

# **A GRAMMAR OF THE TODA LANGUAGE**

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OF  
THE TODA LANGUAGE**

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## **Foreword**

Dr. Caldwell in his **A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages** has classified Dravidian languages into two, cultivated and uncultivated languages. Toda, Kota and many other Dravidian languages belong to Caldwell's latter group and the importance of the study of the so-called uncultivated languages cannot be minimised. These languages themselves are interesting to study and the study of such languages is also very important for the comparative study of Dravidian languages.

The study of the tribal languages is very important from the point of view of the culture, habits and social attitudes of the speakers of the languages. As they are unadulterated by any outside influence it is possible that they retain many old and distinct features which will be helpful not only in linguistic studies but also in socio-ethnic studies as well. The description of such languages and the contrastive analysis of tribal and regional languages will be of immense help to learn their languages scientifically. This will be a must in order to extend and implement effectively the social welfare activities of the State and Central Governments among these people. Unless we are able to communicate with

these people in their own languages, it will be very difficult for us to win over them and to explain the virtues of the social reforms, that we have undertaken. In this era of democracy each individual irrespective of his caste or creed is entitled to have all the comforts and privileges assured by the constitution of India.

With all these in view, the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University has undertaken the project 'Descriptive Studies of the Uncultivated Dravidian Languages' and has planned to work on the languages like Kota, Toda, Kasaba, Irula, Paniya and Kattunaicka etc. I am immensely pleased that the Centre is able to bringout the present monograph **A Grammar of the Toda Language** by Dr. S. Sakthivel. It is my earnest hope that this will be very useful not only to the linguists but also to other social scientists who work on the Todas. I am very happy indeed that we are now able to publish it under the publication programme of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University.

Annamalai University  
ANAMALAINAGAR  
1-2-1977 }

S. Agesthialingom  
DIRECTOR  
Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics

## Preface

The present treatise **A Grammar of the Toda Language** is part of my Ph. D. thesis submitted to the Annamalai University in the year 1974. **Phonology of Toda with Vocabulary** has already been published by the Annamalai University. An ethnological study of the Todas, all the relevant phonological features of this language with examples and vocabulary have been dealt in that treatise. Though several changes were made the inner core remains to be the same. All the relevant morphological features of this language have been studied and examples are also given in this work. A syntactic description of this language is presented here based on the transformational – generative approach.

I owe a debt of deep sense of sincere gratitude and gratefulness to my respected Professor Dr. S. Agesthialingom, Head of the Department of Linguistics and Director, Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University for having taught me not only the modern linguistic theories and generative grammar but also guided and helped in all the ways by giving his constructive suggestions, invaluable and stimulating guidance, immense encouragement, sympathetic consideration and personal care which enabled

me to complete this research work and to bring it to the light of the day and also for his kindness in including this work in the publication series of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University.

I like to express my gratitude to Dr. S. V. Shanmugam, Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyam and Dr. N. Kumaraswami Raja, Readers in Linguistics, Annamalai University for their valuable suggestions. I am grateful to Dr. G. Srinivasa Varma, Mr. T. Edward Williams, Dr. R. Balakrishnan and Mr. N. Rajasekharan Nair for having helped me in one way or other in the course of my research work. I am grateful to Mr. G. Sankaranarayanan and P. Muthuswamy Pillai for correcting the proofs.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, Vice - Chancellor and the authorities [of the Annamalai University for having given me the facilities to accomplish this work, to the University Grants Commission for the generous grants for the publication of this book through the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics and to M/s Sri Velan Press, Chidambaram who executed the printing work neatly.

*S. Sakthivel*

# Abbreviations

Abl.	Ablative	Gen.	Genitive
Acc.	Accusative	G. N.	Gender-number
Adj.	Adjective	Hort.	Hortative
Adv.	Adverb	Imper.	Imperative
Adv <sub>l</sub> .	Adverb of limit	Incl.	Inclusive
Adv <sub>man</sub> .	Adverb of manner	Ins.	Instrumental
Adv <sub>n part</sub> .	Adverb of particle	Inter.	Interrogative
Adv <sub>t</sub> .	Adverb of time	Intr.	Intransitive
Aux.	Auxiliary	L.	Names of length (measure)
Caus.	Causative	Loc.	Locative
CL	Clitics	M.	Names of measure
Cond.	Conditional	M. adj.	Mass adjective
Conj.	Conjunctive	Mas.	Masculine
Dat.	Dative	N.	Noun
Decl.	Declarative	N A.	Animate noun
Dem.	Demonstrative	N da.	Names of day
Desi.	Desiderative	Neg.	Negative
DPN.	Demonstrative pronoun	Neut.	Neuter
Dubi.	Dubitative	N IA.	Inanimate noun
Encl.	Enclitics	N mon.	Names of months
Ex.	Example	NP.	Noun phrase
Excl.	Exclusive	Num.	Numerical
Fem.	Feminine	Obj.	Object
Frac.	Fraction	Obl.	Obligatory

Opt.	Optional	S.	Sandhi rule [in Sandhi]
Ord.	Ordinal	S.	Sentence [in Syntax]
Part.	Particle	Sfx.	Suffix
PDPN	Proximate demonstrative pronoun	Sg.	Singular
Perm.	Permissive	Soc.	Sociative
Pers. sfx.	Personal suffix	St.	Stem
Pl.	Plural	Tem.	Temporal
PN.	Pronoun	Ten.	Tense
P.N.	Participial noun	TM.	Time expression
PPN.	Personal pronoun	Tr.	Transitive
Pres.	Present tense	V. N.	Verbal noun
Proh.	Prohibitive	Voc.	Vocative
RDPN.	Remote demonstrative pronoun	Vol.	Voluntative
R. P.	Relative participle	V. P.	Verbal participle
		VP:	Verb phrase

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## 1

## Introduction

(The Todas are a small tribal community in the Nilgiris, speaking the Toda language and they are wellknown to anthropologists for the aberrancy of their buffalo centred culture. The Todas call their language as *o:‡ fo:š*. Much work has been done on ethnological studies of Todas but very little work in linguistics is available on the Toda language. According to the 1971 Census of India, the language is spoken by a total of 930 persons.)

Bernhard Schmid (1837) regarded Toda language as a member of the Dravidian family or more exactly as a relative of Tamil<sup>1</sup>. Robert Caldwell (1856) in the first edition of

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1 'On the Dialect of the Todavers, the aborigines of the Neelgherries', *Madras Journal of Letters and Science*, Vol. v, p. 155-8, 1837.

*'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of languages'* accepted this view on the basis of vocabulary and short sentences<sup>2</sup>. Grierson (1905) also endorses this view<sup>3</sup>. Ruckert (1848) holds that the Tamoul language has a remarkable analogy with the Tartar dialect. Shortt (1868) in his book embodying '*An Account of tribes on the Nilgiris*' has recorded as follows: 'The language of the tribe on the Nilgiris is unmistakably Tamil although what is now spoken is a mixed dialect being a jargon of Tamil and Canarese'<sup>4</sup>. Aiyappan (1948) says that 'the language of the Toda is definitely connected with Tamil rather than with Kannada'<sup>5</sup>.

Metz (1864), one of the earliest persons to come into contact with Todas holds the view that it is a dialect of Canarese<sup>6</sup>. G. U. Pope (1873) says that it is a kind of Old Kanarese. As regard the structure of language, he points out,

"The Tuda language has no compositions, written or unwritten, not a ballad nor a scrap of anything to indicate

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- 2 Caldwell, R. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of languages*, p. 15, 1856.
  - 3 Grierson, G. A. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. iv, p. 283, 1906.
  - 4 Shortt, J. *An Account of tribes on the Nilgiris*, 1868.
  - 5 Aiyappan, A. *Report on the Socio-economic conditions of the Aboriginal tribes in the province of Madras*; 1948.
  - 6 Metz, J. F. 'A Vocabulary of the Dialect spoken by the Todas of the Nilgiri mountains', *Madras Journal of Letters and Science*, i) p. 103-8, 131-46, 1856-57; ii) p. 1-24, 1857.

intellectual activity. The Tudas, like their buffaloes, are fine animals; but they are least cultivated of the Dravidian races. No trace remains of the employment by them of any written character; it is probable, therefore, that they separated from the other Dravidians before the 'ur-sprache' of those tribes was reduced to writing.

This language, of which but a very scanty fragment remains in use, has more sounds than any other Dravidian dialect, and some of those are peculiar to it, seeming to have been modified by the position and habits of the tribe.

The Tuda chiefly converse in the open air, calling to each other from one breezy hill top to another. (Their speech sounds like Old Kanarese) spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind.

The Tudas is a language which was once highly inflectional; but having lost most of its inflections, the people who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particle or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South Indian tribes and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

(The language seems to have been originally Old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tudas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese Country; and have dwelt on the Nilgiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by Poligars. Intercourse with the Badagas has probably modernized a few of the forms and introduced some words.) Telugu influences

I see no trace. Nor can I trace any resemblance in Tuda to Malayalam, in any of the position where the dialects differs from its sisters<sup>7</sup>. Robert Caldwell in his second edition (1875) quoted and apparently approved this view<sup>8</sup>. The Nilgiri District Manual furnishes these information on Toda speech. The Toda language is by no means confined to use by Todas alone as was once thought to be, It is a dialect of Old Canarese and closely allied to other Dravidian languages of the plains.

W. H. R. Rivers (1906) in his monumental work '*The Todas*', has tried to show that there is an affinity between Toda and Malayalam.

Dr. Oppert holds the view that the Toda is probably allied to Telugu than any other southern dialects

According to Henry Harkness Toda language has no affinity with Sanskrit. According to Prince Peter of Greece (1951) it is related to Sumerian language. This is based on the coincidence he found in the names of gods between the Sumerian and Toda.

Among the Dravidian languages modern Malayalam alone has lost its inflections for number and person in the verb, whereas Toda has such inflections with forms that are of the

7 Pope, G. U. 'A Brief outline of the Grammar of the Tuda language', In *Phrenologists amongst the Todas*, p. 239–269, 1873.

8 Caldwell, R. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of Languages* (Second Edition), p. 512, 1875.

general type. Verb forms without personal endings first appeared in Malayalam records at the end of the 9th century. Toda had been separated from Malayalam before that time. We can see a contrast between Malayalam developments of \*ñk > ññ, ñc > ññ, \*nr > nn, \*nt > nn and Toda development of a cluster made up of homorganic nasal plus stop to voiced stop (losing the nasal).

Eg. Ta. <i>pa:mbu</i>	To. <i>po:b</i>	( <i>mb</i> > <i>b</i> )
Ta. <i>vant-</i>	To. <i>pod</i>	( <i>nt</i> > <i>d̪</i> )
Ta. <i>tin<u>r</u>-</i>	To. <i>t<u>ñ</u>d</i>	( <i>nr</i> > <i>d̪</i> )
Ta. <i>kant-</i>	To. <i>kod</i>	( <i>nt</i> > <i>d̪</i> )

Malayalam diverged as a separate language from Tamil from the early Middle Tamil age. Palatalization of initial \*k took place before the front vowels *i*, *e* except when the vowel is followed by a retroflex *t̪*, *n̪*, *l̪* and *r̪*. Toda does not show palatalization of PDr. \*k before front vowels while PDr. \*c changes as *t* in Toda. So we can say that Toda is not a Tamil-Malayalam dialect.

To say that it is a dialect of Telugu is also geographically implausible. Toda does not show palatalization of PDr. \*k before front vowels but Telugu shows this from the earliest records. Another specific feature of Telugu is metathesis but Toda shows nothing of this. Telugu past tense formation is simple. Most of the Telugu words end in vowels whereas most of the Toda words end in consonants. So, Toda is not a dialect of Telugu.

Kannada is the only South Dravidian language which has an innovation of the replacement of *p* > *h* systematically and thoroughly.

Eg. <i>pa:lu</i>	<i>&gt; ha:lu</i>	'milk'
<i>pa:tu</i>	<i>&gt; ha:du</i>	'to sing'
<i>po:lu</i>	<i>&gt; ho:lu</i>	'to be alike'

Toda uses the root *ta-* to give (first or second person) as indirect object, *koṭu* when there is a third person as indirect object. Kannada in its earliest records did not make this distinction. The morphological evidence of the sibilant past tense suffix and phonological matter of *ττ* are clear indications that Toda was already going its own way as a language at least as early as the earliest Kannada records. Kannada uses aspirates as phonemes but Toda does not. *i/e* and *u/o* alternation are not found in Toda language whereas it operates in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu. If Toda preserves a proto-Dravidian feature and Old Kannada does not, Toda might derive from Proto-Dravidian or from any language that preserves the Proto-Dravidian feature. There is no doubt that many words of Kannada origin can be traced in this language, when they speak with other tribes. Such words may be accounted for by their long intercourse with the Badagas who are of Kanarese stock. Moreover many words of quite common use cannot be traced to any other language of the neighbours. Prof. M. B. Emeneau has concluded 'we have really no right to class Toda as a dialect of Kannada rather than as a dialect of some other South Dravidian or as an independent language'<sup>9</sup>.

( Toda is not a dialect of any of the important languages that are its neighbours, Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada but it is an independent language of the Dravidian family. )

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9 Emeneau, M. B. "Toda, A Dravidian language", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, p. 34, 1957.

~~T~~odas live at the meeting place of Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada languages but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these but has very definite and distinct characteristics of its own, as might be expected from the character of the people. Todas, Kotas and Badagas live together and have lived together for centuries, even though three mutually unintelligible languages are spoken. Generally Nilgiri languages have been almost isolated geographically from all other South Dravidian languages. Toda is in fact a descendant of an off-shoot from Proto-Tamil which is of course the ancestor of both Tamil and off-shoot from Malayalam. Toda belongs with Tamil - Malayalam rather than with Kannada.

One evidence to sub-grouping of Toda-Kota Nilgiri sub-group does not share palatalization of *k*- before front vowels we must posit that the splitting off the Nilgiri sub-group took place before the Tamil palatalization. These two languages disagree with the other South Dravidian languages in having South Dravidian past stem for both past and non-past. This must be interpreted as an innovation shared in common by these two languages and since such deep seated borrowing is implausible unless other evidences necessitate the assumption. Bh. Krishnamurti has made it clear that Toda and Kota share a common innovation in the oblique forms of the first person pronoun exclusive and inclusive<sup>10</sup>. In both the languages alveolar plosive is preserved. There is a deep lying identity in the phonological and grammatical structures of Kota and Toda. Separation of Pre-Toda and Kota took

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10 Krishnamurti, Bh. 'Dravidian personal pronoun', *Studies in Indian Linguistics*, p. 189-205, Poona and Annamalai-nagar, 1968.

place before the Tamil palatalization reached their place of origin *i.e.* probably at the period round about the beginning of the Tamil recorded texts.

One of the most striking features of Toda is the loss of vowels in non-initial syllables. Toda could be classed with the southern languages alone, since they have alveolar phonemes distinguished from dentals and retroflexes. Toda morphology is different in many respects from that of any other of the language. Secondary stem (termed as  $S_2$ ) is the basis for the past tense but in Toda it is the basis for the past and non-past. Toda is the only language which retains in full working order as part of the past tense formation the sibilant suffix that must be reconstructed as part of the past tense apparatus for Proto-Dravidian.

**Phonology of Toda with Vocabulary** has already been published by the Annamalai University<sup>11</sup>. An ethnological study of the Todas, all the relevant phonological features of this language with examples and Vocabulary have been presented in that treatise.

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11 Sakthivel, S. *Phonology of Toda with Vocabulary*, (DLP 41), Annamalai University, 1976.

# 2

## Sandhi

2.0. Internal Sandhi, occurring within a word bounded by pause is alone discussed in this chapter. In this chapter the ampersand ‘&’ is used to represent the morpheme boundary and the ‘—’ is used to indicate the place of the phoneme in question. The Sandhi rules are referred to in the following chapters. These rules are ordered and in cases where two or more rules operate, they operate one after another in the order in which they are given.

- 2.1.  $t \longrightarrow t / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} l \\ n \end{array} \right\} \ \& -$
- $u:l \ \& \ t \quad (\text{Sources 4.1.1.2}) \quad \rightarrow \ u:l \ \& \ t$
- $tu:l \ \& \ t \quad (4.1.1.2) \quad \rightarrow \ tu:l \ \& \ t$

<i>pī:l &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→	<i>pī:l &amp; t</i>
<i>pu:l &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→	<i>pu:l &amp; t</i>
<i>kiskwīl &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→	<i>kiskwīl &amp; t</i>
<i>ni:l &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→	<i>ni:l &amp; t</i>
<i>pe:l &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→	<i>pe:l &amp; t</i>
<i>ko:n &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→	<i>ko:n &amp; t</i>

2.2.       $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} l \\ n \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / - & !$

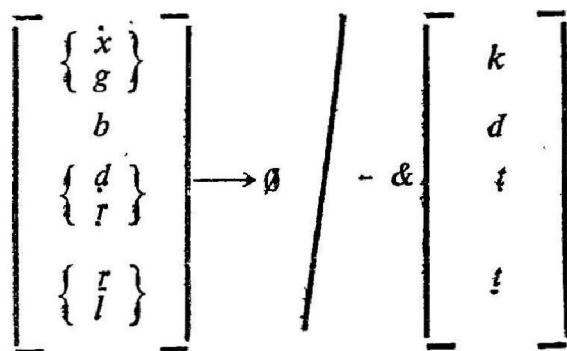
<i>u:l &amp; t</i>	(S.2.1)	→	<i>u:t</i>
<i>tu:l &amp; t</i>	(S.2.1)	→	<i>tu:t</i>
<i>pī:l &amp; t</i>	(S.2.1)	→	<i>pī:t</i>
<i>pu:l &amp; t</i>	(S.2.1)	→	<i>pu:t</i>
<i>kiskwīl &amp; t</i>	(S.2.1)	→	<i>kiskwīt</i>
<i>ni:l &amp; t</i>	(S.2.1)	→	<i>ni:t</i>
<i>pe:l &amp; t</i>	(S.2.1)	→	<i>pe:t</i>
<i>ko:n &amp; t</i>	(S.2.1)	→	<i>ko:t</i>

2.3.       $t \longrightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} k \\ p \\ t \\ t \end{array} \right] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} \{ x \} \\ g \\ b \\ \{ d \} \\ \{ r \} \\ \{ t \} \\ l \end{array} \right] & -$

<i>alx &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→	<i>alx &amp; k</i>
<i>i:x &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→	<i>i:x &amp; k</i>

<i>odg &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>odg &amp; k</i>
<i>tīrb &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>tīrb &amp; p</i>
<i>o:d &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>o:d &amp; t</i>
<i>ku:r &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>ku:r &amp; t</i>
<i>ni:r &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>ni:r &amp; t</i>
<i>mo:r &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>mo:r &amp; t</i>
<i>tō:r &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>tō:r &amp; t</i>
<i>no:l &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>no:l &amp; t</i>

2.4.



<i>alx &amp; k</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>alk</i>
<i>t:x &amp; k</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>t:x</i>
<i>odg &amp; k</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>odk</i>
<i>wīrg &amp; k</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>wīrk</i>
<i>tīrb &amp; p</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>trīp</i>
<i>o:d &amp; t</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>o:t</i>
<i>ku:r &amp; t</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>ku:t</i>
<i>ni:r &amp; t</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>ni:t</i>
<i>mo:r &amp; t</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>mo:t</i>
<i>tō:r &amp; t</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>tō:t</i>
<i>no:l &amp; t</i>	(S.2.3)	→ <i>no:t</i>

2.5.  $p \rightarrow f / \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ t \end{matrix} \right\} - \& V$

$i \& po\theta$  (3.6.2.1)  $\rightarrow i \& fo\theta$   
 $\ddot{o}t \& po^{\sim}$  (3.6.8.2)  $\rightarrow \ddot{o}t \& fo\theta$

2.6  $p \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{matrix} r \\ w \end{matrix} \right\} - \& V$

$ar \& po\theta$  (3.6.6.1)  $\rightarrow ar\theta\theta$   
 $\ddot{o}w \& po\theta$  (3.6.7.2)  $\rightarrow \ddot{o}wo\theta$

2.7.  $m \rightarrow \emptyset / - \& \left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ x \end{matrix} \right\}$

$sonm \& t \& k$  (3.2.2.4)  $\rightarrow son \& t \& k$   
 $no:ym \& t \& k$  (3.2.2.4)  $\rightarrow no:y \& t \& k$   
 $k\bar{i}nm \& t \& k$  (3.2.2.4)  $\rightarrow k\bar{i}n \& t \& k$   
 $pojo:rm \& t \& gn$  (3.2.2.5)  $\rightarrow pojo:r \& t \& gn$   
 $po\eta m \& xo:\bar{r}n$  (3.7.1.1)  $\rightarrow po\eta \& xo:\bar{r}n$   
 $tw\bar{i}:tm \& xo:\bar{r}n$  (3.7.1.1)  $\rightarrow tw\bar{i}:t \& xo:\bar{r}n$

2.8.  $t \rightarrow \bar{t} / - \& k$

$k\ddot{o}:\bar{t} \& k$  (3.2.2.4)  $\rightarrow k\ddot{o}:\bar{t} \& k$

2.9.  $t \rightarrow l / - \& \left\{ \begin{matrix} c \\ f \end{matrix} \right\}$

$kat \& c$  (4.1.1.1)  $\rightarrow kal \& c$

<i>twi:t &amp; c</i>	(4.1.1.1)	→ <i>twi:l &amp; c</i>
<i>kat &amp; fy</i>	(4.2.4)	→ <i>kal &amp; fy</i>

2.10.      *t* → *n* / — & *m*

<i>nat &amp; my</i>	(3.7.5)	→ <i>nan &amp; my</i>
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2.11.      *r* → *d* / — & *c*

<i>köf &amp; c</i>	(4.1.1.1)	→ <i>köd &amp; c</i>
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2.12.      *d* → *r* / — & { *t f* }

<i>öd &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>ör &amp; t</i>
<i>kađ &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>kar &amp; t</i>
<i>öđ &amp; f</i>	(4.1.1.2)	→ <i>ör &amp; f</i>

2.13.      *sö:r* → *sö:* / — & *t*

<i>sö:r &amp; t</i>	(4.1.1.2)~	→ <i>sö:t</i>
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2.14.      *g* → *š* / *y* & —

<i>pođy &amp; g</i>	(3.2.2.7)	→ <i>pođy &amp; š</i>
<i>kulo:y &amp; g</i>	(3.2.2.7)	→ <i>kulo:y &amp; š</i>
<i>ady &amp; g</i>	(3.2.2.7)	→ <i>adŷ &amp; š</i>
<i>po:y &amp; g</i>	(3.2.2.7)	→ <i>po:y &amp; š</i>
<i>kîy &amp; g</i>	(4.11.2.1)	→ <i>kîy &amp; š</i>
<i>i:škity &amp; g &amp; n</i>	(3.2.2.5)	→ <i>i:škity &amp; š &amp; n</i>
<i>koce:ry &amp; g &amp; n</i>	(3.2.2.5)	→ <i>koce:ry &amp; š &amp; n</i>

2.15.	$s \rightarrow s$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ \eta \\ r \end{array} \right\} \& -$	-
	<b><math>ut &amp; s</math></b>	(3.2.2.7)	$\rightarrow ut & s$
	<b><math>ut &amp; s \&amp; n</math></b>	(3.2.2.5)	$\rightarrow ut & s \& n$
	<b><math>wi:d &amp; s</math></b>	(4.11.2.1)	$\rightarrow wi:d & s$
	<b><math>un &amp; s</math></b>	(4.11.2.1)	$\rightarrow un & s$
	<b><math>nar &amp; s</math></b>	(4.11.2.1)	$\rightarrow nar & s$

2.16.	$s \rightarrow z / t: \& -$		
	<b><math>twi: \&amp; s</math></b>	(3.2.2.7)	$\rightarrow twi: \& z$

2.17	$n \rightarrow n$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ s \\ z \\ n \\ t \\ i \end{array} \right\} \& -$	-
	<b><math>pe:t &amp; n</math></b>	(3.1.1.1)	$\rightarrow pe:t & n$
	<b><math>pit &amp; n</math></b>	(3.1.1.1)	$\rightarrow pit & n$
	<b><math>kofd &amp; n</math></b>	(3.1.1.1)	$\rightarrow kofd & n$
	<b><math>wid &amp; n</math></b>	(3.1.1.1)	$\rightarrow wid & n$
	<b><math>et &amp; n</math></b>	(3.1.1.1)	$\rightarrow et & n$

<i>no:s &amp; n</i>	(3.1.1.1)	→	<i>no:s &amp; n</i>
<i>o:t &amp; n</i>	(3.2.2.1)	→	<i>o:t &amp; n</i>
<i>kol &amp; n</i>	(4.2.2.5)	→	<i>kol &amp; n</i>
<i>ut &amp; s &amp; n</i>	(S.2.15)	→	<i>ut &amp; s &amp; n</i>

2.18.  $c_1 \longrightarrow \emptyset / c_1 \& -$

where  $c_1$  is nasal or sibilant.

<i>en &amp; n</i>	(3.2.2.6)	→	<i>en</i>
<i>nīn &amp; n</i>	(3.2.2.6)	→	<i>nīn</i>
<i>pīrs &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2)	→	<i>pīrs &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>ars &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2)	→	<i>ars &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>pe:s &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2)	→	<i>pe:s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>kīs &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2)	→	<i>kīs &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>paš &amp; še &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(4.6.1)	→	<i>paš &amp; e &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>taš &amp; še &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(4.6.1)	→	<i>taš &amp; e &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>paš &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(4.7.1)	→	<i>paš &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>taš &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(4.7.1)	→	<i>taš &amp; pin &amp; i</i>

2.19.  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& a:$

<i>eyi: &amp; a:</i>	(3.2.2.9)	→	<i>ey &amp; a:</i>
<i>okn &amp; a:</i>	(3.2.2.9)	→	<i>ok &amp; a:</i>

2.20.  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} c \\ j \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} ē \\ į \end{matrix} \right\} / - \& y$

(Rules 2.20 - 2.40 operate in the secondary stem formation ( $S_2$ ) )

<i>kī:c &amp; y</i>	(Sources 4.3)	—> <i>ki:č &amp; y</i>
<i>monc &amp; y</i>	(4.3)	—> <i>monč &amp; y</i>
<i>nađc &amp; y</i>	(4.3)	—> <i>nađč &amp; y</i>
<i>müč &amp; y</i>	(4.3)	—> <i>müč &amp; y</i>
<i>ti:rč &amp; y</i>	(4.3)	—> <i>ti:rč &amp; y</i>
<i>ni:j &amp; y</i>	(4.3)	—> <i>ni:ž &amp; y</i>
<i>oј &amp; y</i>	(4.3)	—> <i>ož &amp; y</i>
<i>pu:j &amp; y</i>	(4.3)	—> <i>pu:ž &amp; y</i>
<i>pīdž &amp; y</i>	(4.3)	—> <i>pīdž &amp; y</i>
<i>mo:j &amp; y</i>	(4.3)	—> <i>mo:ž &amp; y</i>

2.21.  $y \longrightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{matrix} \check{c} \\ \check{j} \end{matrix} \right\} \& -$

<i>ki:č &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>ki:c</i>
<i>monč &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>monč</i>
<i>nađč &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>nađč</i>
<i>müč &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>müč</i>
<i>ti:rč &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>ti:rč</i>
<i>ni:ž &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>ni:ž</i>
<i>ož &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>ož</i>
<i>pu:ž &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>pu:ž</i>
<i>pīdž &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>pīdž</i>
<i>mo:ž &amp; y</i>	(S.2.20)	—> <i>mo:ž</i>

2.22.       $\theta \longrightarrow s / y \& -$

<i>mi:y &amp; θ</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>mi:y &amp; s</i>
<i>kīy &amp; θ</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kīy &amp; s</i>
<i>mūry &amp; θ</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>mūry &amp; s</i>
<i>aṛy &amp; θ</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>aṛy &amp; s</i>
<i>kwīy &amp; θ</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kwīy &amp; s</i>

2.23.       $r \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& \theta$

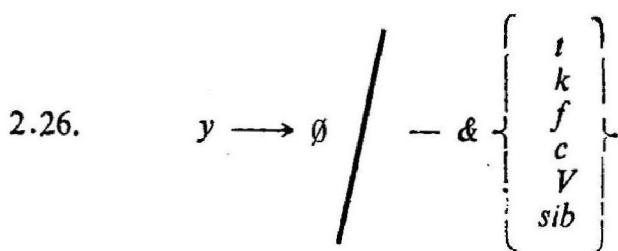
<i>pī:rfor &amp; θ</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pī:rfoθ</i>
<i>kō:r &amp; θ</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kō:θ</i>
<i>o:r &amp; θ</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>o:θ</i>

2.24.       $\left[ \begin{array}{c} idy \\ soy \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} id \\ so \end{array} \right] / - \& t$

<i>idy &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>idt</i>
<i>soy &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>sot</i>

2.25.       $t \longrightarrow c / y \& -$

<i>twī:y &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>twī:y &amp; c</i>
<i>mony &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>mony &amp; c</i>
<i>uny &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>uny &amp; c</i>
<i>ary &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>ary &amp; c</i>
<i>kary &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kary &amp; c</i>
<i>pīry &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pīry &amp; c</i>
<i>pary &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pary &amp; c</i>



*V* stands for vowel

*sib* stands for sibilant

<i>nwī:ty &amp; o &amp; t &amp; i</i> · (4.4.1)	→ <i>nwī:t &amp; o &amp; t &amp; i</i>
<i>nwī:ty &amp; o &amp; s &amp; i</i> (4.4.1)	→ <i>nwī:t &amp; o &amp; s &amp; i</i>
<i>ürpy &amp; t</i> (4.3.1.1.3)	→ <i>ürp &amp; t</i>
<i>öšty&amp;kīs&amp;o&amp;en&amp;i</i> (4.17.1)	→ <i>öšt&amp;kīs&amp;o&amp;en&amp;i</i>
<i>nwī:ty&amp;kīs&amp;o&amp;en&amp;i</i> (4.17.1)	→ <i>nwī:t&amp;kīs&amp;o&amp;en&amp;i</i>
<i>öšty&amp;kīs&amp;o&amp;p&amp;i</i> (4.17.1)	→ <i>öšt&amp;kīs&amp;o&amp;p&amp;i</i>
<i>öšty &amp; Ø &amp; foy</i> (4.12.2)	→ <i>öšt &amp; Ø &amp; foy</i>
<i>noky &amp; Ø &amp; foy</i> (4.12.2)	→ <i>nok &amp; Ø &amp; foy</i>
<i>twī:y &amp; c</i> (S.2.25)	→ <i>twī:c</i>
<i>mony &amp; c</i> (S.2.25)	→ <i>monc</i>
<i>uny &amp; c</i> (S.2.25)	→ <i>unc</i>
<i>ary &amp; c</i> (S.2.25)	→ <i>arc</i>
<i>kary &amp; c</i> (S.2.25)	→ <i>karc</i>
<i>pīry &amp; c</i> (S.2.25)	→ <i>pīrc</i>
<i>pary &amp; c</i> (S.2.25)	→ <i>parc</i>
<i>mi:y &amp; s</i> (S.2.22)	→ <i>mi:</i>
<i>kīy &amp; s</i> (S.2.22)	→ <i>kīs</i>
<i>mūry &amp; s</i> (S.2.22)	→ <i>mūrs</i>
<i>at̪y &amp; s</i> (S.2.22)	→ <i>at̪s</i>
<i>kwīj &amp; s</i> (S.2.22)	→ <i>kwīs</i>

<i>tüty</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>tǖt</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>no:ty</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>no:t̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>pity</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>p̄it</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>e:mo:ty</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>e:mo:t̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>pinty</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>pint̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>kody</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>kod̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>udy</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>ud̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>nwi:ty</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>nwi:t̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>ni:dy</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>ni:d̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>koły</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>koł̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>ni:ty</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>ni:t̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>pu ty</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>pu:t̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>kufy</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>kuf̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>karky</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>kark̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>kumy</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>kum̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>aspŷ</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>asp̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>nob</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>nob̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>tîrky</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>tîrk̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>môrky</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>môrk̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>omky</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>omk̄</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>
<i>wa:gy</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>wa:ḡ</i> & <i>s</i> & <i>pin</i> & <i>i</i>

$$2.27. \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ 1 \end{matrix} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& t$$

$$\begin{array}{lll} w\bar{i}l \& t & (4.3) \\ sw\bar{i}:l \& t & (4.3) \end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{l} wit \\ sw\bar{i} \end{array}$$

$$2.28. \quad t \longrightarrow t \quad / \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \tau \\ \dot{\tau} \end{array} \right\} \& -$$

<i>pīτ &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pīτ &amp; t</i>
<i>kat &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kat &amp; t</i>
<i>mu:net &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>mu:net &amp; t</i>
<i>twī:t &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>twī:t &amp; t</i>

$$2.29. \quad t \longrightarrow t \quad / \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} d \\ \tau \\ \dot{\tau} \end{array} \right\} \& -$$

<i>wī:rīd &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>wī:rīd &amp; t</i>
<i>oṛ &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>oṛ &amp; t</i>
<i>ke:ṭ &amp; t</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>ke:ṭ &amp; t</i>

$$2.30. \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \tau \\ \dot{\tau} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} d \\ \tau \\ \dot{\tau} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad - \& \left[ \begin{array}{c} t \\ t \end{array} \right]$$

<i>pīτ &amp; t</i>	(S.2.28)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pīt</i>
<i>kat &amp; t</i>	(S.2.28)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kat</i>
<i>mu:net &amp; t</i>	(S.2.28)	$\rightarrow$	<i>mu:net</i>
<i>twī:t &amp; t</i>	(S.2.28)	$\rightarrow$	<i>twī:t</i>
<i>wī:rīd &amp; t</i>	(S.2.29)	$\rightarrow$	<i>wī:rīt</i>
<i>oṛ &amp; t</i>	(S.2.29)	$\rightarrow$	<i>oṛ</i>
<i>ke:ṭ &amp; t</i>	(S.2.29)	$\rightarrow$	<i>ke:t</i>

2.31.  $t \longrightarrow k / \dot{x} \ \& \ -$

*pux & t* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *pux & k*

2.32.  $x \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \ \& \ k$

*pux & k* (S.2.31)  $\rightarrow$  *puk*

2.33.

$\left[ \begin{array}{c} mi:y \\ pöy \\ sal \end{array} \right]$	$\longrightarrow$	$\left[ \begin{array}{c} mi: \\ pö \\ sa \end{array} \right]$	$/$	$- \ \& \ d$
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*mi:y & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *mi:d*  
*pöy & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *pöd*  
*sal & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *sad*

2.34.  $r \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \ \& \ d$

*sö:r & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *sö:d*  
*u:r & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *u:d*

2.35.  $d \longrightarrow \underline{d} \left/ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{s} \\ n \\ l \end{array} \right\} \right. \ \& \ -$

*kis & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *kis & d*  
*i:n & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *i:n & d*  
*tin & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *tin & d*  
*te:l & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *te:l & d*  
*nil & d* (4.3)  $\rightarrow$  *nil & d*

2.36.  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} s \\ n \\ l \end{matrix} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& d$

<i>kis &amp; d</i>	(S.2.35)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kid</i>
<i>i:n &amp; d</i>	(S.2.35)	$\rightarrow$	<i>i:d</i>
<i>tin &amp; d</i>	(S.2.35)	$\rightarrow$	<i>tid</i>
<i>te:l &amp; d</i>	(S.2.35)	$\rightarrow$	<i>te:d</i>
<i>nil &amp; d</i>	(S.2.35)	$\rightarrow$	<i>nid</i>

2.37.  $d \longrightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{matrix} n \\ l \end{matrix} \right\} \& -$

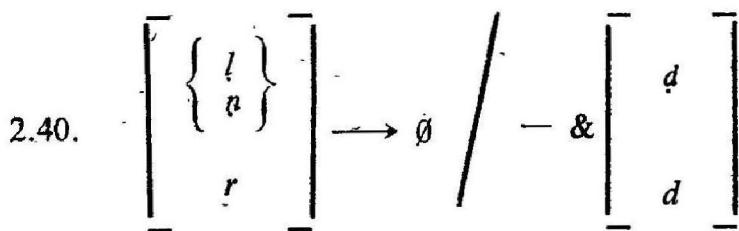
<i>un &amp; d</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>un &amp; d</i>
<i>ni:l &amp; d</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>ni:l &amp; d</i>
<i>kiskwīl &amp; d</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kiskwīl &amp; d</i>
<i>pu:l &amp; d</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pu:l &amp; d</i>

2.38.  $\left[ \begin{matrix} ko:n \\ po:r \\ to:r \end{matrix} \right] \longrightarrow \left[ \begin{matrix} kon \\ por \\ tor \end{matrix} \right] / - \& d$

<i>ko:n &amp; d</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kon &amp; d</i>
<i>po:r &amp; d</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>por &amp; d</i>
<i>to:r &amp; d</i>	(4.3)	$\rightarrow$	<i>tor &amp; d</i>

2.39.  $d \longrightarrow \emptyset / kon \& -$

<i>kon &amp; d</i>	(S.2.38)	$\rightarrow$	<i>kon &amp; d</i>
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*ni:l* & *d* (S.2.37) —> *n̄:d*

*kiskw̄i:l* & *d* (S.2.37) —> *kiskw̄id*

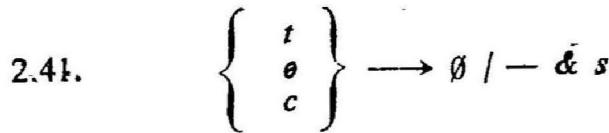
*pu:l* & *d* (S.2.37) —> *pu:d*

*uŋ* & *d* (S.2.37) —> *ud*

*koŋ* & *d* (S.2.39) —> *kod*

*por* & *d* (S.2.38) —> *pod*

*tor* & *d* (S.2.38) —> *tod*



*kw̄it* & *s* & *pin* & *i* (4.3.1.2.2) —> *kw̄i:t* & *s* & *pin* & *i*

*nent* & *s* & *pin* & *i* (4.3.1.2.2) —> *nen* & *s* & *pin* & *i*

*aṛt* & *s* & *pin* & *i* (4.3.1.2.2) —> *aṛ* & *s* & *pin* & *i*

*nene* & *s* & *pin* & *i* (4.3.1.2.2) —> *nen* & *s* & *pin* & *i*

*pūṣodθ* & *s* & *pin* & *i* (4.3.1.2.2) —> *pūṣod* & *s* & *pin* & *i*

*parθ* & *s* & *pin* & *i* (4.3.1.2.2) —> *par* & *s* & *pin* & *i*

*monc* & *s* & *pin* & *i* (4.3.1.2.2) —> *mon* & *s* & *pin* & *i*

*karc* & *s* & *pin* & *i* (4.3.1.2.2) —> *kar* & *s* & *pin* & *i*

2.42.  $s \longrightarrow z / d \ \& \ -$

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>pod &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>  | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>pod &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>  |
| <i>tod &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>  | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>tod &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>  |
| <i>u:d &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>  | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>u:d &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>  |
| <i>sö:d &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i> | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>sö:d &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i> |

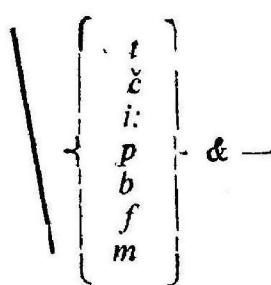
2.43.  $s \longrightarrow \underline{s} / \underline{t} \ \& \ -$

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>pīt &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>             | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>pīt &amp; <u>s</u> &amp; pin &amp; i</i>             |
| <i>mu.net &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>          | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>mu:net &amp; <u>s</u> &amp; pin &amp; i</i>          |
| <i>tü<sub>1</sub>t &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i> | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>tü<sub>1</sub>t &amp; <u>s</u> &amp; pin &amp; i</i> |
| <i>no:t &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>            | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>no:t &amp; <u>s</u> &amp; pin &amp; i</i>            |

2.44.  $s \longrightarrow z / \underline{d} \ \& \ -$

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>nī<u>d</u> &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>   | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>nī<u>d</u> &amp; <u>z</u> &amp; pin &amp; i</i>   |
| <i>kā<u>d</u> &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>   | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>kā<u>d</u> &amp; <u>z</u> &amp; pin &amp; i</i>   |
| <i>ī<u>d</u> &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>    | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>ī<u>d</u> &amp; <u>z</u> &amp; pin &amp; i</i>    |
| <i>twī:<u>d</u> &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i> | (4.3.1.2.2) —> <i>twī:<u>d</u> &amp; <u>z</u> &amp; pin &amp; i</i> |

2.45.  $s \longrightarrow \check{s}$



- |                                      |                       |  |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| <i>pīt &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i> | (S.2.26<br>4.3.1.2.2) | —> <i>pīt &amp; <u>s</u> &amp; pin &amp; i</i> |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|--|

<i>e:mo:t &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>e:mo:t &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>pint &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>pint &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>ki:č &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>ki:č &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>ko:č &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>ko:č &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>u:č &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>u:č &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>pi: &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>pi: &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>asp &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>asp &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>nob &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>nob &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>kuf &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>kuf &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>kum &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>kum &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>

2.46.      *s* → *ž* / { *d* *j* } & —

<i>ked &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	→ <i>ked &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
--------------------------------------	-----------------------	--

*ni:d & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      → *ni:d & ž & pin & i*

*ud & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      → *ud & ž & pin & i*

*ož & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      → *ož & ž & pin & i*

*pu:ž & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      → *pu:ž & ž & pin & i*

2.47.       $s \longrightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ k \\ g \\ x \end{array} \right\} \& -$

*ot & s & pin & i*      [4.3.1.2.2]      → *ot & š & pin & i*

*poł & s & pin & i*      [4.3.1.2.2]      → *poł & š & pin & i*

*a:foł & s & pin & i*      [4.3.1.2.2]      → *a:foł & š & pin & i*

*wi:rīł & s & pin & i*      [4.3.1.2.2]      → *wi:rīł & š & pin & i*

*nwi:tł & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      → *nwi:tł & š & pin & i*

*ni:tł & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      → *ni:tł & š & pin & i*

*puk & s & pin & i*      [4.3.1.2.2]      → *puk & š & pin & i*

*kark & s & pin & i*      (S.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      → *kark & š & pin & i*

*tirk & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      → *tirk & š & pin & i*

*mɔrk & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      →    *moŋk & ŋ & pin & i*

*omk & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      →    *omk & ŋ & pin & i*

*wa:g & s & pin & i*      (S.2.26  
4.3.1.2.2)      →    *wa:g & ŋ & pin & i*

2.48.      *s* → *z* / *d* & —

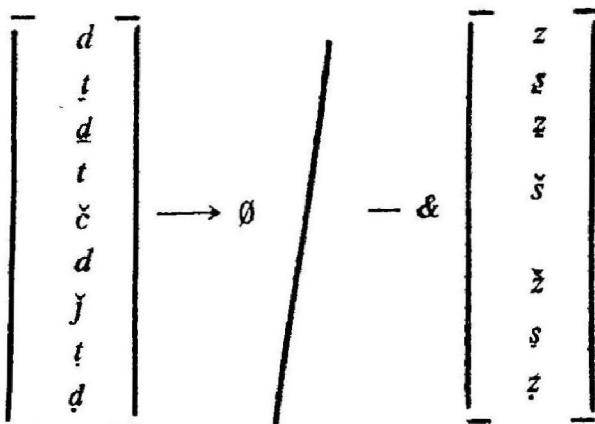
*nī:d & s & pin & i*      [4.3.1.2.2]      →    *ni:ð & z & pin & i*

*kwīd & s & pin & i*      [4.3.1.2.2]      →    *kwīð&z&pin&i*

*teškwīd&s&pin&i*      [4.3.1.2.2]      →    *teškwīd&z&pin&i*

*kod&s&pin&i*      (S.2.40  
4.3.1.2.2)      →    *kod&z&pin&i*

2.49.



*pod & z & pin & i*      [S.2.42]      →    *po&z&pin&i*

*tod&z&pin&i*      [S.2.42]      →    *to&z&pin&i*

*u:d&z&pin&i*      [S.2.42]      →    *u:&z&pin&i*

*sō;d&z&pin&i*      [S.2.42]      →    *sō:&z&pir&i*

<i>pīt &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.43) —>	<i>pī &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>mu:ne t &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.43) —>	<i>mu:ne &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>tū t &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.43) —>	<i>tū &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>no:t &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.43) —>	<i>no: &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>nīd &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.44) —>	<i>nī &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>kađ &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.44) —>	<i>ka &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>īd &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.44) —>	<i>ī &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>twī:d &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.44) —>	<i>twī: &amp; z &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>pīt &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.45) —>	<i>pī &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>e:mo:t &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.45) —>	<i>e:mo: &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>pint &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.45) —>	<i>pīn &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>ki:č &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.45) —>	<i>ki: &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>ko:č &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.45) —>	<i>ko: &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>u:č &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.45) —>	<i>u: &amp; š &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>ked &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.46) —>	<i>ke &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>ni:d &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.46) —>	<i>ni: &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>ud &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.46) —>	<i>u &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>oř &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.46) —>	<i>o &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>pu:ř &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.46) —>	<i>pu: &amp; ž &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>ot &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.47) —>	<i>o &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>poř &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.47) —>	<i>po &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>a:foř &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.47) —>	<i>a:fo &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>
<i>wī:rīt &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>	(S.2.47) —>	<i>wī:rī &amp; s &amp; pin &amp; i</i>

- nwi:t & s & pin & i* (S.2.47) —> *nwi: & s & pin & i*  
*ni:t & s & pin & i* (S.2.47) —> *ni: & s & pin & i*  
*ni:d & z & pin & i* (S.2.48) —> *nī: & z & pin & i*  
*kwid & z & pin & i* (S.2.48) —> *kwī & z & pin & i*  
*teškwid & z & pin & i* (S.2.48) —> *teškwī & z & pin & i*  
*kod & z & pin & i* (S.2.48) —> *ko & z & pin & i*

2.50.       $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} sib \end{array} \right\} + t \longrightarrow \check{c}$

- pi:š & t & i* (4.18.3.1) —> *pi:č & i*  
*e:mo:š & t & i* (4.18.3.1) —> *e:mo:č & i*  
*püšodš & t & i* (4.18.3.1) —> *püšodč & i*  
*pars & t & i* (4.18.3.1) —> *parč & i*

2.51.      *ak* —> *a:k* /  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} mu \\ wīnbo \end{array} \right\}$  & —

- mu & ak* (3.6.3.1) —> *mu & a:k*  
*wīnbo & ak* (3.6.9.2) —> *wīnbo & a:k*

2.52.       $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} u \\ o \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset$  / — & *a:*

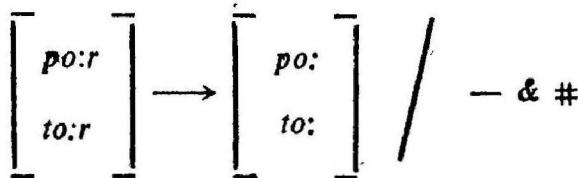
- mu & a:k* (S.2.51) —> *ma:k*  
*wīnbo & a:k* (S.2.51) —> *wīnba:k*

2.53.  $\sigma \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& V$

*V* stands for vowels

- |   |             |               |                                       |
|---|-------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>po:r &amp; o &amp; en &amp; i</i>          | (4.5.1.1)   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>po:r &amp; en &amp; i</i>          |
| <i>po:r &amp; o &amp; iy &amp; i</i>          | (4.5.1.1)   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>po:r &amp; iy &amp; i</i>          |
| <i>n̄l &amp; o &amp; im &amp; i</i>           | (4.5.1.1)   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>n̄l &amp; im &amp; i</i>           |
| <i>n̄l &amp; o &amp; um &amp; i</i>           | (4.5.1.1)   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>n̄l &amp; um &amp; i</i>           |
| <i>uŋ &amp; o &amp; en &amp; i</i>            | (4.18.1.5)  | $\rightarrow$ | <i>uŋ &amp; en &amp; i</i>            |
| <i>pod &amp; k̄s &amp; o &amp; en &amp; i</i> | (4.18.1.5)  | $\rightarrow$ | <i>pod &amp; k̄s &amp; en &amp; i</i> |
| <i>pod &amp; k̄s &amp; o &amp; iy &amp; i</i> | (4.18.3.1)  | $\rightarrow$ | <i>pod &amp; k̄s &amp; iy &amp; i</i> |
| <i>pod &amp; k̄s &amp; o &amp; um &amp; i</i> | (4.18.1.13) | $\rightarrow$ | <i>pod &amp; k̄s &amp; um &amp; i</i> |

2.54.



# *po:r* #  $\rightarrow$  # *po:* #

# *to:r* #  $\rightarrow$  # *to:* #

# 3

## Nouns

3.0. Nouns are those which do not take tense suffixes but do take or are capable of taking case suffixes.

### 3.1. *Gender-Number suffixes*

In Toda there is no gender distinction. Toda has completely lost the gender distinction and in this language *aø* means both 'that person' and 'that thing' and the corresponding plural *aøa:m* means both 'those persons' and 'those things'. Toda has only number distinction in pronouns and personal distinction in the finite verbs. However we can recognize masculine and feminine gender in certain nouns in the morphological level.

### 3.1.1. *Masculine Singular*

{ -n }

∞ -n, ∞ -o:t, ∞ -f, ∞ -Ø

#### 3.1.1.1. ∞ -n occurs after these stems

Ex.	<i>konody-n</i>	‘Canarese man’
	<i>par-n</i>	‘Pariah caste man’
	<i>kumo:r-n</i>	‘potter’
	<i>wokil-n</i>	‘Vakkaliga caste man’
	<i>totxi-n</i>	‘goldsmith’
	<i>sakli-n</i>	‘cobbler’
	<i>orf-n</i>	‘ <del>Brahmin</del> (one sect of Badaga
	<i>tulk-n</i>	‘muslim man’
	<i>osx-n</i>	‘washer man’
	<i>koraf-n</i>	‘man of Korva caste’
	<i>tocxi-n</i>	‘carpenter’
	<i>pal-n</i>	‘Valaiyan’
	<i>poni-n</i>	‘Paniya tribe’
	<i>kasf-n</i>	‘Kasaba tribe’
	<i>kocxo:r-n</i>	‘brass worker’
	<i>kotyxo:r-n</i>	‘clever person’
	<i>axexo:r-n</i>	‘enemy’
	<i>kwalyxo:r-n</i>	‘murderer’
	<i>mo:dixa-n</i>	‘man of low caste’
	<i>moŋyxo:r-n</i>	‘Govt. appointed man’

<i>kwaltxo:r-n</i>	'person who does building work'
<i>pilyxo:r-n</i>	'sorcerer'
<i>kofd-n</i> (2.17) —> <i>kofdñ</i>	'man of Gowda caste'
<i>wid-n</i> (2.17) —> <i>widñ</i>	'name of a caste'
<i>koln</i> (2.17) —> <i>kolñ</i>	'thief'
<i>no:s-n</i> (2.18) —> <i>no:sñ</i>	'barber'
<i>pe:t-n</i> (2.17) —> <i>pe:tñ</i>	'name of caste'
<i>pit-n</i> (2.17) —> <i>pitñ</i>	'foolish fellow'
<i>et-n</i> (2.17) —> <i>etñ</i>	'shepherd'

### 3.1.1.2. $\infty-o:\dot{t}$ occurs after these stems

Ex. <i>kel-o:\dot{t}</i>	'old man'
<i>wis-o:\dot{t}</i>	'dairy man'
<i>per-o:\dot{t}</i>	'ordinary person'
<i>mo:r-o:\dot{t}</i>	'man of <i>melga:s</i> clan'
<i>poy-o:\dot{t}</i>	'male affinal relative'
<i>kamaso:r-o:\dot{t}</i>	'legendary Todas'
<i>tow-o:\dot{t}</i>	'diviner'
<i>tu:e-o:\dot{t}</i>	'messenger'
<i>e:f-o:\dot{t}</i>	'servant'
<i>mod-o:\dot{t}</i>	'man of same village'

### 3.1.1.3. $\infty-f$ occurs after the stem

Ex. <i>kwí:-f</i>	'Kota tribe'
-------------------	--------------

3.1.1.4.  $\infty - \emptyset$  occurs after these stems

- Ex. *kurub-∅* —> *kurub* ‘Kurumba tribe’  
*erṭ-∅* —> *erṭ* ‘Irula tribe’  
*ars-∅* —> *ars* ‘whiteman, European’  
*sīty-∅* —> *sīty-* ‘man of Chettiar caste’  
*twī:ty-∅* —> *twī:ty* ‘scavanger’  
*wīde:r-∅* —> *wīde:r* ‘man of Udaiyar caste’

3.1.2. *Feminine Singular*

{ -č }

$\infty - \check{c}$   $\infty - o\check{c}$   $\infty - ty$   $\infty - xity$   $\infty - i$

3.1.2.1.  $\infty - \check{c}$  occur after these stems

- Ex. *kurub-č* ‘Kurumba woman’  
*erṭ-č* ‘Irula woman’  
*et-č* ‘woman of shepherd’  
*poṇi-č* ‘Paniya woman’  
*wokil-č* ‘Vakkaliga woman’  
*pe:t-č* ‘woman of *pe:tñ*’  
*konodý-č* ‘Canarese woman’  
*par-č* ‘Pariah woman’  
*sīty-č* ‘woman of Chettiar caste’  
*sakli-č* ‘woman of cobbler’  
*tulk-č* ‘Muslim woman’  
*wīd-č* ‘woman of *widn* caste’

3.1.2.2.  $\infty - o\check{c}$  occurs after this stem

- Ex. *kel-oč* ‘old woman’.

