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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TULU DIALECTS

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Linguistics

by

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Guide

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C E R T I F I C A T E

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A Comparative Study of Tulu Dialects is a bonafide
original research work done by Sri K. Padmanabha,
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The said research work has not previously formed
the basis for the award of any degree or diploma.
This work is an original contribution to the study
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ABBREVIATIONS & SYMBOLS

abl	:	abATIVE (case)
acc	:	accusATIVE (case)
b	:	Brahmin (dialect)
c	:	common (dialect)
C	:	consonant
Cl/cl	:	class
com	:	comitative (case)
dat	:	dative (case)
DEDR	:	Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, Revised
e.g.	:	(exempli gratia) for example
etc.	:	et cetera
Excl. (excl.))	Exclusive
Fem/fem:		Feminine
hon.sg.:		honorific singular
ht	:	Harijan-tribe
Incl. (incl.))	Inclusive
i.e.	:	(id est) that is
j	:	Jain (dialect)
lat	:	lative (case)
loc	:	locative (case)
Masc/ masc)	Masculine
N	:	North
Nb	:	North Brahmin (dialect)

Nc	:	North common (dialect)
NE	:	North East
Neut/neut	:	Neuter
Nht	:	North Harijan Tribe (dialect)
Nj	:	North Jain (dialect)
nom	:	nominative (case)
NW	:	North West
per	:	person
pl	:	plural
poss	:	possessive (case)
S	:	South
Sb	:	South Brahmin (dialect)
SC	:	South Central
Sc	:	South common (dialect)
SE	:	South East
sg	:	singular
Sht	:	South Harijan-Tribe (dialect)
Sj	:	South Jain (dialect)
Suf/suf	:	suffix
SW	:	South West
v	:	vowel
viz	:	(videlicet) namely
voc	:	vocative (case)
/	:	alternating with
>	:	becomes
&c	:	et cetera
()	:	optionally occurring
Ø	:	zero morpheme

Introduction

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Tulu is considered as one of the five major Dravidian Languages (the other four being Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu.) It is spoken by about 15 lakh people. The region where this language is spoken is situated on the West Coast extending from the northern part of the South Kanara district of Karnataka State upto the Kasaragod Taluk of the Kerala State. This region in ancient times was called 'Tulunaadu' (the Tulu country) and the people whose mother tongue is Tulu are called as the 'Tuluvas'.

Though Tulu is confined to a small region of India it possesses a very rich vocabulary and has been considered a highly developed languages by the linguists. It also has developed many distinct regional and social dialects. As the area where the Tulu is spoken comprises of many rivers, forests, hills and such other geographical barriers, it made the Tulu people difficult to come in close contact with each other in olden days. This resulted in regional differences in their speech habits. The regions which contributed to the dialect differences are mainly five in number. They are - (i) South West: The south west part of Tulunaadu comprising of the Kasaragod Taluk of Kerala State. (ii) South East: The south east part of Tulunaadu comprising the Sullia Taluk upto Kodagu (Coorg). (iii) South Central: This area includes the Puttur, Belthangady and Bantwal Taluks.

- (iv) North West: This area includes Mangalore and Udupi Taluks.
(v) North East: This area includes the Karkal Taluk, (see the map)

The Tulu Language is bordered by Malayalam on the south and Kannada on the north. As the major part of Tulunaadu belongs to Karnataka State and as the official language has been Kannada most of the people whose mother tongue is Tulu can also speak Kannada Language fluently. Similarly as the extreme southern part of Tulunaadu is in the Kerala State where the state language is Malayalam most of the Tulu people there can easily converse in Malayalam.

In addition to regional dialects Tulu possesses some social dialects also. The Tulu speaking community has many social groups called castes like Brahmins, Jains, Bunts, Billavas, Gowdas, Kumbaras, Meras, Mansas, Harijans etc. As there were strict caste barriers the people belonging to different castes were not mingling with each other in olden days. Their separate social institutions, customs, habits, socio-cultural traits, religious rites etc. have naturally reflected in their speech habits. Due to this every caste or community developed its own dialect thereby forming different social dialects in Tulu. The various social dialects may be broadly classified into the following catagories:

- (i) Brahmin Dialect: This group includes the dialects of Sivalli Brahmins and Siva Brahmins (Sthaanika Brahmins.)
- (ii) Jain Dialect: This group contains the dialect of the Jain community.

(iii) Common Dialect: This group includes the dialects of Bunts, Billavas, Gowdas, Mogaveeras, Kumbaras and such other castes which do not come under other groups.

(iv) Harijan and Tribal Dialects: This group includes the dialects of Mera, Mansa and such other Harijan communities and the dialects of the tribal communities.

Brahmin Dialect:

The Brahmin dialect of Tulu is also called Sivalli Tulu, for, the Tulu Brahmins are also named Sivalli Brahmins. Their dialect is highly influenced by the Sanskrit language. Classical education, engagement in religious activities based on the Vedic principles, are a few reasons why the Brahmins have developed their own style of speaking. Because of strict caste barriers the opportunity of medley of their dialect with that of other communities have been much less.

A very considerable number of vocabulary items from Sanskrit are used liberally with or without modification in the Brahmin dialect. Sometimes the people speaking the other dialects of Tulu find it a bit difficult to follow the Brahmin dialect. They make a conscious effort to pronounce the borrowed words in their original form though in informal speech the consistency may be relaxed. In pronouncing native words also they maintain the distinction between retroflex and non-retroflex sounds of the native (Dravidian) language. Thus abundant borrowing of words especially from Sanskrit, maintenance of a

clearcut distinction between l - l, n - n, s-s-s etc., and to a certain extent between aspirated and unaspirated sounds etc. are a few significant features of the Brahmin dialect of Tulu.

Jain dialect:

A greater portion of the Tulu speaking Jain population is found on the northern part of Tulunaadu. Though the number of Jains are comparatively less, with a few peculiar features they could maintain their dialect of Tulu as distinct from other dialects. As they follow Jainism, the special words or technical terms relating to that religion have inevitably got a place in the Tulu spoken by them. Besides, the initial t- and s- of some of the words used in other dialects correspond to h- in the Jain dialect. e.g.

tarE	-	harE	'head'
tigalE	-	higalE	'chest'
tadpE	-	hadpE	'winnowing pan'
tadamE	-	hadamE	'a wooden style'
sappu/tappu	-	happu	'leaf'
saaru	-	haaru	'a small river'
saadi	-	haadi	'a path'

etc.

This special feature of the Jain dialect is one of the main reasons for giving the status of a dialect to the Tulu spoken by Jains.

Common dialect:

The common dialect may be considered a group of more than five dialects as Bunts' dialect, Billava dialect, Mogaveera dialect, Gowda dialect, Kumbara dialect etc. As there is a close affinity among these dialects they are treated as a single dialect group and generally named as common dialect. This is the dialect which is used in public speeches, mass media, public meetings etc. and hence this dialect is commonly accepted and called the 'Common Tulu'. This dialect contains a less number of borrowed words especially from Sanskrit when compared to the Brahmin dialect. Besides, this dialect accepts the borrowed words into the languages only after modifying their structure and sounds according to their mother-tongue. The interchange of the sounds l-l, n-n, s-s-s etc. is found in this dialect. But still the southern style of this dialect maintains the distinction between these sounds.

The oral poetry called the Paaddana is composed in this dialect; the journals, most of the Tulu writings, novels, dramas, poems are generally written in this dialect. Thus the common Tulu is the most popular one among the Tulu dialects.

(iv) Harijan and Tribal dialects:

The Tulu spoken by the Harijan and Tribal communities form another class of Tulu dialects. Though these communities are spread all over Tulunaadu those who settled on the northern part of Tulunaadu have almost adopted the common dialect and hence

the difference between their dialect and the common dialects are negligible. But those who settled on the southern part of Tulu-naadu are still keeping up a clear distinction in their dialect. The main feature of this dialect is that the sound c is used almost regularly in correspondence to the sounds t, s, ç of other dialects.

e.g.

tarE	-	carE	'head'
tadpE	-	cadpE	'winnowing pan'
sappu/tappu	-	cappu	'leaf'
saadi	-	caadi	'way, path'
sammaano	-	cammaano	'feast'
barso	-	barco	'rain'
mundaasu	-	mundaacu	'turban'
onasu	-	onacu	'meals'

etc. Similarly the people belonging to this community opt to use the retroflex sounds l and n for l and n respectively along with the usual use of those sounds. e.g.

elle	-	elle	'tomorrow'
koolo	-	koolo	'Bhuta Worship'
aani	-	aani	'then, at that time'
ini	-	ini	'today'
baano	-	baano	'the sky'

etc. Apart from these sound changes there are a number of socio-cultural technical terms in this dialect.

e.g.

dikke, meere, koragge	'husband'
dikkalu, meerti, korappalu	'wife'
jeerklu/jeerlu	'children'
cullelu	'marriage'
baanaaru	'a Brahmin male person'
baanaarEdetti	'a Brahmin lady', wife of a Brahmin.
mullumuttunE	'to menstruate for the first time'

etc.

Thus Tulu is a group of several regional and social dialects. Attempts have been made to standardize the language, i.e. to adopt a common or literary language in recent years. As a result the common Tulu is generally accepted as a literary language of the mass media.

Tulu does not possess a long literary tradition. The earliest piece of literature available is an inscription which is at present ascribed to the 15th century A.D. // The inscription is written in Tulu in the so called Tulu script. The next literary works available are a couple of epic poems namely 'Srii Ehaagavato' and 'Kaaveeri' both are supposed to be belonging to the 17th Century A.D. Another couple of ancient Tulu works have also been

discovered recently. After these works, with a gap of a few centuries in between, the renaissance of Tulu literature has started in the first half of the last century as a result of the efforts initiated by the German Missionaries. They translated the books related to Christianity into Tulu and published them using for the first time, the Kannada script for Tulu writings. Following these works creative writings have been produced gradually; and now for the last two decades it is in full swing. Epics, novels, poems, dramas, short stories, translated works etc. are now produced abundantly.

Apart from these literary writings we have plenty of folk literature of the oral tradition. The folk poem called the Paaddanas contain a rich treasure of the Tulu language and culture. Peasant songs, rowers' songs, folk stories, proverbs, riddles etc. of the oral tradition have really contributed much to the development of the Tulu language and literature.

Script:

A script resembling that of Malayalam is called the Tulu script in which the Brahmins used to write the Vedic mantras. The Tulu inscription and the ancient literary works that are available now were written down in this script. Predominence of the Kannada language, lack of public instruction etc. are the reasons for the Tulu script to go behind the scenes. The place of the Tulu Script was ably occupied by the Kannada script since the first half of the 19th Century. It was the German

missionaries who have successfully introduced the Kannada script for Tulu writings. At present all the Tulu writings are carried on only in the Kannada script.

Thus Tulu is spoken in a smaller geographical area by a smaller group of people. There is a lack of abundant classical literature and hence it does not possess a long literary history. It has not gained the status of an official language or a medium of instruction in educational institutions. Inspite of all these drawbacks Tulu is considered as one of the well developed languages of the Dravidian family with heterogeneous dialectal peculiarities. Probably because of this the Tulu language has really attracted the attention of various scholars and linguists from different parts of the country and abroad. A systematic study of the different aspects of the language has already been undertaken.

R. Caldwell and other scholars have initiated a systematic study of Tulu in the last century. This kind of study was continued by many other scholars. J. Brigel wrote 'A Grammar of the Tulu Language' and got it published in 1872. This was followed by the 'Tulu Vyaakarana' (Tulu grammar) by S.U. Paniyadi, which was published in 1932, though it was written as early as 1921. Almost in the same period L.V. Ramaswamy Iyer wrote a series of articles on the Tulu Language. "The Tulu Verb" (1928), "Tulu Prose Text in two dialects" (1932). 'Tulu Affricates sibilants' (1933), "Dravidian problems: (1) Tulu 'h' (ii) Tamil 'Ayda'" (1933),

"Materials for a sketch of Tulu Phonology" (1936) etc. are a few of his research papers.

These linguistic studies on Tulu have attracted the attention of the inquisitive scholars of the new generation who continued this tradition along with the progress of Dravidian studies.

The following five theses are the result of the research undertaken for the Ph.D. degrees by different scholars on the different dialects and different aspects of the Tulu language:

- (1) " A Descriptive Analysis of Tulu " - by D.N.S. Bhat from the Poona University in 1967.
- (2) "A Grammar of Tulu (A Dravidian Language)" - by Sooda Lakshminarayana Bhat from the University of Wisconsin (U.S.A.) in 1971.
- (3) "Structural Description of Tulu - Kulala (Kumbara) Dialect" - by M. Rama, from the University of Kerala in 1978.
- (4) "The structure of Tulu verbs - A Transformational Analysis" by S. Mallikadevi from the University of Kerala in 1979.
- (5) "Tulu Language (Descriptive and Comparative)" - by K.V. Jalajakshi from the Annamalai University in 1980.

Besides these theses innumerable individual research articles on the different aspects of Tulu are written by various scholars and linguists. The list given below are a few of them:
D.N.S. Bhat: Studies in Tulu (1966), A Note on PDr. l in Tulu

(1968), *Sociolinguistics and Tulu dialect survey (1982)*

B. Ramachandra Rao: *Social and Local Dialects of Tulu (1966), Verb Morphology of common Tulu (1968), Case Systems of Tulu (1976), Tulu Bhaase Kiruparicaya (Kan) (1976) Bhaasaashastra drstiyalli Tulu bhaase (Kan) (1978), Draavida Baaseledu Tuluta sthaana (Kan) (1983), Interrelationship of Tulu with other Dravidian Languages (1983).*

M. Rama: *Numeral in Tulu (1976), Antiquity of Tulunaadu, People and Language (1983)*

Ramakrishna T. Shetty: *A comparison of Tulu caste dialects (1973), Echoword construction in Tulu (1976), Numerals in Bunts Tulu and spoken Tamil (1981), Noun compounds in Bunts Tulu (1981), External Sandhi rules in Bunts Tulu (1982), Personal Pronouns in Bunts Tulu (1983), Semantic functions of case markers in Tulu (1985).*

K.V. Jalajakshi: *Tulu mattu Draavida Bhaasegalu (Kan) (1979) Negation in Tulu (1982).*

A.S. Acharya: *Passive sentences in Tulu (1978), Kinship terms in Tulu (1983).*

Chechamma Isac: *An outline of Tulu Phonetic Pattern (1972)*

Thekkunje Gopalakrishna Bhat: *Tuluvina Svaramaale (Kan) (1962).*

P. Gururaja Bhat: *Tulu Bhaase mattu Saahitya (Kan) (1969)*

K. Kushalappa Gowda: *Daksina Kannadada Tulu upa Bhaasegalu (Kan) (1979), The Dative Case in Tulu (1976),*

A. Shankara Kedilaya: *Some characteristics of Tulu Language (1976)*

- P. Srikrishna Bhat: The Nominative in Tulu (1982).
- A Srikrishna Bhat: Tuluvinā gradu visista dhvanigalu(Kan)(1987).
- William Madta: Negation in Tulu (1971)
- Bernhard Kölver: Tulu Texts with glossary (1969)
- P.S. Subrahmanyam: The Position of Tulu in Dravidian (1968).
- U.P. Upadhyaya: Morphology of Tulu Verbs (1966) The Tulu Lexicon and the contribution it is expected to make for comparative Dravidian and the revision of DED, 1989.
- Susheela P. Upadhyaya & Padmanabha Kekunnaya:
- Daksina Kannadada Tuluvinā upabhaasegalu (1985)
- K.V. Ramesh: The Tulu Language - A historical survey (1957-58).

Thus it may be understood that a number of scholars are engaged in the linguistic research studies on Tulu. Similarly many Universities in India and abroad are promoting research activities on Tulu.

In spite of these efforts no individual work gives a full idea of the dialect complexity of this language. As already mentioned above Tulu has mainly five geographical as well as four social variations. Everyone who has studied and wrote articles on Tulu have dealt with any one or two dialects or any one aspect of single dialect. Because of this, geographical variations of Tulu might not have come into their notice. When they were to compare two dialects they have done so by selecting the Brahmin and the common dialects only, without considering the geographical factors and came to the conclusion that there are

only two main spoken forms. The result is that the outcome of their research work on Tulu has become incomplete.

To overcome this, it is felt necessary to give a clear idea of the different aspects and dialects of Tulu. So that an inquisitive scholar who is interested in the comparative Linguistics can get a full picture of the Tulu language. A complete picture of the language is very necessary for historical linguistics, comparative linguistics, comparative grammar, and for reconstructing the proto form of the language. With this view in mind the present study is undertaken to deal with different dialects of the Tulu language.

Tulu, as already mentioned above, is the sum total of different dialects both regional and social. Hence to have a clear idea of Tulu all these dialects should be taken into account.

For the present study the whole of the Tulu speaking area (i.e. the whole Tulunaadu) with geographical divisions - as South West, South Central, South East, North West, North East - are taken into consideration. Of these the South West, South Central and South East form one group and North West and North East form into another group. The former is represented by the symbol S and the latter by the symbol N. (Throughout this thesis these two symbols are used to represent the Southern and Northern groups of dialects respectively. The individual regional symbols are also used when specification is needed.) The important two

of the four social dialects have been taken for the present study; they are - the Brahman dialect and the Common dialect which are symbolized by b and c respectively. The c dialect can represent all the other non-Brahmin dialects. (The individual social dialect symbols are also used when specification is needed.) The following sets of dialect symbols are used in the present work:

Sb : to represent the Brahmin dialects of South West, South Central and South East region.

Sc : to represent the non-Brahmin (the common) dialects of South West, South Central and South East regions.

Nb : to represent the Brahmin dialects of North West and North East regions.

Nc : to represent the non-Brahmin (the common) dialects of North West and North East regions.

The analysis presented in this thesis is based mainly on the data collected in the field surveys for the Tulu Lexicon. Besides, the following works and native speakers have also been consulted.

- (1) "A Descriptive Analysis of Tulu" (D.N.S. Bhat), Tulu Grammar and 'Sati Kamale (Kan.novel) - (S.U.Paniyadi), oral informations from U.P. Upadhyaya, Smt. Susheela Upadhyaya, and A.S. Acharya - for the Nb dialect.
- (2) "Structural description of Tulu - Kulala (Kumbara) dialect" (M. Rama), Tulu-English Dictionary (M.M. Bhat and A.S. Kedilaya), 'Tulu Pañcavati Vaalisugriivere Kaalago'

(Sankayya Bhagavata), fieldnotes by P. Venkataraja Punincattaya and oral informations by Ashoka Alva - for Sc dialect.

(3) 'Varnanaatmaka Vyaakarana' (Ramakrishna Shetty) ' Grammar of the Tulu language' (J. Brigel), 'Tulu Vyaakarana' (S.U. Paniyadi), Tulu English Dictionary (A. Manner) - for Nc dialect.

(4) Field notes by P. Venkataraja Puninchattaya, oral informations by Messrs. K. Gopalakrishna Kekunnaya, K. Anantha Balthillaya, Mrs. Swarnalatha P. Kekunnaya and the data from this researcher's own dialect of the Brahmin Tulu - for Sb dialect.

In addition to these, oral informations are also collected from different native speakers belonging to different strata of society in the field survey conducted for this purpose in the five geographical divisions mentioned elsewhere.

The result of the analysis of the above said data is given mainly in four chapters: Phonology, Morphophonemics, Verbs and Nouns.

In the first chapter on Phonology, the phonemic inventory, the occurrence of phonemes, their contrastive features etc. of different dialects are given with suitable examples. The examples are selected for this purpose from the vocabulary common to almost all dialects and hence dialect symbols are not used, unless when the given example is chosen from a particular dialect.

In the second chapter on morphophonemics, the morphophonemic changes are shown with proper examples. Various morphophonemic rules are also formulated on the basis of the data collected from different dialects.

In the third chapter on Verbs, the Tulu verbs are divided into eight classes on the basis of the different tense suffixes they take (as special to the traditional way of classifying them based only on the past tense suffix or past, perfect and present-future tense suffixes.) A chart is also given as a summary of the classes of verbs. This chapter also deals with tense bases, personal suffixes, negative bases, imperative forms, adverbial participles, verbal infinitives, relative participles, modals etc.

In the fourth chapter on nouns the classification of nouns, stems, gender number markers, plural suffixes, case suffixes, numerals etc. are dealt with.

These chapters are followed by two appendices. A comparative sentence list is provided in the first appendix, and in the second a comparative vocabulary or a word list is provided.

Lastly the Bibliography is given. The list contains not only those books which this researcher did consult for this purpose but also those works which are relevant to the subject even if the researcher could not get a chance to refer to them.

It is admitted that this thesis has some shortfalls. This does not deal with allophonic distribution, stem alternants, clitics etc. The syntax is also not attempted as it may not

contribute much to the comparative study of different dialects of Tulu.

In spite of these few short comings it is expected that the present study brings to light many dialect complexities that were not so far discovered and analyzed by the researchers. It is hoped that this work may be able to give a picture of the dialect wealth of Tulu language.

So far the scholars who have undertaken research on Tulu have been under the impression that the Brahmin dialect and the non-Brahmin dialects are the only two major dialectal varieties of Tulu. The same assumption is held by the common folk also. The reasons and examples that they give to support this classification are -

(1) the sounds n and l of the b dialect correspond to n and l respectively in c dialect, as -

aani	-	aani	'nails'
panu	-	panu	'to say'
alE	-	alE	'butter-milk'
ballu	-	ballu	'rope'

etc.

'2) the sounds e and o of the b dialect correspond to i and u respectively in c dialects, as -

nela	-	nila	'floor'
kerengu	-	kirengu	'sweet potato'
posattu	-	pusattu	'new'
kodanti	-	kudanti	'cudgel'

etc.

(3) the initial vowel ^{of} the words of b dialects gets dropped in c dialects under stated condition (See 1.7.1.3.) as -

adakku	- dakku	'to throw'
adappu	- dappu	'to plough'
olaccilu	- laccilu	'grove'
alappu	- lappu	'to measure'

etc.

(4) Various other words like asana, purase, raamani, kastale, bali, poltu, paapu, bootri etc. of the b dialect correspond to unasu, kandani, kattalE, bari, portu, yaaru/yaavu, bodci etc. respectively in c dialects.

etc. No doubt there are a number of differences like this between the two spoken forms of Brahmin and non-Brahmin communities. But the present study throws a fresh light on this problem and offers evidences for a re-classification of Tulu dialects.

The present study clearly shows that there are considerable differences between the Sb and Nb dialects. Similarly the Sc and Nc dialects show remarkable differences. In many respects the Nb dialect goes with the southern group of dialects thereby making the Nc dialect to form another group e.g.

<u>Sb, Sc, Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kuuli	kuuli	'teeth'
ballu	ballu	'rope'
adakku/adaku	dakku	'to throw'
nela	nila	'floor'
keleñji	kileñji	'housefly'

etc.

In many ways the Sb dialect disagrees with Nb dialect and goes with Sc and Nc dialects.

e.g.:

	<u>Sb, Sc, Nc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	onasu(unasu, Nc)	aśana	'meals'
	portu	poltu	'time'
	bari	bali	'near'

on the other hand in many respects the Nb dialect agrees with Sc and Nc dialects thereby making the Sb dialect a separate group
e.g.

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Nb, Sc, Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kulpu	kullu	'to sit'
indu/undu	undu ..	'there is'

etc. In addition to this there are innumerable items and examples which demand the researcher to group Sb and Sc dialects together as against the Nb and Nc dialect group instead of considering the Brahmin dialects as one group and the common dialects another. A few of the reasons and examples which formed the basis for the new classification are -

- (1) the final -a of the nouns in Nb and Nc dialects corresponds to -o in Sb and Sc (except a few nouns), as -

kanda	-	kando	'field'
diipa	-	diipo	'lamp'
toota	-	tooto	'garden'
kamba	-	kambo	'pillar'

etc.

(2) the final -a of the possessive case suffix in Sb and Sc corresponds to -o in Nb and Nc. as -

tuluta beelE - tuluto beelE 'work of Tulu'

maratta kaaru - maarato kaaru 'wooden leg'

aayana mage - aayano mage 'his son'

etc.

(3) the voiceless consonants in the case suffixes, past participial suffixes, relative participial suffixes etc. of the Sb and Sc dialects correspond to voiced ones in Nb and Nc dialects, as -

raamata - raamada 'with Rama'

kaarutu - kaarudu 'in the leg'

niirutE - niirude 'through the water'

poonta - poonda 'if goes'

aanta - aanda 'if becomes'

etc.

(4) the case of aphesis is not a common feature in all the non-Brahmin dialects. It is confined to Nc dialect only and does not occur in Sc dialect, as -

adakku - dakku 'to throw'

adappu - dappu 'to plough'

alappu - lappu 'to measure'

etc.

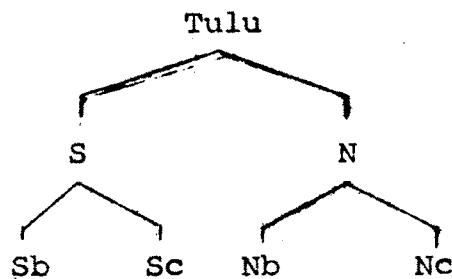
(5) along with this there are a number of individual lexical items with a clearcut South-North difference, as -

<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
uri	sabulu/taburu	'a kind of red ant'
badattu	mittupoo/mittaa	'to climb'
oodu	odilu	'tile'
ketti	tetti	'egg'
kaantya	pudaayi	'basket'
kaypE	kaykE	'bitterness'
kottu	kotrE	'spade'
ootE	oontE	'reed'

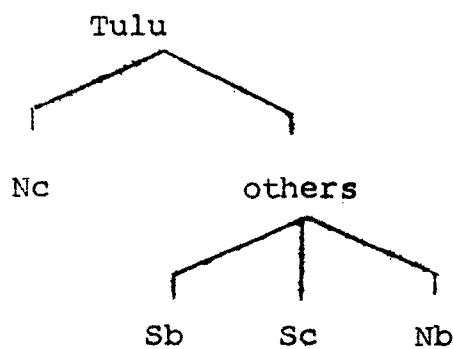
etc. Besides these, there are many other items which strengthen the above classification as can be seen from the following chapters.

As a result of the study the dialects of Tulu may be reclassified as follows:

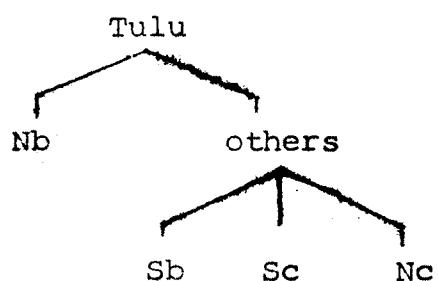
(i)



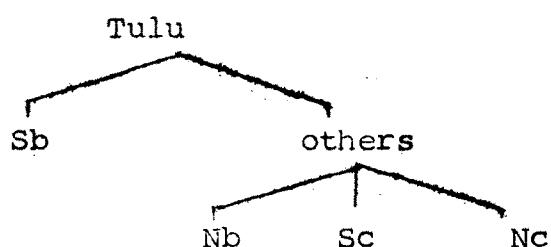
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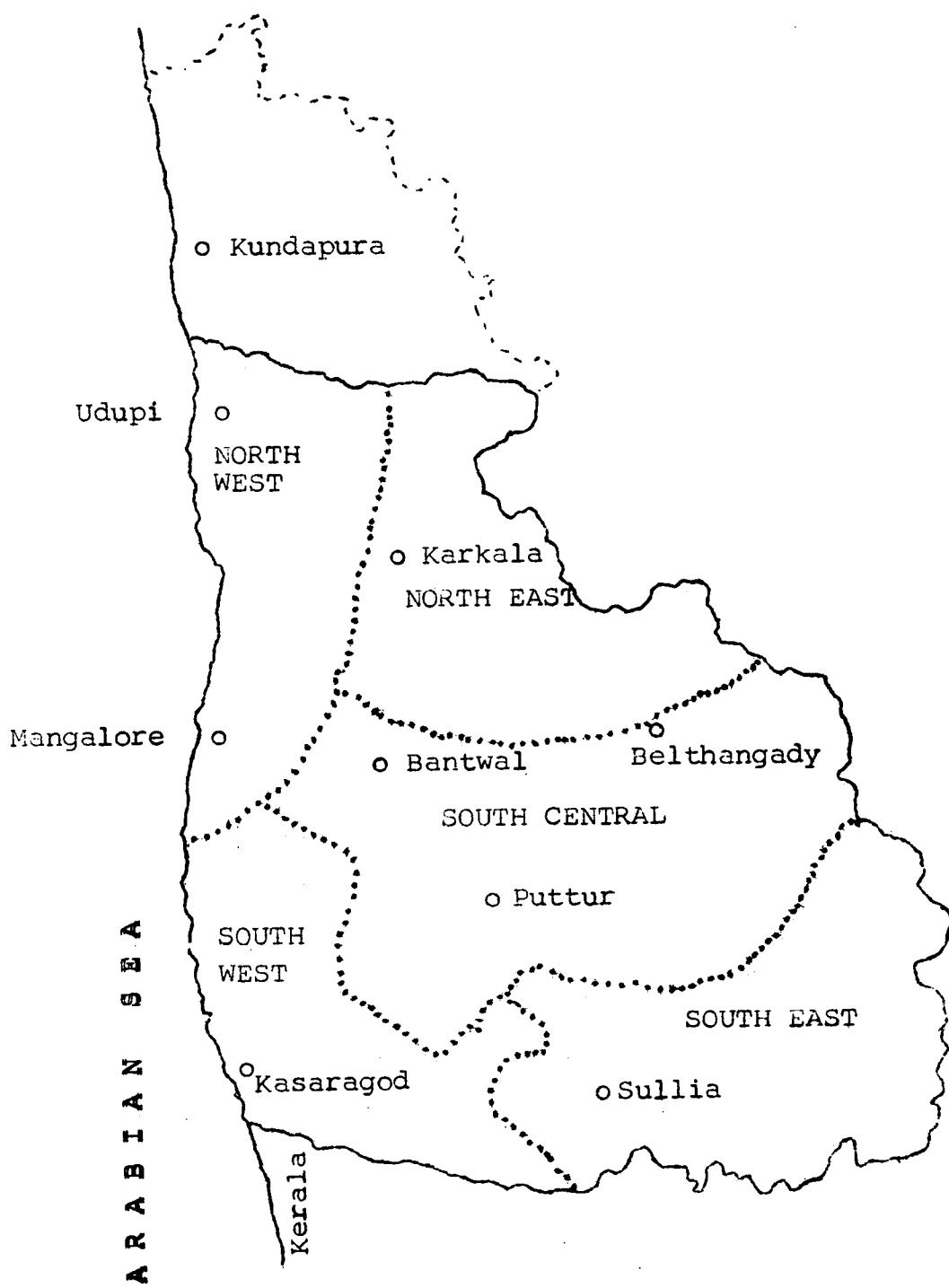
(iii)



(iv)



But now a clearcut dialect distinction is gradually disappearing due to close contact among the people belonging to different social groups and different geographical areas. The mass media, public meetings, journals etc. are also responsible for the dialect difference to disappear slowly. Especially among the members of younger generation the dialect differences are reduced to a considerable extent.

TULU DIALECT ZONES

CHAPTER - 1

Phonology

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 INVENTORY

The overall phonemic system of Tulu is as follows:

Vowels:

	Front		Central		Back	
High	i	ii	u	uu	u	uu
Mid	e	ee			o	oo
Low	E	EE			a	aa

Consonants:

Stops and affricates:

voiceless :	p	t	t̪	c	k
aspirated :	ph	th	th̪	ch	kh
voiced :	b	d	d̪	j	g
aspirated :	bh	dh	dh̪	jh	gh

Sonorants:

nasal :	m	n	n̪	ñ	ñ̪
oral :	v	l	l̪	y	
trill :		r			
sibilant :		s	s̪	s̪'	
fricative :					h

The following phonemes have marginal status:

<u>Consonants:</u>	ph	th	th̪	ch	kh
	bh	dh	dh̪	jh	gh
				s̪	s̪'

The aspirated stop consonants as well as sibilants s̪ and s̪'

occur only in loan words when they are used in formal speech or in certain dialects. Even when they occur in certain dialects or in formal speech they occur in free variation with the unaspirated stop consonants or dental sibilants respectively.

Vowels:

There are altogether 14 vowels in Tulu of which 7 are short and 7 are long vowels and all are voiced. They show four types of distinction, as:

- (a) tongue - height : high, mid and low
- (b) tongue - position : front, central and back
- (c) lip - rounding : rounded and unrounded
- (d) duration : short and long

The lip-rounding is the feature associated with back vowels only.

The short vowels i, e, a and u can occur in the initial, medial and final positions in all dialects. But the occurrence of the following short vowels are restricted:

- (i) the high central short vowel u can occur initially in Sb very extensively and rarely in other dialects.¹
- (ii) the low front short vowel E can occur usually in the

1. Ref. Tulu Lexicon, Vol.I, Pp.1.

word final position.²

- (iii) the mid back vowel o is realized as higher low back rounded vowel in the word final position in the Sb, Sc dialects.

A long vowel usually occurs -

- (a) in monosyllabic words
- (b) in the initial and medial positions of multisyllabic words.
- (c) in the final position of the following types of multi-syllabic words:
 - (i) the words ending with emphatic particles, interrogative particles and vocative forms
 - (ii) the words ending with (imperative) causative suffixes
 - (iii) the participial forms of verbs in Nb and Nc dialects.

The occurrence of the following long vowels is restricted:

- (i) the high central long vowel uu can occur in the non-initial positions in lullaby and such other folk songs and words ending with certain clitics or particles for expressing emotions.

2. Its occurrence in medial position is noticed in a few instances only. e.g. bEElE 'work'; kErE 'tank'; bEEtE 'other' etc. (Ref. Rama 1978; Shetty, 1986)

(ii) the low front long vowel EE can occur in the final position in lullaby, folksongs, endearing words and such other emotive expressions.

Diphthongs and Vowel sequences:

The vowel sequences ai and au are noticed in borrowed words only. e.g. daiva, jailu, naiveedya, bairaasu; mauna, maulya, yauvana etc.

In native words we come across the sequences of vowel and semivowels optionally followed by another vowel i or u like ay(i), ey(i), av(u), ov(u) etc. e.g.: kay(i), ney(i), bay(i); kav(u)mpu, ov(u) etc.

In traditional way of writing ay(i) and ey(i) are recorded as diphthong ai; and av(u) and ov(u) are recorded as diphthong au.

Consonants:

Altogether there are 34 consonants in the language. Among them 8 are stops and 2 are affricates. The stops and affricates are of two types - voiced and voiceless. The aspirated and unaspirated contrast for all stop consonants and affricates is maintained mostly in formal speech. The contrast is more consciously maintained in b dialects. Hence the aspirated consonants freely vary with unaspirated ones in informal speech of all dialects.

Totally there are five nasals in the language. The nasal

n frequently/rarely varies freely with n̪ in Sc dialect. In Nc n̪ occurs very rarely. But in b dialects the contrast between n̪ and n is strictly maintained. Sometimes the nasal ñ occurs as an allophone of n in c dialects. It can occur in initial position also. The nasal ñ can occur in clusters and in geminations. Nasals ñ and n can occur only in the medial position.

The alveolar and retroflex laterals are always in a clearcut contrast in b dialects and occur~~s~~, frequently in free variation in Sc dialect. In Nc dialect the contrast is very rare.

The semi vowels v and y and the apical trill r̪ occur in all dialects. The glottal fricative h̪ occurs in non-final positions only.

All consonants except h̪ and s can occur in gemination. No consonant occurs in the final position.

The contrasts of vowels and consonants are given below: (The examples cited below are common in most of the dialects and hence dialect symbols are not given. They are given only when the cited example occurs in a particular dialect in the given form.)

1.2. Contrasts:

1.2.1. Vowels:

i and e

mudi	'oval shaped bundle of rice or paddy'	mude	'to plait'
maami	'mother-in-law'	maame	'father-in-law'
iidu	'pledge, aim'	eedu	'goat'
siru	'lice'	seeru	'seer, a measure of quantity'

i and E

batti	'wick'	batTE	'(I) came'
paji	'raw, unripe'	pajE	'mat'
ketti	'egg'	kettE	'chip'
kodi	'tip'	kodE	'umbrella'

i and u

naadi	'pulse, beat of the heart'	naadu	'to search'
kaati	'bison'	kaatu	'wild, rude'

i and a

kari	'charcoal'	kara	'earthen pot'
irE	'leaf'	arE	'half'
iitu	'manure'	aatu	'to mill'
niidu	'to stretch out'	naadu	'to search'

i and u

irlu(S,Nc)	'night'	urlu	'noose'
iindu	'sago palm'	uundu	'to push'
niru	'water'	nuuru (ScNc)	'to creep in'

i and o

pili	'tiger'	poli	'increase abundance'
dinnE	'raised ground'	donnE	'cudgel'
biiri(Sc)	'jungle-fire'	boori	'bull'
kiilu	'peg, joint'	koolu	'stick, staff'
kambi	'the borders of a cloth'	kambo(S)	'pillar'
addi	'obstacle, objection'	addo(S)	'beam'

e and E

pooye '(he) went' pooyE '(I) went'

tinde '(he) ate' tindE '(I) ate'

e and u

-

dadde 'dullard' daddu 'chaff; hardness
 .. of the skin'

kutte 'he-goat, ram' kuttu 'to hit, pound,
 .. knock'

e and a

eduru 'front' aduru 'to shake'

keppE 'check' kappE 'frog'

neelu 'to hang' naalu 'four'

peeru 'milk' paaru 'to run'

keyi 'paddy plant' kayi 'hand'

e and u

are 'to grind' aru 'edge, border'

eru 'ox' uru 'idleness; boredom'

eeru 'to ascend' uuru 'to set firmly,
 .. implant'

neelu 'to hang' nuulu 'thread'

e and o

eli 'rat' oli 'palm-leaf'

ettu 'to reach' ottu 'to press down'

seeru 'to join' sooru 'to leak'

eelu 'seven' oolu 'where'

E and u

aan <u>E</u>	'anna'	aan <u>u</u>	'male'
patt <u>E</u>	'address'	patt <u>u</u>	'ten'

E and a

kar <u>E</u>	'side, bank'	kara	'earthen pot'
pud <u>E</u>	'load'	puda	'dove'

E and u

kud <u>E</u> (S,Nc)	'a hole in the ground or wall usually made by rats'	kudu	'horsegram'
tumb <u>E</u>	'name of a plant'	tumbu	'to carry on the head or shoulder'

E and o

toot <u>E</u>	'cartridge'	tooto(S)	'areca garden'
nar <u>E</u>	'greyness'	naro(S)	'nerve'
paad <u>E</u>	'rock'	paado(S)	'foot'
enm <u>E</u> (S,Nb)	'gingely'	enmo (S)	'eight'
barey <u>E</u>	'(I) wrote'	bareyo	'(we) wrote'
kalt <u>E</u>	'(I) studied'	kalto	'(we) studied'
tinp <u>E</u>	'(I) eat'	tinpo	'(we) eat'

u and a

kaad <u>u</u>	'forest, jungle'	kaada	'of or belonging to the forest'
ball <u>u</u>	'rope'	balla	'a unit of measuring grains'
katt <u>u</u>	'to tie'	katta	'bundle'
mutt <u>u</u>	'to touch, reach'	mutta	'near'

<u>u</u> and <u>u</u>			
<u>u</u> -			
pattu(S)	'to hold, catch, pattu touch'		'it will hold, it will catch'
naadu	'to emit foul smell'	naadu	'it will emit foul smell'
kandu(S)	'to steal'	kandu(S)	'thief'
enku	'to me, for me'	enku	'a proper name'
<u>u</u> and <u>o</u>			
<u>u</u> -			
kaaru	'leg'	kaaro(S)	'tasting hot or pungent'
gundu	'bullet'	gunde(S)	'sanctum, sanctorum'
ardu(ScNc)	'to wash clothes'	ardo(S)	'half'
<u>a</u> and <u>u</u>			
<u>a</u> -			
andE	'a tubiform structure made of bamboo'	undE	'a round stuff, around sweet- meat'
adE	'inner chamber'	udE	'sheath'
kaali	'the goddess kaali'	kuuli	'teeth'
maale	'garland'	muulE	'corner'
<u>a</u> and <u>o</u>			
<u>a</u> -			
addi	'obstacle, hindrance'	oddi	'a unit signifying four'
adeppu	'to obstruct, close'	odeppu	'to break'
aadegu	'there'	oodegu	'where'
gaali	'wind'	gooli	'banyan tree'

u and o

pudi	'sore, ulcer'	podি	'powder'
kudi	'turn, instal- ment, period'	kodi	'eagerness, greediness'
puu	'flower'	poo	'to go'
aru	'edge, border'	aro(S)	'file'
paapu(b)	'enough'	paapo(S)	'sin'

Contrast in length:i and ii

tirpu	'thread of a screw'	tiirpu	'judgement'
pili	'tiger'	piili	'a kind of cork'

e and ee

eri(N)	'the glare or heat of fire'	eeri (ScNc)	'a big sea bream fish'
sedi	'to have throbbing pain'	seedi	'clay'

E and EE

baalE	'child'	baalEE	'O! my dear child'
ambE	'cow(in baby talk)'	ambEE	'an onomatopoeic sound of low (of cattle)'

a and aa

gadE	'mace'	gaadE	'proverb'
cadi	'notch'	caadi	'tale-bearing'

u and uu

tumbu	'to bear, carry as load'	tuumbu	'a big hole'
muri	'curve, ring, windings of a conch'	muuri	'bad smell'

o and oo

orE	'sheath'	oorE	'crooked, bent'
kode	'umbrella'	koode	'yesterday'

1.2.2. Consonantsp and b

pañji	'pig'	bañji	'stomach'
peeru	'milk'	beeru	'root'
geppu(N, Sb)	'to take'	gebbu (Sc)	'temples'
uppu	'salt'	ubbu	'to swell'

t and d

tumbu	'to bear, carry as a load'	dumbu	'front'
teeru	'temple-car, Chariot'	deery	'to drive as cattle etc.'
katE	'story'	kadE	'stain'
paatE(S)	'butterfly'	paadE	'rock'

t and d

iitu	'manure'	iidu	'pledge, aim'
kaatu	'wild, rude'	kaadu	'forest'
atti	'pile, heap'	addi	'objection, obstacle'
tikki	'an ear ornament'	dikki	'dash'

c and j

caadi	'tale-bearing'	jaadi	'a large jar'
acci	'axle, model mould'	ajji	'grandmother'

k and g

kandi	'window'	gandi	'natural drainage'
kade	'stain'	gadE	'mace'
keenu	'to hear, ask'	geenu	'a span'
nakku	'to lick, lap'	naggu(S)	'to get crushed or bruised, be damaged'

m and n

mattu	'style, manner'	nattu	'to beg'
maadu	'roof'	naadu	'to search'
maadu	'to turn about'	naadu	'to emit foul smell'

m and n

amme	'father'	anne	'brother'
maani	'a Brahmin boy'	maami	'mother-in-law'
saamE	'millet'	saanE(S,Nb)	'whitestone'

m and ñ

makku	'awn of grain; irritation in the throat'	ñakku	'to get crushed or bruised'
maanaavu	'to lull to sleep'	ñaaanaavu	'cause to get moist'

n and ñ

aanu(b)	'done, finished'	aanu	'male'
maani	'the priest of Bhuta worship'	maani	'a Brahmin boy'
aani	'then, that day'	aani	'nail'

n and ñ

nakku	'to lick'	ñakku	'to get crushed or bruised'
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n and ñ

mannanE 'appreciation,
approbation'

banno(S) 'colour'

mannanE 'affection,
coquetry'

banño 'difficulty,
trouble'

l and ll

eelu 'to melt'

palli 'house lizard'

eelu(S,Nb) 'seven'

palli(S,Nb) 'mosque'

s and ſ

saalu 'line, row'

ſaalu 'shawl'

h and k

hanE 'forehead'

halli 'hamlet, village'

handE '(water) drum'

kanE 'slender branch'

kalli 'milk hedge,
prickly pear'

kande 'bulbous root'

h and g

hiiru 'to suck, drink'

giiru 'to scratch'

Contrast between single and geminated consonants:g and gg

agi 'to chew'

aggi 'fire'

j and jj

baji 'mere, only, empty'

bajji 'a kind of dish
(food)'

t and tt

pato(S) 'photo, picture'

patto(S) 'throne'

d and dd

cadi 'notch'
adi 'bottom, foot'

caddi 'shorts, trousers'
addi 'objection'

t and tt

ati	'over'	atti	'a kind of tree'
-----	--------	------	------------------

d and dd

mudE	'bloodrela- tionship'	muddE	'heap, lump'
------	--------------------------	-------	--------------

p and pp

kapi	'monkey'	kappi	'pully'
------	----------	-------	---------

kapo(S)	'phlegm'	kappo(S)	'tribute'
---------	----------	----------	-----------

b and bb

kabE	'pillar, post'	kabbE(Nc)	'prone'
------	----------------	-----------	---------

n and nn

enE	'equality, friendship'	ennE	'oil'
-----	---------------------------	------	-------

n and nn

kano(S)	'dream'	kanno(S)	'hole made in a wall by a burglar'
---------	---------	----------	---------------------------------------

m and mm

simo(Sc)	'cold, chill'	simmo(S)	'lion'
----------	---------------	----------	--------

kami(Nc)	'to cover as clouds'	kammi	'shortage'
----------	-------------------------	-------	------------

l and ll

bale	'net'	ballE	'bush, thicket'
------	-------	-------	-----------------

male	'forest'	mallE	'big'
------	----------	-------	-------

l and ll

kali	'toddy'	kalli	'prickly pear; compartment as in a purse etc.'
------	---------	-------	--

puli	'tamarind; sourness'	pulli	'grandchild'
------	-------------------------	-------	--------------

Contrast between aspirated and unaspirated consonants:

p and ph

pala(N)	'many'	phala(N)	'fruit, result'
pakka	'quick'	phakka	'suddenly'

b and bh

baago(S)	'a split piece'	bhaago(S)	'portion, side'
baṅga(Nc)	'difficulty'	bhaṅga(N)	'breaking, hindrance'
baṅgi	'hemp'	bhaṅgi	'pose'

d and dh

bando(S)	'batter, dough'	bandho(S)	'bond, bondage'
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k and kh

kandi	'window'	khandi	'a weight equal to 20 maunds'
kando(S)	'ricefield'	khando(S)	'continent, piece'

g and gh

gatānE	'the steps inside a well'	ghatānE	'incident'
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1.3. Description of phonemes:

1.3.1. Vowels:

- i A high front unrounded short vowel
- ii A high front unrounded long vowel
- e A mid front unrounded short vowel
- ee A mid front unrounded long vowel
- E A low front unrounded short vowel
- EE A low front unrounded long vowel
- u A high central unrounded short vowel

- uu A high central unrounded long vowel
- ..
- a A low central unrounded short vowel
- aa A low central unrounded long vowel
- u A high back rounded short vowel
- uu A high back rounded long vowel
- o A mid back rounded short vowel
- oo A mid back rounded long vowel

1.3.2. Consonants

- p A bilabial voiceless stop
- b A bilabial voiced stop
- t A dental voiceless stop
- d A dental voiced stop
- t̪ A retroflex voiceless stop
- d̪ A retroflex voiced stop
- c A palatal voiceless affricate
- j A palatal voiced affricate
- k A velar voiceless stop
- g A velar voiced stop
- m A bilabial nasal
- n A dental nasal
- n̪ A retroflex nasal
- ñ A palatal nasal
- ñ̪ A velar nasal
- v A labio-dental semi-vowel
- l An alveolar lateral
- l̪ A retroflex lateral

- y A palatal semi-vowel
- r An alveolar trill
- s An alveolar voiceless sibilant
- ʂ A retroflex voiceless sibilant
- tʂ A palatal voiceless sibilant
- h A glottal fricative

1.4. Distribution of phonemes:

1.4.1. Vowels:

The distribution of various vowel phonemes are shown as follows :

Table - 1
Distribution of Phonemes

<u>Vowels</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Final</u>
<u>i</u>	+	+	+
<u>ii</u>	+	+	+
<u>e</u>	+	+	+
<u>ee</u>	+	+	+
<u>E</u>	-	-	+
<u>EE</u>	-	+	+
<u>u</u>	+	+	+
<u>u·</u>	-	+	+
<u>uu</u>	-	+	+
<u>··</u>	-	+	+
<u>a</u>	+	+	+
<u>aa</u>	+	+	+
<u>u</u>	+	+	+
<u>uu</u>	+	+	+
<u>o</u>	+	+	+
<u>oo</u>	+	+	+

ILLUSTRATIONS:

Vowels . Initial

		<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Final</u>
<u>i</u>	ire	'leaf'	kidE	'cow-pen'
<u>ii</u>	iru	'you(hon.sg)'	niru.	'water'
<u>e</u>	ede	'chest'	cembu	'copper'
<u>ee</u>	eedu	'goat'	keedu	'harm'
<u>ɛ</u>	--	--	--	--
<u>EE</u>	--	--	--	--
<u>u</u>	unde	'Lo! take'	nadugu	'tremble'
<u>oo</u>	--	--	poonuunde(Nb)	'he told; it is gone'
<u>a</u>	angi	'shirt'	karE	'side'
<u>aa</u>	aanE	'elephant'	naalu.	'four'
<u>u</u>	umi	'husk'	kudu	'horsegram'
<u>uu</u>	uuru	'native, village'	nuulu	'thread'
<u>o</u>	oñji	'one'	kode	'umbrella'
<u>oo</u>	ooni	'lane'	koodi	'corner'

		<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Final</u>
<u>i</u>	ire	'leaf'	adi	'bottom'
<u>ii</u>	iru	'you(hon.sg)'	pi	'human excreta'
<u>e</u>	ede	'chest'	aaye	'he'
<u>ee</u>	eedu	'goat'	kadee	'to grind'
<u>ɛ</u>	--	--	--	--
<u>EE</u>	--	--	tare	'head'
<u>u</u>	unde	'Lo! take'	baaleE	'O! my dear child'
<u>oo</u>	--	--	kaadu	'forest'
<u>a</u>	angi	'shirt'	tinpaa	'it has eaten'
<u>aa</u>	aanE	'elephant'	skruu	'pot'
<u>u</u>	umi	'husk'	sappu	'to cause to eat'
<u>uu</u>	uuru	'native, village'	tooto	'leaf'
<u>o</u>	oñji	'one'	suupoo	'screw'
<u>oo</u>	ooni	'lane'	oñji	'garden'

1.4.2. Consonants

The various consonantal phonemes are shown as follows:

Table - 2
Consonantal phonemes

<u>Consonants</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Final</u>
p	+	+	-
ph	+	+	-
b	+	+	-
bh	+	+	-
t	+	+	-
th	+	+	-
d	+	+	-
dh	+	+	-
t̪	+	+	-
th̪	+	+	-
d̪	+	+	-
dh̪	+	+	-
c	+	+	-
ch	+	+	-
j	+	+	-
jh	-	-	-
k	+	+	-
kh	+	+	-
g	+	+	-
gh	+	+	-
m	+	+	-
n	+	+	-
n̪	-	+	-
ñ	+	+	-
ñ̪	-	+	-
v	+	+	-
l	+	+	-

<u>Consonants</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Final</u>
l	-	+	-
y	+	+	-
r	+	+	-
s	+	+	-
s	+	+	-
s	+	+	-
h	+	+	-

- (a) No consonant can occur finally
 (b) All the consonants except jh can occur medially
 (c) All the consonants except dh, jh, n, h, l (and) can occur in the initial position.

