T, **Ss(33) and (34)** are the negatives of **Ss(33a)** and **(34a)** which seems to be verbless, the corresponding
affirmative Ss in M have the copular -verb aanu.

Eg. (33a)

T- aamsuku atanni istam
she-dat he-acc liking

M- avalkku ayaale istam aanu
she dat he acc liking be(sop)

(She likes him)

34(a)

T- naaku atanni istam
I -dat he-acc liking

M- eniykku ayaalle istam aanu
I -dat he -acc liking be

ii) The 'be' verb undi occurring in constructions of the type:

Eg. (35) T- naa-ku aakali-gaa undi
I -dat hunger-adv. be

(I feel hungry)

atani -ki jvaram-gaa undi
he-dat fever-adv. he

(He has fever)

A similar type of construction is not available in M.
ii) The verbs vaccu 'to come' and its negative raadu 'come not' occurring in the cognitive sense in dative constructions:

Eg. (36)

\[
\begin{align*}
T- & \text{ naaku paata} & \text{vastundi raadu} \\
I- & \text{dat singing/song} & \text{come come not} \\
M- & \text{niykku paattu} & \text{varum} \\
I- & \text{dat singing/song} & \text{varattilla come come not}
\end{align*}
\]

(37)

\[
\begin{align*}
T- & \text{ataniki taypingu} & \text{vastundi raadu} \\
& \text{he-dat typewriting come/come not} \\
M- & \text{ayaalkku tayping} & \text{varum varattilla} \\
& \text{he-dat typewriting come/come not}
\end{align*}
\]

Structure:

\[
\begin{align*}
T- & \text{Np-ku+Np+ vastundi raadu} \\
M- & \text{Np-ku+Np+ varum varattilla}
\end{align*}
\]

(iv) anipincu 'to feel' in T occurs with the neuter termination.

The corresponding verb in M is toomn 'to feel'
In the above set of Ss (1.11.2) the dative Np occurring sentence-initially cannot be treated as the 'subjects' of these Ss if the 'agreement' of the subject Np with the verb, in person, number and gender, is taken as the criteria for determining the subject of a S.

Apart from the verbal endings so far discussed, the occurrence of personal endings is possible in pronominalisation also. The following personal endings occur in T.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Png.</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Personal ending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st p.sg.</td>
<td>neenu</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st p.pl.</td>
<td>manam</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd p.sg.</td>
<td>nuvvu</td>
<td>-vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd p.pl.</td>
<td>miiru</td>
<td>-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd p.pl.</td>
<td>vaaru/vaallu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd p.masc.sg.</td>
<td>vaadu</td>
<td>(du)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd p.fem.sg.</td>
<td>aame</td>
<td>-ni/-ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ex. (39)**

T- neenu mantri

I minister

(I, the minister)

(40) manam mantrul-am...  
we ministers-

(we, the ministers)

(41) aame mantri

she minister

(She is a minister)

(42) vaallu mantru-lu

they minister-pl.

(they are ministers)
The above examples show that the plural nouns other than the first person plural take only the plural marker -lu, they do not have any specific ending like that.
of the first second and third person singular. In the case of the first person plural a suffix-\textit{am} is added to the plural marker -\textit{lu}.

**Summary:**

The notable differences between the languages under contrast, evident in Chapter I, are the following:-

1. The presence of verbal ending (png marker) differentiates T from M.

2. Four different sets of third person masculine singular pronouns are available in T depending on the degree of politeness while only three sets are identified for M. In the case of feminine gender three sets are identified for T and two for M.

3. The honourific suffix -\textit{gaaru} has frequent use in T for which correspondence is not available in M. Yet at times the pronoun \textit{addeesham} 'he' (polite) occupies a similar status in the following type of constructions in M.

   \textit{Eg.} T- \textit{daaktar gaaru vaccaaru} \textit{doctor hon. came}.

   M- \textit{daaktar addeesham vannu} \textit{doctor he(polite)came}.

4. With plural nouns the plural marker is obligatory in T whereas it is optional in M in the case of inanimate nouns.
Eg. T- oka pustakam undi
    one book   be

M- oru pustakam untu
    one book   be

T- padi pustakaa-lu unnaayi
    ten book   -pl be -pl

M- pattu \[ \begin{aligned}
& \text{pustakam} \\
& \text{book} \\
& \text{ten} \\
& \text{pustakamal} \\
& \text{book} \ 
\end{aligned} \] untu

With certain nouns singular plural distinction is not available in M while T shows the distinction.

Eg. T- niiru undi
    water(sg) be

nillu   unnaayi
    water(pl) be pl.

M- vellam untu
    water   be

5. M differentiates between three tenses - past, present and future. In T the present tense is specified by the durative form (Ref. 1.7.3).