3.1.2.3.  $\infty$  - *xity* occurs after this stem

Ex. *no:s-xity* 'barber woman'

3.1.2.4.  $\infty$  - *ty* occurs after these stems

Ex. <i>osx-ty</i>	'washer woman'
<i>kwī:-ty</i>	'woman of Kota tribe'
<i>kasf-ty</i>	'woman of Kasaba tribe'
<i>wīrxī-ty</i>	'husband's brother's wife'
<i>o:rf-ty</i>	'Brahmin woman lower sect of Badaga)
<i>mad-ty</i>	'non-Toda woman'
<i>ma:dixa-ty</i>	'woman of lower caste'

3.1.2.5.  $\infty$  - *i* occurs after the stem

Ex. *kīrīştī-i* 'Christian woman'

## 3.1.3. Non-neuter

{ -ry }

3.1.3.1. ~ -ry occurs after the stem *o:-*

Ex. *o:-ry* 'who'

## 3.1.4. Number suffixes

In Toda, first, second and reflexive pronouns distinguish only number.

Ex. <i>o:n</i>	'I'
<i>om</i>	'we (incl.)'
<i>em</i>	'we (excl.)'

<i>ni:</i>	'you (sg.)'
<i>n̄im</i>	'you (pl.)'
<i>to;n</i>	'oneself'
<i>tam</i>	'themselves'

### 3.1.4.1. *Singular*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -n \\ -\theta \end{array} \right\}$

$\infty -n, \quad \infty -\theta, \quad \infty -\emptyset$

3.1.4.1.1.  $\infty -\theta$  occurs after the demonstrative base *a-*

Ex. *a-θ*                                  'he / she / it—that'

3.1.4.1.2.  $\infty -\emptyset$  occurs after the second person stem

Ex. *ni:-∅* —> *ni:*                          'you (sg.)'

3.1.4.1.3.  $\infty -n$  occurs elsewhere

Ex. *o:-n*                                  'I'

*e-n-a:l* —> *ena:l*                          'by me'

*n̄i-n-a:l* —> *n̄ina:l*                          'by you'

*to:-n*    'oneself'

### 3.1.4.2. *Plural*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -m \\ -q:m \end{array} \right\}$

$\infty -m, \quad \infty -q:m$

3.1.4.2.1.  $\infty -m$  occurs after the first person (both inclusive and exclusive) and second person and reflexive stems.

Ex. <i>o-m</i>	‘we (incl.)’
<i>e-m</i>	‘we (excl.)’
<i>n̄l-m</i>	‘you (pl.)’
<i>ta-m</i>	‘themselves’

### 3.1.4.2.2. *Common plural*

$\infty - a:m$  occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>aθ-a:m</i>	‘they / those’
<i>o:ʈ-a:m</i>	‘Toda men’
<i>tojmox-a:m</i>	‘Toda women’
<i>niox-a:m</i>	‘boys’
<i>ku:x-a:m</i>	‘girls’
<i>pō:ʈ-a:m</i>	‘Tamilians’
<i>ima:f-a:m</i>	‘Badagas’
<i>kwī:f-a:m</i>	‘Kotas’
<i>pūsy-a:m</i>	‘tigers’
<i>pe:ʈ-a:m</i>	‘fingers’
<i>ʈr-a:m</i>	‘buffaloes’
<i>me:n-a:m</i>	‘tress’
<i>pōʈk a:m</i>	‘lamps’

## 3.2. Cases

### 3.2.1 *Inflexional increments*

{ -t- }

$\infty - n -$ ,     $\infty - t -$

3.2.1.1.  $\infty-n-$  occurs after third person pronoun and after nouns and before instrumental case suffix  $-a:l$ .

- Ex. *aø-n-a:l* ‘by that-it’  
*iø-n-a:l* ‘by this-it’  
*ak ku:x-n-a:l enk upum kaşım iyı*  
‘I have problems because of her’

3.2.1.2.  $\infty-t-$  occurs after the stems ending in  $-m$  and before dative and locative case suffixes.

- Ex. *sonm-t-k* (2.7) —> *Sontk* ‘to people’  
*ku:dm-t-k* (2.7) —> *ku:dtk* ‘to the meeting’  
*no:ym-t-k* (2.7) —> *no:ytk* ‘to the assembly’  
*kînm-t-k* (2.7) —> *kîntk* ‘to cup’  
*pojo:rm-t-k* (2.7) —> *pojo:rtk* ‘to Ootacamund’  
*me:n-t-k* —> *me:ntk* ‘to the tree’  
*me:n-t-s* —> *me:ns* ‘in the tree’

### 3.2.2. Case suffixes

Cases are ten in number

#### 3.2.2.1. Accusative

{ -n }

~ -n

~ -n occurs after all stems

- Ex. *wîrfed-n* ‘younger brother (obj.)’  
*o:t-n* (2.17) —> *o:tn* ‘Toda man (obj.)’

<i>ku:x-n pat</i>	‘catch the girl’
<i>kɔł-n pe:t</i>	‘drive the calf’
<i>o:n iñe:r n̄im-n kozpini</i>	‘I saw you yesterday’
<i>o:n iñ-r-n pi:škpini</i>	‘I kill buffalo’
<i>aø en w̄ifed-n p̄isti</i>	‘He beats my younger brother’

### 3.2.2.2. *Instrumental*

{ -a:i }

∞ -a:l, . -id, ∞ -a:r, ∞ -it

∞ -a:r occurs after noun stems belonging to human body parts.

<i>Ex. kon-a:r</i>	‘with eye’
<i>kify-a:r</i>	‘with ear’
<i>koy-a:r</i>	‘with hand’
<i>po:y-a:r</i>	‘with mouth’
<i>o:n kon-a:r kozpini</i>	‘I saw with eye’
<i>o:n kify-a:r ke:łkin</i>	‘I hear with ear’
<i>o:n po:y-a:r af:orpin</i>	‘I talk with mouth’
<i>o:n koy-a:r kelc kispini</i>	‘I did work with hand’

∞ -it occurs after noun stems belonging to inanimate class (other than the above).

<i>Ex. most-it</i>	‘with an axe’
<i>mod-it</i>	‘with chuning rod’
<i>tu:ry-it</i>	‘with knife’

*o:n mošt-iṭ me:ŋ kwartpini* ‘I cut the tree with axe’

*e:n mod-iṭ po:s kaṛepini* ‘I churn milk with  
churning rod’

*o:n tu:ry-iṭ perx kwartpini* ‘I cut the fuel with knife’

∞-*a:l* occurs elsewhere and it is in free variation with -*id*.

Ex. *om-a:l*

*om-id* ‘by us’

*nīn-a:l*

*nīn-id* ‘by you’

*en-a:l*

*en-id* ‘by me’

*ae-n-a:l* ‘by that’

*iə-n-al* ‘by this’

*ak ku:x-n-a:l enk upum kaṣṭm iyi*

*ak ku:x-id enk upum kaṣṭm iyi*

‘I have troubles because of that girl?’

### 3.2.2.3. Sociative

{ -*pody* }

~ -*pody*, -*wīr*

~ -*pody* occurs after all stems and it is in free variation with -*wīr*.

Ex. *en-pody* ‘with me’

*en-wīr*

*nīn-pody* ‘with you’

*nīn-wīr*

<i>kurub-pody</i>	'with Kurumba tribe'
<i>kurub-wīṛ</i>	
<i>nīn-pody o:n paškin</i>	'I come with you'
<i>nīn-wīṛ o:n paškin</i>	
<i>piṭyxē:n-wīṛ o:n makolk podpini</i>	'I will come with Pelikan to-morrow'
<i>īr-pody kor padti</i>	'calf comes with buffalo'
<i>pō:r-wīṛ fō:</i>	'Tamilians with Tamilians'
<i>ars-wīṛ ars</i>	'Europeans with Europeans'
<i>tojmox-wīṛ a:fotoṭi</i>	'Do not talk with Toda woman'
<i>nīn-pody tīnkin</i>	'I eat with you'

### 3.2.2.4. Dative

{ -k }

~ -k

~-k occurs after all stems

Ex. <i>en-k</i>	'to me'
<i>nīn-k</i>	'to you'
<i>a:g-k</i>	'to house'
<i>poṭy-k</i>	'to dairy'
<i>ko:tfoy-k</i>	'to wife'
<i>mod-k</i>	'to Toda mund'
<i>sonm-t-k</i> (2.7) —> <i>sontk</i>	'to people'
<i>no:ym-t-k</i> (2.7) —> <i>no:yik</i>	'to the assembly'

*kīnm-t-k* (2.7) —> *kīnk* ‘to cup’

*kō:t-k* (2.8) —> *kō:tjk* ‘to lake’

*aə tne:t<sub>r</sub> to:ro: rmod-k pi:či*  
‘He went to Taranad mund yesterday’

*nīn-k in pe:k?* ‘What do you want?’

*ni: etfīn u:r-k pi:ti* ‘When did you go home?’

*en-k mu:d<sub>u</sub> ku:x wīdy* ‘I have three daughters’

Dative is also used in the locative and purposive sense in Toda language.<sup>1</sup>

*ekarfotk* ‘in the evening’

*o:n pu:txu&y po&yk po&spini* ‘I kept cloak in the box’

*en afk po:s e:s pozpini*  
‘I have brought milk for my mother’

### 3.2.2.5. Ablative

{ -*gn* }

~ -*gn*

~-*gn* occurs after all the stems

1. Dative is used in locative sense in Sangam Tamil literature also.

*Kilaiyari na:&par ki&aŋku ma&par ki:&nra  
mulaiyo: ranna mulleyirrut tuvarva:y* (Akam, 212)

In Malayalam language also dative is used in the locative, genitive and purposive sense.

Gundert, A; *Malayala Bhasavyakaranam* p. 153–157, 1868

- Ex. *at-sn* ‘from there’  
*it-sn* ‘from here’  
*et-sn?* ‘from where?’  
*mod-sn* ‘from the mund’  
*kwī:ko:l-sn* ‘from Kota village’  
*pojo:rm-t-sn* (2.7) —> *pojo:rt-sn*  
‘from Ootacamund’  
*i:škity-sn* (2.14) —> *i:škity-šn*  
‘from *Ka:s* mund’  
*koce:ry-sn* (2.14) —> *koce:ry-šn*  
‘from court’  
*ut-sn* (2.15,17) —> *ut-ṣn*  
‘from inside’  
*ko:reōw-sn* (2.15,17) —> *ko:reōw-ṣn*  
‘from *Niry* mund’  
*o:n melga:s mod-sn pozpini* ‘I came from Garden mund’  
*o:n pojo:rt-sn pozpini* ‘I came from Ootacamund’

### 3.2.2.6. Genitive

{ -n }

~ -n

- Ex. *nīn-n a:s* (2.18) —> *nīn a:s* ‘your house’  
*en-n a:s* (2.18) —> *en a:s* ‘my house’  
*nīn-n ir* (2.18) —> *nīn ir* ‘your buffalo’  
*en o:t-n* (2.17) —> *en o:t-n* ‘my husband’s’  
*en wiſfed-n o:t* ‘my younger sister’s husband’  
*en ok-n o:t* ‘my elder sister’s husband’

- ku:x-n o:t* ‘daughter’s husband’  
*ku:x-n-mox* ‘daughter’s son’  
*en o:tñ dan ok-n o:t* ‘my husband’s elder sister’s husband’

### 3.2.2.7. Locative

{ -*s* }

∞ -*s* ∞ -*kids*

∞ *kids* occurs after animate nouns

- Ex. *en-kids* ‘with me’  
*an-kids* ‘with him’  
*ku:x-kids* ‘with girl’  
*an-kids poñm o:rey* ‘He has no money’  
*an-kids upum ir wiñdy* ‘He has more buffaloes’  
*ak ku:x-kids upum pu:txuñy wiñdy*  
‘That girl has more cloaks’  
*koñ-kids a:py upum wiñdy* ‘There is much cowdung near  
the calf’

∞ -*s* occurs elsewhere

- Ex. *me:n-t-s* → *me:nsg* ‘in the tree’  
*Kaštal-s* ‘in the darkness’  
*ekarfot-s* ‘in the evening’  
*em u:r-s neln upum wiñdy* ‘we have more lands in our  
village’

<i>mu:d po:t)y-s</i>	(2.14) —> <i>mu:d po:t)yš</i> ‘in three dairies’
<i>kulo:y-s</i>	(2.14) —> <i>kulo:yš</i> ‘in the tap’
<i>ady-s</i>	(2.14) —> <i>adyš</i> ‘in the pot’
<i>po:y-s</i>	(2.14) —> <i>po:yš</i> ‘in the mouth’
<i>pax u:t-s</i>	(2.15) —> <i>pax u:tš</i> ‘in the midst of cloud’
<i>mu:d twi:s</i>	(2.16) —> <i>mu:d twi:ž</i> ‘in three pens’

### 3.2.2.8. *Purposive*

{ -go:y }

~ -go:y

~ -go:y occurs after all stems

Ex. <i>en-go:y</i>	‘for my sake’
<i>nīn-go:y</i>	‘for your sake’
<i>an-go:y</i>	‘for his/her sake’
<i>en-go:y i kelc kīy</i>	‘Do this work for my sake’
<i>nīn-goy i:nk pozpini</i>	‘I came here for your sake’
<i>ka:wxxwīt̪n em-go:y i kelc kīsti</i>	‘Kawkuttan works for us’
<i>nīn-go:y o:n am modk pi:špini</i>	‘I went to that mund for your sake’
<i>an-go:y i kelc kīspini</i>	‘I did this work for his sake’

3.2.2.9. *Vocative*

{ -a: }

∞ -a: ∞ -ya: ∞ -∅

∞ -a: occurs after these stems.

- |                                     |                       |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Ex. <i>on</i> —> <i>on-a:</i>       | 'oh my elder brother' |
| <i>piaf</i> —> <i>piaf-a:</i>       | 'oh my grand mother'  |
| <i>eyi:-a</i> (2.19) —> <i>eya:</i> | 'oh my father'        |
| <i>okn-a</i> (2.19) —> <i>oka:</i>  | 'oh my elder sister'  |

∞ -ya: occurs after these stems

- |                          |               |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| Ex. <i>mox mox-ya:</i>   | 'oh son'      |
| <i>ku:x ku:x-ya:</i>     | 'oh daughter' |
| <i>o:t̪ o:t̪-ya:</i>     | 'oh husband'  |
| <i>tojmox tojmax-ya:</i> | 'oh wife'     |

∞ -∅ occurs elsewhere

- |                                    |                |
|------------------------------------|----------------|
| Ex. <i>mutna:s-∅ mutna:s</i>       | 'oh Mutnas'    |
| <i>to:j-∅ to:j</i>                 | 'oh Taj'       |
| <i>ka:w x w i:n-∅ ka:w x w i:n</i> | 'oh Kawkuttan' |
| <i>artof i:n-∅ artof i:n</i>       | 'oh Artapin'   |
| <i>tōw bni:s-∅ tōw bni:s</i>       | 'oh tebnis'    |
| <i>nesfit̪ y-∅ nesfit̪ y</i>       | 'oh Nesply'    |

3.3. *Stem classification*

All those stems which can take gender-number suffixes belong to this class and they are classified on the basis of the

masculine suffix they take. Each main class is further subdivided on the basis of feminine suffixes they take.

3.3.1. Those stems which take masculine suffix *-n* belong to this class.

Ex. <i>konody-n</i>	'Canarese man'
<i>par-n</i>	'man of Pariah caste'
<i>wokil-n</i>	'man of Vakkaliga'
<i>tulk-n</i>	'Muslim man'
<i>tołxi-n</i>	'Goldsmith'
<i>osx-n</i>	'Washerman'
<i>kasf-n</i>	'Kasaba tribe'
<i>no:ṣ-n</i> (2.17) —> <i>no:ṣṇ</i> 'Barber'	

3.3.1.1. Those stems which take *-č* as feminine suffix.

Ex. <i>konody-č</i>	'Canarese woman'
<i>par-č</i>	'woman of Pariah caste'
<i>wokil-č</i>	'woman of Vakkaliga caste'
<i>tulk-č</i>	'Muslim woman'
<i>poṇi-č</i>	'Paniya tribe'
<i>kofd-č</i>	'woman of Gowda caste'
<i>wid-č</i>	'woman of <i>widn</i> caste'
<i>pe:t-č</i>	'woman of <i>pe:tṇ</i> '
<i>et-č</i>	'shepherd woman'

3.3.1.2. Those which take *-ty* as feminine suffix.

Ex. <i>tołxi-ty</i>	'woman of Goldsmith'
<i>o:rf-ty</i>	'Brahmin woman (one sect of Badaga)'

<i>osx-ty</i>	'Washerwoman'
<i>mo:dixa-ty</i>	'woman of <i>mo:dixan</i> '
<i>kasf-ty</i>	'woman of Kasaba tribe'

3.3.1.3. Those which take *-xīty* as feminine suffix.

Ex. <i>no:s-xīty</i>	'barber woman'
----------------------	----------------

3.3.2. Those stems which take *-o:f* as masculine suffix belong to this class.

Ex. <i>kel-o:f</i>	'old man'
--------------------	-----------

3.3.2.1. Those which take *-oč* as feminine suffix.

Ex. <i>kel-oč</i>	'old woman'
-------------------	-------------

3.3.3. Those which take *-f* as masculine suffix belong to this class

Ex. <i>kwī:-f</i>	'Kota man'
-------------------	------------

3.3.3.1. Those which take *-ty* as feminine suffix

Ex. <i>kwī:-ty</i>	'Kota woman'
--------------------	--------------

3.3.4. Those which take *-ø* as masculine suffix belong to this class.

Ex. <i>kurub-ø</i> —> <i>kurub</i>	'Kurumba tribe'
------------------------------------	-----------------

<i>erf-ø</i>	—> <i>erf</i>	'Irula tribe'
--------------	---------------	---------------

<i>sīty-ø</i>	—> <i>sīty</i>	'Chettiar'
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<i>twī:ty-ø</i>	—> <i>twī:ty</i>	'scavenger'
-----------------	------------------	-------------

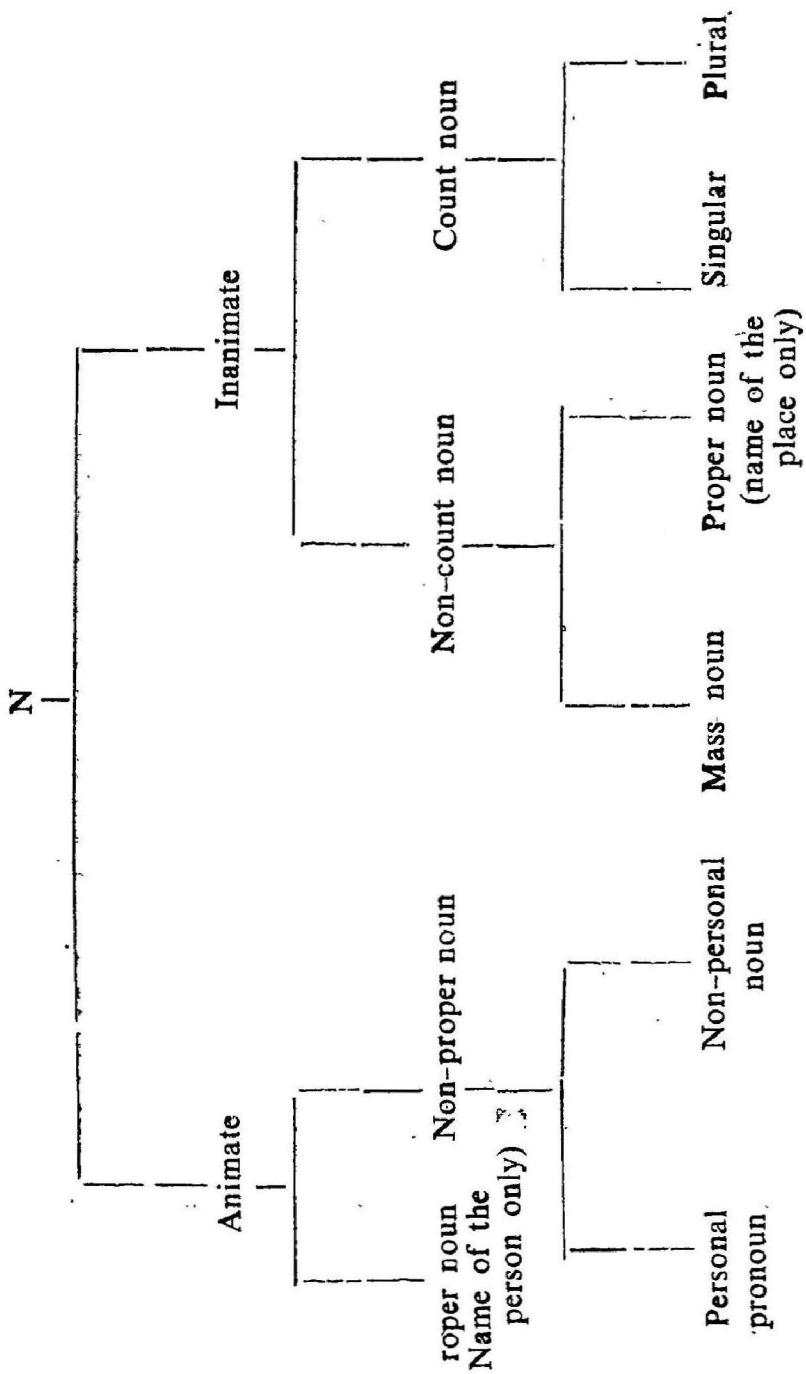
<i>wīde:r-ø</i>	—> <i>wīde:r</i>	'man of Udaiyar caste'
-----------------	------------------	------------------------

### 3.3.4.1. Those which take -č as feminine suffix

Ex. <i>kurub-č</i>	' woman of Kurumba tribe '
<i>erṭ-č</i>	' woman of Irula tribe '
<i>sity-č</i>	' Chettiar woman '
<i>twi:ty-č</i>	' scavenger woman '
<i>wide:r-č</i>	' woman of Udaiyar caste '

### 3.4. Inherent noun

The inherent nouns in Toda can be classified into two main classes, animate and inanimate. This classification is necessitated because certain nouns take *-kids* as the locative case sign and certain others do not. Those which take *-kids* are classified here as animate and the rest inanimate.



### 3.4.1. *Animate nouns*

Animate nouns are of two types. They are 1) Proper nouns and 2) Non-proper nouns. Non-proper nouns are further classified into personal nouns and non-personal nouns.

#### 3.4.1.1. *Proper nouns*

Proper nouns are those which denote the names of person and they do not take plural suffix.

Ex. <i>tōwbn̄is</i>	<i>pi:ldyn̄is</i>
<i>artofin</i>	<i>tǖt̄cw̄i:n̄is</i>
<i>erci:oy</i>	<i>er̄cigyfu:f</i>
<i>t̄rkw̄i:t̄fin</i>	<i>köbu:fīty</i>
<i>kor̄ofxw̄i:t̄n</i>	<i>mašno:fīty</i>
<i>kw̄i:t̄nas</i>	<i>nesfīty</i>
<i>mu:n̄bo:w̄xw̄i:t̄n</i>	<i>p̄insw̄ile:my</i>
<i>nō:ro:ngw̄i:t̄</i>	

#### 3.4.1.2. *Non-proper nouns*

As already mentioned non-proper nouns are classified into 1) personal pronouns 2) non-personal nouns.

#### 3.4.1.2.1. *Personal pronouns*

Ex. <i>ə:n</i>	'I'
<i>om</i>	'we (incl.)'
<i>em</i>	'we (excl.)'
<i>ni:</i>	'you (sg.)'

<i>n̩im</i>	‘you (pl.)’
<i>aθ</i>	‘he / she / it’
<i>aθa:m</i>	‘they / those’

3.4.1.2.2. Non-personal nouns are those which can take attributes.

<i>Ex. tojmox</i>	‘Toda woman’
<i>mox</i>	‘boy’
<i>ku:x</i>	‘girl’
<i>kurub</i>	‘Kurumba tribe’
<i>ma:f</i>	‘Badaga man’
<i>ars</i>	‘king’
<i>erʈ</i>	‘Irula’
<i>kopan</i>	‘butterfly’
<i>kō:g</i>	‘barking deer’
<i>ku:ly</i>	‘stud bull’
<i>kwaṭy</i>	‘cat’
<i>ir</i>	‘buffalo’
<i>pas̩y</i>	‘lizard’
<i>ka;k</i>	‘crow’
<i>katy</i>	‘ass’
<i>püsy</i>	‘tiger’
<i>kor</i>	‘buffalo calf’

### 3.4.2. Inanimate nouns

Inanimate nouns can be classified into 1. non-count nouns and 2. count nouns. Non-count nouns are further classified into 1. mass noun and 2. proper noun.

Count noun takes or is capable of taking the common plural marker *-a:m* whereas proper noun (name of a place) and mass noun do not.

3.4.2.1. Proper nouns are those which denote the name of the place and do not take plural suffix.

Ex. <i>moysu:r</i>	‘Mysore’
<i>kwa:ymütu:r</i>	‘Coimbatore’
<i>mī:tpa:w</i>	‘Mettupalayam’
<i>ku:lū:r</i>	‘Gudalur’
<i>kulpe:txō:r</i>	‘Gundulpet’
<i>nojīrxudy</i>	‘Nanjangod’
<i>ka:rmur</i>	‘Karamadai’
<i>kalikwa:t</i>	‘Calicut’
<i>sotymogolm</i>	‘Sathiamangalam’
<i>no:xu:r</i>	‘Nagore’
<i>maera:č</i>	‘Madras’

3.4.2.2. Mass nouns are those which also cannot take plural suffix.

Ex. <i>nīy</i>	‘ghee’
<i>nī:r</i>	‘water’
<i>po:s</i>	‘milk’
<i>eṇo:y</i>	‘oil’
<i>ašky</i>	‘rice’

3.4.2.3. Inanimate count nouns are those which are capable of taking common plural marker *-a:m*.

Ex. <i>me:n</i>	<i>me:n-a:m</i>	‘trees’
-----------------	-----------------	---------

<i>kas</i>	<i>kas-a:m</i>	'stones'
<i>kɪdf</i>	<i>kɪdf-a:m</i>	'shrubs'
<i>puxury</i>	<i>puxury-a:m</i>	'Toda flutes'
<i>pu:txufy</i>	<i>pu:txufy-a:m</i>	'cloaks'
<i>uly</i>	<i>uly-a:m</i>	'branding irons'
<i>tory</i>	<i>tory-a:m</i>	'poles used at funeral'

### 3.5. Personal pronouns

There are only two personal pronouns, first and second persons and they have number distinction viz. singular and plural. The third person is expressed by the demonstrative pronouns. In third person unlike Tamil etc. there is no gender distinction but only singular and plural number. The first person plural has two forms, an exclusive and inclusive.

#### 3.5.1. First person

{ *o:-* }

∞ *o:-* ∞ *e-*

3.5.1.1. ∞ *e-* occurs before singular suffix *-n* followed by either case suffixes or nouns.

Ex. <i>e-n-a;l</i>	'by me'
<i>e-n-k</i>	'to me'
<i>e-n-pody</i>	'with me'
<i>e-n-go:y</i>	'for my sake'
<i>e-n-kiḍs</i>	'with me'
<i>e-n-a:g</i>	'my house'

3.5.1.2.  $\infty o:-$  occurs before singular suffix  $-n$ 

Ex. *o:-n podpini* ‘I come’

*o:-n pi:pini* ‘I go’

3.5.1.3. *First person inclusive*

{ *o-* }

$\infty o-$

3.5.1.3.1.  $\infty o-$  occurs before plural suffix  $-m$ 

Ex. *o-m-k* ‘to us’

*o-m-a:l* ‘by us’

*o-m-go:y* ‘for oursake’

*o-m podpimi* ‘we come (incl.)’

3.5.1.4. *First person exclusive*

{ *e-* }

$\infty e-$

3.5.1.4.1.  $\infty e-$  occurs before plural suffix  $-m$ 

Ex. *e-m-n* us (object.)

*e-m-a:l* ‘by us’

*e-m-k* ‘to us’

*e-m-pody* ‘with us’

*e-m podpumi* ‘we come (excl.)’

### 3.5.2. *Second person*

{ *ni:* }

$\infty ni:$ ,  $\infty n\bar{i}-$

3.5.2.1.  $\infty n\bar{i}-$  occurs before singular and plural suffixes *-n* and *m* followed by either case suffixes or nouns.

Ex. <i>nī-n-k</i>	'to you'
<i>nī-n-a:l</i>	'by you'
<i>nī-n-pody</i>	'with you'
<i>nī-n a:s</i>	'your house'
<i>nī-m-n</i>	'you (obj.)'
<i>nī-m-a:l</i>	'by you'
<i>nī-m-k</i>	'to you'
<i>nī-m kelc kīst̪i</i>	'you do work'

3.5.2.2.  $\infty ni:$  occurs before  $\emptyset$

Ex. <i>ni:-∅</i> —> <i>ni:</i>	'you (Sg.)'
<i>ni: twī:t̪ tīdpi</i>	'you eat food'
<i>ni: po:s udpi</i>	'you drink milk'

### 3.5.3. *Demonstrative pronoun*

#### 3.5.3.1. *Distant Demonstrative base*

{ *a-* }

$\sim a-$

## 3.5.3.1.1. ~a-

- Ex. *a-θ* ‘that-he / she / it’  
*a-θa:m* ‘that-they / those’

3.5.3.2. *Proximate Demonstrative base*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} i- \\ \end{array} \right\}$

~i-

## 3.5.3.2.1. ~i-

- Ex. *i-θ* ‘this-he / she / it’  
*i-θa:m* ‘this-they / those’

3.5.4. *Interrogative pronoun*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} o:- \\ \end{array} \right\}$

$\infty o:- \quad \infty e:-$

3.5.4.1.  $\infty o:-$  occurs before non-neuter suffix *-ry*

- Ex. *o:ry* ‘who’

3.5.4.2.  $\infty e:$  occurs before genderless suffix *-θ*

- Ex. *e:-θ* ‘which’

3.5.5. *Universal pronoun*

Universal pronoun consists of three elements, viz interrogative base, genderless suffix and non-neuter suffix and universal clitic *-um*.

Inter. base +  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Non-neuter suffix} \\ \text{Genderless suffix} \end{array} \right\} + um$

- Ex. *o:-ry-um* → *o:ryum* ‘any body’  
*e:-θ-um* → *e:θum* ‘any thing’

### 3.5.6. *Indefinite pronoun*

Indefinite pronoun consists of three elements viz interro-gative base, non-neuter, non-human suffix and indefinite clitic *-isky*

Inter. base + { Non-neuter suffix } + *isky*

- Ex. *o:r-isky* → *o:risky* ‘somebody’  
*i-n-isky* → *inisky* ‘something’

### 3.5.7. *Reflexive*

{ *to:-* }

∞ *to:* ∞ *ta-*

3.5.7.1. ∞ *ta-* occurs before singular suffix *-n* and plural suffix *-m* followed by case suffixes.

- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Ex. <i>ta-n-k</i> | ‘to oneself’   |
| <i>ta-n-a:l</i>   | ‘by oneself’   |
| <i>ta-n-go:y</i>  | ‘for own sake’ |
| <i>ta-m-k</i>     | ‘to ourselves’ |
| <i>ta-m-a:l</i>   | ‘by ourselves’ |
| <i>ta-m-go:y</i>  | ‘for oursake’  |

3.5.7.2. ∞ *to:* occurs elsewhere

- Ex. *to:-n* ‘oneself’

### 3.6. Numerals

#### 3.6.1. *one*

{ *wīd* }

$\infty o-$ ,  $\sim -wī:r-$ ,  $\infty muda:l$ ,  $\infty -wīd$

- 3.6.1.1.  $\infty o-$  occurs before *nu:r* ‘hundred’ *so:fer* ‘thousand’ and *kwa:w* ‘ačok measure’.

Ex. <i>o nu:r</i>	‘one hundred’
<i>o so:fer</i>	‘one thousand’
<i>o kwa:w</i>	‘eleven ačok measure’

- 3.6.1.2.  $\sim wī:r$  occurs before *ak* ‘ačok measure’ and *o:r* ‘year’.

Ex. <i>wī:r ak</i>	‘one ačok measure’
<i>wī:r o:r</i>	‘one year’

- 3.6.1.3.  $\infty muda:l-$  occurs before ordinal and adverbial suffix *-tīrk*.

Ex. <i>muda:l- a:fīə</i>	‘first’
<i>muda:l- tīrk</i>	‘once’

- 3.6.1.4.  $\infty wīd$  occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>wīd</i>	‘one’
<i>pan wīd</i>	‘eleven’
<i>wīd o:t</i>	‘one Toda man’
<i>wīd ponm</i>	‘4 Annas (old coin)’

<i>wid ro:jn</i>	'one king'
<i>wid se:r</i>	'one seer measure'
<i>wid ko:s</i>	'one rupee'
<i>wid pi:čm</i>	'one vi:če measure'
<i>wid moŋf</i>	'one maŋangu measure'
<i>wid moŋy</i>	'1 o' clock'

3.6.2. *Two*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e:d \\ i:r \end{array} \right\}$

$\infty i-$ ,  $\sim i:r-$ ,  $\infty e:d-$

3.6.2.1.  $\infty i-$  occurs before *poo* 'ten' *nu:t* 'hundred' and *kwa:w* 'measure'

Ex. *i poo* (2.5)  $\rightarrow$  *i foo* 'twenty'

*i nu:t* 'two hundred'

*i kwa:w* 'twenty two ačok measure'

3.6.2.2.  $\sim i:r-$  occurs before *ak* 'ačok measure' and *o:t* 'year'.

Ex. *i:r ak* 'two ačok measure'

*i:r o:t* 'two years'

3.6.2.3.  $\infty e:d-$  occurs elsewhere

Ex. *e:d* 'two'

*pon e:d* 'twelve'

*e:d so:fer* 'two thousand'

*e:d moŋy* '2 o' clock'

<i>e:d poŋm</i>	'8 Annas (old coin)'
<i>e:d kwa:w</i>	'two <i>kwa:x</i> measure'
<i>e:d silyx</i>	'two big measure'
<i>e:d e:d</i>	'two each'

3.6.3. *Three*

{ *mu:d* }

∞ *mu-*, ∞ *mud-*

3.6.3.1. ∞ *mu-* occurs before *poe* 'ten', *nu:t* 'hundred'  
*kwa:w* 'measure' and *ak* 'ačok measure'

Ex. <i>mu poe</i>	'thirty'
<i>mu nu:t</i>	'three hundred'
<i>mu kwa:w</i>	'three <i>kwa:x</i> measure'
<i>mu-ak</i> (2.51, 52) → <i>ma:k</i>	'three ačok measure'

3.6.3.2. ∞ *mu:d* occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>mu:<u>d</u></i>	'three'
<i>pon mu:<u>d</u></i>	'thirteen'
<i>mu:<u>d</u> o:t</i>	'three persons'
<i>mu:<u>d</u> kor</i>	'three calves'
<i>mu.<u>d</u> a:g</i>	'three houses'
<i>mu:<u>d</u> poŋm</i>	'12 Annas (old coin)'
<i>mu:<u>d</u> silyx</i>	'three big measure'
<i>mu:<u>d</u> mu:<u>d</u></i>	'three each'

3.6.4. *Four*

{ no:ng }

∞ nal- ∞ no: ∞ a:ng ∞ no:ng-

## 3.6.4.1. ∞ nal- occurs before poe 'ten'

Ex. *nalpoe* 'forty'

3.6.4.2. ∞ no:- occurs before *nu:ṛ* 'hundred' and *kwa:w* 'measure'

Ex. *no: nu:ṛ* 'four hundred'

*no: kwa:w* 'four *kwa:x* measure'

3.6.4.3. ∞ a:ng- occurs after *p* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *p-a:ng* 'fourteen'

*p-a:ng ak* '14 *ačok* measure'

## 3.6.4.4. ∞ no:ng- occurs elsewhere

Ex. *no:ng* 'four'

*no:ng moṇy.* '4 o' clock'

*no:ng o:ṭ* 'four Toda men'

*no:ng so:fer* 'four thousand'

*no:ng ko:l* '4½'

*no:ng silyx* 'four big measure'

*no:ng nong* 'four each'

3.6.5. *Five*

{ *üj* }

$\infty e-$ ,  $\infty \ddot{u}:j-$ ,  $\infty oy-$ ,  $\infty \ddot{u}j-$

3.6.5.1.  $\infty e-$  occurs before *boø* 'ten' and *nu:t* 'hundred' and it is in free variation with *oy* before *nu:t*<sup>1</sup>

Ex. <i>eboø</i>	'fifty'
<i>enu:t</i>	'five hundred'
<i>oynu:t</i>	'five hundred' ( <i>Töwfit</i> moiety)

3.6.5.2.  $\infty u:j$  occurs after *p* denoting 'ten'

Ex. <i>p-u:j</i>	'fifteen'
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3.6.5.3.  $\infty oy-$  occurs before *ak* and *kwa:w*

Ex. <i>oy ak</i>	'five <i>učok</i> measure'
<i>oy kwa:w</i>	'five <i>kwa:x</i> measure'

3.6.5.4.  $\infty \ddot{u}j$  occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>üj</i>	'five'
<i>üj mony</i>	'five o' clock'
<i>üj o:t</i>	'five Toda men'
<i>üj tojmox</i>	'five Toda women'
<i>üj poŋm</i>	'five (four annas) coin'
<i>üj so:fer</i>	'five thousand'

1 This form occurs in *Töwfit* moiety speech.

<i>üj silyx</i>	'five big measure'
<i>üj üj</i>	'five each'

3.6.6. *Six*

$\{ \ a:r \ \}$

$\infty a:r-$ ,  $\infty a:r$

3.6.6.1.  $\infty a:r-$  occurs before *pɔθ* 'ten' and *kwa:w* 'measure'.

Ex. *a:r-poθ* (2.6)  $\rightarrow$  *a:roθ* 'sixty'  
*a:r-kwa:w* 'six *kwa:x* measure'

3.6.6.2.  $\infty a:r$  occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>a:r</i>	'six'
<i>p-a:r</i>	'sixteen'
<i>a:r nu:r</i>	'six hundred'
<i>a:r so:fer</i>	'six thousaed'
<i>a:r ak</i>	'six <i>ačok</i> measure'
<i>a:r mony</i>	'six o' clock'
<i>a:r silyx</i>	'six big measure'
<i>a:r a:r</i>	'six each'

3.6.7. *Seven*

$\{ \ öw \ \}$

$\infty a:w-$   $\infty öw-$

3.6.7.1.  $\infty a:w-$  occurs after *p-* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *p-a:w* 'seventeen'

3.6.7 2.  $\infty \ddot{o}w-$  occurs elsewhere

Ex. $\ddot{o}w$	'seven'
$\ddot{o}w-poe$ (2.6) —> $\ddot{o}woe$	'seventy'
$\ddot{o}w nu:\tau$	'seven hundred'
$\ddot{o}w so:fer$	'seven thousand'
$\ddot{o}w kwa:w$	'seven <i>kwa:x</i> measure'
$\ddot{o}w silyx$	'seven big measure'

3.6.8. *Eight*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \ddot{o}t \\ \ddot{o}t \end{array} \right\}$

$\infty u:t-$     $\infty \ddot{o}t-$

3.6.8 1.  $\infty u:t-$  occurs after *p-* denoting 'ten'

Ex. $p-u:t$	'eighteen'
-------------	------------

3.6.8.2.  $\infty \ddot{o}t-$  occurs elsewhere

Ex. $\ddot{o}t$	'eight'
$\ddot{o}t-poe$ (2.5) —> $\ddot{o}tfoe$	'eighty'
$\ddot{o}t nu:\tau$	'eight hundred'
$\ddot{o}t so:fer$	'eight thousand'
$\ddot{o}t ak$	'eight <i>ačok</i> measure'
$\ddot{o}t kwa:w$	'eight <i>kwa:x</i> measure'
$\ddot{o}t silyx$	'eight big measure'
$\ddot{o}t \ddot{o}t$	'eight each'

3.6.9. *Nine*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} w\bar{i}nboe \\ w\bar{i}nboe \end{array} \right\}$

$\infty e:\eta-$     $\infty u:nboe-$ ,    $\infty w\bar{i}nboe-$     $\infty w\bar{i}nboe$

3.6.9.1.  $\infty e:\eta-$  occurs before *boθ* 'ten'

Ex. *e:ηboθ*                          'ninety'

3.6.9.2.  $\infty wīnbo$  occurs before word juncture #

Ex. <i>wīnbo nu:r</i>	'nine hundred'
<i>wīnbo so:fer</i>	'nine thousand'
<i>wīnbo poym</i>	'nine old coin'
<i>wīnbo kwa:w</i>	'nine <i>kwa:x</i> measure'
<i>wīnbo silyx</i>	'nine big measure'
<i>wīnbo-ak</i> (2.51,52) —> <i>wīnba:k</i>	'nine <i>ačok</i> measure'

3.6.9.3.  $\infty u:nboθ$  occurs after *p-* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *pu:nboθ*                          'nineteen'

3.6.9.4.  $\infty wīnboθ$  occurs only as a numeral

Ex. *wīnboθ*                          'nine'

3.6.10. *Ten*

{ *pot* }

$\infty pon-$ ,  $\infty poθ-$ ,  $\infty boθ-$ ,  $\infty p-$ ,  $\infty pot$

3.6.10.1.  $\infty pon-$  occurs as adjective base before one, two and three.

Ex. *pon wīd*                          'eleven'

*pon e:d*                                  'twelve'

*pon mu:d*                                  'thirteen'

3.6.10.2.  $\infty$  *poo* occurs after *mu-*, *nal-*, *ar-*, *öw-* *i-* and *öt-* denoting 'three', 'four', 'six', 'seven', 'two' and 'eight'.

Ex. <i>mupoø</i>	'thirty'
<i>nalpoø</i>	'forty'
<i>ar-poo</i> (2.6) —> <i>aroo</i>	'sixty'
<i>öw-poo</i> (2.6) —> <i>öwoo</i>	'seventy'
<i>i-poo</i> (2.5) —> <i>ifoo</i>	'twenty'
<i>öt-poo</i> (2.5) —> <i>ötfoo</i>	'eighty'

3.6.10.3.  $\infty$  *boo-* occurs after *e-*, *pu:n* and *e:n*

Ex. <i>e-boo</i>	'fifty'
<i>pu:n-boo</i>	'nineteen'
<i>e:n-boo</i>	'ninety'

3.6.10.4.  $\infty$  *p-* occurs before *-a:ng*, *-u:j*, *-a:r*, *-a:w*, *u:t* and *-u:nboo*.

Ex. <i>pa:ng</i>	'fourteen'
<i>pu:j</i>	'fifteen'
<i>pa:r</i>	'sixteen'
<i>pa:w</i>	'seventeen'
<i>pu:t</i>	'eighteen'
<i>pu:nboo</i>	'nineteen'

3.6.10.5.  $\infty$  *pot* occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>pot</i>	'ten'
<i>pot sofer</i>	'ten thousand'
<i>pot pom</i>	'ten old coins'

- pot ak* ‘ten *ačok* measure’  
*pot kwa:w* ‘ten *kwa:x* measure’

### 3.6.11. *Hundred*

{ *nu:r* }

~ *nu:r*

#### 3.6.11.1. ~ *nu:r*

Ex. <i>nu:r</i>	‘hundred’
<i>nu:r wi:d</i>	‘hundred and one’
<i>nu:r e:d</i>	‘hundred and two’
<i>nu:r mu:d</i>	‘hundred and three’
<i>nu:r no:ng</i>	‘hundred and four’
<i>nu:r üj</i>	‘hundred and five’
<i>nu:r a:r</i>	‘hundred and six’
<i>nu:r öw</i>	‘hundred and seven’
<i>nu:r öt</i>	‘hundred and eight’
<i>nu:r wīnbōo</i>	‘hundred and nine’
<i>nu:r poø</i>	‘hundred and ten’
<i>nu:r ponwi:d</i>	‘hundred and eleven’
<i>nu:r pone:d</i>	‘hundred and twelve’
<i>nu:r ponmu:d</i>	‘hundred and thirteen’
<i>nu:r pa:ng</i>	‘hundred and fourteen’
<i>nu:r pu:ž</i>	‘hundred and fifteen’
<i>nu:r poø</i>	‘hundred and ten’
<i>nu:r ifoo</i>	‘hundred and twenty’

<i>nu:<u>t</u> mupoø</i>	‘hundred and thirty’
<i>nu:<u>t</u> nalpoo</i>	‘hundred and forty’
<i>nu:<u>t</u> eboo</i>	‘hundred and fifty’
<i>nu:<u>t</u> aroø</i>	‘hundred and sixty’
<i>nu:<u>t</u> ñwooø</i>	‘hundred and seventy’
<i>nu:<u>t</u> ötfœø</i>	‘hundred and eighty’
<i>nu:<u>t</u> e:ñbooø</i>	‘hundred and ninety’

3.6.12. *Thousand*

{ *so:fer* }

∞ *so:fer* ∞ *so:ferm*

3.6.12.1. ∞ *so:ferm*—occurs when it is followed by numerals.

Ex. <i>so:ferm wïd</i>	‘thousand and one’
<i>so:ferm e:d</i>	‘thousand and two’
<i>so:ferm mu:d</i>	‘thousand and three’
<i>so:ferm no:ng</i>	‘thousand and four’
<i>so:ferm üj</i>	‘thousand and five’
<i>so:ferm öt</i>	‘thousand and eight’
<i>so:ferm ifœø</i>	‘thousand and twenty’
<i>so:ferm nalpoo</i>	‘thousand and forty’
<i>so:ferm eboo</i>	‘thousand and fifty’
<i>so:ferm e:ñbooø</i>	‘thousand and ninety’

3.6.12.2. ∞ *so:fer* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>o so:fer</i>	‘one thousand’
<i>e:d so:fer</i>	‘two thousand’

<i>mu:<u>d</u> so:fer</i>	‘three thousand’
<i>no:ng so:fer</i>	‘four thousand’
<i>üj so:fer</i>	‘five thousand’
<i>a:r so:fer</i>	‘six thousand’
<i>öw so:fer</i>	‘seven thousand’
<i>öt so:fer</i>	‘eight thousand’
<i>wi:nbo so:fer</i>	‘nine thousand’
<i>so:fer o:t</i>	‘thousand Todas’
<i>so:fer ir</i>	‘thousand buffaloes’

### 3.6.13. *Lakh*

$\left\{ lačm \right\}$   
 $\sim lačm$

#### 3.6.13.1 $\sim lačm$

Ex. <i>wi:d lačm</i>	‘one lakh’
<i>e:d lačm</i>	‘two lakhs’
<i>mu:<u>d</u> lačm</i>	‘three lakhs’
<i>wi:d lačm-t- pot so:fer</i> (2.7) —>	
<i>wi:d lač-t- pot so:fer</i>	
‘one lakh and ten thousands’	

<i>mu:<u>d</u> lačm-t- no:ng so:fer</i> (2.7) —>	
<i>mu:<u>d</u> lač-t- no:ng so:fer</i>	
‘Three lakhs and four thousands’	
<i>no:ng lačm-t e:d so:fer</i> —>	
<i>no:ng lač-t e:d so:fer</i>	
‘Four lakhs and two thousands’	

*e:d lačm-t üj so:fer* (2.7) —>

*e:d lač-t üj so:fer*

‘Two lakhs and five thousands’

### 3.6.14. *Crore*

{ *kwī:dy* }

∞ *kwī:dy* ∞ *kwī:dy*m

3.6.14.1. ∞ *kwī:dy*m occurs when it is followed by the numeral lakhs.

Ex. *no:ng kwī:dy* *e:d lačm*

‘Four crores and two lakhs’

*e:d kwī:dy* *mu:d lačm* ‘Two crores and three lakhs’

*üj kwī:dy* *öt lačm* ‘Five crores and eight lakhs’

3.6.14.2. ∞ *kwī:dy* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *wīd kwī:dy* ‘one crore’

*e:d kwī:dy* ‘two crores’

*mu:d kwī:dy* ‘three crores’

*no:ng kwī:dy* ‘four crores’

*üj kwī:dy* ‘five crores’

*kwī:dy* *ir* ‘crore buffaloes’

## 3.7. Derivative nouns

### 3.7.1. Agentive suffix

*St.*

{ *-xo:r* }

~ - *xo:r*

3.7.1.1. ~ -xo:*r* occurs after the nouns *karm* etc as given below.

Ex. <i>karm-xo:r-n</i>	'sinner'
<i>koty-xo:r-n</i>	'clever fellow'
<i>kwaly-xo:r-n</i>	'murderer'
<i>ogody-xo:r-n</i>	'person who posses shop'
<i>korñ-xo:r-n</i>	'person with debt'
<i>poñm-xo:r-n</i> (2.7) —> <i>poñxo:rn</i>	'rich man'
<i>ašky-xo:r-n</i>	'person who sells rice'
<i>kapoty-xo:r-n</i>	'person who sells jaggery'
<i>eno:y-xo:r-n</i>	'person who sells oil'
<i>kubly-xo:r-n</i>	'person who sells blankets'
<i>toyl-xo:r-n</i>	'Eucalyptus seller'
<i>pody-xo:r-n</i>	'person who possessing or driving carts'
<i>so:roy-xo:r-n</i>	'arrack seller'
<i>twi:tm-xo:r-n</i> (2.7) —> <i>twi:txo:rn</i>	'person who possess lands'
<i>pat-xo:r-n</i>	'person who sells bangles'
<i>püty-xo:r-n</i>	'person who sells tamarind'
<i>mñ:n-xo:r-n</i>	'person who sells fish'

This is a very productive derivation in the Toda language.

3.7.2. ~ -o:m occurs after the noun *kwidbil-*

Ex. <i>kwidbil-o:m</i>	'relatives'
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3.7.3. ~ *-upm* occurs after noun *koy-*

Ex. *koy-upm* ‘signature’

3.7.4. ~ *-o:t* occurs in the following

Ex. *püty o:t* ‘wise man’

*püen o:t* ‘stranger’

*soko:tmo:t* ‘sick person’

*modo:t* ‘Toda village people’

3.7.5. ~ *-my* occurs after the following stems

Ex. *per-my* ‘greatness, fame’

*nat-my* (2.10) → *nanmy*  
‘goodness’



# 4

## Verbs

4.0. Verbs are those which can take or are capable of taking tense suffixes. Verbal nouns and participial nouns take case suffixes also. Since they are derived from the verb stems, they are treated under verbs.

### 4.1.1. *Transitive*

$V_{\text{intr}_2} -$

{ -t- }

∞-t- ∞-c- ∞-f-

4.1.1.1. ∞-c- occurs after all the intransitive<sub>2</sub> of γ class (4.22.1.3.2) θ class (4.22.2.3.2) τ class (4.22.3.3.2) and after the intransitive<sub>2</sub> of δ class (4.22.4.3.2).

Ex. *kak-c*

‘to make to vomit’

<i>o:d-c</i>	'to make to dance'	
<i>mu:x-c</i>	'to destroy'	
<i>o:r-c</i>	'to settle dispute'	
<i>ti:r-c</i>	'to finish'	
<i>ko:y-c</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>ko:c</i> 'to heat'
<i>kody-c</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>kodc</i> 'to make to disappear'
<i>tīry-c</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>tīrc</i> 'to translate'
<i>nadc</i>		'to conduct'
<i>tony-c</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>tonc</i> 'to make cool, calm'
<i>pīxy-c</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>pīxc</i> 'to tighten'
<i>pūry-c</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>pūrc</i> 'to fill'
<i>pīry-c</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>pīrc</i> 'to make spring forth'
<i>tūt̪y-c</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>tūt̪c</i> 'to calm'
<i>kat̪-c</i> (2.9)	—>	<i>kalc</i> 'to teach'
<i>kōt̪-c</i> (2.11)	—>	<i>kōdc</i> 'to destory'
<i>twī:t̪-c</i> (2.9)	—>	<i>twī:lc</i> 'to defeat'
<i>mony-c</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>monc</i> 'to forgive'
<i>pīr-c</i>		'to destory'
<i>o:pot̪-c</i>		'to catch'
<i>tōdxōt̪-c</i>		'to make tired'
<i>nil-c</i>		'to stop'

4.1.1.2.  $\infty-t-$  occurs after the intransitive<sub>2</sub> of *y* class (4.23.1.3.1), *ø* class (4.23.2.3.1) and after the intransitive<sub>2</sub> of *d* class (4.23.4.3.1)

Ex. *alx-t* (2.3,4) —> *alk* 'to shake'

*tīx-t* (2.3,4) —> *tīk* 'to put down burden'

<i>odg-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>odk</i>	'to subdue'
<i>wīrg-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>wīrk</i>	'to crush'
<i>tīrb-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>tīrp</i>	'to turn (key)'
<i>o:d-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>o:t</i>	'to shake'
<i>ku:ṛ-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>ku:t</i>	'to join'
<i>ni:ṛ-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>ni:t</i>	'to stretchout'
<i>mo:ṛ-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>mo:t</i>	'to change (way)'
<i>tō:ṛ-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>tō:t</i>	'to make improve (in health)'
<i>ōd-t</i>	(2.12)	—>	<i>ōṛt</i>	'to arouse'
<i>kad-t</i>	(2.12)	—>	<i>kart</i>	'to take cross'
<i>nār-t</i>		—>		'to make to walk'
<i>sō:r-t</i>	(2.13)	—>	<i>sō:t</i>	'to make to reach'
<i>u:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>u:t</i>	'to roll'
<i>tu:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>tu:t</i>	'to rollup'
<i>pī:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>pī:t</i>	'to make tumble over'
<i>pu:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>pu:t</i>	'to tie around some else's neck'
<i>kiskwīl-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>kiskwīt</i>	'to tickle'
<i>ni:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>ni:t</i>	'to stretchout'
<i>pe:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>pe:t</i>	'to frighten away (buffalo)'
<i>ko:ṇ-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>ko:t</i>	'to show'
<i>no:l-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>no:t</i>	'to make to become wet'

#### 4.1.1.3. *oo-f-* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *ōd-f* (2.12) —> *ōṛf* 'to arouse from sleep'

<i>kwal-f</i>	'to make to be emaciated'
<i>aṛ-f</i>	'to shut'
<i>twad-f</i>	'be polluted'
<i>war-f</i>	'to break'
<i>tar-f</i>	'to prevent'
<i>nēn-f</i>	'to make to think'
<i>pax-f</i>	'be divided'
<i>kwaṛ-f</i>	'to cut'
<i>pet-f</i>	'to grow'
<i>kar-f</i>	'to tighten'
<i>neṛ-f</i>	'to fill'

#### 4 1.2. *Causative*

*S<sub>1</sub>-*  
 { -eṛ }  
 ~ -eṛ<sup>1</sup>

##### 4.1.2.1. ~ -eṛ

<i>Ex. tin-eṛ</i>	'to cause to eat'
<i>mar-eṛ</i>	'to cause to forget'
<i>un-eṛ</i>	'to cause to drink'
<i>tr-eṛ</i>	'to cause to sit'
<i>nar-eṛ</i>	'to cause to walk'

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1. Prof. M. B. Emeneau connects this to Tamil-Malayalam *erru* 'to strike, throw (as with a sling)'. This might originally be a periphrastic construction involving the infinite form of a verb plus *erru*.