Illustrations:

<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>
p paru 'to drink'	kaapu 'to wait'
ph phakkanE 'suddenly'	kapha 'phlegm'
b baggu 'to bend'	kabE 'pillar'
bh bharti 'full, complete'	sabhE 'assembly'
t tulu 'Tulu language'	mati 'consciousness'
th thuu 'a term to express disgust, filth etc.'	artha 'meaning'
d dani 'sound'	badi 'dowry'
dh dhaaraala 'generous, luxurious'	baadhE 'trouble, annoyance'
t tapaalu 'post'	taati 'clapping'
th thakke 'a cheat'	kathina 'hard, rigid'
d dabbi 'a tin'	gadi 'boundary'
dh dhikki 'dash'	gaadha 'deep'
c candre 'the moon'	naacige 'shyness'

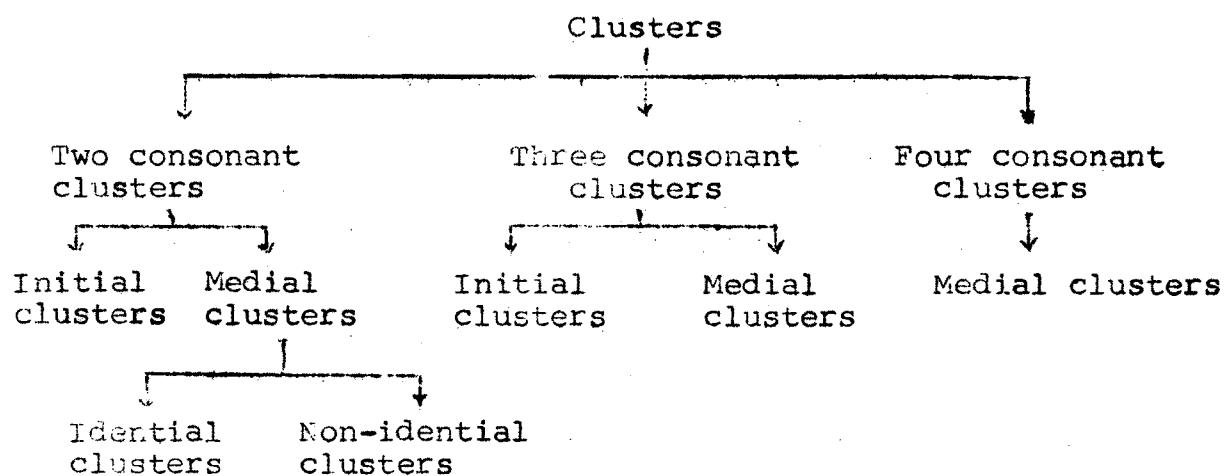
<u>ch</u>	chaayE	'shadow, reflection'	muurche	'swoon'
<u>j</u>	jadE	'plaited hair, hood of a serpent'	aajE	'oath'
<u>jh</u>	-	-	-	-
<u>k</u>	kadya	'water-pot'	baaki	'balance surplus'
<u>kh</u>	khandita	'definite, certain'	mukha	'face'
<u>g</u>	gobbu	'play, sport'	pugE	'smoke'
<u>gh</u>	ghoosaa	'purdah'	arghya	'offering of water to deities'
<u>m</u>	magalu	'daughter'	maame	'father-in-law'
<u>n</u>	nattu	'to beg'	manasu	'mind, intention'
<u>n</u>	-	-	anne	'elder brother'
<u>ñ</u>	ñooli	'anything sticky, slimy'	koññE	'prattling'
<u>ñ</u>	-	-	banna	'hardship, difficulty'
<u>v</u>	vaadikE	'custom'	neevalo	'girdle' -
<u>l</u>	lakku	'to get up'	male	'forest'
<u>l</u>	-	-	gaali	'wind'
<u>y</u>	yaanu	'I'	baayi	'mouth'
<u>r</u>	rattE	'arm'	mara	'tree'
<u>s</u>	sasthi	'the sixth day in a fortnight'	kasto	'trouble'
<u>s</u>	saalu	'shawl'	beesa	'the second Tulu month'
<u>h</u>	haasigE	'bed'	sahaayo	'help, assistance'

1.5. Clusters:

The clusters which are noticed in Tulu are usually of two and three consonants. Rarely we find four consonant clusters too.

Among these consonant clusters the two consonant clusters are very common. They occur in initial as well as medial positions. The initial clusters are usually found in borrowed words. Sometimes the clusters are optionally simplified by the insertion of the enunciative vowel u in between the consonants.

Of the clusters found in Tulu the consonants d, n, m, r, l, t and s occur more frequently than other consonants. The clusters which are found in Tulu can be broadly classified as follows:



1.5.1. Two Consonant Clusters:

The two consonant clusters that appear in Tulu dialects may be divided into (i) Initial clusters and (ii) Medial clusters, according to the position that they occur.

1.5.1.1. Initial two consonant clusters:

In the initial position usually the consonants p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, y, s and s occur as first member and consonants p, t, t, m, n, n, ñ, y, v, r, l and s occur as second member in the two consonant clusters. They may be shown as follows:

Table - 3
Initial two consonant clusters

	p	t	t̪	k	m	n	n̪	y	v	r	l	s
p												+
b								+	+			
t								+	+			
d								+	+	+		
t̪												+
d̪												+
j								+	+	+		
k								+	+	+	+	
g								+	+			
m								+				
n								+				
v								+		+		
s								+	+	+		
s̪		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
pr-	priiti	'affection, love'
by-	byaari	'Muslim'
br-	braamhane(b)	'Brahman'
ty-	tyaampe	'a male proper name'
tr-	traasu	'a balance'
dy-	dyaano(s)	'meditation'
dr-	dravo(s)	'liquid'
dv-	dvaadasi	'the 12th day in the half of the lunar month'
tr̪-	trunku	'a large box made of iron'
dr̪-	dressu	'dress'
jñ-	jñaano(s)	'knowledge'

jy-	jyooti	'a proper name, flame'
jv-	jvaro (S)	'fever'
kv-	kvacitu	'sporadic'
kr-	krayo (S)	'price'
kl-	klaasu	'class'
ks-	kseetro (S)	'holy place'
gr-	graacaaro (S)	'fate'
gl-	glaasu	'glass, tumbler'
mn-	mnaani (b)	'day before yesterday'
ny-	nyaayo (S)	'justice'
vy-	vyavastE	'arrangement'
vr-	vrato (Sb)	'observance of religious practice'
sv-	svaaso (Sb)	'breath'
sr-	sraddhE (b)	'devotion'
sl-	slooke (Sb)	'Sanskrit verse'
sp-	sparso (Sb)	'touch'
st-	stuti	'praise'
st-	stuulu	'a stool'
sm-	smaranE (b)	'remembrance'
sn-	sneehite (b)	'male friend'
sv-	svaami	'lord'
sr-	sraavo (Sb)	'percolation'
sk-	skuutaru	'scooter'

1.5.1.2. Medial two consonant clusters:

Table - 4

Medial two consonant clusters are again classified into -
 (a) identical consonant clusters, and
 (b) non-identical consonant clusters

1.5.1.2.1. Identical consonant clusters

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>
-pp-	kappu 'black'
-bb-	gobbu 'play, sport'
-tt-	pattu 'ten'
-dd-	paadeyi 'ornaments'
-tt- ..	kutti 'a peg'
-dd- ..	oddi 'a unit signifying four'
-cc-	paccE 'green'
-jj-	ajji 'grandmother'
-kk-	kakkE 'a crow'
-gg-	baggu 'to bend, bow'
-mm-	kammi 'deficiency, shortage'
-nn-	kenni 'temples'
-nn- ..	mannu 'soil'
-ññ-	moñño 'curds (in baby talk)'
-ññ-	añhano 'temple-yard'
-vv-	savvalu(S) 'lean'
-ll-	elle 'tomorrow'
-ll- ..	kulle 'a dwarf'
-yy-	bayya 'evening'
-rr-	sarro (Sc) 'the body'
-ss-	passu (N) 'to hold'
-ss-	nissabdo 'silence'

1.5.1.2.2. Non-identical consonant clusters

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>
-pt-	kaptane 'Naval captain'
-pd-	aapdikku (Nb) 'that side'
-pd-	cepdi(S) 'simple, trick'
-pk-	tapka 'suddenly, headlong'
-pm-	poopma (Nb) 'going'
-pn-	aapna (b) 'becoming'
-pv-	soopve(N) 'he fails'
-pl-	saplayi 'supply'
-pl-	gaplaasu 'empty, vain, without substance'
-py-	goopya (Nb) 'hidden, concealed'
-pr-	upraali (Nb) 'annoyance, mischief'
-ps-	aapsiitu 'offset'
-bd-	śabdo (S) 'sound'
-bj-	abjaali(S) 'a vagabond'
-bk-	abkaari 'excise tax'
-bv-	gobve 'he plays'
-bl-	tabE 'tabla, a finger-drum'
-bl-	uble (S) 'stammer'
-by-	sabye 'a dignified person'
-br-	abrooni (c) 'a kind of fish'
-bhy-	abhyango(Sb) 'anointing'
-tp-	utpatti 'yield'
-tk-	satkaaro (S) 'hospitality, treatment'
-tm-	aatmo (S) 'soul'
-tn-	aṅgatnE(Sc) 'thirst'
-tv-	satvo(S) 'essence'
-tl-	atlaasu 'a kind of ear ornament'
-ty-	atyE 'sister-in-law'
-tr-	paattro(S) 'vessels'
-ts-	utsavo (S) 'festival'
-thy-	pathyo (S) 'dietic restraint'

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-dp-	adpu	'to excrete'
-db-	adbuto(S)	'wonderful'
-dk-	kudke	'a fox'
-dm-	madmE(c)	'marriage'
-dn-	padnaaji	'sixteen'
-dv-	podve	'a relative'
-dl-	medle	'a kind of worm'
-dy-	Coodyo (S)	'curiosity'
-dr-	kadru	'a spike of corn'
-dhy-	baadhyaste(b)	'a heir, inheritor'
-tp-	katpaadi	'a placename'
-tt-	kayittu (Sc)	'from the hand'
-tk-	kutki (Sb)	'hiccup'
-tn-	kuutnavu (Sc)	'that which is whetted'
-tn-	patni (S)	'starvation, fast'
-tv-	batvaadi	'distribution'
-tl-	patlakkaayi (Sb)	'snake-gourd'
-tl-	katle	'custom'
-ty-	kotya	'a shed'
-tr-	kotre(N)	'a spade'
-ts-	mutsu	'an observance to ward off evil spirits and to cure diseases'
-thy-	pathyo(S)	'that which is to be studied'
-dp-	edpu	'to pound, to hit'
-dt-	pidto(S)	'a grip'
-dd-	gidderu	'a species of ox'
-dc-	padca	'finished, an exclamatory utterance'
-dj-	jadjeru	'a judge'
-dk-	adka	'an open place'
-dm-	edma (Nc)	'eight'
-dn-	budnaaru	'a placename'
-dn-	adnaadi (Sc)	'a vagabond'

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-dv-	kudve	'a person belonging to Kudva family among Konkani people'
-dl-	kudla (c)	'the Tulu name, for Mangalore'
-dI-	kadle	'bengal-gram'
-dy-	kadya	'an earthen pot'
-dr-	adru	'a propername among Harijans'
-ds-	gadsu	'clever, brave, able'
-dhy-	maudhyo(Sb)	'a particular period counted in astronomy'
-od-	kacda	'dirty, uncivilized'
-ck-	pickaari	'syringe'
-cm-	lacmi	'a proper name'
-cv-	ocve	'he shall row'
-cy-	ocyē	'he rowed'
-jp-	ajpa (Nc)	'sixty'
-jm-	ajmeda kallu (N)	'a grinding stone'
-jñ-	ajñaano (S)	'ignorance, superstition'
-jv-	kujvE(S)	'tender jackfruit'
-jl-	mejle (Sc)	'a thread-worm'
-jy-	puujyeru	'respectable person' (hon.sg.)
-jr-	vajro(S)	'diamond'
-kt-	bhakti	'devotion'
-kd-	eekdam	'at once, incessantly'
-km-	rukmaṇye	'a proper name'
-kn-	sukrundE	' a kind of sweet eatable'
-kn-	cikni (S)	'tiny object or person'
-kv-	mukve	'a person belonging to Mogaveera community'
-kl-	nekliisu	'necklace'
-kl-	poklu (Sb)	'navel'
-ky-	saukyo	'health'
-kr-	ekrE	'acre'
-ks-	uksu	'hooks'

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>
-ks-	aksarə (S) 'a letter of the alphabet'
-khy-	mukhya 'important'
-gp-	magpu (N) 'to turn, upset'
-gb-	aagbootu(Nc) 'a steam-boat'
-gt-	nugtE 'softness, especially soil'
-gd-	megdi 'younger sister'
-gd-	hegdE 'a surname or family name'
-gm-	sagme (Sc) 'a male servant'
-gn-	agni 'fire'
-gv-	saagvaani 'teakwood'
-gl-	bagla 'you bend'
-gy-	bhaagyo (Sb) 'luck, fortune'
-gr-	ugraani 'a peon of the village office'
-GE-	sigsE (c) 'punishment'
-mp-	kempu 'red'
-mb-	ambi 'cowdung'
-mt-	kamti 'a member of one of the sections of Konkani community'
-mt-	cimti 'pincers'
-mc-	camco 'spoon'
-mk-	amku 'to grasp with the mouth all of a sudden'
-mn-	amnooru 'the mother goddess'
-mn-	cimmi 'a kerosene lamp'
-my-	saumyo (S) 'mild'
-mr-	taamro (S) 'copper'
-ms-	amsaani 'an amazon, an abusive term'
-mś-	samsayo (S) 'doubt'
-mh-	samhaaro (S) 'destruction'
-np-	tinpe 'he eats'

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-nb-	sinbe (Sc)	'he may eat'
-nt-	kantu	'to sink'
-nd-	andu	'yes'
-nk-	tanku	'to oneself'
-nm-	manmate	'beautiful man'
-nv-	anvayo (S‡)	'substance'
-nl-	tinla	'you eat!'
-ny-	anyaayo	'injustice'
-ns-	dEEEnsU	'dance'
-np-	menpuri (c)	'glow-worm'
-nb-	panbe (c)	'he will tell'
-nt-	pante	'he told'
-nd-	keende (Nc)	'he asked'
-nt-	moonte	'a lame'
-nd-	pundi	'the fist; oil-cake'
-nc-	puncE	'tamarind'
-nk-	nanke	'brother-in-law'
-nv-	keenve	'he will ask'
-nl-	panla	'you tell'
-nm-	enmE	'gingely'
-ny-	panyE	'a comb; bunch of plantain fruit'
-ns-	manse	'a person belonging to Mansa community'
-ñc-	añci	'that side'
-ñj-	bañji	'stomach, belly'

-ñk-	ooñkate (S)	'nausea'
-ñg-	taañgu	'to support, prop'
-vy-	avyavaste	'disorder'
-lp-	kalpu	'to study'
-lb-	albE (c)	'frail, slender'
-lt-	vooltaaje	'a placename'
-ld-	jaldi	'quick'
-lt-	palti	'overturn, topsy-turvy'
-ld-	aldEkaayi (c)	'inknut'
-lc-	pilcaandi (c)	'name of a female Bhuta'
-lj-	kaljiga (c)	'Kaliyuga', the fourth age'
-lk-	kalkude	'name of a male Bhuta'
-lg-	algu	'to shake'
-lm-	maalmi (S)	'a compass'
-ln-	koolnинE (ScN)	'a wick prepared by winding a piece of cloth to a stick'

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-lv-	halva	'a kind of sweet eatable'
-ly-	elya (c)	'small'
-ls-	polsu	'luck, good fortune'
-lp-	kolpu	'sprain'
-lb-	olbE	'a corner region especially of a hill'
-lt-	peddolti(Sb)	'a woman in confinement'
-ld-	boldu (b, Sc)	'white'
-lc-	bolco (Sb)	'light'

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<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-lj-	boljaati	'white people'
-lk-	bolkallu	'white stone'
-lg-	pulga (Nb)	'over boiled'
-lm-	talmena (Sb)	'Cool, bracing'
-ln-	alnetti (Sc)	'dysentery'
-lv-	kalve	'a thief'
-ly-	paalyo (S)	'army, cantonment'
-ls-	boolsaa (c)	'cleanly shave'
-yp-	kaypE (S)	'bitterness'
-yb-	saaybe	'a Saheb, muslim'
-yt-	kaaytalu	'a baking pan'
-yt-	meytu	'on the body'
-yk-	aaykE	'selection'
-yg-	neygE	'weaving'
-ym-	neymeno (S)	'fineness, softness'
-yn-	aajaayno (Sc)	'a vegetable dish the water of which is evaporated'
-yv-	ayvo (S)	'fifty'
-yl-	koylu	'harvest'
-rp-	sarpe	'a cobra'
-rb-	aarbatE	'shouting'
-rt-	gurto (S)	'acquaintance'
-rd-	mardu	'medicine'
-rt-	curtE	'a kind of poisonous snake'
-rd-	urdu	'to wrestle, fight'
-rc-	kerci (Sc)	'a knot put especially to join coconuts together'

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<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-rj-	marji	'style, fashion'
-rk-	sorkaalo (S)	'mating as an animal'
-rg-	pergude	'a bandicoot '
-rm-	marmaalu	'a daughter-in-law'
-rr-	nirnaalo (S)	'the sixth Tulu month'
-rn-	ajiirno (S)	'indigestion'
-rv-	arvE	'cloth'
-rl-	marle	'a mad man'
-rl-	karlu (Nb)	'intestine'
-ry-	karyani	'black beads worn by married woman whose husband is alive'
-rs-	birse	'a clever man'
-rs-	orso (S)	'year'
-rs-	vimars'E	'criticism, evaluation'
-rh-	arhe	'an eligible person'
-sp-	aaspatre	'a hospital'
-st-	mastu	'abundant'
-sd-	tasdiiku	'a government allowance for a temple'
-st-	astami	'the birth day of Lord Krishna'
-sk-	kusku	'to have sprain'
-sg-	kasgaayi (Nb)	'half ripe'
-sm-	apasmaaro (S)	'epilepsy'
-sv-	pisvaasi (c)	'goblin'
-sl-	usli	'a kind of seasoned eating made of beaten rice'
-sy-	haasyo (S)	'joke'

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-sr-	nasraani	'a mean or worthless fellow'
-sp-	puspo (S)	'flower'
-sb-	goosbaari	'carelessness'
-st-	kasto (S)	'trouble, hardship'
-sk-	suska (b)	'dry'
-sm-	kuusmaando (Sb)	'pumpkin'
-sn-	usno (S)	'heat, subtriness'
-sy-	pusyE	'the eighth of the lunar mansions'
-sc-	paścaattaapo (S)	'repentance'
-sm-	reeśmE	'silk'
-śn-	praśnE	'question'
-sv-	viśvaaso(S)	'trust, confidence'
-sl-	aasleesE (Sb)	'the nineth lunar mansion'
-śy-	aavaśyakatE	'need, necessity'
-śr-	aasrayo (S)	'shelter'

1.5.2. Three Consonant Clusters:

The three consonant clusters that are found in Tulu dialects may be divided into Initial and Medial clusters as per the position that they occur.

1.5.2.1. Initial three consonant clusters:

The initial three consonant clusters are noticed only in two instances. Both of these are borrowed words, one from Sanskrit and the other from English.

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>
-----------------	----------------------

str-	strii	'woman, lady'
skr-	skruu	'a screw'

Among these two clusters the second one is sometimes pronounced by Sc & Nc dialects as iskruu by adding the vowel i initially for the sake of easy pronunciation. But this vowel is never prefixed to the former one as it may mean 'ironing' instead of 'woman'.

1.5.2.2. Medial three consonant clusters:

The medial three consonant clusters are found in good number. The frequency of occurrence of the consonant r is much more than any other consonant.

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>
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-dpv-	kadpve	'(he) cuts'
-dtr-	kadtru	'(you)cut (it)off'
-dñj-	kadñjikaayi	'a kind of fruit'
-mpv-	maampve (Sb)	'(he) does'
-mpy-	sampya	'a placename'
-mpr-	suumpralu (Sc)	'blowing pipe'
-mpl-	kampliitu	'complete'
-mbd-	kumbdo (S)	'pumpkin'
-mby-	imbye	'this person'
-mbl-	tamblantoodi-	'a Brahmin surname'
	ttaaya	
-mbl-	kumble	'a placename'
-mbr-	kottambri	'coriander'

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-ntn-	siiranthaavu (Sc)	'that which is not possible'
-nty-	bolantyari	'white rice'
-ntr-	mantri	'minister'
-ndn-	pandnu (b)	'(it) shook or moved'
-ndy-	uundye	'(he) pushed'
-ndv-	sundve	'(he) will wind up'
-ndr-	bendru (S, Nc)	'hot or warm water'
-nds-	gandsaale	'a species of rice'
-nkl-	tanklu	'oneself'
-nty-	kaantya	'basket'
-ntr-	tantruppuli(Sb)	'a kind of dish for meals'
-ntv-	puntve	'(he) will squeeze'
-ntl-	puntla	'(you) squeeze!'
-ndn-	kandnaga (S)	'while stealing'
-ndv-	kandve (S)	'(he) will steal'
-ndl-	kandla (S)	'(you) steal!'
-ndy-	undyE	'a bundle of straw'
-ndl-	undlugo (S)	'a kind of round shape eatable'
-ndr-	kandrakutti	'an abusive term'
-nds-	bandsaale	'a ware house'
-n̄ng-	pun̄ngu	'civet'
-n̄nc-	mun̄nci(S)	'pepper'
-n̄nj-	pon̄joovu (b)	'woman'
-n̄cv-	kañcveelu(Sb)	'bitter-gourd'
-n̄kt-	pankti (Sb)	'a row'

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-ñkn-	piñkn̄u (Sb)	'(it) slipped out'
-ñky-	saañkye	'(he) nourished'
-ñkl-	eñklu	'we (exclusive)'
-ñkv-	pareñkve	'(he) will scratch'
-ñkr-	baleñkru	'scab'
-ñgv-	ningve (Sb)	'(he) will swallow'
-ñgl-	muñgli	'mongoose'
-ñgl-	mañglaarati	'lamp worship'
-ñgy-	muñgye	'(he) has sunk'
-ñgr-	bingri	'deliriousness'
-ñgs-	hañgsaa(c)	'to reproach, taunt'
-lpv-	kalpve	'(he) studies'
-ltn-	kaltn̄u	'(it) studied'
-lty-	paacoltyaaru (c)	'a kind of fish'
-lkv-	salkve (S)	'(he) will stuff in'
-lky-	salkye (S)	'(he) stuffed in'
-lmb-	aalmbudo	'the castor seeds'
-lñg-	alñgu	'to be soft'
-lpv-	bulpvalu (S)	'(she) weeps'
-ltr-	koltri (b)	'didn't give'
-lnt-	bolntingalu (Sb)	'the seventh Tulu month'
-lñc-	pulñcu (Sb)	'to squeeze'
-lñj-	bolñja	'a placename'
-lñg-	ulñgu	'to get dried'
-rpv-	nurpve	'(he) crushes with fingers'

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-rbl-	urbli	'naked'
-rtr-	kertri (b)	'did not kill'
-rdy-	urdye	'(he) rubbed'
-rdv-	urdve	'(he) will rub'
-rcy-	urcye	'(he) excreted the stools'
-rky-	birkye (S)	'(he) scattered'
-rkn-	sorknaaye	'who got pride'
-rkv-	sirkve	'(he) will become lean'
-rgy-	argyo (Sb)	'libation'
-rmb-	ormbo (S)	'nine'
-rnd-	kerndelu	'udder'
-rnt-	cirntu	'to shrink'
-rnd-	karndE	'a kind of berry'
-rñc-	barñcelu (S)	'a channel to empty surplus water from a field'
-rñk-	orñku	'lane'
-rñg-	korñgu	'the bird crane'
-str-	vastro (S)	'cloth'
-skr-	iskruu (c)	'screw'
-str-	raastrA	'nation'
-str-	maastru	'a teacher'

1.5.3. Four Consonant Clusters:

In Tulu occasionally we come across a few clusters formed with four non-identical consonants. These clusters appear only in medial positions. Moreover, these four consonant clusters are formed across the morpheme boundary and never within.

All these clusters are usually verbs and hence almost all the verbs with medial, non-identical two consonant clusters can have their conjugated forms ^{of}/three consonant clusters in b dialects. Similarly all the verbs with medial three consonant clusters could give rise to conjugated forms of four consonant clusters in the same dialects. But a few among the verbs of medial three consonant clusters could give rise to four consonant clusters in other dialects also. In all the clusters of this type the last member would be usually the personal suffix, i.e. either third person neuter singular suffix or masculine or feminine suffix of all the three persons. One of the two allomorphic variants of the third person neuter singular suffix is -nu in b dialects. The n of this suffix appears as the fourth member of the four consonant clusters only in b dialects. This type of four consonant clusters could be innumerable. A few examples only are given here for illustration:

<u>Clusters</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	
-nkdy-	pareñkdye	'(he) just scratched out'
-ñgn-	unñgnu (b)	'(it) got dried'
-lñgn-	ulñgnu (b)	'(it) got dried'
-rkdy-	birkdyalu	'(she) just scattered out'
-rmby-	kirmbye	'(he) scratched (the skin)'
-rndn-	parndnu (b)	'(it) got riped'
-rngy-	muringye	'(he) sank'

1.6. SYLLABLES

A syllable is a unit of sound which constitutes a single word or part of a word. A syllable is defined as "a vocalic phoneme or a group of phonemes uttered with one breath pulse and heard as one unit of sonority" (Hardev Bahri, 1985, PP 202).

For the convenience of the analysis of the syllables the words of Tulu may be classified as follows:

- (a) mono-syllabic words
- (b) di-syllabic words
- (c) tri-syllabic words
- (d) tetra-syllabic words
- (e) penta-syllabic words

1.6.1. Mono-syllabic words

The mono-syllabic words are very limited in Tulu. They can be generalized as:

(C) (C) (C) V V

- | | | |
|------|-------|---------|
| e.g. | ii | 'you' |
| | tuu | 'fire' |
| | strii | 'woman' |

1.6.2. Di-syllabic words:

All the type of di-syllabic words can be generalized as:

- | |
|---------------------------------------|
| (C) (C) V (V) C (C) (C) V (V) |
| e.g. a-ri 'rice' |
| aa-nu 'male' |
| añ-gaa 'to open the mouth' |
| nat-tu 'to beg' |

kar-mbu 'sugarcane'

braan-tu 'madness'

1.6.3. Tri-syllabic words:

All the tri-syllabic words can be generalized as:

(C) (C) V (V) C (C) (C) V (V) C (C) (C) V

e.g. a-bl-rE 'a kind of bean'

ii-ya-rE 'this side'

aa-raa-tu 'holy bath of the idol at the end of temple
 festival'

ka-ni-lE 'a tender shoot of bamboo'

goo-saa-yi 'a mendicant'

na-ra-mbu 'nervy'

pra-baa-lE 'a decorative plate behind an idol'

1.6.4. Tetra-syllabic words:

All the tetra-syllabic words can be generalized as:

(C) (C) V (V) C (C) (C) V (V) C (C) V (V) C (C) V

e.g. a-ma-sa-ro 'urgency'

aa-śiir-vaa-do 'blessing'

dee-vas-taa-no 'a temple'

kal-lar-pa-da 'a virulent type of small pox'

gra-ha-caa-ro 'fate'

sam-pra-daa-yo 'custom, tradition'

1.6.5. Penta-syllabic words:

All the penta-syllabic words can be generalized as:

(C) (C) V (V) C (C) V (V) C (C) V (V) C V (V) C (C) V

e.g. a-li-ya-kat-tu 'line of inheritance in the female
 line'

i-ru-vat-tuu-raa-ya	'a surname among the Brahmin'
ka-nap-palaa-yi	'a peculiar type of plough-like arrangement used in buffalo-race'
gud-do-li-nañ-gu	'sole fish'
naa-yi-so-nañ-gu	'a kind of creeper'
praa-maa-ni-ka-tE	'honesty'

1.7. PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AMONG THE FOUR DIALECTS

The following are the few sound changes noticed in the four dialects of Tulu, i.e. Sb, Sc, Nb and Nc.

1.7.1.1. The e of the initial syllable of Sb Sc and Nb corresponds to i in Nc,² when followed by either a or e³ in the second syllable.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
esalu	esalu	esalu	isalu	'petal'
kelenji	kelenji	keleñji	kileñji	'housefly'
negadi	negadi	negadi	negadi	'mucus'
nela	nela	nela	nila	'floor'

1.7.1.2. The o of the initial syllable of Sb, Sc and Nb corresponds to u in Nc⁴ when followed by a or e⁵ in the second syllable.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
onasu	onasu	--	unasu	'meals'

2 & 4 There is a common notion that the initial syllables e and o of the b dialects change into i and u respectively in c dialects. (See: Ramakrishna T. Shetty, 1986, 126). But the present study reveals that such a change is confined only to Nc dialect and not noticed in Sc.

3 & 5 This e is derived from the PDr. *ai.

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kodappu	kodappu	kodapu	kudapu	'to peck'
koreppu	koreppu	korepu	kurepu	'bark'
posattu	posattu	posatu	pusatu	'new'
molampu	morampu	molampu	murampu	'knee'

1.7.1.3. Aphesis: A set of words have lost their initial vowel in Nc. The conditions noticed for this change may be enlisted as follows:

- (a) the word consists of more than two syllables and is of the pattern V C V C (C) V-
- (b) the vowels in the first two syllables are short and identical, excepting in the case of initial o where it can be followed by a non-identical vowel.
- (c) the first consonant that occurs between the two vowels is single and a retroflex one.
- (d) between the second and third vowels of the word there is either (i) a geminated consonant in S dialects and non-geminated in Nb, or (ii) a cluster of consonants in which the first member is usually a nasal one.

When the initial vowel is dropped under the conditions mentioned above the retroflex consonant that follows the vowel becomes dental in Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
adakku	adakku	adaku	dakku	'to throw'
adappu	adappu	adapu	dappu	'to plough'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
alappu	alappu	alapu	lappu	'to measure'
edekkateri	edekkatteri	edekkatteri	dekkatteri	'a pair of nippers for cutting areca-nuts'
edekkaaru	edekkaaru	edekkaaru	dekkaaru	'space between the legs'
unuñgu	unuñgu	unuñgu	nuñgu	'to dry'
--	unuppu	--	nuppu	'cooked rice'
olaccilu	olaccilu	olacilu	laccilu	'pasture'

1.7.1.3.1. In a few instances we notice the vowel dropping in Sc also. But in such cases the change of retroflex consonant into dental one is optional.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
edenku	dañku/dañku	edañku	dañku	'to stumble'
eradu ⁶	raddu	eradu	raddu	'two'
elattu	lattu	elatu	lattu	'tender'
oleppu	leppu	olepu	leppu	'to call'

In the following instances the initial vowel is dropped before non-retroflex consonants also.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ugippu ⁷	guppu	--	--	'to spill out'
upaaso	paaso	upaasa	paasa	'fasting'

6. Basically this is a word with VCVCCV structure(Ta., Ma.)

irantu; Te. rendu)

7. uguppu? cf. Ta. uku; Ka. ugu etc. (See DEDR 562)

1.7.1.3.2. We come across a few examples of this aphesis in Nb too along with Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
idyanti	idyanti/ idyaanti	danti	daanti	'that which is not'
idyante	idyante/ idyaantE	dantE	daantE	'without'
ujjudE	ujjudE/ ujidE	juddE/ jiddE	juddE/ jiddE	'cudgel'

In a lone example available in data the Sc dialect also goes with Nb and Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
eden̄ji	deñji	jeñji	deñji	'crab'

1.7.1.4. The vowel a occurring in the first syllable of some of the borrowed words changes into e in Sb & Sc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
jen̄ga	jen̄ga	jañga	deñga	'loft over a fireplace'
jetE	jetE	jatE	jatE	'pair, company'
jeno	jeno	jana	jana	'people'
jepo	--	japa	--	'repeating prayers'
jeyippu	jeyippu	jayipu	jayipu	'conquer'
derbE	---	darbE	darbE	'a kind of grass'
reso	reso/reeso	rasa	rasa	'juice or sap of anything'

1.7.1.5. From certain borrowed words of three syllables the penultimate aa becomes e in Sc and Nc when preceded by a geminated constant or a cluster whose second member is y. Along with this change the second element of the cluster gets assimilated with the previous one.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
anyaayo	anneyo	anyaaya	anneya	'injustice'
ullaaso	ulleso	ullaasa	ullesa	'joy, cheerfulness'
sanyaasi	sannesi	sanyaasi	sannesi	'ascetic'

1.7.1.6. In Nb and Nc the vowel harmony is more common and the final vowel of the verb root is conditioned by the preceding vowel and realized as u when preceded by a back vowel and u when followed by other vowels. In contrast, in Sb and Sc the root final vowel in such cases is always u irrespective of the preceding vowel.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
unu	unu	unu	unu	'to take meals'
uuru	uuru	uuru	uuru	'to set in or drive into'
kuttu	kuttu	kuttu	kuttu	'to hit'
kolu	koru	kolu	koru	'to give'
budu	budu	budu	budu	'to give up, let'

However the final vowel is realized as u in Sb and Sc if preceded by a bilabial consonant as in the case of Nb and Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kaapu	kaapu	kaapu	kaapu	'to wait'
kirmbu	kirmbu	kirmbu	kirmbu	'to scratch'
tumbu	tumbu/ sumbu	tumbu	tumbu	'to carry on head'
deerpu/ jeerpu	deerpu	derpu	derpu	'to lift up'

1.7.1.7. Even the nouns with a back vowel in the penultimate syllable can end in u in Sb and Sc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tottu ..	tottu ..	tottu ..	tottu ..	'the foot stalk of, fruit, leaf etc.'
duuru	duuru	duuru	duuru	'complaint'
puulu ..	puulu ..	puulu ..	puulu	'a piece of vegetable etc.'
portu	portu	poltu	portu	'time'

1.7.1.8. The change of voiceless velar consonants into voiced ones or vice versa is noticed in certain instances in the four dialects. But this is not a regular change. The following observations can be made on the basis of the data collected:-

- (i) the initial voiceless velar consonants of the Sb & Sc dialects correspond to voiced ones in Nb and Nc dialects.
- (ii) the initial voiced velar consonants of Sb & Sc dialects correspond to voiceless ones in Nb & Nc dialects.

(i)	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	kantapuccE	kantapuccE	gantapuccE	gantapuccE	'male cat'
	kantE	kantE	gante	gante	'gong'
	kargallu	kargallu	gargallu	gargallu	'rock'
	kude	kudE	gudE	gudE	'a hole in the earth'
	kundalo	kundalo	gundala	gundala	'ear ornament, ear-ring'
	kutti	kutti	gutti	gutti	'stump'
	kuri	kuri	guri	guri	'boil on the skin'
	kuuñji	kuuñji	guuñji	guuñji	'stem of jackfruit'
(ii)			.		
	gadasu	gadasu	kadasu	kadasu	'young cow, heifer'
	giisu	giisu	kiisu	kiisu	'to pare, shave'
	giisuli	giisuli	kiisuli	kiisuli	'carpenters' plane'
	gendo	gendo	kenda	kenda	'burning cynders'

1.7.1.9. The initial d of several words of Sc and Nc corresponds to j of Sb and Nb if it is followed by the vowel i, e or a.

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
jaanE	daanE	jaanE	daanE	'what'
jaayto	daaytavu	jaado	daada	'what'
jeKKu	deKKu	jeKKu	deKKu	'to wash'

In one instance we notice d even in Sb and Nb. But in Sb it freely varies with j.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
digelu · /jigelu ·	dikkelu ·	dikkelu ·	dikkelu ·	'fireplace, oven'

1.7.1.10. The n of Sb, Sc and Nb corresponds to -d in Nc when it is followed by -m-.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
enmE ·	enmE ·	enmE ·	edmE ·	'gingely seed'
enmo ·	enmo ·	enma ·	edma ·	'eight'

1.7.1.11. The s of Sb and Nb corresponds to s in Sc and Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
iisvare ·	iisvare	iisvare ·	iisvare	'Name of a person'
kusaalu ·	kusaalu ·	kusaalu ·	kusaalu ·	'merriment'
sanivaaro ·	sanivaaro	sanivaara ·	sanivaara	'Saturday'
sabdo ·	sabdo/savdo	sabda ·	sabda	'sound'
saalE ·	saalE	saalE ·	saalE	'school'

1.7.1.12. The s of Sb and Nb corresponds to s in Sc and Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kasaayo ·	kasaayo	kasaaya ·	kasaaya	'decoctional medicine'
barso ·	barso	barsa ·	barsa	'rain'
visayo ·	visayo	visaya ·	visaya	'matter'
viso ·	vizo	visa ·	visa	'poison'

1.7.1.12.1. In clusters s of Sb and Nb has two optional realizations in Sc and Nc:

- (a) it may optionally correspond to s as above, or
- (b) it may get assimilated to the other member of the cluster

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aksaro	aksaro/ akkaro	aksara	aksara/akkara	'letter of the alphabet'
naksat <u>ro</u>	naksat <u>ro</u>	naksat <u>ra</u>	naksat <u>ra</u>	'star'
pak <u>si</u>	pakki	pak <u>si</u>	pakki	'bird'
ast <u>ami</u>	ast <u>emi</u> / at <u>temi</u>	ast <u>ami</u>	at <u>temi</u> / ast <u>emi</u>	'eighth day of lunar month'
astaisvaryo	astais <u>ro</u>	astai'svarya	astai's <u>ra</u>	'eight kinds of prosperity'
kast <u>o</u>	kast <u>o</u>	kast <u>a</u>	kasta	'difficult'

1.7.1.12.2. The s occurring as second member of the initial two consonant clusters in Sb and Nb corresponds to s in Sc and Nc thereby getting declustered.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ksiiro	siiro	ksiira	siira	'a kind of sweet'
kseetrapaale	seetrapaale	kseetra- paale	seetra- paale	'one of the guarding deities'
ksauro	sauro	ksaura	saura	'hairdressing'

1.2.1.13. The nasal is dropped from the clusters of nasal plus stop in Sb and Sc dialects.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ootE	ootE	oontE	oontE	'reed'
paatE	paatE	paantE	paantE	'moth, butterfly'
puuki	puuki	puuñki/ puuki	puuñki	'fart'

1.7.1.14. The geminated tt or the single t of the following disyllabic words is optionally changed to ss or s in Nb and Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ittE	ittE	itE	ittE/issE	'now'
ottu	ottu	ottu/ossu	ottu/ossu	'to pressdown'
kettu	kettu	kettu/kessu	kettu/kessu	'to chip'
pattu	pattu	pattu/passu	pattu/passu	'to hold'
maatu	--	maasu	--	'to pour'

1.7.1.15. The geminated consonants of the final syllable in Sb and Sc corresponds to the degeminated ones in Nb and Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
alattE	alattE	alatE	alatE	'measurement'
nadattE	nadattE	nadatE	nadatE	'character'
nadappu	nadappu	nadapu	nadapu	'to walk'
balikkE	balikkE	baliKE	balikE/balkE	'hardness'
madikkE	madikkE	madikE	madikE/madkE	'fold'
vicaarippu	vicaarippu/icaarippu	vic��aripu/icaarpu	icaaripu/icaarpu	'to enquire'

1.7.1.15.1. But this gemination is retained in Nc where the first vowel is dropped, as per the rule of synecdoche (See No. 1.7.1.3.)

