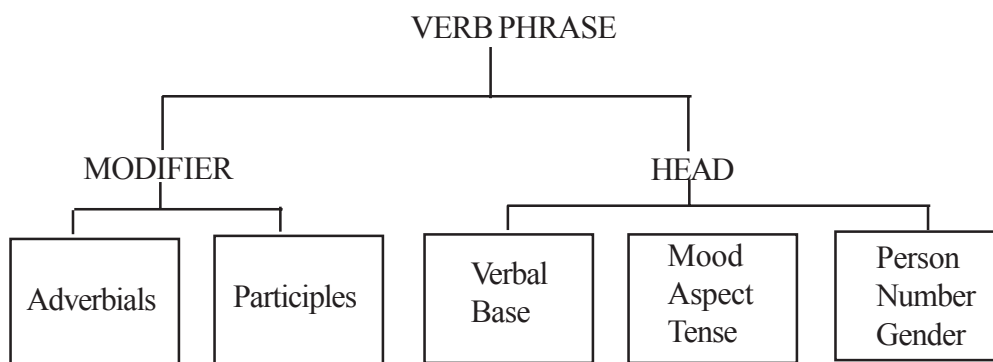


5

Verb Phrases

The verb phrase in Telugu is a head-modifier phrase having a verb as its head, and adverbials and participles being the modifiers. Again, the head verb has its own internal structure having moods, aspects, persons, numbers and genders in a close-knit sequence. Therefore, Telugu verb phrase can be conveniently termed as a close-knit head modifier phrase. These verb phrases in Telugu fill predicate slots at clause level constructions.

The Telugu verb phrase can be visualised in the following way:



From the above representation the following inferences can be drawn.

1. The verb phrase is either a head-modifier phrase (Type 1), or it consists of only a single word (zero modifier).
2. The head is a close-knit phrase consisting of three interrelated systems, namely, the verbal base system; the mood, aspect and tense system and the person, number and gender system manifesting tagmemes within it.
3. The modifier slot is filled by either adverbials or participles or both, which in turn may be either single units or phrases of head-modifier, coordinate and axis-relator types.

VP = + Mod: Adv./Part. + H: vb.

Read, a verb phrase has an optional modifier slot filled by an adverbial or adverbial phrase, and/or a participle or a participle phrase; and an obligatory head slot filled by a transitive or intransitive verb alongwith the person-number-gender suffixes.

In all, the verb phrases in Telugu can be visualized from three angles, viz., taking the over-all construction of the verb phrase into consideration (Over-all Verb Phrase), taking the modificational structure into consideration (Modifier-Phrase) and taking the internal structure of the head into consideration (Head Phrase).

5.1 THE OVER-ALL VERB PHRASE

The over-all verb phrase is a head-modifier phrase. The head slot of this phrase is filled by a finite verb both either a transitive or an intransitive type including model and aspectual systems. The modifier slot is filled by adverbs or adverbial phrases, participles or participle phrases and the combination of both. This phrase may be termed as Head-Modifier Verb Phrase 1 (H-MVP 1). This is because, in Telugu there are head-modifier phrases whose head slots are filled by infinite verbs, and such phrases may be termed as Head-Modifier Verb Phrase 2 (H-MVP 2). The phrases of the second type i.e., H-MVP 2 unlike H-MVP1 fill only the modifier slots at phrase level constructions, and they are discussed under Modifier-Phrases (5.2).

Formula

The general formula for a head-modifier verb phrase is:

H-MVP + + Mod: Adv. and/Part. + H: fin.vb./ infin. vb.

Read, the head-modifier verb phrase consists of an optional modifier slot filled by an adverbial and/or a participle, and an obligatory head slot filled by a finite or an infinite verb.

A typical formula of H-MVP 1 is

H-MVP 1 = + Mod: Adv. and/or Part. + H: fin. vb.

The modifier slot of the M-MVP 1 as already discussed is filled by adverbials, or participles, or the combination of both adverbials and participles.

e.g.,

a:yana	mellaga:/ku:rtsoni	tinna:du
'he'	'slowly' 'having sit'	'ate-he'
'He ate slowly/after sitting'		

5.1.1 ADVERBIALS

Under adverbials the intensifiers, the adverbials of manner, time and location occur as modifiers of head verb. Besides these, the quantifiers and the object noun also occur sometimes as verbal modifiers.