<i>kat-et</i>	‘to cause to learn’
<i>ōšt-et</i>	‘to cause to say’
<i>kīy-et</i>	‘to cause to do’
<i>nīl-et</i>	‘to cause to stand’

#### 4.2. Verbal derivative<sup>1</sup>

Verbal derivative is not productive in Toda. There are many verbal derivative suffixes like *-p* *-f* *-il* *-t* etc. which occur after verbal stems. The number of verbal stems to which each of these derivative suffixes added is limited.

St.

##### 4.2.1. *The deed*

{ *-p* }

$\infty$ -ky    $\infty$ -θy    $\infty$ -y    $\infty$ -f    $\infty$ -m    $\infty$ -p

##### 4.2.1.1. $\infty$ -ky occurs after the verbs *nob-*, *oj-*, and *ko:n-*

Ex. <i>nob-ky</i>	‘belief’
<i>oj-ky</i>	‘fear’
<i>ko:n-ky</i>	‘offering to Hindu temple’

1 Verbal derivative is a non-productive morpheme and so the allomorphs of the various verbal derivative suffixes are morphologically conditioned.

See: Dr. S. Agesthialingom, *Description of the language of Patiruppattu*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Kerala Univ., 1961.

See also: Dr. S. V. Shanmugam, *The Language of Tamil Inscriptions (1350 to 1700 A.D.)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Annamalai Univ., 1968.

4.2.1.2.  $\infty$ -*f* occurs after the verb *aṭ-*

Ex. *aṭ-f* ‘measurement’

4.2.1.3.  $\infty$ -*ey* occurs after the verb *mar-*

Ex. *mar-ey* ‘forgetfulness’

4.2.1.4.  $\infty$ -*y* occurs after the verbs *po:t-* and *pax-*

Ex. *po:t-y* ‘bed’

*pax-y* ‘division’

4.2.1.5.  $\infty$ -*m* occurs after the verbs *ōṇ-*, *ku:t-* and *wi:d-*

Ex. *ōṇ-m* ‘counting’

*ku:t-m* ‘meeting of assembly’

*wi:d-m* ‘running’

4.2.1.6.  $\infty$ -*p* occurs after the verbs *uny-*, *nen-*, and *mony-*

Ex. *uny-p* ‘a thought’

*nen-p* ‘,,’

*mony-p* ‘forgiveness’

#### 4.2.2. Resultive nominals

{ -*f* }

$\infty$ -*f*,  $\infty$ -*mo:nm*,  $\infty$ -*xin*  $\infty$ -*n*  $\infty$ -*p*

4.2.2.1.  $\infty$ -*f* occurs after the verbs *ke:t-* and *neṛ-*

Ex. *ke:t-f* ‘news, word’

*neṛ-f* ‘full moon’

4.2.2.2.  $\infty$ -*p* occurs after the verb *naṛ-*

Ex. *naṛ-p* ‘character’

4.2.2.3.  $\infty - mo:nm$  occurs after the verb *ti:r-*

Ex. *ti:r-mo:nm* 'decision'

4.2.2.4.  $\infty - xīn$  occurs after the verb *tot-*

Ex. *tot-xīn* 'goldsmith'

4.2.2.5.  $\infty n$  occurs after the verb *kol-*

Ex. *kol-n* (2.17)  $\rightarrow$  *koln* 'thief'

#### 4.2.3. Action nominals

$\{ -il \}$

$\sim -il$

4.2.3.1.  $\sim il$  occurs after the verbs *pik-* *kasp-* *ko:f-* *ku:s-* and *kwīj-*

Ex. *pik-il* 'cough'

*kasp-il* 'transgression of dairy rules'

*ko:f-il* 'act of watching'

*ku:s-il* 'a heap'

*kwīj-il* 'ridicule'

#### 4.2.4. Resultant-object nominals

$\{ -t \}$

$\infty-t$ ,  $\infty-fu$ ,  $\infty-i(r)e:r$ ,  $\infty fy$ ,  $\infty \emptyset$ ,  $\infty xu(t)y$

4.2.4.1.  $\infty-fu$  occurs after this *ary-*

Ex. *ary-fu*  $\rightarrow$  *aryfu* 'knowledge'

4.2.4.2.  $\infty$ -*īte:r* occurs after the verb *pi:k-*

Ex. *pi:k-īte:r* ‘a lie’

4.2.4.3.  $\infty$ -*fy* occurs after the verb *kat*

Ex. *kat-fy* (2.9) —> *kalfy* ‘education’

4.2.4.4.  $\infty$ -*xut̪y* occurs after the verb *oj-*

Ex. *oj-xut̪v* ‘coward’

4.2.4.5.  $\infty$ -*g* occurs after the verb *pu:t̪*

Ex. *pu:t̪-g* —> *pu:t̪* ‘a lock’

4.2.4.6.  $\infty$ -*t* occurs after the verbs *oty-*, *īt-*, *karc-*, *pe:s-*, *wī:oy-* and *nesoty*.

(up) *oty-t* (2.26) —> (up) *ott*  
   ‘act of pouring salt for the  
   buffalo’

(*pīs*) *īt-t*   ‘bow giving ceremony during  
   women’s pregnancy’

(*pep*) *karc-t*   ‘act of purifying the coagulant’

(*poty*) *pe:s-t*   ‘act of thatching the dairy’

(*pok*) *wī:oy-t* (2.26) —> *pok wī:et*  
    ‘act of reading’ (book)

(*mad*) *nesoty-t* (2.26) —> (*mad*) *nesott*  
    ‘act of salutation (head)’

4.2.5. *The instrument or consequence of action*

{ -*xu:* }

$\infty$  -*xu:*     $\infty$  -*xut̪y*

4.2.5.1  $\infty$  -xu: occurs after the verb müc-

Ex. müc-xu: 'lid'

4.2.5.2.  $\infty$  -xut $\ddot{y}$  occurs after the verb pu:t-

Ex. pu:t-xut $\ddot{y}$  'cloak'

### 4.3. Verb classes

When we look into the conjugational system of Toda verbs, we come across two types of stems, which we call simple stem (labelled as  $S_1$ ) and secondary stem (labelled as  $S_2$ ). Verbal base ( $S_1$ ) is basis for all verb construction. In Toda, verbs have a secondary stem ( $S_2$ ) which forms the basis for the past tense and of the present-future tense (as well as of some other formations). The secondary stem which corresponds to the past stem of the other South Dravidian languages is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base (1) -θ- (2) -t- (3) -d- and (4) -y-. Toda has in the  $S_2$  stem the following classes<sup>1</sup>. By adding these, certain changes take place. These changes are dealt in the morpho-phonemic section. (See Rules 2.20-2.40).

- 1)  $S_2 = S_1 + y$
- 2)  $S_2 = S_1 + \theta$
- 3)  $S_2 = S_1 + t$
- 4)  $S_2 = S_1 + d$

#### 4.3.1. Tense suffixes

{  $S_2 -$  }

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1 M. B. Emeneau, 'The South Dravidian Languages,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 87, p. 365-412, 1967.

4.3.1.1. *Non-past (Present-Future)*

$\left\{ -p- \right\}$

\*     $\infty -\emptyset-$      $\infty -t-$      $\infty -p-$ .

4.3.1.1.1.  $\infty -\emptyset-$  occurs after the secondary stem  $S_2$  and before personal termination in declaratives.

Ex. <i>pod-Ø-pin-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podpini</i>	'come-I'
<i>pod-Ø-pim-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podpimi</i>	'come-we (excl.)'
<i>pod-Ø-pum-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podpumi</i>	'come-we (incl.)'
<i>pod-Ø-p-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podpi</i>	'come-you'
<i>pod-Ø-tš-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podtši</i>	'come-you (pl.)'
<i>pod-Ø-t-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podti</i>	'comes-he/she/it'
<i>pod-Ø-t-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podti</i>	'come-they'
<i>pi:-Ø-pin-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:pini</i>	'go-I'
<i>pi:-Ø-pim-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:pimi</i>	'go-we (excl.)'
<i>pi:-Ø-pum-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:pumi</i>	'go-we (incl.)'
<i>pi:-Ø-p-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:pi</i>	'go-you'
<i>pi:-Ø-tš-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:tši</i>	'go-you (pl.)'
<i>pi:-Ø-t-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:ti</i>	'goes-he/she/it'
<i>pi:-Ø-t-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:ti</i>	'go-they'
<i>tid-Ø-pin-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīd pini</i>	'eat-I'
<i>tid-Ø-pim-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīd pimi</i>	'eat-wē (excl.)'
<i>tīd-Ø-pum-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīd pumi</i>	'eat-we (incl.)'
<i>tīd-Ø-p-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīd pi</i>	'eat-you'
<i>tīd-Ø-tš-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīd tši</i>	'eat-you (pl.)'
<i>tīd-Ø-t-i</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīd ti</i>	'eats-he/she/it'

<i>tīd-ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>tīdти</i>	‘eat-they’
<i>pīt-ø-pin-i</i>	—> <i>pītpini</i>	‘carry-I’
<i>pīt-ø-pim-i</i>	—> <i>pītpimi</i>	‘carry-we (excl.)’
<i>pīt-ø-pum-i</i>	—> <i>pītpumi</i>	‘carry-we (incl.)’
<i>pīt-ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>pītpi</i>	‘carry-you’
<i>pīt-ø-tš-i</i>	—> <i>pīttši</i>	‘carry-you (pl.)’
<i>pīt-ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>pītti</i>	‘carries-he/she/it’
<i>pīt-ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>pītti</i>	‘carry-they’
<i>ud-ø-pin-i</i>	—> <i>udpini</i>	‘drink-I’
<i>ud-ø-pim-i</i>	—> <i>udpimi</i>	‘drink-we (incl.)’
<i>ud-ø-pum-i</i>	—> <i>udpumi</i>	‘drink-we (excl.)’
<i>ud-ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>udpi</i>	‘drink-you’
<i>ud-ø-tš-i</i>	—> <i>udtši</i>	‘drink-you (pl.)’
<i>ud-ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>udti</i>	‘drinks-he/she/it’
<i>ud-ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>udti</i>	‘drink-they’
<i>karø-ø-pin-i</i>	—> <i>karøpini</i>	‘milk-I’
<i>karø-ø-pim-i</i>	—> <i>karøpimi</i>	‘milk-wē (excl.)’
<i>karø-ø-pum-i</i>	—> <i>karøpumi</i>	‘milk-we (incl.)’
<i>karø-ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>karøpi</i>	‘milk-you’
<i>karø-ø-tš-i</i>	—> <i>karøtši</i>	‘milk-you (pl.)’
<i>karø-ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>karøti</i>	‘milks-he’
<i>karø-ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>karøti</i>	‘milk-they’

*S<sub>1</sub>*— (caus.)

<i>tīn-e t-ø-pin-i</i>	—> <i>tīne tpinī</i>	‘to cause to eat-I’
<i>tīn-e t-ø-pim-i</i>	—> <i>tīne tpmi</i>	‘to cause to eat-we (excl.)’

<i>tin-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-pum-i</i>	—> <i>tineti<sub>pumi</sub></i>	'to cause to eat-we (incl.)'
<i>tin-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>tineti<sub>pi</sub></i>	'to cause to eat-you'
<i>tin-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-tši</i>	—> <i>tineti<sub>tši</sub></i>	'to cause to eat-you (pl.)'
<i>tin-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>tineti<sub>i</sub></i>	'to cause to eat-he/ she'
<i>tin-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>tinetti</i>	'to cause to eat-they'
<i>nar-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-pin-i</i>	—> <i>nare<sub>1</sub>pin<sub>i</sub></i>	'to cause to walk-I'
<i>nar-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-pim-i</i>	—> <i>nare<sub>1</sub>pimi</i>	'to cause to walk- we (excl.)'
<i>nar-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-pum-i</i>	—> <i>nare<sub>1</sub>pumi</i>	'to cause to walk- we (incl.)'
<i>nar-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>nare<sub>1</sub>pi</i>	'to cause to walk-you'
<i>nar-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-ttš-i</i>	—> <i>nare<sub>1</sub>tši</i>	'to cause to walk- you (pl.)'
<i>nar-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>naretti</i>	'to cause to walk-he/ she'
<i>nar-e<sub>1</sub>-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>naretti</i>	'to cause to walk-they'

4.3.1.1.2.  $\infty$  -*p* occurs after secondary stem ( $S_2$ ) and before *o:t* in participial noun.

Ex. <i>pod-p-o:t</i>	—> <i>podpo:t</i>	'person who comes'
<i>kis-p-o:t</i>	—> <i>kis-p-o:t</i>	'person who does'
<i>pi:-p-o:t</i>	—> <i>pi:po:t</i>	'person who goes'
<i>ud-p-o:t</i>	—> <i>udpo:t</i>	'person who drinks'
<i>oštý-p-o:t</i>	—> <i>oštýpo:t</i>	'person who says'

<i>tīd-p-o:t̪</i>	—>	<i>tīdpo:t̪</i>	'person who eats'
<i>kare-p-o:t̪</i>	—>	<i>karepo:t̪</i>	'person who milks'

4.3.1.1.3.  $\infty$ -*t̪* occurs after secondary stem  $S_2$  and before relative participle suffix - $\emptyset$  in relative participle<sub>1</sub>.

Ex. <i>kaʃ-t̪-∅</i>	—>	<i>kaʃt̪</i>	'that studying'
<i>pod-t̪-∅</i>	—>	<i>podt̪</i>	'that coming'
<i>kīs-t̪-∅</i>	—>	<i>kīst̪</i>	'that doing'
<i>pūʃōdə-t̪-∅</i>	—>	<i>pūʃōdət̪</i>	'that calling'
<i>nīd-t̪-∅</i>	—>	<i>nīdt̪</i>	'that standing'

#### 4.3.1.2. Past tense

In Toda language the past tense and the present-future (as well as some other formations) are formed on a special stem that may be called the 'secondary stem' ( $S_2$  of Emeneau). This secondary stem historically corresponds to the past stem of Tamil-Malayalam and some other languages. The secondary stem is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base 1.  $\emptyset$  2. *t* 3. *d* and 4. *y*. 'In South Dravidian Toda is the only language which retains in full working order as part of the past tense formation the sibilant suffix that must be reconstructed as part of past tense apparatus for Proto-Dravidian'<sup>1</sup>.

It has several sibilant allomorphs *s z, g ʒ, ſ ʒ, s ʒ* and  $\emptyset$ . *s* has been taken as base and all other sibilants have been explained as phonologically conditioned alternants. For details see the sandhi rules S.2.41-2.49.

1. Emeneau, M.B. 'Toda, A Dravidian language' *Transactions of the Philological Society* p. 46, 1957.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2 - \\ S_1 - (\text{Tr.}) \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\left\{ -s - \right\}$$

$\sim -s - \infty - \emptyset -$ .

4.3.1.2.1.  $\infty - \emptyset -$  occurs after the secondary stem ( $S_2$ ) and before relative participle suffix  $-foy$ .

- |   |               |                |           |
|---|---------------|----------------|-----------|
| Ex. <i>kai-</i> $\emptyset$ <i>-foy</i> | $\rightarrow$ | <i>kaifoy</i>  | 'studied' |
| <i>pod-</i> $\emptyset$ <i>-foy</i>     | $\rightarrow$ | <i>podfoy</i>  | 'came'    |
| <i>nare-</i> $\emptyset$ <i>-foy</i>    | $\rightarrow$ | <i>narefoy</i> | 'walked'  |
| <i>kis-</i> $\emptyset$ <i>-foy</i>     | $\rightarrow$ | <i>kisfoy</i>  | 'did'     |
| <i>karə-</i> $\emptyset$ <i>-foy</i>    | $\rightarrow$ | <i>karəfoy</i> | 'milked'  |

4.3.1.2.2.  $\sim -s -$  occurs elsewhere.

- |                                |               |                          |             |
|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Ex. <i>nene-s-pin-i</i> (2.41) | $\rightarrow$ | <i>nenspin<i>i</i></i>   | 'thought-I' |
| <i>püsode-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>püsodspin<i>i</i></i> | 'called-I'  |
| <i>pare-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)     | $\rightarrow$ | <i>parspin<i>i</i></i>   | 'wrote-I'   |
| <i>karə-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)     | $\rightarrow$ | <i>karəspin<i>i</i></i>  | 'milked-I'  |
| <i>aṛt-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)      | $\rightarrow$ | <i>aṛspin<i>i</i></i>    | 'cut-I'     |
| <i>monc-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)     | $\rightarrow$ | <i>monspin<i>i</i></i>   | 'forgave-I' |

<i>unc-s-pin-i</i>	(2.41)	
	—>	<i>unspini</i> ‘thought-I’
<i>ars-s-pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
	—>	<i>arspini</i> ‘knew-I’
<i>pe:s-s-pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
	—>	<i>pe:spini</i> ‘thatched-I’
<i>pirs-s-pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
	—>	<i>pirsplni</i> ‘demolised-I’
<i>mürs-s-pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
	—>	<i>mürspini</i> ‘broke-I’
<i>kis-s-pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
	—>	<i>kispini</i> ‘did-I’
<i>pod-s-pin-i</i>	(2.42,49)	
	—>	<i>pozplni</i> ‘came-I’
<i>tod-s-pln-i</i>	(2.42,49)	
	—>	<i>tozplni</i> ‘gave-I’
<i>sö:d-s-pin-i</i>	(2.42,49)	
	—>	<i>sö:zplni</i> ‘arrived-I’
<i>u:d-s-pin-i</i>	(2.42,49)	
	—>	<i>u:zplni</i> ‘disappeared-I’
<i>kał-s-pin-i</i>	(2.43,49)	
	—>	<i>kasplni</i> ‘learnt-I’
<i>mu:net-s-pin-i</i>	(2.43,49)	
	—>	<i>mu:nespini</i> ‘liked-I’
<i>twi:ty-s-pin-i</i>	(2.43,49)	
	—>	<i>twi:spini</i> ‘defeated-I’
<i>wi:ty-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,43,49)	
	—>	<i>wi:spini</i> ‘drove calf from udder-I’

*tö:ty-s-pin-i* (2.26,43,49)

—> *tö:spini* ‘made to improve (in health)-I’

*kwad-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)

—> *kwazpini* ‘ran in circle-I’

*ka:d-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)

—> *ka:zpini* ‘fell from the tree-I’

*te:d-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)

—> *te:zpini* ‘did (work)-I’

*nid-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)

—> *nizpini* ‘stood-I’

*id-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)

—> *izpini* ‘said-I’

*ko:d-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)

—> *ko:zpini* ‘vomitted-I’

*e:mo:ty-s-pin-i* (2.26,45,49)

—> *e:mo:špini* ‘deceived-I’

*pity-s-pin-i* (2.26,45,49)

—> *pišpini* ‘sowed (seed)-I’

*pinty-s-pin-i* (2.26,45,49)

—> *pinšpini* ‘asked-I’

*ki:č-s-pin-i* (2.45,49)

—> *ki:špini* ‘combed-I’

*ko:č-s-pin-i* (2.45,49)

—> *ko:špini* ‘boiled-I’

*ürpy-s-pin-i* (2.26,45)

—> *ürpšpini* ‘played (puxury)-I’

*aspy-s-pin-i* (2.26,45)

—> *aspšpini* ‘cleaned-I’

<i>noby-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,45)	
	—> <i>nobšpini</i>	‘believed-I’
<i>tirby-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,45)	
	—> <i>tirbšpini</i>	‘twisted-I’
<i>kufy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,45)	
	—> <i>kufšpini</i>	‘pounded (clothes in washing)-I’
<i>upy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,45)	
	—> <i>upšpini</i>	‘agreed-I’
<i>kidy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,46,49)	
	—> <i>kizpini</i>	‘sprinkled-I’
<i>tidy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,46,49)	
	—> <i>tizpini</i>	‘made straight (crookedness)-I’
<i>udy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,46,49)	
	—> <i>uzpini</i>	‘smeared-I’
<i>kwīj-s-pin-i</i>	(2.46,49)	
	—> <i>kwīžpini</i>	‘ridiculed-I’
<i>ni:j-s-pin-i</i>	(2.46,49)	
	—> <i>ni:žpini</i>	‘swam-I’
<i>pu:j-s-pin-i</i>	(2.46,49)	
	—> <i>pu:žpini</i>	‘worshipped-I’
<i>pīdž-s-pin-i</i>	(2.46,49)	
	—> <i>pīdžpini</i>	‘released-I’
<i>ot-s-pin-i</i>	(2.47,49)	
	—> <i>ospini</i>	‘cooked-I’
<i>pīt-s-pin-i</i>	(2.47,49)	
	—> <i>pīšpini</i>	‘left-I’

- pot-s-pin-i* (2.47,49)  
 —> *poʃpini* ‘laid down-I’
- a:fot-s-pin-i* (2.47,49)  
 —> *a:foʃpini* ‘talked-I’
- tödxöt-s-pin-i* (2.47,49)  
 —> *tödxöʃpini* ‘tired-I’
- ił-s-pin-i* (2.47,49)  
 —> *iłpini* ‘put-I’
- wi:rıt-s-pin-i* (2.47,49)  
 —> *wi:rıʃpini* ‘listerned-I’
- kiskwıły-s-pin-i* (2.26,47,49)  
 —> *kiswıʃpini* ‘tickled-I’
- nwi:ty-s-pin-i* (2.26,47,49)  
 —> *nwi:ʃpini* ‘looked-I’
- oty-s-pin-i* (2.26,47,49)  
 —> *oʃpini* ‘poured-I’
- koły-s-pin-i* (2.26,47,49)  
 —> *koʃpini* ‘built (house)-I’
- mu:ku:ty-s-pin-i* (2.26,47,49)  
 —> *mu:ku:ʃpini* ‘met-I’
- puk-s-pin-i* (2.47)  
 —> *pukʃpini* ‘entered-I’
- öeky-s-pin-i* (2.26,47)  
 —> *öekʃpini* ‘jumped-I’
- kalky-s-pin-i* (2.26,47)  
 —> *kalkʃpini* ‘stirred up-I’
- morky-s-pin-i* (2.26,47)  
 —> *morkʃpini* ‘folded-I’

- pušky-s-pin-i* (2.26,47)  
     —> *puškspini* ‘boiled (potato)-I’
- nī:d-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *nī:zpinī* ‘peeped over-I’
- kwīd-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *kwīzpinī* ‘carried (corpse)-I’
- kiskwīd-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *kiskwīzpinī* ‘tickled-I’
- teškwīd-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *teškwīzpinī* ‘hugged-I’
- pī:d-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *pī:zpinī* ‘tumbledover-I’
- ođ-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *o:zpinī* ‘ruled-I’
- nō:d-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *nō:zpinī* ‘made robe of bark-I’
- pu:d-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *pu:zpinī* ‘wore around neck-I’
- kod-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *kozpinī* ‘looked-I’
- ud-s-pin-i* (2.48,49)  
     —> *uzpinī* ‘drank-I’
- o:dy-s-pin-i* (2.26,48,49)  
     —> *o:zpinī* ‘danced-I’

#### 4.4. Prohibitive

*Singular and plural*

*S<sub>2</sub>*—  
{ o- }  
~ -o-

## 4.4.1. ~ -o-

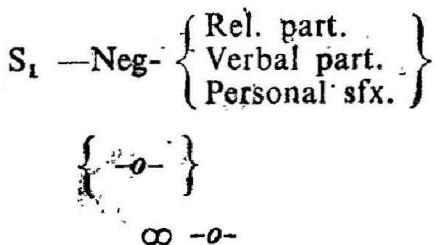
Ex. <i>pod-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>podoṭi</i>	‘Do not come-you (sg.)’
<i>pī:-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>pī:otī</i>	‘Do not go-you (sg.)’
<i>nare-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>nareotī</i>	‘Do not walk-you (sg.)’
<i>tīd-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>tīdoṭi</i>	‘Do not eat-you (sg.)’
<i>ōšty-o-t-i</i> (2.26)	—> <i>ōštoṭi</i>	‘Do not say-you (sg.)’
<i>kō:t-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>kōtōṭi</i>	‘Do not show-you (sg.)’
<i>nwī:ty-o-t-i</i> (2.26)	—> <i>nwī:tōṭi</i>	‘Do not see-you (sg.)’
<i>kwī:ṛt-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>kwīṛtōṭi</i>	‘Do not give-you (sg.)’
<i>wī:d-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>wī:dotī</i>	‘Do not run-you (sg.)’
<i>pod-o-g-i</i>	—> <i>podoṣī</i>	‘Do not come-you (pl.)’
<i>tīd-o-g-i</i>	—> <i>tīdoṣī</i>	‘Do not eat-you (pl.)’
<i>pī:-o-g-i</i>	—> <i>pī:oṣī</i>	‘Do not go-you (pl.)’
<i>ko:t-o-g-i</i>	—> <i>ko:tōṣī</i>	‘Do not show-you (pl.)’
<i>nīd-o-g-i</i>	—> <i>nīdoṣī</i>	‘Do not stand-you (pl.)’
<i>poṭ-o-g-i</i>	—> <i>poṭoṣī</i>	‘Do not lie down-you (pl.)’
<i>ud-o-g-i</i>	—> <i>udoṣī</i>	‘Do not drink-you (pl.)’
<i>nwī:ty-o-g-i</i> (2.26)	—> <i>nwī:tōṣī</i>	‘Do not look (pl.)’

## 4.5. Negative

There are two types of negative in Toda language. Neg<sub>1</sub> denotes generally past negative; Neg<sub>2</sub> denotes the

present-future negative. Neg<sub>2</sub> is discussed under 4.17 because it differ from Neg<sub>1</sub> in structure (position class).

#### 4.5.1. Negative<sub>1</sub>



4.5.1.1.  $\infty -o-$  occurs after the verbal base ( $S_1$ ) and before relative participle suffix-*foy*, verbal participle -*o* and personal suffixes.

<i>nwi:t-o-foy</i>	'not seeing'
<i>pint-o-foy</i>	'not asking'
<i>kīy-o-foy</i>	'not doing'
<i>a:for-o-foy</i>	'not talking'
<i>par-o-foy</i>	'not writing'
<i>un-o-foy</i>	'not drinking'
<i>kat-o-foy</i>	'not studying'
<i>po:r-o-foy</i>	'not coming'
<i>pī:x-o-foy</i>	'not going'
<i>ko:n-o-foy</i>	'not looking'
<i>ōst-o-foy</i>	'not telling'
<i>tīn-o-foy</i>	'not eating'
<i>kar-o-foy</i>	'not milking'

<i>nar-o-foy</i>	'not walking'
<i>kar-o-foy</i>	'not churning'
<i>kīy-o-ə</i>	'without doing'
<i>pint-o-ə</i>	'without asking'
<i>pī:x-o-ə</i>	'without going'
<i>po:r-o-ə</i>	'without coming'
<i>un-o-ə</i>	'without drinking'
<i>ōšt-o-ə</i>	'without telling'
<i>kar-o-ə</i>	'without milking'
<i>par-o-ə</i>	'without writing'
<i>a:foj-o-ə</i>	'without talking'
<i>kat-o-ə</i>	'without learning'
<i>kīyofoy kelc</i>	'work which is not done'
<i>karofoy ir</i>	'buffalo which is not milked'
<i>karofoy moj</i>	'buttermilk which is not churned'
<i>tīnofoy twī:z</i>	'food which is not eaten'
<i>pu:foføy pu:txuȝy</i>	'cloak which is not worn'
<i>po:y iloe</i>	'without having mouth'
<i>mīs iloe</i>	'without having breast'
<i>ir iloe</i>	'without having buffalo'
<i>po:r-o-en-i</i> (2.53)	—> <i>po:reni</i> 'I did not come'
<i>po:r-o-īy-i</i> (2.53)	—> <i>po:rīyi</i> 'he / they did not come'

*wi:d-o en-i* (2.53) → *wi:deni*

‘I did not run’

*wi:d-o-im-i* (2.53) → *wi:dimi*

‘we (excl.) did not run’

*wi:d-o-um-i* (2.53) → *wi:dumi*

‘we (incl.) did not run’

*wi:d-o-iy-i* (2.53) → *wi:dīyi*

‘They did not run’

*nīl-o-en-i* (2.53) → *nīleni*

‘I did not stand’

*nīl-o-im-i* (2.53) → *nīlimi*

‘we (excl.) did not stand’

*nīl-o-um-i* (2.53) → *nīlumi*

‘we (incl.) did not stand’

*nīl-o-š-i* (2.53) → *nīši*

‘you (pl.) did not stand’

*kīy-o-en-i* (2.53) → *kīyenī*

‘I did not do (work)’

*kīy-o-im-i* (2.53) → *kīyimi*

‘we (excl.) did not do’

*kīy-o-um-i* (2.53) → *kīyumi*

‘we (incl.) did not do’

*kīy-o-š-i* (2.53) → *kīyši*

‘you (pl.) did not do’

*po:r-o-p-i* → *po:ropi* ‘you did not come (sg.)’

*po:r-o-t-i* → *po:roti* ‘he/she did not come’

*wi:d-o-p-i* → *wi:dopi* ‘you did not run (sg.)’

*wi:d-o-t-i* → *wi:doti* ‘he did not run’  
*kīy-o-p-i* → *kīyopi* ‘you did not do’  
*kīy-o-t-i* → *kīyoti* ‘he/they did not do’  
*nīl-o-p-i* → *nīlopi* ‘you did not stand’  
*nīl-o-t-i* → *nīloti* ‘they did not stand’

#### 4.6. Desiderative

S<sub>1</sub>— Desi -Pron. Sfx- Decl. Sfx

$\approx -\ddot{s}e-$

4.6.1. ~ -še- occurs after the verbal base ( $S_1$ )

Ex. *kīy-še-pin-i* → *kīysepini*  
‘I would like to do’

*nīl-še-pin-i* → *nīlšeipi*  
‘I would like to stand’

*p̪i:x-še-pin-i* → *p̪i:xše-pini*  
‘I would like to go’

*tin-še-pin-i* → *tinše pin i*  
‘I would like to eat’

*paš-še-pin-i* (2.18) → *pašepini*  
‘I would like to come’

*taš-še-pin-i* (2.18) —> *tašepini*  
‘I would like\* to give’

*kať-še-pin-i* → *kaťšepini*  
‘I would like to learn’

*ürp-še-pin-i* → *ürpše pin-i*  
‘I would like to play (puxury)’

#### 4.7. Dubitative

$S_1 - \text{Dub} - \text{Pron. Sfx} - \text{Decl. Sfx}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\check{s}- \\ -s- \end{array} \right\}$

$\sim -\check{s}-$

4.7.1.  $\sim -\check{s}-$  occurs after the verbal base ( $S_1$ )

Ex. *nīl-š-pin-i* —> *nīlšpini* ‘I may stand’

*kīy-š-pin-i* —> *kīyšpini* ‘I may do’

*tīn-š-pin-i* —> *tīnšpini* ‘I may eat’

*ürp-š-pin-i* —> *ürpšpini* ‘I may play (luxury)’

*par-š-pin-i* —> *paršpini* ‘I may write’

*paš-š-pin-i* (2.18) —> *pašpini* ‘I may come’

*taš-š-pin-i* (2.18) —> *tašpini* ‘I may give’

#### 4.8. Voluntative<sup>1</sup>

$S_1 - k - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 1 \text{ sg.} \\ 1 \text{ pl.} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -k- \\ -k- \end{array} \right\}$

$\sim -k-$

4.8.1.  $\sim -k-$

Ex. *kīy-k-in* —> *kīykin* ‘I will do’

*uŋ-k-in* —> *uŋkin* ‘I will drink’

*nwī:t-k-in* —> *nwī:t̪kin* ‘I will see’

*öšt-k-in* —> *öšt̪kin* ‘I will say’

---

1 A future tense which is usually voluntative.

<i>paš-k-in</i>	—>	<i>paškin</i>	‘I will come’
<i>taš-k-in</i>	—>	<i>taškin</i>	‘I will give’
<i>nīl-k-in</i>	—>	<i>nīlkin</i>	‘I will stand’
<i>tīn-k-in</i>	—>	<i>tīnkin</i>	‘I will eat’
<i>kīy-k-im</i>	—>	<i>kīykim</i>	‘we (excl.) will do’
<i>tīn-k-im</i>	—>	<i>tīnkim</i>	‘we (excl.) will eat’
<i>uŋ-k-im</i>	—>	<i>uŋkim</i>	‘we (excl.) will drink’
<i>nwī:t-k-im</i>	—>	<i>nwī:tkim</i>	‘we (excl.) will look’
<i>nīl-k-im</i>	—>	<i>nīlkim</i>	‘we (excl.) will stand’
<i>ōšt-k-um</i>	—>	<i>ōštkum</i>	‘we (incl.) will say’
<i>wī:d-k-um</i>	—>	<i>wī:dkum</i>	‘we (incl.) will run’
<i>nīl-k-um</i>	—>	<i>nilkum</i>	‘we (incl.) will stand’
<i>nwī:t-k-um</i>	—>	<i>nwī:tkum</i>	‘we (incl.) will see’
<i>kīy-k-um*</i>	—>	<i>kīykum</i>	‘we (incl.) will do’

#### 4.9. Hortative

S<sub>1</sub>-

{ -mo: }

~ -mo:

4.9.1. ~ -mo: occurs after the verbal base (S<sub>1</sub>).

Ex. <i>ōšt-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) say’
<i>pint-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) ask’
<i>a:for-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) talk’
<i>kīy-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) do’
<i>tīn-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) eat’
<i>uŋ-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) drink’

<i>nīl-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) stand’
<i>o:d-mo</i>	‘let (someone) dance’
<i>nwi:t-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) see’

#### 4.10. Permissive<sup>1</sup>

S<sub>1</sub>-

$$\begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{S}_1 \\ \sim \end{array} \right. - (k) u \\ \sim - (k) u \end{array}$$

4.10.1. ~ -(k)u occurs after the verbal base (S<sub>1</sub>).

Ex. *kīy-u*

*kīy-ku* ‘(one) may do’

*tīn-u*

*tīn-ku* ‘(one) may eat’

*wī:d-u*

*wī:d-ku* ‘(one) may run’

*par-u*

*par-ku* ‘(one) may write’

*a:for-u*

*a:for-ku* ‘(one) may talk’

*ōšt-u*

*ōšt-ku* ‘(one) may say’

*nwi:t-u*

*nwi:t-ku* ‘(one) may see’

- 
1. In Kodagu language, permissive is formed by adding *-u* to the base; in certain places it is preceded by the formative suffix *-k*.

### 4.11. Imperative

#### 4.11.1. Singular

$S_1 -$

4.11.1.1.  $S_1$  stem itself functions as the imperative.

Ex. <i>kīy</i>	'do'
<i>nīl</i>	'stand'
<i>ke:ʈ</i>	'hear'
<i>ōšt</i>	'tell'
<i>wī:d</i>	'run'
<i>uɳ</i>	'drink'
<i>tīn</i>	'eat'

#### 4.11.2. Plural

$S_1 -$

{ -g }

~ -g

4.11.2.1. ~ -g occurs after the verbal base ( $S_1$ ).

Ex. <i>nīl-g</i>	'stand'
<i>tīn-g</i>	'eat'
<i>ōšt-g</i>	'tell'
<i>kīy-g</i> (2.14) —> <i>kīyʂ</i> 'do'	
<i>uɳ-g</i> (2.15) —> <i>uɳʂ</i> 'drink'	
<i>wī:d-g</i> (2.15) —> <i>wī:dʂ</i> 'run'	
<i>nar-g</i> (2.15) —> <i>narʂ</i> 'walk'	

#### 4.12. Relative participle

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2 - \text{Tense} \\ S_1 - \text{Neg.} \end{array} \right\} -$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -joy \\ -\emptyset \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\infty -\emptyset \quad \infty -joy$$

4.12.1.  $\infty -\emptyset$  occurs after tense suffix  $-t$ .

$S_2 - \text{Tense} -$

Ex. <i>kaṭ-t-∅</i>	$\rightarrow kaṭt$	'that is studying'
<i>pod-t-∅</i>	$\rightarrow podt$	'that is coming'
<i>kīs-t-∅</i>	$\rightarrow kīst$	'that is doing'
<i>ud-t-∅</i>	$\rightarrow udt$	'that is drinking'
<i>pī:-t-∅</i>	$\rightarrow pī:t$	'that is going'
<i>tīd-t-∅</i>	$\rightarrow tīd़t$	'that is eating'
<i>pūṣodə-t-∅</i>	$\rightarrow pūṣodət$	'that is calling'
<i>mu:nēt-t-∅</i>	$\rightarrow mu:nēt$	'that is liking'
<i>nīd-t-∅</i>	$\rightarrow nīd़t$	'that is standing'
<i>podt mox</i>		'boy who comes'
<i>pī:t pō:rmox</i>		'Tamil boy who comes'
<i>ir paṭt o:ṭ</i>		'person who catches buffalo'
<i>kaṭt mox</i>		'boy who reads'
<i>paṭət ku:x</i>		'girl who writes'

4.12.2.  $\infty -joy$  occurs after tense suffix  $-∅$  and negative suffix  $-o$ .

$S_2 - \text{Tense} -$

Ex. *kaṭ-∅-joy*  $\rightarrow kaṭjoy$  'studied'

<i>kis-Ø-foy</i>	—>	<i>kisfoy</i>	'done'
<i>nare-Ø-foy</i>	—>	<i>narefoy</i>	'walked'
<i>pod-Ø-foy</i>	—>	<i>podfoy</i>	'came'
<i>öšty-Ø-foy</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>öštfoy</i>	'told'
<i>noky-Ø-foy</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>nokfoy</i>	'licked'
<i>kare-Ø-foy</i>	—>	<i>karefoy</i>	'milked'
<i>kare-Ø-foy</i>	—>	<i>karefoy</i>	'churned'
<i>wi:dy-Ø-foy</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>wi:dfoy</i>	'run'
<i>tīd-Ø-foy</i>	—>	<i>tīdfoy</i>	'ate'
<i>kare-Ø-foy</i>	—>	<i>karefoy</i>	'send'

S<sub>1</sub>— Neg—

Ex. <i>pī:x-o-foy</i>	—>	<i>pī:xofoy</i>	'not going'
<i>tīn-o-foy</i>	—>	<i>tīnofoy</i>	'not eating'
<i>nwī:t-o-foy</i>	—>	<i>nwī:tofoy</i>	'not seeing'
<i>uṇ-o-foy</i>	—>	<i>uṇofoy</i>	'not drinking'
<i>kat-o-foy</i>	—>	<i>katfoy</i>	'not studying'
<i>kar-o-foy</i>	—>	<i>karofoy</i>	'not milking'
<i>kīy-o-foy</i>	—>	<i>kīyofoy</i>	'not doing'
<i>po:r-o-foy</i>	—>	<i>po:rofoy</i>	'not coming'
<i>podfoy ma:f</i>			'Badaga who came'
<i>kīsfoy kelc</i>			'work which was done'
<i>karefoy tīr</i>			'buffalo which was milked'
<i>kīyofoy kelc</i>			'work which was not done'
<i>pī:xofoy o:t</i>			'person who did not go'

*po:roføy ars* ‘English man who did not come’

(*pønni*) *pintoføy o:t* ‘person who did not ask (money)’

#### 4.13. Verbal participle

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2\text{-Past} \\ S_1\text{-Neg.} \end{array} \right\} -$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\theta \\ - \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\infty -\theta \quad \infty -\emptyset$$

4.13.1.  $\infty -\theta$  occurs after negative suffix *-o*.

##### $S_1\text{-Neg}$

<i>kīy-o-θ</i>	—> <i>kīyoe</i>	‘without doing’
<i>pint-o-θ</i>	—> <i>pintoe</i>	‘without asking’
<i>kar-o-θ</i>	—> <i>karoe</i>	‘without milking’
<i>tīn-o-θ</i>	—> <i>tīnoe</i>	‘without eating’
<i>uŋ-o-θ</i>	—> <i>uŋoe</i>	‘without drinking’
<i>öšt-o-θ</i>	—> <i>öštoe</i>	‘without saying’
<i>nwī:ł-o-θ</i>	—> <i>nwī:łoe</i>	‘without seeing’
<i>nīl-o-θ</i>	—> <i>nīloe</i>	‘without standing’
<i>püšod-o-θ</i>	—> <i>püšodoe</i>	‘without calling’
<i>pax-o-θ</i>	—> <i>paxoe</i>	‘without dividing’
<i>kwīr-o-θ</i>	—> <i>kwīroe</i>	‘without giving’

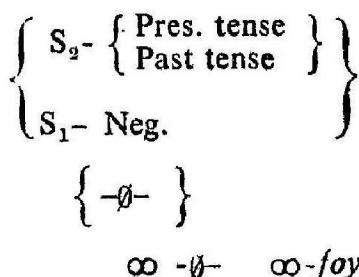
4.13.2.  $\infty -\emptyset$  occurs elsewhere.

##### $S_2\text{-Past-}$

Ex. *pod-s-θ* (2.42,49) —> *poz* ‘having come’

<i>kare-s-Ø</i>	(2.41)	→ <i>kars</i> ‘having milked’
<i>kare-s-Ø</i>	(2.41)	→ <i>kars</i> ‘having churned’
<i>kod-s-Ø</i>	(2.48,49)	→ <i>koz</i> ‘having seen’
<i>puk-s-Ø</i>	(2.47)	→ <i>pukṣ</i> ‘having entered’
<i>kwīṛt-s-Ø</i>	(2.41)	→ <i>kwīṛs</i> ‘having given’
<i>aṭe-s-Ø</i>	(2.41)	→ <i>aṭs</i> ‘having measured’
<i>tīd-s-Ø</i>	(2.44,49)	→ <i>tīz</i> ‘having eaten’
<i>ud-s-Ø</i>	(2.48,49)	→ <i>uz</i> ‘having drunk’
<i>tod-s-Ø</i>	(2.42,49)	→ <i>toz</i> ‘having given’
<i>nīd-s-Ø</i>	(2.44,49)	→ <i>nīz</i> ‘having stood’
<i>te:d-s-Ø</i>	(2.44,49)	→ <i>te:z</i> ‘having done’
<i>nī:ḍ-s-Ø</i>	(2.48,49)	→ <i>nī:z</i> ‘having peeped’
<i>kīdy-s-Ø</i>	(2.26,46,49)	→ <i>kīz</i> ‘having sprinkled’
<i>terə-s-Ø</i>	(2.41)	→ <i>ters</i> ‘having opened’

#### 4.14. Participial noun



4.14.1.  $\infty -\emptyset$  occurs after tense suffix *-p* and before *o:t*

- Ex. *pod-p-Ø-o:t* → *podpo:t* ‘person who comes’
- kīs-p-Ø-o:t* → *kīspot* ‘person who does’
- pi:-p-Ø-o:t* → *pi:pot* ‘person who goes’

- |                      |                    |                                |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>mo:ry-p-θ-o:t</i> | → <i>mo:typo:t</i> | 'seller or person who sells'   |
| <i>ud-p-θ-o:t</i>    | → <i>udpo:t</i>    | 'person who drinks'            |
| <i>tid-p-θ-o:t</i>   | → <i>tidpo:t</i>   | 'person who eats'              |
| <i>paty-p-θ-o:t</i>  | → <i>patypo:t</i>  | 'person who catches (buffalo)' |
| <i>karə-p-θ-o:t</i>  | → <i>karəpo:t</i>  | 'person who milks'             |
| <i>kare-p-θ-o:t</i>  | → <i>karepo:t</i>  | 'person who churns'            |
| <i>ōšty-p-θ-o:t</i>  | → <i>ōštypo:t</i>  | 'person who says'              |

4.14.2. *-oy* occurs after tense suffix *-Ø*, negative *-o-* and before *-o:t*.

- |                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Ex. <i>pod-∅-foy-o:t</i>        | → <i>podfoyo:t</i><br>‘person who came’        |
| <i>kis-∅-foy-o:t</i>            | → <i>kisfoyo:t</i><br>‘person who did (work)’  |
| <i>ōšty-∅-foy-o:t</i> (2.26)    | → <i>ōštfoyo:t</i><br>‘person who said’        |
| <i>ud-∅-foy-o:t</i>             | → <i>udfoyo:t</i><br>‘person who drank’        |
| <i>wī:dy-∅-foy-e:t</i>          | → <i>wī:dfoyo:t</i><br>‘person who ran’        |
| <i>a:fot-∅-foy-o:t</i>          | → <i>a:fotfoyo:t</i><br>‘person who tackled’   |
| <i>e:mo:ty-∅-foy-o:t</i> (2.26) | → <i>e:mo:tfoyo:t</i><br>‘person who deceived’ |
| <i>nadty-∅-foy-o:t</i> (2.26)   | → <i>nadtfoyo:t</i><br>‘person who conducted’  |

<i>nwi:t-o-foy-o:t</i>	—> <i>nwi:tofoyo:t</i> ‘person who did not see’
<i>pī:x-o-foy-o:t</i>	—> <i>pī:xofoyo:t</i> ‘person who did not go’
<i>un-o-foy-o:t</i>	—> <i>unofoyo:t</i> ‘person who did not drink’
<i>kīy-o-foy-o:t</i>	—> <i>kīyofoyo:t</i> ‘person who did not do’
<i>kat-o-foy-o:t</i>	—> <i>katofoyo:t</i> ‘person who did not read’

#### 4.15. Temporal

{ S<sub>2</sub>-tense } -  
 { S<sub>1</sub>-Neg. } -  
 { -fok }  
 ~ -fok

4.15.1. ~ -fok occurs after tense marker -ø and after negative suffix -o.

Ex. *pod-ø-fok* —> *podfok* ‘while coming’

*nwi:ty-ø-fok* (2.26) —> *nwi:tfok* ‘while seeing’

*wī:dy-ø-fok* (2.26) —> *wī:dfok* ‘while running’

*kīs-ø-fok* —> *kīsfok* ‘while doing’

*pi:-ø-fok* —> *pi:fok* ‘while going’

*a:fat-ø-fok* —> *a:fatfok* ‘while talking’

*kwīrt-ø-fok* —> *kwīrtfok* ‘while giving’

*pare-ø-fok* —> *parefok* ‘while writing’

<i>kai-ø-fok</i>	—>	<i>kaffok</i>	‘while learning’
<i>tid-ø-fok</i>	—>	<i>tidfok</i>	‘while eating’
<i>ud-ø-fok</i>	—>	<i>udfok</i>	‘while drinking’
<i>nid-ø-fok</i>	—>	<i>nidfok</i>	‘while standing’
<i>kīy-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>kīyofok</i>	‘while not doing’
<i>kar-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>karfok</i>	‘while not milking’
<i>tīn-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>tīnofok</i>	‘while not eating’
<i>un-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>unofok</i>	‘while not drinking’
<i>pī:x-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>pī:xofok</i>	‘while not going’
<i>po:r-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>po:rofok</i>	‘while not coming’
<i>netyš ko:s iṭifok</i>			‘while keeping coins on forehead’
<i>pīšu:t fok</i>			‘while turning earth at funeral’
<i>īrpafok</i>			‘while catching the buffalo’

#### 4.16. Verbal noun

S<sub>2</sub> — tense — aux —

{ -t }

~ -t

4.16 I. ~ -t occurs after auxiliary verb *-fid*.

- Ex. *pod-ø-fid-t* —> *podfidt* ‘the act of coming’  
*pī:-ø-fid-t* —> *pī:fidt* ‘the act of going’  
*ōšty-ø-fid-t* (2.26) —> *ōštfidt* ‘the act of saying’  
*kīs-ø-fid-t* —> *kīsfidt* ‘the act of doing’  
*nwī:ty-ø-fid-t* (2.26) —> *nwī:tfidt*  
‘the act of seeing’  
*ud-ø-fid-t* —> *udfidt* ‘the act of drinking’

#### 4.17. Negative<sub>2</sub>

### *Present-future negative<sup>1</sup> & 2*

S<sub>2</sub>-- aux--

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -o- \\ \hline \end{array} \right\}$$

4.17.1. ~ -o-

Ex. *pod-kis-o-en-i* (2.53) → *podkiseni*  
‘I will not come’

*pod-kīs-o-īy-i* (2.53). → *podkīsīyi*  
‘He will not come’

1. In present-future negative finite verbs, *kis* 'be able' ( $S_1$ ) is added to  $S_2$  forms of verb.
  2. In Toda both 'I will not come', 'I will not be able to come' are expressed by one and the same form *podkiseni*.  
In certain circumstances, *enna:l po:ka mu:tiya:tu* 'I will not be able to go' is also used just denote 'I will not go'. Professor. S. Agestiealingom has dealt with future in Tamil in his paper entitled "*Modality in Tamil*".

—S. Agesthialingom, “*Modality in Tamil*”  
Second All India Conference of Linguists, Delhi-1971

<i>pì:-kìs-o-ty-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>pì:kìsìyi</i>	
			'He will not go'
<i>tìd-kìs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>tìdkìseni</i>	
			'I will not eat'
<i>tìd-kìs-o-ty-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>tìdkìsìyi</i>	
			'He will not eat'
<i>ud-kìs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>udkìseni</i>	
			'I will not drink'
<i>ud-kìs-o-ty-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>udkìsìyi</i>	
			'He will not drink'
<i>öšty-kìs-o-eni</i>	(2.26,53) —>	<i>öštkìsìyi</i>	
			'I will not say'
<i>öšty-kìs-o-ty-i</i>	(2.26,53) —>	<i>öštkìsëii</i>	
			'He will not say'
<i>nwì:ty-kìs-o-en-i</i>	(2.26,53) —>	<i>nwì:tkìseni</i>	
			'I will not see'
<i>nwì:ty-kìs-o-ty-i</i>	(2.26,53) —>	<i>nwì:tkìsìyi</i>	
			'He will not see'
<i>pod-kìs-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>podkìsopi</i>	'you will not come'
<i>tìd-kìs-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>tìdkìsopi</i>	'you will not eat'
<i>pì-kìs-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>pì:kìsopi</i>	'you will not go'
<i>ud-kìs-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>udkìsopi</i>	'you will not drink'
<i>öšty-kìs-o-p-i</i>	(2.26) —>	<i>öštkìsopi</i>	
			'you will not say'
<i>nwì:ty-kìs-o-p-i</i>	(2.26) —>	<i>nwì:tkìsopi</i>	
			'you will not see'

## 4.18. Personal suffixes

{ S<sub>2</sub>—Tense } —  
 { S<sub>1</sub>—Neg. }

4.18.1. *First person singular*

{ -pin- }

∞ -pin ∞ -pen ∞ -n ∞ -in ∞ -en

4.18.1.1. ∞ -pin- occurs after present tense and past tense suffixes in declaratives.

Ex. <i>pod-∅-pin-i</i> <sup>1</sup>	→ <i>podpini</i>	'come-I'
<i>tīd-∅-pin-i</i>	→ <i>tīdpini</i>	'eat-I'
<i>kod-∅-pin-i</i>	→ <i>koḍpini</i>	'look-I'
<i>kīd-∅-pin-i</i>	→ <i>kīdpini</i>	'sprinkle-I'
<i>kare-∅-pin-i</i>	→ <i>karepini</i>	'milk-I'
<i>te:d-∅-pin-i</i>	→ <i>te:dipini</i>	'do (work)-I'
<i>sö:d-∅-pin-i</i>	→ <i>sö:dpini</i>	'arrive-I'
<i>ud-∅-pin-i</i>	→ <i>udpini</i>	'smear-I'
<i>ni:d-∅-pin-i</i>	→ <i>ni:dipini</i>	'peep over-I'
<i>pod-s-pin-i</i> (2.42,49)	→ <i>pozpini</i>	'came-I'
<i>tīd-s-pin-i</i> (2.44,49)	→ <i>tīzpini</i>	'ate-I'
<i>kod-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	→ <i>kożpini</i>	'looked-I'
<i>kīdy-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,46,49)	→ <i>kīżpini</i>	'sprinkled-I'
<i>kare-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)	→ <i>karepini</i>	'milked-I'
<i>te:d-s-pin-i</i> (2.44,49)	→ <i>te:zpini</i>	'did (work)-I'
<i>sö:d-s-pin-i</i> (2.42,49)	→ <i>sö:zpini</i>	'arrived-I'
<i>ud-s-pin-i</i> (2.42,49)	→ <i>uzpini</i>	'smeared-I'
<i>nī:d-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	→ <i>nī:zpini</i>	'peeped over-I'

1. *i* is segmented as declarative suffix.