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
adakku	adakku	adaku	dakku	'to throw'
adappu	adappu	adapu	dappu	'to plough'
alappu	alappu	alapu	lappu	'to measure'
edattu	edattu	edatu	dattu	'left'

1.7.1.16. Some of the sporadic correspondences of vowels noticed among the dialects can be noted as follows:

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(i) <u>a/e</u>	akkal <u>E</u>	ekkal <u>E</u>	akkal <u>E</u>	ekkal <u>E</u>	'cockroach'
(ii) <u>a/e/i</u>	bajantu	bajantu	bejantu	bijantu	'dried dung of cattle'
(iii) <u>i/u</u>	ippu	ippu/uppu	uppu	uppu	'to be'
(iv) <u>ii/uu</u>	niiku	niiku	nuuku	nuunku	'to push'
(v) <u>i/E</u>	katti	katti	katti	katt <u>E</u>	'sickle'
	keeri	keeri	keer <u>E</u>	keer <u>E</u>	'a kind of harmless snake'
(vi) <u>i/e</u>	bisiniiru	--	besiniiru	--	'hot water'
(vii) <u>e/u</u>	entu	untu	entu	untu/unsu	'to stop, stand'
(viii) <u>e/E</u>	akke	akk <u>E</u>	akke	akk <u>E</u>	'elder sister'
	appe	app <u>E</u>	appe	app <u>E</u>	'mother'
(ix) <u>e/o</u>	dembu	dombu	dembu	dembu	'sunshine'
	meklu	meklu	moklu	mogulu	'these persons'
(x) <u>ee/aa</u>	oleeyi/	ulaayi	oleeyi/	ulaayi	'inside'
(e/a)	oley <i>i</i>		oley <i>i</i>		

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
teñkeeyi	senkaayi	teñkeeyi	tenkaayi	'south'
paddeeyi	paddaayi	paddeeyi	par'daayi	'west'
pideeyi	pidaayi	pideeyi	pidaayi	'outside'
badikkeeyi	badakkaayi	badikeeyi	badakaayi	'north'
muudeeyi	muudaayi	muudeeyi	muudaayi	'east'
(xi)o/e ovu	ovu	evu	evu	'which'
tokku	tekku	tokku	tekku	'extinguish as light'

1.7.1.17. Some of the sporadic correspondences of consonants noticed among the dialects can be enlisted as follows:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
k/g	beeko	beeko	beega	beega	'quick'
k/t	ketti	ketti	tetti	tetti	'egg'
g/d	geppu/ geepu	deppu	geppu	geppu/deppu	'to take'
j/g	padeñji	padeñji	padeñji	padengi	'greengram'
d/l	upda	uppaadu	upla/upda	uppaadu	'pickles'
d/r	podpu	podpu	porpu	porpu	'to fry'
n/d	numbu	dumbu	dumbu	dumbu	'before, first'
	niñja	diñja	diñja	diñja	'full, much'
n/m	nuppo	nuppo/muppe	muppa	muppa	'thirty'
	niindu	niindu	niindu	miindu	'to swim'
b/p	biri	biri	piri	piri	'abatement, removal'
y/v	kaayeru	kaayeru	kaaveru	kaaveru	'a kind of tree'
	naayeru	naayeru	naaveru	naaveru	'plough'

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
r/n/n	moorE	moorE/moonE	moorE/moonE	moonE	'face'
r/l	naarpo	nalpo	naarpa	nalpa	'forty'
s/j	keresu	keresu	kereju	kereju	'to scrape'
s/d	saasami	daasemi	saasami/ saasemi	daasmi	'mustard'

1.7.2. The following statements may be made to show certain sound changes which have taken place when Tulu seperated from other Dravidian languages. The Tulu dialects may be distinguished from the other cognate languages on the basis of the sound changes noted below:

1.7.2.1. The PDr. *i, *ii, *e and *ee of the initial syllable of a word changed into u, uu, o and oo respectively in all the four dialects when preceded by a bilabial and followed by a retroflex sound.

(i) PDr. *i > u.

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Ta.piti }	pudi	pudi	pudi	pudi	'handle'
Ka.pidi }					
Ta.pinam	puna	puna	puna	puna	'corpse'
Ma.pinakkam	punakkE	punakkE	--	--	'a rope to pair together as cattle' 'interlacing'
Ta.vitu;	budu	budu	budu	budu	'to leave'
Ka.bidu }					
Ma.villuka	bullu	bullu	--	--	'to crack, break'
Ma.miti;	mudi	mudi	mudi	mudi	'a tender fruit'
Ka.midi }					
Ta.minum-	munumunu	munumunu	munumunu	--	'mumbling'
inu					

* ii > uu

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Ma.viituka	buutu	buutu	buutu	buutu	'to repay'
Ta.viitu;	buudu	buudu	buudu	buudu	'manor house'
Ka.biidu 'house'					
Ta.viili;	buulu	buuru	buulu	buuru	'to fall'
Ka.biili					

(ii) PDr. * e > o.

Ta.pen;	ponnu	ponnu	ponnu	ponnu	'woman, female'
Ka.pennu					
Ta.ventu;	bondu	bondu	bondu	bondu	'pith'
Ka.bendu					
Ta.venney;	bolneyi	bolneyi	bennE	bolneyi	'butter'
Ka.benne					
Ka.bilidu	boldu	boldu	boldu	boldu	'white'
Ta., Ma.velli;	bolli	bolli	bolli	bolli	'silver'
Ka.belli					
Ta., Ma.vellam	bollo	bollo	bolla	bolla	'flood'
'water'					

* ee > oo

Ta., Ma.peeti	poodi	poodi/ poodigE	poodigE	poodigE	'fear'
Te.veedu;	boodu	boodu	boodu	boodu	'to wish,want, desire'
Ka.beedu to beg					
Ta., Ma.peetu	boodu	boodu	--	--	'unproductive, empty coconut'
'what is seedless, unproductive)					

The change of *i > u is noticed in the following instances even when not followed by a retroflex sound.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Ta.pical	pugelu	pugelu	pugelu	pugelu	'shoulder'
Ta.vittu	buttu	buttu	bittu	bittu	'seed'

1.7.2.1.1. A few words show a reverse type of change, where the PDr. *u became i instead of *i > u

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Ta. puli	pili	pili	pili	pili	'tiger'
Ta.mulai	mirE	mirE	mirE	mirE	'breast'

1.7.2.2. Generally the final *-ai of the Proto-Dravidian becomes -E in Tulu.

PDr. *-ai > -E

Example:

<u>Ta</u>	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
arai	adE	adE	adE	adE	'room, compartment'
ilai	irE	irE	irE	irE	'leaf'
kanai	kanE	kanE	kanE	kanE	'arrow, thorn'
tatai	tadE	tadE	tadE	tadE	'obstruction, hindrance'
talai	tarE	tarE/sarE	tarE	tarE	'head'
patai	padE	padE	padE	padE	'army, batallion'
putai	pudE	pudE	pudE	pudE	'side'

1.7.2.2. But the change of PDr. *-ai> -e is not observed in the case of imperative forms of verbs. Here the PDr. *-ai becomes -e.

Example:

PDr. *-ai> -e

<u>Ta</u>	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
atai	ade	ade	ade	ade	'to shut, close'
utai	ode	ode	ode	ode	'break, burst'
tatai	tade	tade	tade	tade	'to hinder, stop'
patai	pade	pade	pade	pade	'to get'
mutai	mude	mude	mude	mude	'to plait'

1.7.2.3. The Sb and Nb dialects keep a clearcut distinction between the PDr. *c- and *t- whereas they have merged into one sound in Sc and Nc dialects. They are represented as s- in Sc and t- in Nc.

1.7.2.3.1. In Sb and Nb the PDr. *c- has become s- and *t- remained as t-.

Example:

PDr. *c-

<u>Ta.</u>	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
cappu	sappu	sappu/soppu	'leaves'
cay	sayi	sayi	'to die'
cutu	sudu	sudu	'to burn up'
cunnaampu	sunno	sunna	'lime'
curai	surE	surE	'bottlegourd'

PDr. *t-

<u>Ta</u>	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tattai ..	tattE ..	tattE ..	'plate'
talai	tarE	tarE	'head'
turai	tudE	tudE	'river'
teri	teri	teri	'to understand, know'

1.7.2.3.2. The PDr. *c- and *t- were merged together and realized as s- in Sc and t- in Nc.

Example:

PDr. *c-

<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sattugo ..	tattuga ..	'metal spatula used in cooking'
sappu	tappu	'leaves'
suttu ..	tuttu	'to wear as clothes'
surE	turE	'bottlegourd'
sedilu ..	tedilu ..	'thunder'

PDr. *t-

sadamE .	tadamE .	'wooden style put, across a passage'
sadpE .	tadpe .	'winnowing pan'
sadyE .	tadyE .	'threshold'
sarE	tarE	'head'
sottilu ..	tottilu ..	'craddle'

1.7.2.3.3. In the above instance (1.7.2.3.2.) it is necessary to note the sound changes noticed in the other prominent dialects like j and ht, and also the regions where the sound changes are observed. As per the observation the PDr. *c- and *t- were merged into c- in ht of South West and South Central and h- in j. Similarly both the sounds of the Proto-Dravidian are generally realized as s-/ h- in South Central and θ in SEcht. ⁸

Example:

PDr. *c-

<u>SW-Scht</u>	<u>SEcht</u>	<u>j</u>	<u>SCbc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
cattugo ..	attugo ..	hattugo ..	sattugo/hattugo ..	'metal spatula used in cooking'
cappu	appu	happu	sappu/happu	'leaves'
cuttu .	uttu .	huttu .	suttu/huttu	'to wear as clothes'
cedilu . .	edilu . .	hedilu . .	sedilu/hedilu . .	'thunder'

8. Cf DNS Bhat, 1966

" in Coastal area, t dialects are found to the north, and s dialects to the south: h and zero dialects are found in the remaining regions, with a possible prominence of h in the north; c dialects are found among the Harijan communities of the southern coastal region " - (" Studies in Tuluva" - Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. 25, Pp.9 (1966).

PDr. *t-

<u>SW-Scht</u>	<u>SEcht</u>	<u>j</u>	<u>SCc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
cadamE	adamE	hadamE	sadamE/hadamE	'wooden style put, across a passage'
cadpE	adpE	hadpE	sadpE/hadpE	'winnowing pan'
cadyE	adyE	hadyE	sadyE/hadyE	'threshold'
carE	arE	harE	sarE/harE	'head'
cottilu	ottilu	hottilu	sottilu/ hottilu	'cradle'
cigale	igale	higale	sigale/higale	'heart'

It may however be noted that t- occurs optionally in many southern dialects also due to borrowing from northern dialects.

With the help of the above statements and examples we can now draw a chart to show how the PDr. *c- and *t- are represented in different dialects of Tulu: (See next page)

		PDr *c-	PDr *c-	PDr *t-								
(Sb)	(Nb)	(SW-SCc)	(SW-SC ht)	(Ncht)	(SCj-NEj)	(SEcht)	(Sb)	(Nb)				Gloss
sappu	sappu	cappu	tappu	happu	appu	—	—	—	'leaves'	—	—	
savutte	savutte	cavutte	tavutte	havutte	avutte	—	—	—	'cucumber'	—	—	
sayi	sayi	cayi	tayi	hayi	ayi	—	—	—	'to die'	—	—	
settu	settu	cettu	tettu	hettu	ettu	—	—	—	'to decay'	—	—	
...:	...:	...:	...:	...:	...:	—	—	—	'thunder'	—	—	
sedilu	sedilu	cedilu	tedilu	hedilu	edilu	—	—	—	'to leak'	—	—	
sooru	sooru	cooru	tooru	hooru	ooru	—	—	—	'head'	—	—	
—	—	sare	tarE	harE	arE	tarE	tarE	tarE	'head'	—	—	
—	—	savudu	tavudu	havudu	avudu	tavudu	tavudu	tavudu	'brain'	—	—	
—	—	cadame	tadame	hadame	adamE	tadamE	tadamE	tadamE	'wooden style across a passage'	—	—	
—	—	sottiliu	tottiliu	hottilu	ottiliu	tottiliu	tottiliu	tottiliu	'cradle'	—	—	
—	—	cadpE	tadpE	hadpE	adpE	tadpE	tadpE	tadpE	'winnowing pan'	—	—	
—	—	sare	tarE	hare	are	taLE	taLE	taLE	'to wear off'	—	—	

1.7.2.4. There are certain other examples in the data where we do not find a regular change of PDr. *c- or *t- into s- or t-. Instead, we notice that the PDr. *c- remain unchanged and *t- became c- especially in Sc and Sb dialects.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
caalye	caalye	saalye	taalye	'weaver'
titya	cityE/cittE	tittE	tittE	'raised earthen seat'
--	ciipE	tiipE	tiipE	'sweet'
tervE	ceriyE	tervE	tervE	'ring for pot'

1.7.2.5. The intervocalic PDr. *n corresponds to -n- in Sb, Sc and Nb and -n- in Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aanu	aanu	aanu	aanu	'male'
kanE	kanE	kanE	kanE	'thorn, arow'
kannu	kannu	kannu	kannu	'eye'
koonE	koonE	koonE	koonE	'room'
ponnu	ponnu	ponnu	ponnu	'female'
mannu	mannu	mannu	mannu	'soil'

1.7.2.6. The PDr. *-l- corresponds to l in Sb, Sc and Nb but is realized as -l- in Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
al <u>E</u>	al <u>E</u>	al <u>E</u>	al <u>E</u>	'buttermilk'
kuuli	kuuli	kuuli	kuuli	'teeth'
puli	puli	puli	puli	'tamarind'
ballu	ballu	ballu	ballu	'rope'
magalu	magalu	magalu	magalu	'daughter'

1.7.2.7. In the following instances the l- of b dialects corresponds to r of c dialects.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
amalu	amaru	amalu	amaru	'twin'
dali	dari	dali	dari	'window bars'
nakkulu	nakkuru	nakkulu	nakkuru	'a kind of earthworm'
maalu	maaru	--	maaru	'juice item of pickles etc.'

1.7.2.8. The PDr. *-l- corresponds to -l- in Sb and Nb and -r- in Sc and Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
agalu	agaru	agalu	agaru	'ditch'
oli	ori	oli	ori	'to remain'
kelengu/ kelaŋgu	kerengu	kelengu	girengu	'sweet potato'
kooli	koori	kooli	koori	'fowl'
taale	taarE/ saarE	taalE	taarE	'coconut tree'
palattu	parattu	palatu	paratu	'old'
puli	puri	puli	puri	'worm'

But there are a good number of exceptions to this rule which may be either later developments after the first phase of *l ➤ l or r transformation, or a purposeful prevention to overcome ambiguity.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
elE	elE/ile	elE	ile	'thread'
esalu	esalu	esalu	isalu	'flower petal'
eelu	eelu	eelu	eelu	'seven'
puulu	puulu	--	--	'to cut'

1.7.2.8.1. In cluster with t or c the PDr. *l is represented as r in Sb also (in addition to Sc and Nc) and only Nb stands apart in representing it as l.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kurtelu	kurtelu	kultelu	kurtelu	'dirt'
portu	portu	poltu	portu	'time'
urcu	urcu	ulcu	urcu	'to excrete'

1.7.2.8.2. In one instance the cluster lt corresponds to tt, rt and st as follows:

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kartale	kattale	kastale	kattale	'darkness'

It may be said that regarding the representation of the PDr. lt the Sb dialect shows some regularity in phonetic change and the other three dialects show some differences.

1.7.2.9. Besides this there are some other types of consonantal changes that have taken place when Tulu branched off from Proto-Dravidian and are common to all the dialects of Tulu.

1.7.2.9.1. The PDr. *r is changed to t, d, j or r in all the dialects.

Example:

PDr. *r > t

<u>Ta</u>	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kiiru	kiitu	kiitu/ ciitu	-	--	'half of plantain leaf'

PDr. *r > d

arai	adE	adE	adE	adE	'room, compartment'
karai	kadE	kadE	kadE	kadE	'stain'
kuri	kudi	kudi	kudi	kudi	'period, time'
turai	tudE	sudE	tudE	tudE	'river'
naaru	naadu	naadu	naadu	naadu	'to smell bad'
nuuru	nuuddu	nuuddu	nuudu	nuudu	'hundred'
puraa	puda	puda	puda	puda	'pigeon'

PDr. *r > j

aaru	aaju	aaju	aaju	aaju	'to get dried up'
aaru	aaji	aaji	aaji	aaji	'six'
uuru	uuju	uuju	uuju	uuju	'to ooze'

PDr. *r > r

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
eeru	eeru	eeru	eeru	eeru	'to ascend'
Ka.jaaru	jaaru	jaaru	jaaru	jaaru	'to slip'
Ka.maaru	maaru	maaru	maaru	maaru	'to sell'

1.7.2.9.2. The PDr. *-rr- is realized as -tt- if the preceding vowel is short, and -t- if the preceding vowel is long.

Example:

<u>Ta.</u>	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
nerri	netti	netti	netti	netti	'crown of the head'
'forehead'					
parru	pattu	pattu	pattu	pattu	'to hold, touch'
perram	petta	petta	petta	petta	'cow'
maarru	maatu	maatu	maatu	maatu	'to change as dress'

1.7.2.9.3. The PDr. *-nr- is realized as -ñj- if the preceding vowel is short and -j if the preceding vowel is long in all the dialects.

Example:

<u>Ta</u>	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
onru	oñji	oñji	oñji	oñji	'one'
kanru	kañji	kañji	kañji	kañji	'calf'
panri	pañji	pañji	pañji	pañji	'pig'
muunru	muuji	muuji	muuji	muuji	'three'

1.7.2.10. The PDr. *l is realized as r in a number of examples but this change is not regular.

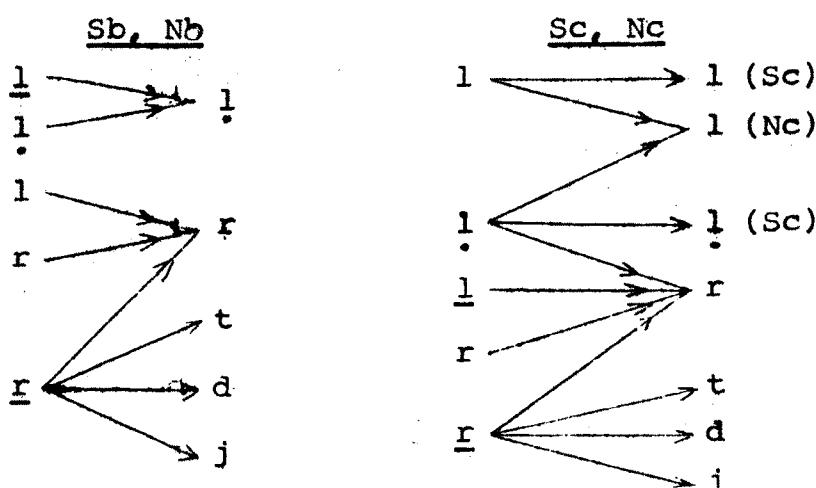
Example:

<u>Ta</u>	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ilai	irE	irE	irE	irE	'leaf'
talai	tarE	tarE/ sarE	tarE	tarE	'head'
mulai	mirE	mirE	mirE	mirE	'breast'
kaal	kaaru	kaaru	kaaru	kaaru	'leg'
kol	keru	keru	keru	keru	'kill'
paal	peeru	peeru	peeru	peeru	'milk'

Exceptions:

kal	kallu	kallu	kallu	kallu	'stone'
malai	male	male	male	male	'forest'
nilam	nela	nela	nela	nila	'ground, floor'
vilai	bile	bile	bile	bile	'price'

With the help of the above examples (from 1.7.2.6. to 1.7.2.10) one can, for the sake of comparison, draw a chart to show how the PDr. \underline{l} , \underline{l} , \underline{l} , \underline{r} , and \underline{r} developed into different phonemes in different dialects.



Example:

<u>Sb, Nb</u>	<u>Sc Nc</u>
<u>l → l</u>	<u>l → l</u>
puli - puli (see 1.7.2.6.)	malai - male (see 1.7.2.10 exceptions)
<u>l → l</u>	<u>l → l (Sc), l (Nc)</u>
kooli - kooli (see 1.7.2.8)	magalu - magalu (Sc), magalu(Nc) (See 1.7.2.6)
<u>l → r</u>	<u>l → r</u>
talai - tarE (see 1.7.2.10)	dali - dari (see 1.7.2.7)
<u>r → r</u>	<u>l → r</u>
maram - mara	kooli - koori (see 1.7.2.8)
<u>r → t</u>	<u>r → r</u>
kiiru - kiitu	maram - mara
<u>r → d</u>	<u>r → r</u>
naaru - naadu	eeru - eeru
<u>r → j</u>	<u>r → t</u>
aaru - aaji	kiiru - kiitu
	<u>r → d</u>
	puraa - puda
	<u>r → j</u>
	aaru - aaju

1.7.2.11. The change of intervocalic -g- to -y- is a feature noticed in many dialects. It is almost a regular feature in Nc and optional in Sc. This occurs when there is i or a in the penultimate position and E in the final position.

When this change takes place the final E appears as i if there is a in the penultimate syllable. When the E appears as i the penultimate a is optionally lengthened. No such change is noticed when the penultimate vowel is i.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(a)	Ka.keedage keetage	keedagE	keedagE	keedayi/ keedaayi	'screwpine'
	Ka.naalage naalagE	naalagE/ naalaayi	naalagE	naalaayi	'tongue'
	Ta.vaatakai baadigE	baadigE/	baadigE	baadaayi	'rent'
	Ka.baadige	baadige	baadäayi		
(b)	Ka.upparige upparigE	uppariyE	upparigE	uppariyE	'upper storey of a house'
	Ka.Kopparige koppar- igE	kopparigE	kopparigE	koppariyE	'a large copper trough'
	--	saaragE/ taaragE	--	taaraayi	'coconut'

1.7.2.11.1. In the words of the type (C) V C C V C V with i as the penultimate vowel one can notice this change in all dialects.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Ka.attigE attiyE (> atyE)	attiyE (> atyE)	attiyE (> atyE)	attiyE (> atyE)	'sister-in-law'
Ka.pettigE pettiyE (> petyE/ petya)	pettiyE (> petyE)	pettiyE (> petyE)	pettiyE (> petyE)	'box'

1.7.2.11.2. We also notice the change of penultimate vowel a to e in Sb and Nb along with the change of -g- -y-

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Ka.olage	oleyi	ulaayi	oleyi	ulaayi
Ka.pirage	pideyi	pidaayi	pideyi	pidaayi

1.7.2.11.3. The change of -g- > -y- is noticed in certain disyllabic words also.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tiyo	ciyo/siyo	tiga	tiga	'honey'
Ka.maagi	maaki	maayi	maayi	'name of a month'

CHAPTER - 2

Morphophonemics

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.1. Generally the final u of the first word is dropped if it is followed by an vowel or a consonant.

Example:

u + a : paad <u>u</u>	+ ada	paadada	'do not put'
u + aa : kaad <u>u</u>	+ aanE	kaadaanE	'wild elephant'
u + i : naalu	+ ire	naalirE	'four leaves'
u + ii : aatu	+ iitu	aatiitu	'that much & this much'
u + u : kaaru	+ ungiло	kaaruнgiло	'a ring worn on the second toe'
u + uu : kaaru	+ uuru	kaaruuru	'to set a foot'
u + e : baaru	+ edpu	baaredpu	'to pound the paddy'
u + ee : naalu	+ eepo	naaleepo	'when fourth(falls?)'
u + o : pattu	+ onji	pattonji	'eleven'
u + oo : raddu	+ oonti	raddoonti	'two chameleons'
u + l : tikku	+ la	tikla	'you rub'
u + n : kaaru	+ niidu	kaarniidu	'stretch the leg'
u + k : meelu	+ kaapu	meelkaapu	'a cloth tied to the lower part of a pendal etc. and over the place where religious functions are done'

2.1.1. The final a of the first word is dropped if it is followed by all vowels other than i or u.

Example:

a + a : mara	+ attu	marattu	'not tree'
a + aa : balla	+ aavandu	ballaavandu	'may not become a balla(more than a seér)'

a + e	:	naana	+	edde	naaneddE	'then good'
a + ee	:	barpuna	+	eepo	barpuneepo	'coming when'
a + o	:	kuda	+	onji	kudoñji	'one more'
a + oo	:	poopuna	+	oodegu	poopunoo-degu	'where are(you) going?'

2.1.2. The final u of the words other than of (c)v c v type gets dropped when followed by a vowel

Example:

u + a	:	boodu	+	a	booda	'do you want?'
u + aa	:	kempu	+	aanaga	kempaanaga	'when it becomes red'
u + i	:	paapu	+	/indu	paapindu	'there is a small bridge'
u + ii	:	malpodu	+	iiru	malpodiiru	'you have to do'
u + e	:	boodu	+	enku	boodenku	'I want it'
u + ee	:	boodu	+	eeregu	boodeeregua	'who wants it'
u + o	:	boodu	+	ontE	boodontE	'(I)want a little'
u + oo	:	poovodu	+	oodegu	poovodoo-degu	'where(do you)have to go'

2.1.2.1. The final u of the words of (C) V C V type gets dropped when it is followed by u

Example:

u + u	:	madu	+	undu	madundu	'there is an axe'
u + uu	:	badu	+	uuru	baduuru	'to set a staff or stick'

2.1.2.2. The final vowel of the numerals⁹ gets elided when it is followed by a vowel.

Example:

on̄ji	+	aṅgi	oñjāṅgi	'one shirt'
raddu .. (eradu)	+	irE	raḍdirE (eradirE)	'two leaves'
muuji	+	adi	muujadi	'three feet'
naalu	+	uṅgilo	naalungilo	'four finger-rings'
ayinu	+	onasu	ayinonasu	'five meals'
aaji	+	eemE	aajeemE	'six tortoises'
eelu	+	oodo	eeloodo	'seven boats'
enmo	+	aanE	enmaanE	'eight 'annas'
ormbo	+	arE	ormbarE	'nine & half'
pattu	+	on̄ji	patton̄ji	'eleven (ten & one)'
kaalu	+	adyE	kaaladyE	'one fourth of a cake'

9. Probably it may be because of the fact that in the Proto-Tulu the final vowel of all the numerals might have been 'u', the high central unrounded vowel. (The numerals of Tamil & Malayalam support this inference.) This vowel gets dropped according to the morpho-phonemic changes as is seen in rule 2.1, above. Again this inference is backed by the fractional numeral 'arE'(half) in which the final vowel is 'E' which is not dropped when followed by a vowel because in PDr. it is '-ai' as 'arai' Eg: arE + aṅgulo arEṅgulo'approximately half aninch'

2.2. Of the two identical vowels one is dropped:

Example:

i + i	:	addi	+	iddi	addididi	'there is no obstacle, never-mind'
a + a	:	petta	+	areddundu	pettare-ddundu	'cow lows'
e + e	:	aaye	+	eddent-naaye	aayeddent-naaye	'he is a good fellow'
u + u	:	kudu	+	undu	kudundu	'there is horse-gram'
o + o	:	oro	+	onji	oroñji	'once one '

2.2.1. The final vowel of the first word is dropped when it is followed by an identical long vowel.

Example:

a + aa	:	mara	+	aanaga	- maraanaga	'when(it)becomes a tree'
	:	mella	+	aandu	- mellaandu	'it became slow'
i + ii	:	ini	+	iitu	- iniitu	'this much today'
e + ee	:	raame	+	eepo	- raameepo	'when(did)Rama'
u + uu	:	badu	+	uuru	- baduuru	'to set a staff'
o + oo	:	oro	+	oodegu	- orooodegu	'once to where ?'

2.3. The final vowel of the first word is lengthened when it is followed by undu. (/untu)in Nb and the first vowel of the second word gets dropped.

u + u	tinu	+	undu	→ tinuundu
a + u	balla	+	undu	→ ballaandu
i + u	iddi	+	undu	→ iddiindu

u	+	u	bood <u>u</u>	+	und <u>u</u>	-	bood <u>u</u> und <u>u</u>
o	+	u	eepo	+	und <u>u</u>	-	eepo <u>o</u> nd <u>u</u>
E	+	u	ellE	+	und <u>u</u>	-	ellE <u>Endu</u>
e	+	u	bhiime	+	und <u>u</u>	-	bhiime <u>endu</u>

2.4. The low vowel a is dropped when it is followed by e or o

Example:

a + e :	petta	+ elyavu	- pettelyavu	'cow is small'
a + ee :	maratta	+ eeni	- maratteeni	'wooden ladder'
a + o :	kuda	+ onji	- kudoñji	'one more'
a + oo :	poopuna	+ oodo	- poopunoodo	'going-boat'

2.5. When two non-identical vowels come together either the final vowel of the first word or the initial vowel of the second word gets dropped.

Example:

a + u	: panyara	+ undu	- panyarandu/panyarundu	'there is (something) to say'
a + i	: daala	+ iddi	- daaladdi / daaliddi	'nothing'
a + u	: tuuvara	+ undu	- tuuvarandu/tuuvarundu	'there is (something) to see'
u + i	: poovontu	+ ippu	- poovontuppu/poovontippu	'it will be going on'
u + i	: duddu	+ iddi	- dudduddi / duddiddi	'there is no money'
E + i	: malpante	+ ippu	- malpantEppu/malpantippu	'be with- out doing'
E + a	: bolantyE	+ ari	- bolantyEri / bolantyari	'white rice'

As an exception to this rule in the following instances the final vowel of the preceding word and the initial vowel of the following word are lost.

Example:

oolu + ulle (/ ille) - olle 'where is he?'

oolu + undu (/ indu) - oondu 'where is it?'

muulu + ulle (/ ille) - muulle 'he is here'

2.6. The final vowel E of the first word becomes e when it is followed by case suffixes.

Example:

E + nu :tarE + nu - tarenu 'the head (acc.case)' [?]

E + ku :irE + ku - ireku/ irekku 'to the leaf(dat. case)'

E + gu :mudalE+ gu - mudalegu 'to a crocodile'

E + dtu/ ttu :barE +dtu/ ttu - baredtu/ barettu 'from a mud-wall (abl.case)'

E + ta/da :baalE+ta/da - baaleta/ baaleda 'of a child (poss. case)'

E + ttu :male +ttu - malettu 'in a thick forest (loc.case)'

E + du/tu :maalE+du/tu - maaledu/ maaletu 'in a garland(loc. case)'

2.6.1. When case suffixes are added the final e of the bases changes into a

Example:

e + nu :raame + nu - raamanu 'Rama (acc.case)'

e + gu :kudke +gu - kudkagu 'Fox (dat.case)'

e + ta/da :aaye+ta/da - aayata/ aayada 'with him(loc.case)'

2.6.2. When case suffixes are added the final u of the honorific singular suffx and the u or u of the plural suffix becomes e

Example:

ru + nu	- aaru + nu	- aarenu	'him (acc.case)'
ru + gu	- deeveru+gu	- deeveregu	'to the God(dat.case)'
lu + ta/da-	aakulu+ta	- aakuleta/ akuledā	'with him (loc.case)'

2.6.2.1. When case suffixes are added the u of the feminine suffix lu changes into e.

Example:

lu + nu	- aalu + nu	- aalenu	'her (acc.case)'
lu + gu	- magalu+gu	- magalegu	'to the daughter (dat.case)'

2.6.2.2. When one of the allomorphs of the possessive case suffix i.e. E is added the u of the honorific singular suffix ru, the feminine suffix lu and the u or u of the plural suffixes lu or lu gets dropped.

Example:

u + E	- deeveru + E	- deeverE	'of the God'
u + E	- aaru + E	- aarE	'his (hon.Sg.)'
	magalu + E	- magale	'daughter's'
	jookulu + E	- jookule	'of the children'
	aakulu + E	- aakule/ aakule	'their'

2.6.2.3. When -a, one of the allomorphs of the possessive case suffix is added the final u of a word gets dropped, optionally.

- Example: u + a - kaaru + a - kaara(gantu) '(knuckle) of the leg'
 - kannu + a - kanna(niiru) '(water)of the eye'
 - kaadu + a - kaada(sappu) 'leaf)of the forest'
 - toodu + a - tooda(niiru)'(water)of the rivulet'
 - pullu + a - pulla(pajE) '(mat)of the grass'

2.6.2.4. When case suffixes are added the final vowel of the numerals is replaced by the vowel e

Example:

i + nu	- onji	+ nu	- onjenu	'one (acc.case)
u + ku	- pattu	+ ku	- patteku	'to ten'(dat. case)
u + dtu/ttu-	ayinu	+ dtu	- ayinedtu/ ayinettu	'from five (abl. case)
o + ta/na	- ormbo	+ ta/-na-ormbeta/ ormbena		'of nine'
o + tu/du	- enmo	+ tu/du	- enmetu/ enmedu	'in eight'

2.7. The initial vowel of the second word is dropped if it is short and preceded by a non-identical vowel in the final position of the previous word.

Example:

a + i : petta	+ iddi	- pettaddi	'there is no cow'
batna	+ iddi	- batnaddi	'did not come'
u + i : ku <u>du</u>	+ iddi	- kudu <u>ddi</u>	'there is no horsegram'

u + i : kaadu + iddi - kaaduddi 'there is no forest'

E + i : mallE + iddi - mallEddi 'it is not large;
nevermind'

: eddE + indu - eddEndu 'it is good'

: pugE + irE - pugErE 'tobacco'

e + i : aaye + ille - aayelle 'he is there'

o + i : koopo + iddi - koopoddi 'there is no anger'

kaaro + indu - kaarondu 'it is very hot(taste)'

2.8. When an interrogative particle a (/aa) or an emphatic particle e (/ee) or a vocative suffix follows a word the following changes take place:

(i) n occurs as augment at the end of the first word where there is a, E, e or o as its final vowel.

(ii) y occurs as augment at the end of the first word where there is i as its final vowel.

(iii) v occurs as augment at the end of the first word where there is u as its final vowel.

(iv) the final vowel of the first word is dropped if it is u

Example:

(i) a + a : petta + a -- pettana 'is it a cow?'

+ e : petta + e -- pettane 'cow itself'

E + a : tarE + a -- tarEna 'is it head?'

+ e : irE + e -- irEne 'leaf itself'

e + a : raame + a -- raamena 'is it Rama?'

+ e : krsne + e -- krsnene 'Krishna himself'

o + a : oodo + a -- oodona	'is it boat?'
+ e : bude + e -- budone	'bottom itself'
(ii)i + a : naayi + a -- naayiya	'is it dog?'
+ e : adi + e -- adiye	'bottom itself'
(iii)u + a : avu + a -- avuva>avva	'is it?'
+ e : undu + e -- unduve	'this itself'
(iv)u + a : kaaru + a -- kaara	'is it leg?'
+ e : birelu + e -- birele	'finger itself'

2.9. When a human noun or a plural form of the human noun is followed by the pronominal form aaklu, aakulu, agulu n occurs as augment.

Example:

akkE + aaklu - akkEaaklu	'sisters'
anne + aaklu - annanaaklu	'brothers'
anneeru+ agulu - anneerunagulu	'brothers'
goovinda+aakulu - goovindanaakulu	'Govinda & others'

2.10. n optionally becomes ñ before k

Example:

min + kulegu - inkulegu / iñkulegu	'to you(pl.& hon. sg.)'
tan + kulu - tankulu / tañkulu	'themselves'
eenu + kulu - enkulu	'we'

2.11. The initial consonant of the second word as well as the final vowel of the initial word are dropped.

Example:

adka	+	baarE	-	adkaarE	'a kind of plant'
ayinu	+	tiŋgalu	-	ayiniŋgalu	'five months'
goona	+	kañji	-	goonañji	'young he-buffalo'
niiru	+	kukku	-	niirukku	'raw mango that was preserved in saltwater'
pulla	+	pajE	-	pullajE	'mat made of grass'
pundi	+	bittu	-	pundittu	'a handful of seed sown in the field'
boolu	+	kodyelu	-	boolodyelu	'dish without spice'
mitta	+	tadye	-	mittadye	'upper piece of the door frame, lintel'
mittu	+	diidu	-	mittiidu	'to put above'
muuji	+	dino	-	muujino	'three days'

The semi vowel y is augmented between the two words if the final vowel of the first word is i and the first vowel of the second word is other than i, after dropping of e form and uu form.

Example:

adi	+	kara	--	adyara	'a pot with bottom circle'
kari	+	mani	--	karyani	'black beads'
kasi	+	kukku	--	kasyukku	'hybrid mango'
gundi	+	kando	--	gundyando	'low paddy field, a placename'
* mari	+	kaalo	--	maryaalo	'rainy season'

2.12. When the vowel i and u are followed by any other vowel y occurs as augment between them.

Example:

i + a : kadi	+ ari	--	kadiyari	'broken rice'
+ aa : mati	+ aandu	--	matiyandu	'finished, ended'
+ e : astami	+ eddE	--	astamiyeddE	'eighth day is good'
+ ee : ini	+ eetu	--	iniyeetu	'how much today'
+ o : agi	+ odu	--	agiyodu	'must be chewed'
iit + a : mii	+ ara	--	miiyara	'to bathe'
+ o : mii	+ odu	--	miiyodu	'have to bathe'
u + a : nadu	+ ara	--	nadiyara	'for planting'
i + u : kodu	+ undu	--	kodiyundu	'it is boiling'

2.13. When the plural or honorific singular suffix is used emphatically y is augmented between the final vowel of the first word and the suffix.

Example:

balle + e	-	balleye	'you please come'
poole + e	-	pooleyeye	'you please go'
unde + e	-	undeye	'Behold! please'
tinle + e	-	tinleye	'you please eat'
boodu + e	-	booduye	'please! I want it'
iddi + e	-	iddiye	'please! there is not'
andu + e	-	anduye	'yes! please!!'

2.14. When the vowels other than i and u are followed by adu odu or antE v is augmented between them; and optionally y is augmented instead of v when they are followed by ara / are.

Example:

- (i) -v- : a + a : aa + adu - aavadu 'let it become'
 : aa + antE - aavantE 'without being done'
 a + o : aa + odu - aavodu 'it should become'
 it is to be done'
 u + a : suu + adu - suuvadu 'let (it) see'
 : suu + antE - suuvantE 'without seeing'
 u + o : suu + odu - suuvodu 'have to see'
 e + a : bule + adu - bulevadu 'let it grow'
 : bule + antE - bulevantE 'without growing'
 e + o : bule + odu - bulevodu 'has to be grown'
 o + a : poo + adu - poovadu 'let it go'
 : poo + antE - poovantE 'without going'
 o + o : poo + odu - poovodu 'has to go'

 (ii) -v- / -y- aa + ara - aavara / aayara 'to be done'
 suum + ara - suuvvara / suuyara 'to see'
 mee + ara - meevara / meeyara 'to graze'
 poo + ara - poovara / pooyara 'to go'

2.14.1. When o follows i, v or y is augmented

E.g.

- ii + oro - iivoro/iiyoro 'you once'
 ii + odu - iivodu/iiyodu 'this year'

2.15. When a vowel follows the final u of the words of (c)v c v or cvv type v. is augmented between them.

Example:

u + a :	kudu . + aavu	- kuduvaavu	'horsegram is O.K.'
+ e :	nadu . + eddE	- naduveeddE	'middle is good'
	badu . + eeregu	- baduveeregu	'to whom the stick (is)?'
+ o :	madu . + ovu	- maduvovu	'which is axe?'
uu + e :	puu . + eddE	- puuveeddE	'flower is good'
+ oo :	tuu . + oolu	- tuuvoolu	'where(is)fire?'

2.16. In S dialects the bilabials p, b and m of the second word becomes labio-dental v along with the elision of the final vowel of the first word.

Example:

(i) p>v:

deertu .	+ pattu .	- deertuvatye/ deertvatye	(he) held up
bod <i>ri</i> .	+ panu .	- bodcivanu .	'say: do not want'
boodu .	+ pande .	- booduvande .	'(he)said: I want'

(ii) b>v:

aayagu .	+ boodaatu .	- aayaguvoodaaatu/ aayaguoodaaatu	'for his sake'
kortu .	+ balla .	- kortuvalla/ kortvalla	'give & then come'
paaru .	+ batte .	- paaruvatte/ paarvatte	'(he)came running'

(iii) m>v:

jooru .	+ maanpu .	- joorvaanpu	'to brow beat, frown'
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In N dialects this kind of change is noticed in two instances only.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
poo+bodci/	poovotri	poovodci	poovotri	poovodci	'do not go'
bootri }					
poo+boodu	poovodu	poovodu	poovodu	poovodu	'should go'

2.17. The geminated l of the initial word of a compound is optionally degeminated and the final u is dropped, when followed by a consonant.

Example:

kallu	+ sakrE	- kalsakrE	'sugarcandy'
kallu	+ saṅka	- kalsañka	'bridge of a stone, a placename'
kallu	+ suunti	- kalsuunti	'a kind of medicinal root'
kallu	+ panE	- kalpanE	'stone quarry'

2.18. Assimilation

2.18.1. A partial or complete assimilation is noticed in the following instance:

When the final consonant of the first word is a retroflex or nasal one and the initial consonant of the second word is a lateral

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
t + l	katla	katlia	katla	katla	'you tie'
n + l	keenla/	keenla	keenla/	keenla/	'you ask'
	keella	..	keenna	keenna	

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
panla/ palla	panla	panla/ panna	panla/ panna	'you say'
d + l paadla	paadla	paadla	paadla	'you put'
n + l tinla/tilla sinla	tinla/	tinna	tinla/ tinna	'you eat'
l + l kulla	kulla	kulla	kulla	'you sit' ?

2.18.2. Complete assimilation may be noticed in a few words where the final r of the first word is followed by a stop or nasal consonant.

Example:

ir + kattu	- ikkattu	'dilemma, narrowness'
ir + cadi	- iccadidi	'double, two fold'
ir + tattu	- ittattu	'both sides'
or + kayi	- okkayi	'one hand; sole; single handed play in card playing'
or + gundi	- oggundi	'one pit'
or + mato	- ommato	'single opinion, unanimity'

The assimilation is not noticed in many instances.

Example:

ir + tale	- irtale	'the snake earth - boa'
ir + baayi	- irbaayi	'two mouth, double edged'
or + kenni	- orkenni	'single temple (of the head)'

2.18.3. In only one instance we come across the case of complete assimilation in S dialects but optional in N dialects.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
bar + te	batte	batte	batte barte	batte/ barte	'he came'
bar + naga	bannaga	bannaga	bannaga/ barnaga	bannaga/ barnaga	'when comes'

The examples given above are a few of the morphophonemic changes noticed in Tulu. As the morphophonemic rules are almost the same in different dialects of Tulu it is felt unnecessary to cite different types of examples from different dialects. But it is noted wherever it is felt necessary to do so. Though a few examples cited above do not belong to all the dialects and appear in one or two dialects only it should be taken for granted that they represent all the dialects with regard to morphophonemic changes, unless differently stated.

CHAPTER - 3

Verbs

3. VERBS

Verbs are those forms which take or capable of taking tense suffixes.

3.1. Classification:

The Tulu verbs are classified mainly into eight groups according to the suffixes that they take. While classifying the verbs the following suffixes are taken into consideration:-

- (i) Past tense suffix
- (ii) Past-perfect suffix
- (iii) Present-future tense suffix
- (iv) Subjunctive suffix
- (v) Causative suffix

3.1.1. Class:I

The roots with retroflex and dental nasal in the final syllable (before the root final vowel u or u) belong to this class. They take the following sets of suffixes:

Past tense : -d- / -d- (phonologically conditioned by the retroflex or dental nasal in the final syllable.)

Past-perfect: -t-, -dut-/ -dut-, -d-

Present -future : -p-, -Ø-

Subjunctive : -b-, -v-, -Ø-

Causative : -paa, -poo

This class can again be sub-classified as IA and IB.

(i) Cl. IA : Roots of the types (C)V C V.