6. In the past negative, tense is not overt in T and the neg.Vb. leedu expresses past negation. In M tense is combined to the main verb and illa is the negative verb (Ref. 1.7.4).
In the case of negative imperatives, negation is affected in T by the bound form -ak- whereas in M prohibition is expressed through negative verbs arutu and alla (Ref. 1.8.2).

7. In optative constructions, the subject NP takes the dative suffix in M, the optative suffix in M can occur with the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person also (1.8.5).

8. A notable difference in the permissive Ss is the occurrence of Np-acc in the subject position in T (1.8.6).

9. For the capabilitative Ss, tense suffix can be added to the auxiliary verb in M whereas it is not so in T (1.8.7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Tense Suffix</th>
<th>Optative Suffix</th>
<th>Dative Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kali-(\bar{n}u) / kali(\bar{m})-illa</td>
<td>able -past/ able -past -not</td>
<td>{kaliy-unn(\bar{u})/ kaliyun(\bar{m})-illa}</td>
<td>able - pres/ able - pres -not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kali(\bar{y})-um / kaliyuka - illa</td>
<td>able - fut/ able - sing -not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Tense Suffix</th>
<th>Optative Suffix</th>
<th>Dative Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I was / was not</td>
<td>able to sing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am / am not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will be / will not be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Tense Suffix</th>
<th>Optative Suffix</th>
<th>Dative Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T- na(\bar{e})nu pa(\bar{a})da</td>
<td>-gala - nu</td>
<td>able - I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing (inf)</td>
<td>-lee - nu</td>
<td>not - I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(I can / cannot) sing)
The following structural similarities and differences are observed.

Structures—similar

1. Imperative.

\[
\begin{align*}
T &\quad NP + VB + \text{imp. suff.} \\
M &\quad NP + VB + \text{imp. suff.}
\end{align*}
\]

2. Probabilitative.

\[
\begin{align*}
T &\quad NP + VB + \text{aux.} \\
M &\quad NP + VB + \text{aux.}
\end{align*}
\]

3. Neg.copular.

\[
\begin{align*}
T &\quad NP + NP + \text{neg.cop.} \\
M &\quad NP + NP + \text{neg.cop.}
\end{align*}
\]

4. Dative constructions:

\[
\begin{align*}
T &\quad NP - \text{dat} + NP (\text{acc}) + VB; \text{meaning} \\
M &\quad NP - \text{dat} + NP (\text{acc}) + VB; \text{meaning}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\quad \text{'}to know' \\
&\quad \text{'}to want' \\
&\quad \text{'}to feel'
\end{align*}
\]

b) \[
\begin{align*}
T &\quad NP - \text{dat} + (NP) + NP + \text{Neg.} + VB. \\
M &\quad NP - \text{dat} + (NP) + NP + \text{Neg.} + VB. \\
&\quad (+\text{abst})
\end{align*}
\]

Structures—dissimilar

1(a) Simple Ss in the three tenses:

\[
\begin{align*}
T &\quad NP + VB + \text{tense} + \text{png} \\
M &\quad NP + VB + \text{tense}
\end{align*}
\]
(b) Existential SSI:

T- NP + Vb(inf) + past.neg vb.
M- NP + (VB -past.suff) + neg.vb.

2. Past negative:

T- NP + Vb(inf) + past.neg.vb.
M- NP + (VB -past.suff) + neg.vb.

3. Pres.negative:

T- NP + Vb(inf) gerd, + neg.Vb. mark.
M- NP + \{VB -pres.suff, + neg.vb.
\{VB -uka \}

4. Future negative:

T- NP + (VB +fut.neg +png)
M- NP + (VB +uka) + neg.vb.

5. Neg.imperative:

T- NP + (VB +neg + Imp.suff)
M- NP + (VB +proh. + pol.suff)

6. Optative:

T- NP + (VB + opt.suff)
M- NP dat + (VB + opt.suff).

7. Permissive:

T- NP - acc + (VB + perm.suff)
M- NP + (VB + perm.suff).
8(a) Capabilitative:

\[ T- \text{NP} + (Vb + aux + png). \]
\[ M- \text{NP-dat} + (VB + aux - tense) \]

(b) Neg. capabilitative.

\[ T- \text{NP} + (Vb + \begin{bmatrix} \text{neg.} \\ \text{aux} \end{bmatrix} + png) \]
\[ M- \text{NP-dat} + (VB + aux+tense+neg.vb) \]


\[ T- \text{NP} + \text{NP} \]
\[ M- \text{NP} + \text{NP} + \text{aaru} \]

(b) \[ T- \text{NP-dat} + \text{NP} + \text{NP} \]
\[ (abst) \]
\[ M- \text{NP-dat} + \text{NP} + \text{NP} + \text{aaru} \]
\[ (abst) \]

10. Adverbial.

\[ T- \text{NP-dat} + \text{advb.} (-gaa)+undi \]
\[ M- \text{not available.} \]

...