- ud-s-pin-i* - (2.48,49) → *uzpini*  
   ‘drank-I’
- nare-s-pin-i* (2.41) → *narspini*  
   ‘walked-I’
- mu:neʃ-s-pin-i* (2.43,49) → *mu:nespini*  
   ‘liked-I’

4 18.1 2. *oo-pen* occurs after tense marker when it is followed by interrogative.

- Ex. *pi:-ø-pen* → *pi:pen* ‘go-I’
- pod-ø-pen* → *podpen* ‘come-I’
- tīd-ø-pen* → *tīdpen* ‘eat-I’
- ud-ø-pen* → *udpen* ‘drink-I’
- kīs-ø-pen* → *kīspen* ‘do-I’
- nwī:t-ø-pen* → *nwī:tpen* ‘look-I’
- karø-ø-pen* → *karøpen* ‘milk-I’
- pūʃodø-ø-pen* → *pūʃodøpen* ‘call-I’
- nare-ø-pen* → *narøpen* ‘walk-I’
- pod-s-pen* (2.42,49) → *pozpen* ‘came-I’
- tīd-s-pen* (2.44,49) → *tīzpen* ‘ate-I’
- ud-s-pen* (2.48,49) → *uzpen* ‘drank-I’
- nwī;ty-s-pen* (2.26,47,49) → *nwī:spen* ‘looked-I’
- karø-s-pen* (2.41) → *karspen* ‘milked-I’
- pūʃodø-s-pen* (2.41) → *pūʃodspen* ‘called-I’
- nare-s-pen* (2.41) → *narspen* ‘walked-I’

4.18.1.3.  $\infty$ -*n* occurs after tense marker when it is preceded by interrogative

Ex. <i>pi:</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>n</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:n</i>	'go-I'
<i>pod</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>n</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podn</i>	'come-I'
<i>tīd</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>n</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīdn</i>	'eat-I'
<i>ud</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>n</i> (2.17)	$\rightarrow$	<i>udn</i>	'drink-I'
<i>o:d</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>n</i> (2.17)	$\rightarrow$	<i>o:dn</i>	'dance-I'
<i>nwī:ty</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>n</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>nwī:tyn</i>	'look-I'
<i>kare</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>n</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>karen</i>	'milk-I'
<i>pūšode</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>n</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pūšoden</i>	'call-I'
<i>nare</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>n</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>naren</i>	'walk-I'
<i>pi:</i> - <i>s</i> - <i>n</i> (2.45)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:sn</i>	'went-I'
<i>pod</i> - <i>s</i> - <i>n</i> (2.42,49)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pozn</i>	'came-I'
<i>tīd</i> - <i>s</i> - <i>n</i> (2.44,49)	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīzn</i>	'ate-I'
<i>ud</i> - <i>s</i> - <i>n</i> (2.48,49,17)	$\rightarrow$	<i>uzn</i>	'drank-I'
<i>o:d</i> - <i>s</i> - <i>n</i> (2.48,49,17)	$\rightarrow$	<i>o:zn</i>	'danced-I'
<i>nwī:ty</i> - <i>s</i> - <i>n</i> (2.26,47,49,17)	$\rightarrow$	<i>nwī:sn</i>	'looked-I'
<i>kare</i> - <i>s</i> - <i>n</i> (2.41)	$\rightarrow$	<i>karsn</i>	'milked-I'
<i>pūšode</i> - <i>s</i> - <i>n</i> (2.41)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pūšodsn</i>	'called-I'
<i>nare</i> - <i>s</i> - <i>n</i> (2.41)	$\rightarrow$	<i>narsn</i>	'walked-I'

4.18.1.4.  $\infty$ -*in* occurs after voluntative suffix -*k*.

Ex. <i>kīy</i> - <i>k</i> - <i>in</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>kīykin</i>	'I will do'
<i>tīn</i> - <i>k</i> - <i>in</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīnkin</i>	'I will eat'
<i>nīl</i> - <i>k</i> - <i>in</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>nīlkin</i>	'I will stand'
<i>paš</i> - <i>k</i> - <i>in</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>paškin</i>	'I will come'
<i>taš</i> - <i>k</i> - <i>in</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>taškin</i>	'I will give'

<i>uŋ-k-in</i>	—>	<i>upkin</i>	'I will drink'
<i>nw̥t̥-t-k-in</i>	—>	<i>nw̥t̥:t̥kin</i>	'I will see'
<i>ðšt̥-k-in</i>	—>	<i>ðšt̥kin</i>	'I will say'
<i>kw̥r̥-k-in</i>	—>	<i>kw̥r̥kin</i>	'I will give'
<i>ürp-k-in</i>	—>	<i>ürpkin</i>	'I will play (puxury)'
<i>p̥i:x-k-in</i>	—>	<i>p̥i:xkin</i>	'I will go'
<i>ter-k-in</i>	—>	<i>terkin</i>	'I will open'

4.18.1.5. ~~go en-~~ occurs (1) after tense and before conditional suffix ~~-w̥iʃ~~, and (2) after the negative and before declarative suffix *-i*.

<i>pod-ø-en-w̥iʃ</i>	—>	<i>podenw̥iʃ</i>	'If I come'
<i>p̥i:x-ø-en-w̥iʃ</i>	—>	<i>p̥ienw̥iʃ</i>	'If I go'
<i>nare-ø-en-w̥iʃ</i>	—>	<i>nareenw̥iʃ</i>	'If I walk'
<i>kis-ø-en-w̥iʃ</i>	—>	<i>kisenw̥iʃ</i>	'If I do'
<i>po:r-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—> <i>po:reni</i>	'I did not come'
<i>p̥i:x-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—> <i>p̥ieneni</i>	'I did not go'
<i>tin-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—> <i>tineni</i>	'I did not eat'
<i>uŋ-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—> <i>ueneni</i>	'I did not drink'
<i>kīy-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—> <i>kīyeni</i>	'I did not go'
<i>nīl-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—> <i>nīleni</i>	'I did not stand'

<i>kat-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>kateni</i> ‘I did not read’
<i>ošt-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>oštени</i> ‘I did not say’
<i>pint-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>pinteni</i> ‘I did not ask’
<i>podkīs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>podkīseni</i> ‘I will not come’
<i>pi:kīs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>pi:kīseni</i> . ‘I will not go’
<i>tīdkīs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>tīdkīseni</i> ‘I will not eat’
<i>udkīs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>udkīseni</i> . ‘I will not drink’
<i>oštktīs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>oštktīseni</i> ‘I will not say’
<i>wī:dkīs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>wī:dkīseni</i> ‘I will not run’
<i>parēkīs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>parēkīseni</i> ‘I will not write’
<i>nīdkīs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>nīdkīseni</i> ‘I will not stand’

*First person plural (excl.)*

{ -pim- }

∞ -pim ∞ -pem ∞ -m ∞ im ∞ -em

4.18.1.6.  $\infty$ -*pim-* occurs after the tense in declarative.

Ex. <i>tīd</i> -Ø- <i>pim-i</i>	—> <i>tīdpimi</i>	'eat-we (excl.)'
<i>pīt</i> -Ø- <i>pim-i</i>	—> <i>pītpimi</i>	'carry-we (excl.)'
<i>kod</i> -Ø- <i>pim-i</i>	—> <i>kodpimi</i>	'look-we (excl.)'
<i>twa:nt</i> -Ø- <i>pim-i</i>	—> <i>twa:ntpimi</i>	'sweep-we (excl.)'
<i>nīd</i> -Ø- <i>pim-i</i>	—> <i>nīdpimi</i>	'stand-we (excl.)'
<i>pi:z</i> -Ø- <i>pim-i</i>	—> <i>pi:pimi</i>	'go-we (excl.)'
<i>ud</i> -Ø- <i>pim-i</i>	—> <i>udpimi</i>	'drink-we (excl.)'
<i>pod</i> -Ø- <i>pim-i</i>	—> <i>podpimi</i>	'come-we (excl.)'
<i>tīd</i> -s- <i>pim-i</i> (2.44,49)	—> <i>tīzpimi</i> 'ate-we (excl.)'	
<i>pod</i> -s- <i>pim-i</i> (2.42,49)	—> <i>pozpimi</i> 'came-we (excl.)'	
<i>kod</i> -s- <i>pim-i</i> (2.48,49)	—> <i>kozpimi</i> 'looked-we (excl.)'	
<i>ud</i> -s- <i>pim-i</i> (2.48,49)	—> <i>uzpimi</i> 'drank-we (excl.)'	
<i>nīd</i> -s- <i>pim-i</i> (2.44,49)	—> <i>nīzpimi</i> 'stood-we (excl.)'	

4.18.1.7.  $\infty$ -*pem* occurs after tense when it is followed by interrogative.

Ex. <i>pi</i> :-Ø- <i>pem</i>	—> <i>pi:pem</i>	'go-we'
<i>pod</i> -Ø- <i>pem</i>	—> <i>podpem</i>	'come-we'
<i>tīd</i> -Ø- <i>pem</i>	—> <i>tīdpem</i>	'eat-we'
<i>ud</i> -Ø- <i>pem</i>	—> <i>udpem</i>	'drink-we'
<i>nwī:t</i> -Ø- <i>pem</i>	—> <i>nwī:tpem</i>	'look-we'

<i>o:d-Ø-pem</i>	—>	<i>o:dpem</i>	'dance-we'
<i>öšt-Ø-pem</i>	—>	<i>öštpem</i>	'say-we'
<i>pod-s-pem</i>	(2 42,49) —>	<i>poz pem</i>	'came-we'
<i>tīd-s-pem</i>	(2.44,49) —>	<i>tīz pem</i>	'ate-we'
<i>ud-s-pem</i>	(2 48,49) —>	<i>uz pem</i>	'drank-we'
<i>nwī:ty-s-pem</i>	(2.26,47,49) —>	<i>nwī:spem</i>	'looked-we'

4.18.1.8.  $\infty -m$  occurs after tense marker when it is preceded by interrogative

Ex. <i>pi:-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>pi:m</i>	'go-we'
<i>pod-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>podm</i>	'come-we'
<i>tīd-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>tīdm</i>	'eat-we'
<i>ud-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>udm</i>	'drink-we'
<i>nwī:ty-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>nwī:tm</i>	'look-we'
<i>pod-s-m</i>	(2.42,49) —>	<i>pozm</i>	'came-we'
<i>tīd-s-m</i>	(2.44,49) —>	<i>tīzm</i>	'ate-we'
<i>ud-s-m</i>	(2.48,49) —>	<i>uzm</i>	'drank-we'
<i>nwī:ty-s-m</i>	(2.26,47,49) —>	<i>nwī:sm</i>	'looked-we'

4.18.1.9.  $\infty -im$  occurs after voluntative suffix *-k*.

Ex. <i>kīy-k-im</i>	—>	<i>kīykim</i>	'we will do (excl.)'
<i>öšt-k-im</i>	—>	<i>öštkim</i>	'we will say (excl.)'
<i>nwī:ty-k-im</i>	—>	<i>nwī:tkim</i>	'we will look (excl.)'
<i>paš-k-im</i>	—>	<i>paškim</i>	'we will come (excl.)'

<i>taš-k-im</i>	—>	<i>taškim</i>	‘we will give (excl.)’
<i>nař-k-im</i>	—>	<i>nařkim</i>	‘we will walk(excl.)’
<i>uŋ-k-im</i>	—>	<i>uŋkim</i>	‘we will drink(excl.)’
<i>ač-k-im</i>	—>	<i>ačkim</i>	‘we will measure(excl.)’

4.18.1.10:  $\infty$ -em- occurs after tense when it is followed the conditional marker and it also occurs after the negative and before declarative suffix -i

<i>pod-ø-em-wiř</i>	—>	<i>podemwiř</i>	‘if we come’
<i>pi:-ø-em-wiř</i>	—>	<i>pi:emwiř</i>	‘if we go’
<i>nařø-ø-em-wiř</i>	—>	<i>nařuemwiř</i>	‘if we walk’
<i>př:x-o-em-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>př:xemi</i>	
			‘we did not go’
<i>třn-o-em-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>třnemi</i>	
			‘we did not eat’
<i>uŋ-o-em-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>uŋemi</i>	
			‘we did not drink’
<i>křy-o-em-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>křyemi</i>	
			‘we did not do’
<i>nřl-o-em-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>nřlemi</i>	
			‘we did not stand’
<i>par-o-em-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>paremi</i>	
			‘we did not write’
<i>kat-o-em-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>katemi</i>	
			‘we did not learn’
<i>nař-o-em-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>nařemi</i>	
			‘we did not walk’
<i>kwřiř-o-em-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>kwřiřemi</i>	
			‘we did not give’

- podkis-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *podkisemi*  
   ‘we will not come’
- tidkis-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *tidkisemi*  
   ‘we will not eat’
- udkis-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *udkisemi*  
   ‘we will not drink’
- nidkis-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *nidkisemi*  
   ‘we will not stand’
- pi:kis-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *pi:kisemi*  
   ‘we will not go’
- ostkis-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *ostkisemi*  
   ‘we will not say’
- widdkis-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *widdkisemi*  
   ‘we will not run’

*First person plural (incl.)*

{ -pum- }

$\infty$ -pum-  $\infty$ -m  $\infty$ -um

4.18.1.11.  $\infty$ -pum- occurs after tense in declaratives and also occurs after tense when it is followed by interrogative.

- Ex. *tid-*Ø-pum-i —> *tidpumi* ‘eat-we (incl.)’  
     *pit-*Ø-pum-i —> *pitpumi* ‘sow (seed)-we (incl.)’  
     *kod-*Ø-pum-i —> *kodpumi* ‘look-we (incl.)’  
     *nid-*Ø-pum-i —> *nidpumi* ‘stand-we (incl.)’  
     *pod-*Ø-pum-i —> *podpumi* ‘come-we (incl.)’  
     *nare-*Ø-pum-i —> *narepumi* ‘walk-we (incl.)’

- aṭə-∅-pum-i* → *aṭəpumi* ‘measure-we (incl.)’  
*kwīrt-∅-pum-i* → *kwīrtipumi* ‘give-we’  
*kaṭ-∅-pum-i* → *kaṭpumi* ‘learn-we’  
*pi:-∅-pum-i* → *pi:pumi* ‘go-we’  
*tīd-s-pum-i* (2.44,49) → *tīzpumi*  
‘ate-we’  
*kōd-s-pum-i* (2.48,49) → *kożpumi*  
‘looked-we’  
*nīd-s-pum-i* (2.44,49) → *nizpumi*  
‘stood-we’  
*pod-s-pum-i* (2.42,49) → *pozpumi*  
‘came-we’  
*nare-s-pum-i* (2.41) → *narspumi*  
‘walked-we’  
*kwīrt-s-pum-i* (2.41) → *kwīrspumi*  
‘gave-we’  
*pi:-∅-pum* → *pi:pum* ‘go-we’  
*pod-∅-pum* → *podpum* ‘come-we’  
*tīd-∅-pum* → *tīdpum* ‘eat-we’  
*ud-∅-pum* → *udpum* ‘drink-we’  
*nwī:t-∅-pum* → *nwī:tpum* ‘look-we’  
*pod-s-pum* (2.42,49) → *pozpum*  
‘came-we’  
*tīd-s-pum* (2.44,49) → *tīzpum*  
‘ate-we’  
*ud-s-pum* (2.48,49) → *uzpum*  
‘drank-we’  
*nwī:ty-s-pum* (2.26,47,49) → *nwī:spum*  
‘looked-we’

4.18.1.12.  $\infty$ -*m* occurs after tense when it is preceded by interrogative.

Ex. <i>pi:-Ø-m</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:m</i>	'go-we'
<i>pod-Ø-m</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podm</i>	'come-we'
<i>tɻd-Ø-m</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tɻdm</i>	'eat-we'
<i>ud-Ø-m</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>udm</i>	'drink-we'
<i>nwɪ:ty-Ø-m</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>nwɪ:tym</i>	'look-we'
<i>kare-Ø-m</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>karem</i>	'milk-we'
<i>püʃode-Ø-m</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>püʃodem</i>	'call-we'
<i>pod-s-m</i>	(2.42,49)	$\rightarrow$	<i>pozm</i> 'came-we'
<i>tɻd-s-m</i>	(2.44,49)	$\rightarrow$	<i>tɻzm</i> 'ate-we'
<i>ud-s-m</i>	(2.48,49)	$\rightarrow$	<i>uzm</i> 'drank-we'
<i>nwɪ:ty-s-m</i>	(2.26,47,49)	$\rightarrow$	<i>nwɪ:sm</i> 'looked-we'
<i>kare-s-m</i>	(2.41)	$\rightarrow$	<i>karsm</i> 'milked-we'
<i>püʃode-s-m</i>	(2.41)	$\rightarrow$	<i>püʃodsm</i> 'called-we'

4.18.1.13.  $\infty$ -*um-* occurs after present-future and past negative marker and occurs after voluntative suffix -*k* and also occurs after tense suffix when it is followed by conditional marker -*wɪr*.

Ex. <i>podkɪs-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	$\rightarrow$	<i>podkɪsumi</i> 'we will not come'
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<i>tīdkiṣ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>tīdkiṣumi</i>	'we will not eat'
<i>udkīṣ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>udkīṣumi</i>	'we will not drink'
<i>nīdkiṣ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>nīdkiṣumi</i>	'we will not stand'
<i>ōštkīṣ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>ōštkīṣumi</i>	'we will not say'
<i>po:r-o-um-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>po:rumi</i>	'we did not come'
<i>kīy-o-um-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>kīyumi</i>	'we did not do'
<i>nīl-o-um-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>nīlumi</i>	'we did not stand'
<i>naṛ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>naṛumi</i>	'we did not walk'
<i>wī:d-o-um-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>wī:đumi</i>	'we did not run'
<i>kīy-k-um</i>	—>	<i>kīykum</i>	'we will do'
<i>uŋ-k-um</i>	—>	<i>uŋkum</i>	'we will drink'
<i>ōšt-k-um</i>	—>	<i>ōštkum</i>	'we will say'
<i>naṛ-k-um</i>	—>	<i>naṛkum</i>	'we will walk'
<i>pod-∅-um-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>podumwīṛ</i>	'If we come'
<i>pi:∅-um-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>pi:umwīṛ</i>	'If we go'
<i>naṛ∅-um-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>naṛeumwīṛ</i>	'If we walk'

## 4.18.2. Second person singular

{ -p- }

∞ -p- ∞ -py ∞ -ty ∞ -y ∞ -?

4.18.2.1.  $\infty-p-$  occurs after tense and negative suffix.

Ex. <i>pod-Ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>podpi</i>	'come-you (Sg)'
<i>tīd-Ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>tīdipi</i>	'eat-you'
<i>pī-Ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>pīipi</i>	'go-you'
<i>nīd-Ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>nīdipi</i>	'stand-you'
<i>pīt-Ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>pītpi</i>	'sow-you'
<i>narə-Ø-p-i</i>	—> <i>narəpi</i>	'walk-you'
<i>pod-s-p-i</i> (2.42,49)	—> <i>pozpi</i>	'came-you'
<i>tīd-s-p-i</i> (2.44,49)	—> <i>tīzpi</i>	'ate-you'
<i>nīd-s-p-i</i> (2.44,49)	—> <i>nīzpi</i>	'stood-we'
<i>pīty-s-p-i</i> (2.26,45,49)	—> <i>pīšpi</i>	'sowed-you'
<i>narə-s-p-i</i> (2.41)	—> <i>narspi</i>	'walked-you'
<i>po:r-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>po:ropi</i>	'you did not come'
<i>nīl-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>nīlopi</i>	'you did not stand'
<i>tīn-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>tīnopi</i>	'you did not eat'
<i>uŋ-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>uŋopi</i>	'you did not drink'
<i>wī:d-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>wī:dopi</i>	'you did not run'
<i>ōšt-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>ōštopi</i>	'you did not say'
<i>a:for-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>a:forropi</i>	'you did not talk'
<i>par-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>paropi</i>	'you did not write'
<i>kīy-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>kīyopi</i>	'you did not do'
<i>oj-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>ojopi</i>	'you did not fear'
<i>pūšod-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>pūšodopi</i>	'you did not call'
<i>kar-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>karopi</i>	'you did not milk'
<i>ter-o-p-i</i>	—> <i>teropi</i>	'you did not open'

4.18.2.2.  $\infty$ -*py* occurs after tense when it is followed by interrogative.

Ex. <i>pi:-Ø-py</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:py</i>	'go-you'
<i>pod-Ø-py</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podpy</i>	'come-you'
<i>tīd-Ø-py</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīdpy</i>	'eat-you'
<i>ud-Ø-py</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>udpy</i>	'drink-you'
<i>o:d-Ø-py</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>o:dpy</i>	'play-you'
<i>kīs-Ø-py</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>kīspy</i>	'do-you'
<i>nwī:ty-Ø-py</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>nwītypy</i>	'look-you'
<i>pod-s-py</i>	(2.42.49) $\rightarrow$	<i>pozpy</i>	'came-you'
<i>tīd-s-py</i>	(2.44,49) $\rightarrow$	<i>tīzpy</i>	'ate-you'
<i>ud-s-py</i>	(2.48.49) $\rightarrow$	<i>uzpy</i>	'drank-you'
<i>o:d-s-py</i>	(2.48,49) $\rightarrow$	<i>o:zpy</i>	'played-you'
<i>nwī:ty-s-py</i>	(2.26,47,49) $\rightarrow$	<i>nwī:spy</i>	'looked-you'

4.18.2.3.  $\infty$ -*ty* occurs after tense when it is preceded by interrogative.

Ex. <i>pi:-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pi:ty</i>	'go-you'
<i>pod-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>podty</i>	'come-you'
<i>tīd-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>tīdty</i>	'eat-you'
<i>ud-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>udty</i>	'drink-you'
<i>par-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>party</i>	'write-you'
<i>kīs-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>kīsty</i>	'do-you'
<i>o:d-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>o:dty</i>	'play-you'
<i>nwī:ty-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>nwī:ty</i>	'look-you'
<i>kārə-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>kārəty</i>	'milk-you'
<i>pūşode-Ø-ty</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>pūşodəty</i>	'call-you'

4.18.2.4.  $\infty$ -y- occurs after tense and before conditional suffix -wīr.

- Ex. *pod-ø-y-wīr* —> *podywīr* ‘if you come’  
*tīd-ø-y-wīr* —> *tīdywīr* ‘if you say’  
*pi:-ø-y-wīr* —> *piiywīr* ‘if you go’

4.18.2.5.  $\infty$ -t- occurs after prohibitive suffix -o-

- Ex. *pod-o-t-i* —> *podoṭi* ‘do not come-you’  
*tīd-o-t-i* —> *tīdoti* ‘do not eat’  
*ud-o-t-i* —> *udoti* ‘do not drink’  
*nāṛe-o-t-i* —> *nāṛeoṭi* ‘do not walk’  
*nwī:ty-o-t-i* —> *nwī:tyoṭi* ‘do not look’  
*kwīd-o-t-i* —> *kwīdoṭi* ‘do not quarrel’  
*ko:t-o-t-i* —> *ko:tōṭi* ‘do not show’  
*wī:rīt-o-t-i* —> *wī:rītōṭi* ‘do not listern’

### *Second person plural*

{ -tš- }

$\infty$ -tš, ~š  $\infty$ -š  $\infty$ -s

4.18.2.6.  $\infty$ -tš occurs after tense in declaratives and it occurs after tense when it is followed and preceded by interrogative. It is free variation with -š

- Ex. *tīd-ø-tš-i* —> *tīdtši* ‘eat-you (pl.)’  
*kod-ø-tš-i* —> *kodtši* ‘look-you’  
*kark-ø-tš-i* —> *karktši* ‘melt-you’  
*pod-ø-tš-i* —> *podtši* ‘cone-you’

<i>sō:d-ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>sō:dtši</i>	‘arrive-you’
<i>nīd-ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>nīdtši</i>	‘stand-you’
<i>te:d-ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>te:dtši</i>	‘do (work)-you’
<i>ni:d-ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>ni:dtši</i>	‘peepover-you’
<i>ud-ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>udtši</i>	‘drink’ -you’
<i>teškwid-ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>teškwidtši</i>	‘hug-you’
<i>kīdə-ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>kīdtši</i>	‘sprinkle-you’
<i>pi:-ø-tš</i>	—>	<i>pi:tš</i>	‘go-you’
<i>pod-ø-tš~</i>	—>	<i>podtš</i>	
<i>pod-ø-š</i>	—>	<i>podš</i>	‘come-you’
<i>tīd-ø-ts~</i>	—>	<i>tīdtš</i>	
<i>tīd-ø-š</i>	—>	<i>tīdš</i>	‘eat-you’
<i>kīs-ø-tš</i>	—>	<i>kīstš</i>	‘do-you’
<i>nwī:ł-ø-tš</i>	—>	<i>nwī:łtš</i>	‘look-you’
<i>kare-ø-tš</i>	—>	<i>karetš</i>	‘milk-you’
<i>nare-ø-tš</i>	—>	<i>naretš</i>	‘walk-you’

4.18.2.7.  $\infty$  - $\check{s}$ - occurs after negative.

- wi:d-o-š-i* (2.53) —> *wi:dši*  
    ‘you did not run’
- nīl-o-š-i* (2.53) —> *nīlši*  
    ‘you did not stand’
- nar-o-š-i* (2.53) —> *narši*  
    ‘you did not walk’
- por-o-š-i* (2.53) —> *porši*  
    ‘you did not lie down’
- pī:x-o-š-i* (2.53) —> *pī:xši*  
    ‘you did not go’
- pint-o-š-i* (2.53) —> *pintši*  
    ‘you did not ask’
- tīn-o-š-i* (2.53) —> *tīnši*  
    ‘you did not eat’

4.18.2.18.  $\infty$  -s- occurs after prohibitive suffix -o.

- Ex. *pod-o-s-i* —> *podosi* ‘do not come-you (pl.)’
- pint-o-s-i* —> *pintosi* ‘do not ask’
- tīd-o-s-i* —> *tīdosi* ‘do not eat’
- por-o-s-i* —> *porosi* ‘do not lie down’
- pūšode-o-s-i* —> *pūšodeosi* ‘do not call.’

4.18.3. *Third person*

*Singular and plural*

{ -t- }

$\infty$  -t-    $\infty$  -u    $\infty$  -k    $\infty$  -n

4.18.3.1.  $\infty$ -*t*- occurs (1) after tense in declaratives and occurs when it is followed by interrogative and (2) also occurs after negative suffix and it is in free variation with -*ty* in negative.

<i>Ex. t̪id-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>t̪idti</i> ‘eats—he/she/it eat—they’
<i>pi:-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>pi:ti</i> ‘goes—he/she/it go—they’
<i>kod-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>kodti</i> ‘looks—he/she/it look—they’
<i>pod-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>podti</i> ‘comes—he/she/it come—they’
<i>n̪id-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>n̪idti</i> ‘stands—he/she/it stand—they’
<i>kis-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>kistti</i> ‘does—he/she/it do—they’
<i>p̪it-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>p̪itti</i> ‘carries—he/she carry—they’
<i>wi:f-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>wifti</i> ‘drives (calf)—he/she drive—they’
<i>ko:t-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>ko:tti</i> ‘shows—he/she show—they’
<i>kut-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>kutti</i> ‘pounds—she pound—they’
<i>o:f-Ø-t-i</i>	—> <i>o:ftti</i> ‘weeps—he/she weep—they’
<i>pi:-s-t-i</i>	(2.45,50) —> <i>pi:či</i> ‘went—he/she/it/they’

<i>e:mo:ty-s-t-i</i>	(2.26, 45, 49, 50) —> <i>e:mo:či</i> ‘deceived—he/she/they’
<i>püšode-s-t-i</i>	(2.4), 50) —> <i>püšodči</i> ‘called—he/she/they’
<i>pare-s-t-i</i>	(2.41, 50) —> <i>parči</i> ‘wrote—he/she/they’
<i>pi:-ø-t</i>	—> <i>pi:t</i> ‘goes—he/she go—they’
<i>pod-ʒ-t</i>	—> <i>podt</i> ‘comes—he/she come—they’
<i>tīd-ø-t</i>	—> <i>tīdt</i> ‘eats—he/she/it eat—they’
<i>ud-ø-t</i>	—> <i>udt</i> ‘drinks—he/she drink—they’
<i>o:d-ø-t</i>	—> <i>o:dt</i> ‘dances—he dance—they’
<i>kīs-ø-t</i>	—> <i>kīst</i> ‘does—he/she do—they’
<i>nwī:ł-ø-t</i>	—> <i>nwī:łt</i> ‘looks—he/she look—they’
<i>kare-ø-t</i>	—> <i>karet</i> ‘milks—he milk—they’
<i>pi:š-t</i>	(2.50) —> <i>pi:č</i> ‘went—he/she/it went—they’
<i>pī:x-o-t-i ~</i>	—> <i>pī:xoti</i>
<i>pī:x-o-ły-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>pī:xłyi</i> ‘he/she/it did not go’

<i>tin-o-t-i~</i>	—>	<i>tinoti</i>
<i>tin-o-iy-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>tiniyi</i>
		‘he/she/it did not eat’
<i>un-o-t-i~</i>	—>	<i>unoti</i>
<i>un-o-iy-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>uniyi</i>
		‘he/she/it did not break’
<i>kīy-o-t-i~</i>	—>	<i>kīyoti</i>
<i>kīy-o-iy-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>kīyiyi</i>
		‘he/she/ did not do (work)’

<i>po:r-o-t-i~</i>	—>	<i>po:roti</i>
<i>po:r-o-iy-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>po:riyi</i>
		‘he/she/it did not come’

<i>podkīs-o-iy-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>podkīsiyi</i>
		‘he/she/ they will not come’

<i>tīdkīs-o-iy-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>tīdkīsiyi</i>
		‘he/she/they will not eat’

<i>udkīs-o-iy-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>udkīsiyi</i>
		‘he/she/they will not drink’

<i>pi:kīs-o-iy-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>pi:kīsiyi</i>
		‘he/she/ they will not go’

4.18.3.2.  $\infty$ -*u* occurs after tense suffix when it is preceded by interrogative:

Ex. *pi:-q-u* —> *pi:u* ‘goes-he/she  
go-they’

*pod-q-u* —> *podu* ‘comes-he/she  
come-they’

*tīd-q-u* —> *tīdu* ‘eats-he/she  
eat-they’

<i>ud-ø-u</i>	—> <i>udu</i> ‘drinks-he/she drink-they’
<i>kis-ø-u</i>	—> <i>kisu</i> ‘does-he/she do-they’
<i>nwi:t-ø-u</i>	—> <i>nwi:tu</i> ‘looks-he/she look-they’
<i>kare-ø-u</i>	—> <i>kareu</i> ‘milks-he milk-they’
<i>püsode-ø-u</i>	—> <i>püsodəu</i> ‘calls-he/she call-they’
<i>narø-ø-u</i>	—> <i>narəu</i> ‘walks-he/she/it walk-they’

4.18.3.3.  $\infty$ -*k* occurs after past tense suffix when it is preceded by interrogative.

<i>pod-s-k</i>	(2.42,49) —> <i>pozk</i> ‘came-he/she/they’
<i>tid-s-k</i>	(2.44,49) —> <i>tiżk</i> ‘ate-he/she/they’
<i>ud-s-k</i>	(2.48,49) —> <i>użk</i> ‘drank-he/she/they’
<i>o:d-s-k</i>	(2.48,49) —> <i>o:żk</i> ‘danced-he/she/they’
<i>nwi:ty-s-k</i>	(2.26,47,49) —> <i>nwi:żk</i> ‘looked-he/she/they’
<i>kare-s-k</i>	(2.41) —> <i>kareżk</i> ‘milked-he/they’
<i>püsode-s-k</i>	(2.41) —> <i>püsodəżk</i> ‘called-he/she/they’

- nare-s-k* (2.41) → *nask*  
                          ‘walked-he/she/they’
- aṭo-s-k* (2.41) → *aṭsk*  
                          ‘measured-he/she/they’
- pi:rfae-s-k* (2.41) → *pi:rfosk*  
                          ‘kissed-he/she’
- past-s-k* (2.41) → *pafsk*  
                          ‘kicked-he/she/they’
- tesamt-s-k* (2.41) → *teSAMsk*  
                          ‘performed hair-cutting and  
                          naming ceremony’

4.18.3.4. ∞ -n occurs after tense suffix and before cond i  
                             tional suffix -wīr.

- Ex. *pod-∅-n-wīr* → *podnwīr* ‘if he comes’  
       *pi:-∅-n-wīr* → *pi:nwīr* ‘if he goes’  
       *nare-∅-n-wīr* → *narenwīr* ‘if he walks’  
       *ud-∅-n-wīr* → *udnwīr* ‘if he drinks’  
       *tīd-∅-n-wīr* → *tīdnwīr* ‘if he eats’

#### 4.19. Declarative

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2 - \text{Tense- Pers. sfx.} \\ S_1 - \text{Neg- Pers. sfx.} \end{array} \right\} -$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -i \end{array} \right\}$

$\sim -i$

#### 4.19. ~ -i

- Ex. *pod-∅-pin-i* → *podpini* ‘come-I’

<i>tīd-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>tīd̪pini</i>	'eat-I'
<i>kod-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>kodpini</i>	'look-I'
<i>pod-s-pin-i</i>	(2.42,49)	—>	<i>pozpinī</i> came-I
<i>te:d-s-pin-i</i>	(2.44,49)	—>	<i>te:z̪pini</i> 'did (work)-I'
<i>po:r-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>po:reni</i> 'I did not come'
<i>pī:x-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>pī:xeni</i> 'I did not go'
<i>podkīs-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>podkīseni</i> 'I will not come'
<i>tīd̪-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>tīd̪pimi</i>	'eat-we (excl.)'
<i>pīf-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>pītpimi</i>	'carry-we'
<i>pī:x-o-em-i</i>	—>	<i>pī:xemi</i>	'we did not go'
<i>nīl-o-em-i</i>	—>	<i>nīleme</i>	'we did not stand'
<i>kod-Ø-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>kodpumi</i>	'look-we (incl.)'
<i>nīd̪-Ø-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>nīdpumi</i>	'stand-we'
<i>kīy-o-um-i</i> (2.53)	—>	<i>kīyuni</i>	'we did not do'
<i>pi:-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>pi:pi</i>	'go-you (sg.)'
<i>narō-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>narōpi</i>	'walk-you (sg.)'
<i>pod-s-p-i</i> (2.42,49)	—>	<i>pozpi</i>	'came-you'
<i>tīn-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>tīnopi</i>	'you did not eat'
<i>pod-o-t-i</i>	—>	<i>podoṭi</i>	'do not come'
<i>kark-Ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>karktši</i>	'melt-you (pl.)'
<i>kat-o-š-i</i>	—>	<i>katōši</i>	'you did not learn'
<i>pod o-š-i</i>	—>	<i>podosi</i>	'do not come-you (pl.)'

<i>ti<u>g</u>-ø-t-i</i>	→ <i>ti<u>dti</u></i>	'eats-he/she/it, eat-they'
<i>pod-ø-t-i</i>	→ <i>podti</i>	'comes-he/she/it, come-they'
<i>pi:x-o-t-i</i>	→ <i>pi:xoti</i>	'he/she/it did not go'

#### 4.20. Conditional

S<sub>2</sub>- Tense-Pers. Sfx-.

{ -wīr }

~- wīr

4.20.1. ~- wīr occurs after personal suffix.

Ex. <i>pod-ø-en-wīr</i>	→ <i>podenwīr</i>	'if I come'
<i>pod-ø-y-wīr</i>	→ <i>podywīr</i>	'if you come'
<i>pod-ø-n-wīr</i>	→ <i>podhwīr</i>	'if he comes'
<i>nare-ø-en-wīr</i>	→ <i>nareenwīr</i>	'if I walk'
<i>nare-ø-y-wīr</i>	→ <i>nareywīr</i>	'if you walk'
<i>nare-ø-n-wīr</i>	→ <i>narenwīr</i>	'if he walks'
<i>pi:-ø-en-wīr</i>	→ <i>pi:enwīr</i>	'if I go'
<i>pi:-ø-y-wīr</i>	→ <i>pi:ywīr</i>	'if you go'
<i>pi:-ø-n-wīr</i>	→ <i>pi:nwīr</i>	'if he goes'
<i>id-ø-en-wīr</i>	→ <i>idenwīr</i>	'if I say'
<i>id-ø-y-wīr</i>	→ <i>idywīr</i>	'if you say'
<i>id-ø-n-wīr</i>	→ <i>idnwīr</i>	'if he says'

#### 4.21. Classification of verbal stems

In the Toda language the past tense and the present-future (as well as some other formations) are formed on a

special stem that may be called the 'secondary stem' ( $S_2$  of Emeneau). This secondary stem historically corresponds to the past stem of Tamil-Malayalam and some other languages. The secondary stem is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base. 1.  $\theta$  2.  $t$  3.  $d$  and 4.  $y$ . To quote Emeneau (1967): "The great majority of Toda  $S_2$  stems is represented by such contrasting sets as:  $\bar{ix}-$ ,  $\bar{ix}\bar{y}-$  'to slip, be slippery'  $\bar{ix}-$ ,  $\bar{ix}\theta-$  'to separate oneself from others,'  $\bar{ix}f-$ ,  $\bar{ix}t-$  'to make people separate, open (loop', bangle),  $kuf-$ ,  $kufy-$  'to pound (clothes in washing), load (gun)',  $uf-$ ,  $uft-$  'to shake off, empty (bag)'. On the basis of these and many other items three  $S_2$  morphs can be set up 1.  $-y-$  2.  $-\theta-$  3.  $-t-$ . Two verbs ending in  $l$  have an  $S_2$  suffix 4.  $-d-$ . This is in contrast with  $-t-$  and  $-y-$  after stems ending in  $l^1$ " So all the Toda verbs are classified into four major classes.

1.  $y$  class
2.  $\theta$  class
3.  $t$  class
4.  $d$  class

It is also to be noted that verbs have to be classified on the basis of transitivity versus intransitivity. The verbs which are capable of taking object are called transitive and others are called intransitive. The transitive can be denoted either inherently (i.e without any suffixes) or by the addition of some suffixes. The derived transitives are formed by the addition of suffixes to the intransitive verbs. So the inherent intransitive are divided into two sub-classes, namely,

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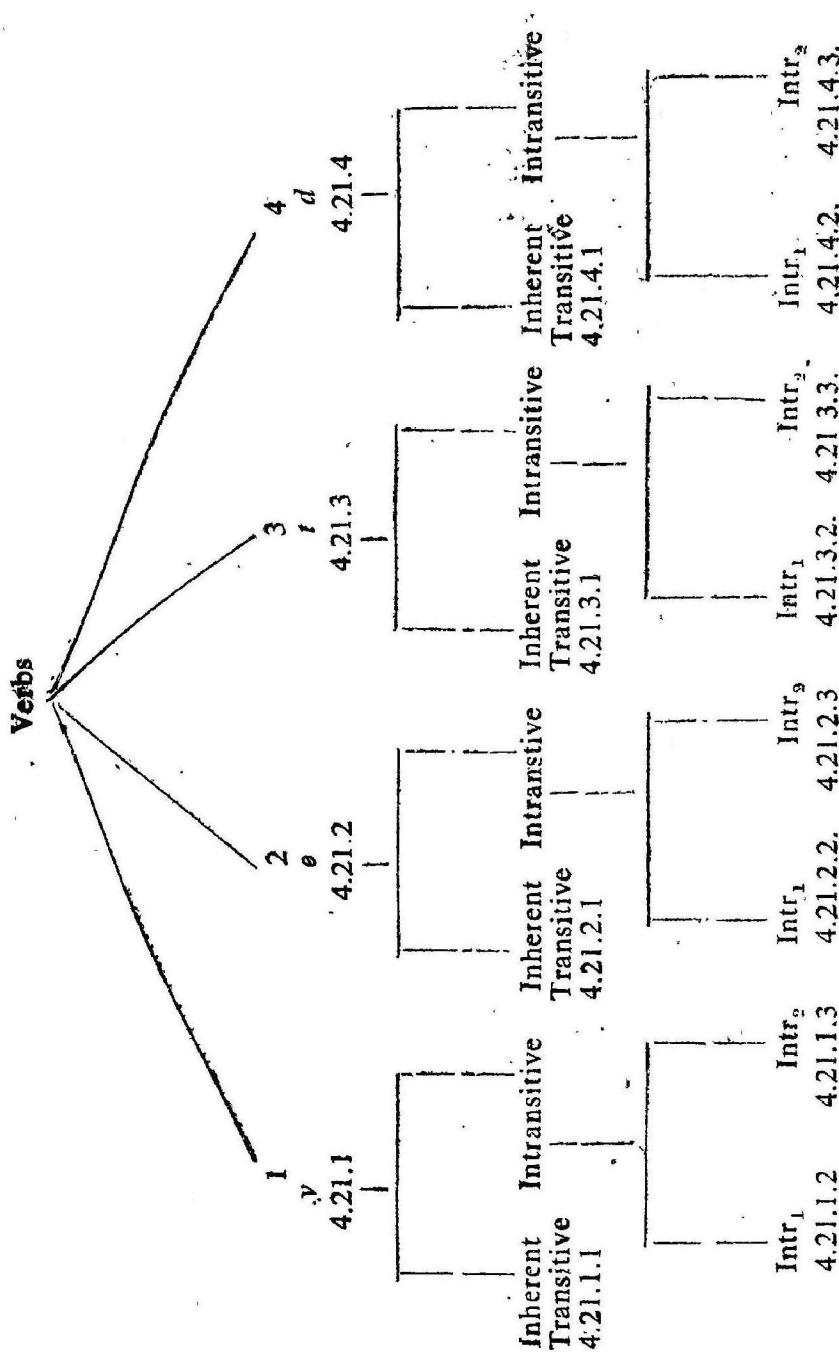
1. M. B. Emeneau, '*The South Dravidian languages*', Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol 87, No. 4, 374-76, 1967.

1. Intransitive (Intr.<sub>1</sub>) which cannot be made into transitive by the addition of transitive suffix.
2. Intransitive (Intr.<sub>2</sub>) which can be made into transitives by the addition of transitive suffix.

Intransitive (Intr.<sub>2</sub>) are found to fall into three classes.

1. Intransitives which take transitive suffix *-t-*.
2. Intransitives which take transitive suffix *-c-*.
- and 3. Intransitives which take transitive suffix *-f-*.

The classification on the basis of the secondary stem formative and the classification on the basis of transitive versus intransitive are cross classifications. However, they can be clubbed under one group. Four major classes which are already set up on the basis of secondary stem formative as a basic, the intransitive and transitive classification is incorporated within that. So each of the four major classes is sub divided into inherent transitive, intransitive, and Intransitive.



*y class*

4.21.1.1. *Inherent Transitives*

<i>ön</i>	‘count’
<i>kart</i>	‘send’
<i>ürp</i>	‘play (flute)’
<i>up</i>	‘agree’
<i>ot</i>	‘pour’
<i>pīn</i>	‘weave’
<i>po:t</i>	‘spread’ (grains)
<i>pu:t</i>	‘tie’
<i>tol</i>	‘push’
<i>wi:t</i>	‘drive (calf from udder)’
<i>pat</i>	‘seize, touch’
<i>kot</i>	‘build (house)’
<i>sop</i>	‘suck’
<i>kō:t</i>	‘winnow’
<i>ki:c</i>	‘comb’
<i>čšt</i>	‘say’
<i>ki:t</i>	‘tear’
<i>ku:t</i>	‘knock, pound’
<i>nok</i>	‘lick’
<i>nob</i>	‘trust, believe’
<i>kum</i>	‘pound (grain) with light stroke’
<i>ery</i>	‘throw’
<i>tō:št</i>	‘close (the <i>ti</i> dairy)’

<i>o:t</i>	‘shake violently’
<i>ud</i>	‘smear’
<i>tü:t</i>	‘wander’
<i>ti:k</i>	‘stop’
<i>kwilek</i>	‘peck’
<i>nwi:t</i>	‘look’
<i>na:g</i>	‘play’
<i>kü:p</i>	‘kill’
<i>wi:θ</i>	‘read’
<i>kid</i>	‘sprinkle’
<i>to:g</i>	‘support’
<i>mu:t</i>	‘smell’
<i>pit</i>	‘sow’
<i>asp</i>	‘clean’
<i>kuf</i>	‘pound (clothes in washing)’
<i>e:mo:t</i>	‘deceive’
<i>pint</i>	‘ask’
<i>part</i>	‘pray’
<i>mü:c</i>	‘cover’
<i>u:c</i>	‘throw away’
<i>koc</i>	‘bite’
<i>ti:k</i>	‘stop (man, animal)’
<i>te:t</i>	‘fold’
<i>pa:t</i>	‘marry (woman)’
<i>pode</i>	‘enjoy’
<i>ušt</i>	‘take off (ring, bangle, shirt)’

*kušt* ‘build with stone’

4.21.1.3. *Intransitive<sub>2</sub>*:

4.21.1.3.1. can be transitivity by adding -t.

<i>kalx</i>	‘be stirred up’
<i>omx</i>	‘be pressed down’
<i>i:x</i>	‘descend’
<i>alx</i>	‘shake’
<i>tu:lx</i>	‘hang’
<i>po:x</i>	‘flow down completely’
<i>o:x</i>	‘become’
<i>arx</i>	‘be subdued’
<i>ni:x</i>	‘crawl’
<i>tīrx</i>	‘turn’
<i>wīex</i>	‘get ready’
<i>wīnx</i>	‘wither’
<i>karx</i>	‘melt, dissolve’
<i>kuřx</i>	‘be short’
<i>mořx</i>	‘bend’
<i>missx</i>	‘move slightly vertically’
<i>usx</i>	‘move horizontally’
<i>mesx</i>	‘(things) become soaked and softened’
<i>nōřx</i>	‘become tall’
<i>u:x</i>	‘glide along’
<i>mu:lx</i>	‘be destroyed’

<i>p̄ox</i>	'be squeezed'
<i>tw̄ex</i>	'be at point of readiness'
<i>toex</i>	'smash'
<i>mūx</i>	'be destroyed'
<i>twalx</i>	'be out of plumb'
<i>odg</i>	'be quite'
<i>w̄rg</i>	'be crushed'
<i>morg</i>	'become bent'
<i>wa:g</i>	'turn over'
<i>t̄rb</i>	'twist'
<i>o:d</i>	'dance'
<i>kut̄r</i>	'join'
<i>ni:r</i>	'be stretched'
<i>o:r</i>	'become dry'
<i>mo:r</i>	'change'
<i>tō:r</i>	'improve (in health, wealth)'
<i>u:r</i>	'be filtered'
<i>po:r</i>	'fly'
<i>tw̄i:r</i>	'be visible'

.21.1.3.2. can be transitivized by adding -e-.

<i>kak</i>	'vomit'
<i>o:d</i>	'dance'
<i>mu:x</i>	'destory'
<i>o:r</i>	'(dispute) is settled'
<i>ti:r</i>	'settle (dispute)'

## • Class

4.21.2.1. *Inherent transitive*

<i>pär</i>	'write'
<i>käi</i>	'milk'
<i>kīy</i>	'do'
<i>käi</i>	'steal'
<i>aṭ</i>	'measure'
<i>ter</i>	'open'
<i>pe:y</i>	'thatch'
<i>mar</i>	"forget"
<i>püṣoḍ</i>	'call'
<i>kof</i>	'be turned upside down'
<i>ad</i>	'dig'
<i>pīḍ</i>	'fall'
<i>käi</i>	'steal'
<i>kaṭ</i>	'churn'
<i>pīy</i>	'beat'
<i>kwīy</i>	'pluck'
<i>ēty</i>	'throw, cut'
<i>pīṭfor</i>	'kiss'

4.21.2.3. *Intransitive*,4.21.2.3.1. can be transitivized by adding *-t-*.

<i>ōd</i>	'rise'
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<i>naṛ</i>	'walk'
<i>kaḍ</i>	'cross'
<i>to:y</i>	'be lowered'
<i>kary</i>	'be singed'
<i>pīry</i>	'become parted'
<i>māry</i>	'fall'
<i>ti:y</i>	'be singed'
<i>tīy</i>	'fall down'
<i>wīty</i>	'(joints) crack'

**4.21.2.3.2.** can be transitivized by adding *-c-*.

<i>ko:y</i>	'be hot'
<i>kody</i>	'disappear'
<i>tīry</i>	'twist'
<i>naḍ</i>	'organise'
<i>tony</i>	'cool, calm'
<i>pīxy</i>	'become tight'
<i>pūry</i>	'become full'
<i>pīry</i>	'spring forth, (boil) breaks'
<i>tūṭy</i>	'become clear'

**1 Class**

**4.21.3.1. Inherent transitive**

<i>a:for</i>	'talk'
<i>uf</i>	'shake up'

<i>pit</i>	‘carry’
<i>twi:y</i>	‘wash (clothes)’
<i>kwif</i>	‘give’
<i>tany</i>	‘think’
<i>ke:t</i>	‘hear’
<i>wi:rid</i>	‘listern’
<i>id</i>	‘put, place’
<i>paf</i>	‘kick’
<i>tur</i>	‘burn’
<i>swi:l</i>	‘be defeated’
<i>ofy</i>	‘calm’
<i>widy</i>	‘save’
<i>ko:f</i>	‘watch’
<i>arf</i>	‘cut, reap’
<i>usf</i>	‘plough’
<i>kity</i>	‘ladleout (food)’
<i>tet</i>	‘pay (fine, debt)’
<i>mu:net</i>	‘like’
<i>or</i>	‘cook’

#### 4.21.3.3. *Intransitive*<sub>a</sub>

##### 4.21.3.3.1. Can be transitivized by adding *-f-*

<i>od</i>	‘rise’
<i>kwal</i>	‘become emaciated’
<i>twad</i>	‘be polluted’
<i>af</i>	‘shut’

<i>tar</i>	'prevent'
<i>nən</i>	'think'
<i>pax</i>	'divide'
<i>kwar</i>	'cut'
<i>twa:n</i>	'sweep'
<i>pet</i>	'grow'
<i>war</i>	'break'
<i>kar</i>	'tighten'
<i>ner</i>	'fill'

4.21.3.3.2. Can be transitivized by adding *-c-*

<i>kat</i>	'learn'
<i>twit:t</i>	'be defeated'
<i>mony</i>	'for give'
<i>p̄t</i>	'let go'
<i>tōd̄xōt</i>	'be tired'
<i>o:pot</i>	'be caught'

*d Class*

4.21.4.1. *Inherent transitive*

<i>tin</i>	'eat'
<i>uŋ</i>	'drink'
<i>in</i>	'say'
<i>kol</i>	'steal'
<i>pe:rf</i>	'be born'
<i>kwil</i>	'carry (corpse)'
<i>e:l</i>	'rule'

4.21.4.3. *Intransitive*<sub>2</sub>

## 4.21.4.3.1. Can be transitivized by adding -t-

sō:r	'lean against, arrive'
u:l	'roll'
tu:l	'roll up'
ko:ŋ	'see'
p̪i:l	'tumble over'
no:l	'get wet'
pu:l	'wear around neck'
kiskwīl	'tickle'
teškwīl	'hug'
nī:l	'be stretchedout'

## 4.21.4.3.2. Can be transitivized by adding -c-.

nīl	'stand'
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It is worth mentioning that in Toda there are certain verbs like the following which can be used both as transitive and intransitive.

Ex. mory	'fold (intr., tr.)'
swīt	'drop (of liquid) (intr., tr.)'
wīt̪y	'hide (Intr. tr.)'
to̪ty	'sprinkle (intr., tr.)'

#### 4.22. Complex verb stems ,

$$V - \left[ V_{Aux_1} \right] - \left[ V_{Aux_2} \right]$$

The verbal stems containing simple verbs and the elements functioning as reflexive, progressive etc., are referred to as complex verb stems<sup>1</sup> and these additional elements are considered as auxiliary verbs. The complex verbs consist of a main verb [V] and one [V<sub>Aux<sub>1</sub></sub>] or two [V<sub>Aux<sub>1</sub></sub> - V<sub>Aux<sub>2</sub></sub>] auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary verbs are added to the verbal participle of the main verb. The auxiliary verbs *iθ-*, *nwi:ty-*, *wi/-kīd*, *fīt* are added to the main verb or to the verbal participle of the main verb [V]. The sandhi behaviour of the auxiliary verbs are the same as when they occur as main verbs.