(ii) Cl. IB : All other types of verbs which end with the reflexive suffix -onu / -onu and the root keenu

3.1.1.1. Cl. IA:

Example:	unu	'to take meals'
	panu	'to tell'
	pinu	'to know'
	benu	'to work'
	tinu	'to eat'

3.1.1.2. Cl. IB:

Example:	ookonu	'to give response to a call'
	katonu/	'to lie oneself, to go to sleep'
	kedonu	
	keenu	'to ask; to listen'

3.1.2. Class. II : The following three roots of CVCV type belong to this class. They take the following sets of suffixes:

Past tense	: -t- / -tt-
Past Perfect	: -tut-, -tud-
Present-Future	: -p-
Subjunctive	: -v-, -Ø-
Causative	: -paa-, -poo-

Example:

baru	'to come'
beyi	'to be cooked'
sayi	'to die'

3.1.3. Class III: The roots ending in -pu/-ppu belong to this class (excepting the roots oppu and ciipu.) The intransitive roots after being converted into transitive by adding -pu/-ppu also belong to this class. They take the following sets of suffixes:

Past tense	: -t-, -tt-
Past Perfect	: -tut-, -tud-
Present Future	: -v-, -p-, -Ø-
Subjunctive	: -Ø-
Causative	: -aa-, -oo-

This class of the verbs can be sub-divided into different groups according to the structure of the verbs.

3.1.3.1. (C)(V)C V(C)C V:

ajappu/ajapu	: 'to select'
adappu/adapu/dappu	: 'to plough'
oleppu/olepu/ leppu	: 'to call'
kadippu/kadipu	: 'to cut a thread etc.'
Kalappu/kalapu	: 'to knead'

3.1.3.2. <u>(C) V C C V:</u>	oypu	'to pull, draw'
	kaypu	'to be bitter'
	kalpu	'to learn'
	jappu	'to get down'
	bulpu	'to weep'

3.1.3.3. (C) V V C V C V C C V:

aacarippu 'to celebrate'

3.1.3.4. (C) V C C V (V) C (V) C C V:

uccaalpu/uccalippu 'to craddle'

3.1.3.5. (C) V V C V:

kaapu 'to wait, watch'

jaapu 'to bring down as vessels etc.'

noopu 'to beat'

baapu 'to swell'

geepu 'to take'

3.1.3.6. (C) V V C V (C) C V:

piidippu/piidipu 'to trouble'

poodippu/poodipu 'to fear'

laagippu 'to jump'

3.1.3.7. (C) V V C C V:

maampu/maanpu 'to do'

laaypu 'to jump'

saarpu 'to half-close a door'

soolpu 'to be defeated'

3.1.4. Class IV: The roots ending with -mbu, -bbu and the root oppu belong to this class. They take the following sets of suffixes:

Past tense	: -y-, -∅-
Past Perfect	: -t-, -d-
Present-Future	: -v-, -p-, -∅-
Subjunctive	: -∅-
Causative	: -aa-, -oo-

This class may be subdivided according to the structure of the verb.

3.1.4.1. (C) V C (V) C C V:

alambu	'to rinse, as clothes etc.'
ujimbu	'to suck'
kirumbu/ kimbu	'to scratch, itches'
parumbu/ parmbo	'to grab'

3.1.4.2. (C) V C C V:

ubbu	'to puff up'
oppu	'to agree'
tumbu	'to carry a load'
rumbu	'to wash as clothes etc.'

3.1.5. Class V:

The following types of roots of (C) V V C V structure belong to this class. They take the following sets of suffixes:

Past tense	: -y-, -∅-
Past perfect	: -t-, -d-
Present-Future	: -p-, -b-, -∅-
Subjunctive	: -v-, -∅-
Causative	: -aa-/ -paa-/ -saa-, -oo-/ -ooo-/ -soo-

(C) V V C V:

eeru	'to ascend'
oodu	'to read'
jaaru	'to slip'
taadu	'to butt, gore'
seeru	'to include'

3.1.6. Class VI:

The following roots belong to this class:-

- (i) roots of the type (C) V C V, transitive
- (ii) roots of the type (C) V C V, intransitive
- (iii) roots ending with a long vowel of the type -VV, CVV

They take the following sets of suffixes:

Past tense	: -y- , -∅ -
Past Perfect	: -t-, -d-
Present-Future	: -p-
Subjunctive	: -v-, -∅-
Causative	: -paa-, -poo-

3.1.6.1. (C) V C V, transitive:

kade	'to grind'
nadu	'to plant'
neru	'to chide'
budu	'to leave'
sudu	'to burn'

3.1.6.2. (C) V C V, intransitive: This group of the roots include only those intransitive roots which cannot be transformed into transitive roots by adding the transitive suffix -pu.

alu/ar <u>u</u>	'to weep'
uri	'to have burning sensation'
giri	'to turn round, to wander'
pune	'to strive'
bule	'to get ripen'

3.1.6.3. -VV, C V V

araa / aroo	'to gather with fingers'
karaa/karoo	'to melt'
aŋgaa/aŋgoo	'to open one's mouth'
anna <u>a</u> /anno <u>o</u>	'to look upwards'
aa	'to become'
jaa	'to put down'
poo	'to go'
mii	'to bathe'
mee	'to graze'
suu/tuu	'to see'

3.1.7. Class VII:

The following roots belong to this group:

- (i) the roots of (C) V V C V type other than those with p, t, t, c, k, s and n in the final syllable.
- (ii) the roots of the type (C)V C V C V, intransitive
- (iii) those trisyllabic roots with an optional long vowel in the second syllable, as of the type (C) V C V (V) C V.

(iv) the roots paateru and nedru

They take the following sets of suffixes:

Past tense	: -y-, -∅-
Past Perfect	: -t-, -d-
Present-Future	: -p-, -b-, -v-, -∅-
Subjunctive	: -v-, -∅-
Causative	: -paa-, -poo-

3.1.7.1. (C) V V C V

kooru	'to gather in a basket etc.'
diidu/jiidu	'to put, keep'
naadu	'to search'
paadu	'to put'
maalu	'to incline'

3.1.7.2. (C) V C V C V

aduru	'to shake, quake'
amaru	'to be pressed, to lag behind'
tirugu	'to turn'
pijiru	'to turn'
magulu/ magūru	'to fall prostrate; to fall down'

3.1.7.3. (C) V C V (V) C V:

nide(e)ru	'to sleep'
pida(a)du	'to start'
pude(e)ru	'to roll on the earth'
pure(e)lu	'to roll'

- 3.1.7.4. paateru 'to talk'
 nedru¹⁰ 'to sleep'

3.1.8. Class VII

The remaining roots belong to this class. They take the following sets of suffixes:-

- Past tense : -y- , -∅-
- Past Perfect: -t-, -d-
- Pres. Future : -p-, -b-, -∅-
- Subjunctive : -v-, -∅-
- Causative : -aa-, -oo-

This class can be sub-divided into different groups according to their structure.

3.1.8.1. (C) V C V C V, transitive:

- kabidu 'to strain as gruel of boiled rice etc.'
 keresu 'to scrape'
 paradu 'to grope'
 baduru/ 'to spread'
 paduru
 bolesu 'to serve food'

10. This root belongs to Sb dialect, nide(e)ru, the other variant of this root used by Sc and Nc dialects belong to the group 3.1.7.3., above.

3.1.8.2. (C)V C C V, transitive:

attu	'to piss'
ottu	'to press'
kandu	'to steal'
kattu	'to tie, build'
kettu	'to chip'
guddy	'to blow with fist'
pattu	'to touch, stick'

3.1.8.3. (C)(V)C V (C) C V:

adakku/adaku/dakku	'to throw'
arantu	'to grope'
unungu	'to dry'
parehku	'to scratch with nails or thorns'
pejekku	'to squeeze'
badattu	'to climb'

3.1.8.4. (C) V V C V:

kuutu	'to gather'
giisu	'to shave, as head'
cjipu	'to suck, chew'
nuuku	'to push'
biisu	'to flour'
maatu	'to pour'
haaku	'to beat'

3.1.8.5. (C) V V C C V:

ooŋgu	'to loiter about'
taaŋgu	'to support'
taantu	'to collide'
niindu	'to swim'
saanku	'to foster'

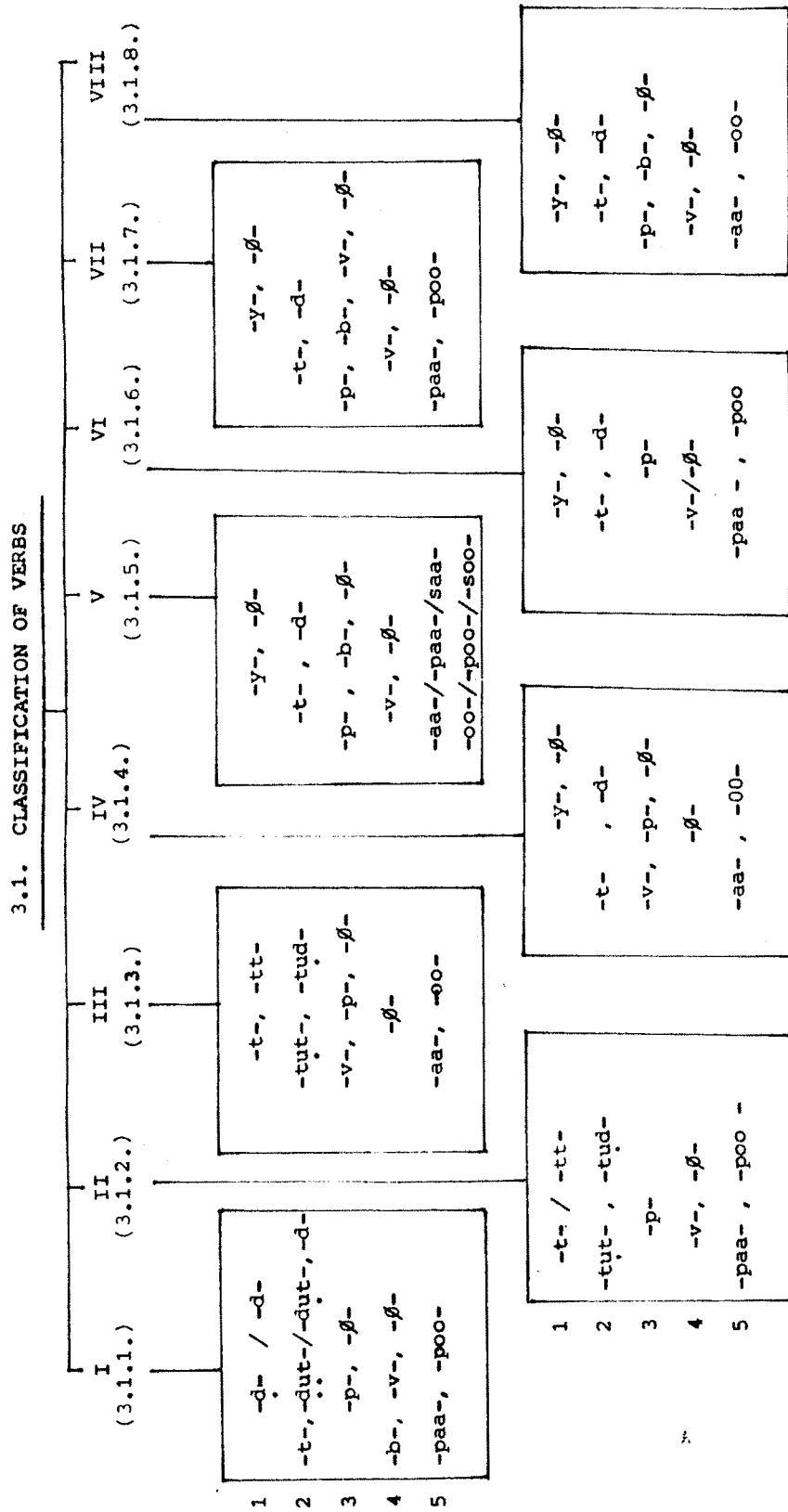
3.1.8.6. (C) V C C V C V:

akkudu	'to hang'
...	

3.1.8.7 (C) V C(V) C C V:

par(u)ndu	'to ripe'
...	

The above classification of the verbs can be summarized and shown with the help of a chart as follows:-



The items inside the boxes (squares) are suffixes which can be described from top to bottom, respectively, as follows:

1. Past tense suffix
2. Past perfect tense suffix
3. Present - Future tense suffix
4. Subjunctive suffix
5. Causative suffix

3.2. Derivation:

Apart from the above classification verbs are also divided into - (i) intransitive (ii) transitive (iii) causative (iv) reflexive, and (iv) completive

3.2.1. Intransitive: Intransitive verbs are those that need no object to make complete sense. There are two types of intransitive verbs:

- (a) the intransitive verbs which cannot be changed into transitive verbs by adding any transitive marker, and
- (b) the transitive verbs which can be changed into transitive verbs by adding certain transitive markers.

3.2.2. Transitive: Transitive verbs are those that require a direct object to complete their meaning. There are two types of transitive verbs:- (a) inherent transitive, and (b) derived transitive. Inherent transitives are the real transitives by nature; whereas derived transitives are those which are derived from intransitives by the addition of transitive markers.

The suffix employed to change certain intransitive verbs into transitive ones is -pu, which has an allomorph -ppu in Sb and Sc. dialects, when suffixed to the verbs:

Example:

<u>intransitive</u>	<u>transitive</u>
ari 'to drip'	aripu / arippu 'to strain'
eelu 'to melt'	eelpu 'to melt'
ori/oli 'to remain'	oripu/orippu/ olipu/olippu 'to save; to spare'

kadelu	'to become lose'	kadeelpu	'to loosen'
nari	'to be broken'	narippu	'to break'
bigi	'to be tight'	bigipu/ bigippu	'to tighten'

3.2.3. Causative: A causative verb is one which denotes that the subject causes another agent to do the action.

In Tulu the causative suffix has the allomorphs -aa-, -paa-, -saa in c dialects and -oo, -poo, -soo in b dialects.

3.2.3.1. -aa (Sc, Nc), -oo (Sb, Nb):

This allomorph is employed to form causatives from the verbs of cl. III, IV and VIII.

Example:

Cl.III.

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
oleppoo	leppaa	olepoo	leppaa	'cause to call'
kalpoo	kalpaa	kalpoo	kalpaa	'c. to learn'
kaapoo	kaapaa	kaapoo	kaapaa	'c. to wait,watch'

Cl.IV.

kirmboo	kirmbaa	kirmboo	kirmbaa	'c. to scratch it itches'
oppoo	oppaa	oppoo	oppaa	'c. to agree'

Cl.VIII

paradoo	paradaa	paradoo	paradaa	'c. to grope'
kettoo	kettaa	kettoo	kettaa	'c. to chip'
badattoo	badattaa	--	--	'c. to climb'
giisoo	giisaa	giisoo	giisaa	'c. to shave as head'

taantoo	taantaa/ saantaa	taantoo	taantaa	'c. to collide'
parndoo	parndaa	parndoo	parndaa	'c. to ripe'

3.2.3.2. -paa (Sc, Nc), -poo (Sb, Nb):

This allomorph is employed to form causatives from the verbs of Cl. I, II, VI and VII.

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.I	unpoo	unpaa	unpoo	unpaa	'cause to take meals'
	pinpoo	pinpaa	pinpoo	pinpaa	'c. to know'
	tinpoo	tinpaa/ sinpaa	tinpoo	tinpaa	'c. to eat'
	katonpoo	--	kedonpoo	--	'c. to lie oneself, c. to go to sleep'
Cl.II	barpoo	barpaa	barpoo	barpaa	'c. to come'
	beypoo	beypaa	beypoo	beypaa	'c. to be cooked'
	saypoo	saypaa	saypoo	saypaa	'c. to die'
Cl.VI	nadpoo	nadpaa	nadpoo	nadpaa	'cause to plant'
	budpoo	budpaa	budpoo	budpaa	'c. to leave'
	girippoo	girippaa	giripoo	giripaa	'c. to wander'
	miipoo	miipaa	miipoo	miipaa	'c. to bathe'
	meepoo	meepaa	meepoo	meepaa	'c. to graze'
Cl.VII	paadpoo	paadpaa	paadpoo	paadpaa	'c. to put'
	pidaadpoo	pidaadpaa	pidaadpoo	pidaadpaa	'c. to start'
	amarpoo	amarpaa	amarpoo	amarpaa	'c. to be pressed'
	paaterpoo	paaterpaa	paaterpoo	paaterpaa	'c. to talk'
	nedruppoo	nideerpaa	--	niderpaa	'c. to sleep'

Sometimes this allomorph -paa freely varies with -aa in Nc.
after the verbs of Cl.VII.

Example:

Nc

paadpaa / paadaa 'cause to put'

maarpaa / maaraa 'cause to sell'

3.2.3.3. -aa/ -paa/ -saa (Sc, Nc), -oo/-poo/-soo¹¹ (Sb, Nb)

These allomorphs are employed to form causatives from the verbs of Cl. V.

Example:

<u>Sc, Nc</u>	<u>Sb, Nb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.V. eeraa/eerpaa/eersaa	eeroo/eerpoo/eersoo	'cause to ascend'
oodaa/oodpaa/oodsaa	oodoo/oodpoo/oodsoo	'c. to read'
jaaraa/jaarpaa/jaarsaa	jaaroo/jaarpoo/ jaarsoo	'c. to slip'
seeraa/seerpaa/ seersaa	seeroo/seerpoo/ seersoo	'c. to include'

11. The allomorph -saa, -soo, -soo appears to be a later borrowing from Kannada; for, this allomorph is added only to such particular types of verbs which are equal both in structure and meaning in either the languages. e.g.: cf. Kannada: eerisu 'cause to ascend', jaarisu 'cause to slip', oodisu 'cause to read' etc.

3.2.4. Reflexive:

The reflexive suffix in Tulu is -onu/-onu. This is added to past tense bases of verbs. This suffix has an allomorph -onu in Nc. Of the two variants of the suffix -onu is more prevalent in S dialects and -onu in Nb.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pandonu	pandonu	pandonu	pandonu	'to tell oneself'
tindonu	tindonu	tindonu	tindonu	'to eat oneself'
naadonu	naadonu	naadonu	naadonu	'to search for oneself'
kaltonu	kaltonu	kaltonu	kaltonu	'to study oneself'
pattonu	pattonu	pasonu	pasonu	'to hold oneself'

3.2.5. Completive:

The different allomorphs of the completive suffix in Tulu are --ru, -tru/-tturu, -dry/-duru, -dru/-dduru/-du/-ddu. The allomorphs -tturu, -duru, -dduru and -ddu occur only when they are followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant and is in free variation with the other allomorphs of their category.

3.2.5.1. -ru: This allomorph occurs after the verbs ending with --tu, -ttu, -ntu, -du, -ndu, -tu, -ttu, -ntu, -du, -ndu, -rdu, -rdru, and -su.

Example:

buutu ..	'to liquidate'	buutru ..	'to liquidate away'
kattu ..	'to tie'	kattru ..	'to tie away'
puntu ..	'to wring'	puntru ..	'to wring away'
paadu ..	'to put'	paadru ..	'to put away'
kandu ..	'to steal'	kandru ..	'to steal away'
maatu ..	'to pour'	maatru ..	'to pour away'
pattu ..	'to hold'	pattru ..	'to hold away'
kantu ..	'to sink'	kantru ..	'to sink away'
oodu ..	'to read'	oodru ..	'to read away'
niindu ..	'to swim'	niindru ..	'to swim away'
urdu ..	'to wrestle'	urdru ..	'to wrestle away'
urdu ..	'to wipe'	urdru ..	'to wipe away'
muusu ..	'to smell'	muusru ..	'to smell away'

3.2.5.2. -tru/-ttru/-tturus: This occurs -

(i) after the roots belonging to Cl. II and III

(ii) after the monosyllabic root poo

Example:

(i) Cl.II	baru ..	'to come'	battru ..	'to come away'
	beyi ..	'to be cooked'	beyitru ..	'to be cooked away'

Cl.III

	kadippu / kadipu ..	'to cut a thread etc.'	kadittru ..	'to cut away a thread etc.'
	oypu ..	'to put, draw'	oytru ..	'to pull away, draw away'
	noopu ..	'to beat'	nootru ..	'to beat away'
(ii)	poo ..	'to go'	pooyitru ..	'to go away'

3.2.5.3. -dru / -duru: This occurs after the verbs ending with -nu belonging to Cl. I

Example:

tinu	'to eat'	tindru	'to eat away'
pinu	'to know'	pindru	'to know away'
benu	'to work'	bendru	'to work away'

3.2.5.4. -dru / -dduru/-du/-ddu: This occurs -

(i) after the roots of Cl. I, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII (excluding those types of roots mentioned in 3.2.5.1. and 3.2.5.3. above.) After this set of roots (except the type of (C)V V and (C)V C V structure) the allomorphs -dru etc. freely vary with -ru in N dialects.

(ii) after the monosyllabic roots except the root poo

(iii) after the causative bases

(iv) after the reflexive bases

The variants of -dru like -du and -ddu are more prevalent in b dialects.

Example:

(i) Cl. I.

	<u>Sb, Sc</u>	<u>Nb, Nc</u>
unu 'to take meals'	undru	undru 'to take away meals'
panu 'to tell'	pandru	pandru 'to tell away'
keenu 'to ask'	keendru	keendru 'to ask away'

	<u>Sb, Sc</u>	<u>Nb, Nc</u>	
C1.IV.	tumbu 'to carry on head'	tumbudru/ tumbudu	tumbudru/ tumbru 'to carry away on head'

ubbu 'to puff up'	ubbudru/ ubbudu	ubbudru/ ubbru 'to puff away up'
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C1.V

jaaru 'to slip'	jaarudru/ jaardu	jaardru 'to slip away'
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seeru 'to include'	seerudru/ seerdu	seerdrus 'to include away'
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C1. VI

kade 'to grind'	kadedru/ kadeddu	-- 'to grind away'
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neru 'to chide'	'nerudru/ nerdu	nerudru 'to chide away'
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agi 'to chew'	agidru/ agiddu	agidru/ agiddu 'to chew away'
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pune 'to strive'	punedru/ puneddu	-- 'to strive away'
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C1. VII.

maalu 'to incline'	maaldru/ maaldu	maaldru 'to incline away'
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paateru 'to talk'	paaterudru/ paaterdu	paaterudru 'to talk away'
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C1. VIII

bolesu 'to serve food'	bolesudru/ bolesudu	bolesudru/ bolessu 'to serve away food'
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adakku 'to throw'	adakkudru/ adakdu	adakudru/ adakru 'to throw away'
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nuuku 'to push'	nuukudru/	nuukudru/ 'to push away'
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saanku 'to foster'	saankudru/ saankdu	saankudru/ saankru 'to foster away'
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	<u>Sb, Sc</u>	<u>Nb, Nc</u>	
(ii)	mi 'to bathe' miidru/ miiddu ...	miidru/ miiddu ...	'to bathe away'
	suu 'to look' suudru/ suuddu ...	suudru/ suuddu ...	'to look away'
(iii)	panpaa/ panpoo 'C. to tell'	panpaadru/ panpoodru	panpaadru/ panpoodru
	pattaa/'C. to pattoo stick'	pattaadru/ pattoodru	pattaadru/ pattoodru
(iv)	tindonu 'to eat ... oneself'	tindondru ...	'to eat away oneself'
	paadonu 'to put ... for oneself'	paadondru ...	'to put away for oneself'

3.3. Tense Bases:

Tense is the main characteristic feature which distinguishes verbs from other grammatical catagories. The main function of the tense is to denote the time at which an action takes place.

The Tulu verbs show a five - way distinction of tense, namely, (i) past (ii) past perfect (iii) present-future (iv) subjunctive future, and (v) subjunctive past.

The verbal forms can be analysed as consisting of the personal suffixes added to the tense bases. The bases are formed by adding the respective tense suffixes to the roots. Only in the case of subjunctive past, the suffix is added to perfect base and not directly to the bare base.

3.3.1. Past tense: The past tense base is formed by adding the past tense suffix which has the following allomorphs:-

- (i) -∅- (ii) -d- / -d- (iii) -t-/tt- (iv) -y-

3.3.1.1. -∅-: This occurs after the roots of Cl.IV, V, VI, VII and VIII when followed by the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Cl.IV</u>	ujimbnu	ujimbundu	ujimbnu	jumbundu	'it sucked'
	ubbnu	ubbundu	ubbnu	ubbundu	'it puffed up'
<u>Cl.V</u>	eernu	eerundu	eernu	eerndu	'it ascended, raised'
	taadnu	saadundu	taadnu	taadundu	'it butted'
<u>Cl.VI</u>	bu <u>dn</u> u	bu <u>d</u> undu	bu <u>dn</u> u	bu <u>d</u> undu	'it left'
	bulenu	bulendu	bulenu	bulendu	'it got ripen'
	aanu	aandu	aanu	aandu	'it became'
	poonu	poondu	poonu	poondu	'it went'
<u>Cl.VII</u>	maalnu	maalundu	maalnu	maalundu	'it inclined'
	nedrunu	nideerundu	nidrednu	niderundu	'it slept'
<u>Cl.VIII</u>	paradnu	paradundu	paradnu	paradundu	'it groped'
	unuñgnu	unuñgundu	unuñgnu	nuñgundu	'it dried'
	parndnu	parndundu	parndnu	parndundu	'it ripened'

In Sb and Nb this occurs after the roots of Cl. I and II also when followed by the third person neuter singular suffix.

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.I	unnu .. .	unnu .. .	'it took meals'
	pannu .. .	pannu .. .	'it told'
	tinnu . .	tinnu . .	'it ate'
	katonnu	kedonnu .. .	'it lied, slept'
Cl.II	beyinu . .	beyinu . .	'it is cooked'

3.3.1.2. -d-/-d-: This occurs after the roots of Cl.I and reflexive bases. This is phonologically conditioned. -d- occurs after the retroflex nasal and -d- after the dental nasal of the final syllable of the root.

Example:

unu .. .	undE .. .	'I took the meals'
keenu .. .	keendE .. .	'I asked'
tinu . .	tindE . .	'I ate'
pinu . .	pindE . .	'I knew'
ookonu .. .	ookonde .. .	'I responded to a call'
paadonu . . .	paadondE . . .	'I put for myself'

3.3.1.3. -t-/-tt-: This occurs after the roots of Cl. II and III before all personal suffixes. The allomorph -tt- is used by Sb and Sc dialects after the roots of Cl.II and after those verbs which end with -ppu.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.II	battE	battE	bartE/ battE	bartE/ battE	'I came'
	sayitte/ sayte	sayitte/ sayte	sayte	sayte/ tayte	'he died'
Cl.III	olettE	lettE	oletE	lettE	'I called'
	jattE	jattE	jattE	jattE	'I got down'
	kaatE	kaatE	kaatE	kaatE	'I waited'
	pooditte	pooditte	poodite	poodte	'he feared'
	maante	maante	ante	malte	'he did'
	soolte	soolte	soote	soote	'he is defeated'

3.3.1.4. -y-: This occurs after the roots of Cl.IV, V, VI, VII and VIII and after the causative and completive bases, when followed by any other personal suffix than the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:

Cl.IV	kirmbye	kirmbye	kirmbye	kirmbye	'he scratched itches'
	rumbye	rumbye	rumbye	rumbye	'he washed, as clothes etc.'
Cl.V.	oodyalu	oodyalu	oodyalu	oodyolu	'she read'
Cl.VI	neryeru	neryeru	neryeru	neryeru	'they chided'
	budyo	budyo	budyo	budyo	'we left'
	pooye	pooye	pooye	pooye	'he went'
	suuya	suuya	suuya	tuuya	'you saw'
Cl.VII	naadyE	naadyE	naadyE	naadyE	'I searched'
	pidaadyalu	pidaad- yalu	pidaadyalu	pidaadyolu	'she started'
	paaterye	paaterye	paaterye	paaterye	'he talked'

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.VIII	bolesye guddyey adakkye nuukye niindye saankyalu	balasye guddyey adakkye nuukye niindye saankyalu	bolesye guddyey adakkye nuukye niindye saankyalu	balasye guddyey dakye nuukye niindye taankyolu	'he served food' 'he gave a blow with the fist' 'he threw' 'he pushed' 'he swam' 'she fostered'
Caus.	maampooyE keenpooye kaapooye	maanpaayE keenpaaye kaapaaye	ampooyE keenpooye kaapooye	malpaayE keenpaaye kaapaaye	'I caused to do' 'he caused to ask' 'he caused to wait'
Compl.	pandruye kettriyE pindryalu	pandruye kettriyE pindryalu	pandruye kettriyE pindryalu	pandruye kettriyE pindryolu	'he told away' 'I chipped away' 'she knew away'

3.3.2. Past Perfect tense:

The past perfect base is formed by adding the past perfect suffix which has the following allomorphs:-

(i) -t-, -dut-/dut-, -d- (ii) -tut-, -tud- (iii) -t-, -d-

3.3.2.1. -t-/dut-/dut- (Sb, Sc), -t- (Nb), -d- (Nc): This occurs after the roots of Cl. I including reflexive bases. The allomorphs -dut- and -dut- are phonologically conditioned; -dut- occurs after the retroflex nasal and -dut- after the dental nasal of the final syllable of the root.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	untE / undute	untE/undute	untE	unde	'I had taken meals'
	pante/pandute	pante/pandute	pante	pande	'he had told'
	tintE/tindute	sintE/sindute	tintE	tindE	'I had eaten'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pint _E /pindut _E	pint _E /pindut _E	pint _E	pind _E	'I had known'
barevont _E /	barevont _E /	barevont _E	barevond _E	'I had written'
barevondut _E	barevondut _E			
paadonte/	paadonte/	paadont _E	paadond _E	'I had put'
paadondute	paadondut _E			

3.3.2.2. -tut - (Sb), -tut-/ -tud- (Sc), -tud- (Nb, Nc):

This occurs after the roots of Cl. II and III.

Example:

Cl.II

battut _E	battut _E /	battud _E	battud _E	'I had come'
	battud _E			
saytute	saytute/	saytude	taytude	'he had died'
	saytude			

Cl.III

adattute	adattute/	adatude	dattude	'he had ploughed'
	adattude			
kaltutalu	kaltutalu/	kaltudalu	kaltudolu	'she had studied'
	kaltudalu			
maantuteru	maantuteru/	antuderu	maltuderu	'they had done'
	maantuderu			
sooltuta	sooltuta/	sooltuda	sooltuda	'you had been defeated'
	sooltuda			

3.3.2.3. -t-, -d-:

(i) -t- (Sb), -t-/d- (Sc), -d- (Nb, Nc): This occurs after the roots of Cl. IV, V, VII and VIII.

Example:	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.IV	kirmbute	kirmbute/ kirmbude	kirmbude	'he had scratched itches'	
		kirmbude			
	ubbutnu	ubbutundu/ ubbudnu	ubbudundu	'it had puffed up'	
		ubbudundu			
Cl.V.	oodute	oodute	oodude	oodude	'he had studied'
	jaarutnu	jaarutundu/jaarudnu	jaarudundu	'it had slipped'	
		jaarudundu			
Cl.VII	paadutE	paadutE/ paadudE	paadudE	'I had put'	
		paadudE			
	nedrute	nideerute	nedredude	niderude	'he had slept'
Cl.VIII	bolesute	balasute/ bolesude	balasude	'he had served food'	
		balasude			
	adakkute	adakkute/ adakude	dakkude	'he had thrown'	
		adakude			
	nuukutE	nuukutE/ nuukudE	nuukudE	'I had pushed'	
		nuukudE			
	saan̄kutalu	saan̄kutalu/ saan̄ku-	saan̄ku-	'she had fostered'	
		saan̄kudalu	dalu	dolu	
(ii)	<u>-t- (Sb, Nb), -t-/d- (Sc), -d-(Nc); -tt-(S), -t-(N)</u>				

This occurs after the roots of Cl.VI. Of the allomorphs -tt- is used by S dialects and -t- by N dialects after the roots of (C) V C V type.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
agittE	agittE	agitE	agitE	'I had chewed'
nadut ^E / nad ^E	nadut ^E / nad ^E	nadut ^E / nad ^E	nadut ^E / nad ^E	'I had planted'
aŋgootE	aŋgaatE	aŋgootE	aŋgaadE	'I had opened the mouth'
aroote	araate/	aroote	araade	'he had gathered with fingers'
pootalu ..	pootalu ..	pootalu ..	poodalu	'she had gone'
miitE	miitE	miitE	miidE	'I had bathed'

3.3.3. Present - Future tense:

The present-future tense base is formed by adding the present-future tense suffix which has the following allomorphs:

(i) -Ø- (ii) -p- (iii) -p-/v- (iv) -p-/b- (V) -V- (vi)-v-/b-

3.3.3.1. -Ø-: This occurs after all roots excepting those of Cl. IA, II and VI provided if it is followed by the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.IB	keenunu	keenundu	keenunu	keenundu	'it asks'
	ookonunu	ookonundu	ookonunu	ookonundu	'it responds to a call'
Cl.III	oleppunu	leppundu	olepunu	leppundu	'it calls'
	baapunu	baapundu	baapunu	baapundu	'it swells'
Cl.IV	kirmbunu	kirmbundu	kirmbunu	kirmbundu	'it itches'
	ubbunu	ubbundu	ubbunu	ubbundu	'it puffs up'

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.V	jaarunu	jaarundu	jaarunu	jaarundu	'it slips'
	taadunu	saadundu	taadunu	taadundu	'it butts, gores'
Cl.VII	naadunu	naadundu	naadunu	naadundu	'it searches'
	adurunu	adurundu	adurunu	adurundu	'it shakes'
Cl.VIII	paradu- nu	paradundu	paradunu	paradundu	'it gropes'
	pattunu	pattundu	pattunu	pattundu	'it sticks'

3.3.3.2. -pe-: This occurs -

- (i) after the roots of Cl. IA, II, and VI before all personal suffixes
- (ii) after the roots of Cl. V, VI, VII and VIII in Sb before personal suffixes other than the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:

(i)	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.IA	unpe	unpe	unpe	unpe	'he eats'
	pinpE	pinpE	pinpE	pinpE	'I know'
Cl.II	barpalu	barpalu	berpalu	barpolu	'she comes'
	sayipnu	saypundu	saypunu	taypundu	'it dies'
Cl.VI	kadepe	kadepe	--	--	'he grinds'
	--	--	alpe	arpe	'he weeps'
	poopE	poopE	poopE	poopE	'I go'
	annoopalu	annapalu	annoopalu	annapolu	'she looks upwards'
(ii)					
Cl.V	oodupe	--	--	--	'he reads'
	seerupE	--	--	--	'I join'

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
C1.VI	na [.] dpe	na [.] dpe	na [.] dpe	na [.] dpe	'he plants'
	aape	aape	aape	aape	'he becomes'
C1.VII	pa [.] adupE	--	--	--	'I put'
	nedrupE	--	--	--	'I sleep'
	magulupE	--	--	--	'I fall down'
C1.VIII	padurupE/	--	--	--	'I spread'
	badurupE				
	kandupe	--	--	--	'he steals'
	haakuperu	--	--	--	'they beat'

3.3.3.3. -p-/v-: This occurs after the roots of C1.III and IV in Sb before all personal suffixes other than the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
C1.III	ajappupE/	--	--	--	' I select'
	ajappuvE				
	oypupe/	--	--	--	'he pulls'
	oypuve				
	geepupe/	--	--	--	'he takes'
	geepuve				
	maampupe/	--	--	--	'he does'
	maampuve				
C1.IV	parmbupe/	--	--	--	'he grabs'
	parmbuve				
	tumbupalu/	--	--	--	'she carries a load'
	tumbvalu				

3.3.3.4. -p-/b- This occurs after the roots of Cl.V, VII and VIII in Sc before all personal suffixes other than the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.V	--	oodupe/oodube	--	--	'he reads'
	--	seerupe/seerubE	--	--	'I join, include'
Cl.VII	--	naadupe/naadube	--	--	'he searches'
	--	pidaadupalu/ pidaadubalu	--	--	'he starts'
	--	magurupe/ magurube	--	--	'he falls down'
Cl.VIII	--	balasupalu/ balasubalu	--	--	'she serves food'
	--	arantuperu/ arantuberu	--	--	'they grope'
	--	akkudupe/ akkudube	--	--	'he hangs'

3.3.3.5. -v-: This occurs after the roots of Cl.III, IV, V, VII and VIII in Nb and Nc before all personal suffixes other than the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.III	--	--	adapuve	dappuve	'he ploughs'
	--	--	ampuve	malpuve	'he does'
	--	--	geppuve	geppuve	'he takes'

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.IV	--	--	kirmbuve	kirmbuve	'he scratches itches'
	--	--	oppuvalu [.]	oppuvolu	'she agrees'
Cl.V	--	--	ooduvE	ooduvE	'I read'
	--	--	jaaruVE	jaaruVE	'I slip'
Cl.VII	--	--	paaduvE	paaduvE	'I put'
	--	--	paateruvE	paateruvE	'I talk'
Cl.VIII	--	--	paraduveru [.]	paraduveru [.]	'they grope'
	--	--	adakuve [.]	dakkuve	'he throws'
	--	--	saankuvalu [.]	taanku- volu	'she fosters'

3.3.3.6. -v-/b-: This occurs after the roots of Cl.III and IV in Sc before all personal suffixes other than the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.III	--	oypuve/oypube	--	--	'he pulls'
	--	jaapuvalu/ jaapubalu [.]	--	--	'she brings down as vessels etc.'
	--	laaypuve/ laaypube	--	--	'he jumps'
	--	alambuvalu/ alambubalu [.]	--	--	'she rinses as clothes etc.'
	--	rumbuvE/rumbubE	--	--	'I wash, as clothes etc.'
	--	oppuveru/ oppuberu [.]	--	--	'they agree'

3.3.4. Subjunctive future

The subjunctive future base is formed by adding the subjunctive suffix to the root. The subjunctive future suffix has the following allomorphs:

- (i) -v-
- (ii) -v-/ -b-
- (iii) -b- / -Ø-
- (iv) -Ø-

3.3.4.1. -v-: This occurs -

- (i) after the roots of Cl.II and VI before all personal suffixes other than the third person neuter singular suffix
- (ii) after the roots of Cl.VI ending with other than i, ii, or u before the third person neuter singular suffix
- (iii) after the roots of Cl. IA in Nb, Nc before all other personal suffixes than the third person neuter singular suffix.
- (iv) after the roots of Cl.V, VII and VIII in Sb, Sc before all other personal suffixes than the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.II	barve	barve	barve	barve	'he may come'
	sayveru	sayveru	sayveru	tayveru	'they may die'
Cl.VI	naduvE	naduvE	naduvE	naduvE	'I may plant'
	girive	girive	girive	girive	'he may wander'
	poovalu	poovalu	poovalu	poovolu	'she may go'
	suuvo	suuvo	suuvo	tuuvo	'we may see'

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(ii) Cl.VI	kadevu	kadevu	--	--	'it may grind'
	punevu	punevu	--	--	'it may strive'
	bulevu	bulevu	bolevu	bulevu	'it may get ripen'
	karoovu	karaavu	karoovu	karaavu	'it may melt'
	aavu	aavu	aavu	aavu	'it may become'
	meevu	meevu	meevu	meevu	'it may graze'
	suuvu	suuvu	suuvu	tuuvu	'it may see'
(iii) Cl.IA	--	--	unuve	unuve	'he may eat'
	--	--	pinuvE	pinuvE	'I may know'
	--	--	tinuvalu	tinuvolu	'she may eat'
(IV) Cl.V	ooduvE	ooduvE	--	--	'I may read'
	seerve	seerve	--	--	'I may join'
Cl.VII	jiiduve	diiduve	--	--	'he may put'
	maguluvalu	maguruvalu	--	--	'she may fall down'
Cl.VIII	kabidvalu	kabidvalu	--	--	'she may strain, as the gruel of boiled rice etc.'
	pattuve	pattuve	--	--	'he may touch'
	badatve	badatve	--	--	'I may climb'
	kuutveru	kuutveru	--	--	'they may gather'
	saankuvo	saankuvo	--	--	'we may foster'

3.3.4.2. -b-(Sb), -v-/b- (Sc)

This occurs after the roots of Cl. I and reflexive bases
before all personal suffixes.

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl. I	umbe	unbe/unuve	--	--	'he may take meals'
	pambe	panbe/panuve	--	--	'he may tell'
	timbe	sinbe/sinuve	--	--	'he may eat'
	keembe	keenbe/keenuve	--	--	'he may ask'
	ookombe	ookopbe/ ookonuve	--	--	'he may respond to a call'
Refl.	paado- mbe	paadonbe/ paadonuve	--	--	'he may put for himself'

3.3.4.3. -b-/ -Ø (Nb, Nc)

This occurs after the roots Cl.I B and reflexive bases.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cl.IB	--	--	keembe/keene	keenbe/keene	'he may ask'
	--	--	ookombE/ ookonE	ookonbE/ ookonE	'I may respond to a call'
Refl.	--	--	paadombe/ paadone	paadonbe/ paadone	'he may put himself'
	--	--	antombe/ antonE	maltonbe/ maltone	'he may do himself'
	--	--	oodombe/ oodone	oodonbe/ oodone	'he may read himself'

3.3.4.4. -Ø- This occurs -

- (i) after the roots of Cl. III and IV before all personal suffixes.
- (ii) after the roots of Cl. V, VII and VIII in Nb, Nc before all personal suffixes,

- (iii) after the roots of Cl.V, VII and VIII in Sb, Sc before the third person neuter singular suffix.
- (iv) after the roots of Cl. II and VI ending with i, ii or u before the third person neuter singular suffix.
- (v) after the roots of Cl. I A in Nb, Nc before the third person neuter singular suffix.

<u>Example</u>	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(i) Cl.III	oleppe kalpE kaapalu baapu	'leppo kalpE kaapalu baapu	olepe kalpE kaapalu baapu	leppo kalpE kaapolu baapu	'he may call' 'I may study' 'she may wait' 'it may swell'
Cl.IV	kirmbe oppe ubbu	kirmbe oppe ubbu	kirmbe oppe ubbu	kirmbe oppe ubbu	'he may scratch itches' 'he may agree' 'it may puff up'
(ii) Cl.V	-- -- --	-- eere taadu	eere oodE naade	eero oodE taadu naade	'he may ascend' 'I may study' 'it may gore'
Cl.VII	-- --	-- taadu	naade pidaadE	naade pidaadE	'he may search' 'I may start'
Cl.VIII	-- -- --	-- katte saankalu	bolesc katte saank-	balase katte olu	'he may serve food' 'he may tie' 'she may foster'
(iii) Cl.V	eeru oodu seeru	eeru oodu seeru	-- -- --	-- -- --	'it may ascend' 'it may read' 'it may join'

Cl.VII	naadu	naadu	--	--	'it may search'
	pidaadu	pidaadu	--	--	'it may start'
Cl.VIII	kandu	kandu	--	--	'it may steal'
	pattu	pattu	--	--	'it may touch'
(iv)Cl.II	baru	baru	baru	baru	'it may come'
	sayyu	sayyu	sayyu	tayyu	'it may die'
Cl.VI	budu	budu	budu	budu	'it may leave'
	miiyu	miiyu	miiyu	miiyu	'it may bathe'
(v)Cl.IA	--	--	unu	unu	'it may take meals'
	--	--	panu	panu	'it may tell'
	--	--	benu	benu	'it may work'
	--	--	tinu	tinu	'it may eat'

3.3.5. Subjunctive past:

The subjunctive past base is formed by adding the subjunctive suffix to the past perfect base. The subjunctive past suffix has the following allomorphs:

- (i) -(u)v-
- (ii) -Ø-

3.3.5.1. -(u)v-: This occurs before all other personal suffixes than the third person neuter singular suffix.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pantvE/pandutvE ... pandutvE	pantvE/ ... pandutvE	pantvE	pandvE	'I would have told'
tintve/tindutve . sindutve	sintve/ . sindutve	tintve	tindve	'he would have eaten'
battutvE	battutvE	battudvE	battudvE	'I would have come'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kaltutvalu	kaltutvalu	kaltudvalu	kaltudvolu	'she would have studied'
kirmbutve	kirmbutve	kirmbud(u)ve	kirmb(u)-dve	'he would have scratched itches'
oodutvo	oodutvo	oodutvo	oodudvo	'we would have studied'
paadutveru	paadutveru	paaduduveru	paadudu-veru	'they would have put'
adakkutve	adakkutve	adakuduve	dakkuduve	'he would have thrown'
agitvE	agitvE	agitvE	agidvE	'I would have bitten'
pootvalu	pootvalu	pootvalu	pooduvolu	'she would have gone'

3.3.5.2. -Ø-

This occurs before the third person neuter singular suffix. Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pantu/pandtu	pantu/pandtu	pantu	pandu	'it would have told'
tintu/tindtu	sintu/sindtu	tintu	tindu	'it would have eaten'
batttu	batttu	battdu	battdu	'it would have come'
oodtu	oodtu	oodudu	oodudu	'it would have read'
paadtu	paadtu	paadudu	paadudu	'it would have put'
adakkutu	adakkutu	adakudu	dakkudu	'it would have thrown'
agittu	agittu	agitu	agitu	'it would have bit'
pootu	pootu	pootu	pootu	'it would have gone'

3.4. Negative Bases:

The negative bases are formed by adding the negative suffix to the base consisting of a root and a tense suffix. A negative suffix can occur after past, past perfect, present-future and subjunctive suffixes.