##### 4.22.1. Perfective

S<sub>2</sub>- Past tense -V.P-

{ -iθ- }

~ -iθ-

4.22.1.1. ~-iθ-

Ex. *pod-s-θ-iθ-s-pin-i* (2.42,49,41)

→ *pozispini* 'I had come'

*nwi:ty-s-θ-iθ-s-pin-i* (2.26,47,49,41)

→ *nwi:spini* 'I had seen'

1 W. Bright and J. Lindenfeld, "Complex verb forms in Colloquial Tamil", *Studies in Indian Linguistics*, p. 30.

*tid-s-ø-iø-s-pin-i* (2.44,49,41)

→ *tičispini* 'I had eaten'

*ud-s-ø-iø-s-pin-i* (2.48,49,41)

→ *uzispini* 'I had drunken'

*kare-s-ø-iø-s-pin-i* (2.41)

→ *karsispini* 'I had churned'

*kare-s-ø-iø-s-pin-i* (2.41)

→ *karsispini* 'I had milked'

*kwīrt-s-ø-iø-s-pin-i* (2.41)

→ *kwītsispini* 'I had given (to him)'

#### 4.22.2. Trial

S<sub>2</sub>- Past tense -VP-

{ -nwī:ty- }

~ -nwī:ty-

##### 4.22.2.1. ~-nwī:ty-

Ex. *pinty-s-ø-nwī:ty-s-pin-i* (2.25,45,49,26,47,49)

→ *pinšnwī:spini* 'I tried to ask him'

*a:foł-s-ø-nwī:ty-s-pin-i* (2.47,49,26,47,49)

→ *a:fośnwī:spini* 'I tried to talk with him'

*tid-s-ø-nwī:ty-s-pin-i* (2.44,49,26,47,49)

→ *tičnwī:spini* 'I tried to eat (meal)'

(pəqm) *kwīrt-s-ø-nwī:ty-s-pin-i* (2.41,26,47,49)

→ *kwīts nwī:spini* 'I tried to give (money)'

- (a:s)      *kis-s-θ-nwī:ty-s-pin-i*      (2.18,26,47,49)  
               → *kis nwī:spini*      'I tried to build (house)'  
  
     *ud-s-θ-nwī:ty-s-pin-i*      (2.48,49,26,47,49)  
               → *uʒnwī:spini*      'I tried to drink (attack)'

#### 4.22.3. *Durative*

### S<sub>2</sub>- Past tense -VP-

{ -will- }

~ - w i l -

#### 4.22.3.1. $\sim -w\bar{j}/-$



#### 4.22.4. *Obligatory*

S<sub>2</sub>-

{ -10- }

~ -10 -

## 4.22.4.1. ~ -to-

<i>Ex. t̪id-∅-to-īy-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>t̪idt̪iyi</i> ‘he has to eat’
<i>ud-∅-to-īy-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>udt̪iyi</i> ‘he has to drink’
<i>pi:-∅-to-īy-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>pit̪iyi</i> ‘he has to go’
<i>pīt̪-∅-to-īy-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>pīt̪t̪iyi</i> ‘they have to carry’
<i>pod-∅-to-īy-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>podt̪iyi</i> ‘he has to come’
<i>wl:d-∅-to-īy-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>wl:dt̪iyi</i> ‘he has to run’
<i>kare-∅-to-īy-i</i>	(2.53) —> <i>karet̪iyi</i> ‘he has to milk’
<i>nare-∅-to-īy-i</i>	(2.53) <i>naret̪iyi</i> ‘he has to walk’
<i>pi:-∅-to-pin-i</i>	—> <i>pit̪opini</i> ‘I have to go’
<i>pi:-∅-to-pum-i</i>	—> <i>pit̪opumi</i> ‘we have to go’
<i>pi:-∅-to-p-i</i>	—> <i>pit̪opi</i> ‘you have to go (sg.)’
<i>pi:-∅-to-š-i</i>	—> <i>pit̪oši</i> ‘you have to go (pl.)’
<i>kls-∅-to-pin-i</i>	—> <i>klsopini</i> ‘I have to do’

<i>kīs-∅-to-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>kīstopumi</i> ‘we have to do’
<i>kīs-∅-to-p-i</i>	—>	<i>kīstopi</i> ‘you have to do’
<i>kare-∅-to-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>karetopini</i> ‘I have to milk’
<i>kare-∅-to-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>karetopumi</i> ‘we have to milk’
<i>kare-∅-to-p-i</i>	—>	<i>karetopi</i> ‘you have to milk (sg.)’
<i>kare-∅-to-š-i</i>	—>	<i>karetosi</i> ‘you have to milk (pl.)’
<i>nare-∅-to-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>naretopini</i> ‘I have to walk’
<i>nare-∅-to-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>naretopumi</i> ‘we have to walk’
<i>nare-∅-to-p-i</i>	—>	<i>naretopi</i> ‘you have to walk’

#### 4.22.5. *Potential*

S<sub>2</sub>

{ -*kīd-* }  
 ~ -*kīd-*

##### 4.22.5.1. ~ -*kīd-*

Ex. *pod-kīd-∅-pin-i* —> *podkīdpini*  
 ‘I can come’

<i>ud-kid-ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>uðkɪd̩pini</i> ‘I can drink’
<i>wi:q-kid-ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>wi:ðkɪd̩pini</i> ‘I can run’
<i>wart-kid-ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>wɑ:t̩kɪd̩pini</i> ‘I can break’
<i>pit-kid-ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>pɪt̩kɪd̩pini</i> ‘I can carry’
<i>nare-kid-ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>nɑ:re:kɪd̩pini</i> ‘I can walk’
<i>pi:-kid-ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>pi:kɪd̩pini</i> ‘I can go’
<i>kare-kid-ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>kɑ:re:kɪd̩pini</i> ‘I can churn’

#### 4.22.6. Possibility

S<sub>2</sub>- Tense -VP-Aux- Tense-

{ -kin- }

~ -kin-

##### 4. 22.6.1. ~-kin-

Ex. *pod-s-ø-iə-s-kin-ły-i* (2.42,49,41)  
 —> *poziskinłyi* ‘he/she/it/they  
 might have come’

(*so:roy*) *ud-s-ø-iə-s-kin-ły-i* (2.48,49,41)  
 —> *użiskinłyi* ‘he/she/they  
 might have eaten (arrack)’

(*po:jo:rtk*) *pi:-s-ø-iø-s-kin-iy-i* (2.45,41)

—> *pi:šiskiniyi* ‘he might have gone  
(to Ootacamund)

*tld-s-ø-iø-s-kin-iy-i* (2.44,49,41)

—> *tłziskiniyi* ‘he/she/it  
might have eaten’

*kls-s-ø-iø-s-kin-iy-i* (2.18,41)

—> *kisiskiniyi* ‘he/they  
might have done’

#### 4.22.7. *Aspectual*

S<sub>2</sub>-

{ -fɪt- }  
~ -fɪt-

##### 4.22.7.1. ~ -fɪt-

Ex. *kis-fɪt-ø-pin-i* —> *klsfɪtpini*  
‘I shall certainly do’

*pi:fɪt-ø-pin-i* —> *pi:fɪtpini*  
‘I shall certainly go’

*pi:fɪt-ø-t-i* —> *pi:fɪtti*  
‘he shall certainly go’

*pod-fɪt-ø-pin-i* —> *podfɪtpini*  
‘I shall certainly come’

*pinty-fɪt-ø-pin-i* (2.26) —> *pintfɪtpini*  
‘I shall certainly ask’

*pod-fɪt-ø-t-i* —> *podfɪtti*  
‘he shall certainly come’

- ōšty-fit-ø-pin-i* (2.26) —> *ōštfitpini*  
                           ‘I shall certainly say’
- ōšty-fit-t-i* (2.26) —> *ōštfitti*  
                           ‘he shall certainly say’
- tid-fit-ø-pin-i* —> *tidfitpini*  
                           ‘I shall certainly eat’
- te:d-fit-ø-pin-i* —> *te:dfipin*  
                           ‘I shall certainly do’
- pod-fit-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *podfispi*  
                           ‘I had come’
- kis-fit-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *kifispiin*  
                           ‘I had done’
- wi:d-fit-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *widfispi*  
                           ‘I had run’
- kod-fit-s pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *kofispi*  
                           ‘I had seen’
- karl-fit-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *karlfispi*  
                           ‘I had sent’
- kał-fit-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *kałfispi*  
                           ‘I had learnt’



# 5

## Appellative Verbs

5.0. Appellative verbs are those which cannot take tense suffixes but can take or are capable of taking other verbal suffixes like relative participle, personal suffixes etc<sup>1</sup>. Appellative verbs behave like verbs syntactically.

### 5.1. Stems

List of appellative bases is given below.

<i>etu:d-</i>	'big'
<i>nal-</i>	'good'
<i>pue-</i>	'new'

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1 See S. Agesthialingom and S. V. Shanmugam, *The Language of Tamil Inscriptions (1250-1350 A. D.)*. Anna-malai Universtiy, 1970.

<i>per-</i>	'great'
<i>pa:fn-</i>	'old'
<i>kɪrwɪd-</i>	'small'
<i>wɪl-</i>	'good'
<i>wɪd-</i>	'is / are'
<i>o:rə-</i>	'not'

## 5.2. Relative participle

{ -*foy-* }

∞ -*foy* ∞ Ø

### 5.2.1. ∞-*foy* occurs after the base *wɪd-*

Ex. *wɪdfoy o:t* 'person who was there'

### 5.2.2. ∞ Ø occurs elsewhere

*o:rə-Ø-o:t* → *o:rə o:t* 'person who is not there'

*etu:d-Ø-o:t* → *etu:d o:t* 'person who is great'

## 5.3. Suffixes

### 5.3.1. Quality nominalizer

St—

{ -*my* }

~ -*my*

~ -*my* occurs with the following bases *nat-*, *pue-* and *per-*.

Ex. *nat-my* (2.10) → *nānmy* 'goodness'

*pue-my* → *puəmy* 'newness'

*per-my* → *perm̩y* 'greatness'

### 5.3.2. *Impersonal suffix*

This is common to all person and gender-number.

St-

{ -y }

~ -y

~ -y occurs after the bases *wid-*, *o:re-*, and *wit-*.

<b>Ex. <i>wid-y</i></b>	→ <i>widy</i>	'is/are'
<i>o:re-y</i>	→ <i>o:rey</i>	'not'
<i>wit-y</i>	→ <i>wity</i>	'it is good'
<i>ae ay a:s o:rey</i>		'he is not in the house'
<i>ay ir al o:rey</i>		'that buffalo is not there'
<i>ay o:t iy a:s widy</i>		'that man is in the house'
<i>ay ir il widy</i>		'that buffalo is here'
<i>ae upum wity</i>		'he is very good'
<i>ae podsoy wity</i>		'it is good that he came'
<i>iy ku:x easa:z ayku:x wity</i>		'that girl is good than this girl'
<i>iy ir easa:z ay ir wity</i>		'that buffalo is good than this buffalo'

### 5.4. Gender-number markers

#### 5.4.1. *Masculine*

{ *o:t* }

~ -*o:t*

## 5.4.1.1. ~-o:t

- Ex. *wi:yo:t* ‘one who is good’  
*etu:do:t* ‘one who is great’

## 5.4.2. Neuter

{ *iyi* }  
~ -iyi

## 5.4.2.1. ~-iyi

- Ex. *etu:d̥iyi* ‘one which is good’  
*k̥i:twi:d̥iyi* ‘one which is small’

## 5.5. Stem alternants

5.5.1. { *wi:/-* }  
oo*wi/-* oo*wi:t-*

5.5.1.1. oo *wi:t-* occurs before the adverbial *-kis*.

- Ex. *wi:t-kis* → *wi:tkis* ‘being good’

5.5.1.2. oo *wi/-* occurs elsewhere.

- Ex. *wi/-y* → *wi:y* ‘good’

5.5.2. { *pue-* }  
oo*pue-* oo*puen-*

5.5.2.1. oo *puen* occurs before *o:t*:

- Ex. *puen o:t* ‘guest or new person’

5.5.2.2. oo *pue* occurs elsewhere.

- Ex. *pue pu:txu:t y* ‘new cloak’  
*pue ogody* ‘new shop’

# 6

## Clitics

6.0. Clitics are those particles which are bound. They are of three types.

- [i] Pro-clitics
- [ii] Post-clitics and
- [iii] En-clitics

### 6.1. Pro-clitics

Pro-clitics are those which occur before another clitic or noun. They are of two types.

- [i] Demonstratives
- [ii] Interrogatives

## 6.2. Post-clitics

Post-clitics are those which occur after pro-clitics.

## 6.3. En-clitics

Enclitics are those which occur after pro-clitics, post-clitics, noun or verb. They are divided into five types.

1. Encl<sub>1</sub> are those which occur after noun.
2. Encl<sub>2</sub> are those which occur after verb.
3. Encl<sub>3</sub> are those which occur after noun and verb.
4. Encl<sub>4</sub> are those which occur after noun.
5. Encl<sub>5</sub> are those which occur after post-clitics.

## 6.1. Pro-clitics

### 6.1.1. *Distant demonstrative*

{ a- }

∞ a:- ∞ a-

6.1.1.1. ∞ a:- occurs before post-clitic -nk.

Ex. a:-nk ‘there’

6.1.1.2. ∞ a- occurs elsewhere.

Ex. a-l	‘there’
a-t	‘that-side’
a-tk	‘that-much’
a-e	‘that-he / she / it’
a-y	‘that’
a-tfok	‘that-time’
a-t	‘that-many’

### 6.1.2. Proximate demonstrative

$\{ \quad i- \quad \}$

$\infty i- \sim i:- \sim -i-$

6.1.2.1.  $\infty i:$  occurs before post-clitic  $-nk$ .

Ex.  $i:-nk$  ‘here’

6.1.2.2.  $\sim i-$  occurs before  $-t$ .

Ex.  $i-tk$  ‘this-much’

$i-tsok$  ‘this-time (now)’

$-i-t$  ‘this-many’

6.1.2.3.  $\sim i-$  occurs elsewhere.

Ex.  $i-l$  ‘here’

$i-t$  ‘this-side’

$i-e$  ‘this-he / she / it’

$i-y$  ‘this’

### 6.1.3. Interrogative

$\{ \quad e- \quad \}$

$\infty o: \sim e- \sim e:-$

6.1.3.1.  $\infty o:-$  occurs before non-neuter suffix  $-ry$ .

Ex.  $o:-ry$  ‘who’

6.1.3.2.  $\sim e-$  occurs before stop.

Ex.  $e-gis$  ‘how’

$e-tsok$  ‘what-time’

<i>e-ik</i>	'how much'
<i>e-d</i>	'what day'
<i>e-t</i>	'which side'
<i>e-t</i>	'how many'

6.1.3.3. ~ *e:-* occurs elsewhere.

<b>Ex.</b>	<i>e:-o</i>	'which'
	<i>e:-l</i>	'where'
	<i>e:-y</i>	'which'
	<i>e:-nk</i>	'where (place)'

## 6.2. Post-clitics

### 6.2.1. Place clitics

{ -nk }

~ -nk ~ -l

Both are in freevariation

#### 6.2.1.1. ~ -nk

<b>Ex.</b>	<i>i:-nk</i>	'here'
	<i>a:-nk</i>	'there'
	<i>e:-nk</i>	'where'

#### 6.2.1.2. ~ -l

<b>Ex.</b>	<i>a-l</i>	'there'
	<i>i-l</i>	'here'
	<i>e:-l</i>	'where'

### 6.2.2. *Clitic of side*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -t \\ -_t \\ \sim -_t \end{array} \right\}$

#### 6.2.2.1. $\sim -_t$

Ex. <i>a-t</i>	'that-side'
<i>i-t</i>	'this-side'
<i>e-t</i>	'which-side'

### 6.2.3. *Clitic of time (day)*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -d \\ -_d \\ \sim -_d \end{array} \right\}$

#### 6.2.3.1. $\sim -_d$

Ex. <i>a-d</i>	'that-day'
<i>i-d</i>	'this-day or to-day'
<i>e-d</i>	'which day'

### 6.2.4. *Clitic of time (general)*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -tfok \\ -_tfok \\ \sim -_tfok \end{array} \right\}$

#### 6.2.4.1. $\sim -tfok$

Ex. <i>i-tfok</i>	'this-time (now)'
<i>a-tfok</i>	'that-time'
<i>e-tfok</i>	'when'

### 6.2.5. *Clitic of quantity (count)*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -t \\ -t \end{array} \right\}$

$\sim -t$

#### 6.2.5.1. $\sim -t$

Ex. <i>a-t</i>	'that-many'
<i>i-t</i>	'this-many'
<i>e-t</i>	'how-many'

### 6.2.6. *Clitic of quantity (mass)*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -tk \\ -tk \end{array} \right\}$

$\sim -tk$

#### 6.2.6.1. $\sim -tk$

Ex. <i>a-tk</i>	'that-much'
<i>i-tk</i>	'this-much'
<i>e-tk</i>	'how-much'

### 6.2.7. *Clitic of manner*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -gis \\ -gis \end{array} \right\}$

$\sim -gis$

#### 6.2.7.1. $\sim -gis$

Ex. <i>i-gis</i>	'this-manner'
<i>a-gis</i>	'that-manner'
<i>e-gis</i>	'what-manner'

6.2.8. *Clitic of adjective*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -y \\ \sim -y \end{array} \right\}$$
6.2.8.1.  $\sim -y$ 

Ex. <i>a-y</i>	'that (adj.)'
<i>i-y</i>	'this (adj.)'
<i>e:-y</i>	'which (adj.)'
<i>ay ir</i>	'that-buffalo'
<i>iy ir</i>	'this-buffalo'
<i>e:y ir</i>	'which buffalo'
<i>ay a:s</i>	'that-house'
<i>iy a:s</i>	'this-house'
<i>e:y a:s</i>	'which-house'

6.2.9. *Clitic of personal ending*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\theta \\ \sim -\theta \end{array} \right\}$$
6.2.9.1.  $\sim -\theta$ 

Ex. <i>i-</i> $\theta$	'this-he / she / it'
<i>a-</i> $\theta$	'that-he / she / it'
<i>e:-</i> $\theta$	'which'

## 6.3. En-clitics

6.3.1. *Encl<sub>I</sub>*.

6.3.1.1. *Even*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -m \\ \sim -m \end{array} \right\}$

6.3.1.1.1.  $\sim -m$  occurs with noun.

- |                      |                |
|----------------------|----------------|
| Ex. <i>petyxen-m</i> | 'even Pelikan' |
| <i>sinmury-m</i>     | 'even Sinmury' |
| <i>o:n-m</i>         | 'even I'       |
| <i>æ-m</i>           | 'even he'      |

6.3.1.2. *Completeness*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -m \\ \sim -m \end{array} \right\}$

6.3.1.2.1.  $\sim m$

- |                             |                                   |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Ex. <i>pot-m</i>            | 'ten (all)'                       |
| <i>ifoe-m</i>               | 'twenty (all)'                    |
| <i>pot o:t-m</i>            | 'all the ten persons'             |
| <i>ifoe tr-m</i>            | 'all the twenty buffaloes'        |
| <i>iy tr ifoe-m mo:rkin</i> | 'I sell all the twenty buffaloes' |

6.3.1.3. *Clitic of emphasis*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -e: \\ \sim -e: \end{array} \right\}$

## 6.3.1.3.1. ~ -e:

- |                   |                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| Ex. <i>o:n-e:</i> | 'I (with emphasis)'    |
| <i>aø-e:</i>      | 'he (with emphasis)'   |
| <i>ro:jn-e:</i>   | 'king (with emphasis)' |

6.3.1.4. *Clitic of intense emphasis*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -to:n \\ \end{array} \right\}$

~ -*to:n*

6.3.1.4.1. ~ -*to:n*

- |                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Ex. <i>mutyxen-to:n</i> | 'It is Mutykan'            |
| <i>aø-to:n</i>          | 'it is he (with emphasis)' |
| <i>kogfoʈy ir-to:n</i>  | 'it is that buffalo'       |

6.3.1.5. *Clitic of comparison*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -əasa:r \\ \end{array} \right\}$

~ -*əasa:r*

6.3.1.5.1. ~ - *əasa:r* occurs after the noun.

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Ex. <i>ay o:ʈ əasa:r</i>                    | 'than that man'                    |
| <i>ay ir əasa:r</i>                         | 'than that buffalo'                |
| <i>ay o:ʈ əasa:r iy o:ʈ wiʈy o:ʈ iy iyi</i> | 'This man is better than that man' |

6.3.1.6. *Clitic of choice*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} o: ..... o: \\ \end{array} \right\}$

~ *o: ..... o:*

6.3.1.6.1. ~ *o:* ..... *o:* occurs after the nouns.

Ex. *o:n-o: aθ-o:* 'either I or he'

6.3.1.7. *About*

{ -*paty* }

~ -*paty*

6.3.1.7.1. ~ -*paty* occurs after the noun.

Ex. <i>mutna:s paty</i>	'about Mutnas'
<i>sinmury paty</i>	'about Sinmury'
<i>ku:x paty</i>	'about girl'
<i>mox paty</i>	'about boy'
<i>an paty a:foroti</i>	'do not talk about him'
<i>en paty a:foroti</i>	'do not talk about me'

6.3.1.8. *Clitic of possibility*

{ -*em* }

~ -*em*

6.3.1.8. ~ -*em* occurs after the noun.

Ex. <i>ni:em</i>	'atleast you'
<i>makolkem</i>	'atleast to-morrow'

6.3.1.9. *Clitic of restriction*

{ -*mo:tirm* }

~ -*mo:tirm* ~ *maṭm*

Both are in freevariation.

## 6.3.1.9.1. ~ -mo:tīrm

- Ex. *o:n mo:tīrm* ‘I alone’  
*em mo:tīrm* ‘we alone’  
*to:j mo:tīrm* ‘Taj alone’  
*o:n mo:tīrm pi:pini* ‘I go alone’  
*aø mo:tīrm endiyi* ‘It alone is mine’

## 6.3.1.9.2. ~ -maṭm

- Ex. *aø maṭm* ‘he alone’  
*aø maṭm wīṣy o:ṛiyi* ‘he alone is a good person’

6.3.2. *Encl<sub>2</sub>*6.3.2.1. *Clitic of concession of fact*

{ -um }  
~ -um

## 6.3.2.1.1. ~ -um

- Ex. *pod-n-um* → *podnum* ‘even if he comes’  
*kīs-n-um* → *kīsnum* ‘even if he does’  
*pono:y podnum swī:ty ti:rīyi*  
‘even if Ponay comes, matter is  
not going to settle’

6.3.3. *Encl<sub>3</sub>*6.3.3.1. *Conjunctive*

{ -m ..... -m }  
~ -m ..... -m

## 6.3.3.1.1. ~ -m ..... -m

- Ex. *ir-m kor-m* ‘buffalo and calf’  
*ni:r-m po:g-m* ‘water and milk’  
*aə-m o:n-m* ‘he and I’

6.3.3.2. *Interrogative*

{ -a: }

~ -a:

## 6.3.3.2.1. ~ -a: occurs after noun and verb.

- Ex. *pi:tro:jn-a:* ‘is Pēterrajan?’  
*mutna:g-a:* ‘is Mutnas?’  
*paškin-a:* ‘shall I come?’  
*wīd-a:* ‘is it there?’  
*taškin-a:* ‘shall I give?’  
*(ir) paškin-a:* ‘shall I catch (buffalo)?’

6.3.4. *Encl.<sub>4</sub>*6.3.4.1. *Ordinal*

{ -a:n }

∞ -a:n ∞ -a:fīə

6.3.4.1.1. ∞ a:n occurs before *te:ti* ‘day’ alone.

- Ex. *e:d-a:n te:ti* ‘second day’  
*mu:d-a:n te:ti* ‘third day’  
*no:ng-a:n te:ti* ‘fourth day’  
*üj-a:n te:ti* ‘fifth day’

6.3.4.1.2.  $\infty -a:fīθ$  occurs elsewhere.

- Ex. *e:d-a:fīθ mox* ‘second son’  
*mu:d-a:fīθ mox* ‘third son’  
*no:ng-a:fīθ ku:x* ‘fourth daughter’  
*üj-a:fīθ ku:x* ‘fifth daughter’

6.3.5. *Encl<sub>s</sub>*

6.3.5.1. *Universal clitic*

$\{ -m \}$   
 $\sim -m$

6.3.5.1.1.  $\sim -m$

- Ex. *e:nk-m* ‘every where’  
*e-gīs-m* ‘at any rate’

6.3.5.2. *Indefinite clitic*

$\{ -isky \}$   
 $\sim -isky$

6.3.5.2.1.  $\sim -isky$

- Ex. *e-gīs-isky* —> *egīsisky* ‘somehow or other’



# 7

## Particles

### 7.0. Classification

Particles are those which cannot take either case or tense suffixes but they can occur independently or with noun or verb in a sentence. The particles are capable of taking clitics.