The negative suffix has the following allomorphs:

After-

(i) Past tense suffix -

Sb, Nb : -(i)ri

Sc : -(i)jji

Nc : -(i)ji

(ii) Past perfect tense suffix -

Sb, Nb : -(u)ri

Sc : -(u)jji

Nc : -(u)ji

(iii) Present future tense suffix -

Sb, Nb : -(u)ri

Sc : -u(j)ji

Nc : -u(j)i

(iv) Subjunctive future and subjunctive past suffixes:

Sb, Nb : -an } before III person neuter singular
 Sc, Nc : -and } suffix.

Sb, Nb : -ay : before other personal suffixes.
 Sc, Nc : -ay

The negative past is formed by adding the allomorphs -(i)ri (in Sb, Nb), -(i)iji (in Sc) and -(i)ji (in Nc) of the negative suffix to the past base of a root. In Nb, the negative bases formed of past base are less commonly noticed. In Sb negative past is not formed after the roots of Cl. VI. The negative past is formed thus:

Root + past tense suffix + -(i)ri (Sb,Nb), -(i)iji(Sc), -(i)ji (Nc) \pm personal suffix.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
battiri	battijji	--	battiji	'did not come'
pidaadiri (yalu)	pidaadijji/ -- ..	pidaadijjalu	pidaadiji/	'she did not start'
bolesiri(ye)	balasijji(ye)	--	balasije	'he did not serve food'
adittiri (yeru)	adittijji (yeru)	--	adtiji/	'they did not sweep'
--	pooyijji(ye)	--	pooyije	'he did not go'
--	suuyijji (yalu)	--	tuuyiji/	'she did not see'
			tuuyijolu	

3.4.2. Negative Past Perfect:

The negative past perfect is formed by adding the allomorphs -(u)ri (Sb,Nb), -(u)iji (Sc), -(u)ji (Nc) of the negative suffix to the past perfect base of a root. The formula of this is -

Root + P.Perfect suffix + -(u)ri(Sb,Nb), -(u)iji(Sc), -(u)ji(Nc)
 \pm Personal suffix,

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
battutri	battutujji	bartri/ bartiri	battuduji '(I) had not come'	
saytutri	saytutujji	saytri	taytuduji'(it)had not died'	
pidaadutri (yalu)	pidaadutujji (pidaadutu- jjalu)	pidaaddi- ri(yalu)	pidaadduji/ pidaaddu- jolu	'she had not started'
bolesutri (yeru)	balasutujji (yeru)	balasdri (yeru)	balasduji/ balasdu- jeru	'they had not served food'
adittutri (yo)	adittutujji (yo)	adittudri	adittuduji/ adittuduja	'we had not swept'
pootri(ye)	pootujji(ye)	pootri(ye)	pootuji/ pootuje	'he had not gone'

3.4.3. Negative Present - Future:

The negative present-future is formed by adding the allomorphs -(u)ri (Sb, Nb), -ujji(Sc), -uji(Nc) of the negative suffix to the present-future base of a root. It is formed thus-
Root + Present-Future suffix + -(u)ri (Sb,Nb), -ujji(Sc),
-uji (Nc) + Personal suffixes.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kadpuri	kadpujji	kadpuri	kadpuji	'(I) do not cut'
poopri(ye)	poopujji	poopri(ye)	poopuji/ poopuje	'he does not go'
barepri (yalu)	barepujji	barepri (yalu)	barepujji/ barepujolu	'she does not write'

naaduri(ya)	naadujji(ya)	naaduri (ya)	naaduji/ naaduja	'you do not search'
adakkuri(yo)	adakkujji (yo)	adakuri (yo)	dakkuji/ dakkujo	'we do not throw'
oodonuri(yeru)	oodonujji (yeru)	oodonuri (yeru)	oodonuji/ oodonujeru	'they do not read, them- selves'
miipoopri	miipaapujji	miipoopri jji	miipaavu-	'(I)do not cause to bathe'
panpoopri	panpaapujji	panpoopri ji	panpaavu-	'(I)do not cause to tell'

3.4.4. Negative Subjunctive:

The negative subjunctive (including both the subjunctive future and subjunctive past) is formed by adding the allomorphs -an (Sb, Nb), -and (Sc, Nc) (before the III person neuter singular) and -ay (before other personal suffixes) of the negative suffix either to the subjunctive future or to the subjunctive past base of a root. The subjunctive suffix -v is dropped in negative subjunctive future before the negative suffixes after all types of roots except that of (C)v v, (C) v C v where the root ends with -e and after causative bases. The negative subjunctive is formed thus:

Root + Subjunctive(future & past)suffix +

-an (Sb, Nb), -and (Sc, Nc) + III per. neut. sg.
-ay + other personal suffixes

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>NC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
paadanu	paadandu	paadanu	paadandu	'it may not put'
paadutvanu	paadutvandu	paadudvanu	paadudva-	'it might not have put'
paadaye	paadaye	paadaye	paadaye	'he may not put'
paadut-	paadutvaye	paadudvaye	paadudvaye	'he might not have put'
kalpanu	kalpandu	kalpanu	kalpandu	'it may not study'
kaltutv-	kaltutvandu	kaltudvanu	kaltudvan-	'it might not have studied'
kalpayalu	kalpayalu	kalpayalu	kalpayolu	'she may not study'
kaltutva-	kaltutva-	kaltudvaya-	kaltudva-	'she might not have studied'
yalu	yalu	lu	yolu	
poovanu	poovandu	poovanu	poovandu	'it may not go'
aatvanu	aatvandu	aatvanu	aatvandu	'it might not have become'
miipoov-	miipaavandu	miipoovanu	miipaava-	'it may not cause to bathe'
anu			ndu	
miipoot-	miipaattvayE	miipootva-	miipaadva-	'I might not have caused to bathe'
vayE		YE	yE	
kolau	korandu	kolau	korandu	'it may not give'
koltvayo	kortvayo	koltvayo	kortvayo	'we might not have given'
tinanu	sinandu	tinanu	tinandu	'it may not eat'
tinaya	sinaya	tinaya	tinaya	'you may not eat'

The personal suffixes added to a Tulu tense base show the distinction of person, gender and number. There are three persons, viz., First, Second and Third; and two numbers singular and Plural. Gender distinction is noticed in III person only. The third person singular has three genders: Masculine, Feminine and Neuter whereas III person plural has two distinctions: Epicene plural and Neuter plural.

3.5.1. First person:

The first person singular suffix is -E.

Example:

pooyE	'(I) went'
suutE	'(I) had seen'
pappE	'(I) tell'
kalpE	'(I) may study'
barayE	'(I) may not come'

The first person plural suffix is -o (in Sb, Sc, Nb) and -a (in Nc)

Example:

<u>Sb, Sc, Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pooyo	pooya	'(we) went'
suuto	tuuta	'(we) had seen'
benpo	benpa	'(we) work'
kalpo	kalpa	'(we) may study'
barayo	baraya	'(we) may not come'

3.5.2. Second Person:

The second person singular suffix is -a.

Example:

bareya	'(you) wrote'
miita	'(you) had bathed'
budpa	'(you) leave'
poova	'(you) may go'
paateraya	'(you) may not talk'

The second person plural suffix is -aru

Example:

bareyaru	'(you, pl.) wrote'
pootaru	'(you, pl.) had gone'
budparu	'(you, pl.) leave'
miivaru	'(you, pl.) may leave'
paaterayaru	'(you, pl.) may not talk'

3.5.3. Third Person:

Masculine:

The third person masculine singular suffix is -e.

Example:

pooye	'(he) went'
kerte	'(he) had killed'
barepe	'(he) writes'
oype	'(he) may pull'
kakkaye	'(he) may not vomit'

Feminine:

The third person feminine singular suffix is -alu

(in Sb, Sc, Nb) and -olu (in Nc).

Example:

<u>Sb, Sc, Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
miiyalu ..	miiyolu	'(she) bathed'
budtalu ..	budtolu	'(she) had left'
panpalu ..	panpolu	'(she) tells'
kalpalu ..	kalpolu	'(she) may study'
barayalu ..	barayolu	'(she) may not come'

Epicene Plural:

There are no different plural suffixes to denote masculine and feminine genders separately. The epicene plural suffix is -eru.

Example:

paaryeru	'(they) ran'
bareteru	'(they) had written'
barperu	'(they) come'
kaaperu	'(they) may wait'
unayeru	'(they) may not take meals'

Neuter:

The third person neuter singular suffixes are of four types: (i) -nu, -ndu (ii) -(u)nu, -undu (iii) -u, (iv) -u.

(i) -nu (Sb, Nb), -ndu (Sc, Nc): This is added after the past and past perfect bases.

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>past:</u>	badknu	badkundu	badknu	badkundu	'(it) survived'
	buulnu	buurundu	buulnu	buurndu	'(it) fell'
	poonu	poondu	poonu	poondu	'(it) went'

P.perfect:

baadutnu	baadutundu	baadutnu	baadudundu	'(it) had faded'
pootnu	pootundu	pootnu	pootundu	'(it) had gone'
kertnu	kertundu	kertnu	kerdundu	'(it) had killed'

(ii) -(u)nu (Sb, Nb), -undu (Sc, Nc): This is added after the present-future bases and causative bases.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	barpnu	barpundu	barpnu	barpundu	'(it) comes'
	naadunu	naadundu	naadunu	naadundu	'(it) searches'
	nattunu	nattundu	nattunu	nattundu	'(it) begs'
	pidaadunu	pidaadundu	pidaadunu	pidaadundu	'(it) starts'
	tinpoopnu	sinpaapundu	tinpoopnu	tinpaavundu	'(it) causes to eat'

(iii) -u:

This is added after the subjunctive bases.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aavu	aavu	aavu	aavu	'(it) may become'
jaaru	jaaru	jaaru	jaaru	'(it) may slip'
bulevu	bulevu	bulevu	bulevu	'(it) may get ripen'
pidaadu	pidaadu	pidaadu	pidaadu	'(it) may start'
pootu	pootu	pootu	pootu	'(it) would have gone'
buulutu	buurutu	buuludu	buurudu	'(it) would have fallen'
saytutu	saytutu	saytudu	taytudu	'(it) would have died'

(iv) -u:

This is added after the negative subjunctive bases.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aavanu	aavandu	aavanu	aavandu	'(it) may not become'
bulevanu	bulevandu	bulevanu	bulevandu	'(it) may not get ripen'
pootvanu	pootvandu	pootvanu	pootvandu	'(it) might not have gone'
buulutvanu	buurutvandu	buulutva- nu	buurutva- ndu	'(it) might not have fallen'
saytutvanu	saytutvandu	saytu- tvanu	taytu- tvandu	'(it) might not have died'

The third person neuter plural suffix is -o (in Sb, Sc, Nb) and -a (in Nc)

Example:

<u>Sb, Sc, Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pidaadyo	pidaadya	'(they) started'
pooyo	pooya	'(they) went'
miiro	miita	'(they) had bathed'
barpo	barpa	'(they) come'
kaapo	kaapa	'(they) may wait'
keenayo	keenaya	'(they) may not listen'
barevayo	barevaya	'(they) may not write'

Honorific Singular:

The second person plural and the third person epicene plural suffixes are also used honorific singular suffixes for the II person and the III person masculine, feminine genders, respectively. The allomorphs of the second person plural suffix used after the imperative bases are also used honorific singular suffixes after the honorific singular imperative bases.

The above mentioned personal suffixes may be shown in a table as follows:

Number	I person	II person	III Person		
			Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular	E	a*	e	alu(SbScNb) olu (Nc)	nu(Sb,Nb) ndu (Sc, Nc) u, u
Plural	o(SbScNb) a (Nc)	aru	eru		o(SbScNb) a (Nc)

Epicene

* This occurs after the imperative suffix also in II person singular, but the plural is different.

3.6. Imperative Form: The imperative in Tulu is formed by adding the imperative suffix to the root. The imperative suffix has the following allomorphs:-

- (i) -l- (ii) -Ø

(i) -l-: This is added after all types of roots, before the second person singular and plural suffixes. The allomorphs of the second person suffix are (i) -a in singular (ii) -e in plural.

Example: Singular

nadla	'you plant'
benla	'you work'
sayla	'you die'
balla	'you come'
miila	'you bathe'

Plural

nadle	'you(pl.) plant'
benle	'you(pl.) work'
sayle	'you(pl.) die'
balle	'you(pl.) come'
miile	'you (pl.) bathe'

(ii) -Ø: This allomorph is added after all types of roots excepting the roots belonging to Cl. II and monosyllabic roots (excluding 'poo') in II person singular but without being followed by the personal suffix.

It may also be interpreted that the bare root itself can be considered an imperative singular form.

Example:

panu	'(you) tell'
paateru	'(you) speak'
kalpu	'(you) study'
paaru	'(you) run'
naadu	'(you) search'
paru	'(you) drink'
poo	'(you) go'

After these types of roots the allomorph -Ø varies freely with -la.

Example:	poo	/	poola	'(you) go'
	tinu	/	tinla	'(you) eat'
	kaapu	/	kaapla	'(you) wait'
	paadu	/	paadla	'(you) put'
	bare	/	barela	'(you) write'

The imperative plural is formed by adding the suffix -i also after all types of roots excepting the roots belonging to Cl.II, monosyllabic roots, roots of the type (c) V C V ending with -i or -e and causative bases in II person plural.

Example:

kaapi	'(you, pl.) wait'
oppi	'(you, pl.) agree'
budi	'(you, pl.) leave'
paadi	'(you, pl.) put'

After these types of roots the suffix -i varies freely with -le.

Example:

oodi / oode	'(you, pl) read'
pidaadi / pidaadle	'(you, pl) start'
saahki / saankle	'(you, pl) foster '
paateri / paaterle	'(you, pl) talk'

3.6.1. Negative imperative: The negative imperative is formed by adding the negative suffix to the root. The negative imperative suffix has the allomorph: -ad-. This is added after all types of roots before the second person singular suffix -a and the plural suffix -e

Example:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
parada '(you) don't drink'	parade '(you,pl.) don't drink'
oodada '(you) don't read'	oodade '(you,pl.) don't read'
kaapada '(you) don't wait'	kaapade '(you,pl.) don't wait'
barevada '(you) don't write'	barevade '(you,pl.) don't write'

3.7. Concessive:

Concessive forms are used in I person singular and plural

in Nb, Nc and in I person plural (inclusive) only in Sb, Sc.

The concessive suffix has the allomorphs -k-, -kk- and -g-. This is followed by the personal suffix -E in I person singular (in Nb, Nc) and -o in I person plural (inclusive).

(i) -k- : (a) after roots of (C)VV and (C)V C V type and causative bases in Nb, Nc before I person singular and plural suffixes

(b) after causative bases and all types of roots except that of (C)V C V type in Sb, Sc before I person plural (inclusive)

(ii) -k-/ -kk- : after the roots of (C)V C V type in Sb, Sc before I person plural (inclusive)

(iii) -g- : after the remaining roots in Nb, Nc

(iv) -g-/ -k- : after the remaining roots in Sc before I person plural (inclusive)

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(i) -k-(a)	--	--	pookE	pookE	'let me go'
	--	--	suukE	tuukE	'let me see'
	--	--	tinkE	tinkE	'let me eat'
	--	--	barkE	barkE	'let me come'
	--	--	miipookE	miipaakE	'let me cause to bathe'
	--	--	meepookE	meepookE	'let me cause to graze'
(b)	miiko	miiko	miika/ miiko	miika	'let us bathe'
	suuko	suuko	suuka/ suuko	tuuka	'let us see'
	maampooke	maanpaako	ampooka/ ampooke	malpaaka	'let us cause to do'
	tinpooke	sinpaako	tinpooka/ tinpooke	tinpaaka	'let us cause to eat'

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(ii) -k-/ -kk-	agikko nadukko/ nadko bareko kadekko/ kadeeko	agikko nadukko/ nadko bareko kadekko/ kadeeko	-- -- -- -- --	-- -- -- -- --	'let us chew' 'let us plant' 'let us write' 'let us grind'
(iii) -g-	-- -- -- --	-- -- -- --	paaduga saanhuga oppuga geppuga	paaduga taanhuga oppuga geppuga	'let us put' 'let us foster' 'let us agree' 'let us take'
(iv) -g-/ -k-	-- -- -- --	paadugo/ paaduko saanhugo/ saanhuko oppugo/ oppuko deppugo/ deppuko	-- -- -- --	-- -- -- --	'let us put' 'let us foster' 'let us agree' 'let us take'

The root poo has a special allomorph of the concessive suffix, i.e. -yi which is used in the first person plural (inclusive) form. Though the Sb and Sc dialects do not use any other allomorph for this root, the Nb and Nc dialects use this form in free variation with -ko/-ka after this root.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pooyi	pooyi	pooyi/ pooko/ pooka	pooyi/ pooka	'let us go'

3.8. Assertive:

The present-future assertive is formed by adding the suffix -odu to the root.

Example:

panodu	'should tell'
pinodu	'should know'
barodu	'should come'
kalpodu	'should study'
ubbodu	'should puff up'
oododu	'should read'
nerodu	'should chide'
kaapodu	'should wait'

The augment -y- or -v- occurs in between the root and the suffix, as follows:

- (i) -y- : after the roots ending with -i and the root mii
- (ii) -v- : after the monosyllabic roots except mii, roots ending with -e and after causative bases.

Example:

(i) -y-	agiyodu	'should chew'
	giriyodu	'should wander'
	miiyodu	'should bathe'

(ii) -v-	aavodu	'should become'
	suuvodu	'should see'
	kadevodu	'should grind'
	barevodu	'should write'
	kadpaavodu(c)/ kadpoovodu(b)	'should cause to cut'
	oodpaavodu(c)/ oodpoovodu (b)	'should cause to read'
	oppaavodu(c)/ oppoovodu(b)	'should cause to agree'

The perfect assertive is formed by adding -odu to the perfect base in Nb and Nc dialects.

Example:

<u>Nb, Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pootodu	'should have gone'
tintodu	'should have eaten'
kadtudodu	'should have cut'
jattudodu	'should have got down'
miitodu	'should have bathed'

This form is not noticed in Sb and Sc dialects where the perfect assertive is obtained by adding -aanu in Sb and -aandu in Sc to the present-future assertive form.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
poovodaanu	poovodaandu	'should have gone'
tinodaanu	sinodaandu	'should have eaten'
kalpodaanu	kalpodaandu	'should have studied'
kaapodaanu	kaapodaandu	'should have waited'
miiyodaanu	miiyodaandu	'should have bathed'
barevodaanu	barevodaandu	'should have written'
oppoovodaanu	oppaavodaandu	'should have caused to agree'

3.9. Prohibitive:

Prohibitive is formed by adding the prohibitive suffix directly to the root. It has the following allomorphs:

- otri in Sb, Nb
- odci/-oodci in Sc, Nc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
panotri	panodci	panotri	panodci	'do not tell'
poovotri	poovodci/ poovoodci	poovotri	poovodci	'do not go'
entotri	untodci/ untoodci	entotri	untodci	'do not stay/ stand'
kalpotri	kalpodci	kalpotri	kalpodci	'do not study'

3.10. Permissive:

The permissive forms are obtained by adding -adu to the root. It is used in the third person without the distinction of gender and number.

Example:

unadu	'let it (he/she/they) take meals'
keenadu	'let it (he/she/they) ask'
baradu	'let it (he/she/they) come'
kalpadu	'let it (he/she/they) study'
kaapadu	'let it (he/she/they) wait'
oppadu	'let it (he/she/they) agree'
oodadu	'let it (he/she/they) read'
neradu	'let it (he/she/they) chide'
paadadu	'let it (he/she/they) put'
parndadu	'let it ripe'

The augment -y- or -v- occurs in between the root and the suffix, as follows:

- (i) -y- : after the roots ending with -i and the root mii
- (ii) -v- : after the monosyllabic roots except mii, roots ending with -e and after causative bases.

Example:

(i)	agiyadu	'let it (he/she/they) chew'
	giriyyadu	'let it (") wander'
	miiyadu	'let it (") bathe'

(ii)	aavadu	'let it become'
	..	
	poovadu	'let it (he/she/they) go'
	..	
	suuvadu	'let it (he/she/they) see'
	..	
	kadevadu	'let it (") grind'
	..	
	punevadu	'let it (") strive'
	..	
	bulevadu	'let it ripe'
	..	
	paadpaavadu(c)	'let it (he/she/they) cause to put'
	paadpoovadu(b))	
	oodaavadu(c)	'let it (") cause to read'
	oodooovadu(b))	
	kadpaavadu(c)	'let it (he/she/they) cause to cut'
	kadpoovadu(b))	

3.11. Purposive form:

The purposive form denotes the purpose of the action signified by the following verb. The purposive suffix is -ara in Sb, Sc and -arE in Nb, Nc. The augment -y- or -v- occurs in between the root and the suffix, as follows:

	<u>Sb, Sc</u>	<u>Nb, Nc</u>
I. after the roots ending with <u>-i</u> , <u>-u</u> or <u>-u</u>	-(i)y-ara	-arE/-y-arE/-erE/-rE
II. after the roots ending with <u>-e</u>	-v-ara/ -y-ara	-v-arE
III. after the causatives and the roots of the type (c)V V except <u>mii</u>	-v-ara/ -y-ara	-v-arE/-v-erE
IV. after the root <u>mii</u>	-y-ara	-y-arE

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
I	agiyara	agiyara	agiyarE/ agerE	aggerE	'for chewing'
	nadiyara	nadiyara	nadarE/ naderE	nadrE	'for planting'
	budiyara	budiyara	bu <u>dar</u> E/ bu <u>dr</u> E	bu <u>dr</u> E	'for leaving'
II	kadevara/ kadeyara	kadevara/ kadeyara	-	-	'for grinding'
	bulevara/ buleyara	bulevara/ buleyara	bulevarE	bulevarE	'for ripening'
III	kattoovara/ kattooyara	kattaa-	kattooverE	kattaava- rE	'for causing to build'
	aavara/ aayara	aayara/ aavara	aavarE/ aaverE	aaverE	'for becoming'
	poovara/ pooyara	poovara/ pooyara	poovare/ pooverE	pooverE	'for going'
IV	miiyara	miiyara	miiyare	miiyerE	'for bathing'

3.12. Conditional:

There are two sets of conditional forms:

- (i) obtained by adding the conditional suffix to tense bases.
- (ii) obtained by adding the conditional suffix to the verbal forms consisting of a root, a tense suffix and a personal suffix.

3.12.1. Set I: The allomorphs of the conditional suffix used in this set are -(u)nta (Sb, Sc) and -(u)nda (Nb, Nc). The set is formed thus:

Tense base + -(u)nta (Sb, Sc), -(u)nda (Nb, Nc)

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
poonta ..	poonta ..	poonda ..	poonda ..	'if went'
poopunta ..	poopunta ..	oopunda ..	oopunda ..	'if goes'
battunta ...	battunta ...	battunda ...	battunda ...	'if came'
barpunta ..	barpunta ..	barpunda ..	barpunda ..	'if comes'
kadtunta	kadtunta	kadtunda	kadtunda	'if cut'
kadpunta .. .	kadpunta .. .	kadpunda .. .	kadpunda .. .	'if cuts'
oodutunta	oodutunta	oodudunda	oodudunda	'if had read'
paadpoonta	paadpaanta	paadpoonda	paadp- aanda ..	'if caused to put'
panpootunta	panpaatu- nta ..	panpoodu- nda ..	panpaa- dunda ..	'if had caused to tell'

3.12.2. Set II: The allomorphs of the conditional suffix used in this set are - (i) -ta/-nta (Sb, Sc) after the personal suffixes I person and III person masculine singular; -ata/-anta (Sb, Sc) after other personal suffixes.

(ii) -da (Nb, Nc) after all the personal suffixes. The set is formed thus:

Root + tense suffix + neg.suf. +

I per./III per.masc.suf. + -ta/-nta(Sb,Sc), -da (Nb, Nc)

II per./III per.fem., pl. + -ata/-anta (Sb,Sc), -da (Nb, Nc)

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pooyEta/ pooyEnta	pooyEta/ pooyEnta	pooyEda	pooyEda	'if I go'
budpeta/ budpenta	budpeta/ budpenta	budpeda	budpeda	'if he leaves'
barpata/ barpanta	barpata/ barpanta	barpada	barpada	'if you come'
oodutvalata/ oodutvalanta	oodutvalata/ oodutvalanta	oodutva- luda	oodudva- luda	'had she read'
suuyerata/ suuyeranta	suuyerata/ suuyeranta	suuyeruda	tuuyeruda	'if they see'
pannadyata/ pannadyanta	pannadyata/ pannadyanta	pannadyada	pandijjida	'had not told'
suutriyeta/ suutriyenta	suutujjeta/ suutujjenta	suutryeda	tuutujjeda	'had he not seen'

3.13. Adverbial Participle:

The adverbial participle is formed by adding the suffix -u to the past perfect base. It has also an allomorph -u in Nb and Nc dialects.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
untu/ undutu	untu/ undutu	untu	undu	'having taken meals'
tintu/ tindutu	tintu/ tindutu	tintu	tindu	'having eaten'

barevontu/	barevontu/	barevontu	barevondu	'writing'
barevondutu	barevondutu			
paadontu/	paadontu/	paadontu	paadondu	'putting'
paadondutu	paadondutu			

However if the perfect base ends in d, i.e. if the perfect suffix has the allomorph d or tud the final d of the perfect base becomes t or tt and then the adverbial suffix -u/-u is added in Nb. But such a change is not noticed in Sb, Sc and Nc dialects.

Example:

Sb	Sc	Nb	Nc	Gloss
kirmbutu	kirmbutu/ kirmbudu	kirmbuttu	kirmbudu	'having scratched itches'
oodutu	oodutu	oodutu/ ooduttu	oodudu	'having read'
seerutu	seerutu/ seerudu	seeruttu	seerudu	'having included (joined)'
paadutu	paadutu/ paadudu	paaduttu	paadudu	'having put'
adakkutu	adakkutu/ adakkudu	adakuttu	dakkudu	'having thrown'
saan̄kutu	saan̄kutu/ saan̄kudu	saan̄kuttu	taan̄kudu	'having fostered'
battutu	battutu/ battudu	batuttu	battudu	'having come'
maantutu	maantutu/ maantudu	antuttu	maltudu	'having done'
miitu	miitu	miitu	miidu	'having bathed'

The negative adverbial participle is formed by adding the negative suffix to the root. The negative suffix has the allomorphs: -antE (Sb, Nb), -antE/-aantE/-andE (Sc) and -andE (Nc)

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
unantE	unantE/ unaantE/ unandE	unantE	unandE	'without taking meals'
barevantE	barevantE	barevantE	barevandE	'without writing'
paadantE	paadantE	paadantE	paadandE	'without putting'
oodantE	oodaantE	oodantE	oodandE	'without reading'
adakkantE	adakkantE	adakantE	dakkandE	'without throwing'
poovantE	poovaantE	poovantE	poovandE	'without going'

3.14. Relative Participle:

The relative participles are used as adjectives. There are three kinds of participles - (i) past (ii) perfect, and (iii) present-future. In all these three instances the participial suffix is added directly to the respective bases.

3.14.1.1. Past participle: The past participle is formed by adding the suffix -i/-na (in Sb, Sc), -i/-ii/-na (in Nb) and -i/-ii/-ina (in Nc) to the past base. If the past base ends with -y- it is dropped before this suffix after all types of bases except that of (C)V V type where the dropping of -y- is optional before the allomorph -na in Sc dialect.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
batti/batna	batti/batna	battii/batna	battii/ battina	'that which came'
pandi/panna	pandi/panna	pandii/ panna	pandii/ pandina	'that which was told'
oli/olina	ori/orina	olii/olina	orii	'that which remained'
maditti/ maditna	maditti/ maditna	maditii/ maditna	maditi/ maditna	'that which was folded'
paadi/ paadna	paadi/ paadna	paadii/ paadna	paadii/ paadina	'that which was put'
paateri/ paaterna	paateri/ paaterna	paaterii/ paaterna	paaterii/'that which was paaterna talked'	
aayi/aana	aayi/aana	aatii	aatii	'that which has become'
pooyi/poona	pooyi/ poo(yi)na	pootii/	pootii	'that which has gone'

3.14.1.2. Perfect Participle:

The perfect participle is formed by adding the suffix -na (in Sb, Sc) and -i/-ii/-i)na (in Nb, Nc) to the perfect base.

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
agitna	agitna	agitii/ agitna	agitii/ agitina	'that which had been chewed'
nadutna	nadutna	nadtii/ nadutna	nadtii/ nadutna	'that which had been planted'
adakkutna	adakkutna	adakudii/ adakudna	dakkudii/'that which had dakkudina	'been thrown'
pootna	pootna	pootii/ pootna	pootii/ pootna	'that which had gone'
suutna	suutna	suutii/ suutna	tuutii/ tuutina	'that which had been seen'

3.14.1.3. Present - future Participle:

The present future participle is formed in two ways:

By adding the suffix -

- (i) -i (Sb, Sc), -ii (Nb, Nc) to the present future base;
- (ii) -una (Sb, Sc), -ii/-una (Nb), -ii/-una (Nc) to the root or the present future base of the roots of (C)V V and (C)VCV type.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
unpi/unpuna	unpi/unpuna	unpii	unpii	'that which would be taken as meals'
keenpi/ keenuna	keenpi/ keenuna	keenpii	keenpii	'that which would be asked'
barpi/ barpuna	barpi/ barpuna	barpii	barpii	'that which would come'
adappi/ adappuna	adappi/ adappuna	adapii	dappii	'that which would be ploughed'
maampi/ maampuna	maanpi/ maanpuna	ampii	malpii	'that which would be done'
oodupi/ ooduna	oodupi/ ooduna	oodii	oodii	'that which would be read'
kadepi/ kadepuna	kadepi/ kadepuna	--	--	'that which would be ground'
poopi/ poopuna	poopi/ poopuna	poopii/ poopuna	poopii/ poopuna	'that which would be going'
suupi/ suupuna	suupi/ suupuna	suupii suupuna	tuupii tuupuna	'that which would be seen'
naadupi/ naaduna	naadupi/ naaduna	naadii	naadii	'that which would be searched'

The Nb and Nc dialects have another set of allomorphs, i.e. -ii/-u(na) which is used after the roots which end with -pu. In these cases the Sb & Sc dialects use the same suffix as told above.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	Gloss
adippi/ adippuna	adippi/ adippuna	adipii/ adipu	adpii/ adpu(na)	'that which would be swept'
nadappi/ nadappuna	nadappi/ nadappuna	nadapii/ nadapu	nadapii/ nadapu(na)	'that which would be walking'
--	--	arepii/ arepu	arepii/ arepu(na)	'that which would be ground'

With the help of the above examples we can form a table to show the different allomorphs of the relative participial suffix used in different tenses by different dialects:

	Past Participle	Perfect Participle	Present-future Participle
Sb	-i / -na	-na	(i) -i (ii) -una
Sc	"	"	"
Nb	-i/-ii/-na	-i/-ii/-i(n)a	(i) -ii (ii) -ii/-una, -ii/-u
Nc	-i/-ii/-ina	"	(i) -ii (ii) -ii/-una, -ii/-u(na)

3.14. Negative relative participle:

The negative relative participle is formed by adding the negative suffix to the root. The suffix has the following allomorphs:

- anti / -antna (Sb)
- antii / - antna (Nb)
- anti / -aanti / -antna / -aantra (Sc)
- andii / - andina (Nc)

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
baranti/ barantna	baranti/ baraantna	barantii/ barantna	barandii/ barandina	'that which did not come'
paadanti/ paadantra	paadanti/ paadaantna	paadantii	paadandii	'that which was not put'
poovanti/ poovantna	poovanti/ poovantpa	poovantii	poovandii	'that which did not happen'
kalpanti/ kalpantna	kalpanti/ kalpaantna	kalpantii	kalpandii	'that which was not studied; he who does not study'

3.15. Verbal infinitives:

The verbal infinitives are used as abstract nouns or action nouns. In Tulu past infinitives, perfect infinitives and present-future infinitives are noticed.

3.15.1.1. Past infinitive: The past infinitive is formed by adding the infinitive suffix to the past base. The allomorph -y- of the past tense suffix is dropped in Sb, Nb after all types of roots, whereas in Sc, Nc it is retained after the

causative bases, monosyllabic roots and the roots of the type (C)VCV where the final vowel is e; but the allomorphs -t, -d are retained before the past infinitive suffix by all dialects.

The infinitive has the following allomorphs after the past base.

Example: s_b

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	
(i)						
(a)	agina	aginE	agina	aggini	'chewed'	
	barena	bareyinE	barena	bareyini	'wrote'	
(b)	poona	pooyinE	poona	pooyini	'went'	
	panpoona	panpaayinE	panpoona	panpaayini	'caused to tell'	
(ii)	(a)	naduna/ nadna	nadunE/ nadnE	naduna	nadini	'planted'
(b)	buulna maantna	buurnE maantnE	buulna antra	buurni maltini/ maldini	'fell' 'did'	

	tindna/ tinna	tindnE/ tinnE	tindna	tindini	'ate'
(iii)	pandonna	pandonnE	pandonna	pandondini	'told oneself'
	kadtonna	kadtonnE	kadtonna	kadtondini	'cut oneself'

3.15.1.2. Perfect infinitive:

The perfect infinitive is formed by adding the infinitive suffix to the perfect base. The infinitive has the following allomorphs after the perfect base.

Sb, Nb : -(u) na

Sc : -(u)nE

Nc : -(i) ni

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pan [.] tna	pan [.] tnE	pan [.] tna	pandini	'had told'
battut [.] na	battutnE	battudna	battudni	'had come'
maantut [.] na	maantutnE	antudna	maltudini	'had done'
paadut [.] na	paadutnE	paadudna	paadudini	'had put'
aŋgootna	aŋgaatnE	aŋgootna	aŋgaadini	'had opened the mouth'

3.15.1.3. Present-future infinitive:

The present future infinitive is formed by adding the infinitive suffix to the present future base. The allomorph -v- of the present-future tense suffix is dropped before this infinitive suffix whereas the allomorph -p- is retained after the roots of the type (C)V C V, monosyllabic bases and causative

bases. The allomorph -p- is retained by Nb dialect after the reflexive bases also.

The infinitive has the following allomorphs after the present future base;

Sb, Nb	: -(u) <u>na</u>
Sc	: -(u) <u>nE</u> / -(u) <u>nE</u>
Nc	: -(u)ni /-(i)ni / -(u)nu

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ubipna	ubippunE/ ubippnE	ubipuna	ubbiyuni/ ubbiyunu	'spitting'
barepna	bareppunE/ barepnE	barepuna	bareyuni	'writing'
nerpna	nerppunE/ nerpnE	nerpna	nerpuni/ nerpunu/ nerpini	'chiding'
aapna	aapunE/ aapnE	aapna	aapuni/ aapunu/ aapini	
kattoopna	kattaapnE	kattoopna	kaattaaavuni/ kattaavunu	{ 'causing to tie or build'
paaduna	paadunE/ paadunE	paaduna	paaduni	'putting'
adippuna	adippunE/ adippunE	adipuna	adipuni/ adipini	'sweeping'
kaapuna	kaapunE/ kaapunE	kaapuna	kaapuni/ kaapunu	'waiting'
kirmbuna	kirm bunE/ kirm bunE	kirmbuna	kirmbuni/ kirmbunu	'scratching itches'

In Nb dialect an allomorph of the infinitive suffix -ma varying freely with -(u)na is also noticed.

Example:

<u>Nb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
agipma	'chewing'
ubipma	'spitting'
barepma	'writing'
nerpma	'chiding'
aapma	'becoming'
kattoopma	'causing to build or tie'
ampoopma	'causing to do'

When this -ma is added to reflexive bases the retroflex -n of the reflexive suffix is assimilated to the bilabial -m of the infinitive suffix.

Example:

kedonu	-	kedompma	'lying'
paadonu	-	paadompma	'putting for oneself'
tindonu	-	tindompma	'eating for oneself'
antonu	-	antompma	'doing for oneself'

3.15.2. Negative verbal infinitives:

The negative verbal infinitives are formed in two ways:

- (i) by adding the allomorph -ant (Sb, Nb), -ant/-aant(Sc) and -and (Nc) of the negative suffix after the root and before the past **infinitive** suffix.

(ii) by adding the allomorph -ddi (Sb, Sc, Nb), -iji (Nc) of the negative suffix after the verbal infinitive bases.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(i)	agiyentna agiyantnE/ agiyantna agiyaantnE			aggiyandini	'not chewed'
	barevantna barevantnE barevantna			barevandini	'not wrote'
	poovantna poovantnE poovantna			poovandini	'not gone'
	nadantna nadantnE nadantna			nadandini	'not planted'
	maampant- maanpanthE ampantna na			malpandini	'not done'
	paadonan- paadonantnE paadonantna paadonandini tna				'not put for oneself'
(ii)	ubinaddi ubinaddi ubinaddi			ubinajji	'did not spit'
	barepnaddi barepnaddi barepnaddi			barepinijji	'do/does not write'
	aapnaddi aapnaddi aapnaddi			aapunijji	'does not become'
	kaapunaddi kaapunaddi kaapunaddi			kaapunijji	'do/does not wait'

3.16. Modals: Though the number of modals in Tulu are limited notable dialect variations are noticed. Among the modals a few modals which have dialect difference are given below-

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	aatu	attu	aatu	attu	'no, not'
	undu/indu	undu	undu	undu	'there is'
	uddi/iddi	iddi	iddi	ijji	'there is not'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
paapu	yaaru	paapu	(i)yaavu	'enough, sufficient'
paapanu	yaarandu	paapanu	(i)yaavandu	'not enough, not sufficient'
boodu	boodu	boodu	boodu	'want, necessary'
bootri	boodci/ bodci	bootri	bodci	'do not want, not necessary'
iddi	iddi	iddi	ijji	'(if)is not, not (present)'
idyantE	idyantE/ idyaantE	dantE	dant E	'without being '
idyanti/ idyantna	idyanti/ idyaanti/ idyantna/ idyaandna	danti/ dantna	daanti/ daantna	'that which was not'
aatantE	attantE/ attaantE/ attandE/ attaandE	aatantE	attandE	'indeed if not, except, besides'
aatanti	attanti/ attaanti/ attandi/ attaandi	aatanti	attandi	'not right, improper'
balli	balli	--	balli	'not possible'
aavanu	aavandu/ avaandu	aavanu	aavandu	'do not, should not'
tiiranu	siirandu	tiiranu	tiirandu	'not possible'

These modals can occur independently. Similarly most of these modals can occur after a few verbal forms also.

The following modals can occur after the purposive forms:

(i) paapu (Sb, Nb), yaaru (Sc), yaavu (Nc)

(ii) balli (Sb, Sc, Nc)

(iii) aavanu (Sb, Nb), aavandu (Sc, Nc)

(iv) tiiranu (Sb, Nb), tiirandu/siirandu (Sc), tiirandu (Nc)

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
budiyara paapu	budiyara yaa.u	budyarE paapu	budyara yaavu	'may leave, may be left'
poovaraballi	poovaraballi	-----	pooverE- balli	'should not go, not possible to go'
panyara aavanu	panyara aavandu	panarE aavanu	panarE aavandu	'should not tell'
tinyara tiiranu	sinyara siirandu	tinarE tiiranu	tinrE tiirandu	'should not eat cannot eat'

The following modals can occur after the verbal infinitives:

(i) aatu (Sb, Nb), attu (Sc, Nc)

(ii) aatantE (Sb, Nb), attantE/attaantE/attandE(Sc), attandE(Nc)

(iii) iddi (Sb, Sc, Nb), iiji (Nc)

(iv) bootri (Sb, Nb), boodci/bodci (Sc), bodci (Nc)

Example: Sb Sc Nb Nc Gloss

(i) ooduna aatu	oodunE attu	ooduna aatu	ooduni attu	'not reading'
(ii) parpna aatantE	parpunE attaantE	parpna aatantE	parpuni attandE	'except drinking'
(iii) kalpunaddi	kalpunaddi	kalpunaddi	kalpuni- jji	'not studying'
(iv) poopna bootri	poopunE boodci	poopna bootri	poopuni bodci	'do not go' going is not necessary'

CHAPTER - 4

Nouns

4. NOUNS4.1. Noun Stems: Classification:

Nouns are those that take or capable of taking case suffixes. The nouns or nominal bases of Tulu may be divided into three main classes according to their structural pattern:

(i) C V V

(ii) C V C V

(iii) All the other nominal bases

4.1.1. C V V: There are altogether five nominal bases in the data which belong to this class of which one is a pronoun and another a borrowed word which can also be grouped with the third one by its varied structural form.

Example:

ii	'you'
caa	'tea'
tuu/suu	'fire'
pii	'excrement'
puu	'flower'

4.1.2. (C)(C)V C V:

Example:

irE	'leaf'
nadu	'middle, middle portion'
nela	'floor'
puda	'pigeon'
mara	'tree'

4.1.3. All other nominal bases:

All the remaining nominal bases which do not come under the above two classes belong to this class:

Example:

<u>C V V C V</u>	kaaji	'bangle'
	kaadu	'forest'
	paalu	'share'
	baayi	'mouth'
	baaru	'paddy'
<u>(C)V C C V:</u>	aangi	'shirt'
	ennE	'oil'
	gellu	'tree-branch'
	mettE/mentE	'fenugreek'
	lottE	'lie, false'

<u>C V C C V C V:</u>	kottigE	'a kind of pudding'
	gattige	'clever man'
	netteru	'blood'
	malligE	'jasmine'

<u>(C)V C V C V:</u>	aranE	'skink'
	cerigE	'copper vessel'
	jaradE	'sieve'
	beduru	'bamboo'

(C)V V C e v:

oonti	'chameleon'
maaypu	'broomstick'
saanti	'a kind of tree'

Besides this major classification the nominal bases, especially belonging to class II and III, can also be divided into two categories in S dialects.

(A) those nominal bases that end with the vowel -o¹²

(B) those nominal bases that end with a vowel other than -o

This sub-division is necessary because of the different types of (case) suffixes that follow them. As per this classification the nominal bases which have the same structure are to be considered separately.

Example:

Class II(C)(C)V C V - A :	aro	'file'
	balo	'strength'
	saro	'gold chain, necklace'
-B :	ari	'rice'
	nela	'floor'
	mara	'tree'

(See 4.1.2. above)

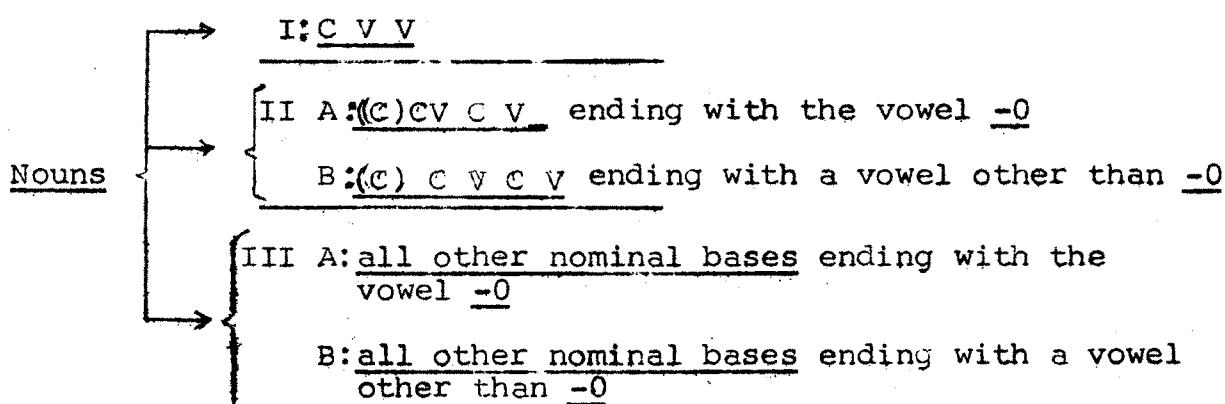
Class III - A :	kaaro	'(chilli) hot'
	ango	'organ, limb'

12 The final vowel is -a in the corresponding words in N dialects.

sattugo	'spatula'
kadago	'anklet'
saanto	'peace, calm'
- B :	
kaaru	'leg, foot'
angi	'shirt'
kartalE	'darkness'
madimE	'marriage'
suunti	'ginger'

(See 4.1.3. above)

The above classification of the nominal bases may be summarized as follows:-



4.2. Gender - Number Markers:

Tulu nouns can be classified into two major categories as (i) rational nouns, and (ii) irrational nouns. The rational nouns can be classified into (a) masculine, and (b) feminine and the irrational nouns can be considered as neuter. Thus Tulu makes a three way distinction of gender, viz. masculine, feminine

and neuter and two way distinction of number viz. singular and plural.

4.2.1. Masculine Singular:

The masculine singular is denoted by only one marker or suffix i.e. -e which is usually added to certain pronominal bases as well as certain bases of rational nouns ending in -a. There is no dialectal variation with regard to this suffix.

4.2.1.1. After pronominal bases:

proximate : umb-/ imb-/umb- +-e
 → umb -y-e / imb-y-e / umby-e

→ umbye / imbye / umbye 'this male person'

remote: aa- + -e → aa-y-e → aaye 'that male person'

4.2.1.2. After other nominal bases:

raama + e	-	raame	'Rama'
krsna + e	-	krsne	'Krishna'
...	
bodda + e	-	bodde	'a stout male person'
anna + e	-	anne	'elder brother'
ori + e	-	oriye	'one male person'
kuruda+ e	-	kurude	'a blind male person'

Besides this, a few words denoting animals are sometimes included under the category of rational nouns and hence the masculine suffix -e is added.

Example: kaala + e - kaale 'a black ox or he buffalo'
 kudka + e - kudke 'fox'

goona	+ -e	-	goone	' he-buffalo'
bolla	+ -e	-	bolle	' a white ox'
manga	+ -e	-	mañge	' monkey '

4.2.2. Feminine Singular:

The feminine singular is denoted by -alu/-olu, -lu/-lu, -i, -E, -ti/di, -cci and -u markers.

4.2.2.1. -alu (in Sb, Sc, Nb), -olu (in Nc): This marker occurs after proximate feminine singular pronominal stems:

Example:

Sb :	umb- + -alu	- umbalu	'this female person'
Sc :	umb-/imb- + -alu	- umbalu/imbalu	"
Nb :	imb- /umb- +-alu	- imbalu/umbalu	"
Nc :	umb-/imb-/mo +-olu	- imbolu/imbolu/ moolu	"

4.2.2.2. -lu (in Sb, Sc, Nb), -lu (in Nc): This marker is employed after remote feminine singular pronominal stem:

Example:

Sb	{	aa + -lu	-- aalu	'that female person'
Sc				
Nb				

Nc :	aa + -lu	-- aalu	"
------	----------	---------	---

4.2.2.3. -i : This marker is employed after a few nouns corresponding to the masculine singular suffix -e.

kurudu + -i - kurudi 'a blind fem. person'

kolaku + -i - kolaki 'a dirty fem. person'

baddu + -i - baddi 'a stout fem. person'

4.2.2.4. -E: This is another form of feminine singular marker employed after a few nouns, corresponding to the masculine singular suffix -e of rational nouns.

Example:

dadde (masc.) - daddE (fem.)(N) 'a dull fem. person'

bolle (") - bolle (") 'a white cow'

aṅgare(") - aṅgarE(") 'Angare-name of a fem. person'

buude (") - buudE (") 'Bude - name of a fem. person'

4.2.2.5. -ti, -tti (in Sb, Sc, Nb), -di, -ti (in Nc):

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>or + ti</u>				
orti	orti	orti	orti	'one fem. person'
<u>oodaari+-ti</u>				
oodaarti	oodaarti	oodaarti	oodaardi	'a potter woman'
<u>gurkaara+-ti</u>				
gurkaarti	gurkaarti	gurkaarti	gurkaardi	'a headman's wife'
<u>posaba + -tti</u>				
posabetti	posabetti	posabetti	posabedi	'a new fem. person'

4.2.2.6. -cci (in Sb)

Example:

boddi + -cci - boddicci 'a stout fem. person'

kaar + -cci - kaarcci 'a black fem. person'

4.2.2.7. -u : This feminine marker is used after adjectival bases:

Example:

kandelu +-u - kandelu 'stealing fem. person'

kirmbelu+-u - kirmbelu 'scratching fem. person'

baampelu+-u - baampelu 'a fem. person with dirty face'

madappelu+-u - madappelu 'forgetting fem. person'

4.2.3. Neuter Singular: The neuter singular is denoted by the suffix -u in the following pronouns.

Example: proximate : und-/ind-/und- +-u → undu/indu/undu
'this (thing)'

remote : a- + - u → a-v-u → avu 'that (thing)'

4.3. The Plural Suffixes:

The plural suffix always occurs immediately before a case suffix and after a nominal base. We find in Tulu basically two forms of plural suffixes: (1) -kulu and (2) -ru. Of these two forms of plural suffixes the former has different allomorphs after different nominal bases according either to the structure or to the nature of the nominal base to which they are suffixed. Besides this, the plural suffix appears in different forms in different dialects of Tulu.

4.3.1. Classification: The different allomorphs of the plural suffix, with its basic form -kulu may be classified mainly into five groups according to the structure or the nature of the nominal base to which they are suffixed.

Class I:

Sb & Nb	:	-kulu / -klu	{ (i) after the nominal bases belonging to Cl.I and Cl.II B. (ii) after I person and III person neuter pronouns (iii) after reflexive and interrogative pronouns.
Sc	:	-klu/-kulu	
Nc	:	-kulu	

Class II:

Sb & Nb	:	-kulu / -klu	{ after the II person and III person epicene plural pronouns
Sc	:	-klu/-kulu	
Nc	:	-gulu	

Class III:

Sb	:	-gulu	{ after nominal bases belonging to class III B.
Sc	:	-gulu/-gulu	
Nb	:	-lu	
Nc	:	-lu	

Class IV:

Sb	:	-oñkulu / -oñklu	{ after the nominal bases belonging to Cl. II A and Cl. III A.
Nb	:	-oñkulu / -oñklu /	
		-añkulu / -añklu	

Class V:

Sb & Nb	:	-adiklu	{ after the kinship terms
Sc	:	-adiklu	
Nc	:	-adlu / -allu	

The other basic form of the plural suffix forms another class
i.e.:

Class VI:

Sb & Sc : - ru	{	after non-human animate nouns and
Nb : - klu		human nouns which end with the vowel -e
Nc : - rlu		

4.3.2. Illustrations:

4.3.2.1. Class I: -kulu/-klu (in Sb, Nb), -kulu/-klu (in Sc),
-kulu (in Nc):

The different allomorphs of the plural suffix of this set
can occur after the following varieties of nominal bases:

4.3.2.1.1. After the nominal bases belonging to (a) the Cl.II B
and (b) Cl. I.

Example:

(a)	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	eliklu	eliklu	eliklu	elikulu	'rats'
	kayiklu	kayiklu	kayiklu	kayikulu/ kayikulu	'hands'
				kayiklu	
	pudakkulu/	pudakkulu/	pudaklu/	pudakulu	'pigeons'
	pudaklu	pudaklu		pudakulu	
	maraklu	maraklu	maraklu	marakulu	'trees'
(b)	puuklu	puuklu	puuklu	puukulu	'flowers'

4.3.2.1.2. After the I person and III person neuter pronouns.

Example:	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
I per.	enklu	enklu	enklu	enku	'we(excl.)'
III per.	--	--	indeklu/ neklu'	indekulu/ nekkulu	'these things'
	--	--	ayiklu	ayikulu	'those things'

4.3.2.1.3. After the reflexive and interrogative pronouns:

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Reflexive</u> :	tanklu	tanklu/ tañklu tañklu	tañklu	tañkulu	'themselves'
<u>Interrogative</u>	--	--	oyikulu/	oyikulu oyiklu	'what all things'

4.3.2.2. Class II: -kulu/-klu(in Sb,Nb), -kulu/-klu(in Sc), -gulu
(in Nc):

After the II person and III person epicene plural pronouns.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
II per.	iklu	niklu	ninklu/ inklu/ inkulu	nigulu	'you'
III per. epicene pl.)) meklu	meklu	moklu	mogulu	'these persons'
	aaklu	aaklu/ aklu	aaklu	agulu	'those persons'

4.3.2.3. Class III: -gulu (in Sb), -gulu/-gulu(in Sc), -lu
(in Nb), -lu (in Nc):

After the nominal bases belong to Cl. III B.

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	kattegulu	kattegulu	kattelu	kattelu	'donkeys'
	kuuligulu	kuuligulu	kuulilu	kuulilu	'teeth'
	baalegulu	--	baarulu	--	'children'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
bedurugulu	bedurugulu	bedurulu	bedurulu	'bamboos'
madimegulu	madimegulu	madimelu	madmelu	'marriages'

4.3.2.4. Class IV: -oñkulu/-oñklu (in Sb), -oñkulu/-oñklu/
-añkulu/-añklu (in Nb):

After the nominal bases belonging to Cl. II A and
Cl. III A:
Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kandoñklu	kandoñklu/ kandañkulu	'rice fields'
saroñklu	saroñkulu/ sarañklu	'ornamental chains'
kramoñkulu	kramoñkulu/ kramañkulu	'formalities'
parihaaronñklu	parihaaronñklu/ parihaarañklu	'solutions'
pustagoñkulu	pustakoñklu/ pustakañklu	'books'
varsoñklu/ orsoñklu	varsoñklu/ varsañklu	'years'

4.3.2.5. Class V: -adiklu (in Sb, Nb), -adiklu (in Sc), -adlu/
-allu (in Nc):

After the kinship terms only. These allomorphs have two parts each, as, adi/ad + -klu/-klu/-lu of which the second part is the real plural suffix whereas the first part can be considered as an augment between the nominal base and the plural suffix.

But for the sake of convenience the two units are treated here as a single one.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ajjadiklu	ajjadiklu	ajjadiklu	ajjadlu/ ajjallu	'grandfathers'
ajjiadiklu	ajjiadiklu	ajjiadiklu	ajjadlu/ ajjiallu	'grandmothers'
atyEdiklu/ atyadiklu	atyEdiklu	atyEdiklu	atyEdlu/ atyEllu	'sisters in law'
baavadiklu	baavadiklu	baavadiklu	baavadlu/ baavallu	'brothers in law'
megyadiklu	megyadiklu	megyadiklu	megyadlu/ megyallu	'younger brothers'

There is yet another set of allomorphs belonging to this class of plural suffixes:

- | | |
|---------|--------------------|
| Sb & Nb | : -naaklu |
| Sc | : -naaklu / -naklu |
| Nc | : -nagulu |

In these allomorphs too there are two parts : -na-/naa-+ -klu/-klu/-gulu. But from the point of view of convenience they are taken as a single unit without splitting them. These allomorphs can occur in free variation with -adiklu &c.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
akkanaaklu	akkEnaaklu	akkanaaklu	akkEnagulu	'elder sisters'
annanaaklu	annanaaklu	annanaaklu	annanagulu	'elder brothers'
maamanaaklu/ maamadiklu	maamanaa- klu/ maamadiklu	maamanaaklu/ maamadiklu	maamanagulu/ maamadlu/ maamallu	'fathers in law'

4.3.2.6. Class VI: -ru (in Sb, Sc), -klu (in Nb), -rlu (in Nc):

After (a) non-human animate nouns and (b) human nouns which end with the vowel -e.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(a)	kudkeru	kudkeru	kudkeklu	kudkerlu	'foxes'
	gooneru	gooneru	gooneklu	goonerlu	'he-buffaloes'
	mangeru	mangeru	mangeklu	mangerlu	'monkeys'
(b)	kalveru	kalveru	kalveklu	kalverlu	'thieves'
	dadderu	dadderu	daddeklu	--	'stupid persons'
	braahmaneru	braaneru	braahmaneklu	--	'Brahmans'
	bhakteru	bakteru	bhakteklu	--	'devotees'

4.4. The Case Suffixes:

The inflected case forms of Tulu can be classified mainly into nine distinct groups according to the different case suffixes. They are - (i) nominative (ii) accusative (iii) dative (iv) ablative (v) possessive (vi) locative (vii) comitative

(viii) lative (ix) vocative

4.4.1. Nominative Case:

In the nominative the suffix is usually \emptyset . It represents a bare base.

Example:

baave + \emptyset	-	baave	'brother-in-law'
raame + \emptyset	-	raame	'Rama'
kudke + \emptyset	-	kudke	'fox'
tuu + \emptyset	-	tuu	'fire'
puu + \emptyset	-	puu	'flower'
kallu + \emptyset	-	kallu	'stone'
magalu + \emptyset	-	magalu	'daughter'

4.4.2. Accusative Case:

The accusative case suffix is $-nu$. It has the allomorph $-ni$ used by Nb dialect and $-nu$ used after those words ending with a back vowel especially by Nb and Nchtj. The accusative case suffix has the allomorph \emptyset too used in free variation when used with singular nouns. It has also an allomorph $-nu$ used by Sb & Nb after I & II person singular pronominal forms.

Example:

Sb	Sc	Nb	Nc	Gloss
aalenu	aalenu	aalenu/ aaleni	aalenu/ alenu	'her'
irenu/ irE	irenu/ irE	irenu/ irE	irenu/ irE	'the leaf'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kandonu/ . . .	kandonu/ . . .	kandonu/ . . .	kandonu . . .	'the rice field'
kando . . .	kando . . .	kandani/ . . .	kanda . . .	
		kanda . . .		
netterunu/ . . .	netterunu/ . . .	netteru- ny . . .	netterunu/ . . .	'the blood'
netteru . . .	netteru . . .	netteru . . .	netteru . . .	
piliklenu . . .	piliklenu . . .	piliklenu/ . . .	piliklenu . . .	'the tigers'
		pilikleni . . .		

4.4.3. Dative Case:

The following are the allomorphs of the dative case suffix.

4.4.3.1. -ku (in all dialects): (i) after monosyllabic bases

- (ii) after numerals

- (iii) after I and II person singular and reflexive singular pronouns.

-ku/-ku (in Sc) } after monosyllabic bases ending with a
-ku (in Nb, Nc) } back vowel.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(i)	caaku	caaku	caaku	caaku	'to the tea, for the tea'
	puuku	puuku/ puuku	puuku	puuku	'for flower, to the flower'
(ii)	eradeku	raddeku	eradeku	raddeku	'to two, for two'
	naaleku	naaleku	naaleku	naaleku	'to four, for four'
(iii)	eñku	eñku	eñku	eñku	'to me, for me'
	inku	--	níñku/ inku	--	'to you (sg.)'
	tanku	tanku	tañku	tañku	'to oneself'

4.4.3.2. -kku (in Sb): (i) after nominal bases belonging to class II B.

(ii) after III person neuter pronouns

-kku (in Sc): (i) after nominal bases of (C)(C)VCV type

(ii) after II person singular (non-honorific) pronoun and III person pronoun.

-kku/-kku (in Sc): after nominal bases of (C)(C)VCV type ending with a back vowel.

-ku (in Nb) : (i) after nominal bases belonging to Cl. II B

: (ii) after III person neuter singular pronoun

-ku (in Nb) : after nominal bases of (C)(C)VCV type ending with a back vowel

-ku (in Nc) : (i) after nominal bases of (C)(C)V C V type.

(ii) after II person singular (non-honorific) and III person singular pronoun.

-ku (in Nc) : after nominal bases of (C)(C)V C V type ending with a back vowel.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
irekku	irekku	ireku	ireku	'to the leaf'
pilikku	pilikku	piliku	piliku	'to the tiger'
--	arokku/ arokku	--	aroku	'to the file'
--	balokku/ balokku	--	baloku	'to the strength'
kudukku	kudukku/ kudukku	kuduku	kuduku	'to the horse-gram'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ayikku	ayikku	ayiku	ayiku	'to that thing'
abekku	abekku/ avekku	--	--	'to those (animals)'
--	nikku	--	niku	'to you (sg.)'

4.4.3.3. -ñku (in Sb): after all types of nominal bases (except the monosyllabic bases) ending with the vowel -o

-ñku/-ñku (in Nb): after all types of nominal bases (except the monosyllabic bases) ending with the vowel -a (corresponding to -o of Sb)

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aroñku	--	aroñku	--	'to the file'
kandoñku		kandañku/ kandoñku	--	'to the field'
kramoñku	--	kramoñku	--	'to the formalities'
vastronñku	--	vastranñku/ vastroñku	--	'to the cloth'

4.4.3.4. -gu (in Sb) : (i) after all other types of nominal bases ending with the vowel other than -o

(ii) after I person exclusive plural, II person plural, III person epicene pronouns and reflexive pronouns.

-gu (in Sc) : (i) after all other types of nominal bases
(ii) after I person exclusive plural, II person plural and honorific singular, III person epicene pronoun and reflexive pronouns.

-gu/-gu (in Sc) : after all other types of nominal bases ending with a back vowel

- gu (in Nb) : (i) after other types of nominal bases ending with a vowel other than -a (corresponding to -o of Sb)
- (ii) after I person exclusive plural, II person plural, honorific singular, III person epicene pronouns and neuter plural and reflexive plural pronouns.
- gu (in Nb) : after all other types of nominal bases ending with a back vowel.
- gu (in Nc) : (i) after other types of nominal bases
- (ii) after I person exclusive plural, II person plural and honorific singular, III person epicene pronouns and honorific singular, neuter plural and reflexive plural pronouns.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(i)	kallugu	kallugu	kallugu	kallugu	'to a stone'
	baayigu	baayigu	baayigu	baayigu	'to a mouth'
	--	kandogu/ .. kandogu ..	--	kandogu ..	'to a rice-field'
	--	aatogu/ .. aatogu	--	aatogu	'to a game/ play'
	kombugu	kombugu/ kombugu	kombugu	kombugu	'to a horn'
(ii)	eñklegu	eñklegu	eñklegu	eñkalegu	'to us (excl.)'
	iklegu	niklegu	ninklegu	nigalegu	'to you(pl)'
	"	iiregu	"	iiregu	'to you (hon.sg.)'
	aayagu	aayagu	aayagu	aayagu	'to him'
	aalegu	aalegu	aalegu	aalegu	'to her'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aaklegu	aaklegu	aaklegu	agalegu	'to them'
"	aaregu	"	aaregu	'to him (hon. Sg.)'
meklegu/ umbaklegu	meklegu	moklegu	mogalegu	'to these persons'
"	umberegu/ imberegu	"	meeregu	'to this person (hon. sg.)'
taanklegu	tanklegu	tañklegu	tankulegu	'to themselves'
--	--	ayiklegu	ayikulegu	'to those (animals)'

4.4.4. Ablative Case:

The different allomorphs of the ablative case suffix used in different dialects are as follows:

- 4.4.4.1. -ttu (in Sb) : after the nominal bases ending with a vowel other than -o.
- ttu/-dtu (in Sc) : after the nominal bases ending with a non-back vowel.
- ttu/-dtu/-t̪tu/-d̪tu (in Sc) : after the nominal bases ending with a back vowel
- ttu (in Nb) : after the nominal bases ending with a vowel other than -a (corresponding to -o of Sb)
- ttu (in Nb) : after the nominal bases ending with a back vowel
- ddu (in Nc) : after the nominal bases ending with a non-back vowel
- ddu (in Nc) : after the nominal bases ending with a back vowel.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
puuttu	puudtu/ puudtu	puuttu	puuddu	'from a flower'
irettu	irettu/ iredtu	irettu	ireddu	'from a leaf'
baayittu	baayittu/ baayidtu	baayittu	baayiddu	'from the mouth'

4.4.4.2. -ntu (in Sb) : after the nominal bases ending with the vowel -o

-ntu (in Nb) : after the nominal bases ending with the vowel -a (corresponding to -o of Sb)

-ntu (in Nb) : after the nominal bases ending with a back vowel

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
attontu	--	attantu/ attontu	--	'from a garret'
tootontu	--	tootantu/ tootontu	--	'from the garden'
bhujontu	--	bhujantu/ bhujontu	--	'from the shoulder'

4.4.5. Possessive Case:

The following are the allomorphs of the possessive case suffix.

4.4.5.1. -tta (in Sb) : after the nominal bases belonging to Cl. II B.

-tta (in Sc) : after the nominal bases of the type
(C)(C)V C V

-ta/-to (in Nb) : after the nominal bases belonging to Cl.
II B.

-ta/-to (in Nc) : after the nominal bases of the type
(C)(C)V C V

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tulutta	tulutta	tuluta/ tuluto	tuluta/ tuluto	'of Tulu'
maratta	maratta	marata/ marato	marata/ marato	'of a tree/ wood'

4.4.5.2. -ta (in Sb, Sc) }
-ta/-to (in Nb, Nc) } after monosyllabic bases

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
caata	caata	caata/ caato	caata/ caato	'of the tea'
puuta	puuta	puuta/ puuto	puuta/ puuto	

4.4.5.3. -ta (in Sb) : after all other nominal bases ending with a vowel other than -o; and except pronouns, personal nouns and nouns which denote personified objects.

-ta/-da (in Sc) : after all other nominal bases except pronouns, personal nouns and nouns which denote personified objects.

-da/-do (in Nb) : after all other nominal bases ending with a vowel other than -a and except pronouns, personal nouns and nouns which denote personified objects.

-da/-do (in Nc) : after all other nominal bases except pronouns, personal nouns and nouns which denote personified objects.

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kalluta		kalluta/ kalluda/	kalluda/	kalluda/	'of a stone'
		kalluda	kalludo	kalludo	
baayita		baayita/ baayida/	baayida/	baayida/	'of a mouth'
		baayida	baayido	baayido	
mañjaluta		mañjoluta/ mañjaluda/	mañjoluda/	mañjoluda/	'of yellow'
		mañjoluda/	mañjaludo	mañjoludo	

4.4.5.4. -nta (in Sb): after those nominal bases ending with the vowel -o.

-nta/-nto (in Nb): after the nominal bases ending with the vowel -a (corresponding to -o of Sb)

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kandonta	..	--	kandanta/	--	'of a ricefield'
			kandanto		
kramonta	--	--	kramanta/	--	'of the formalities'
			kramanto		
vastronta	--	--	vastranta/	--	'of a cloth'
			vastranto		

4.4.5.5. -na (in Sb, Sc), -na/-no/-a/-Ø (in Nb, Nc):

: after the nominal bases which denote persons, personified objects or animals and after non-neuter pronouns.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
baavana	baavana	baavana/	baavana/	baavana/	'of brother-in-law'
		baavano/	baavano/	baavano/	
		baava	baava	baava	
raamana	raamana	raamana/	raamana/	raamana/	'of Rama'
		raamano/	raamano/	raamano/	
		raama	raama	raama	

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kudkana	kudkana	kudkana/ kudkano/ kudka	kudkana/ kudkano/ kudka	'of a fox'
aayana	aayana	aayana/ aayano/ aaya	aayana/ aayano/ aaya	'his'
inna	ninna	ina/nina/ ino/nino	nina/ nino	'your'

4.4.5.6. -na/-E (in all dialects) : after the plural forms of nouns, plural and honorific singular pronouns and the noun 'magalu'.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
piliklena/ piliklE	piliklena/ piliklE	piliklena/ piliklE	piliklena/ piliklE	'of tigers'
aaklena/ aaklE	aaklena/ aaklE	aaklena/ aaklE	agalena/ agalE	'their'
iklena/ ikiE	iirena/ iirE	ninklena/ niñkliE	iirena/ iirE	'your(hon.sg.)'
magalena/ magale	magalena/ magalE	magalena/ magale	magalena/ magale	'of the daughter'

4.4.6. Locative Case :¹³ The different allomorphs of the locative case suffix are as follows:

4.4.6.1. -ttu (in Sb) : after the nominal bases belonging to cl. II B.

-ttu (in Sc) : after the nominal bases of the type (C)(C)V C V ending with a non-back vowel.

-ttu/-ttu(in Sc): after the nominal bases of the type (C)(C)V C V ending with a back vowel.

-tu (in Nb) : after the nominal bases belonging to Cl.II B. ending with a non-back vowel.

13. As there is no difference between the allomorphs of the locative and instrumental case suffixes the latter is not treated separately.

- tu (in Nb) : after the nominal bases belonging to Cl.II B ending with a back vowel.
- tu (in Nc) : after the nominal bases of the type ((C)(C)V C V ending with a non-back vowel.
- tu (in Nc) : after the nominal bases of the type (C)(C)V C V ending with a back vowel.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
irett <u>u</u>	irett <u>u</u>	iretu	iretu	'on the leaf'
kayitt <u>u</u>	kayitt <u>u</u>	kayitu	kayitu	'in the hand'
badutt <u>u</u>	badutt <u>u</u> / badutt <u>u</u>	badut <u>u</u>	badut <u>u</u>	'on a stick'

- 4.4.6.2. -tu (in Sb) : after monosyllabic bases
- tu (in Sc) : after monosyllabic bases ending with a non-back vowel
- tu/-tu (in Sc) : after monosyllabic bases ending with a back vowel.
- tu (in Nb, Nc) : after monosyllabic bases ending with a non-back vowel.
- tu (in Nb, Nc) : after monosyllabic bases ending with a back vowel.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
caatu	caatu	caatu	caatu	'in the tea'
puut <u>u</u>	puut <u>u</u> / puut <u>u</u>	puut <u>u</u>	puut <u>u</u>	'in the flower'
tuut <u>u</u>	suut <u>u</u> / suut <u>u</u>	tuut <u>u</u>	tuut <u>u</u>	'in the fire'

- 4.4.6.3. -tu (in Sb) : after all other nominal bases ending with a vowel other than -o.

- tu/-du (in Sc) : after all other nominal bases ending with a
 non-back vowel.
- tu/-du } (in Sc) : after all other nominal bases ending with a
-tu/-du } back vowel.
- du (in Nb) : after all other nominal bases ending with a
 vowel other than -a or a back vowel.
- du (in Nb) : after all other nominal bases ending with a
 back vowel
- du (in Nc) : after all other nominal bases ending with a
 non-back vowel.
- du (in Nc) : after all other nominal bases ending with a
 back vowel.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kallutu ...	kallutu/ ...	kalludu ...	kalludu ...	'on the stone'
kaarutu ...	kaarutu/ ...	kaarudu ...	kaarudu ...	'on the leg'
kombutu .	kombutu/ .	kombudu .	kombudu .	'on the horn'

4.4.6.4. -ntu (in Sb) : after all the nominal bases which end
 with the vowel -0

-ntu/ } (in Nb) : after all the nominal bases which end
-ntu } with the vowel -a (corresponding to
-0 of Sb)

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kamalontu ...	--	kamalantu/ kamalontu	--	'in the lotus'
koopontu ...	--	koopantu/ koopontu	--	'in anger'
banontu ...	--	banantu/ banontu	--	'in a grove'
vastrontu ...	--	vastrantu/ vastrontu	--	'in a cloth'

4.4.6.5. -olu (in Sb), -alu (in Sc), -olu/adu (in Nb), -adu (in Nc)

: after the noun 'illu'

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
illolu ..	illalu	illolu/ illadu	illadu	'in the house'

4.4.7. Comitative case: The different allomorphs of the comitative case suffix are as follows:

- 4.4.7.1. -tta (in Sb) -ta (in Nb) } : after the nominal bases belonging to Cl. II B.
- tta (in Sc) -ta (in Nc) } after the nominal bases of the type (C)(C)V C V

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
gurutta ..	gurutta	guruta	guruta	'with Guru/with the teacher'
pilitta ..	pilitta	pilita	pilita	'with a tiger'
--	nugotta	--	nigata	'with a yoke (personified)'

4.4.7.2. -ta (in all dialects) : after monosyllabic bases.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
caata	caata	caata	caata	'with the tea (personified)'
puuta	puuta	puuta	puuta	'with the flower (personified)'

4.4.7.3. -ta (in Sb) : after all other nominal bases ending with a vowel other than -o.

-ta/-da (in Sc) : after all other nominal bases

-da (in Nb) : after all other nominal bases ending with a vowel other than -a
(corresponding to -0 of Sb)

-da (in Nc) : after all other nominal bases

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
akkata	akketa/ akkeda	akkada	akkeda	'with the sister'
baavata	baavata/ baavada	baavada	baavada	'with the brother in law'
kudkata	kudkata/ kudkada	kudkada	kudkada	'with a fox'
bombeta	bombeta/ bombeda	bombeda	bombeda	'with the doll (personified)'

4.4.7.4. -nta (in Sb) : after all other nominal bases ending with the vowel -o.

-nta (in Nb) : after all other nominal bases ending with the vowel -a (corresponding to -0 of Sb)

The nominal bases to which this allomorph is added denote only personified objects or animals. This allomorph also denotes the meaning of an action being conveyed 'to' a personified object or animal.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aakaasonta ..	--	aakaasanta ..	--	'with sky'
(aakaasonta paaterye--	aakaasanta paaterye	--	--	'he talked to sky')
simmonta ..	--	simmanta/ .. simmonta ..	--	'with Lion'
(simmonta keende ..	--	simmonta keende ..	--	'he asked to Lion')

4.4.8. Lative Case: ¹⁴

This case is peculiar to Tulu and denotes the meaning that an action is done 'through or on' an object. The different allomorphs of this case suffix are as follows:

- 4.4.8.1. -ttE (in Sb) { after the nominal bases belonging to
-tE (in Nb) { Cl. II B.
-ttE (in Sc) { after the nominal bases of the type
-tE (in Nc) { (C)(C)V C V

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
marattE ..	marattE ..	maratE ..	maratE ..	'through a tree'
nelattE ..	nelattE ..	nelatE ..	nelatE ..	'through the ground'
punitte ..	punitte ..	punitE ..	punitE ..	

14. This term is given to name this case by Dr.B.Ramachandra Rao in his article "Case system of Tulu"(1976). The term 'Lative' denotes the meaning "as far as" (see Hardev Bahri, 1985, Pp.114). As the term and the case give completely unrelated meanings it is necessary to find out some other term to name this case.

4.4.8.2. -tE (in all dialects): after monosyllabic bases

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tuut <u>E</u>	suut <u>E</u>	tuut <u>E</u>	tuut <u>E</u>	'through the fire'
puut <u>E</u>	puut <u>E</u>	puut <u>E</u>	puut <u>E</u>	'through a flower'

4.4.8.3. -tE (in Sb) : after all other bases ending with a vowel other than -o-tE/-dE (in Sc) : after all other nominal bases-dE (in Nb) : after all other nominal bases ending with a vowel other than -a (corresponding to -o of Sb)-dE (in Nc) : after all other nominal bases

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
edurut <u>E</u>	edurut <u>E</u> / } edurud <u>E</u> }	edurud <u>E</u>	edurud <u>E</u>	'through in front of'
gellut <u>E</u>	gellut <u>E</u> / } gellud <u>E</u> }	gellud <u>E</u>	gellud <u>E</u>	'through a branch of a tree'
baakilut <u>E</u>	baakilut <u>E</u> / baakilud <u>E</u>	baakilud <u>E</u>	baakilud <u>E</u>	'through a door'
saadit <u>E</u>	saadit <u>E</u> / } saadid <u>E</u> }	saadid <u>E</u>	taadid <u>E</u>	'through a path'

4.4.8.4. -ntE (in Sb) : after all other nominal bases ending with the vowel -o-ntE (in Nb) : after all other nominal bases ending with the vowel -a (corresponding to -o of Sb)

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
addontE	--	addantE/addontE	--	'through the beam'
aakaasontE	--	aakaasantE/ { aakaasontE }	--	'through the sky'
maargontE	--	maargantE/ { maargontE }	--	'through/on the road'

4.4.8.5. - E (in all dialects) : after the nouns avulu, nettu,
mittu, muulu, sittu etc.

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
avule	avule	avule	avule	'through there'
nettE	nettE	nettE	nettE	'through this place'
mittE	mittE	mittE	mittE	'through above'
muule	muule	muule	muule	'through this place'

4.4.9. Vocative Case:

The different allomorphs of the vocative case suffix and the conditions governing them are as follows:

4.4.9.1. -aa (in all dialects): after the nominal bases ending with the vowel -e (III person masculine singular marker) or -a (of the rational nouns)

Example:

<u>Sb, Sc, Nb, Nc</u>	
ajjaaa	'O grandfather'
raamaaa	'O Rama'
kamalaa	'O Kamala'

4.4.9.2. -ii/-yee (in all dialects): after the nominal bases ending with the vowel -i

Example:

<u>Sb, Sc, Nb, Nc</u>	
maamii/maamiyee	'O mother-in-law!
naayii/naayiyee	'O dog!
pili'i/piliyee	'O tiger'

4.4.9.3. -uu/-OO (in Sb, Sc)

-OO (in Nb, Nc): after the nominal bases ending with the vowel -u

Example:

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
baabuu	baabuu	baaboo	baboo	'O Babu!'
kittuu/ kittuu/ kittuvoo	kit <u>..</u> too	kit <u>..</u> oo	kit <u>..</u> oo	'O Kittu!'

4.4.9.4. -EE (in all dialects): (i) after the nominal bases ending with the vowel -E or -u

(ii) after plural forms of nouns

Example:

(i)	baalEE	'O! child!'
	eedEE	'O! goat!'
(ii)	akkanaaklEE	'O elder sisters!'
	guruklEE	'O teachers!'
	deeverEE	'O God!'

4.4.9.5. -nEE (in Sb, Sc): after the nominal bases ending with the vowel -O or -a (irrational nouns)

-nee (in Nb) : after the nominal bases ending with the vowel -a or -E.

Example:

<u>Sb, Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
simmonEE	simmonee	'O lion!'
pustakonEE	pustakanee	'O Book!' (personified)
pettanEE	pettanee	'O cow!'

The various suffixes and their allomorphs of different cases may be given in a table as follows:

Cases	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>
-- Suffixes --				
Nominative	-∅,	-∅,	-∅,	-∅,
Accusative	-∅, -nu	-∅, -nu	-∅, -ni, -nu, -nu	-∅, -nu, -nu
Dative	-ku, -kku, -ñku, gu	-ku, -ku, -kku, -ñku, -gu, -gu	-ku, -ku, -ñku, -gu, -gu	-ku, -ku, -gu, -gu
Ablative	-ttu, -ntu	-ttu, -dtu, -ttu, -dtu	-ttu, -ntu, -ntu	-ddu, -ddu
Possessive	-tta, -ta, -nta, -na, -E	-tta, -ta, -da, -na, -E	-ta, -to, -da, -do, -nta, -nto, -no, na, -a, -∅, -E	-ta, -to, -da, -do, -no, -na, -a, -∅, -E
Locative	-ttu, -tu, -ntu, -olu	-ttu, -tu, -du, -tu, -olu, -alu	-tu, -tu, -du, -du, -ntu, -olu, -adu	-tu, -tu, -du, -du, -adu
Comitative	-tta, -ta, -nta	-tta, -ta, -da	-ta, -da, -nta	-ta, -da
Lative	-tte, -te, -nte, -E	-tte, -te, -de, -E	-te, -de, -ntE, -E	-tE, -dE, -E
Vocative	-aa, -ii, -yee, -uu, -oo, -EE, -nEE	-aa, -ii, -yee, -uu, -oo, -EE, -nEE	-aa, -ii, -yee, -oo, -EE, -nEE	-aa, -ii, -yee, -oo, -EE

4.5. Pronouns: A pronoun is a word used instead of a noun.

4.5.1. Classification: The Tulu pronouns can be classified into the following catagories:-

- (i) personal pronouns
- (ii) reflexive pronouns
- (iii) interrogative pronouns
- (iv) universal pronouns

4.5.1.1. Personal pronouns: Personal pronouns are of three types:

(i) First person (ii) Second person, and (iii) Third person. In first and second persons there is no gender distinction but only distinction in number, i.e. either singular or plural. The different allomorphs of the three personal pronouns in different dialects are as follows:

4.5.1.1.1. First Person Pronoun:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Sb	eenu 'I'	enklu 'we (excl.)'
		namo 'we (incl.)'
Sc	" "	enklu 'we (excl.)'
		namo 'we (incl.)'
Nb	" "	enklu 'we (excl.)'
		naavu 'we (incl.)'
Nc	yaanu "	enkulu 'we (excl.)'
		nama 'we (incl.)'

4.5.1.1.2. Second Person Pronoun:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Sb	ii 'you'	iklu 'you'
	iklu 'you (hon.Sg.)'	-- --

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
Sc	ii	'you'	niklu	'you'
	iiru	'you(hon.sg.)'	--	--
Nb	ii	'you'	niñklu/inklu/	'you'
			inkulu	
	niñklu/	'you (hon.Sg.)'	--	-
	inklu/			
	inkulu			
Nc	ii	'you'	nigulu	'you'
	iiru	'you(hon.Sg.)'	--	--

4.5.1.1.3. Third Person Pronoun: The third person pronouns may also be called demonstrative pronouns. Apart from the distinctions of number and gender there is also the distinction of proximity and remoteness.

4.5.1.1.3.1. Proximate:

		<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
		<u>Sg.</u>	<u>hon.Sg.</u>	
Sb.	M	umbye	{	meklu/
	F	umbalu	{	umbeklu/
	N	undu	--	umbaklu umbu
Sc	M	umbye/	{	meklu/
		imbye	{	umbeklu/
	F	umbalu/	{	imbeklu/
		imbalu	--	umbu/ umbo
N		undu/	{	
		undu/	{	
		indu	--	

		<u>sg.</u>	<u>hon.sg.</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Nb	M	imbye/ umbye/ umbe	{ { }	
	F	imbalu/ umbalu	{ { }	moklu
	N	undu/ undu/ indu	{ { } --	moklu indeklu/ undeklu/ neklu
Nc	M	imbe/ umbe	{ }	
	F	umbolu/ imbolu/ moolu	{ } meeru	mogulu
	N	undu/ indu/ indu	{ } --	indeklu/ undeklu/ nekkulu

4.5.1.1.3.2. Remote

			<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
			<u>sg.</u>	<u>hon.sg.</u>
Sb	M	aaye	{	
	F	aalu	{	aaklu
	N	avu	--	avu/abo
Sc	M	aaye	{	
	F	aalu	{	aaru
	N	avu	--	avu
Nb	M	aaye	{	
	F	aalu	{	aaklu
	N	avu	--	
Nc	M	aaye	{	
	F	aalu	{	aaru
	N	avu	--	ayiklu
	M	aaye	{	

<u>Meanings:</u>	<u>Proximate:</u>	Masc. sg.	'this male person'
		Fem. sg.	'this female person'
		Masc.,Fem.hon. sg.	'this person'
		Masc.,Fem.Plural	'these persons'
		Neut. sg.	'this (thing)'
		Neut. pl.	'these (things)'
	<u>Remote:</u>	Masc.sg.	'that male person'
		Fem.sg.	'that female person'
		Masc.-Fem.hon. sg.	'that person'
		Masc.-Fem.pl.	'those persons'
		Neut.sg.	'that (thing)'
		Neut.pl.	'those (things)'

4.5.1.2. Reflexive Pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Sb	taanu	tanklu
Sc	"	tanklu/tanklu
Nb	"	tañklu
Nc	"	tañkulu

4.5.1.3. Interrogative Pronouns:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Sb non.neuter	eeru	eeru
neuter	ovu	ovu
Sc non-neuter	eeru	eeru
neuter	ovu	ovu
Nb non-neuter	eeru	eeru
neuter	ovu/evu	oyklu
Nc non-neuter	eeru	eeru
neuter	ovu/evu	oyikulu

In interrogative pronouns there is no difference in the non-neuter pronominal forms among the dialects. In neuter pronominal forms the major difference is between the Sb and Sc dialects on the one hand and Nb and Nc dialects on the other. Even in Nb and Nc the difference is only in the plural pronominal form.

4.5.1.4. Universal Pronouns:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
non-neuter:	manterla/	manterla/	manteru	maateru/	'all'
	manta	maanta/		maata	
		maaterla/			
		maata			
neuter:	manta	maanta/	manta/	maata/	'all'
		maata	manteklu	maateklu	

4.5.2. Analysis of the pronouns:

4.5.2.1. Personal Pronouns:

4.5.2.1.1. First Person:

4.5.2.1.1.1. Singular: The first person singular pronoun eenu (Sb, Sc, Nb), yaanu (Nc) has three oblique stems before case suffixes. They are:- (a) enna-/ena-, (b) enn-/en-, and (c) eh-

4.5.2.1.1.1.1. enna - (Sb, Sc), ena - (Nb, Nc)

This occurs before - (a) accusative

(b) comitative

and, enna- (Sb, Sc, Nb), ena (Nc) before-(c) ablative

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	ennanu	ennanu	enanu	enanu	'me'
<u>com.</u>	ennata	ennata	enata	enada	'with me'
<u>abl.</u>	ennattu	ennadtu	ennattu	enaddu	'from me'

4.5.2.1.1.1.2. enn-(Sb, Sc), en- (Nb, Nc)

This occurs before possessive case.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
poss.	enna	enna	ena	ena	'my'

4.5.2.1.1.1.3. en- (in all dialects)

This occurs before dative case.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
dat.	enku	enku	enku	enku	'to me'

4.5.2.1.1.2. Plural:

The first person plural pronoun has two forms of which one denotes the meaning excluding the person spoken to and the other including the person spoken to. In the exclusive pronoun there are two parts of which the second is an allomorph of the plural suffix -kulu. The inclusive pronominal form used by the Nb dialect shows a quite different form (resembling that of Kannada) than the other used by Sb and Sc.

It is interesting to note that sometimes the Sc and Nc dialects use exclusive pronominal form in the place of inclusive and vice-versa (probably confusedly).

4.5.2.1.1.2.1. Exclusive Pronoun:

The exclusive pronominal form enku, enklu, enku has two oblique forms before case suffixes. They are -- (a) enkle -, enkale -, and (b) enkla -, enkala -.

4.5.2.1.1.2.1.1. eñkle- (Sb, Sc, Nb), eñkale -(Nc):

This form occurs before - (a) accusative (b) dative
 (c) ablative (d) possessive
 (e) locative (f) comitative

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	eñklen <u>u</u>	eñklen <u>u</u>	eñklen <u>u</u>	eñkalen <u>u</u>	'us'
<u>dat.</u>	eñkleg <u>u</u>	eñkleg <u>u</u>	eñkleg <u>u</u>	eñkalegu	'to us'
<u>abl.</u>	eñklett <u>u</u>	eñkledtu	eñklett <u>u</u>	eñkaleddu	'from us'
<u>poss.</u>	eñklena	eñklena	eñklena	eñkalena	'our'
<u>loc.</u>	--	--	eñkled <u>u</u>	eñkaled <u>u</u>	'between/ among us'
<u>com.</u>	eñkleta	eñkleta/ eñkleda	eñkleda	eñkaleda	'with us'

4.5.2.1.1.2.1.2. eñkl- (Sb, Sc, Nb), eñkal- (Nc):

This occurs before another allomorph of the possessive case

-E

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>poss.</u>	eñkLE	eñkLE	eñkLE	eñkaleE	'our'

4.5.2.1.1.2.2. Inclusive Pronoun:

The first person inclusive pronominal form namo, nama, naavu has three oblique forms before case suffixes. They are --

(a) nama- (b) nama-/namma , and (c) nañ-

4.5.2.1.1.2.2.1. nama- (in all dialects):

This occurs before - (a) accusative

(b) comitative

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	namanu	namanu	namanu	namanu	'us'
<u>com.</u>	namata	namata / } namada	namata	namada	'with us'

4.5.2.1.1.2.2.2. nama- (Sb), nama-/namma-(Sc), namma-(Nb, Nc):

This occurs before - (a) ablative

(b) possessive

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>abl.</u>	namattu	namadtu / } nammaddu	namattu	nammaddu	'from us'
<u>poss.</u>	nama	nama/namma / } namana	namma / } nama	nama	'our'

4.5.2.1.1.2.2.3. nañ- (in all dialects):

This occurs before dative case.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>dat.</u>	nañku	nañku	nañku	nañku	'to us'

4.5.2.1.2. Second Person:

4.5.2.1.2.1. Singular:

The second person singular pronominal form ii has three oblique forms before case suffixes. They are -(a) inna-, ina-

ninna-, nina-, (b) inn-, in-, ninn-, nin- (c) in- nik-, niñ-.

4.5.2.1.2.1.1. inna-(Sb), ina-/nina-(Nb), ninna-(Sc), nina-(Nc):

This occurs before - (a) accusative (b) ablative (c) comitative.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	innan <u>u</u>	ninnan <u>u</u>	inan <u>u</u> / { ninan <u>u</u> ninan <u>u</u> }	ninan <u>u</u>	'you'
<u>abl.</u>	innatt <u>u</u>	ninnad <u>tu</u> / { ninnatt <u>u</u> / { ninnadd <u>u</u> ninnadd <u>u</u> } inatt <u>u</u> }	ninnadd <u>u</u>	ninnatt <u>u</u>	'from you'
<u>com.</u>	innata	ninnata/ { inata/ { ninada ninnada } ninnata }	inata	ninada	'with you'

4.5.2.1.2.1.2. inn-(Sb), ninn-(Sc), ninn-/nin-(Nb), nin-(Nc):

This occurs before possessive case.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>poss.</u>	inna	ninna	ninna/ { nina	nina	'your'

4.5.2.1.2.1.3. in-(Sb) nik- (Sc, Nc), niñ - (Nb):

This occurs before dative case

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>dat.</u>	ink <u>u</u>	nikku	niñku	nikku	'to you'

4.5.2.1.2.2. Honorific Singular:

The Sb and Nb dialects use the second person plural forms for second person honorific singular also. (They are analized in

4.5.2.1.2.3. To avoid unnecessary repetition they are not taken for analysis under this caption)

The Second Person honorific singular pronominal form iiru.
used by Sc and Nc has two oblique forms before case suffixes.