### 7.1. Free particles

Free particles are further classified into two types viz

1. Those particles which can modify a verb and
2. Those particles which can qualify a noun

#### 7.1.1. Verb modifiers

7.1.1.1.  $\left\{ \text{inmīl} \right\}$  ‘hereafter’  
~~~~~  
 $\sim \text{inmīl}$

$\sim \text{inmīl}$

- Ex. *īnmīl podōti*      'you should not come hereafter'  
*īnmīl kwīlīyi*      'don't want hereafter'

7.1.1.2. { *īnm* }      'still'

~ *īnm*

~ *īnm*

- Ex. *īnm pe:kīyi*      'still is necessary'

7.1.1.3. { *maṛč* }      'again'

~ *maṛč* ~ *tīrm*

Both are in free variation

- Ex. *aø maṛč pi:či*      'he went again'  
*aø tīrm pi:či*      'he went again'  
*o:n maṛč pozpini*      'I came again'  
*o:n tīrm pozpini*      'I came again'

7.1.1.4. { *mely* }      'slowly'

~ *mely*

~ *mely*

- Ex. *mely pī:x*      'go slowly'  
*ak kīlwīd mely podti*  
 'That child comes slowly'

7.1.1.5. { *sary* }      'alright/yes'

~ *sary*

~ *sary*

- Ex. *sary ëšt*      'alright, tell'

7.1.1.6. { *pokin* } ‘without any purpose’

~ *pokin*

~ *pokin*

Ex. *pokin pozpini* ‘(I) came without any purpose’

7.1.1.7. { *tanyk* } ‘alone’

~ *tanyk*

~ *tanyk*

Ex. *tanyk pi:ti\** ‘(he) goes alone’

7.1.1.8. { *pern* } ‘speedily’

~ *pern*

~ *pern*

Ex. *pern pi:x* ‘go speedily’

7.1.1.9. { *ixə* } ‘away’

~ *ixə*

~ *ixə*

Ex. *ixə nil* ‘stand away’

## 7.1.2. Noun qualifiers

7.1.2.1. { *inwid* } ‘another’

~ *inwid*

~ *inwid*

Ex. *ank inwid pony wi:dy* ‘he has another work’

7.1.2.2. { *upum* } ‘much/more’

~ *upum*

~ *upum*

- Ex. *upum o:t* ‘more persons’  
*upum ir* ‘more buffaloes’

7.1.2.3. { *ala:k* } ‘lonely’

~ *ala:k*

~ *ala:k*

- Ex. *ala:k a:g* ‘lonely house’  
*ala:k me:n* ‘lonely tree’

7.1.2.4. { *ity* } ‘little bit’

∞ *ity* ∞ *sityk*

7.1.2.4.1. ∞ *ity* occurs before noun *pax* ‘tobacco’ only.

- Ex. *ity pax* ‘little bit tobacco’

7.1.2.4.2. ∞ *sityk* occurs before *twi:r*, *pen* etc.

- Ex. *sityk twi:r* ‘little bit food’  
*sityk pen* ‘little bit butter’

7.1.2.5. { *melyš* } ‘soft’

~ *melyš*

~ *melyš*

- Ex. *melyš torp* ‘soft dhóti’  
*melyš par* ‘soft cloth’

7.2. Particles which occur after a noun or verb and also as a free form.

7.2.1. Particles which occur after a noun.

7.2.1.1. { *mu:lim* } 'through'  
           ~ *mu:lim* ~ *ne:ra:r*

Both are in freevariation.

|                        |                  |
|------------------------|------------------|
| Ex. <i>an mu:lim</i>   | 'through him'    |
| <i>an ne:ra:r</i>      | 'through him'    |
| <i>mutna:s mu:lim</i>  | 'through Mutnas' |
| <i>mutna:s ne:ra:r</i> | 'through Mutnas' |

7.2.1.2. { *wīde:d* } 'little bit'  
           ~ *wīde:d*

|                        |                   |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Ex. <i>po:g wīde:d</i> | 'little bit milk' |
| <i>ašky wīde:d</i>     | 'little bit rice' |

7.2.1.3. { *muda:l* } 'before'  
           ∞ *muda:l* ∞ *muda:lk*

7.2.1.3.1. ∞ *muda:lk* occurs after *en-*  
     Ex. *en muda:lk* 'before me'

7.2.1.3.2. ∞ *muda:l* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *enk muda:l* 'before me'

7.2.2. Particles which occur after noun and relative participle.

7.2.2.1. { *mo:tiry* } ~ ‘similar’

~ *mo:tiry*

~ *mo:tiry*

Ex. *ir mo:tiry* ‘like buffalo’

*tonm mo:tiry* ‘like cattle’

*me:n mo:tiry* ‘like tree’

*öštyfoy mo:tiry* (2.26) —> *öštfoy mo:tiry*  
‘in the same way as said’

*pintyfoy mo:tiry* (2.26) —> *pintfoy mo:tiry*  
‘in the same way as (one) asked’

7.2.2.2. { *pīn* } ‘after / afterwards’

~ *püda:l*, ~ *pīn*

Both are in freevariation.

Ex. *aek püda:l* ‘after that’

*aek pīn* ‘after that’

*podfoy pīn* ‘after coming’

7.2.3. Particles which occur after or before noun and also as free forms. Free form implies the existence of some noun in the deep level.

7.2.3.1. { *ki:l* } ‘below’

∞ *ki:l-* ∞ *ki:*

7.2.3.1.1. ∞ *ki:* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. *ki: fary* ‘lower line’

*ki: tīn* ‘lower platform’

*ki: kwîter*      'lower floor where ladies  
                          sitting'

*ki: te:s*      'plains'

7.2.3.1.2.  $\infty$  *ki:l* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *aek ki:l*      'below that'

*ki:l*      'below'

7.2.3.2. { *me:l* }      'above'

$\infty$  *me:l-*     $\infty$  *me:-*

7.2.3.2.1.  $\infty$  *me:-* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. *me: po:y*      'upper mouth'

*me: tal*      'upper portion of waist'

*me: kut*      'upper portion of saree'

*me: kwax*      'end of upper line'

*me: po:lgoṇ*      'upper pole'

7.2.3.2.2.  $\infty$  *me:l* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *tīt me:l*      'on the hill'

*aek me:l*      'above that'

*me:l*      'above'

7.2.3.3. { *uṭ* }      'insids'

$\infty$  *uṭ*,     $\infty$  *uṭg*

7.2.3.3.1.  $\infty$  *uṭ* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. *uṭ kwīṣ*      'inner room'

7.2.3.3.2.  $\infty u\ddot{e}g$  occurs elsewhere.

- |                               |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| Ex. <i>a:s u\ddot{e}g</i>     | 'inside the house'   |
| <i>to:w u\ddot{e}g</i>        | 'inside the blanket' |
| <i>po\ddot{e}y u\ddot{e}g</i> | 'inside the dairy'   |
| <i>u\ddot{e}g</i>             | 'inside'             |

7.2.3.4. { *pīrmun* } 'outside'

$\infty pīrmun$   $\infty pīrmutk$

7.2.3.4.1.  $\infty pīrmun$  occurs as an attribute to a noun.

- |                        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|
| Ex. <i>pīrmun kwīs</i> | 'outer room' |
|------------------------|--------------|

7.2.3.4.2.  $\infty pīrmutk$  occurs elsewhere.

- |                        |                     |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| Ex. <i>a:s pīrmutk</i> | 'outside the house' |
| <i>pīrmutk</i>         | 'outside'           |

7.2.3.5. { *norf* } 'centre'

$\infty nor-$   $\infty norf$

7.2.3.5.1.  $\infty norf$  occurs as an attribute to a noun.

- |                      |                                |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Ex. <i>norf ja:m</i> | 'midnight'                     |
| <i>norf a:s</i>      | 'middle house'                 |
| <i>norf poxol</i>    | 'midday (exactly 12 o' clock)' |
| <i>norf kwīs</i>     | 'middle room (of dairy)'       |

7.2.3.5.2.  $\infty$  norf occurs elsewhere.

- Ex. *kīrwid norf*      'in the middle of child'  
*norf*                  'centre / middle'

7.2.3.6.  $\{ \text{mutyk} \}$       'under'

$\sim$  *mutyk*

$\sim$  *mutyk*

- Ex. *an mutyk*      'under that'

## 7.2.4. Particle which occur after verb.

 $\{ \text{a:r̥m} \}$       'until'

$\sim$  *a:r̥m*

7.2.4.1.  $\sim$  *a:r̥m*

- Ex. *paša:r̥m*      'till (some one) comes'



# 8

## Echo Words

Echo words are frequent in the language families of India. The following Dravidian languages viz Tamil, Toda, Kannada, Kota, Kodagu, Telugu, Kuvi and Kolami have more prominence in having echo words. Toda language is particularly rich in the formation of this kind.

Echo words are usually formed by changing the initial syllable into *ki* or *ki:*. *Ki* occurs if the original word contains short vowel in the first syllable whereas *ki:* occurs if it contains a long vowel in the first syllable. Echo words have no lexical meaning at all.

[C]  $\check{V}$  —> *ki-*

[C]  $\bar{V}$  —> *ki:-*

|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Ex. <i>a:s kis</i>           | 'house and the like'        |
| <i>par kir</i>               | 'things and the like'       |
| <i>po:t y ki:t y</i>         | 'temple and the like'       |
| <i>kor kir</i>               | 'calf and the like'         |
| <i>mad kid</i>               | 'head and the like'         |
| <i>pu:txu:t y ki:txu:t y</i> | 'cloak and the like'        |
| <i>po:s ki:s</i>             | 'milk and the like'         |
| <i>nīy kīy</i>               | 'ghee and the like'         |
| <i>moj kij</i>               | 'butter milk and the like'  |
| <i>mod kid</i>               | 'churning rod and the like' |
| <i>pu:f ki:f</i>             | 'flower-and the like'       |
| <i>tīt kīt</i>               | 'fire and the like'         |
| <i>potm kitm</i>             | 'grain and the like'        |
| <i>kapoty kipoty</i>         | 'jaggery and the like'      |
| <i>ašky kišky</i>            | 'rice and the like'         |
| <i>up kip</i>                | 'salt and the like'         |
| <i>pölk kïlk</i>             | 'lamp and the like'         |
| <i>tojmox kijmox</i>         | 'Toda woman and the like'   |
| <i>mošt kišt</i>             | 'axe and the like'          |
| <i>me:n ki:n</i>             | 'tree and the like'         |
| <i>pīn kīn</i>               | 'vessel and the like'       |
| <i>po:dč ki:dč</i>           | 'adze and the like'         |
| <i>mox kix</i>               | 'boy and the like'          |
| <i>moč kič</i>               | 'cot and the like'          |

# 9

## Syntax

9.0. The syntactic component consists of two kinds of rules, constituent structure rules (Phrase structure rules) and transformation rules. The constituent structure rules specify the grammatical categories and their relation to each other in the deep structure of the sentences of a language. The transformational rules are responsible for the surface structure which are derived from the deep structure. Transformational rules operate on constituent structure.

### 9.1. Constituent structure rules

$$1. \quad S \rightarrow NP + PP$$

A sentence consists of an *NP* which stands for a noun, a noun phrase or a noun clause and *PP* which stands for a predicate phrase.

$$2. \quad PP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP + [copula] \\ VP \end{array} \right\}$$

There are two basic types of sentences [ $NP + VP$  and  $NP + NP + (copula)$ ] and all other types accounted for as being derived from these basic types.

Here,  $NP + NP$  type is the equational type and  $NP + VP$  is the subject-verb predicate type.

$NP$  which is immediately dominated by  $S$  performs the function of subject. On the other hand  $NP$  which is immediately dominated by  $PP$  always functions as predicate.

$NP + VP$ :

*Mutyxe:n pi:či* ‘Muttikan went’

$NP + NP + [copula]$ :

*aθ ka:wxtwītη iyi* ‘He is Kawkuttan’

$$3. \quad VP \rightarrow [TM] + VP_1$$

$TM$  stands for time expression which will be expanded later (See rule 27). In a verb predicate sentence we may or may not have time expression [ $TM$ ] and so it is placed as optional item.

*pičyxē:n mune:r pi:či* ‘Pelikan went day before yesterday’

*o:n īne:r pozpini* ‘I came yesterday’

$$4. \quad VP_1 \rightarrow [\text{case}] + VP_2$$

Case represents the casal expressions and this is further expanded by the next rule.

5. *Case* → *case + [case]*

This is a recursive rule with one restriction. That is to say, the same case should not be taken twice in a simple sentence. Toda has the maximum of four cases occurring in a simple sentence.

*NP + Acc. + Abl. + Soc. + Dat. + Vb.*

o:n kwīrki:syn kwa:rəūnyšn enpody

küšuk po:döšpini

'I asked kwarkiry to come with me to  
Lovedale mund from kwa:rəūny mund'

Eventhough theoretically all the cases can combine with each other (cases) the following are the combinations of cases found in my Toda material.

$$\text{Obj.} + (\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ins.} \\ \text{Soc.} \\ \text{Dat.} + [\text{Soc.}] \\ \text{Abl.} \\ \text{Loc.} + [\text{Soc.}] \\ \text{Purp} + [\text{Ins.}] \end{array} \})$$

$$\text{Soc.} + (\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Obj.} + [\text{Loc.}] \\ \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Purp.} + [\text{Dat.}] \\ \text{Abl.} + \{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Purp.} \end{array} \} \end{array} \})$$

$$\text{Ins.} + (\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Obj.} + [\text{Abl.}] \\ \text{Abl.} + [\text{Dat.}] \\ \text{Soc.} \\ \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Loc.} \end{array} \})$$

*Abl.* + ( $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Obj. + [Purp.] \\ Soc. + [Dat.] \\ Dat. \\ Purp. \end{array} \right\}$ )

*Dat.* + ( $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Obj. \\ Ins. + [Abl.] \\ Soc. \\ Purp. \end{array} \right\}$ )

*Purp.* + ( $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Obj. \\ Abl. \\ Soc. + [Abl.] \end{array} \right\}$ )

*Loc.* + ( $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Obj. \\ Soc. \\ Dat. \\ Purp. \end{array} \right\}$ )

*Obj.*

*o:n an pūšodspini* ‘I called him’

*Obj. + Ins*

*o:n īrn moštił kū:pšpini* ‘I killed buffalo with axe’

*Obj. + Soc.*

*ka:wxiwīt̪n pilsođn enpody karči*

‘Kawkuttan send Pilsed  
with me’

*Obj. + Dat. + Soc.*

*o:n an modk ko:swiř po:dōšpini*

‘I asked him to come to mund  
with money’

*Obj. + Abl.*

*ay o:t̪ tan ko:tfoyn aṭsn po:dōšpini*

‘That person asked his wife to  
come from there’

*Obj. + Loc. + Soc.*

*o:n īne:r nīn mełga:s mods pi:łro:jnwi:r nwī:łpini*

'Yesterday I saw you at Melgas  
mund with Peter Rajan'

*Obj. + Purp. + Ins:*

*o:n pumn aŋgo:y tu:ryi:t ałtpini*

'I cut fruit by knife for his  
sake'

*Soc.*

*mutna:s anpody pi:či*      'Mutnas went with him'

*Soc. + Obj.*

*o:n īne:r sinmułtypody nīmn kożpini*

'I saw you yesterday with  
Sinmury'

*Soc. + Obj. + Loc.*

*o:n īne:r ka:wxwīłnpody nīmn o:łats kożpini*

'I saw you yesterday with  
Kawkuttan on the way'

*Soc. + Dat.*

*o:n anpody pirgo:rk pi:pini*

'I shall go to *pirgo:r* with him'

*Soc. + Purp.*

*o:n nīnpody aego:yto:n pozpini*

'I came with you for that  
purpose'

*Soc. + Purp. + Dat.*

*o:n anpody aego:y am modk pi:łpini*

'I went to that mund with him  
for that purpose'

*Soc. + Abl.*

*o:n mutna:spody a:ṣn pozpini*

‘I came with Mutnas from there’

*Soc. + Abl. + Dat.*

*o:n anpody pojo:rtsn pirgo:rk pozpini*

‘I came with him from Ootacamund to Kota Nad mund’

*Soc. + Abl. + Purp.*

*o:n pi:(ro:jnpody pojo:rtsn ningo:yto:n pozpini*

‘I came with Peter Rajan from Ootacamund for your sake’

*Ins.*

*o:n moštił kwartpini* ‘I cut with axe’

*Ins. + Obj.*

*o:n moštił īrn kù:pšpini* ‘I killed the buffalo with an axe’

*Ins. + Obj. + Abl.*

*o:n nīn a:lto:n an a:ṣn po:dōšpini*

‘I asked him to come from there only because of you’

*Ins. + Abl. + Dat.*

*o:n ana:lto:n moṛtxö:rtsn kùšuk pozpini*

‘I came from *moṛtxö:r* mund to Lovedale mund because of him’

*Ins. + Soc.*

*Sinmury ena:lto:n anpody pi:či*

‘Sinmury went with him only because of me’

Ins. + Dat.

*ana:l enk upun kaştm īyi* ‘It is very troublesome for me because of him’

Ins. + Loc.

*Pīnap ena:lto:n ka:smodg wīdy*  
‘Ponap is in the Kandal mund because of me’

Abl.

*o:n ogodykubsn pozpini* ‘I came from Kotagiri’

Abl. + Obj. + Purp.

*o:n sotyšn an nīngoy e:spozpini*  
‘I brought it from shandy only for your sake’

Abl. + Soc.

*o:n ogodykubsn mutna:spody pozpini*  
‘I came with Mutnas from Kotagiri’

Abl. + Soc. + Dat.

*o:n te:lu:rgn anpody küšuk pozpini*  
‘I came with him to Lovedale mund from Sholur’

Abl. + Dat.

*o:n pojo:rtsn kelck pozpini* ‘I came from Ootacamund for the work’

Abl. + Purp.

*ak ku:x ku:nu:rgn engo:yto:n a:nk pi:či*  
‘That girl went there from Coonur only for my sake’

Dat.

*ay o:t̪ pojo:rtk pi:ti* ‘he goes to Ootacamund’

Dat. + Obj.

*o:n ank an kwīr̩spini* ‘I gave him that’

Dat. + Ins.

*o:n mi:t̩pa:wk ana:lto:n pi:špini*

‘I went to Mettupalayam only because of him’

Dat. + Ins. + Abl.

*mutna:s pīrgo:rk ana:lto:n meľga:s modgn pi:či*

‘Mutnas went to Kodanad mund from Garden mund only because of him’

Dat. + Soc.

*o:n pojo:rtk anpody pi:špini*

‘I went to Ootacamund with him’

Dat. + Purp.

*o:n ank so:royg:oy poŋm kwīr̩spini*

‘I gave him money for arrack’

Purp.

*o:n nīngo:y i:nk pozpini* ‘I came here for your sake’

Purp. + Obj.

*o:n ango:y īrn kū:pšpini* ‘I killed buffalo only for his sake’

Purp. + Abl.

*kwī:f engo:y kwī:ko:lṣn pi:či*

‘Kota went from Kota village  
for my sake’

Purp. + Soc.

*o:n nīngō:yto:n anpody pozpini*

‘I came with him for your sake’

Purp. + Soc. + Abl.

*o:n tōwbnišgo:y anpody ku:lu:rṣn pozpini*

‘I came with him from Guda-  
lur for the sake of Tebnis’

Loc.

*aθ ka:smodṣ wīdy*

‘He is in Kandal mund’

Loc. + Obj.

*o:n pojo:rtṣ an kožpini*

‘I saw him in Ootacamund’

Loc. + Soc.

*o:n podyš anpody pi:špini*

‘I went with him in the  
bullock cart’

Loc. + Dat.

*o:n ma:skīdṣ podyk poṇm piṇšpini*

‘I asked money from Badaga  
for the bullock cart’

Loc. + Purp.

*ma:f sotyš siṭygo:y ki:č mo:ṛči*

‘Badaga sold potato in shandy  
for the sake of chettiar’

6. Case → { Obj.  
Ins.  
Soc.  
Dat.  
Abl.  
Loc.  
Purp. }

7. VP<sub>2</sub> → [Adv] + VP<sub>3</sub>

Adv. stands for adverb.

*aø pern narøti* ‘He walks fast’

*ak kīzwid mely narøti*  
‘That child walks slowly’

8. Adv → [S̄] + Adv<sub>1</sub>

S̄ stands for a sentence that can occur as constituent sentence which is embedded into a matrix sentence. This is useful to derive the complex sentences like,

*aø pod pīn o:n muk pī:xkin*  
1 2 3 4 5 6

I willgo up after he comes  
4 6 5 3 1 2

by embedding the constituent sentence,

*aø podti* ‘He will come’  
1 2

into the adverb of the matrix sentence,

*o:n pīn muk pī:xkin*  
1 2 3 4

I will go up after  
1 4 3 2

9.  $\text{Adv}_1 \rightarrow [\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}}] + [\text{Adv}_{\text{man.}}] + [\text{Adv}_1]$ 

There are three types of adverbs and they are all abbreviated here.  $[\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}}]$  stands for adverb of particles like *marč* 'again' *tirm* 'again' *inmil* 'hereafter' etc;  $[\text{Adv}_{\text{man.}}]$  stands for adverb of manner like *igis* 'in this manner' *agis* 'in that manner' *egis* 'in what manner' and  $[\text{Adv}_1]$  stands for adverb of limit like *a:ym* 'until' *ne:rk* 'till' etc. It is possible to have constituents to be embedded into all these adverbs, such detailed study is not attempted here.

$\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}} + \text{Adv}_1$ .

*marč a ne:rk pi:či*      'Again he went till that end'

$\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}} + \text{Adv}_{\text{man.}}$

*marč o:n öštfoy mo:tiry kīy*

'you do it again in the way  
which I said'

$\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}} + \text{Adv}_{\text{man.}} + \text{Adv}_1$ .

*marč aø o:n öštfoy mo:tiry a ne:rk m pi:či*

'he went again till that in the  
way which I said'

10.  $\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv}_{\text{part}_1} \\ \text{Adv}_{\text{part}_2} \end{array} \right\}$

$\text{Adv}_{\text{part}}$  is further divided into  $\text{Adv}_{\text{part}_1}$  and  $\text{Adv}_{\text{part}_2}$ .

11.  $\text{Adv}_{\text{part}_1} \rightarrow em$

*o:nem paškin* ‘atleast I will come’

12.  $\text{Adv}_{\text{part}_2} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{mařč} & \text{‘again’} \\ \text{třrm} & \text{‘again’} \\ \text{inmil} & \text{‘hereafter’} \\ \text{inm} & \text{‘yet, still’} \end{array} \right\}$

*tojmox mařč pi:či* ‘Toda woman went again’

*o:n třrm pozpini* ‘I came again’

*inmil podoči* ‘won’t come hereafter’

*ank inm twi:r pe:kīyi* ‘he wants food more’

*inm poŋm pe:kīyi* ‘still need money’

13.  $\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_1} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv}_{\text{man}_1.} \\ \text{Adv}_{\text{man}_2.} \end{array} \right\}$

$\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_1.}$  represents expressions like *agis* ‘in that manner’, *igis* ‘in this manner’, *egis* ‘in what manner’, *a mo:tiry* ‘in that way’ *i mo:tiry* ‘in this way’ *e mo:tiry* ‘in what way’ and  $\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_2.}$  represents expression like *tanyk* ‘lonely’ etc.

14.  $\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_1.} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv}_{\text{man}_{\text{sim.}}} \\ \text{Adv}_{\text{man}_{\text{com.}}} \end{array} \right\}$

Simple adverb of manner [ $\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_{\text{sim.}}}$ ] represents expressions like *agis*, *igis* and complex adverb of manner [ $\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_{\text{com.}}}$ ] represents expressions like *i mo:tiry* and *a mo:tiry* etc.

- ae iğis kisti* ‘he does it in this manner’  
*ak ku:x agis kisti* ‘that girl does it in that manner’  
*ni: iğis kisoṭi* ‘you should not do in this manner’  
*ni: i mo:tiry kisoṭi* ‘you should not do in this way’

15.  $\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_2} \rightarrow \text{tanyk}$

*ak ku:x tanyk pi:či* ‘that girl went lonely’

16.  $\text{Adv}_1 \rightarrow \{ \text{ne:rk} \atop \text{kīdq} \}$

*mod kīdq* ‘till the village’  
*a ne:rk* ‘till that’

17.  $\text{VP}_3 \rightarrow \{ \text{Vd} \atop \text{Vb} \}$

Vd represents defective verbs like *o:rey* ‘no’ *wīdy* ‘is/exist’, *pe:kīyi* ‘(is) necessary’ *kwīlīyī* ‘(is) not necessary’ etc.

Toda has two types of verb bases. Vb which represents the Toda verb base, is further expanded by the following rule.

18.  $\text{Vd} \rightarrow \{ \text{Vd}_p \atop \text{Vd}_n \}$

$Vd_p$  represents positive defective verbs and  $Vd_n$  represent negative defective verbs.

$Vd_p$  : *enk aø pe:k iyi* ‘I want it’

$Vd_n$  : *enk aø kwil iyi* ‘I don’t want that’

*an kïds poŋm wiðy* ‘He has money’

$$19. \quad Vb \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Vb_1 \\ Vb_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

Toda has two types of stems which we call simple stem [ $S_1$ ] and secondary stem [ $S_2$ ]. In Toda language, verbs have a secondary stem [ $S_2$ ] which forms the basis for the past tense and of the present-future tense (as well as of some other formation).

$Vb_1$  represents the simple stem.  $Vb_2$  represents the secondary stem.  $Vb_1$  and  $Vb_2$  are also known by the other names as  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  (For the detail see verb classes).

$$20. \quad Obj. \rightarrow NP. + Obj. S.$$

For Objective suffix [Obj. S.] See 3.2.2.1.

Ex. *o:tñ* ‘Toda man (Obj.)’

*irn* ‘buffalo (Obj.)’

$$21. \quad Soc \rightarrow NP + Soc. S.$$

For Sociative suffix [Soc. ] See 3.2.2.3.

Ex. *pityxen pody* ‘with Pelikan’

*Sinmury wiñ* ‘with Sinmury’

22. Ins. —> NP + Ins. S.

For Instrumental suffix [Ins. S.] See 3.2.2.2.

|                  |            |
|------------------|------------|
| Ex. <i>ana:l</i> | 'by him'   |
| <i>nīna:t</i>    | 'by you'   |
| <i>nīnīd</i>     | 'by you'   |
| <i>ena:l</i>     | 'by me'    |
| <i>enīd</i>      | 'by me'    |
| <i>ku:xna:l</i>  | 'by girl'  |
| <i>kōṇa:t</i>    | 'by eye'   |
| <i>kīfya:t</i>   | 'by ear'   |
| <i>po:ya:t</i>   | 'by mouth' |
| <i>moštīt</i>    | 'by axe'   |
| <i>tu:ryiṭ</i>   | 'by knife' |

23. Dat. —> NP. + Dat. S.

For Dative suffix [Dat. S.] See 3.2.2.4.

|                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| Ex. <i>enk</i> | 'to me'           |
| <i>emk</i>     | 'to us'           |
| <i>nīnk</i>    | 'to you'          |
| <i>moṛtīk</i>  | 'to the mund'     |
| <i>sontīk</i>  | 'to people'       |
| <i>no:yīk</i>  | 'to the assembly' |
| <i>īrk</i>     | 'to buffalo'      |
| <i>a:ṣk</i>    | 'to house'        |

24. Abl. —> NP. + Abl. S.

For Ablative suffix [Abl. S.] See 3.2.2.5.

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| Ex. <i>modgn</i> | 'from mund'           |
| <i>u:rsgn</i>    | 'from village'        |
| <i>a:tsn</i>     | 'from that direction' |
| <i>kopolgn</i>   | 'from ship'           |

25. Purp. → NP. + Purp.S.

For Purposive suffix [Purp.S.] See 3.2.2.8.

|                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| Ex. <i>engo:y</i> | 'for my sake'      |
| <i>ningo:y</i>    | 'for your sake'    |
| <i>ango:y</i>     | 'for his/her sake' |

26. Loc. → NP. + Loc.S.

For Locative suffix (Loc.S.) See 3.2.2.7.

|                   |                                        |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Ex. <i>enkids</i> | 'with me'                              |
| <i>ankids</i>     | 'with him'                             |
| <i>ku:xkids</i>   | 'with girl'                            |
| <i>ekarfots</i>   | 'in the evening'                       |
| <i>kaštals</i>    | 'in darkness'                          |
| <i>u:rs</i>       | 'in the village' (non-Toda<br>village) |

$$27. T_M \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} [T_x] + [T_y] \\ T_z \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Time expression is expanded here into two components  $T_x$  and  $T_y$ .  $T_x$  stands for expression like *ku:rl t̄i:t̄* 'month of *ku:rl*', *emoty ti:t̄* 'month of *emoty*' etc.

$T_y$  stands for expressions like *ekarfotk* 'evening', *poxol* 'midday (exactly 12 o' clock)'.

*ak ku:x ku:rl ti:t pone:dan te:ti ekarfotk pi:či*

'That girl went on twelth evening of *ku:rl* month (January-February)'

*ap pō:rnox nala:ny ti:t pi:či*

'That Tamil boy went in the month of Nalany'

*ma:f norpoxol pi:či* 'Badaga man went at about 12 o' clock'

*kwī:f ekarfotk pi:či* 'Kota went in the evening'

$T_z$  stands for expressions like *enk muda:l* 'before me', *enk pīn* 'after me' etc.

*aø enk muda:l pi:či* 'He went before me'

*aø enk pīn pi:či* 'He went after me'

$$28. T_x \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} T_m + T_n \\ T_1 \\ T_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

$T_x$  is expanded into  $T_m$  and  $T_n$  and  $T_1$  and  $T_2$ .

$T_m$  stands for expressions like *pīn* 'last' *iø* 'this' etc.

$T_n$  stands for expressions like *kwa:r* 'year' *parc* 'year'  
*ti:t* 'month' *te:ti* 'date' etc.

In Toda language there is concord between Time expressions and the verb predicate in which we find tenses. When time expressions denote past they always take past tense, the present and future will always go with the non-past (present-future) respectively.

Here  $T_1$  stands for past.

$T_2$  stands for non-past.

$T_m + T_n$ :

*Pin parc emoty ti:t̄ pa:n̄ga:n̄ te:ti pi:t̄y kūšuk pozpini*

'I came on Friday the 14th of  
emoty month of last year for  
Lovedale mund'

29.  $T_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{ine:t̄} & \text{'yesterday'} \\ \text{mune:t̄} & \text{'day before'} \\ & \text{'yesterday'} \end{array} \right\}$

*tōwbn̄is ine:t̄ pi:či* 'Tebnis went yesterday'

*sinxe:n̄ mune:t̄ pi:či* 'Sinkan went day before  
yesterday'

30.  $T_2 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{id} & \text{'to-day'} \\ \text{makol} & \text{'to-morrow'} \end{array} \right\}$

*sinkijpu:f id podti* 'Sinkipuf comes to-day'

*pofirmut makol podti* 'Powermut will come  
to-morrow'

31.  $T_n \rightarrow [T_r] + [T_s]$

$T_r$  stands for expressions like *uja:fīθ kwa:r* 'fifth year'

and  $T_s$  stands for expressions like *ti:t̄* 'month' *te:ti* 'date'  
etc.

$T_r :$

*pō:ṛmox e:da:fīe kwa:ṛ pi:či*

‘Tamil boy went in the second year’

$T_m + T_r :$

*ak ku:x pīn parč pi:či* ‘that girl went last year’

$T_m + T_r + T_s :$

*ay o:ṭ pīn parč nala:ny ti:ṭ pi:či*

‘that man went last year in the month of Nala:ny’

$T_s :$

*aθ toy ti:ṭ pi:či* ‘he went in the month of toy’

32.  $T_s \rightarrow [T_t] + [T_u]$

$T_t$  represents expressions denoting months and this will be expanded further.  $T_u$  stands for expressions denoting week, date and names of days etc.

$T_t :$

*ni:pa:w nala:ny ti:ṭ pi:či* ‘Nipaw went in the month of nalany’

$T_m + T_u :$

*o:n pīñfo:ṛm pozpini* ‘I came last week’

$T_u :$

*o:n mu:da:n te:ti pozpini* ‘I come on the third (day)’

$T_m + T_r + T_t :$

*o:n p̄in parc toy ti:t̄ pozpini*

'I came in the month of toy  
last year'

$T_m + T_r + T_t + T_u :$

*o:n p̄in parc toy ti:t̄ mu:da:n te:ti pozpini*

'I came on 3rd of the month  
of tai last year'

33.  $T_u \rightarrow [T_v] + [N_{da}]$

$T_v$  stands for expressions representing week or date and  
 $N_{da}$  stands for the names of days like *a:sm* 'sunday' *tony*  
'saturday' etc.

$T_m + T_v :$

*ae p̄info:lm pi:či*      'he went last week'

$T_v :$

*o:n a:ra:nte:ti pozpini*      'I came on the sixth'

$T_t + T_v :$

*o:n ku:rl ti:t̄ mu:da:f̄t̄ fo:lm kō:rk pi:špini*

'I went for the funeral in the  
third week of the *ku:rl* month'

$N_{da} :$

*o:n o:m pozpini*

'I came on Tuesday'

$T_r + T_t + T_v :$

*o:n a:dy ti:t pone:da:n te:ti p̄igittpimik pozpini*

'I came on twelth of *a:dy*  
month for bow - giving  
ceremony'

|                          |   |                |             |   |
|--------------------------|---|----------------|-------------|---|
| 34. $N_{da} \rightarrow$ | { | <i>a:sm</i>    | 'Sunday'    | } |
|                          |   | <i>tu:fm</i>   | 'Mondoy'    |   |
|                          |   | <i>o:m</i>     | 'Tuesday'   |   |
|                          |   | <i>putufim</i> | 'Wednesday' |   |
|                          |   | <i>ta:m</i>    | 'Thursday'  |   |
|                          |   | <i>pi:t y</i>  | 'Friday'    |   |
|                          |   | <i>tony</i>    | 'Saturday'  | } |

35.  $T_y \rightarrow [N_t] + [T_w]$

$T_y$  is expanded into  $[N_t] + [T_w]$   $N_t$  represents expressions like *poxol* 'noon, day' *ekarfotk* 'evening' etc and  $T_w$  represents expression of timings like *üj monyk* 'at five o' clock' etc.

$T_w :$

*o:n a:rmonyk pozpini*      'I came at 6 o' clock'

$N_t :$

*ae ekarfotk pi:či*      'he went in the evening'

$N_t + T_w :$

*o:n ekařfotk üjmonyk pozpini*

'I came at 5 o' clock in the  
evening'

$N_{da} + N_t + T_w :$

*petyxen ta:m ekarfotk üjmonyk pi:či*

'Pelikan went at 5 o' clock on  
Thursday evening'

$T_v + N_{da} + N_t + T_w :$

*o:n toy ti:č ponmu:da:n te:ti poxol pone:d monyk pozpini*

'I came on 12th noon at  
12 o' clock in the month of  
toy'

$T_r + T_t + T_v + N_{da} + N_t + T_w :$

*o:n pīn parc a:dy ti:č öta:n te:ti pi:čy ekarfotk no:ngmonyk  
pozpini*

'I came at 4 o' clock in the  
evening on Friday the 8th of  
the month of a:dy last year'

$T_1 + N_t + T_w :$

*töwbnis īne:č ekarfotk no:ng monyk pi:či*

'Tebnis went at 4 o' clock  
yesterday evening'

$T_1 + N_t + T_w :$

*mutxe:n id poxol wi:d monyk podti*

'Mutikan comes at 10 o' clock  
in the noon'

$$36. \quad T_Z \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} T_D \\ T_E \end{array} \right\}$$

$T_D$  is expanded below.  $T_E$  represents expression like *pern* 'immediately' etc.

*o:n pern podpini*      'I come immediately'

$$37. \quad T_D \rightarrow NP-K + T_H$$

*Sinxe:n enk muda:l pi:či*

'Sinkan went before me'

*o:n ank pīn pozpini*    'I came after him'

$$38. \quad T_H \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} T_{H_1} \\ T_{H_2} \end{array} \right\}$$

$T_{H_1}$  stands for *muda:l* 'before' and  $T_{H_2}$  stands for *pīn* 'after'

$NP-K + T_{H_1}$  :

*aø enk muda:l pi:či*    'he went before me'

$NP-K + T_{H_2}$  :

*o:n ank pīn pozpini*    'I came after him'

There is concord between Time expressions and verb predicate and therefore the Time expression is classified into  $T_1$ ,  $T_2$ . When  $T_1$  occurs in a sentence, the tense of the predicate is always past and when  $T_2$  occurs, the predicate can be either in the present or in the future tense. Tense is rewritten

into past in this particular context when there is  $T_1$  and into present or future in the context when there is  $T_2$ .

39.  $[Z_1] + T_1 + [Z_2] + \text{Tense}$   
 $\rightarrow [Z_1] + T_1 + [Z_2] + \text{Past}$

Here  $Z_1$  and  $Z_2$  are abbreviations of any item or items which can occur in the respective slots. Their presence or absence does not affect the tense being rewritten into past and therefore they are put in parenthesis.

*o:n iñe:r pozpini* ‘I came yesterday’

*o:n id pozpini* ‘I came to-day’

[Here  $T_1$  will include ‘to-day’ also]

\* *Sinmury iñe:r podti* ‘Sinmury will come yesterday’

40.  $[Z_1] + T_2 + [Z_2] + \text{Tense}$   
 $\rightarrow [Z_1] + T_2 + [Z_2] + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pers.} \\ \text{Fut.} \end{array} \right\}$

*ponap makol podti* ‘Ponnap will come to-morrow’

*mutna:s makol pi:ti* ‘Mutnas will go to-morrow’

*ka:wxwîtñ id podti* ‘Kawkuttan comes to-day’

*a:sxwîtÿyfîn id pi:ti* ‘Askulypin goes to-day’

41. VOCI  $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VOC} \\ \text{Intr} \end{array} \right\}$

VOCI is expanded further. VOC represents all the vocative expressions and Intr all the interjections found in Toda language.

*e:y a:nk pi:x* ‘hey, go there’

*iyo: ayo:t kô:rfici* ‘alas! that man is dead’

$$42. \text{ VOC} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VOC}_1 \\ \text{VOC}_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

Vocative expressions are classified into  $\text{VOC}_1$  and  $\text{VOC}_2$ .  $\text{VOC}_1$  stands for vocative forms derived from nouns. [ku:xya: < ku:x ]

$\text{VOC}_1$ :

e:y a:nk pīx                    'hey, go there'

$\text{VOC}_2$ :

ku:xya: a:nk pī:x            'Oh! my wife, go there'

$$43. \text{ Intr.} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} iyo: & \text{'alas!'} \\ ūš & \text{'exclamation of disgust'} \\ tu: & \text{'disgust'} \\ \dots\dots & \\ \dots\dots & \end{array} \right\}$$

$$44. \text{ NP} \rightarrow [\text{S}'] + \text{NP}_1$$

$S'$  is introduced here to derive the relative participle etc. This kind is very important in Dravidian languages. (See 4.12.)

$$45. \text{ NP}_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP}_2 \\ \text{PN} \end{array} \right\}$$

$\text{NP}_1$  is further classified into pronoun [PN] and other nouns [NP<sub>2</sub>]. This is necessary because of the fact that NP<sub>2</sub> alone can be preceded by any adjective or genitive and not PN.

|                 |              |
|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>kīr mox</i>  | 'small boy'  |
| <i>etu:d as</i> | 'big house'  |
| <i>*kin ae</i>  | 'small - he' |

46.  $NP_2 \rightarrow [Gen] + NP_3$

Gen. stands for genitive case.

|                                |                                                              |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>en ir</i>                   | 'my buffalo'                                                 |
| <i>nīn a:s</i>                 | 'your house'                                                 |
| <i>ae en wīrfedn o:t</i>       | 'he is my younger sister's husband (women's speech)'         |
| <i>ae en wīrfedn ku:xn mox</i> | 'he is my younger sister's son (women's speech)'             |
| <i>ae en o:tñ dan okn o:t</i>  | 'he is my husband's elder sister's husband (women's speech)' |

47. Gen  $\rightarrow$  NP + Gen. S.

For Genitive case suffix See 3 2.2.6.

|               |              |
|---------------|--------------|
| <i>en ir</i>  | 'my buffalo' |
| <i>an mox</i> | 'his son'    |

48.  $NP_3 \rightarrow [Dem] + NP_4$

Demonstrative adjectives occur before the nouns other than pronouns [PN] and quantitative nouns [N<sub>quan</sub>] Dem. stands for demonstrative adjectives like *ay* 'that' *iy* 'this', *a* 'that', *i* 'this' etc.

|               |                      |
|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>a mod</i>  | 'that Toda village'  |
| <i>a twi:</i> | 'that pen'           |
| <i>a töw</i>  | 'that God'           |
| <i>i no:r</i> | 'this sacred place'  |
| <i>ay ir</i>  | 'that buffalo'       |
| <i>ay u:r</i> | 'that Tamil village' |
| <i>iy ir</i>  | 'this buffalo'       |
| <i>iy u:r</i> | 'this Tamil village' |

$$49. \quad NP_4 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Num.} \\ \text{Ord.} \\ \text{M. Adj.} \\ \text{Ind.} \end{array} \right\} + NP_5$$

$NP_4$  is expanded into numeral adjective [Num], ordinal adjective [Ord] and Mass adjective [M. Adj.] and they can be followed by another noun phrase [ $NP_5$ ].

Num. +  $NP_5$ :

*üj o:t* 'five Toda men'

Ord. +  $NP_5$ :

*no:nga:fîø ku:x* 'fourth daughter'

*öta:n te:ti* 'eighth day'

Dem. + Num. +  $NP_5$ :

*ay üj a:sm* 'those five houses'

Ind. :

*upum o:t* 'many persons'

*ity ir* 'few buffaloes'

50. Ord. → Num. + Ord<sub>s</sub>:

Ord<sub>s</sub> represents the ordinal suffixes *a:fīθ* and *a:n*.

*no:ng-a:fīθ a:g*      'fourth house'

*pone:d-a:n te:ti*      'twelfth day'

51. Tr → Ord + { *kwa:r*  
                  *parc* }

*o:n mu:da:fīθ kwa:r\$ pozpini*

'I came in the third year'

52. T<sub>t</sub> → { Ord<sub>d</sub>  
                  N<sub>mon</sub> } + *ti:t*