They are - (a) iire- , ire-, (b) iir-, ir-

4.5.2.1.2.2.1. *iire-(Sc), iire-/ire-(Nc):*

Example:

	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	iirenu .	iirenu/irenu .	'you'
<u>dat.</u>	iiredtu/iireddu .	ireddu/ireddu .	'from you'
<u>poss.</u>	iirena	iirena/irena	'your'
<u>Com.</u>	iireta/iireda	iireda/ireda	'with you'

4.5.2.1.2.2.2. iir-(Sc), iir-/ir-(Nc):

This occurs before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E

Example:

<u>Example:</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
poss.	iirE	iirE/irE	'your'

It may be noted that the honorific singular pronoun iiru, used by Sc and Nc is also used by Sb and Nb in one context, i.e. when addressing a Swamiji of a Mutt.

4.5.2.1.2.3. Plural:

The second person plural forms used in different dialects are- iklu, niklu, ninklu, inklu, inkulu and nigulu used in different dialects. They can be considered as composed of a pronominal base and the plural suffix -kulu. Before case suffixes they have the following set of forms:- (a) ikle-, nikle-, ninkle-, inkle-, inkle-, nigule-, nigale- (b) ikl-, nikl-, ninkl-, inkl-, inkl-, nigul-, nigal-.

4.5.2.1.2.3.1. ikle-(Sb), nikle-(Sc), ninkle-/inkle-/inkle-(Nb), nigule-/nigale-(Nc):

This occurs before - (a) accusative (b) dative
 (c) ablative (d) possessive
 (e) comitative

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	<u>iklenu</u>	<u>niklenu</u>	<u>ninklenu/</u> <u>inklenu/</u> <u>inklenu</u>	<u>nigulenu/</u> <u>nigalenu</u>	'you'
<u>dat.</u>	<u>iklegu</u>	<u>niklegu</u>	<u>ninklegu/</u> <u>inklegu/</u> <u>inklegu</u>	<u>nigalegu</u>	'to you'
<u>abl.</u>	<u>iklettu</u>	<u>nikledtu/</u> <u>nikleddu</u>	<u>ninklettu/</u> <u>inklettu/</u> <u>inklettu</u>	<u>nigaleddu</u>	'from you'
<u>poss.</u>	<u>iklena</u>	<u>niklena</u>	<u>ninklena/</u> <u>inklena/</u> <u>inklena</u>	<u>nigalena/</u> <u>nigulena</u>	'your'
<u>com.</u>	<u>ikleta</u>	<u>nikleta/</u> <u>nikleda</u>	<u>ninkleda/</u> <u>inkleda/</u> <u>inkleda</u>	<u>niguleda/</u> <u>nigaleda</u>	'with you'

4.5.2.1.2.3.2. ikl-(Sb), nikl-(Sc), nɪŋkl-/ɪŋkl-/ɪnkł-(Nb), nigul-/nigal-(Nc):

This occurs before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>poss.</u>	<u>iklE</u>	<u>niklE</u>	<u>nɪŋklE/</u>	<u>nigule/</u>	
			<u>iŋklE/</u>	<u>nigalE</u>	'your'
			<u>ɪnkłE</u>		

In Sb and Nb the Second Person plural forms are also used as honorific singular forms.

4.5.2.1.3. Third Person:

4.5.2.1.3.1. Proximate:

4.5.2.1.3.1.1. Singular:

(i) Masculine: The third person proximate masculine singular pronominal form umbye, imbye, umbye, umbe, imbe has one oblique form i.e. umbye-, imbya-, imbe- which can occur before case suffixes.

(ii) Feminine: The third person proximate feminine singular pronominal form umbalu, imbalu, umbalu, umbolu, imbolu, moolu has two oblique forms, viz. - (a) umbale-, imbale-, umbale-, moole- (b) umbal-, imbal-, umbal-, mool - which can occur before case suffixes.

(iii) Neuter: The third person proximate neuter singular pronominal form undu, undu, indu has one oblique form, i.e.

unde-, unde, inde-, une-, ne- which can occur before case suffixes.

4.5.2.1.3.1.1.1. (i) Masc. umbya-(Sb), umbya-/imbya-(Sc), imbya-/umbya-(Nb), umbe-(Nc)

(ii) Fem. umbale-(Sb), umbale-/imbale-(Sc),
imbale-/umbale-(Nb), moole-(Nc)

(iii) Neut. unde-/ne-(Sb), unde-/inde-/unde-(Sc)
unde-/une-/ne-(Nb), unde-(Nc)

This oblique stem can occur before - (a) accusative
(b) dative (c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>					
M	umbyanu	umbyanu/ imbyanu/	imbyanu/ umbyanu/	imbenu	'this male person'
F	umbalenu	umbalenu/ imbalelu/	imbalenu/ umbalenu/	moolenu	'this female person'
N	undenu	undenu/ indenu/ undenu/	undenu/ unenu/	undenu	'this (thing)'
<u>dat.</u>					
M	umbyagu	umbyagu/ imbyagu/	imbyagu/ umbyagu/	imbegu	'to this male person'
F	umbalegu	umbalegu/ imbalegu/	imbalegu/ umbalegu/	moolegu	'to this female person'
N	undekku/ nekku	undekku/ indekku	indeku/ nekku	undeku	'to this (thing)'

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>abl.</u>					
M	umbyattu	umbyadtu/ imbyadtu	imbyattu/ umbyattu	imbeddu	'from this male person'
F	umbalettu	umbaledtu/ imbaledtu	imbalettu/ umbalettu	mooleddu	'from this female person'
N	undettu/ nettu	undedtu/ indedtu	undettu/ nettu	undeddu	'from this (thing)'
<u>poss.</u>					
M	umbyana	umbyana imbyana	imbyana umbyana	imbena	'of this male person'
F	umbalena	umbalena imbalena	imbalena umbalena	mooleena	'of this female person'
N	undena	undena indena	undetta/ netta	undetta	'of this (thing)'
<u>com.</u>					
M	umbyata	umbyata/ umbyada/ imbyata/ imbyada	imbyada/ umbyada	imbeda	'with this male person'
F	umbaleta	umbaleta/ umbaleda/ imbaleta/ imbaleda	imbaleda/ umbaleda	mooleda	'with this female person'
N	undetta/ netta	undetta/ indeetta	undeta/ netta	undeta	'with this (thing)'

4.5.2.1.3.1.1.2. Fem. umbal-(Sb), umbal-/imbal-(Sc), imbal-/
umbal-(Nb), mool-(Nc):

This oblique form can occur before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Poss.</u>					
F	<u>umbal</u> E	<u>umbal</u> E / <u>imbal</u> E	{ <u>imbal</u> E / <u>umbal</u> E }	<u>mool</u> E	'of this female person'

4.5.2.1.3.1.2. Honorific Singular:

The Sb and Nb dialects use the Third Person proximate epicene plural forms for third person proximate honorific singular also. (They are analized in 4.5.2.1.3.1.3. To avoid unnecessary repetition they are not analized here.)

The third person proximate honorific singular pronominal form umberu/imberu used by Sc. and meeru used by Nc has two oblique forms before case suffixes. They are - (a) umbere-/
imbere-, meere- (b) umber-/imber-, meer-

4.5.2.1.3.1.2.1. umbere-/imbere-(Sc), meere-(Nc):

This occurs before -(a) accusative (b) dative (c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative.

Example:

	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	umberenu/ imberenu	meerenu	'this person'
<u>dat.</u>	umberegu/ imberegu	meeregua	'to this person'
<u>abl.</u>	umberedtu	meereddu	'from this person'
<u>poss.</u>	umberena/ imberena	meerena	'of this person'
<u>com.</u>	umbereta/ imbereta	meereda	'with this person'

4.5.2.1.3.1.2.2. umber-/imber-(Sc), meer-(Nc):

This oblique stem occurs before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E.

Example:	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
poss.	umberE/ imberE	meere	'of this person'

4.5.2.1.3.1.2.3. Plural:

(i) The third person proximate epicene plural pronominal form used are - meklu/umbeklu/umbaklu, meklu/umbeklu/imbeklu; moklu, mogulu. They have two oblique forms. They are - (a) mekle-/umbekle-/umbakle-, imbakle-, mokle-, mogule-/mogale- which can occur before case suffixes.

(ii) The third person proximate neuter plural pronominal form used are - umbu, umbu/umbo, indeklu/undeklu/neklu, indeklu/undeklu/nekku. They have two oblique forms. They are-
(a) umbe-, indekle-/undekle-/nekle-, indekle-/undekle-/nekkule-

(b) indekl-/undekl-/nekkl-, indekl-/undekl-/nekkul-

4.5.2.1.3.1.3.1. (i) Epicene: mekle-/umbekle-/umbakle-(Sb),

mekle-/umbekle-/imbekle-(Sc), mokle-(Nb),

mogule-/mogale-(Nc)

(ii) Neut: umbe-(Sb, Sc), indekle-/undekle-/nekle-

(Nb), indekle-/undekle-/nekkule-(Nc)

This oblique stem can occur before -
(a) accusative (b) dative
(c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative

Example:	Sb	Sc	Nb	Nc	Gloss
<u>acc.</u>					
Epicene:	meklenu/ umbeklenu/ umbaklenu	meklenu/ umbeklenu/ imbeklenu	moklenu	mogulenu/ mogalenu	'these persons'
Neut.:	umbenu	umbenu	indeklenu/ undeklenu/ nekkenu	indeklenu/ undeklenu/ nekkulenu	'these (things)'
<u>dat.</u>					
Epicene:	meklegu/ umbeklegu/ umbaklegu	meklegu/ umbeklegu/ imbeklegu	moklegu	mogulegu/ mogalegu	'to these persons'
Neut.	umbekku mekku	umbekku/ imbekku	indeklegu/ undeklegu/ neklegu	indeklegu/ undeklegu/ nekkulegu	'to these (things)'

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>abl.</u>					
Epicene:					
	meklettu/	mekledtu/	moklettu	moguleddu/	'from these persons'
	umbeklettu/	umbekledtu/		mogaleddu	
	umbaklettu/	imbekledtu			
Neut.	umbettu	umbedtu/	{ indeklettu/	indekle- ddu/	'from these (things)'
		imbedtu	undeklettu/	undekleddu	
			neklettu	nekkuleddu	
<u>poss.</u>					
Epicene:					
	meklena/	meklena/	moklena	mogulena/	'of these persons'
	umbeklena/	umbeklena/		mogalena	
	umbaklena	imbeklena			
Neut.	umbena	umbena/	{ indeklena/	indeklena/	'of these (things)'
		imbena	undeklena/	undeklena/	
			neklena	nekkulena	
<u>Com.</u>					
Epicene:					
	mekleta/	mekleta/	mokleda	moguleda/	'with these (things)'
	umbekleta/	umbekleta/		mogaleda	
	umbakleta	imbekleta			
Neut.	umbetta	umbetta/	{ indekleda/	indekleda/	'with these (things)'
		imbetta	undekleda/	undekleda/	
			nekleda	nekkuleda	
4.5.2.1.3.1.3.2. (i) <u>mekl-/umbekl-/umbakl-(Sb), mekl-/umbekl-/ imbekl-(Sc), mokl-(Nb), mogul-/mogal-(Nc)</u>					

(ii) indekl- / undekl- / nekl- (Nb), indekl- / undekl- / nekkul- (Nc)

This oblique stem can occur before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix - E.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Epicene	meklE/ umbeklE/ umbaklE	meklE/ umbeklE imbeklE	moklE	mogulE/ magalE	'of these persons'
Neut.	--	--	indeklE/ undeklE/ neklE	indeklE/ undeklE nekkulE	'of these(things)'

In Sb and Nb the third person proximate epicene plural forms are also used as honorific singular forms.

4.5.2.1.3.2. Remote

4.5.2.1.3.2.1. Singular:

(i) Masculine: The third person remote masculine singular pronominal form aaye has one oblique form i.e. aaya-

(ii) Feminine: The third person remote feminine singular pronominal form aalu has two oblique forms viz. (a) aale-, aale- (b) aal-, aal-

(iii) Neuter: The third person remote neuter singular pronominal form avu has two oblique forms, viz. ayi-, avu-

4.5.2.1.3.2.1.1. (i) Masc. aaya (in all dialects)

(ii) Fem. aale- (Sb, Sc, Nb), aale- (Nc)

(iii) Neut. ayi- (Sb, Sc), ayi-/avu- (Nb, Nc).

This oblique stem can occur before -(a) accusative

(b) dative (c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u> M	aayanu	aayanu	aayanu	aayanu	'that male person, him'
F	aalenu	aalenu	aalenu	aalenu	'that female person, her'
N	ayinu	ayinu	ayinu/ } ayinu } 'that (thing)' avunu } avunu }		

		<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>dat.</u>	M	aayagu	aayagu	aayagu	aayagu	'to him'
	F	aalegu	aalegu	aalegu	aalegu	'to her'
	N	ayikku	ayikku	ayiku	ayiku	'to it'
<u>abl.</u>	M	aayattu	aayadtu	aayattu	aayaddu	'from him'
	F	aalettu	aalettu	aalettu	aaleddu	'from her'
	N	ayittu	ayidtu	ayitu	ayiddu	'from it'
<u>poss.</u>	M	aayana	aayana	aayana	aayana	'his'
	F	aalena	aalena	aalena	aalena	'her'
	N	ayina/) ayitta)	ayina/) ayitta)	ayitta	ayita	'its'
<u>Com.</u>	M	aayata	aayata/ } aayada }	aayada	aayada	'with him'
	F	aaleta	aaleta/ } aaleda }	aaleda	aaleda	'with her'
	N	ayitta	ayitta	ayita	ayita	'with it'

4.5.2.1.3.2.1.2. aal- (Sb, Sc, Nb), aal- (Nc):

This occurs before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E.

Example:	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
poss.	F aale	aalE	aalE	aalE	'her'

4.5.2.1.3.2.2. Honorific Singular: The Sb and Nb dialects use the third person remote epicene plural forms for third person remote honorific singular also- (They are analysed in 4.5.2.1.3.2.3.

Hence they are not analyzed here to avoid unnecessary repetition.)

The third person remote honorific singular pronominal form aaru used by Sc and Nc has two oblique forms before case suffixes. They are - (a) aare- (b) aar-

4.5.2.1.3.2.2.1 aare- (Sc, Nc):

This occurs before - (a) accusative (b) dative (c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative

Example:

	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	aarenu	aarenu	'him'
<u>dat.</u>	aaregu	aaregu	'to him'
<u>abl.</u>	aaredtu	aareddu	'from him'
<u>poss.</u>	aarena	aarena	'his'
<u>com.</u>	aareta/ aareda	aareda	'with him'

4.5.2.1.3.2.2.2. aar - (Sc Nc):

This occurs before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E

Example:

	<u>Sc Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>poss.</u>	aarE	'his'

4.5.2.1.3.2.3. Plural:

(i) The third person remote epicene plural pronominal form used are - aaklu, aaklu, agulu. They have two oblique forms. They are - (a) aakle-, agule-/agale- (b) aakl-, agul-/agal-.

(ii) The third person remote neuter pronominal forms used are- avu/abo, avu, avu/ayiklu, avu/ayikulu. They have two oblique forms. They are - (a) abe-, abe-/ ave-, ave-/ ayikle-, ave-/ayikule-
(b) ayikl-, ayikul-.

4.5.2.1.3.2.3.1. (i) aakle-(Sb, Sc, Nb), agule-/agale-(Nc)

(ii) abe-(Sb), abe-/ave-(Sc), ave-/ayikle-(Nb),
ave-/ ayikule- (Nc)

This oblique stems occur before - (a) accusative (b) dative
(c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>					
Epicene	aaklenu	aaklenu	aaklenu	agalenu/ { agalenu }	'them'
Neut.	abenu	abenu/ avenu	avenu/ ayiklenu	avenu/ ayikulenu	'those' (things)
<u>dat.</u>					
Epicene	aaklegu	aaklegu	aaklegu	agulegu/ { agalegu }	'to them'
Neut.	abekku	abekku/ avekku	aveku/ ayiklegu	aveku/ ayikulegu	'to those' (things)
<u>abl.</u>					
Epicene	aaklettu	aakledtu	aaklettu	aguleddu/ { agaleddu }	'from them'
Neut.	abettu	abedtu/ avedtu	ayiklettu	ayikule- ddu	'from those' (things)

poss.

Epicene	aaklen <u>a</u>	aaklen <u>a</u>	aaklen <u>a</u>	agulena/ { agalena } 'of them'
Neut.	abena	abena/ { avena }	avena/ { avena/ ayiklen <u>a</u> }	'of those (things)'

Com.

Epicene	aaklet <u>a</u>	aaklet <u>a</u> / { aakled <u>a</u> }	aakled <u>a</u>	aguled <u>a</u> / { agaled <u>a</u> } 'with them'
Neut.	abett <u>a</u>	abett <u>a</u> / { avetta }	aveta/ { aveta/ ayikled <u>a</u> }	'with those (things)'

4.5.2.1.3.2.3.2. (i) aakl- (Sb, Sc, Nb): agul-/agal- (Nc)(ii) ayikl- (Nb), ayikul- (Nc)

These stems occur before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>poss.</u>					
Epicene	aakl <u>E</u>	aakl <u>E</u>	aakl <u>E</u>	agul <u>E</u> /agale	'of them'
Neut.	--	--	ayikl <u>E</u>	ayikul <u>E</u>	'of those (things)'

4.5.2.2. Reflexive Pronouns:4.5.2.2.1 Singular:

The reflexive singular pronominal form taanu has three oblique forms. They are - (a) tanna-, tana- (b) tan-, tañ- (c) tann-.

4.5.2.2.1.2. tanna- (Sb, Sc), tana- (Nc):

This oblique form can occur before - (a) accusative (b) ablative (c) comitative

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	tannanu	tannanu	tananu	tananu	'oneself'
<u>abl.</u>	tannattu	tannadtu/ { tanattu tannadtu }	tanaddu	tanaddu	'from oneself'
<u>com.</u>	tannata	tannata/ { tanata tannada }	tanada	tanada	'with oneself'

4.5.2.2.1.2. tan-(Sb), tan-/tañ-(Sc), tañ-(Nb, Nc):

These stems can occur before dative case suffix.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>dat.</u>	tanku	tanku/ { tañku tañku }	tañku	tañku	'to oneself'

4.5.2.2.1.3. tann- (Sb, Sc), tan- (Nb, Nc):

This can occur before possessive case suffix.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>poss.</u>	tanna	tanna	tana	tana	'of oneself'

4.5.2.2.2. Plural: The reflexive plural pronominal forms used are - tanklu, tanklu/tañku, tañku, tañkulu. They have two oblique forms. They are - (a) tankle-, tañkle-, tañkul-
(b) tankl-, tañkl-, tañkul-

4.5.2.2.1. tankle-(Sb), tankle-/tañkle-(Sc), tañkle-(Nb), tañkule-(Nc): These forms can occur before - (a) accusative
(b) dative (c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	tanklenu	tanklenu/ { tanklenu tañkulenu }	tañkulenu	'themselves'	
<u>dat.</u>	tanklettu	tanklegu/ { tañklegu tañkulegu }	tañkulegu	'to themselves'	
<u>abl.</u>	tanklettu	tankledtu/ { tanklettu tañkledtu }	tañkuleddu	'from themselves'	
<u>poss.</u>	tanklena	tanklena/ { tanklena tanklena }	tañkulena	'of themselves'	
<u>com.</u>	tankleta	tankleta/ { tankleda tankleda }	tañkleda	'with themselves'	

4.5.2.2.2.2. tankl-(Sb), tankl-/tañkl-(Sc), tañkl-(Nb), tañkul-(Nc):

These forms can occur before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>poss.</u>	tanklE	tanklE/ { tañklE tañklE }	tanklE	tankule	'of themselves'

4.5.2.3. Interrogative Pronouns:

4.5.2.3.1. Singular:

(i) The interrogative non-neuter singular pronominal form eeru has two oblique forms which can occur before case suffixes. They are - (a) eere - (b) eer-.

(ii) The interrogative neuter singular pronominal forms ovu, evu have one oblique form, i.e. ovi- which can occur before case suffixes.

4.5.2.3.1.1. (i) eere- (in all dialects)(ii) oyi- (" ")

This oblique form occurs before- (a) accusative (b) dative
 (c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u> (i)	eerenu	eerenu	eerenu	eerenu	'whom'
	oyinu	oyinu	oyinu	oyinu	'which'
<u>dat.</u> (i)	eeregū	eeregū	eeregū	eeregū	'to whom'
	oyikku	oyikku	oyiku	oyiku	'to which'
<u>abl.</u> (i)	eerettu	eeredtu	eerettu	eereddu	'from whom'
	oyittu	oyidtu	oyittu	oyiddu	'from which'
<u>poss.</u> (i)	eerena	eerena	eerena	eerena	'of whom'
	oyitta	oyitta	oyitta	oyitta	'of which'
<u>com.</u> (i)	eereta	eereta	eereda	eereda	'with whom'
	oyitta	oyitta	oyita	oyita	'with which'

4.5.2.3.1.2. eer- (in all dialects):

This oblique stem occurs before another allomorph of
 possessive case suffix -E

Example:

poss. eerE 'of whom/whose'

4.5.2.3.2. Plural:

There is no difference between the singular and plural
 forms or in their oblique forms which are used by the Sb and Sc
 dialects. The only difference is in the neuter plural form

used by Nb and Nc dialects. The neuter plural form oyiklu used by Nb and oyikulu used by Nc has two oblique forms which can occur before case suffixes. They are - (a) oyikle-, oyikule- (b) oyikl-, oyikul-.

4.5.2.3.2.1. oyikle-(Nb), oyikule-(Nc):

This form occurs before -(a) accusative (b) dative
(c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative

Example:

	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	oyiklen <u>u</u>	oyikulenu	'which all (things)'
<u>dat.</u>	oyikleg <u>u</u>	oyikulegu	'to which all (things)'
<u>abl.</u>	oyiklett <u>u</u>	oyikuleddu	'from which all (things)'
<u>poss.</u>	oyiklen <u>a</u>	oyikulena	'of which all (things)'
<u>com.</u>	oyikled <u>a</u>	oyikuleda	'with which all (things)'

4.5.2.3.2.2. oyikl-(Nb), oyikul-(Nc):

This oblique form can occur before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E.

Example:

	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>poss.</u>	oyiklE	oyikule	'of which all (things)'

4.5.2.4. Universal Pronouns:

4.5.2.4.1. Non-neuter:

The universal non-neuter pronominal forms used are-manterla, maanterla/maaterla/maanta/maata, manteru, maateru, maata

which have two oblique forms which can occur before case suffixes. They are- (a) mantere-, maantere-/maatere-. (b) manter-, maanter-, maater-

4.5.2.4.1.1. mantere-(Sb, Nb), maantere-/maatere-(Sc), maatere-(Nc):

This oblique form can occur before - (a) accusative (b) dative (c) ablative (d) possessive (e) comitative. When these case suffixes are added they are followed by the conjunctive marker -la in Sb, and Sc, except after possessive case suffix.

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	manterenla	maanterenla/ manterenu	maaterenu		'all'
		maaterenla			
<u>dat.</u>	manteregula	maanteregula/ mantere-	maateregua		'to all'
		maateregula	gu		
<u>abl.</u>	manterettula	maantered-	mantere-	maatereddu	'from all'
	tula/	tulu			
		maateredtula			
<u>poss.</u>	manterena	maanterena/	manterena	maaterena	'of all'
		maaterena			
<u>com.</u>	manteretla	maanteretla/	mantereda	maatereda	'with all'
		maateretia			

4.5.2.4.1.2. manter-(Sb, Nb), maanter-/maater-(Sc), maater-(Nc):

This oblique stem can occur before another allomorph of the possessive case suffix -E

Example:	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>poss.</u>	manterE	maanterE/	manterE	maaterE	'of all'
		maaterE			

4.5.2.4.2. Neuter

The universal neuter pronominal suffixes used are - manta, maanta/maata, maata. They have only one oblique form each, i.e. mante-, maante-/maate-, maate which can occur before all case suffixes. In such cases the conjunctive marker -la follows the case suffix in Sb and Sc except the possessive case suffix. (In Nb, Nc -la follows only when emphasis is intended.)

4.5.2.4.2.1. mante- (Sb, Nb), maante-/maate-(Sc), maate-(Nc)

This form can occur before - (a) accusative (b) dative
(c) ablative (d) possessive (e) locative

Example:

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>acc.</u>	mantenla	maantenla/ {	mantenu	maatenu	'all (things)'
		maatenla }			
<u>dat.</u>	mantekla	maantekla/ {	manteku	maateku	'to all(things)'
		maatekla }			
<u>abl.</u>	mantetla	maantedtla/ {	mantettu	maateddu	'from all (things)'
		maatedtla }			
<u>poss.</u>	mantena	maantena/ {	mantena	maatena	'of all (things)'
		maatena }			
<u>loc.</u>	mantetla	maantetla	mantetu	maatedu	'in all (things)'

4.6. Numerals:

Numerals are another class of nouns. They have both nominal and adjectival functions. Numerals also can take case suffixes like nouns.

Numerals are divided mainly into two categories:-

- (i) cardinals and (ii) ordinals

4.6.1.1. Integrals: Basically there is no difference with regard to the numerals among different dialects. But the different dialects have developed a few sound changes. Therefore the different forms of the numerals are given separately under the different dialectal symbols.

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>
0.	sonnE	sonnE	sonnE	sonnE
1.	oñji	oñji	oñji	oñji
2.	eradu ..	raddu ..	eradu ..	raddu ..
3.	muuji	muuji	muuji	muuji
4.	naalu	naalu	naalu	naalu
5.	ayinu/ ainu }	ayinu/ ainu }	ayinu/ ainu }	ayinu/ ainu }
6.	aaji	aaji	aaji	aaji
7.	eelu ..	eelu ..	eelu ..	eelu ..
8.	enmo	enmo	enma	edma/eduma
9.	ormbo	ormbo	ormba	ormba
10.	pattu ..	pattu ..	pattu ..	pattu ..
11.	pattoñji	pattoñji	pattoñji	pattoñji
12.	paduraadu ..	paduraadu ..	paduraadu ..	paduraadu ..
19.	padnormbo	padnormbo	padnormba	padnormba
20.	irvo	irvo	irva	irva
30.	nuppo(Swb)/ muppo	nuppo(Swc)/ muppo	muppa	muppa
40.	naarpo	nalpo	naarpa	nalpa

	<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>
50.	ayvo/aivo	ayvo/aivo	ayva/aiva	ayva/aiva
60.	ajippo	ajippo	ajpa	ajpa
70.	elpo	elpo	elpa	elpa
80.	enpo	enpo	enpa	enpa
90.	sonpo	sonpo	sonpa	sonpa
100.	nuuddu	nuuddu/ nuuddu	nuudu	nuudu
200	ir-	ir-	ir-	ir-
300	mun-	mun-	mun-	mun-
400	naan-	naan-	naal-	naal-
500	ayin-	+nuuddu ayin-	+nuuddu/ ay-	+nuudu ay-
600	aaji-	aaji-	aaji-	aaji-
700	eel-	eel-	eel-	eel-
800	enmo-	enmo-	enma-	edma-
900	ormbo-	ormbo-	ormba-	ormba-
1,000	saaviro	saaviro/ saaro	saavira/ saara	saara
1,00,000	lakso	lakso lakso	laksa	laksa
1,00,00,000	kooti	kooti	kooti	kooti

As shown above there are ten different morphemes to denote the numbers from one to ten. With these basic morphemes the other numerals are derived. But there are four distinct morphemes to denote hundreded, thousand, lakh and crore of which the first one is the only one morpheme with the Dravidian origin and the rest

(three) are borrowed from Sanskrit.

4.6.1.2. Fractions:

Fractions are of two types:

(i) basic fractions, and (ii) derived fractions

There is no dialect variation with regard to the fractions.

4.6.1.2.1. Basic Fractions:

Example: kaalu 'quarter'

arE	}	'half'
arda/ardo	}	

4.6.1.2.1. Derived Fractions:

Derived fractions may be formed by combining the fractions either with cardinals or fractions.

Example:

with cardinal : muuji + kaalu - mukkaalu 'three quarters'

with fractions: arE + kaalu - arekkaalu 'half of a quarter'

4.6.2. Ordinals:

The ordinals are derived by adding the suffix -ane to the cardinals. It has the allomorph -ne used in free variation with -ane.

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
oñjane/ } oñjine }	oñjane/ } oñjine }	oñjane/ } oñjine }	oñjane/ } oñjine }	'first'
eradane/ } eradne }	raddanE/ } radnE }	eradane/ } eradne }	raddane/ } radne }	'second'
eelane/ } eeline }	eelane/ } eeline }	eelane/ } eeline }	eelane/ } eeline }	'seventh'
pattane/ } patne }	pattane/ } patne }	pattane	pattane/ } patne }	'tenth'

Appendices

COMPARATIVE SENTENCES:

The following are a few sentences which may be able to give an idea of how different words or variations of a word are used in different dialects to express a particular idea. The Sb dialect serves the basic sentences which are translated into other dialects or are reconstructed on the basis of the data studied hitherto in different chapters and under different captions. The translated or reconstructed sentences are duly verified with the native speakers belonging to the respective dialects as the normal speech forms in those dialects. (To avoid clumsiness, the different variants of a word, if any, appearing within a dialect are not given here.)

Example:

1. Sb : iklu baaleglenu olettontu oode(gu) pooparu?

Sc : iiru jooklenu lettontu oode(gu) pooparu?

Nb : niñklu baarulenu oletondu ode pooparu?

Nc : iiru jookulenu lesondu ode pooparu?

'where are you (hon.sg.) going with the children?'

2. Sb : ii jaaye(gu) aade(gu) onasugu poopna?

Sc : ii daaye(gu) aade(gu) onasugu poopunE?

Nb : ii jeegu ade ašanohku poopna?

Nc : ii deegu ade vanasugu poopini?

'why do you go there for meals?'

3. Sb : aaklegu madimaaye budettige sari iddi

Sc : akulegu kandaani budedigee sari iddi

Nb : aaklegu puruse raammanigee sari iddi

Nc : akalegu kandani bodedigee sari iiji

'They, the husband and wife are not in good terms with each other'

4. Sb : eenu eeregu boodaatu iitu bañho barpna?

Sc : eenu eeregu boodaatu iitu bañho barpunE?

Nb : eenu eeregooskara iitu kasta budpna?

Nc : yaanu eeregasra iitu bañga budpini?

'For whose sake am I struggling hard?'

5. Sb : aalena adigetu iitneeta(ga) ottE oryaantala korattE
pandutri

Sc : aalena attilutu iitnetA(ga) ottE oryantala korattE
pandutuji

Nb : aalena atludu itEmuta orilaa uuna pantri

Nc : alena attiludu idamuta oryaandala uuna panduduji

'Nobody did complain of her cooking'

6. Sb : ambi keretneettu bettu un̄geelu unparvetu nelanu sarii
unpodu

Sc : ambi keretneedtu bukko un̄gelu arvetu nelanu sarii
occodu

Nb : ambi keretnettU bettu un̄gelu suddantarvedu nelanu sarii
oresodu

Nc : ambi kiretneddu bokka nungelu arvedu nilanu sarii
occodu

'one should properly wipe the wet floor with a dry piece
of cloth after besmearing the cowdung on the floor'

7. Sb : baalE poosro attunta jaanE idii illadEnee jekkodaa?
 Sc : baalE patikkE maayittunta daanE idii illadEnee dekkodaa?
 Nb : baale poosra attunda jaanE idii illunee jekkodaa?
 Nc : baalE padkE mayittunda daani idii illunee dekkodaa?
 'Is it necessary to clean the entire house if a child urinates inside the house?'
8. Sb : vostro soyipnaga niiru rattantE ippaa?
 Sc : kuntu soyipnaga niiru rattantE uppaa?
 Nb : vastra soyipnaga niiru kiisantE uppaa?
 Nc : kuntu toypunaga niiru giisandE uppaa?
 'Does the water be unsplashed while washing the clothes?'
9. Sb : aaye barpi orso oñji illadE katvendu eenu pambE
 Sc : aaye barpi orso oñji illadE katvendu eenu panbe
 Nb : aaye barpii varsa oñji illu kattentu eenu pambE
 Nc : aaye barpii varsa oñji illu kattendu yaanu panuve
 'I may say that he may build a house next year !'
10. Sb : maanigu jeevu jeevugu maani aavundaanu añca madime
 kalidroonu
 Sc : aanagu ponnu ponnagu aanu aavundaandu añca madme
 karidroonu
 Nb : maanigu jeevu, jeevugu maani aavuntaanu añca madimE
 aatupoonu
 Nc : aanagu ponnu ponnagu aanu aavundaandu añca madme
 karidu poondu.

'The boy and the girl had liked each other to marry and thus the marriage ceremony was celebrated.'

11. Sb : aayana sidya baalegu paramaanno suudrunta paapu, bettu
umpu bootryee bootri

Sc : aayana elya baalegu siiyano suudrunta yaaru, bukko unpu
boodcyee boodci

Nb : aayana kinni baalegu paramaanna suudrunda paapu bettu
umpu bootryee bootri

Nc : aayana elya baalegu paaysa tuudrunda (i)yaavu bokka
nuppu bodcee bodci.

'His younger child never likes to eat rice if it sees
'paayasam'

12. Sb : umbyana adigetaayagu oñji kadi teñneeyi(nu) kađeyara
eetu portu boodu gontinda?

Sc : umbyana attilutaayagu oñji kadi saaragE
kadeeyara eetu portu boodu gontunda?

Nb : umbyana atludaayagu oñji kadi teñneeyi areparE eetu
poltu boodu gottunda?

Nc : imbenaa attildaayagu oñji gadi taaraayi kadevarE eetu
portu boodu gottunda?

'Do you know how much time the cook of this person needs
to crush a half piece. of coconut?'

13. Sb : raani battalundu aaye saadi telootu entye

Sc : raani battalundu aaye saadi telaatu untye

Nb : raani battaluntu aaye saadi telootu entye

Nc : raani battolundu aaye taadi telaadu untye

'He stood aside as the queen came on the way'

14. Sb : sappu kondryara poonayagu jaaytovoo soojitu pooditttu
illadegu paarontu batte

Sc : sappu kondryara poynaayagu daaytavoo soojitu pooditttu
illadegu paarontu batte

Nb : sappu konarrE poonaayagu jaadovaa soojitu poodtudu
illagu paarombatte

Nc : tappu konarrE poonaayagu daadavaa toojidu poodtudu
illagu paarombaide.

'He who went to bring some leaves got frightened by
looking at something and came running to the house'

15. Sb : kamukku badatyara tiirantnaayagu kaayi koyyara tiirvaa?

Sc : kamukku badatyara tiirantnaayagu bajeyi koyyara tiirvaa?

Nb : kañgugu mittovarE tiirantnaayagu kaayi koyyarE(gu)
tiiraa?

Sc : kañgugu mitteryarE tiirandinayagu bajjeyi koyyarE(gu)
tiiraa?

'Can he pluck the bunch of arecanut who cannot climb
an areca tree?'

16. Sb : manteetla palaayattu megyenee usaarundu eenu greeytittE

Sc : maatetla paraayadtu megyenee usaarundu eenu greeytittE

Nb : mantetla palayattu meggenee usaaruntu eenu ennutittE

Nc : maatetla palayaddu meggenee usaarundu yaanu ennudittE

'I had thought that in every respect the younger
brother is cleverer than his elder brother '

17. Sb : bembetu un̄nganu nimiru bodlanu

Sc : dombutu un̄ngandu nimiru bodlandu

Nb : dembutu ul̄nganu nimiru bodlanu

Nc : dembutu nungandu nimiru bodlandu

'It may neither soak in water nor get dried in the sun'

18. Sb : budettita manasu idyantnaayagu beññanontu kalluguru

Sc : budedita manasu idyantnaayagu beññonotu kallugE

Nb : raammanida manasu dantnaayagu beññanontu kallukerE

Nc : bodedida manasu daantinaayagu kojapudu kallugE

'He, who does not get on well with his wife, finds
stone pieces in the curds served by her'

19. Sb : appanu suutu magalenu kondrodu peeru(nu) suutu ermE(nu)
kondrodu

Sc : appenu suutu magalenu kondrodu peeru(nu) suutu ermE(nu)
kondrodu

Nb : appanu suutu magalenu konarodu peeru(nu) suutu ermE(nu)
konarodu

Nc : appenu tuudu magalenu kanarodu peeru(nu) tuudu ermE(nu)
kanarodu

'See the mother and make marriage alliance with her
daughter, check the milk and buy the she-buffalo '

20. Sb : tonderenla tondiglenla kattontu nadattutu poonta beeko
etyara tiiranu

Sc : tonderenla tondiglenla keettontu nadattutu poonta/poonda
beeko etyara tiiranu

Nb : jabberenla jabbulenla katontu nadatuttu poonda beega
mutrE aavanu

Nc : jabberenla jabbulenla katondu nadatudu poonda beega
mutrE tiirandu

'It is not possible to reach quickly by walking with
old persons '

21. Sb : aaye bolcaantu illadettu pidaadutu kartelegu perappa batte

Sc : aaye bolpugu illadedtu pidaadutu kattalegu perappa batte

Nb : aaye boksarE illattu pidaadudu kastalegu pira batte

Nc : aaye kaandE illaddu pidaadudu kattelegu pira bayde

'He went out in the morning from his house and came
back in the night'

22. Sb : umbye aade(gu) poovodaanu aaye iide(gu) barodaanu

Sc : umbye aade(gu) poovadaandu, aaye iide(gu) barodaandu

Nb : imbye ade pootodu, aaye (i)ide bartodu

Nc : imbe ade pootodu, aaye ide battodu

'This man should have gone there and that man should
have come here'

23. Sb : undani, maamagu trsegu boodugeru, kondattu kolla

Sc : undambE, sammaalegu angatnegu boodugE, kondattu korla

Nb : undani, maamagu tursegu boodukerE, konatu kolla

Nc : indambE, tammalegu angadanegu boodugE, konatu korla

'Behold! my dear boy! your maternal uncle needs some-
thing to drink (to quench the thirst), bring something
and give it to him.'

24. Sb : eepola ajjiyadiklegu katE panyara tiirnalekko baakitnaa-klegu panyaraapri

Sc : eepola ajjiyadiklegu katE panyara tiirnalekko baakitnaa-klegu panyaraapujji

Nb : *(See below)

Nc : eepala ajjiyadlegu katE panrE tiirnalakka baakittinaka-legu panraapuji

' Always it is not possible for others to narrate stories as the grandmothers do '

25. Sb : oñji pucceta kuññi aaklE(na) guveelugu buulutnugeru

Sc : oñji puccetakuññi aaklE(na) guveelugu buurutundugE

Nb : oñji pucceda kinni aaklE(na) ug gelugu buuldnukerE

Nc : oñji pucceda kinni agalE ug gelugu buurdundugE

'It is said a young one of a cat has fallen into their well'

26. Sb : enna maittettina sidiyabaalE vaa luuti maampunu

Sc : enna maittedina elya baalE vaa luuti maanpundu

Nb : ena maytentina kinni baalE vaa anyaaya ampunu

Nc : yana/ena maitidina kinya baalE vaa anneya malpundu

'What a mischief the young child of my sister-in-law does'

27. Sb : pelakkaayita paccilunu tiiyonku muttootu tindunta bañjigu haaliddi

Sc : pelakkaayita paccilunu ciiyogu muttaatu sindunta bañjigu haaliddi.

Nb : pelakaayida paccirunu tigoñku muttootu tindunda bañjigu haaliddi

Nc : pilakayida paccirunu tigoku muttaadu tindunda bañjigu haaliji

* Nb: eepalla ajjiyadiklegu katE panrE tiirnakka baakitnaaklegu panraapri.

'There is no harm to the stomach from the pulp petal
of a jackfruit if it is eaten by dipping it in honey'

28. Sb : abekku eetu umpu paaduntla bañji niñjunaandiddi

Sc : avekku eetu unpu paaduntala bañji diñjunEEndiddi

Nb : aykulegu eetu umpu paadundala bañji jinñjunaantiddi

Nc : aykulegu eetu nuppu paadundala bañji diñjunundujji

'Their stomach doesn't get filled up with whatever
quantity of food is served'

29. Sb : undaje baaleglu pustakomini pattantnañcane suuvonla

Sc : undati jookulu buukumini pattantnañcane suuvonla

Nb : undajebaarulu pustaka mini muttantnakka suuvonna

Nc : indade jockulu buuku mini muttandilekka tuuvonla

'Behold! my dear girl, you have to see that the books
or other things are not touched by children'

30. Sb : aaye sittu kulpnaga aayana bañji aayana muttelute
kulpunu

Sc : aaye sirtu kullunaga aayana bañji aayana mattelute
kullundu

Nb : aaye hittu kulnaga aaya(na) bañji aaya(na) muttelude
kullunu

Nc : aaye tirtu kulnaga aaya(na) bañji aaya(na) jakkelude
kullundu

'When he sits down, his stomach rests on his own lap.'

APPENDIX - IIA COMPARATIVE WORD LIST:

The list below contains a few of the significant lexical items which have variations among the four dialects of Tulu. The words are put in the Tulu alphabetical order. Alphabetization is applied mainly to the words of Sb dialect. If a word is absent in the previous column/s the alphabetical order is continued in the next column. The dash mark indicates the non-availability of that particular word or its variation, in the collected data of that dialect, which is present in the other column/s. But the dash mark does not mean that the dialect does not possess even an alternative word to express the idea. The asterisk in any column indicates a complete absence of that particular word or its variation in that dialect, which is present in the other dialect/s. The suffixes are not included in this list.