T<sub>t</sub> is expanded here. Ord<sub>d</sub> stands for ordinals denoting one to twelve and N<sub>mon</sub> stands for names of twelve months.

*e:da:fīθ ti:t*      'second month'

*o:n a:dy ti:t podpini* 'I will come in the month of  
*a:dy*'

*a pō:rmox a:ery ti:t pi:či*

'that Tamil boy went in the month of *a:ery* (April-May)'

*ma:fmox ku:rl ti:t pi:či*

'Badaga boy went in the month of *ku:rl*'

$$53. T_v \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ord}_p + po:rm \\ \text{Ord}_t + te:ti \end{array} \right\}$$

$\text{Ord}_p$  stands for ordinals denoting one to four and  
 $\text{Ord}_t$  stands for ordinals denoting one to thirty one.

- |                       |                  |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| <i>e:da:fɪə po:rm</i> | 'second week'    |
| <i>pa:nɡa:n te:ti</i> | 'fourteenth day' |

$$54. N_t \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} i:sy & \text{'morning'} \\ poxol & \text{'noon'} \\ ekarfoik & \text{'evening'} \\ \dots\dots\dots & \dots\dots\dots \end{array} \right\}$$

$$55. T_w \rightarrow \text{Num}_m + (\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ko:l \\ ar \\ muko:l \end{array} \right\}) + monyk$$

$\text{Num}_m$  stands for the numerals one to twelve.

- |                        |                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>mu:d monyk</i>      | 'at 3 o' clock' |
| <i>mu:d ko:l monyk</i> | 'at 3-15'       |
| <i>no:ng monyk</i>     | 'at 4 o' clock' |
| <i>no:ng ar monyk</i>  | 'at 4-30'       |
| <i>üj muko:l monyk</i> | 'at 5-45'       |

$$56. \text{Ord}_d \rightarrow \text{Num}_m + \text{Ord}_s$$

$\text{Ord}_d$  stands for all ordinals which occur with the names of months, that is one to twelve.

- |                      |                |
|----------------------|----------------|
| <i>e:da:fɪə ti:t</i> | 'second month' |
| <i>ða:fɪə ti:t</i>   | 'eighth month' |

57.  $\text{Ord}_t \rightarrow \text{Num}_t + \text{Ord}_s$

$\text{Ord}_t$  represents all numerals from one to thirty one which can occur before the noun *te:ti* 'day or date'

*öta:n te:ti*                            'eighth day'

58.  $\text{Ord}_p \rightarrow \text{Num}_p + \text{Ord}_s$

$\text{Num}_p$  represents numerals one to four.

*e:da:fīə po:rm*                            'second week'

*mu:da:fīə po:rm*                            'third week'

*no:n̄ga:fīə po:rm*                            'fourth week'

59.  $\text{N}_{\text{mon}} \rightarrow$

|                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>ku:rl</i>    | Dec. - Jan. |
| <i>ala:ny.</i>  | Jan. - Feb. |
| <i>nala:ny</i>  | Feb. - Mar. |
| <i>a:ny</i>     | Mar. - Apr. |
| <i>a:əry</i>    | Apr. - May  |
| <i>a:dy</i>     | May - Jun.  |
| <i>a:fny</i>    | Jun. - Jul. |
| <i>perta:ey</i> | Jul. - Aug. |
| <i>tudelify</i> | Aug. - Sep. |
| <i>kirdify</i>  | Sep. - Oct. |
| <i>toy</i>      | Oct. - Nov. |
| <i>emoiy</i>    | Nov. - Dec. |

60.  $\text{M. Adj} \rightarrow \text{M. Adj}_1$

$\text{M. Adj}_1$  represents expressions like

*mu:d e:ker neln*                            'land of three acres'

*üj ačok po:s*                                    'milk of five seer'

*wid pi:čm kapoty*                            'jaggery of one vi:če'

61. M. Adj<sub>1</sub> → Num + MLW

MLW stands for names of measures, length and weights.

62. MLW → { M } /- N<sub>m</sub>  
                   { L } /- N<sub>l</sub>  
                   { W } /- N<sub>w</sub>

This rule is a context-sensitive rule. MLW is expanded into names of measure [M] like *ak*, *kwa:x*, names of length measure [L] like *oty*, *e:ker*, *mogoy* etc., and names of weights [w] like *pi:čm*, *moŋuf* etc.

63. M → { *ak*  
               *kwa:x*  
               .....  
               ..... }

*wi:r ak po:s*      'milk of one ačok measure'  
*e:d kwa:x potm*      'ragi of two big ačok measure'

64. L → { *e:ker*  
               *oty*  
               *mogoy*  
               .....  
               ..... }

*e:d e:ker pu:my*      'land of two acres'  
*pot oty poeky*      'ten feet distance'  
*üj mogoy pu:txučy*      'pu:txučy of five mogoy measure'

|     |       |                                                                                                  |
|-----|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 65. | W · → | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pi:\check{c}m \\ mo\check{n}uf \\ ..... \\ ..... \end{array} \right\}$ |
|-----|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- no:ng pi:\check{c}m kapo\check{t}y* ‘jaggery of four *vi:\check{c}e*’  
*\u00f6j pi:\check{c}m mo:f* ‘flour of five *vi:\check{c}e*’  
*w\u00f6d mo\check{n}uf kapo\check{t}y* ‘jaggery of one *ma\check{n}unku* weight’

|     |      |   |                                                                                             |
|-----|------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 66. | Ind. | → | $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} upum & \text{‘many’} \\ ity & \text{‘few’} \end{array} \right\}$ |
|-----|------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- upum ir* ‘many buffaloes’  
*ity o:t\u00e7* ‘few persons’

|     |                 |   |                                     |
|-----|-----------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 67. | NP <sub>5</sub> | → | [N <sub>q</sub> ] + NP <sub>6</sub> |
|-----|-----------------|---|-------------------------------------|

N<sub>q</sub> stands for nouns of quality

- nas ku:x* ‘beautiful girl’  
*wi:t\u00e7y p\u00f6lk* ‘good lamp’  
*wi:t\u00e7y ir* ‘good buffalo’  
*wi:t\u00e7y mox* ‘good boy’

|     |                 |   |                         |
|-----|-----------------|---|-------------------------|
| 68. | NP <sub>6</sub> | → | [Adj] + NP <sub>7</sub> |
|-----|-----------------|---|-------------------------|

Adjective [Adj] stands for expressions like *etu:d* ‘big’, *kir* ‘small’ etc.

- etu:d mod* ‘big Toda village’  
*etu:d a:s* ‘big house’  
*kir mox* ‘small boy’

$$69 \text{ Adj} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adj}_a \\ \text{Adj}_p \end{array} \right\}$$

Adjective is expanded here as  $\text{Adj}_a$  and  $\text{Adj}_p$ .  $\text{Adj}_a$  stands for adjectives like *etu:d* 'big' *kīr* 'small' *pa:fn* 'old' etc.  $\text{Adj}_p$  stands for adjectives like *pōṭ* 'white', *po:x* 'red', *ni:lm* 'blue', and *poč* 'green' etc.

$$70. \text{ Adj}_a \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{etu:d} \\ \text{kīr} \\ \text{wīṭy} \\ \text{pa:fn} \\ \dots\dots \\ \dots\dots \end{array} \right\}$$

|                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>etu:dīr</i>        | 'big buffalo' |
| <i>etu:d o:ṭ</i>      | 'big man'     |
| <i>etu:d a:s</i>      | 'big house'   |
| <i>kīr mox</i>        | 'small boy'   |
| <i>pa:fn torp</i>     | 'old dhoti'   |
| <i>pa:fn pu:txuṭy</i> | 'old cloak'   |

$$71. \text{ Adj}_p \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ka:r} \\ \text{pōṭ} \\ \text{ni:lm} \\ \text{po:x} \\ \text{poč} \\ \dots\dots \\ \dots\dots \end{array} \right\}$$

|                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>pōṭ torp</i>  | 'white dhoti'              |
| <i>pōṭ kopāṇ</i> | 'white butterfly'          |
| <i>ni:lm kal</i> | 'blue stone (in the ring)' |
| <i>poč pul</i>   | 'green grass'              |

72. NP,  $\rightarrow$  [N. Adj<sub>q</sub>] + NP

N.Adj<sub>q</sub> stands for any noun occurring as an attribute to another noun.

*kō:t a:ṣ* ‘death house’

*p̄l̄ṣ a:ṣ* ‘hut to which woman goes after child birth and stays until new moon’

73. Num  $\rightarrow$  { Num<sub>s</sub> }

Numeral is classified into numeral singular [Num<sub>s</sub>] and numeral plural [Num<sub>p</sub>].

74. Num<sub>s</sub>  $\rightarrow$  { Num<sub>c</sub> }

Singular number is expanded into singular cardinal [Num<sub>c</sub>] like *w̄d* ‘one’ and fraction [Frac.] like *ko:l* ‘quarter’ *ar* ‘half’, *mu:kol* ‘three fourths’ etc.

75. Num<sub>p</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Num<sub>pc</sub> + [Frac.]

Num<sub>pc</sub> represents plural cardinal numbers like *mu:d* ‘three’, *ūj* ‘five’, *pot* ‘ten’ etc.

Num<sub>pc</sub> + Frac.

*mu:d kol* ‘3½’

*e:d ar* ‘2½’

*no:ŋg muko:l* ‘4½’

$$76. \text{ Frac} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} ko:l & \text{'quarter'} \\ ar & \text{'half'} \\ muko:l & \text{'three fourths'} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$77. \text{ N} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N}_A \\ \text{N}_{IA} \end{array} \right\}$$

Nouns can be divided into animate nouns [ $\text{N}_A$ ] and inanimate nouns [ $\text{N}_{IA}$ ]<sup>1</sup>

*ankiđş upum īr wīdy* ‘he has more buffaloes’

*enkīđş upum poŋm wīdy* ‘I have more money’

*īrkīđş upum kwar wīdy* ‘there is mud near buffalo’

*me:ŋts upum pum wīdy* ‘there are plenty of fruits in the tree’

*pa:fyš ni:r o:ryey* ‘There is no water in the well’

$$78. \text{ N}_A \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N}_{pn} \\ \text{N}_{cn} \end{array} \right\}$$

$\text{N}_{pn}$  represents proper nouns [ $\text{N}_{pn}$ ] and  $\text{N}_{cn}$  represents common noun [ $\text{N}_{cn}$ ]. The proper nouns do not take plural suffix and common nouns can take the plural suffix.

1 This classification is necessitated due to the following reasons. Certain nouns take *kīđş* as locative case sign and certain others do not. Those which take *kīđş* are classified here as animate and the rest inanimate. Eventhough human and non-human distinctions are maintained in interrogative pronouns [*o:ry* ‘who’ *in* ‘what’ *e:ə* ‘which’] we can’t find the distinction in syntactic level.

$N_{pn}$  :

|                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>tōwbniṣ</i>       | ‘a personal name’ |
| <i>iškōxwīlṇ</i>     | ‘a personal name’ |
| <i>mu:nbo:wxwīlṇ</i> | ‘a personal name’ |

 $N_{cn}$  :

|               |                   |
|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>wīlfed</i> | ‘younger brother’ |
| <i>mox</i>    | ‘boy’             |
| <i>ku:x</i>   | ‘girl’            |

79.  $N_{pn} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{pm} \\ N_{pf} \end{array} \right\}$

Proper nouns are classified into masculine proper nouns [ $N_{pm}$ ] and feminine proper nouns [ $N_{pf}$ ].

 $N_{pm}$  :

|                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| <i>arpa:wniṣ</i>    | ‘a personal name’ |
| <i>a:sxwīt̪yfīn</i> | „                 |
| <i>pīnsfīn</i>      | „                 |

 $N_{pf}$  :

|                    |                   |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>pofīrmut</i>    | ‘a personal name’ |
| <i>er̪cīgyfū:f</i> | „                 |
| <i>sinbūdy</i>     | „                 |

80.  $N_{cn} \rightarrow N_{cns} + [P]_1$

$N_{cn_s} :$ 

*mox*                          ‘boy’

*ku:x*                          ‘girl’

 $N_{cn} + Pl_1 :$ 

*mox - a:m*                          ‘boys’

*ku:x - a:m*                          ‘girls’

*kwī:f - a:m*                          ‘Kotas’

$$81. N_{cn_s} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{cn_I} \\ N_{cn_D} \end{array} \right\}$$

$N_{cn_I}$  stands for inherent nouns like *wirfed* ‘younger brother’ *eyi*; ‘father’ *af* ‘mother’ etc.  $N_{cn_D}$  stands for derived nouns like *kel-o:t* ‘old man’ *kel-oč* ‘old woman’ etc.  $N_{cn_I}$  has no morphological marker for the gender number whereas  $N_{cn_D}$  has morphological marker.

$$82. N_{cn_I} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{cn_m} \\ N_{cn_f} \end{array} \right\}$$

Inherent common nouns are expanded into masculine common noun  $[N_{cn_m}]$  and feminine common noun  $[N_{cn_f}]$ .

83.  $N_{cn}D \rightarrow N_{cn}B + G.N.$

$N_{cn}B$  stands for common noun base and G.N. for gender-number suffixes.

*kel-o:t* ‘old man’

*kel-oč* ‘old woman’

84. G. N.  $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mas.} \\ \text{fem.} \end{array} \right\}$

85.  $N_{IA} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{cn} \\ N_{ncn} \end{array} \right\}$

Inanimate nouns [ $N_{IA}$ ] are classified into count nouns [ $N_{cn}$ ] and non-count nouns [ $N_{ncn}$ ]

86.  $N_{ncn} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{ma} \\ N_{pn} \end{array} \right\}$

$N_{ma}$  represents the mass noun like *eṇō:y* ‘oil’ *ni:r* ‘water’ etc. and  $N_{pn}$  represents the proper nouns (names of the place) like *pojo:rm* ‘Ootacamund’, *mi:tpa:w* ‘Mettupalayam’, *maera:č* ‘Madras’, *moysu:r* ‘Mysore’ etc.

Mass noun cannot take plural suffix while count noun can take plural suffix.

87.  $N_{ma} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{ql} \\ N_{qn} \end{array} \right\}$

Mass noun is further sub-divided into quality noun [ $N_{ql}$ ] like *sinm* 'anger with grudge', *püty* 'wisdom', and *pöč* 'white' etc and nouns of quantity [ $N_{qn}$ ] like *nīy* 'ghee', *kapoty* 'jaggery', *nes* 'paddy' etc. Quantity noun can take mass adjective like names of weights and measures.

$$88. N_{qn} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_M \\ N_L \\ N_W \end{array} \right\}.$$

$N_M$  stands for nouns which can be preceded by nouns of measurements,  $N_L$  for nouns which can be preceded by nouns of length and  $N_W$  for nouns which can be preceded by nouns of weights.

M +  $N_M$  :

*a:č ak nīy*                          'ghee of six *ačok* measure'

L +  $N_L$  :

*üj e:ker pu:my*                          'land of five acres'

W +  $N_W$  :

*öt pi:čm kapoty*                          'jaggery of eight *vi:če*'

$$89. N_{ql} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} nas & 'beauty' \\ sinm & 'anger with \\ & grudge' \\ poč & 'green' \\ ni:lm & 'blue' \\ ..... & \\ ..... & \end{array} \right\}$$

|                      |   |                  |   |
|----------------------|---|------------------|---|
| 90. N <sub>M</sub> → | { | ašky      'rice' | } |
|                      |   | nīy      'ghee'  | } |
|                      |   | eṇo:y      'oil' | } |
|                      |   | po:s      'milk' | } |
|                      |   | .....            |   |
|                      |   | .....            |   |

|                      |   |                                |   |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|
| 91. N <sub>L</sub> → | { | neln      'land'               | } |
|                      |   | poeky      'distance'          | } |
|                      |   | torp      'dhoti'              | } |
|                      |   | pu:txut̪y      'cloak'         | } |
|                      |   | ko:r      'cultivable<br>land' | } |
|                      |   | .....                          |   |
|                      |   | .....                          |   |

|                      |   |                       |   |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------|---|
| 92. N <sub>W</sub> → | { | püly      'tamarind'  | } |
|                      |   | kapoty      'jaggery' | } |
|                      |   | arsn      'turmeric'  | } |
|                      |   | .....                 |   |
|                      |   | .....                 |   |

93. N<sub>cn</sub> → N<sub>cns</sub> + [Pl]

Count noun may be of singular and plural

N<sub>cns</sub> :

|      |          |
|------|----------|
| kas  | 'stone'  |
| me:n | 'tree'   |
| pu:f | 'flower' |
| kīdf | 'shrub'  |

$N_{cn}$  + [Pl] :

|                 |           |
|-----------------|-----------|
| <i>kag-a:m</i>  | ‘stones’  |
| <i>me:n-a:m</i> | ‘trees’   |
| <i>pu:f-a:m</i> | ‘flowers’ |
| <i>kidf-a:m</i> | ‘shrubs’  |

$$94. \text{ PN} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PPN} \\ \text{DPN} \end{array} \right\}$$

PPN stands for personal pronouns which have number distinction and DPN for demonstrative pronouns which do not have gender distinction.

PPN :

|            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| <i>o:n</i> | ‘I’          |
| <i>om</i>  | ‘we (incl.)’ |
| <i>em</i>  | ‘we (excl.)’ |
| <i>ni:</i> | ‘you (sg.)’  |
| <i>nim</i> | ‘you (pl.)’  |

DPN :

|           |                        |
|-----------|------------------------|
| <i>aθ</i> | ‘he / she / it - that’ |
| <i>iθ</i> | ‘he / she / it - this’ |

$$95. \text{ PPN} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PPN}_1 \\ \text{PPN}_2 \end{array} \right\} + \text{Nu}$$

There are two kinds of personal pronouns, first person [PPN<sub>1</sub>], second person [PPN<sub>2</sub>] and Nu. stands for number suffixes.

$$96. \text{ DPN} \rightarrow \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{RDPN} \\ \text{PDPN} \end{array} \right\} + \text{person} + \text{number} \right\}$$

Demonstrative pronouns are divided into remote demonstrative pronoun [RDPN] and proximate pronoun [PDPN].

RDPN :

|                |                        |
|----------------|------------------------|
| <i>a-e</i>     | 'he / she / it - that' |
| <i>a-e-a:m</i> | 'they'                 |

PDPN :

|                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| <i>i-e</i>     | 'he/she/it-this' |
| <i>i-e-a:m</i> | 'they'           |

$$97. \text{ Vd} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Vd}_p \\ \text{Vd}_n \end{array} \right\}$$

$\text{Vd}_p$  stands for defective positive verb and  $\text{Vd}_n$  stands for defective negative verb.

$\text{Vd}_p$  :

|                       |             |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| <i>ae enk pe:kīyi</i> | 'I want it' |
|-----------------------|-------------|

$\text{Vd}_n$  :

|                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>ae enk kwīlīyi</i> | 'I don't want that' |
|-----------------------|---------------------|

$$98. \text{ Cl} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{Cl}_1] [\text{Cl}_2] \\ \text{Cl}_3 \end{array} \right\}$$

Clitics  $\text{Cl}_1$  may be followed by  $\text{Cl}_2$ .

N + Cl<sub>1</sub> + VP :

*aθ-m pi:či* ‘he also went’

N + Cl<sub>2</sub> + VP :

*aθ-to:n pi:či* ‘he went’

N + Cl<sub>1</sub> + Cl<sub>2</sub> + VP :

*aθ-m to:n pi:či* ‘he also went’

N + Cl<sub>3</sub> + VP :

*makolkem pī:k* : ‘go atleast to-morrow’

99. Cl<sub>1</sub> → *m*

100. Cl<sub>2</sub> → *to:n*

101. Cl<sub>3</sub> → *em*

For their further classification see section VI.

|             |             |              |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| 102. Part → | <i>pīn</i>  | ‘afterwards’ |
|             | <i>marč</i> | ‘again’      |
|             | <i>me:l</i> | ‘above’      |
|             | <i>ki:l</i> | ‘below’      |
|             | <i>uḡg</i>  | ‘inside’     |
|             | .....       |              |
|             | .....       |              |

For their further classification see section VII.

## 9.2. Grammatical transformation

### 9.2.1. Relative participle

Toda as other Dravidian languages has a category called relative participle which is used to form a kind of construction

corresponding to English relative clause. Relative participle has the characteristics of verb and adjective. It is partly a verb, because it has temporal reference and partly an adjective since it qualifies a noun. There are three kinds of relative participles in Toda, 1. Past relative participle, 2. Present-future relative participle and 3. Negative relative participle.

Relative participle is always in construction with the following noun.

*a:nk podfoy o:ta:m*

1 . 2      3

Here *pod-ø-foy* 'came' (adj.) is the relative participle and it is in construction with *o:ta:m* 'persons' *foy* is the participle marker which follows the tense marker - *ø*.

Relative participle in Toda always precedes the noun which it qualifies.

*podfoy o:ta:m* 'the persons who came'. But in English the relative clause follows the noun as in

'persons who came'

It is found that the relative participle has different grammatical relationships with the noun that follows.

1. Subject-predicate relationship

*podfoy o:ta:m*      'persons who came'

2. Object-predicate relationship

*öštfoy pony*      'the work which (someone) said'

3. Instrumental-predicate relationship

*kwartfoy mošt*      'the axe with which (someone) cut'

4. Dative-predicate relationship

*mo:rfoy ko:s*      'the money to which (someone) sold'

5. Locative-predicate relationship

*pi:t o:la:t*      'the path in which (someone) goes'

6. Purposive-predicate relationship

*udt ni:r*      'the water that is used for drinking'

9.2.1.1. Subject-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the subject of the sentence we find that the same relationship (Subject-predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (2) and noun (3) show the subject-predicate relation.

1. *o:n podt o:čn kožpini*  
 1      2      3      4

'I saw the man who comes'

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence

2. *o:č podti*  
 1      2  
 'the man comes'

is embedded into the matrix sentence

3. *o:n o:tñ kozpini*

1      2      3

'I saw the man'

Note that when the constituent sentence is embedded into the noun phrase-we find two identical nouns one in the constituent and another in the matrix and the resultant sentence undergoes many transformations we get the resultant sentence,

*o:n [o:tñ podti] o:tñ kozpini*

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation

SD: *o:n o:tñ podti o:tñ kozpini*

1      2      3      4      5      6

NP    NP    VP    NP Obj.S.    VP

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6  $\Rightarrow$  1+2+3-R.P.+4+5+6.

Equi NP deletion transformation

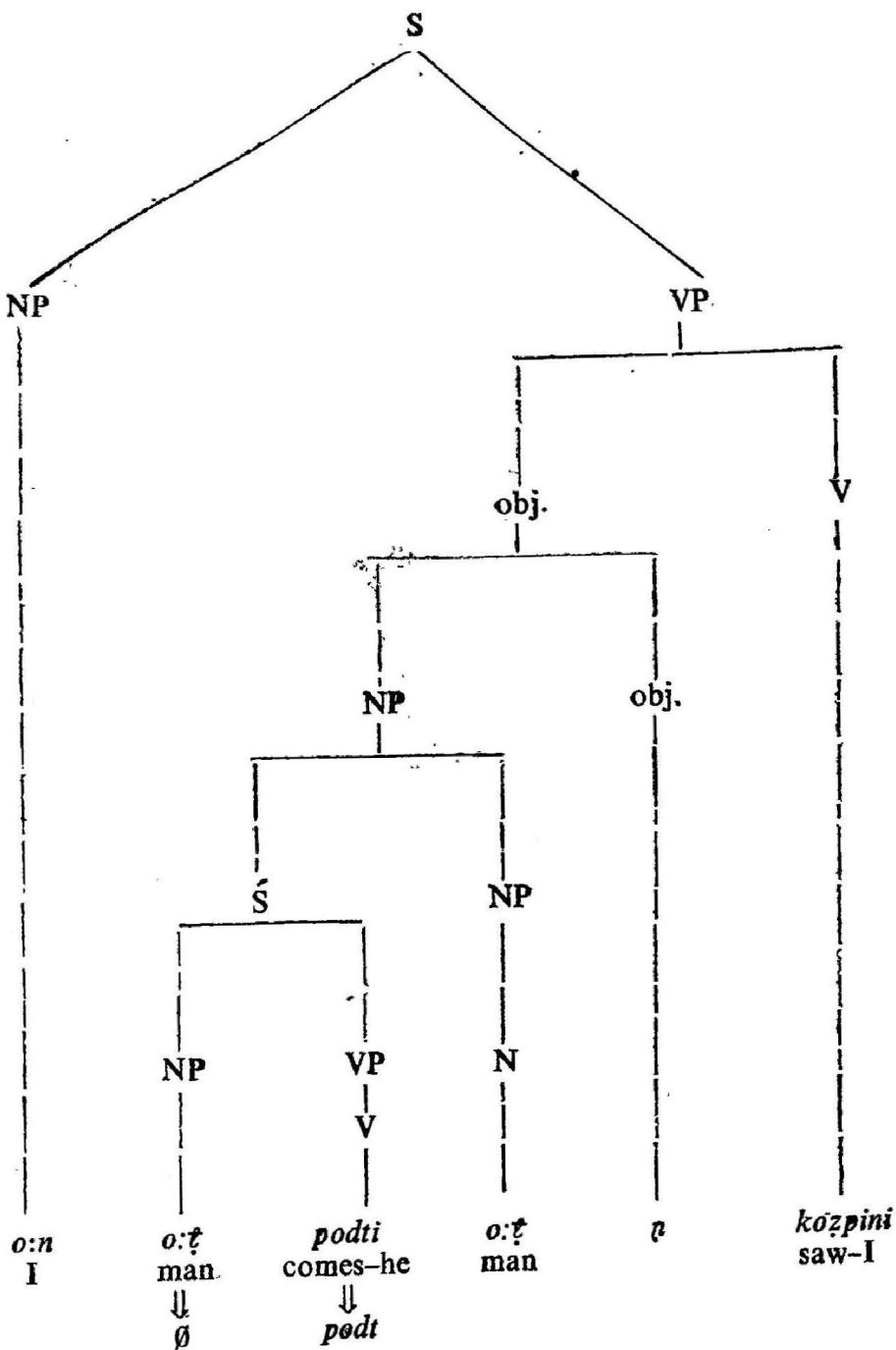
SD: NP+NP+VP—R.P.+NP+Obj.S.+VP

1      2      3                  4      5      6

SC: 1+2+3—R.P.+4+5+6  $\Rightarrow$  1+3+4+5+6

if 2=4

(Since 2=4, 2 is deleted)



### 9.2.1.2. Object-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the object of the sentence we find the same relation (object - predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (3) and noun (4) show the object - predicate relation.

4. *o:n n̄m öšt kelcn kispini*

1      2      3      4      5

'I shall do the work which you say'

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence,

5. *n̄m kelc öštši*

1      2      3

'you say the work'

is embedded into the NP of the matrix sentence

6. *o:n kelcn kispini*

1      2      3

'I do the work'

we get,

*o:n [ n̄m kelc öštši ] kelc n kispini*

NP [ NP   NP   VP ] NP Obj.S VP

[The constituent sentence is within parentheses] and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

#### Relativization transformation

SD : *o:n n̄m kelc öštši kelc n kispini*

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

NP   NP   NP   VP   NP Obj.S VP

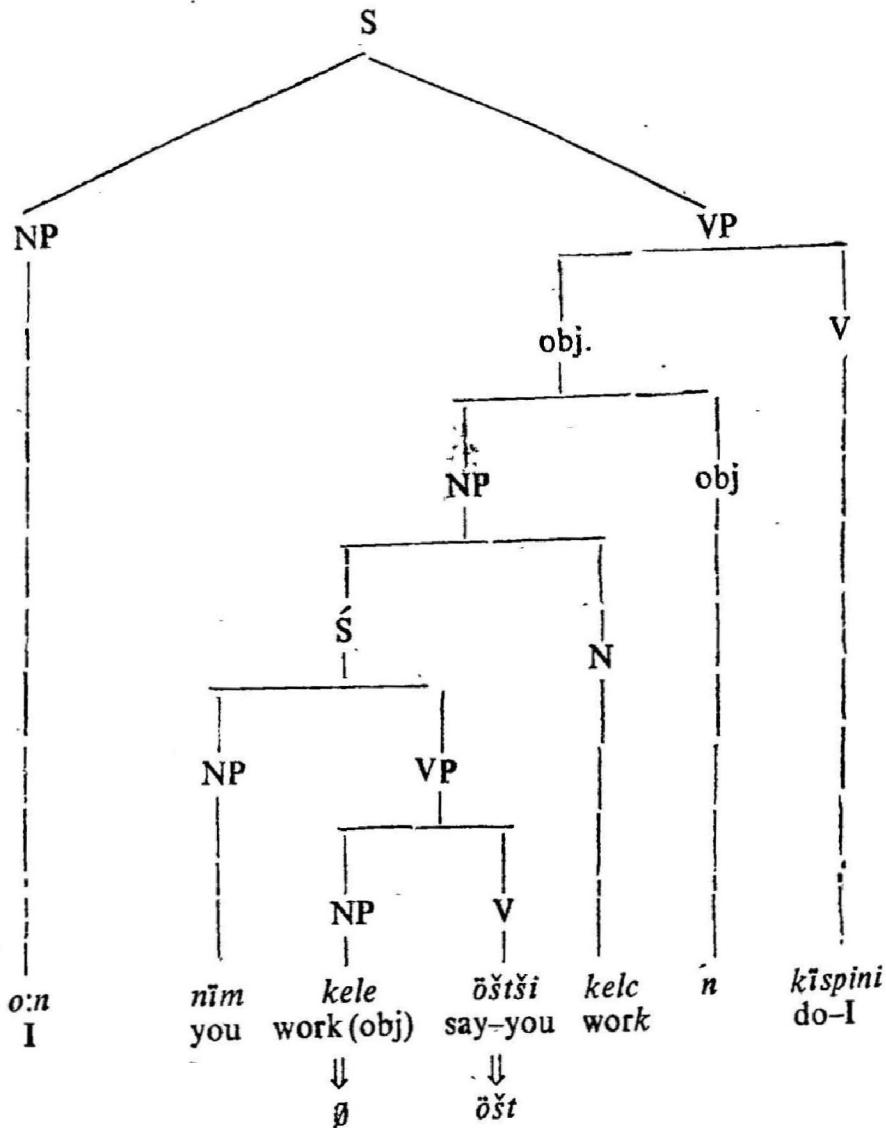
SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6+7  $\Rightarrow$  1+2+3+4-R.P.+5+6+7

## Equi NP deletion transformation

SD : NP + NP + NP + VP - R.P. + NP + Obj.S. + VP  
 1      2      3      4      5      6      7

SC : 1+2+3+4-R.P.+5+6+7  $\Rightarrow$  1+2+4+5+6+7  
 If 3=5

[ Since 3=5, 3 is deleted.]



### 9.2.1.3. Instrumental-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the instrument of the sentence we find that the same relation (Inst.-predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence, Relative participle (2) and noun (3) show the instrumental-predicate relation.

7. *o:n kwartfoy mošt uťš wīdy*  
 1      2      3      4      5

'the axe with which I cut is inside'

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence,

8. *o:n moštił kwaršpini*  
 1      2      3  
 'I cut with an axe'  
 1      3      2

is embedded into the NP of matrix sentence.

9. *mošt uťš wīdy*  
 1      2      3  
 'the axe is inside'  
 1 . 3      2

we get,

- [*o:n moštił kwaršpini*] *mošt uťš wīdy*  
 NP    NP       VP       NP    Adv.   VP

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

#### Relativization transformation rule

- SD : *o:n moštił kwaršpini mošt uťš wīdy*  
 NP    NP       VP       NP    Adv.   VP  
 1      2      3      4      5      6

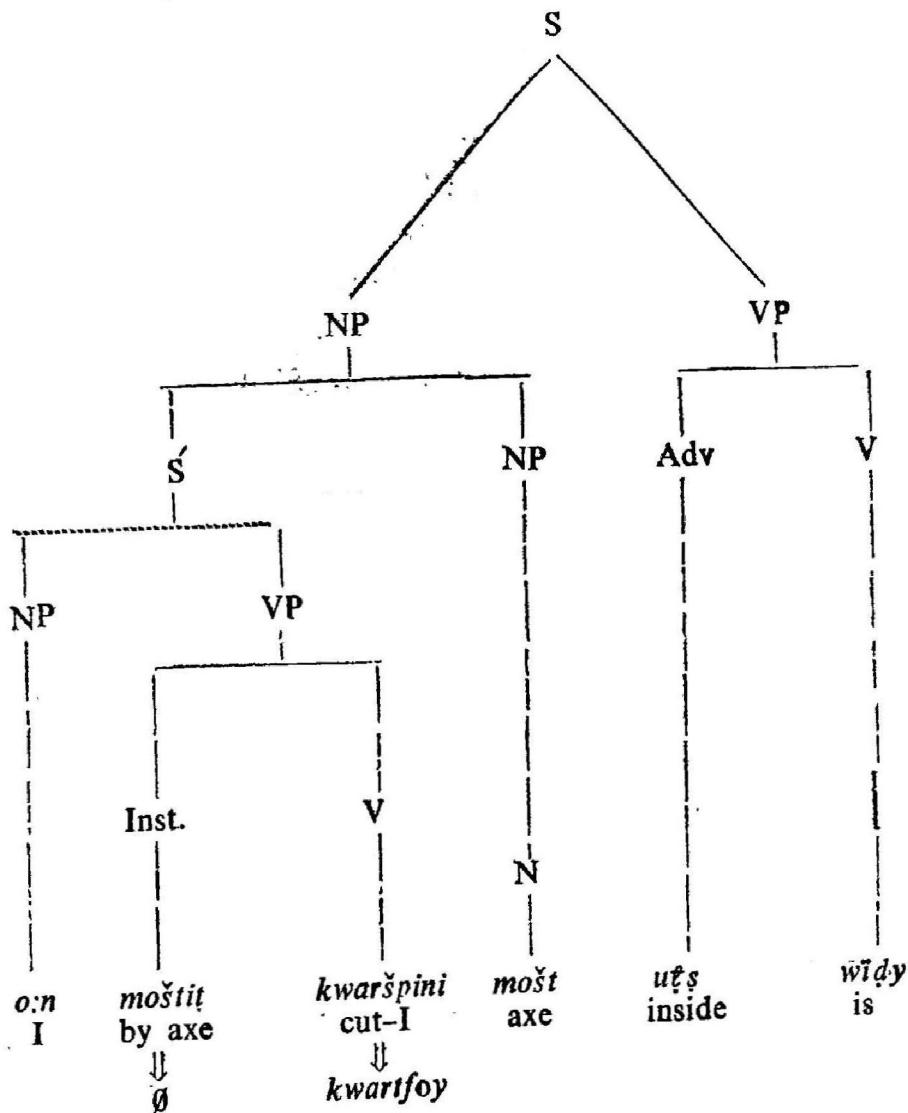
$$\text{SC: } 1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-\text{R.P.}+4+5+6$$

## Equi NP deletion transformation rule

SD: NP + NP + VP - R.P. + NP + Adv. + VP  
 1    2    3    4    5    6

SC:  $1+2+3-R.P.+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+3+4+5+6$   
 If  $2=4$

(Since  $2=4$ , 2 is deleted)



### 9.2.1.4. Dative predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the dative of the sentence we find that the same relation (Dative predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (3) and noun (4) show the dative-predicate relationship.

10. *ni: ki:č mo:ryfoy ko:sn e:spi*

1      2      3      4      5

'you (sg.) took the money to which you sold the

|        |   |   |   |   |
|--------|---|---|---|---|
| 1      | 5 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| potato |   |   |   |   |

2

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence,

11. *ni: ko:sk ki:č mo:ršpi*

1      2      3      4

'you sold potato for money'

is embedded into the matrix sentence

12. *ni: ko:sn e:spi*

1      2      3

'you took money'

we get,

|            |                                   |                       |
|------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>ni:</i> | [ <i>ni: ko:sk ki:č mo:ršpi</i> ] | <i>ko:s n e:spi</i>   |
| NP         | NP Dat.                           | NP VP NP Obj.S. VP    |
| 1          | 2    3                            | 4    5    6    7    8 |

(the constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

## Relativization transformation rule

SD : *ni; ni: ko:sk ki:č mo:ršpi k:os n e:spi*  
 NP NP Dat. NP VP NP Obj.S. VP  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

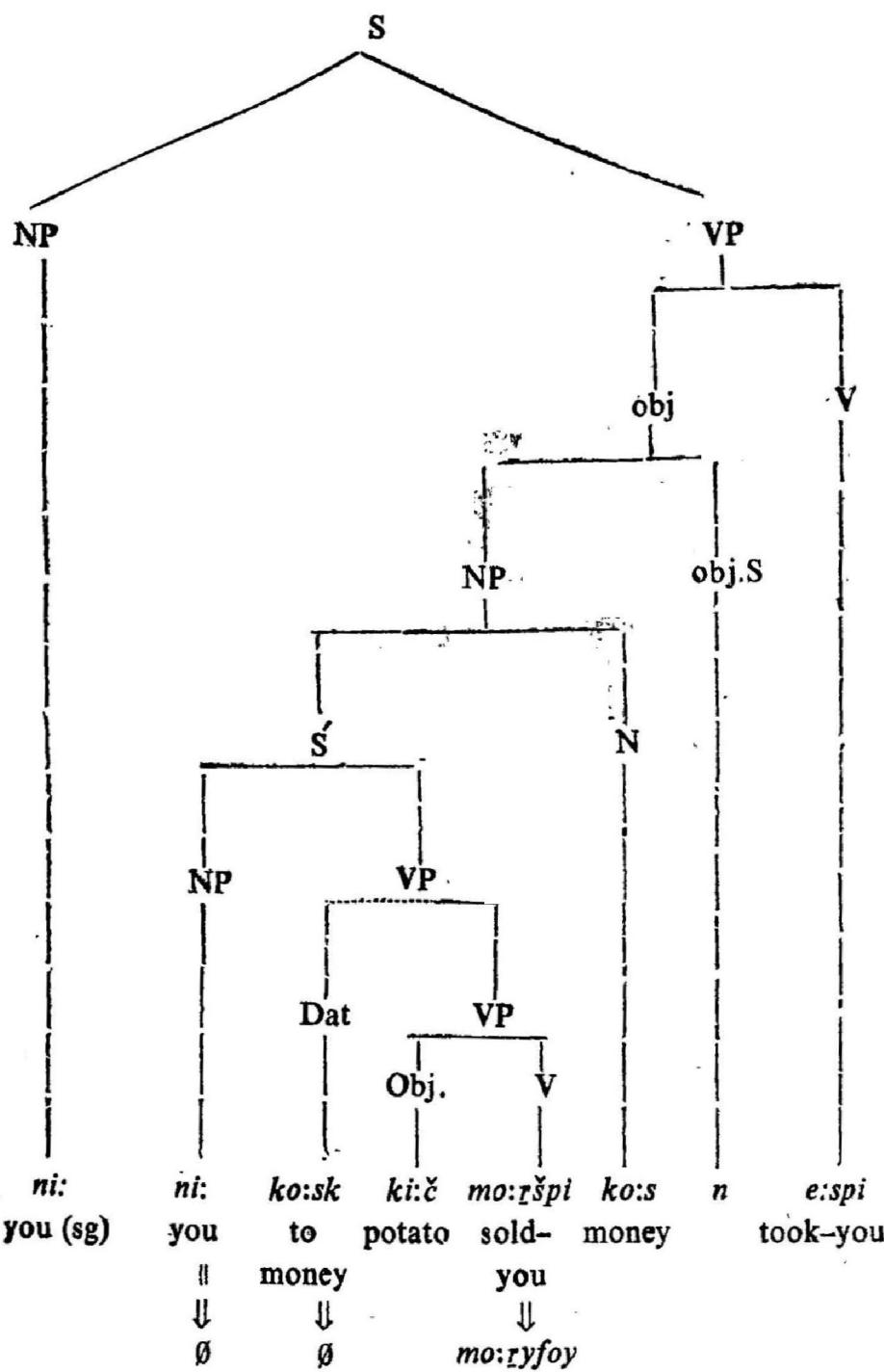
SC:  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 \Rightarrow$   
 $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 - R.P. + 6 + 7 + 8$

## Equi NP deletion transformation rule

SD: *NP+NP+Dat.+NP+VP-R.P.+NP+Obj.S.+VP*  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

SC:  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 - R.P. + 6 + 7 + 8 \Rightarrow$   
 $1 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8$   
 if  $1=2$  and  $3=6$

(Since  $1=2$ , 2 is deleted and  $3=6$ , 3 is deleted)



### 9.2.1.5. Locative-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the locative of the sentence we find that the same relation (loc.-predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence, Relative participle (3) and noun (4) show the locative-predicate relation.

16. *iθ wīgo:t̪ pi:t̪ o:t̪a:r*

1      2      3      4

'this (is) the path in which priest goes'

1                  4                  2      3

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence

17. *wīgo:t̪ o:t̪a:r s pi:t̪i*

1      2      3

'priest goes in the path'

1      3      2

is embedded into the matrix sentence

18. *iθ o:t̪a:r iyi*

1      2      3

'This is the path'

1      3      2

we get,

|           |                                     |                |    |    |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----|----|
| <i>iθ</i> | [ <i>wīgo:t̪ o:t̪a:r s pi:t̪i</i> ] | <i>o:t̪a:r</i> |    |    |
| NP        | NP                                  | NP-Loc.        | VP | NP |
| 1         | 2                                   | 3              | 4  | 5  |

(the constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

## Relativization transformation rule.

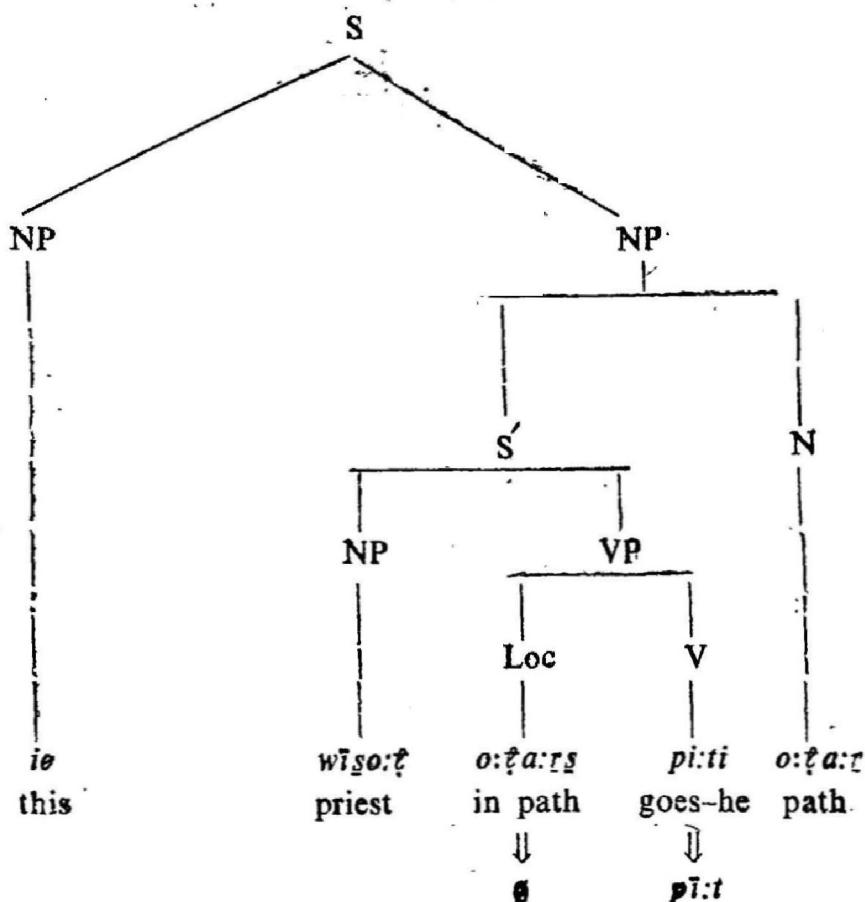
SD: *iθ wiθo:θ o:θa:rs pi:ti o:θa:r*  
 NP NP NP Loc.S. VP NP  
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC:  $1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4+5-R.P.+6$

## Equi NP deletion transformation rule

SD: NP + NP + NP + Loc.S + VP - R.P. + NP  
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC:  $1+2+3+4+5-RP+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+4+5+6$   
 If 3=6  
 (Since 3=6, 3 is deleted)



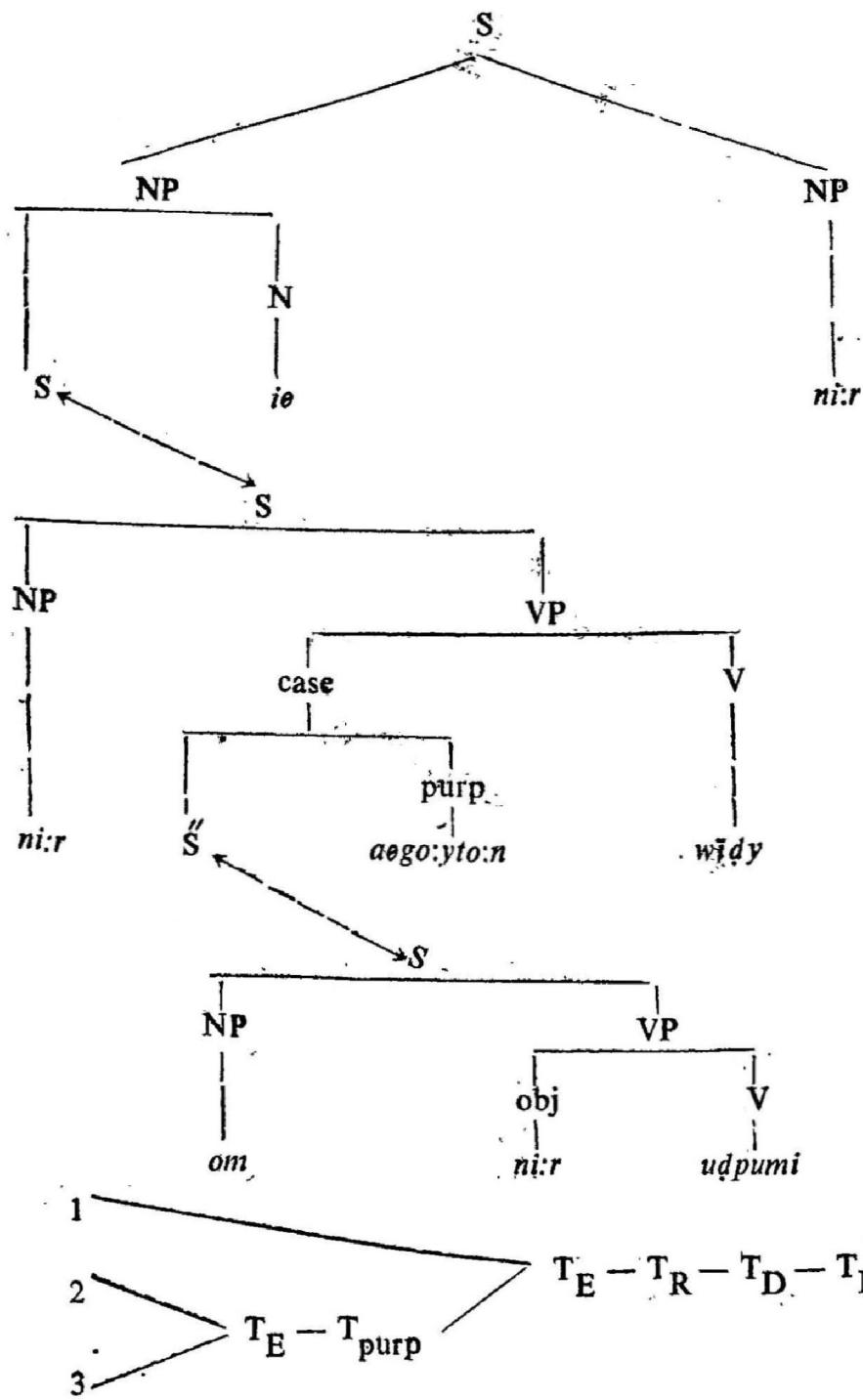
### 9.2.1.6. Purposive-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the purposive of the sentence we find that the same relation (Purp. - predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (2) and noun (3) show the purposive - predicate relation.

|            |            |             |
|------------|------------|-------------|
| <i>is</i>  | <i>udt</i> | <i>ni:r</i> |
| 1          | 2          | 3           |
| ·this (is) | drinking   | water'      |
| 1          | 2          | 3           |

No transformational rule is applied in phrase marker (3). Embed this in the base phrase marker (2) in the place of S, by a generalised substitution transformation  $T_E$  and the phrase marker *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we' *ni:r udpumi/udkum* 'will drink-we' *aego:y to:n* 'for that purpose' *widy* 'is' obtained. To this apply the purposive transformation  $T_{purp}$ , so as to enable to get the expression *udfidi:tgo:yto:n* 'for the purpose of drinking'. Now we get the phrase marker *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we' *udfidi:tgo:yto:n* 'for drinking' *widy* 'is' which will be embedded in turn in the base phrase marker (1) in the place of S by  $T_E$ . The resultant phrase marker is *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we', *ni:r* 'water' *udfidi:tgo:yto:n* 'for the purpose of drinking' *widy* 'is' *is* 'this-it' *ni:r* 'water' is obtained.

When we apply the relativization transformation  $T_E$  to this phrase marker *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we' *udfidi:tgo:yto:n* 'for the purpose of drinking' *widt* 'is (adj.)' *ni:r* 'water' *is* 'this-it', *ni:r* 'water' is obtained.



To this deletion transformation  $T_D$  is applied and the repeated NP *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we (excl.)' are deleted.

The resultant phrase marker is *udfīdgo:yto:n* 'for drinking' *wīdt* 'is (adj.)' *ni:r* 'water' *iθ* 'this - it' is obtained. In order to get *udt ni:r* 'drinking water' again  $T_D$ , the deletion transformation is applied. The resultant phrase marker *udt* 'drinking' *ni:r* 'water' *iθ* 'this-it'

By the permutation rule,

|                          |             |             |   |   |  |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|---|---|--|
| <i>udt</i>               | <i>ni:r</i> | <i>iθ</i>   | ⇒ |   |  |
| drinking water this-it   |             |             |   |   |  |
| 1                        | 2           | 3           |   |   |  |
| <i>iθ</i>                | <i>udt</i>  | <i>ni:r</i> |   |   |  |
| 'this-it drinking water' |             |             |   |   |  |
| 3                        | +           | 1           | + | 2 |  |

which bring 1 between 3 and 2 and we get,

|                            |            |             |   |
|----------------------------|------------|-------------|---|
| <i>iθ</i>                  | <i>udt</i> | <i>ni:r</i> | ⇒ |
| 1                          | 2          | 3           |   |
| 'this (is) drinking water' |            |             |   |
| 1                          | 2          | 3           |   |

### 9.2.2. Relative participle plus particle

Relative participle can also be in construction with certain participle and the whole phrase modifies the verb phrase. In the following sentence,

|                    |           |               |                |                |   |
|--------------------|-----------|---------------|----------------|----------------|---|
| <i>o:n</i>         | <i>aθ</i> | <i>ōštfoy</i> | <i>mo:tiry</i> | <i>kispini</i> | ⇒ |
| 1                  | 2         | 3             | 4              | 5              |   |
| 'I did as he said' |           |               |                |                |   |

*ōšt-g-foy* is the relative participle and *mo:tiry* 'that way' is the particle and the phrase *ōštfoy mo:tiry* is in construction with the following verb *kispini* 'did - I'. The tense of the relative participle is conditioned by the particle occurring in the embedding sentence. The finite verb of the constituent sentence is followed by *mo:tiry* 'that way'. The verb phrase is modified when the participle *mo:tiry* follows it. Only a few particles alone can occur with past relative participle.

| Particle set up<br>in the matrix | gloss      | forms set up<br>in the matrix | Occurrence |
|----------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| <i>mo:tiry</i>                   | 'that way' | <i>mo:tiry</i>                | Past R.P.  |

### 9.2.2.1. Relative participle + particle

*a mo:tiry* 'in that way'

*a mo:tiry* 'in that way' occurs after past relative participle. The finite verb is converted into relative participle when it is followed by *a mo:tiry*. In the following sentence (3) and (4) show the relative participle-particle relation.

19. *o:n aø ōštfoy mo:tiry kispini*  
 1    2    3    4    5  
 'I djd as he said'

This sentence is derived by embedding the constituent sentence

20. *aø ōšči*  
 1    2  
 'he said'  
 1    2

into the matrix sentence

21. *o:n a mo:tiry kispini*  
 1    2    3

'I did in that way

1 3 2

The matrix sentence contains *a mo:tiry* 'in that way'. The finite verb *öšči* 'said-he' of the constituent sentence is converted into *öštfoy* 'said (adj.)' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence

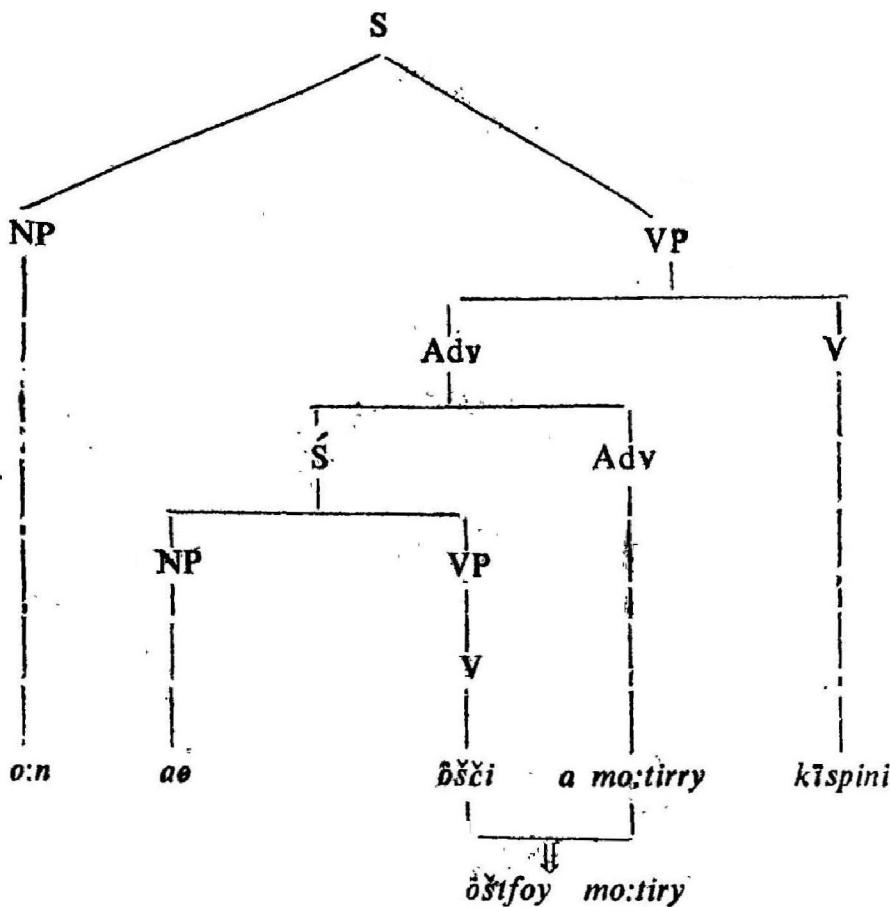
|            |                  |                  |                |    |
|------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|----|
| <i>o:n</i> | <i>[aø öšči]</i> | <i>a mo:tiry</i> | <i>kispini</i> |    |
| NP         | NP               | VP               | Adv.           | VP |
| 1          | 2                | 3                | 4              | 5  |

(the constituent sentence is within parenthesis) and this undergoes the following transformational rule.

Relativization transformation.

|     |            |                |                  |                |    |
|-----|------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|----|
| SD: | <i>o:n</i> | <i>aø öšči</i> | <i>a mo:tiry</i> | <i>kispini</i> |    |
|     | NP         | NP             | VP               | Adv.           | VP |
|     | 1          | 2              | 3                | 4              | 5  |

SC:  $1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-RP+4+5$



### 9.2.2.2. *pīn* 'after / afterwards'

In the following sentence,

|            |             |               |            |                |
|------------|-------------|---------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>o:n</i> | <i>a[e]</i> | <i>pi:foy</i> | <i>pīn</i> | <i>pozpini</i> |
| 1          | 2           | 3             | 4          | 5              |

*pi:foy* is the relative participle and *pīn* 'after / afterwards' is the particle and the phrase *pi:foy pīn* is in construction with the following verb *pozpini* 'came-I'. The tense of the relative participle is conditioned by the particle occurring in embedding sentence. The finite verb of the constituent sentence

is followed by *pīn* 'after/afterwards'. The verb phrase is modified when the particle *pīn* follows it.

*pīn* 'after/afterwards' occurs after past relative participle. The finite verb is converted into relative participle when it is followed by *pīn*. In the following sentence (3) and (4) show the relative participle-particle relation.

22. *o:n ae pi:foy pīn pozpini*

1 2 3 4 5

'I came after he left'

1 5 4 2 3

This sentence is derived by embedding the constituent sentence

23. *ae pi:či*

1 2

'He went'

1 2

into the matrix sentence

24. *o:n pīn pozpini*

1 2 3

'I came afterwards'

1 3 2

The matrix sentence contains *pīn* 'after/afterwards'. The finite verb *pi:či* 'went-he' of constituent sentence is converted into *pi:foy* went (adj.) when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence

|            |                     |            |                |    |
|------------|---------------------|------------|----------------|----|
| <i>o:n</i> | [ <i>ae pi:či</i> ] | <i>pīn</i> | <i>pozpini</i> |    |
| NP         | NP                  | VP         | Adv.           | VP |
| 1          | 2                   | 3          | 4              | 5  |

(the constituent sentence is within parenthesis) and this undergoes the following transformational rule.

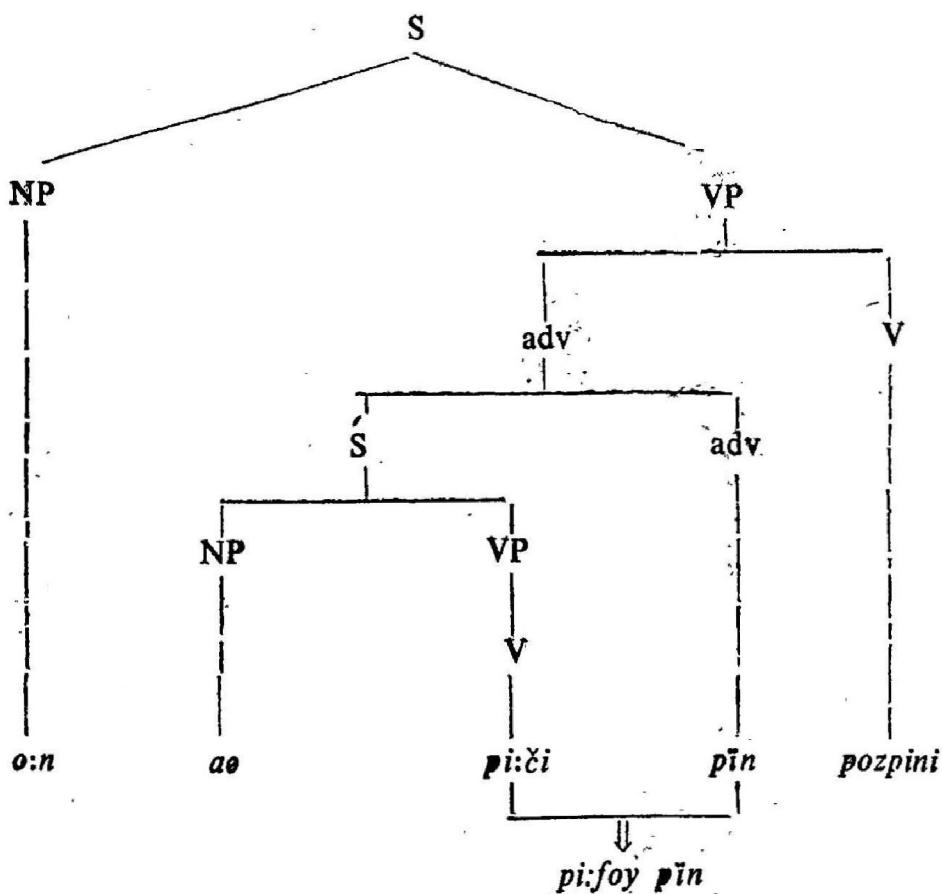
### Relativization transformation

SD : *o:n ae pi:či pīn pozpini*

NP NP VP Adv. VP

1 2 3 4 5

SC : 1+2+3+4+5  $\Rightarrow$  1+2+3-RP+4+5



### 9.2.3. Verbal participle

In Toda language there is a verbal category called verbal participle which is used to express action performed by the subject when two or more actions are expressed in a sentence. The participle actions of the subject is always expressed by the finite verbs which always occur after the verbal participles which express the subordinate actions. In English such actions are usually expressed by a series of finite verbs joined by conjunctions. Verbal participle is in construction with the following verb.

| Meaning        | Form set up in the matrix sentence |                   |
|----------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Object      | N + n                              | (Obj.)            |
| 2. Consecutive | <i>pīn</i>                         | 'afterwards'      |
| 3. Manner      | <i>agīs</i>                        | 'in that manner'  |
| 4. Causal      | <i>aṣṇā:l</i>                      | 'because of that' |

#### 9.2.3.1 Object N + ~~n~~ (Obj.)

*muṭna:s kelcn kīs muṭfici*

'Mutnas did the work and finished'

#### 9.2.3.2 Consecutive *pīn* 'after / afterwards'

*o:n īrn kāls pīn pojo:rtk pi:pini*

'having milked the buffalo, I will proceed to Ootacamund afterwards'

#### 9.2.3.3 Manner *agīs* 'in that manner'

*ni: nīlōe pī:x*      'you go without standing'

## 9.2.3.4 Causal

*aθ-n-a:l*                                                  'because of that or by that'  
*ak ku:x kurubn nwī:s θjfiči*  
                                                                        'having seen the Kurumba, the  
                                                                                girl feard'

## 9.2.3.1. Object

*mutna:s kelcn kīs mułfiči*

1        2        3        4

'Mutnas did the work and finished'

1        3        2        4

is obtained from the matrix sentence

*mutna:s kelcn mułfiči*

1        2        3

'Mutnas has finished the work'

1        3        2

\*\*<sup>1</sup> from the constituent sentence

*mutna:s kelcn kīsči*

1        2        3

'Mutnas did the work'

1        3        2

When the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence, the following resultant sentence is gotten.

*mutna:s [ mutna:s kelcn kīsči ] kelcn mułfiči*

1        2        3        4        5 6        7

The following transformational rules are applied.

Verbal participialization transformation

SD: *mutna:s mutua:s kelcn kīsči kelc n mułfiči*

NP<sub>i</sub>        NP<sub>i</sub>        Obj        VP        NP<sub>n</sub>        VP'

1        2        3        4        5 6        7

$$\text{SC} : 1+2+3+4+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4-\text{VP}+5+6+7$$

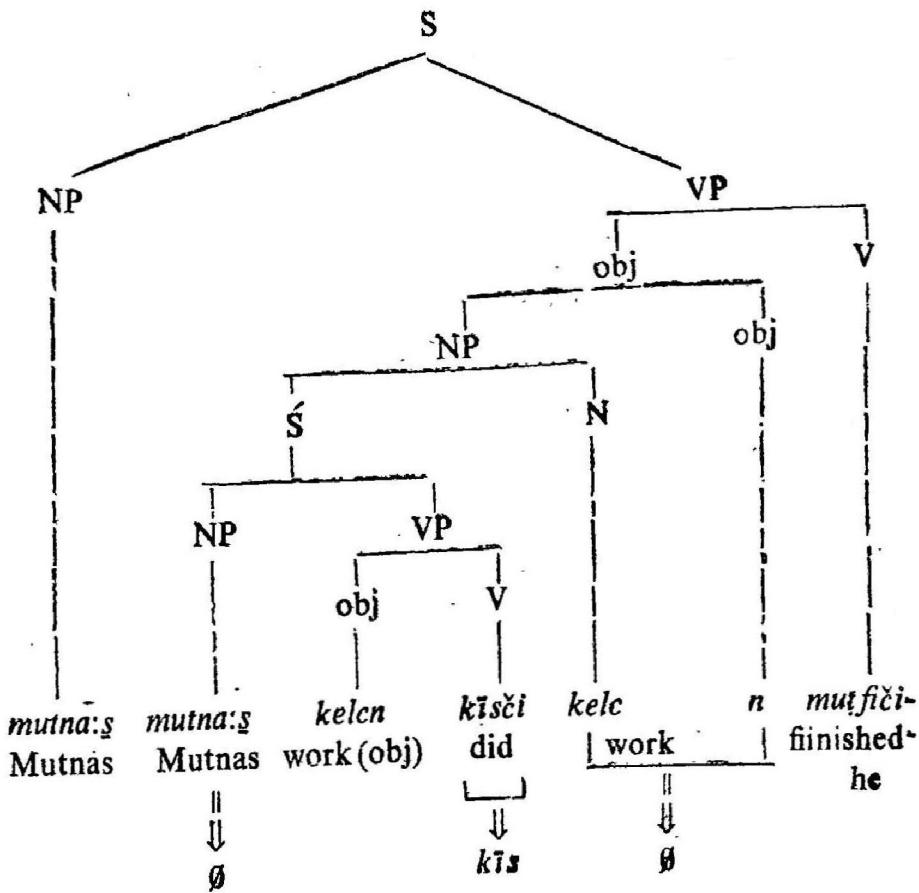
Equi NP deletion transformation

$$\text{SD} : \begin{matrix} \text{NP}_1 & + & \text{NP}_1 & + & \text{Obj.} & + & \text{VP} & + & \text{NP} & + & \text{n} & + & \text{VP} \\ 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & 6 & & 7 \end{matrix}$$

$$\text{SC} : 1+2+3+4-\text{V.P}+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+3+4-\text{V.P}+7$$

if  $1=2$  and  $3=5$

(Since  $1=2$ , 2 is deleted.  $3=5$ , 5 is deleted.)



## 9.2.3.2. Consecutive

*o:n irn kars. p̄in pojo:rtk pi:pini*  
 1 2 3 4 5 6

'having milked the buffalo, I will proceed to  
 . 3 2 1 6

Ootacamund afterwards'

5 4

*o:n p̄in pojo:rtk pi:pini*  
 1 2 3 4

'I will proceed to Ootacamund afterwards'

and the constituent sentence,

*o:n irn karspini*  
 1 2 3

'I milked the buffalo'

1 3 2

The constituent sentence is embedded into matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

*o:n [ o:n irn karspini] p̄in pojo:rtk pi:pini*  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The following transformation rules are applied.

Verbal participialization transformation

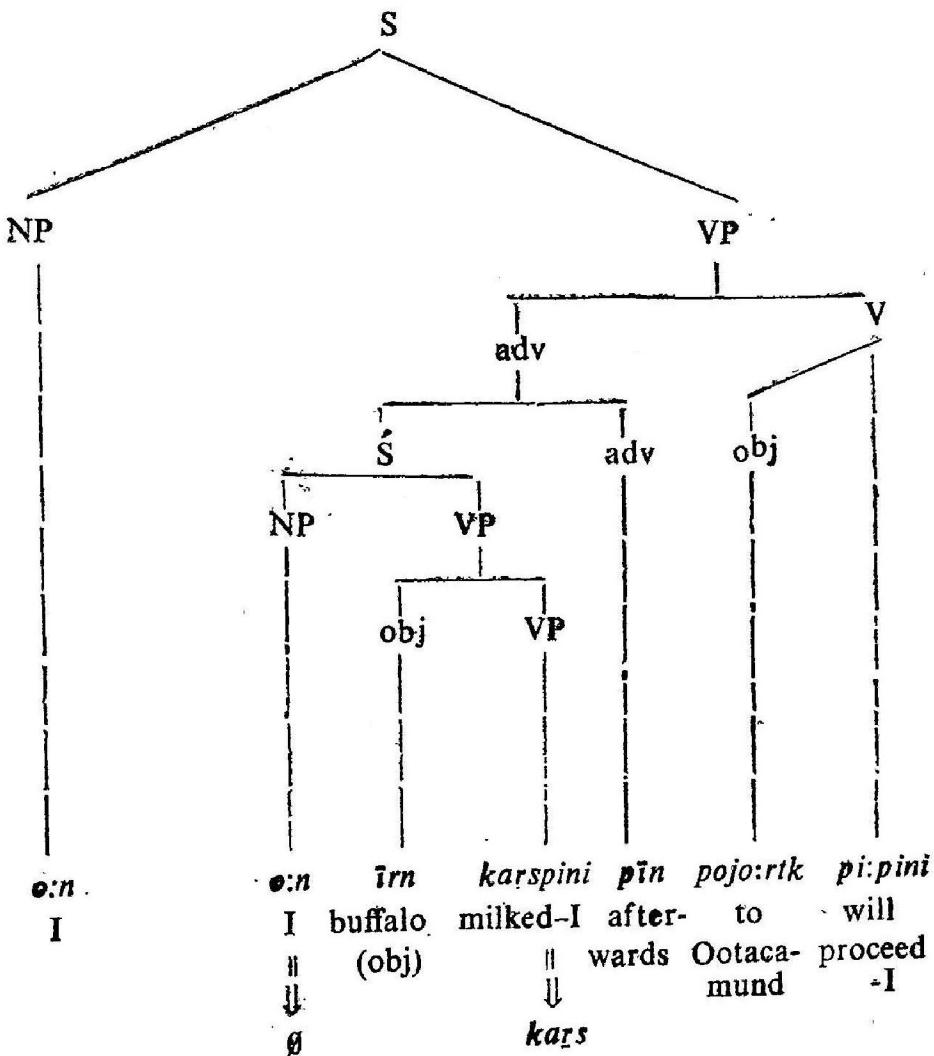
SD: *o:n o:n irn karspini p̄in pojo:rtk pi:pini*  
 NP<sub>i</sub> NP<sub>i</sub> Obj. VP Adv. Obj. VP  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6+7 ⇒ 1+2+3+4-VP+5+6+7

## Equi NP deletion transformation

SD:  $NP_i + NP_i + Obj. + VP + Adv_t + Obj. + VP$   
 1      2      3      4      5      6      7

SC:  $1+2+3+4-V.P+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+3+4-V.P+5+6+7$   
 (Since 1=2, 2 is deleted)



### 9.2.3.3. Manner

*ni: n̄ilōs p̄i:x*

'you go without waiting or standing'

is gotten from the matrix sentence

*ni: aḡis p̄i:x*

'you go in that way'

and the constituent sentence

*ni: n̄idōti*

'you don't wait or stand'

The constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix and the resultant sentence is

*ni: [ ni: n̄idōti] aḡis p̄i:x*

The following transformation rules are applied.

#### Verbal participialization transformation

SD: *ni: ni: n̄idōti aḡis p̄i:x*

NP<sub>i</sub> NP<sub>i</sub> VP Adv<sub>m</sub> VP

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1+2+3+4+5  $\Rightarrow$  1+2+3-V.P+4+5

#### Equi NP deletion transformation

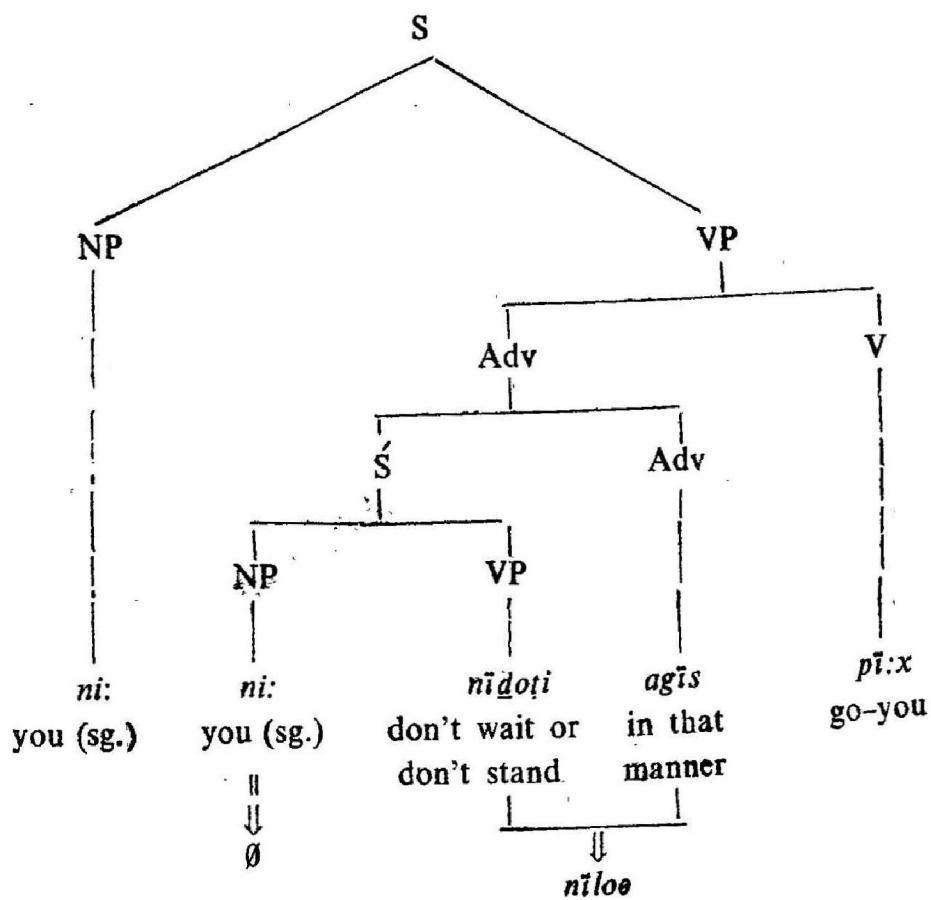
SD: NP<sub>i</sub> + NP<sub>i</sub> + VP + Adv<sub>m</sub> + VP

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1+2+3-V.P+4+5  $\Rightarrow$  1+3+5

if 1=2

(Since 1=2, 2 is deleted)



#### 9.2.3.4. Causal

*ak ku:x kurubn nw̄i:s ojfiči*

1            2            3            4

'having seen the Kurumba, the girl feared'

is gotten from the following sentences

*ak ku:x aəna:l ojfiči*

1            2            3

‘she feard because of that’

1      3      2

is the matrix sentence and

*ak ku:x kurubn nwī:či*

1      2      3

‘she saw the Kurumbas’

1      3      2

The constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is,

*ak ku:x [ak ku:x kurubn nwī:či] aəna:l o᷍fici*

The following transformational rules are applied.

Verbal participialization transformation

SD : *ak ku:x ak ku:x kurubn nwī:či aəna:l o᷍fici*

| NP | NP | Obj. | VP | Ins. | VP |
|----|----|------|----|------|----|
| 1  | 2  | 3    | 4  | 5    | 6  |

SC :  $1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4-V.P.+5+6$

Equi NP deletion transformation

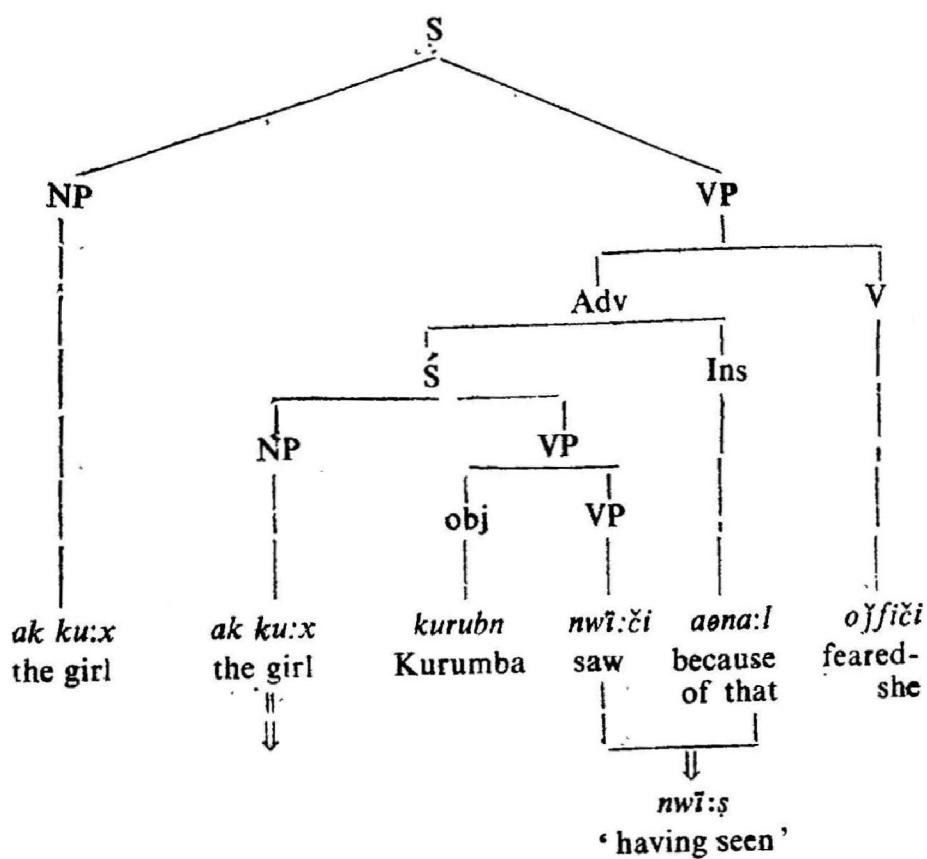
SD : *NP<sub>i</sub> + NP<sub>j</sub> + Obj. + VP + Ins. + VP*

|   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

SC :  $1+2+3+4-V.P.+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+3+4-V.P.+6$

If  $1 = 2$

(Since  $1 = 2$ , 2 is deleted.)



#### 9.2.4. Infinitive

There is no infinitive as such in Toda; but corresponding to Tamil infinitive we find verbal noun plus *k* in Toda. That is to say verbal noun plus dative case marker functions as an infinitive. In Tamil also we find such constructions which are considered as verbal noun + dative case as in

*na:n po:vataŋku vante:n*      'I came to go'

#### 9.2.5. Coordinate constructions

'A coordination is a construction consisting of two or more members which are equivalent as to grammatical function.'

and bound together at the same level of structural hierarchy by means of a linking device<sup>1</sup>.

In Toda language there are two types of coordinations. They might be called correlative type and non-correlative type. There are three correlative coordinators in Toda. 1) Additive 2) Dubitative and 3) alternative.

In Toda

*mutxe:n pi:či*

1      2

‘Mutikan went’

1      2

*ka:wxwītn pi:či*

1      2

‘Kawkuttan went’

1      2

can be coordinate and the resultant sentence will be

*mutxe:nm ka:wxwītñm pi:či*

‘Mutikan and Kawkuttan went’

Here the noun phrases are coordinated. There is no singular plural distinction in the third person finite verb forms in Toda language. This kind of coordination is possible only when different nouns occur as subjects and the verb is the one and the same. In the following sentence,

*ni:pa:w pi:či* ‘Nipaw went’

*pi:tro:jn pi:či* ‘Peter Rajan went’

The finite verb *pi:či* is the same

*ni:pa:wm pi:tro:jnm pi:či*

‘Nipaw and Peter Rajan went’

1. Simon, C. Dik, *Coordination, its implications for the theory of General Linguistics*, p. 25.

*o:n mutna:s̥ kozpini* ‘I saw Mutnas’  
*o:n sinmury kozpini* ‘I saw Sinmury’

The above sentences are responsible for the following,

*o:n mutna:s̥m sinmurym kozpiui*  
‘I saw Mutnas and Simury’

Here the objects *mu:nas̥* and *sinmury* are combined. The conjucative - *m* is added to both the nouns. In this case also, the verb should be one and the same. This can be extended to other grammatical categories also.

The additive construction has the clitic - *m*, dubitative-*isky* and alternative - *oynum* or *em* in the matrix sentences in the deep structure.

### 9.2.5.1. Additive

#### 9.2.5.1.1.

In this type of coordinate construction either the noun phrase or verb phrase can be conjoined. The noun phrases that are conjoined can either be the subject of the sentence or be part of the verb phrase.

*sinmurym tōwbnīsm pi:či* ‘Simury and Tebnis went’  
is gotten by conjoining the matrix sentences

|                      |               |
|----------------------|---------------|
| <i>sinmury pi:či</i> | ‘Simury went’ |
| <i>tōwbnīs pi:či</i> | ‘Tebnis went’ |

*sinmury* and *tōwbn̄is* are subjects of the two matrix sentences. The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj - *sinmury pi:či tōwbn̄is pi:či*

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

#### Coordination conjoining transformation

|     |       |                |              |                 |                           |
|-----|-------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| SD: | Conj- | <i>Sinmury</i> | <i>pi:či</i> | <i>Tōwbn̄is</i> | <i>pi:či</i> <sup>1</sup> |
|     | X     | NP             | VP           | NP              | VP                        |
|     | 1     | 2              | 3            | 4               |                           |

$$\text{SC: } X-1+2+3+4 \Rightarrow 1-X+2+3-X+4$$

#### VP Deletion transformation

|     |     |      |   |    |   |    |   |      |   |    |
|-----|-----|------|---|----|---|----|---|------|---|----|
| SD: | NP- | Conj | + | VP | + | NP | - | Conj | + | VP |
|     | 1   | 2    |   | 3  |   | 4  |   |      |   |    |

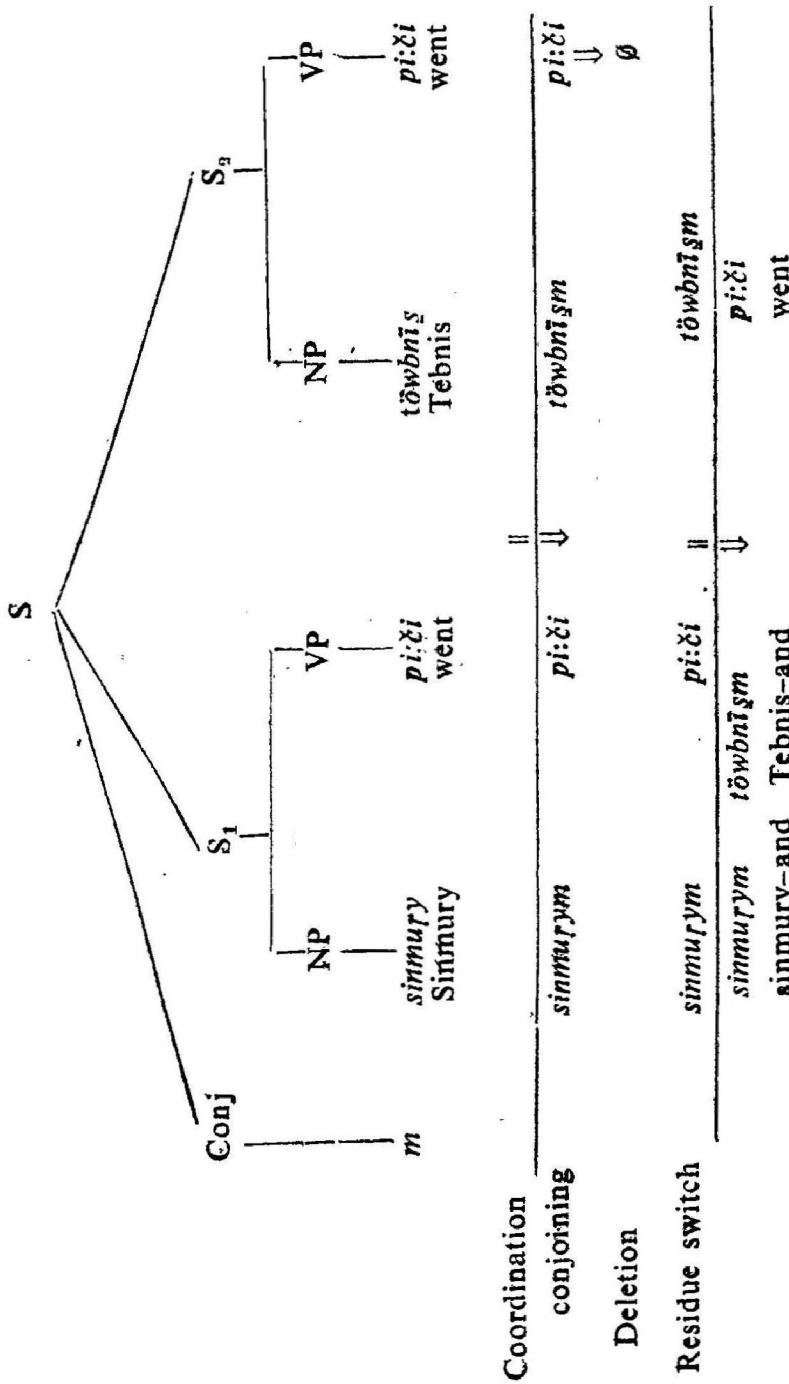
$$\text{SC: } 1-\text{Conj}+2+3-\text{Conj}+4 \Rightarrow 1-\text{Conj}+2+3-\text{Conj}.$$

#### Residue switch rule

|     |     |      |   |    |   |    |   |      |
|-----|-----|------|---|----|---|----|---|------|
| SD: | NP- | Conj | + | VP | + | NP | - | Conj |
|     | 1   | 2    |   | 3  |   |    |   |      |

$$\text{SC: } 1-\text{Conj}+2+3-\text{Conj} \Rightarrow 1-\text{Conj}+3-\text{Conj}+2$$

1. Unlike in Tamil there is no singular and plural distinction in the third person finite verb forms in Toda language.



9.2.5.1.2. In the following sentence the noun phrases that are conjoined are part of verb phrase.

*o:n pot īrm üj korm kwī̄spini*  
 1        2        3        4

'I gave ten buffaloes and five calves'  
 1    4              2                      3

is gotten from the matrix sentence

*o:n pot īr kwī̄spini*    'I gave ten buffaloes'  
*o:n üj kor kwī̄spini*    'I gave five calves'

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *o:n pot īr kwī̄spini o:n üj kor kwī̄spini*

This undergoes the following transformational rules.

#### Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *o:n pot īr kwī̄spini o:n üj kor kwī̄spini*  
 X        1    2        3    4        5    6  
 NP Obj.   VP   NP   Obj.   VP

SC :  $X-1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6$

#### VP Deletion transformation

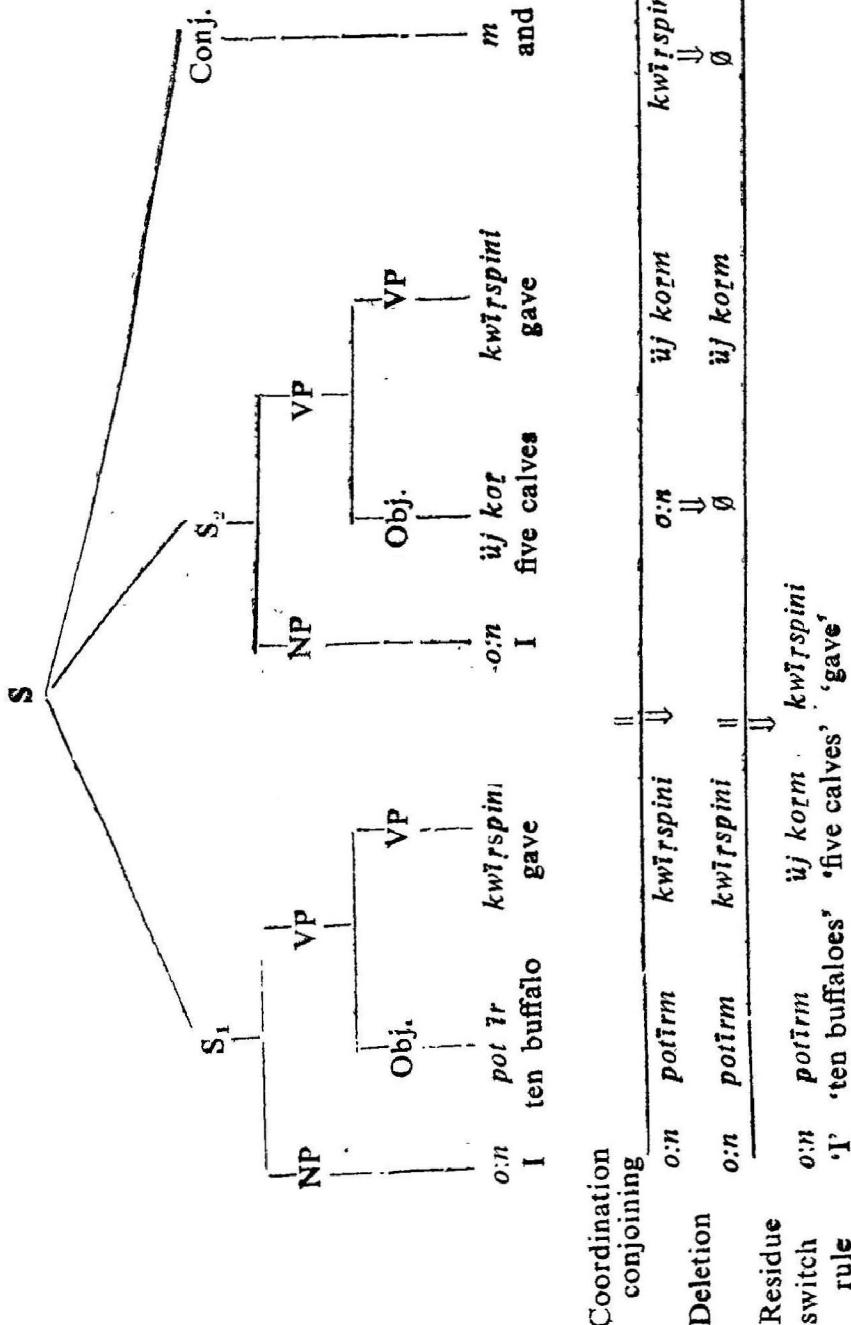
SD: NP + Obj.-X + VP + NP + Obj.-X + VP  
 1        2        3        4        5        6

SC :  $1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6 \Rightarrow 1+2-X+3+5-X$

#### Residue switch rule

SD: NP + Obj.-X + VP + Obj.-X  
 1        2        3        5

SC :  $1+2-X+3+5-X \Rightarrow 1+2-X+5-X+3$



9.2.5.1.3. In the following sentences the noun phrases that are conjoined are part of verb phrase.

*sinxe:n pot̄rm ni:pa:w öt̄ kōm mo:r̄či*

'Sinkan sold ten buffaloes and  
Nipaw sold eight calves'

is gotten from the following matrix sentences

*sinxe:n pot̄r mo:r̄či* 'Sinkan sold ten buffaloes'

*ni:pa:w öt̄ kōl mo:r̄či* 'Nipaw sold eight calves'

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *sinxe:n pot̄r mo:r̄či ni:pa:w öt̄kōl mo:r̄či*

The finite verb *mo:r̄či*<sup>1</sup> 'sold-he / they'

is the same in both the matrix sentences. Eventhough the subjects are different, the finite verbs are the same.

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *sinxe:n pot̄r mo:r̄či ni:pa:w öt̄ kōl mo:r̄či*  
 1      2      3      4      5      6

SC: X-1+2+3+4+5+6  $\Rightarrow$  1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6

VP Deletion transformation

SD: NP + Obj - X + VP + NP + Obj - X + VP  
 1      2                3      4                5      6

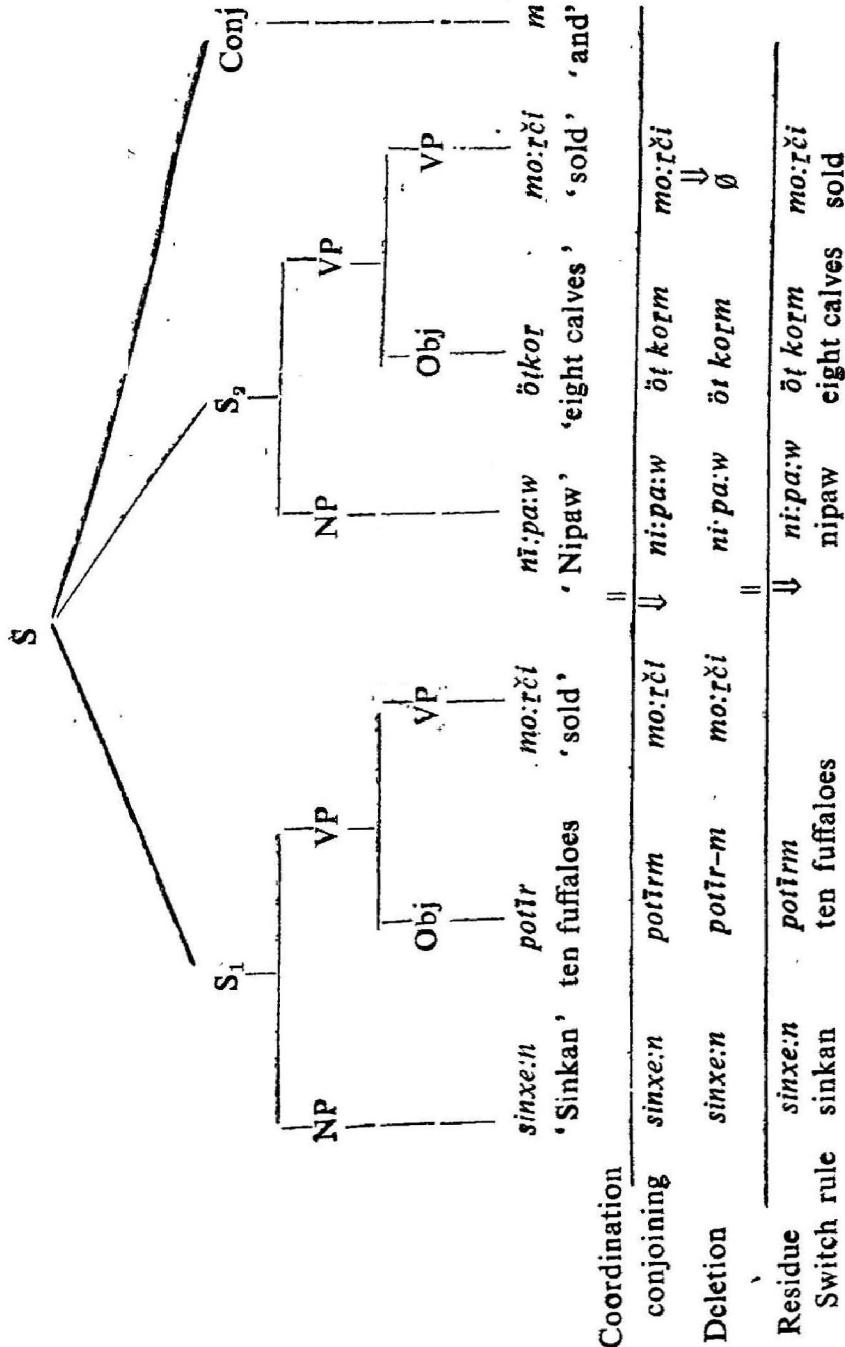
SC: 1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6  $\Rightarrow$  1+2-X+3+4+5-X

Residue switch rule

SD: NP + Obj - X + VP + NP + Obj - X  
 1      2                3      4                5

SC: 1+2-X+3+4+5-X  $\Rightarrow$  1+2-X+4+5-X+3

1 There is no singular, plural distinction in third person finite verb forms.



### 9.2.5.2. Dubitative

#### 9.2.5.2.1.

*mutna:gisky mutxe:nisky podti*

1            2            3

‘either Mutnas or Mutikan will come’

1            2            3

is gotten from the following matrix sentences:

1. *mutna:s podti*
2. *mutxe:n podti*

The finite verb *podti* ‘will come-he’ is the same in both the matrix sentences and the subjects are different.

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence is

Conj.—*mutna:s podti mutxe:n podti*

This undergoes the following transformation rules

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD : Conj.—*mutna:s podti mutxe:n podti*  

|   |    |    |    |    |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| X | NP | VP | NP | VP |
| 1 | 2  | 3  | 4  |    |

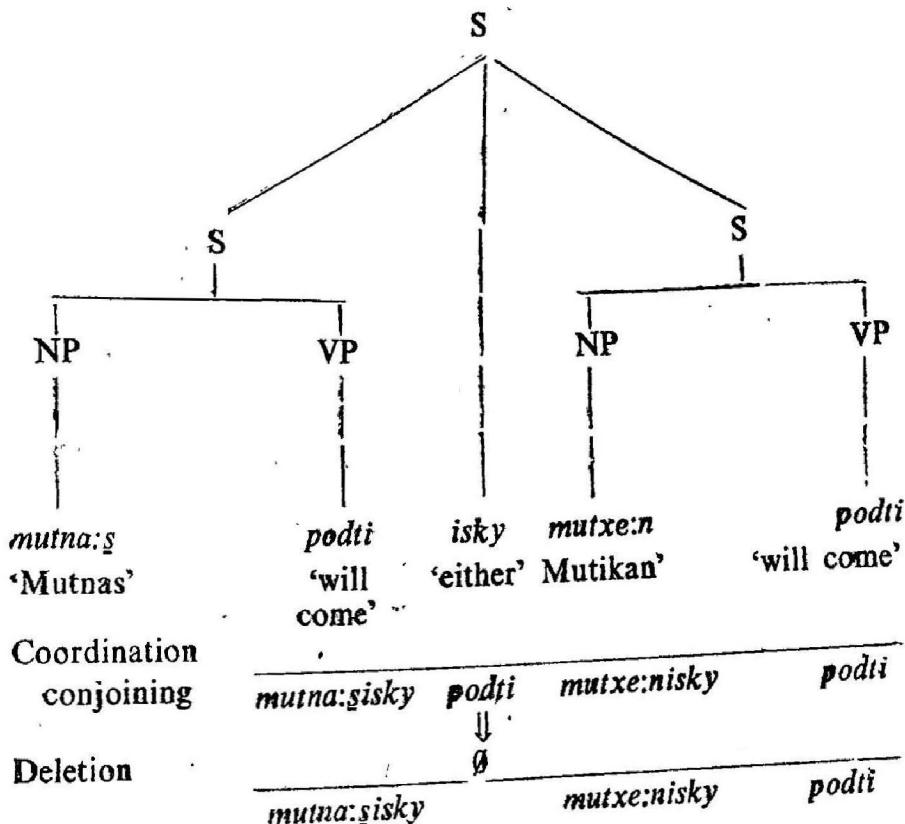
SC : X-1+2+3+4  $\Rightarrow$  1-X+2+3-X+4

VP Deletion transformation

SD : NP-X + VP + NP-X + VP  

|   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|

SC : 1-X+2+3-X+4  $\Rightarrow$  1-X+3-X+4



### 9.5.2.3. Alternative

#### 9.5.2.3.1.

Coordinator of alternative type can combine the sentences only when the finite verbs are non-past (future).

*sinmury oynum mutna:s oynum pi:ti*

1                  2                  3

‘either Sinmury or Mutnas will go’

is gotten from the following matrix sentences,

*sinmury pi:ti*

‘Sinmury will go’

*mutna:s pi:ti*

‘Mutnas will go’

The finite verb *pi:ti* is the same in both the matrix sentences. Eventhough subjects are different, verbs are the same.

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *sinmury pi:ti mutna:s pi:ti*

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *sinmury pi:ti mutna:s pi:ti*

|   |    |    |    |    |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| X | NP | VP | NP | VP |
| 1 | 2  | 3  | 4  |    |

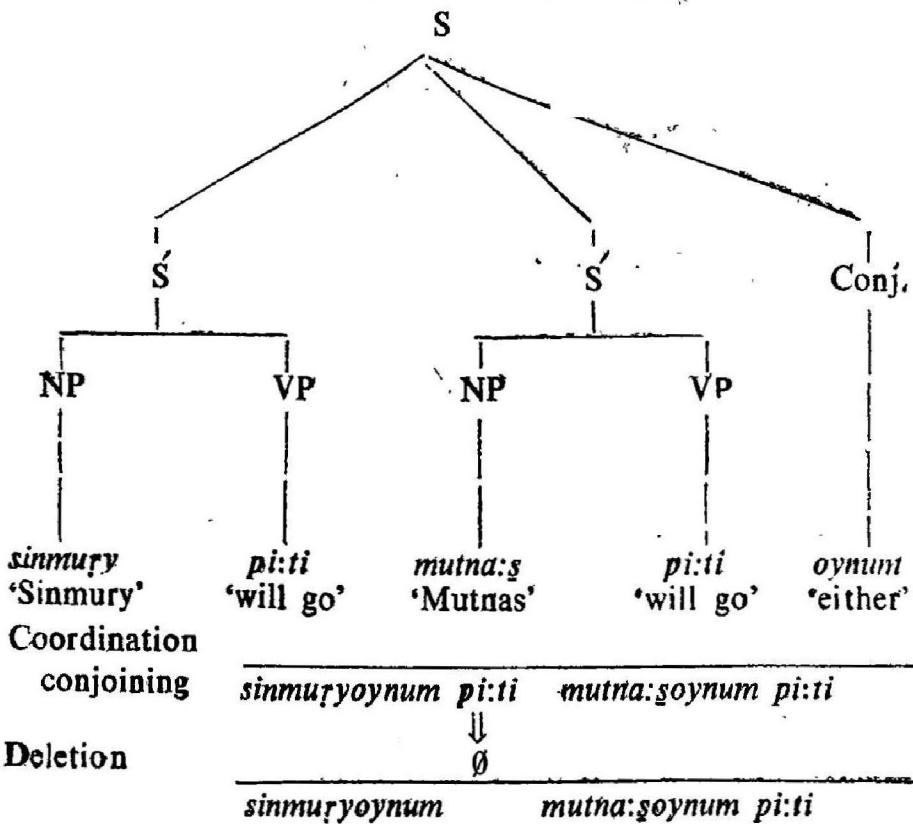
SC:  $X-1+2+3+4 \Rightarrow 1-X+2+3-X+4$

Deletion transformation

SD: NP- X + VP + NP- X + VP

|   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|

SC:  $1-X+2+3-X+4 \Rightarrow 1-X+3-X+4$



#### 9.5.2.4. Non-correlative type

In Toda we have another type of coordinators which are called non-correlative coordinators.

*o:n monšpini e:dīdwīr aø en ko:tfoy*

'I forgave because she is  
my wife'

is gotten from the following matrix sentences.

*o:n monšpini*                    'I forgave'

*aø en ko:tfoy*                    'she is my wife'

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence is,

Conj- *o:n monšpini aø en ko:tfoy*

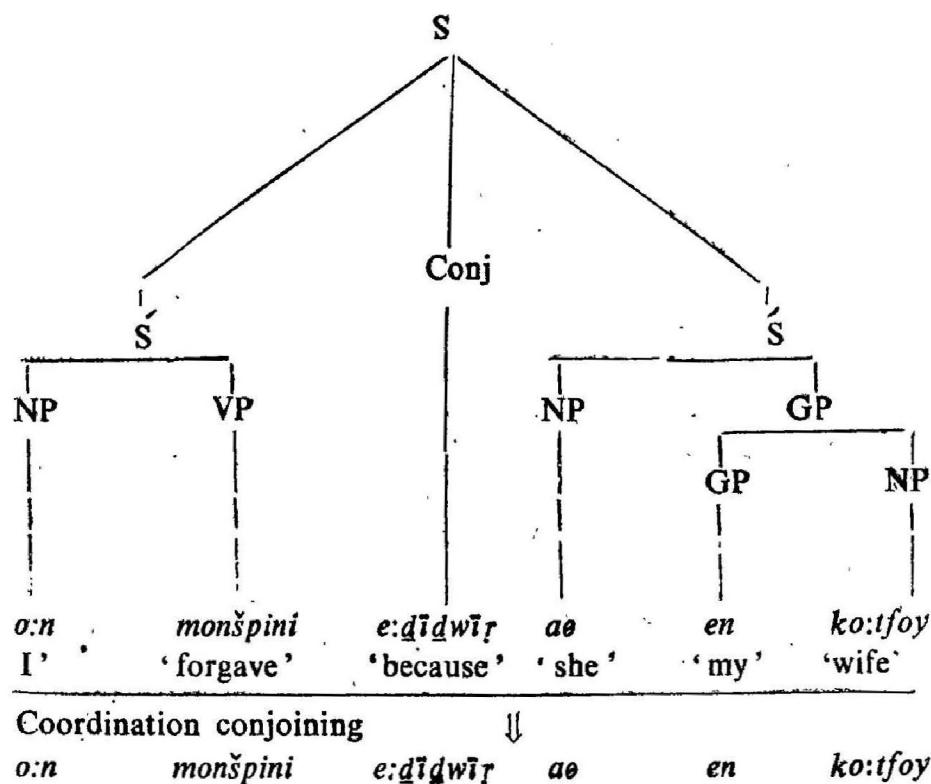
This undergoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *o:n monšpini aø en ko:tfoy*

|   |    |    |    |    |    |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| X | NP | VP | NP | GP | NP |
| 1 | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  |    |

SC:  $X-1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2-X+3+4+5$



### 9.2.6. Verbal noun<sup>1</sup>

In Toda verbal nouns play a very important role in syntax and we have to set up this as one of the grammatical categories for the description of the Toda language.

Verbal noun has got the force of a noun as well as a verb. "As a noun it can be used as the nominative of a subsequent verb; and as a verb it may be preceded by a nominative of its own and may govern a noun in case"<sup>1</sup>. This can be seen in Toda language also.

<sup>1</sup> R. Caldwell, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of Languages, p. 542

In the following sentence,

*ni: podfiðtn o:n kožpini*

1      2      3      4

‘I saw you coming’

3    4    1    2

*podfiðt-n* ‘the act of coming’ is a verbal noun which as a verb (Predicate) has its own subject *ni:* you (sg.) and as a noun (Object) it has another verb *kožpini* ‘saw-I’ as its predicate. Verbal noun as regular noun can take case markers also.

Verbal noun is derived from the finite verb of the constituent sentence and it is embedded into the noun phrase of the matrix sentence.

Verbal noun occurs as regular nouns and they take all case suffixes.

#### 9.2.6.1. Object

*ni: podfiðtn o:n kožpini*

1      2      3      4

‘I saw you coming’

3    4    1    2

#### 9.2.6.2. Instrumental

*æ pi:fíðtna:l o:n pozpini*

1      2      3      4

‘I came because of his going’

3    4                1    2

### 9.2.6.3. Purposive

*tōwbnīš ki:č mo:ryfīd̪tgo:y pi:či*

1      2      3      4

‘Tebnis went for selling the potato’

1      4      3      2

### 9.2.6.4. Subject

*aø pi:fīd̪t wi: iyi*

1      2      3      4

‘it is good that he goes’

4      3      1      2

### 9.2.6.5. Dative

*o:n ko:s kwīt̪fīd̪tk pozpini*

1      2      3      4

‘I came for giving money’

1      4      3      2

### 9.2.6.1. Object

*ni: podfīdtn o:n kozpini*

1      2      3      4

‘I saw you coming’

3      4      1      2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

*ni: podpi*

1      2

'you come'

1    2

into the matrix sentence

*o:n an kożpini*

1    2    3

'I saw it—that'

The resultant sentence is

*o:n [ni: podpi] an kożpini*

[The constituent sentence is within parentheses]  
and this undergoes the following transformation rules.  
Verbal nominalization transformation

SD: *o:n ni: podpi aø n kożpini*  
       1    2    3    4    5    6  
       NP NP VP    PN Obj.Case VP

SC:  $1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-VN+4+5+6$

Deletion transformation

SD: *NP+NP+VP-VN+PN+Obj.C+VP*  
       1    2            3    4    5    6

SC:  $1+2+3-VN+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-VN+5+6$

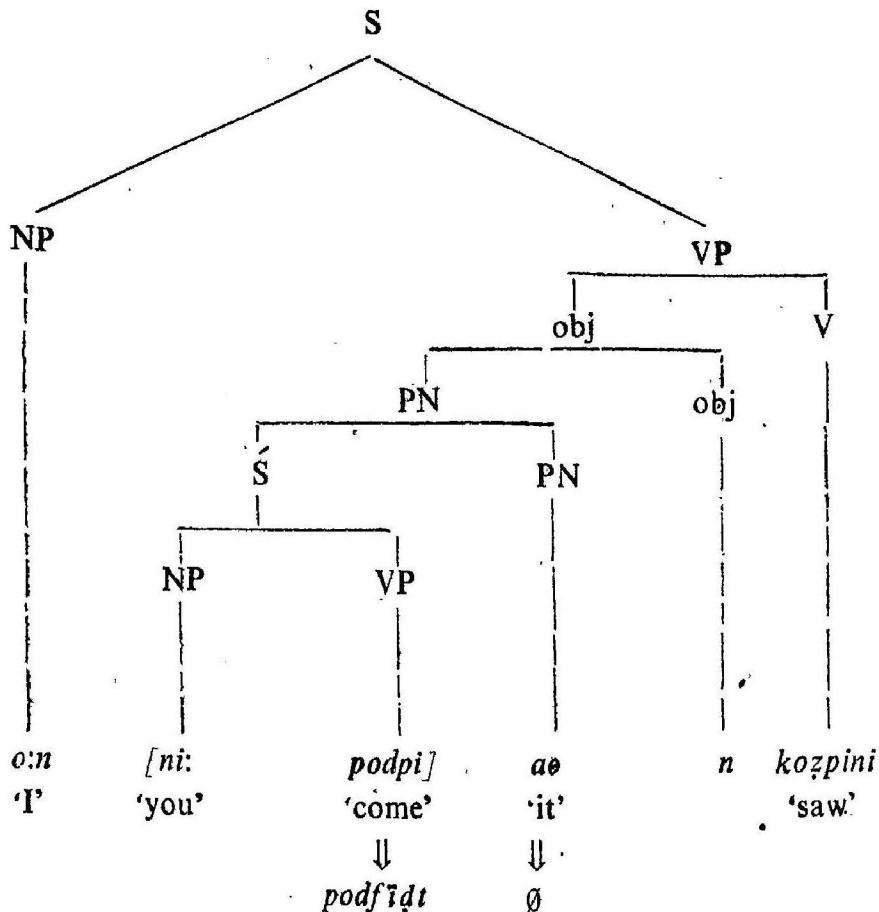
Permutation transformation

SD: *NP+NP+VP-VN+Obj Case+VP*  
       1    2            3            5    6

SC:  $1+2+3-VN+5+6 \Rightarrow 2+3-VN+5+1+6$   
             which brings 1 between 5 and 6,

we get

*ni: podsiądn o:n kożpini*



#### 9.2.6.2. Instrumental

aø pi:fɪd̪tna:l o:n pozpini

1      2      3      4

'I came because of his going'

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

aø pi:ti

1      2

'he goes'

1      2

into the matrix sentence,

*o:n aəna:l pozpini*

1      2      3

'I came because of that'

The resultant sentence is

*oə pi:fɪdtna:l o:n pozpini*

The finite verb *pi:ti* is converted into *pi:fɪdtna:l* 'because of his going' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence

*o:n [aə pi:ti] aən a:l pozpini*

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformation rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD: *o:n aə pi:ti aən a:l pozpini*

1    2    3    4    5    6

NP   NP   VP   PN   Ins.   VP

SC:  $1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3\text{-VN}+4+5+6$

Deletion transformation

SD: *NP+NP+VP-VN+PN+Ins.+VP*

1    2    3    4    5    6

SC:  $1+2+3\text{-VN}+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3\text{-VN}+5+6$

Permutation transformation

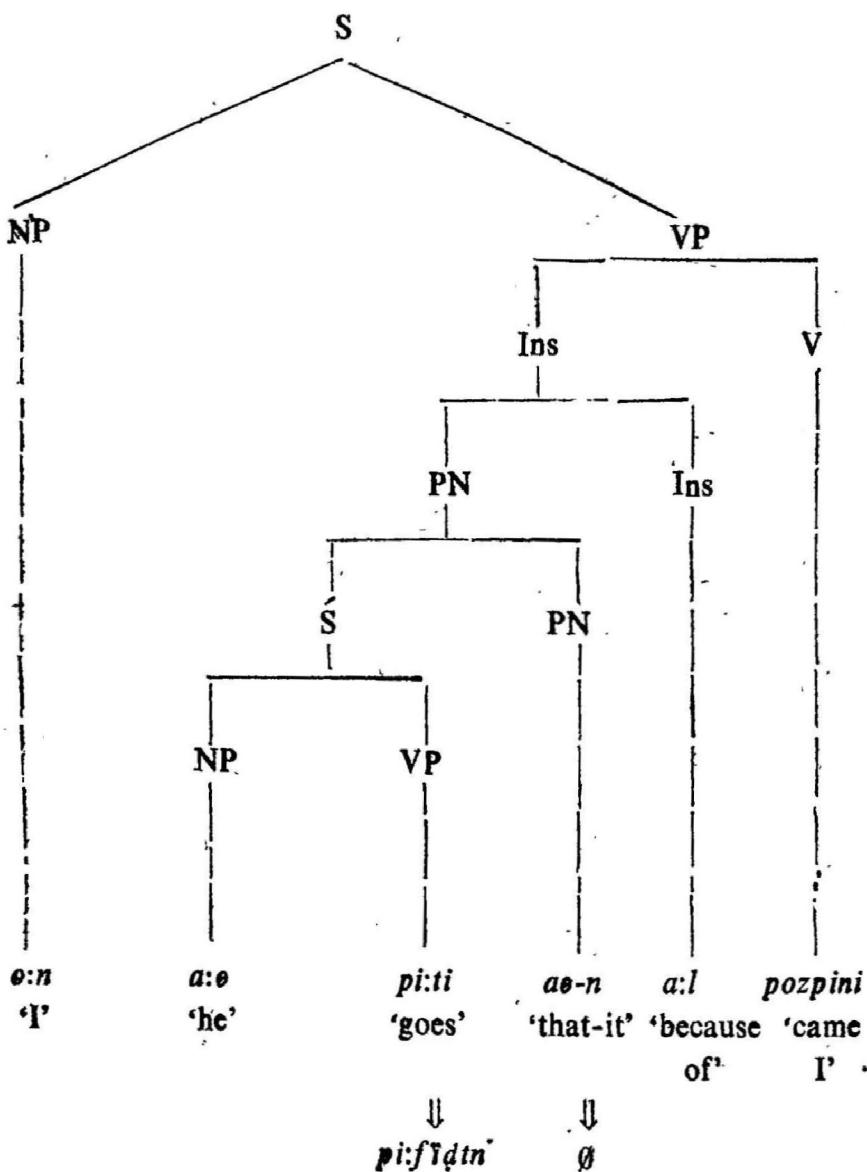
SD: *NP+NP+VP-VN+Ins.+VP*

1    2    3    5    6

SC:  $1+2+3\text{-VN}+5+6 \Leftrightarrow 2+3\text{-V.N}+5+1+6$

Then we get,

*aə pi:fɪdtna:l o:n pozpini*



### 9.2.6.3 Purposive

*tōwbnīs ki:č mo:ryfīdgo:y pi:či*

1      2      3      4

‘Tebnis went for selling potato’

1      4      3      2

- This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

*tōwbnīs ki:č mo:r̥ti*

1      2      3

‘Tebnis sells potato’

1      3      2

into the matrix sentence

*tōwbnīs aego:y pi:či*

1      2      3

‘Tebnis went for that purpose’

The finite verb *mo:r̥ti* is converted into *mo:ryfīdgo:y* ‘for selling’ when constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

*tōwbnīs ki:č mo:ryfīdgo:y pi:či*

*tōwbnīs (tōwbnīs ki:č mo:r̥ti) aego:y fī:či*

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses)  
and this undergoes the following transformation rules.

### Verbal nominalization transformation

SD : *tōwbnīṣ tōwbnīṣ ki:č mo:ṛti aø goy pi:či*

|    |    |      |    |     |       |            |
|----|----|------|----|-----|-------|------------|
| 1  | 2  | 3    | 4  | 5   | 6     | 7          |
| NP | NP | Obj. | VP | Pn. | Purp. | VP<br>case |

SC :  $1+2+3+4+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4-\text{VN}+5+6+7$

### Deletion transformation

SD : NP + NP + Obj. + VP + PN. + Purp. + VP

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

SC :  $1+2+3+4-\text{VN}+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4-\text{VN}+6+7$

### Equi NP deletion transformation

SD : NP<sub>i</sub> + NP<sub>i</sub> + Obj + VP-VN + Case + VP

|   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

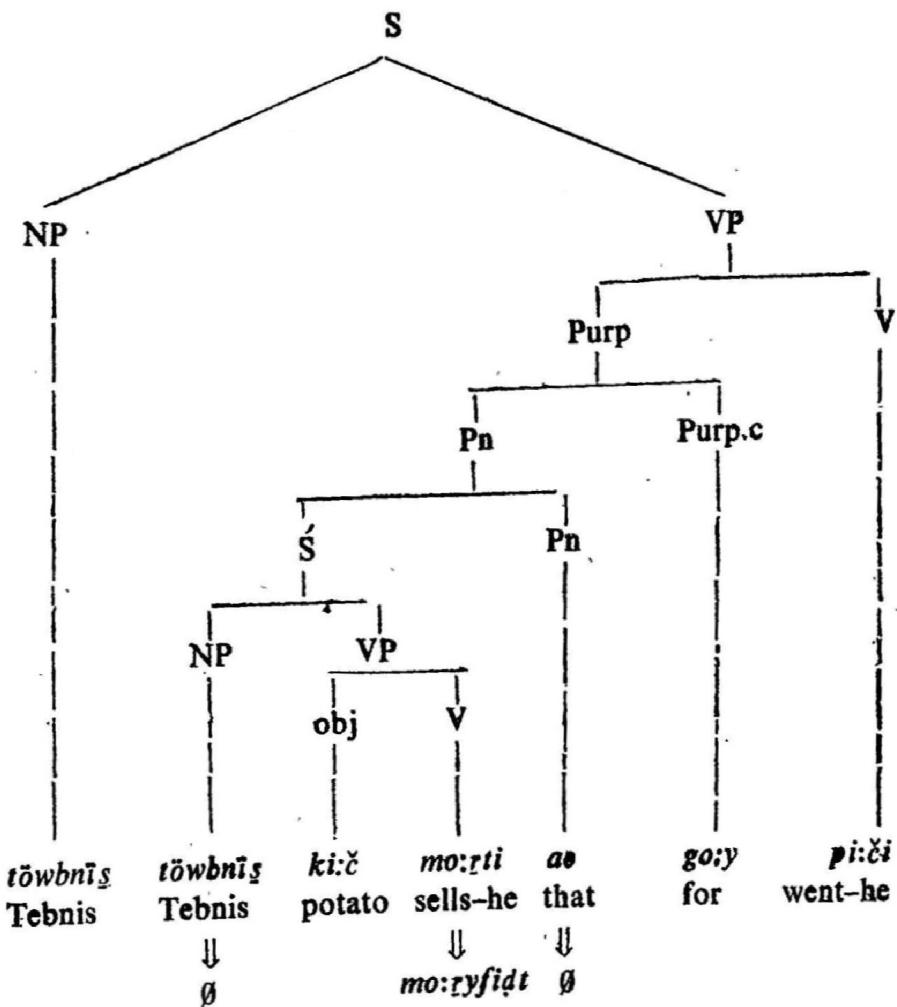
SC :  $1+2+3+4-\text{VN}+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+3+4-\text{VN}+6+7$

if 1=2

(Since 1=2, 2 is deleted)

Then we get,

*tōwbnīṣ ki:č mo:ṛyfīdgo:y pi:či*



#### 9.2.6.4. Subject

$as$   $podf̩id̩t$   $wi!$   $iyi$   
 1      2      3      4  
 'it is good that he comes'

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

*aə podti*

1 2

'he comes'

1 2

into the matrix sentence

*aə wil iyɪ*

'it is good'

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *podti* 'comes-he' is converted into *podfɪdɪt* 'the act of coming' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is:

*aə podfɪdɪt wiliyɪ* 'it is good that he comes'

(*aə podti*) *aə wil iyɪ*

1 2 3 4 5

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformation rules.

#### Verbal nominalization transformation

SD: *aə podti aə wil iyɪ*

1 2 3 4 5

NP VP NP Adv. VP

SC:  $1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2\text{-VN}+3+4+5$

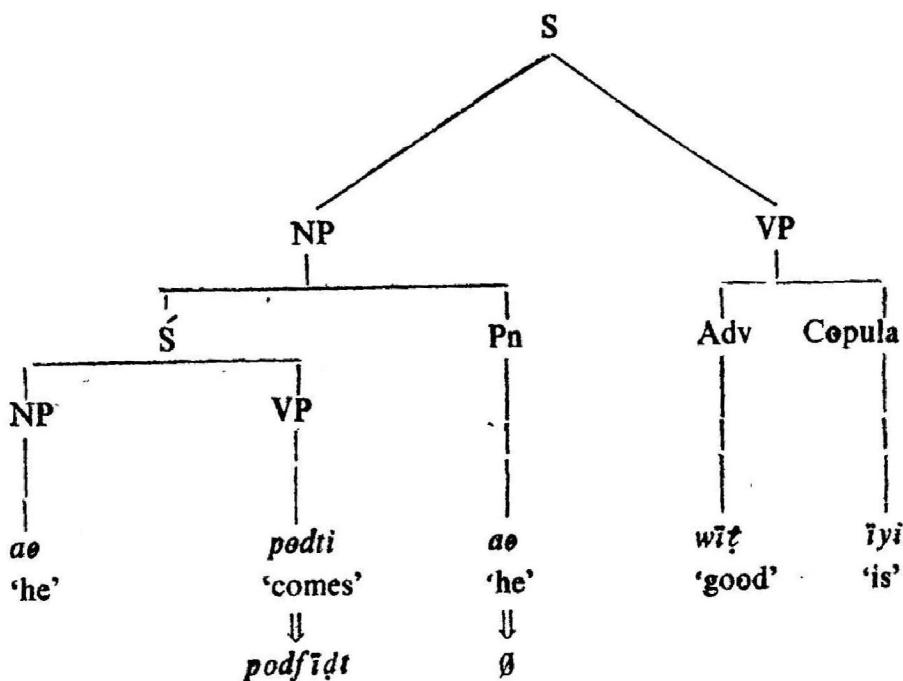
#### Deletion transformation

SD: NP + NP - VN + NP + Adv. + VP  
1 2 3 4 5

SC:  $1+2\text{-VN}+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2\text{-VN}+4+5$

Then we get,

*aə podfɪdɪt wil iyɪ*



#### 9.2.6.5. Dative

*pō:rmox o:tfo:š kaſfiðik podti*

1            2            3            4

‘Tamilboy comes for learning the Toda language’

1            4            3            2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

*pō:rmox o:tfo:š kaſti*

1            2            3

‘Tamilboy learns the Toda language’

into the matrix sentence

*pō:rmox aek podti*

1            2            3

Tamilboy comes for that’

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *katti* 'learns-he' is converted into *kaʃfiðtk* 'for learning' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

*pö:ṛmox (pö:ṛmox o:ṭ fo:š katti) aək podti*

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD : *pö:ṛmox pö:ṛmox o:ṭ fo:š katti aə k podti*  
 1            2            3            4        5        6        7  
 NP            NP            Obj            VP        Pn.      Dat.case    VP

SC :  $1+2+3+4+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4-\text{VN}+5+6+7$

Deletion transformation

SD : *NP + NP + Obj. + VP-VN + Pn. + Dat. + VP*  
 1        2        3        4        5        6        7

SC :  $1+2+3+4\text{-VN}+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4-\text{VN}+6+7$

Equi NP Deletion transformation.

SD : *NP<sub>i</sub> + NP<sub>i</sub> + Obj. + VP-VN + Case + VP*  
 1        2        3        4        6        7

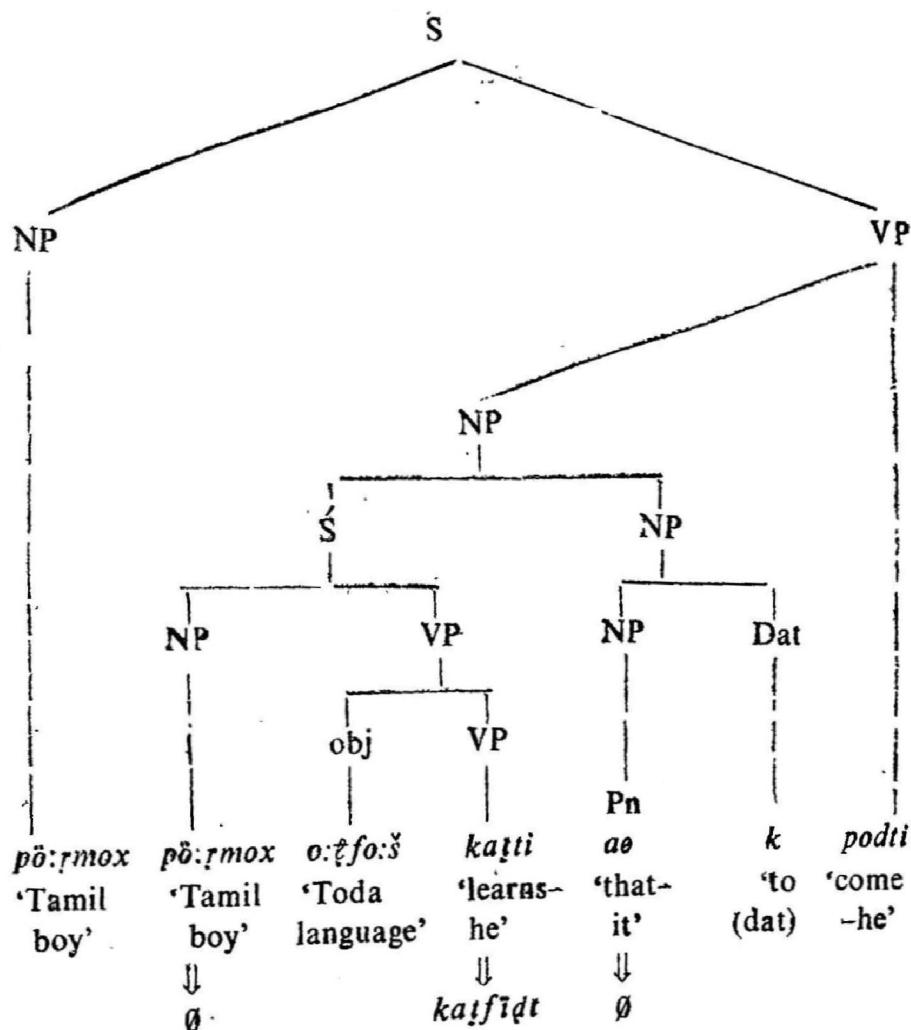
SC :  $1+2+3+4-\text{VN}+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+3+4-\text{VN}+6+7$

If 1=2

(Since 1=2, 2 is deleted.)

we get,

*pö:ṛmox o:ṭ fo:š kaʃfiðtk podti*



### 9.2.7. Conditional

The conditional participles are always followed by non-past. The conditional participle expresses either negation or affirmation. A sentence with conditional participle may have two or more subjects and they may be identical or non-identical.

Conditional is in construction with the following verb

*ae podnwir o:n pi:pini*

1      2      3      4

'I will go if he comes'

3      4      1      2

*podn-wir* 'if comes' is conditional and it is in construction with the verb *pi:pini* 'will go-I'. Also in the following sentence

*ae po:rofoynwir o:n pi:xeni*

'I won't go if he does not come'

Here *po:rofoynwir* 'if does not come' is conditional and it is in construction with the verb *pi:xeni*, 'won't go-I'.

In the above sentences *wir* is the conditional suffix.

#### 9.2.7.1. Affirmative conditional

*sinxe:n podnwir o:n pojo:rtk pi:pini*

1      2      3      4      5

'I will go to Ootacamund if Sinkan comes'

3      5                  4                  1      2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

*sinxe:n podti*

1      2

'Sinkan will come'

1      2

into the matrix sentence

*o:n atfok pojo:rtk pi:pini*

1 2 3 4

'Then I will go to Ootacamund'

2 1 4 3

The matrix sentence contains *atfok* 'then' and the predicate is always non-past. The finite verb of the constituent sentence *podti* 'will come-he' is converted into *podnwir* 'if comes', when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

*o:n (sinxe:n podti) atfok pojo:rtk pi:pini*

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

#### Conditional transformation

SD: *o:n sinxe:n podti atfok pojo:rtk pi:pini*

1 2 3 4 5 6

NP NP VP Adv. Dat. VP

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6 => 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5+6

#### Adv. Deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-Cond.+Adv.+Dat.+VP

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5+6 => 1+2+3-Cond.+5+6

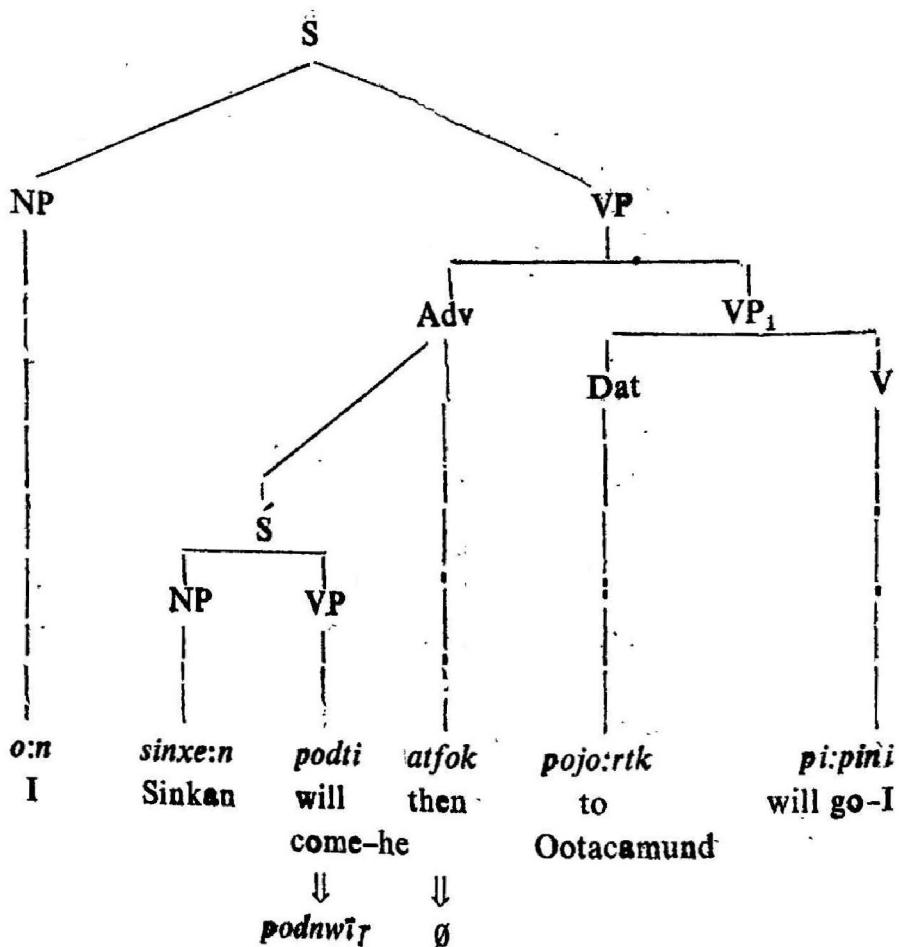
## Permutation transformation

SD : 1+2+3-Cond.+5+6

SC : 1+2+3-Cond+5+6 =&gt; 2+3+1+5+6

which brings 1 between 3 and 5

Then we get,

*sinxe:n podnwit̪ o:n pojo:rtk pi:pini*

### 9.2.7.2.1. Negative conditional

The constituent sentence is always negative but the matrix sentence may or may not be in the negation.

*onon po:rosoynwîr wîrsed podti*

1                  2                  3                  4

'if elder brother does not come younger brother

1 2

will come

4

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

*onon po:riyi*

1 2

the elder brother does not come

or

the elder brother won't come'

into the matrix sentence

## wirfed atfok podti

1 2 3

'the younger brother will come then'

3 2

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *po:rīyi* 'won't come or does not come' is converted into *po:rofōynwīr* 'if does not come', when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

wirfed (onon po:rīyi) atfok podti

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

### Conditional transformation

SD : wîrfed onon po:rîyi atfok potti

1      2      3      4      5

NP    NP    VP    Adv.   VP

SC :  $1+2+3+4+5 \geq 1+2+3\text{-Cond}+4+5$

## Adv. deletion transformation

SD: NP + NP + VP-Cond. + Adv. + VP  
 1      2      3      4      5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5 => 1+2+3-Cond.+5

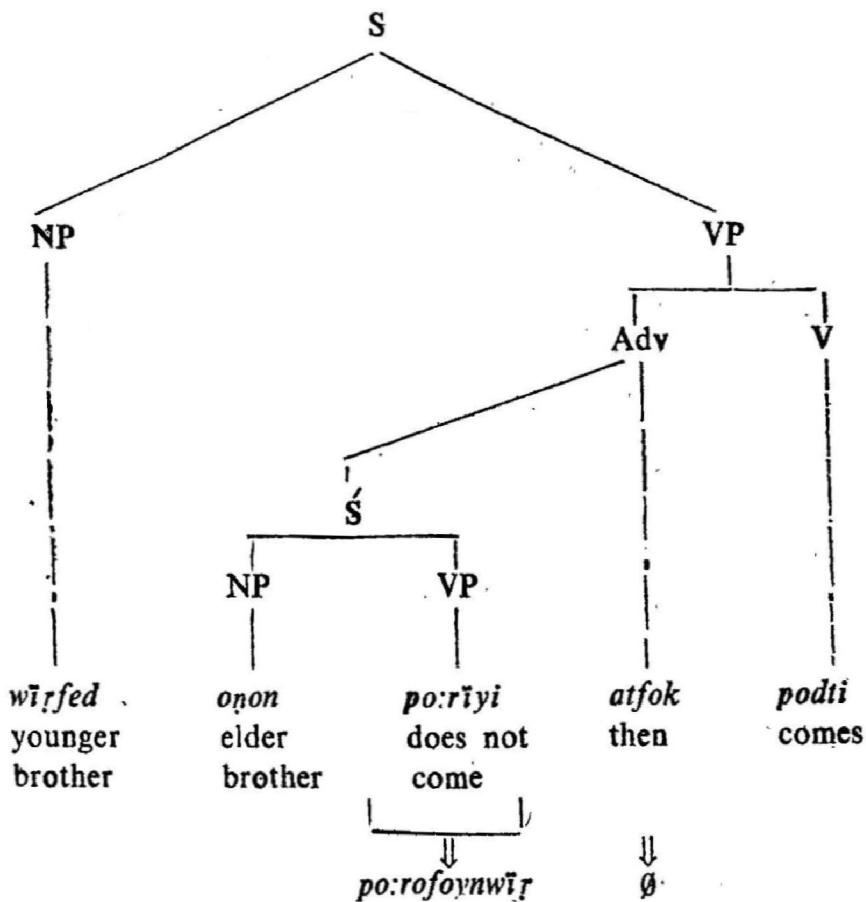
## Permutation transformation

SD: NP + NP + VP-Cond. + VP  
 1      2      3      5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+5 => 2+3-Cond.+1+5

Then we get,

*onon po:rofoynwīr wīrfed podti*



## 9.2.7.2.2:

*mutxe:n öštofoynwīr sinmury po:rīyi*

1            2            3            4

'if Mutikan does not say Sinmury won't come'

1            2            3            4

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

*mutxe:n öštīyi*

1            2

'Mutikan does not say'

1            2

into the matrix sentence

*sinnury atfok po:rīyi*

1            2            3

'Sinmury won't come then'

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *öštīyi* 'does not say' is converted into *öštofoynwīr* 'if does not say' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

*sinmury. [mutxe:n po:rīyi] atfok po:rīyi*

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Conditional transformation

SD : *sinmury mutxe:n öštīyi atfok po:rīyi*

1            2            3            4            5

NP        NP        VP    Adv.    VP

SC: 1+2+3+4+5 => 1+2+3-Cond+4+5

## Adv. deletion transformation

SD: NP + NP + VP-Cond + Adv. + VP  
 1      2      3      4      5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5 => 1+2+3-Cond.+5

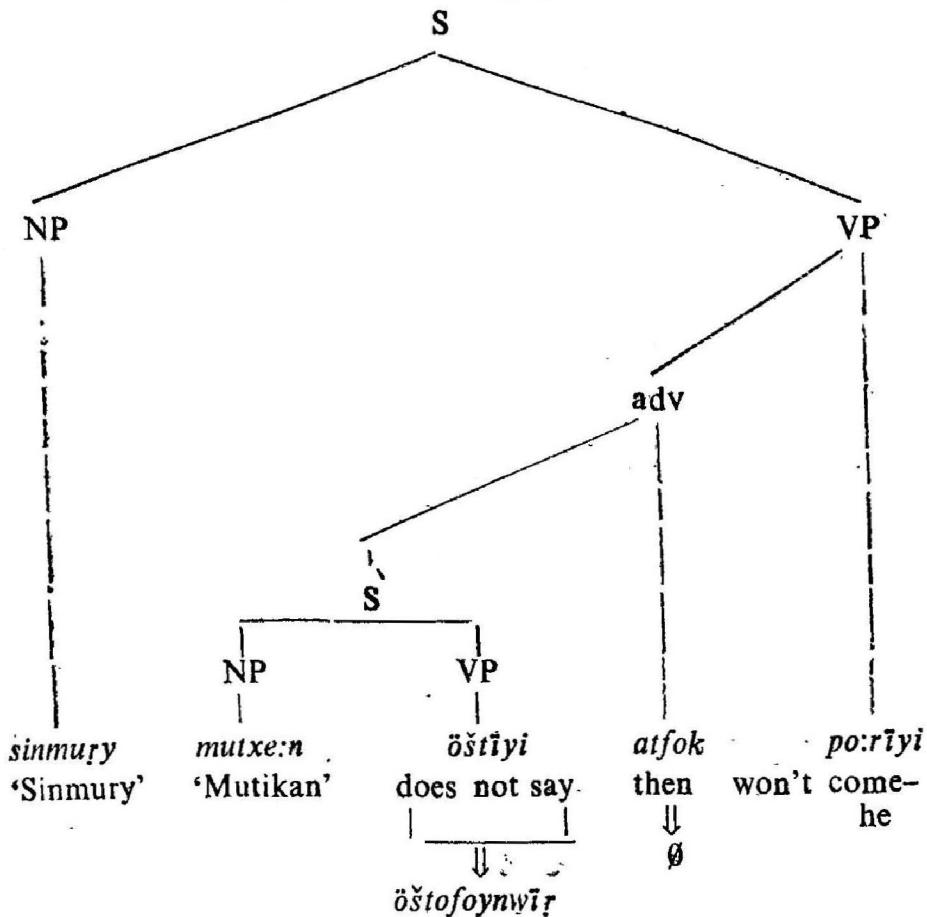
## Permutation transformation

SD: 1+2+3-Cond+5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond+5 => 2+3+1+5  
 which brings 1 between 3 and 5

Then we get,

*mutxe:n öštofoynwīr sinmury po:rīyi*



### 9.2.8. Participial noun [P. N.]

For the structure of participial noun (See 4.14)

Participial noun in Toda as in other Dravidian languages is derived from the relative participle and noun. So, all the relations that exist between the relative participle and the following noun are also found here. In Tamil *vantavan* 'one who came' is a participial noun derived from the relative participle, *vanta* 'came' and the pronoun *avan* 'that-he' whereas in Toda there is no gender distinction in third person like Tamil *aran*, *aval* and *adu*. Participial noun is gotten from relative participle + *o:ʈ*.

The structure is

$S_2 + R.P + o:ʈ$

- |                        |    |                  |                    |
|------------------------|----|------------------|--------------------|
| Ex. <i>kis+p+∅+o:ʈ</i> | => | <i>kispo:ʈ</i>   | 'person who does'  |
| <i>pod+p+∅+o:ʈ</i>     | => | <i>podpo:ʈ</i>   | 'person who comes' |
| <i>kwir+p+∅+o:ʈ</i>    | => | <i>kwirpo:ʈ</i>  | 'person who gives' |
| <i>kis+∅+foy+o:ʈ</i>   | => | <i>kisfoyo:ʈ</i> | 'person who did'   |
| <i>pi:+∅+foy+o:ʈ</i>   | => | <i>pi:foyo:ʈ</i> | 'person who went'  |
| <i>tid+∅+foy+o:ʈ</i>   | => | <i>tidfoyo:ʈ</i> | 'person who ate'   |

### 9.3. Singularly transformations

"In many natural languages we find changes of order among various constituents of sentences, deletion of certain constituents, additions of certain items etc. and they are taken care of by certain transformations which are known as Singularly transformations"<sup>1</sup>. The singularly transformations take

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1 S. Agesthialingom, *A Generative Grammar of Tamil*, p. 109.

place within simple sentences and there are three kinds of transformations, viz., permutation, replacement and deletion. In Toda language we find certain changes in the order of various constituents and they are dealt with here.

### 9.3.1. Permutation

9.3.1.1. Opt.NP+Case+V => Case+NP+V

*o:n an kozpini*

1 2 3

'I saw him'

=> *a:n o:n kozpini*

2 1 3

9.3.1.2. Opt.NP+Tm+V => Tm+NP+V

*töwbnis mune:r pi:či*

1 ' 2 3

'Tebnis went day before yesterday'

=> *mune:r töwbnis pi:či*

2 1 3

9.3.1.3. Opt.NP+Abl.+V => Abl.+NP+V

*o:n modsn pozpini*

1 2 3

'I came from mund'

=> *modsn o:n pozpini*

2 1 3

9.3.1.4 Opt.NP+Soc.+V => Soc.+NP+V

*o:n anpody pi:špini*

1 2 3

'I went with him'

=> *anpody o:n pi:špini*

2 I 3

## 9.3.1.5. Opt.X+Y+Temp.+V =&gt; Y+Temp.+X+V

*o:n aø podfok pi:špini*

1 2 3 4

‘I went when he came’

=> *aø podfok o:n pi:špini*

2 3 1 4

## 9.3.1.6 Rel.part+X+Y+Copula=&gt;Y+Rel.part+X+Copula

*udt ni:r iø iyi*

1 2 3 4

‘This is drinking water’

=> *iø udt ni:r iyi*

3 1 2 4

## 9.3.1.7 Opt.NP+Purp.+Adv.+V

*aø aego:y a:nk pi:či*

1 2 3 4

‘he went for that purpose’

=> NP+Adv.+Purp.+V

*aø a:nk aego:y pi:či*

1 3 2 4

and

Adv.+NP+Purp.+V

*a:nk aø aego:y pi:či*

3 1 2 4

## 9.3.1.8. Opt.NP+Purp.+Dat.+V

*mutna:s aego:y pojo:rtk pi:či*

1 2 3 4

‘Mutnas went to Ootacamund for that purpose’

=> NP + Dat. + Purp. + V

*mutna:s pojo:rtk aego:y pi:či*  
1        3        2        4

=> Purp. + NP + Dat + V

*aego:y mutna:s pojo:rtk pi:či*  
2        1        3        4

=> Dat. + Purp. + NP + V

*pojo:rtk aego:y mutna:s pi:či*  
3        2        1        4

and

Dat. + NP + Purp. + V

*pojo:rtk mutna:s aego:y pi:či*  
3        1        2        4

### 9.3.2. Deletion

#### 9.3.2.1. Num. + Case + Num. + NP + V

*wīd u:rs wīd ro:jn wīdy*  
1        2        3        4        5

'there was a king in a country'

=> Num + Case + Num + NP

*wīd u:rs wīd ro:jn*  
1        2        3        4

#### 9.3.2.2. Dem. Adj. + Case + Num. + NP + V =>

Dem. Adj + Case + Num. + NP

*a ro:jnk wīd tojmax wīdy*  
1        2        3        4        5

=> *a ro:jnk wīd tojmax*  
1        2        3        4

9.3.2.3.  $Pn + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP \\ VP \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP \\ VP \end{array} \right\}$

*o:n pozpini => pozpini*

'I' 'came' 'came'

1      2                  2

*iθ en a:s => en a:s*

'this(is) my house' 'my house'

1      2      3      2      3

*iθ ogodykub mu:tir => ogodykub mu:tir*

'this(is) Kotagiri bus' 'kotagiri bus'

1      2      3      2      3

'this is Kotagiri bus'

*iθ kwa:ymütu:r ir => kwa:ymütu:r ir*

'this(is) Coimbatore buffalo' 'Coimbatore buffalo'

1      2      3      2      3

'this is Coimbatore buffalo'

*iθ kaŋno:t ir => kaŋno:t ir*

'this(is) Mysore buffalo' 'Mysore buffalo'

1      2      3      2      3

'this is Mysore buffalo'

## 9.3.3. Replacement

9.3.3.1. Opt.  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Loc.} \end{bmatrix} = > \begin{bmatrix} \{ a:nk \} \\ \{ i:nk \} \\ \{ al \} \\ \{ il \} \end{bmatrix}$

*sinmury mortk pi:ti*

1      2      3

‘Sinmury goes to the mund’

= > *sinmury a:nk pi:ti*

‘Sinmury goes there’

*sinxe:n pojo:rtk podti*

1      2      3

‘Sinkan comes to Ootacamund’

= > *sinxe:n i:nk podti*

‘Sinkan comes here’

*ko:ltmox potyš wīdy*

1      2      3

‘dairy boy is in the temple or dairy’

= > *ko:ltmox il wīdy*

‘dairy boy is here’

*ay o:ṭ kwa:ṛṣ wīdy*

1    2    3    4

‘that man is in the forest’

= > *ay o:ṭ al wīdy*

‘that man is there’

9.3.3.2. Opt. Tm *-a:* => *etfok*

*sinxe:n nərpoxol-a: pi:či*

=> *sinxe:n etfok pi:šk?*

‘when did Sinkan go?’

*mutna:s ekarʃotk-a: pi:či*

=> *mutna:s etfok pi:šk?*

‘when did Mutnas go?’

*sinkijpu:f üjmonyk-a: pi:či*

=> *sinkijpu:f etfok pi:šk?*

‘when did Sinkijpuf go?’

*mutxe:n mu:dmonyk-a: pi:či*

=> *mutxe:n etfok pi:šk?*

‘when did Mutikan go?’

or

‘at what time did Mutigan go?’

9.3.3.3. Opt.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} T_1 \\ T_2 \end{array} \right\} -a: \Rightarrow etfin$ 

*mune:ṛ-a:* => *etfin*

*mutxe:n etfin pozk?*

‘on which day did Mutikan come?’

*īne:ṛ-a:* => *etfin*

*na:nxe:n etfin pozk?*

‘on which day did Nanikan come?’

*īd-a:* => *etfin*

*sinkijpu:f etfin pozk?*

‘on which day did Sinkijpuf come?’

*makolk-a:* => *etfin*

*mutna:s etfin podu?*

'on which day will Mutikan come?'

9.3.3.4.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a:nk \\ i:nk \\ N-\check{s} \\ N-k \end{array} \right\} -a: \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} e:nk \\ e:l \end{array} \right\}$

*a:nk-a:* => *e:nk*

*aø e:nk pi:u?*

'where does he go?'

*i:nk-a:* => *e:nk*

*sinkijpu:f e:nk podu?*

'where does he come?'

*potyš-a:* => *e:l*

*aø e:l widy?*

'where is it?'

*pojo:rtk-a:* => *e:nk*

*aø e:nk pi:šk?*

'where did he go?'

9.3.3.5. Opt. NP + N<sub>1</sub>-Acc.-Conj. + N<sub>2</sub> = Acc.-Conj. + V  
 => NP + PNpl.-Acc. + V

*o:n simmury-n-m mutna:s-n-m kozpini*

1            2            3            4

'I saw Sinmury and Mutnas'

=> *o:n aøa:n kozpini*

1 Pnpl    4

'I saw them'

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