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
akkalE	ekkalE/ } ekkaiE }	akkalE	ekkalE	'cockroach'
akke	akkE	akke	akkE	'elder sister'
agalu	agaru	agalu	agaru	'a trench, ditch'
agustE/ } aggistE }	agude/ } aggude }	agustE	agude/ } aggude }	'fire for warming'
ajippo	ajippo/ ajpo	ajipa	ajpa	'sixty'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ajjappE	--	--	--	'a female person who works or acts slowly like an old woman.'
ajjamme	--	--	--	'a male person who works or acts slowly like an old man'
(poosro) { attu } .	(padikkE) { maypu } .	(poosra) { attu } .	(padkE) { maypu } *	'to urinate'
adakku	adakku	adaku	dakku	'to throw'
adappate	adappate/ adappatte	--	--	'a ploughman'
adappu	adappu	adapu	dappu	'to plough'
adikkiitu	*	adikiitu	*	'split pieces of plantain leaves placed before the dining leaf'
adikkuruntu	---	kadaara/ { kadara }	kuruntu	'a bridesmaid'
adigE	attilu	atlu	attilu	'cooking'
adiprE	adiprE	adiprE/ adipire	--	'a small piece of plantain leaf'
adeengu	adeengu	adeengu	dengu	'to be hidden'
adeppa	adeppa	---	---	'tightly'
adeppu	adeppu	adepu	adepu	'to close, shut'
addamuri	addamuri	---	---	'a large saw'
addo	addo	adda	adda	'obstacle; beam'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
adyE	adyE	adyE/adde	adyE/adde	'a kind of pudding'
--	--	anu	anu	'to say'
anumbhavo	alumbavo	anubhava	alumbava	'experience'
anumaano	almaano	anumaana	almaana	'doubt, suspicion'
anyaayo	anyaayo/) anneyo)	anyaaya	anyaaya/) anneya)	'injustice'
apaka	apaga	apaga	adaga	'then; at that time'
apalu	ekkatu/ { ekkadu }	ekkadu	ekadu	'then, sometime back'
*	*	apoojya	--	'uneatable'
*	*	appantaaye	--	'honest person'
*	*	appantigE	--	'honesty'
appe	appE	appe	appE	'mother'
aba	aba/ava	ala	ala	'behold! look at'
abarE	abarE	avarE	avarE	'a kind of bean'
abjaali	abjaali	--	--	'vagabond'
amarpu	amarpu	--	amapu	'to press'
amalu	amaru	amalu	amaru	'twin'
ambatE	ambatE	ambadE/ { ambodE }	ambadE/ { ambodE }	'hog-plum'
amberpu	amberpu	ambarappu	ambarappu	'hurry, urgency'
ammikallu	ammikallu	ajimeda- kallu	ajimeda- kallu	'a grinding stone'
--	--	amme	--	'mother'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>NC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ayikkubooda- atu/ ayikvoodaatu	ayikkubood- aatu	ayikooskara ayikaatra	'for the sake of it'	
ayittaavaro	ayidtaavaro/ ayitaavara ayiddaavaro	ayiddaavara	'because of it'	
arasinennE	--	arasranyE	--	'a ritual of applying oil with turmeric during auspicious ceremonies.'
arikkattu	arikkattu	--	--	'to get horripilation'
arippu	arippu	aripu	aripu	'to strain'
arimani	*	*	*	'a kind of necklace worn by a woman on the day of marriage'
arebbaayi/) aarbaayi)	arebbaayi/) arabbaayi)	arabaayi	arbaayi	'clamour, loud cry'
arevaasi	arevaasi	arevaasi/) ardavaasi)	ardavaasi	'half'
arkacci	arkañji	artiiyu/) artniru)	arkañji	'swill'
arkattu	arkattu	arkalu/arklu	arkalu	'knot, tie'
ardardo/ arbarbo	ardardo/ arbarbo	ardarda	ardarda	'by halves; incomplete'
arpaccE	daasaalo/ { daasaanu }	arapuccE	daasaanu	'the shoeflower'
alasande/) alsandE)	alasandE/ { alattandE/ { lattandE/ {	alasandE/ { elastandE } lattanE }	lattandE/ { lattanE }	'a generally, cultivated pulse'
--	almo	--	alma	'family, offspring'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
avulu ..	avulu/allu/ alpa	avulu ..	avulu/allu/ alpa	'there, in that place'
alappu ..	alappu/alappu ..	alapu ..	lappu	'to measure'
alambu ..	alambu/ .. alambu {	alambu ..	laambu	'mushroom'
ali ..	ari	ali ..	ari/ali	'to be destroyed'
aliya ..	ariya	aliya ..	arya/aliya	'a small earthen vessel'
aluvE ..	aruvE	aluvE ..	aruvE	'an estuary'
alE ..	alE/alE	alE ..	ale	'buttermilk'
alle ..	alle/alle	alle ..	alle	'the flank'
aajatno ..	aajaayno/ .. aajaayina {	aajootno ..	aajaadina/ aajaayna {	'a vegetable dish the water of which is evaporated'
aadegu/ .. aade ..	aadegu/ .. aade {	adegua/de ..	adegua/de ..	'to there'
aaduna ..	aadunE ..	alguna ..	alguni ..	'to shake'
aanñjoovu ..	aanñjoovu/ .. aanñjеву ..	aanñjoovu ..	aaduñjoovu/ aanñjеву {	'male, man'
aanta ..	aanta/aanda ..	aanda ..	aanda ..	'if it is so;but'
aatu ..	attu ..	aatu ..	attu ..	'no, not so'
aatneeta .. (ga)	aatneeta(ga)	aatneeta/ aatumutta ..	adamuta ..	'till, until that time'
aanu ..	aandu ..	aanu ..	aandu ..	'it is done'
aaptikku ..	aapekku ..	aapidikku ..	aambE ..	'on that side'
aarbatE .. aarbhate ..	aarbatE ..	aarbaata ..	aarbata ..	'uproar'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aasettuuri	--	--	--	'very great miser'
iklu	niklu	niñklu/inñklu/ } inkulu)	nigulu	'you(pl)'
iklu	iiru	niñklu/inñklu/ } inkulu)	iiru	'you(hon.sg.)'
ittani/ } eeni }	ittani/ } itteeni/ } efci }	elañci/eeni	leñci	'ladder'
ittoovu	ittoovu	itteevu/ } itteeyi	ittevu	'a kind of plant.'
indu/ } undu }	undu	undu	undu	'there is'
ittE	ittE	ittE/itE	ittE/ } issE/ } isE }	'now, at present'
iddi	iddi	iddi	ijji	'no, not, does not exist'
idyanti	idyanti/ } idyaanti/ } idyandi	danti	daanti	'that which is not'
idyantE	idyantE/ } idyaantE/ } idyandE	dantE	daantE	'without being'
irnalakku	irnalakku	*	*	'worm'
irpulippu	irpulippu	*	*	'to have the taste of sweet and sour together'
irlu	irlu	irulu	irlu	'night'
irvaaronta } (eradnE)	raddanE	marupañkti	marupa- nti	'following (second) row of meals'
pantyE)	pantyE			

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
illade/ { illu . }	illadE/ illu .	illu .	illu .	'a house'
isimullu .	isimullu/ . . . iisumullu . . . }	*	*	'a kind of instrument with 3-4 teeth-like structure & used in agriculture'
iidu/ . . . jiidu/ . . . diidu/ . . . }	diidu/ . . . diddu/ . . . }	iji/iju	dii	'to place, put'
iitneeta/ . . . (ga) . . . }	iitneeta/ . . . (ga) . . . }	itEmuta .	idamuta .	'so far, till now'
*	*	ukkumujji	--	'ugly face'
ugippu	guppu	ugipu	guusu	'to spill out'
*	*	ugga	ugga	'overboiled rice'
uggo	uggo	--	--	'seasoned (boiled)rice for babies (Baby talk)'
*	*	ucaayipu/) ucaayisu .)	ucaayipu/) ucaayisu .)	'to trans- gress'
uccaalu .	uccaalu/ . ujjaalu/ . }	uccaalu .	ujjaalu .	'a swing, cradle'
uccaalpu/) uccalippu)	occu .	--	--	'to cradle'
uccu	uccu	ucci	ucci	'a worm, insect; creeping creature, a snake'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ujjudE	ujjudE/ ujidE	jiddE	judDE	'a kind of mortar'
ujvelu/	ujjeru/	ujjeru	ujjeru	'a pestle'
ujjelu	ujjeeru			
*	*	utaayisu	utaayisu	'to raise, lift up'
*	*	udaapi/	udaapi/	'babbling, sweeping word'
unuñgu/	unuñgu/	uluñgu	nuñgu	'to become dry; a tick'
uluñgu	uluñgu			
unparvE	unparvE	suddhantarvE	--	'a cloth used to wipe the floor'
unpu	*	*	*	'to wipe with a cloth'
udarpu	udarpu	udarpu	darpu	'to swell; swelling'
uduru/	uduru/	eri/	eri/	'well separated as cooked rice'
uduruduru	uduruduru	eriyeri	eriyeri	
uddisyo	--	uddeeśa	--	'purpose'
*	*	udneetu	udneetu	'a side dish made of black- gram'
uble	ubulu	ubulu/	ubulu/	'stammering, lispng'
		ublu		
upaaso	paaso	upaasa	paasa	'fasting'
upda	uppadu/	upda/	uppadu	'pickles'
	uppaadu	upla		
upretno	upretno	*	*	'a kind of salad dish of cucumber mixed with excessive salt'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
umpu	unpu	umpu	nuppu	'cooked rice'
umbili	umbuli/ } umbilu } .	umuli	umilu/ } ummili }	'mosquito'
umma/ ummappa	umma/ } ummappa }	*	*	'an interjection to express ignorance'
uri	uri	sabulu	taburu	'a kind of red ant'
urutu	urutu/ } uruntu }	urutu	uruntu	'round'
urcu	urcu	ulcu	urcu/ulcu	'to excrete'
urdū	urdū	--	--	'to wrestle'
urdapatta	urdapatta	--	--	'wrestling, quarrel'
urdū	urdū	uddu	urdu	'blackgram'
urbli	urbli/ } urbuli }	--	urbuli	'nude'
urli	urli	uruli	urli	'a wide mouthed vessel made of bell metal'
urvelu	urvelu	urolu/ } uruvolu }	uruvolu/ } urolu }	'a kind of style put across a passage'
ullaaso	ullaaso/ } ulleso }	ullaasa	ullesa	'cheerfulness'
ule	urE	ule	urE/ule	'a deer'
uudpatti	uudpatti	uudnapatti	uudubatti	'incense sticks'
uundu	uundu	uudu	uudu	'a prop'
eñcino	eñcino/ } eñcina }	eñcina	eýina/eena	'what'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
edeñji	deñji	jeñji	deñji	'a crab'
edeppu	odeppu	edepu	udepu	'to have throbbing pain'
enmE	enmE	enmE	edmE/edumE	'gingely'
enmetennE	enmedennE	eddennE	eddennE	'sesame oil'
enmo	enmo	enma	edma/eduma	'eight'
ettu	ettu	muttu	muttu	'to reach'
ettapatta	ettapatta	*	*	'falling short'
ettaro	ettaro	ettara/ eppara	eppara	'height'
*	edkonu	--	edkonu	'to meet, welcome'
eratti	--	--	--	'double, twofold'
eradu	raddu	eradu	raddu	'two'
erpE	erpE	palkatti	palkatti	'the outer layer of the earth with grass'
esalu	esalu	esalu	isalu	'petal'
elattu/lattu	lattu	elatu	lattu	'tender'
*	*	eeñgu	eeñgu	'to sole'
eenu	eenu	eenu	yaanu	'I'
eepo	eepo	eepalu/eepa	eepalu/ eepa	'when'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
*	*	*	edaga	'When'
okkappaayi	--	---	--	'upto the loins from the ground as water'
*	*	okkudume	okkudume	'lone progeny'
occi(manE)	occi(manE)	---	---	'whetting board'
*	*	oñci	oñci	'to lie in wait'
ottu	ottu	---	---	'to be dent'
---	---	odi	odi	'evil eyesight'
odyE	odyE	*	*	'powder of the bark of a kind of tree, used to wash the body'
onasu	onasu	aśana	unasu/ vanasu opaga	'meals' 'when'
*	*	opaga	ontE/ vantE	'a little'
oyta	ontE	onda		
oytapatta	oytapatta	*	*	'tug of war'
oragu	eragu	oragu	eragu	'to lean upon'
oresu	occu	oresu	occu	'to wipe, rub'
orñkole	orñkuccE	*	*	'previous day'
ovu	ovu	evu	evu	'which'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
olañko	orahnko	*	*	'a kind of laddle made of a big shell of a coconut with a long handle'
olaccilu	olaccilu	olacilu	laccilu	'a pasture'
oli	ori	oli	ori	'to be left'
oleppu	leppu	olepu	leppu	'to call'
oleeyi/) oleyi)	ulaayi/) uiayi)	oleeyi/) oleyi)	ulaayi/) ulayi)	'inside'
oonkate	oonkate	vaanti/ oonkadE	vaanti/) oonkadE/ } vaankadE	'nausea'
*	*	oojju/ { oojja }	oojju/) oojjä }	'a term of address of someone at a distance'
ootE	ootE	oontE	oontE	'reed'
oodu	oodu	odilu	odilu	'tile'
oolu	oolu/olpa	olpa/oolu	olpa/) oolu }	'where'
oolya/oolyE	oolya/oolyE	--	--	'a narrow passage for water'
--	--	auntu	auntu	'arrogance, pride'
kajakku	cippi/tippi	kajaku	tippi	'coconut shell'
kajippu	kajippu	kajipu	kayipu/) kaypu }	'curry'
kajji	kajji/gajji	kajji	gajji	'scabies, itches'
kañcveelu/ kañcippeelu	kañcoolu/	kañcvaalu	kañcalu/) kañcala }	'bittergourd'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
katta ^m ada-	{kattabalakkadi/ kattamalakkari }	kadambale	kadambale	'krait'
kkadi/				
kattabala-		..		
kkadi				
katti	katti/gatti	katti	gatti	'a kind of pudding'
*	*	katra	katra	'hard, very'
katrE	katrE	*	*	'indigestion, sickness arising from indigestion'
katliisu	katliisu	cikki	cikki	'a kind of sweet-meat made of groundnut'
kadappu	kadappu	daantu	daantu	'to cross'
kadappelu	kadeppalu	kadapelu	{kadanda- kallu }	'grinding stone'
kadi	kadi/gadi	kadi	gadi	'one half of a coconut'
kadikkE	{kadikkE/ kadikkE }	kanaja	kanaja	'granary'
--	kadiru	{kaderu/ kadaru }	{kaderu/ kadaru }	'to croak, caw'
kade	kade	arepu	arepu/kade	'to grind'
kadya	kadya	kandelu	kandelu	'an earthen pot'
kadyaniiru	*	gatigEniiru	*	'a kind of ritual of sprinkling water from a few small earthen vessels.'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kantu ...	kantu ...	gantu ...	gantu ...	'severe, very much'
kantapuccE ..	kantapuccE ..	gantapuccE ..	ganta- } puccE }	'male cat'
kantuusu ..	kantuusu ..	gantuusu ..	gantuusu ..	'very stinking fart'
kantE ..	kantE ..	gantE ..	gantE ..	'a gong'
kante ..	kante ..	gante ..	gante ..	'male cat'
*	*	kanderi ..	kanderi ..	'the first woman in the row of planting labourers.'
kannakalve ..	kankandE ..	*	*	'boil on the eyelid'
kannakalve ..	*	*	*	'an insect falling into the eye'
kannakaapi ..	kannakaapi ..	kadunkaapi ..	kadunkaapi ..	'black decoction of coffee'
katti	katti	katti	kattE	'a sickle'
kadino	kadino	kadoni/) kadani)	kadoni/) kadani)	'a country, bomb-like fire- work'
kamu	kamu/kañgu	kañgu	kañgu	'arecanut tree'
kamuppu	kavumpu	kavumpu	kavumpu	'to burry'
kambaayi	kambaayi	lungi	lungi	'a kind of designed cloth for daily use'
kayikkunñi	kayikkunñi	kundriyottE ..	--	'a child always insisting on its mother to be carried on'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kayippE/ } kaypE }	kayippE/ } kaypE }	kaykE/ } kaypE }	kaykE	'bitterness'
kayilottE	kayilottE	*	*	'a bamboo tube opened at one end (resembling a flute) used to pour liquid food, medicine etc. to cattle'
karadu ..	aarigE	karadu/ } teegu ..	aarige/aarge/ } aadige	'a belch'
karehkki	karehkki	*	*	'pen for calves'
kargallu ..	kargallu ..	gargallu ..	gargallu ..	'rock'
kargudi ..	kargudi ..	kargaana	karganda ..	'thick, dark'
kartalE	kattalE	kastalE	kattalE	'darkness'
kaliyugo	kaliyugo/ kalj igo	kaliyuga	kaljiga	'kaliyuga, the fourth age, age of vice'
kali ..	kali/kali	kali ..	kali ..	'toddy'
kalippu ..	karippu	--	karipu	'to perform'
kalu ..	kalu ..	--	--	'a lie'
kaluve/ } kalve ..	kaluve/ } kalve ..	kalle/ } kaluve ..	kalle/ } kaluve ..	'a thief'
kalli ..	kalli ..	*	*	'a compartment as in a purse drawer etc.'
kaayeru ..	kaayeru ..	kaaveru ..	kaaveru ..	'a kind of tree'
kaarangi ..	--	--	--	'pants'
kaaveli/ } kaaytalu .. (SCb)	kaavoli	kaavali	kaavoli	'cake pan'
kaantya ..	kaantya ..	pudaayi	pudaayi	'a big basket'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kidoo/kidee	kidaa	*	*	'to draw water in a country water lift'
killi ..	killi/cilli ..	*	*	'a kind of trough made of areca spathe'
kungottu/ puṅgottu ..	kuṅgottu ..	*	*	'an agricultural instrument'
kujvE	kujvE/kujjE/ gujjE		gujjE	'a tender jackfruit'
kuññappe	elyappE	--	--	'mother's younger sister.'
kudE	kudE	--	--	'a hole dug by a mouse in the ground'
*	kudla/ kudala ..	*	kudla	'Tulu name for Mangalore'
kundaṅkooli ..	kundaṅkoori/ kundoori ..	--	---	'wild goose'
kundacce ..	kundacce	canilu	canilu	'squirral'
kuttaṅgoolu ..	kuttaṅgoolu	--	---	'a prop'
kuttaaṅgu ..	kuttaaṅgu	--	---	'a prop, support'
kuttaayokolu ..	kuttaayokoru ..	*	*	'to foment'
kutti ..	kutti	--	---	'a liquid measure of nine kondE (about 1½ litres)
kudderbE	*	--	*	'short pieces of darbE grass'
kumbdo ..	kumbdo	karkumbda	karkumbda	'pumpkin'
kinno ..	kinno	kinnalu ..	ginnalu ..	'a cup'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kureppatu	kureppatu	--	--	'dirty person, ugly person'
kurtelu	kurtelu	kultelu	kurtelu	'dirt'
kurlE	kurlE	kandu	kandu	'sapling of plantains'
kuli	kuri	kuli	kuri	'to decay'
kulikkE	kurikkE	gulikE/ gulkE	gurkE	'a large earthen vessel'
kultonu	kullonu	kutonu	kullonu/ kudonu	'to be seated'
kuuklu	kuuklu	--	--	'to call one with a special sound as <u>kuu</u> '
kuuci	kuuci	--	--	'companionship'
kuuñji	kuuñji	guuñji	guuñji	'stem of jack- fruit'
kuutu	kuutu	*	*	'to gather'
kekkarpe	cekkarpe/ cekkarme	kerkattigE	tekkarE	'a kind of cucumber'
keni	keni	*	*	'trick; to be entangled'
kenippu	kenippu	*	*	'to entangle'
keniye	keniye	*	*	'cunning man, a trickster'
ketti	ketti	tetti	tetti	'an egg'
kebi	kebi	kemi	kebi/ kemi	'an ear'
kembde	kembde	kempu- kumbda	kempu- kumbda	'red variety of pumpkin'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
keleñji	keleñji	keleñji	kileñji	'housefly'
kellu	kellu	*	*	'a support placed on the inner edge of an oven for the vessels'
kelengu/ kelangu }	kereñgu	geleñgu	gireñgu	'sweet potato'
keedu ..	--	--	--	'envy, jealous'
keedumuttE ..	--	--	--	'envious person'
keenE	keenE	suurnagaddE gaddE	suurna-) gaddE)	'a kind of vegetable root'
keeri	keeri	keerE	keerE	'a kind of harmless snake'
keerpu	keerpu	kerpu	kerpu	'a kind of ladder made of single(and non-split) bamboo'
keevudalu ..	keevudalu ..	--	--	'red termite'
*	--	kokkeru	kokkeru	'to get horripilation'
kottu ..	kottu ..	*	*	'to beat as a drum etc. a drum beat'
kottampaale ..	kottampaale ..	goomparu- } muttalE ..	goomparu- } muttalE ..	'a kind of large headcap made of areca spathe'
kottigE	kottigE	kadubu	kadubu/ } kadumbu	'a kind of pudding made of rice & blackgram'
kottu ..	kottu ..	kotrE	kotrE	'a spade'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kodappu	kodappu	kodapu	kudapu	'to peck'
kondE ..	kondE ..	olañka	ranka	'a unit of measure of liquid'
kodingisto	kodingeele	---	---	'gluttonous person'
kombapirelu/ komberelu	kombirelu	komberalu	kombabi- relu	'the thumb'
kombe/meeru	meeru	mola	mola	'hare'
kcreppu	koreppu	korepu	kurepu	'to bark'
kolle	kolle	*	*	'blacksmith'
kollotya/ kollatya }	kollotya	kodapa- kotya }	--	'blacksmithy'
kosraañko- lli }	kosraangolli	--	--	'unnecessary, trouble, nuisance'
kootupattu	--	--	--	'to embrace'
koopo	koopo	koopa/garva	koopa/ garva'	'anger'
kooru	kooru	gooru	gooru	'to gather, collect'
koori	koori	goori	goori	'the last ploughing before sowing operation'
kooro	kooro	goora	goora	'measles'
kooltiri	koolnинE	koolnинE	koolnинE	'a wick prepared by winding a cloth-piece to a stick'
koosambri	*	kuusumbri	*	'a dry salad of pulses'

<u>Sh</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kṣāno	*	kṣana	*	'the act of a guest during the rites of annual death day (sraaddha)'
gañjipraaku	gañjipraaku	gañjiparaku	---	'a banian-like garment of cotton worn under the shirt'
gadasu	gadasu	kadasu	kadasu	'heifer'
*	*	garva	garva	'anger'
gaavu	gaavu/ daavo/ gaaru	dava/ davE	dava/ dave	'glare, heat'
gitta/ kitta	gitta/ kaitalu	kaitolu	kaitalu	'near'
gidyeppu	gidappu	gidapu	gidapu/ gidpu	'to chase'
giri	giri	---	---	'to turn round, wander'
gilippu	girippu	gilipu	giripu/ girpu	'to untie, loosen a knot'
giisu	giisu	kiisu	kiisu	'to plane'
giisuli	giisuli	kiisuli	kiisuli	'carpenter's plane'
gudi/ musku	gudi	kottu	kottu	'cover of a cloth for the head'
guddaam- pirelu (SW)	*	*	*	'the thumb'
gumme	gumme	guugE	guugE	'an owl'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
guvelu/kuvelu }	guvelu	uggelu	uggelu	'a well'
guli	guri	guli	guri	'a pit'
gendo	gendo	kenda	kenda	'live cinders'
gendaalE/gendaali }	gendaalE/gendaali }	kendaalE/kendaalE }	kendaalE	'red variety of cocopalm'
geppu/geppu }	deppu	geppu	geppu/deppu	'to take'
---	gebbu	kebbu	--	'the temples'
gotto	gotto	*	*	'a bamboo tube opened at one end used to pour liquid food, medicine etc. to cattle'
gontu/gottu }	gontu/gottu	gottu	gottu	'knowledge'
golle	golle/kulimpE	kattE	kattE	'a kind of large black ant'
greyippu	greyippu	ennu	ennu	'to reflect upon, presume'
grehikE/greyikE }	grehikE/greyikE }	enikE	enikE	'thought, estimation'
cakkano	cakkano	sakkana	takkana	'a small mat'
cadovu/cadoovu }	cadaavu	cadavu	cadavu	'a slope'
calingru	calingru	canangaru	canangaru	'moisture, cold'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
caalye	caalye	saalye	taalye	' a spider'
cikni	cikni	cuukratu	--	' tiny object or person'
ciplE	ciplE	cipule	tibile	'a small earthen lamp'
cillu	cillu	--	--	'a glass piece; a ball of gun'
cuulecci/ suulEppuli	puuvecci/ puru	suulEppuli	ñoolipuri	'snail'
cenduppeelu/ cenduppailu	cenduppeelu/ cendelu	cenduppule	tendelu	'tender coconut'
cepdaasu	cepdaasu	--	--	'of inferior quality; lie'
cepdi	cepdi	cepdi	--	'simple'
cepdkikeni/ cepdkikali	cepdkikeni	*	*	'trickery, dexterity, jugglery'
ceppu	ceppu	seppu	teppu	'rind of coconut arecanut etc.'
cembutti	cembutti	*	*	'coppersmith'
cevude/ keppe	cevude/ keppe	keppe	keppe	'deaf person'
ceeratE	ceeratE/ ceerantE	teerantE	teerantE	'centipede'
cottu	cottu	--	--	'to fillip'
coolu	cooru	--	--	'mud, mire'
jaagE	jaagE	jaagu	jaagu	'place, plot, site'
jaanE	daanE	jaanE	daanE	'what'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
jaaye(gu) / jaayi(gu)	daaye(gu) / daayi(gu)	jeegu	deegu	'why, what for'
jaayto	daayto / daayta	jaado	daada	'what'
jaalikatta / daalikatta	jaalikatta ..	--	--	'the U-mark on the hood of a cobra'
hekku	dekku	hekku	dekku	'to wash'
jen̄ga/j̄anga	d̄enga	jen̄ga	d̄enga	'to loft over the fireplace'
jeevu / ijeevi	ponnu ..	jeevu	ponnu ..	'a girl'
joolE	joolE / udalE	jolle	jolle / udalE	'saliva'
ñaggu / naggu	ñaggu / naggu	--	--	'to get crushed, to be dent'
tadeyi	sadeyi	*	*	'a pottery trough with a ring base'
tadpE	tadpE/sadpE / cadpE	tadpE	tadpE	'winnowing pan'
tanneno	sanneno / taññano	tanyana	taññana	'boiled rice of previous day'
tattumoso	tattumooso	--	---	'blunder'
tamantrE	baccirE	tamantrE	baccirE	'betal leaf'
talpu	salpu / talippu	tadepu	tadepu	'to interrupt, cause to stop'
taapE	taapE	--	--	'a window the panel of which can be used also as a cot when it is opened'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
taali	--	--	--	'a kind of pottery vessel'
taale	taarE/saarE	taale	taarE	'coconut tree'
tingalu	tingolu/ singolu }	tingalu	tingolu	'a month'
timukku	timukku/ { dimukku })	niggu	niggu	'to rush, accumulate as people'
timbattu/ { timbandu)	timbattu	timmaandi	timmaandi	'glutton'
tiyo	ciyo/siyo	tiga	tiga	'honey'
tiri	ninE	tiri/ { ninE })	ninE	'lamp wick'
tirikkindE	*	*	*	'cloth used for lamp wicks'
tiiru	tiiru/siiru	kuudu	kuudu	'to be able'
--	--	tumbu	tumbu	'to fill'
trsE	aŋatnE	tursE	aŋadanE	'thirst'
tegulu	ceguru	tegulu	teguru	'to sprout'
tenkeypa	senkaaypa	tenkepa	--	'southward'
tenñaayi/) tenneyi)	saaragE/ taaraayi)	tenneyi	taaraayi	'coconut'
*	*	tembada	--	'not yet'
tellu	tellu	ekku	ekku	'to gin'
tellu	*	*	*	'to scatter, as powder etc.'
teepu/) teepE)	teepE	gaarE	gaarE	'daub, plastering'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tokku	tekku/sekku	tokku	tekku	'extinguish, as lamp'
todañku	*	*	*	'the water in which laddles etc. are washed slightly, while serving dishes'
tondi	tondi	jabbu	jabbu	'old woman'
tonde	tonde	jabbe	jabbe	'old man'
toppE/) toppE)	toppE	--	--	'outer shell of cashewnut'
torasu	torasu	*	*	'a wide place with good amount of light and air'
toloo	occu	--	occu	'to row a boat'
tooti/ } kokkE }	tooti/ } kokkE }	todañku	todañku	'a pole with a hook at the tope to pluck fruits etc.'
toontippu/ } toondippu }	--	*	*	'to annoy, trouble'
toortu(Sw)/ } bairaasu }	toortu } bairaasu }	bairaasu	bairaasu	'a bath-towel'
dadE	dadE	--	--	'weighing balance'
dandukkoolu		dandukkoolu	*	'a stick (of the branch of a kind of tree) which is held by the boy during his initiation ceremony'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
dandaasu	dandaasu	*	*	'a pairs of tongs'
dalo	*	*	*	'thickness'
digelu/ { jigelu }	dikkelu	dikelu	dikelu	'fireplace, oven'
diipo	diipo/ sudaru/ } tudaru }	diipa	tudaru	'a lamp'
naklu	nakru/ nakkuru } nakku }	naklu/ nakku }	nakkuru	'an earth worm'
nadippilu	*	*	*	'the previous night of the (4th days) menstrual bath; the third night of the menstruation period'
namo	namo	naavu	nama	'we(incl.)'
nambanigE	nambanigE	nambugE	nambugE	'trust, belief'
narañjotti	*	*	*	'grumbling person'
narittatE	narikkotE	--	--	'broken'
narkirE	*	*	*	'a small square piece of plantain leaf'
nalikkE	nalikkE	kunita/ nalikE	kunita/ nalke	'dancing'
naayeru	naayeru	naaveru	naaveru	'plough'
naarpo	nalpo	naarpa	nalpa	'forty'
naalagE	naalagE/ } naalaayi }	naalagE	naalaayi	'tongue'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
naastipraani *	*	*	*	'a small kind of insect biting like a mosquito'
*	*	niggu	*	'rush, as of people'
niñju	diñju	diñju/ } tumbu } tumbu	diñju/ } tumbu }	'to be filled'
nimurti	nimurti	nivrutti	--	'solution, other possibility'
ni'scayataam- } buulo	baddo	ni'scayat- } aambuula }	--	'betrothal'
niirusvaadu	*	*	*	'taste of water, light taste'
niirale	alettaniiru	niirale	niirale	'diluted buttermilk'
nuulu	nuuru	nuulu	nuuru	'to creep in'
nugo	nugo	nuga	niga	'yoke'
nuppo(SW)/ } muppo	nuppo(SW)/ } muppo	muppa	muppa	'thirty'
numbagu	dumbagu	dumbagu	dumbagu	'next year'
numbu	dumbu	dumbu	dumbu	'before, first'
nullu	nullu/ } nullu	*	*	'to pinch'
nedru	nideru/ } nideeru	nedredu	nideru	'to sleep'
neneppu	neneppu	--	--	'to think, assume'
neymeno	neymeno	*	*	'fineness; smoothness'
nela	nela	nela	nila	'floor'
needu/ } nevadu	beenE	needu	beenE	'pain'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
noondE	*	*	*	'thick & sticky as congee water'
nyaayo	nyaayo/ ñaayo }	nyaaya	nyaaya/ ñaaya }	'justice'
paksi	pakki	paksi	pakki	'bird'
pajibañji	bajibañji	bajibañji	baji- } bañji }	'empty stomach'
pañcadippu	bayyamalligE	bayyama- } lligE }	bayya- } malligE }	'a kind of flower blooming in the evening'
patni	patni	*	*	'fasting; without food'
patlakkaayi	patlaayi	pataakilu	pataakilu	'snakegourd'
paddeeypa	paddaaypa	paddepa	paddepa	'westward'
padeñji	padeñji	padeñji	padeñgi	'greengram'
paniitu	ontE	svalpa/) onda }	vantE	'a little'
pannolu	pannoru/ } panoru }	--	panaru	'ploughshare'
payintiidu/ } payimpu }	*	*	*	'to pinch with fingers without contacting the nails'
*	*	paraata	paraata	'a plate'
*	*	pala	pala	'many'
paśingri	pasañgari/) pasuñgari }	tambuli	--	'a kind of raw dish'
palañgu	parañgu	palañgu	parañgu	'to become stale'
paladyo	--	--	--	'warm water used for drinking purpose'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
palabbu	parabbu	jabbu	jabbu	'old woman'
palabbe	parabbe	palabe/ } jabbe }	parabe/ } jabbe }	'old man'
paajoovu	paajovu	paajeyi	paajeyi	'a kind of plant'
paado	paado	paniyE/ } panyE }	panyE/ } pannE }	'a comb of plant- ain (fruits)
paatE	paatE	paantE	paantE	'butterfly'
paandovu	paandavu	paandolu	paandolu	'a thin band peeled from a coconut branch'
paapu	yaaru	paapu	(i)yaavyu/ } paapu }	'enough, sufficient'
paarekkoolu/ } paarengi }	paarekkoolu/ } paarengi }	solimanE	--	'a bar pointed at the top and fixed to the ground or a log of wood and used to rind coconuts'
paavu	paavu	siddE	siddE	'a unit of measure'
paavE(SW)/ } baavE }	baavE	baavE	baavE	'cream of milk; very tender kernel of coconut'
piditto/ } pidto }	piditto/ } pidto }	--	--	'a grip'
pindanige	--	--	--	'knowledge'
piri	piri	--	--	'the turns of a screw'
pireelu(SW)/ } birelu }	birelu	berelu	birelu	'fingers'
pisaaci	pisaasi	pisaaci	pisvaasi	'goblin'
pugeppu	*	*	*	'to season'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
pujekkari/ } pujeñgri }	pujekkari/ } pujeñgri }	pugEkari	pugEkari	'the thick layer of soot under lofts over ovens'
pudiñkallu	pudiñkallu	gundukallu	gundukallu	'a round stone, used to pulverize'
pustako	buuku	pustaka	buuku	'a book'
puli	puri	puli	puri	'worms'
pulisvaadu	*	*	*	'a slight sour taste'
pulku	purku	pulku	purku	'rheum of the eye'
*	*	pulga	purga	'over-boiled'
pulñcu	purñcu	pulñcu	purñcu	'to squeeze'
puulu	puulu	--	--	'to split'
pejjE(SW)/ } gañji	gañji	gañji	gañji	'rice gruel, conju'
gañji				
pettugu	pettugu/ } bettugu	saatugu	saatugu	'immediately after'
peddorti/ } peddolti	peddorti/ } peddolti	pedmetti	pedmedi	'a woman in confinement'
pelakkaayi	pelakkaayi	kujjE/ pelakaayi	gujjE/ pelakaayi	'jackfruit'
peetE	peentE	peetE	peentE	'town, city, market'
peeranti	--	--	--	'bridegrooms companion'
peertaali	--	peerattti	--	'pottery vessel used for boiling milk'
pokku	pokku	--	--	'to rise, go up'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
poklu ^{..}	poklu/ puuvolu	{ puuvalu ^{..}	puuvolu	'the navel'
poklo [.]	poklo/ potlo/ poklu [.]	{ poklu/ potla	{ pokle/ potla	'blister, bubble on the skin'
pogalu ^{..}	pogaru/ pugaru [.]	pogalu ^{..}	pugaru [.]	'to applaud, praise'
poddolu ^{..}	pori	pori	pori	'popcorn of rice'
podpu	podpu	porpu	porpu	'to fry'
ponnaambro	ponnaambro	bagadandala [.]	---	'making much of a small thing'
portu [.]	portu [.]	poltu [.]	portu	'time'
portingalu ^{..}	portingolu/ portyolu	{ portingalu ^{..}	portingolu	'the month of delivery'
pollu [.]	pollu [.]	poli	poli	'to stitch'
posattu [.]	posattu [.]	posatu [.]	pusatu [.]	'new'
posaaru [.]	pudvaaru/ podvaaru [.]	(posattu unu)	puddaaru [.]	'ceremony of preparing and eating new rice'
*	poladyo	*	--	'a soup made of fish, seeds of Bishop's weed etc.'
poli [.]	poli [.]	--	--	'a blow'
poli [.]	poli [.]	poli [.]	poli	'to break as stick, branch of a tree etc.'
poli [.]	poli [.]	*	*	'a layer'
polikkatE	polikkotE	--	---	'broken'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
polippu	polippu	--	--	'to beat usually a raw mud wall, pot etc.'
pookanetu	*	*	*	'mischief'
..				
pookuvara- kku	} pookuvarakku	--	--	'relation, social contact'
poolEkannu ...	poolEkannu ...	boolEkannu ...	boolEkannu	'a big round ' eyeballs'
poolEkkuri	poolEkkuri	reppEkuri	--	'boil on the eyelid'
poosro	padikkE/ pattigE	poosra	padkE	'urine'
*	*	prasta	--	'nuptials'
prasto	*	*	*	'obsequies of respected persons'
bañno	bañno	bañna	bañga	'difficulty'
battuññi	--	---	---	'a short and stout boy'
batlo	batlo	---	---	'a large trough- like vessel made of bell-metal'
badattu	badattu	mittupoo/ mittoo	mitaaru/ mittaru	'to ascend, ' climb up'
badikkeeypa	badakkaaypa	badkepa	---	'northward'
bapdikE	--	--	---	'fatty(as cheek)'
bappañgaayi	bappañgaayi	gandukaayi	gandukaayi	'paapaya'
bari	bari	bali	bari	'side; near'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
baliyennE ..	*	*	*	'the oil slightly flowing out below the wicks from a lamp used at the time of worship'
balli	balli	*	balli	'impossible'
bastu(SW) musrE }	*	musrE	*	'the pollution caused by touching boiled rice etc.'
baayipuuja	baayipuuja	---	---	'upto the brim, brimful'
*	*	baarata	*	'a kind of dish of mango, ginger, chilli etc.'
baarpu	baarpu	--	---	'to scrape off a wall etc.; to sharpen a stick, peg etc.'
baarpu	--	--	---	'a large trough-like vessel made of gong-metal'
baaleglu	jooklu	baarulu	jookulu/ baallu	'children'
baavali	baavoli/ baaveli)	baavali	baavoli	'a bat'
baalu ..	baalu ..	*	*	'to sow seeds'
baalE	baarE	baalE	baarE	'plantain'
bingrusti ..	*	*	*	'mischief'
bimmo/ bimmantrE)	bimmo	bimma	bimma	'the lip'
biri	biri	piri	piri	'to be relieved, be dispersed; be abated as possession of spirits'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
bisiniiru/ } bisniiru }	beccaniiru .	besniiru .	beccaniiru .	'hot water'
biisanige	biisanige/ } edippaalE/ } ediyanE }	biisanige	edippaalE/ } eddanE/ } eddanigE }	a fan'
budetti	budetti/ } budedi }	raamanni	bodedi	'a wife'
budsaro	--	--	--	'the state of open air'
buttu/bittu	buttu/bittu	bittu	bittu	'seed; to sow'
buddimuttu	buddimuttu	*	*	'to be in crisis, to be troubled; crisis, trouble'
buleevu	buleevu	--	--	'arrogance'
bulpu	bulpu	alu	bulipu/arū	'to weep; cry'
buulu	buuru	buulu	buuru	'to fall'
begude	begude	--	--	'dullard, dull- witted male person'
beñgu	beñgu	--	--	'envy, jealous'
beññano } jekkuna }	alE sulippunE beññana } jekkuna }	alE tulipuni	'churning the curds'	
bettu	bukko	bettu	bokka	'afterwards, later'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
beedi	beedi	--	--	'a thick wire or ring of gold or silver worn on hand or leg usually by men'
beesaalo	areggaalo beesakaala/ } vaissaaka }	areggala/ } aregaala }		'the hot season, summer'
bonko	bonko	*	*	'a bell made of bamboo tied to the neck of a cattle'
bojjo	bojjo/ } saavu }	bojja	bojja	'obsequies'
bottu	bottu	bottu/ } badi }	bottu/ } badi }	'to beat, to strike'
bolantyE	bolantyE	} bolantE	bulantE	'raw (white)rice'
		bolantE		
boli	bori	boli	bori	'to milk'
bolco	bolpu	boksa/ } bolca/ } bolpu }	bolpu	'light'
bolcanaga	bolpugu	boscarE/ } boksaarE }	kaandE	'morning'
bolcaabelo	pulyakkelu	--	pulyarak-	'early morning, dawn'
			aandE	
boodu	boodu	--	--	'empty coconut'
bootri	boodci/ } bodci }	bootri	bodci	'not necessary, do not want'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
magulu ...	maguru .. .	magulu ...	maguru .. .	'to fall'
magulpu .. .	magurpu	magpu	magpu	'to turn, upset, upturn'
maddi .. .	maddi .. .	pejjE/ bejjE	pejjE	'an animal food made of inferior quality of rice gruel'
*	*	maddi	maddi	'a kind of sweet made of bengal gram pulses'
mandigE .. .	mandigE .. .	otta .. .	otta .. .	'chin'
matikkoolu	*	majikoolu	*	'a very thin and decorated pole of bamboo of the height equal to that of the bride- groom, held by him during marriage ceremony'
madimaaye	kanda(a)ni .. .	puruse	kandani/ kandanye .. .	'husband'
manattaani	manattaani/ } manadaani }	manadaani/ } marudina }	mardina	'next day'
manta	maanta/maata	manta	maata	'all'
mando	mando	dappa	dappa	'thick, as liquid item'
maytetti	maytetti/ } maytedi }	maytinti/ } maytyanti }	maytidI	'young sister- in-law'
mardu	mardu	maddu	mardu	'medicine'
arma(a)ye	arvatte	arma(a)ye	arvade	'nephew'
marletti	marletti	marti	marti/ } marledi }	'a mad female person'
mallappe	neelyappE	peepi	neelappE	'mother's elder sister'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
mallamme	neelyamme	peeme	neelamme	'father's elder brother'
maani	aanu ..	maani ..	aanu ..	'a boy; bride-groom'
maampu	maanpu /) maalpu)	ampu	malpu	'to do'
maaypu	maaypu	maaysuudi	maysuudi	'broomstick'
maaraapu	maaraapu	--	--	'a bundle of cloth covered and tied with another cloth'
maalmi	maalmi	*	*	'a (navigator's) compass'
mirEppaayi	mirEppaayi	--	--	'upto the breast from the ground, as water'
mukradakku	mukradakku	mukrupaadu ..	mukrupaadu ..	'to bellow'
mugulu	muguru ..	--	--	'a flower bud'
mugulari	mugulari	--	--	'half boiled rice'
mucce	--	--	--	'(fig).a person with undressed hair of head'
muttuśaanti	* ..	muttuśaanti ..	*	'an alternate priest, in case of urgency'
mudsoo	mudsaa	--	--	'to beat; to eat excessively'
mundāngi	mundāngi	---	--	'a banian like garment of cotton worn under a shirt'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
mundi ..	mundi ..	marasanigE	marasanigE	'a kind of vegetable root'
mulaani/ · munaani/ · mnaani {	muraani	mułaani	muraani	'day before yesterday'
muucaari	muucaari	--	--	'a worker with bell-metal'
muudeypa	muudeypa	muudepa	muudepa	'eastward'
medku/ · medukku {	madku/ · medukku {	--	--	'to move'
menekkadu/ · menakkadu {	menekkaadu/ · menakkadu {	--	--	'liesure, rest'
meepate	meepate/ meepatte)	--	--	'herdsman'
molañkayi	morañkayi/ morangayi)	molahnkayi	murangayi	'fore-arm'
molampu	morampu	molampu	murampu	'knee'
rattu ...	rattu ...	kiisu	giisu	'to be splashed'
luuti	luuti	anyaaya	anneya	'mischief of a child'
lenkiri	lenkiri	simE	simE	'a kind of bamboo'
vastro/ ostro {	kuntu ...	vastra	kuntu ..	'cloth'
sadippu	sadippu	--	tadipu	'to quarrel'
sanE	sanE	sanE	tanE	'pregnancy of cattle'
sanyaasi	sanyaasi/ sannesi)	sanyaasi	sannesi	'an ascetic'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sappu	sappu/tappu	sappu	tappu	'leaf'
sabi	ciipE	tiipE	tiipE	'sweet'
samelpu	samelpu/) tamelpu)	samepu	tamepu	'to pour from one vessel to another'
sammaano	sammano/) sammaano)	sammaana	tammana	'feast'
sayi	sayi	sayi	tayi	'to die'
sarvaani	*	--	*	'offering in cash during the meals to all'
savutte	savutte/) tavutte)	savutE	tavutE	'cucumber'
saanku	saanku	saanku	taanku	'to foster'
saadi	saadi	saadi/) haadi)	taadi	'way, path'
saanu	saanu	saatu	saatu	'even'
saaviro	saaviro/) saaro)	saavira/) saara)	saara	'thousand'
sittu	sirtu/) tirtu)	sittu/hittu	tirtu	'downwards'
sidya/ hidya)	elya	kinya	ellya/elli/ kinya)	'small'
śraarddo/ śaardo)	saardo	śraarda/) śaarda)	kaarya	'ritual of death anni- versary'
śirñkana/ pirelu)	--	kinkana/) beralu)	kinkana-/ birelu)	'small finger'
sekE	beenkE/ sikE	sekE	sikE	'heat'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
suttukattu ...	*	suttukattu ...	*	'to encircle the dining plate or leaf with water as part of ritual at the commencement of meals'
suttonu ..	suttonu/ .. tuttonu ..	usonu } . } .	tuttonu	'to wear for oneself, put on dress'
sudaarippu	sudaarippu	----	--	'to manage'
sunE	sunE	sonE	tunE	'the gummy juice exuding from some fruits'
surE	surE	turE	turE	'bottlegourd'
suute	suutE	tuutE	tuutE	'country torch made of coconut leaves etc. (fig.) a fierce quarrelsome woman'
suuyi suuvi }	suyi	tuvi	tuyi/ tuvi }	'feather'
suuri	--	--	--	'a small spoon'
settu ...	cettu/ ... settu ...	settu/ ... hettu ...	tettu ...	'to spoil'
sedilu	sedilu	sedlu	tedilu/ tedlu }	'thunder'
semmo	semmo/ cemmo/ temmo }	semma	temma	'cough'

<u>Sb</u>	<u>Sc</u>	<u>Nb</u>	<u>Nc</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
selpu	selpu/ } telpu }	telpu	telpu	'thin'
selleno	--	telpu	telpu	'diluteness'
seevu	seevu/ } ceevu }	seevu	teevu	'a kind of plant'
sollu	sollu	soli	tollu	'to peel off'
sooru	sooru/ } tooru }	sooru	tooru	'to ooze'
sooli	cooli	suuli	cooli	'rind'
haakucooku	--	--	--	'good and bad'
haasigEpatyo	haasigEpatyo	--	--	'practice of celibacy during medical treatment'
heetu	heetu	heE	heE	'reason'
hottonu/ } ottonu }	ottonu	--	--	'to agree'
hooku	--	--	--	'destruction'

The following are the words which do not end with the vowel -o in Sb & Sc dialects as against the common feature of the words of such type:

- adka 'an open place, usually a level ground with grass'
- aliya(Sb)/ } ' a small earthen pot'
ariya(Sc) }
- upda(Sb) ' pickles'
- erka ' near'
- oolya 'a furrow-like narrow passage for water'

katta ..	' a knot'
kadya ..	' an earthen water-pot'
kana ..	' a piece of cloth for blouse'
kara ..	' a pot, an earthen vessel'
karya ..	' a ferry'
kala ..	'square; bed of flowers'
kaantya ..	' a basket'
kotya ..	' a shed'
gatta ..	' a ghat, hilly area'
gitta/kitta ..,	' near'
nela ..	' floor'
puna ..	' corpse'
puda ..	' a dove'
petta ..	' a cow'
bala ..	' a network of rope suspended from the beams'
balla ..	' a unit of measuring grains'
becca ..	' warmth'
mana ..	' a unit of weight'
mara ..	' a tree'
mutta ..	' near; full'

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