I. Intensifiers

The intensifiers that modify the verbs are *ba:ga:* ‘well’, *mari:* ‘much’ and *bhale:* ‘in a good manner (manner intensifier)’.

e.g.,

a:yana *ba:ga:* *tinna:du*
 ‘he’ ‘well’ ‘ate-he’
 ‘He ate well’

a:me *bhale:* *ma:ta:dutundi*
 ‘she’ ‘nicely’ ‘will talk-she’
 ‘She talks nicely’

Sometimes the intensifiers *tsa:la:* ‘much’ and *bhale:* ‘nicely’ precede *ba:ga:*, thus the combination of both the intensifiers becoming a head-modifier adverbial phrase (See Chapter 6).

e.g.,

a:yana *tsa:la:* *ba:ga:* *tinna:du*
 ‘He ate very well’

II. Manner Adverbs

mellaga:, *cinnaga:* ‘slowly’; *ve:ganga:*, *vadiga:*, *bira:na*, *birabira:*, *tondaraga:* ‘quickly’; *tinnaga:*, *ne:ruga:* ‘straightly’; *mattuga:* ‘in a dull manner’; *tsurukuga:*, *va:diga:*, *tiksnanga:* ‘sharply’ etc., are the manner adverbials.

e.g.,

mellaga: *nadavandi*
 ‘slowly’ ‘walk (pl.)’
 ‘Walk slowly’

ne:nu *tondaraga:* *vella:li*
 ‘I’ ‘quickly’ ‘must-go’
 ‘I must go quickly’

Some of the manner adverbials can be iterated.

e.g.,

mellaga:	+	mellaga:	=	mellamellaga:
a:dava:llu		mellamellaga:		nadusta:ru
'females'		'slowly-slowly'		'will walk-they'
'The women walk slowly'				

The intensifiers precede the manner adverbials in which case they together become head-modifier adverbial phrases (Discussed in Chapter 6).

e.g.,

a:me	tsa:la:	andanga:	ma:tla:dindi
'she'	'very'	'beautifully'	'talked-she'
'She talked very beautifully'			

Two or more adverbs can co-occur together becoming a coordinate adverb phrase (See chapter 6).

e.g.,

a:me	andanga:	na:du:kuga:	nadustundi
'she'	'beautifully'	'pleasingly'	'will walk-she'
'She walks beautifully and pleasingly'			

III. Qualitatives

The colour indicators *erraga:* 'redly', *tellaga:* 'whitely'; the taste indicators *tiyyaga:* 'sweetly', *pullaga:* 'sourly', *tsappaga:* 'tastelessly', *uppaga:* 'saltishly', etc., the condition indicators *ba:ga:* 'well', *kottaga:* 'newly', etc., occur under qualitatives.

e.g.,

ma:	tsa:kaliva:du	guddalu	ba:ga	utukuta:du
‘our’	‘washerman’	‘clothes’	‘well’	‘will wash-he’
‘Our washerman washes the clothes well’				
pa:yasam	tiyyaga:	undi		
‘payasam’	‘sweetly’	‘is-it’		
‘The payasam is sweet’				

Like in II above, these adverbials also can be iterated, preceded by intensifiers, and also coordinated with other quantifier adverbs.

Iteration

tiyyaga: + tiyyaga: = tiyyatiyyaga:

e.g.,

mamidi	pallu	tiyyatiyyaga	unna:yi
'mango'	'fruits'	'sweetly-sweetly'	'are-they'
'The mangoes are sweet'			

Preceded by Intensifiers

pa:yasam tsa:la: tiyyaga: undi
 'The payasam is very sweet'

Coordination

dra:ksa rasam	tiyyaga:	tsallaga:	undi
'grape' 'juice'	'sweetly'	'coldly'	'is-it'
'The grape juice is sweet and cold'			

IV. Temporals

Temporals are time indicating nouns. They may be simple nouns or noun phrases, and fill the modifier slot of the head-modifier verb phrase.

(a) Simple Nouns

ne:nu	udayam	vacca:nu
'I'	'morning'	'came-I'
'I came in the morning'		

(b) Noun Phrases

ne:nu	ninna	udayam	vacca:nu
'I'	'yesterday'	'morning'	'came-I'
'I came yesterday morning'			
ne:nu	po:yina	va:ram	vellsenu
'I'	'went'	'week'	'went-I'
'I went in the last week'			

Coordination of two temporal nouns or noun phrases is possible.

(a) Nouns

ninna	monna	vacca:mu
'yesterday'	'the day before yesterday'	'came-we'
anukontunna:ra:	mi:ru	
'thinking-are-you'	'you (pl.)'	
'Are you thinking that you came yesterday or the day before yesterday?'		

(b) Noun Phrases

<i>ninna</i>	<i>sa:yantram</i>	<i>monna</i>
'yesterday'	'evening'	'the day before yesterday'
<i>sa:yatram</i>	<i>vaccindi</i>	<i>a:me</i>
'evening'	'came-she'	'she'
'She came yesterday evening and the day before yesterday evening'		

The components of the coordinate temporal nouns or noun phrases are made indefinite by suffixing the indefinite marker *-o:* when the exact time of the action indicated by the verb is not known.

<i>ninne:</i>	<i>monne:</i>
'yesterday (indef.)'	'the day before yesterday (indef.)'
<i>vacca:du</i>	<i>a:yana</i>
'came-he'	'he'
'He came yesterday or the day before yesterday'	

V. Locatives

Locatives are place-indicating nouns like *illu*, 'house', *u:ru* 'village', *maisuru* 'Mysore', etc., and pronouns like *ikkada* 'here' and *akkada* 'there'. A locative marker is suffixed to the locative nouns when the head verb follows them, but the locative pronouns do not take any locative marker. When a verb belonging to the movement class of verbs (movement class of verbs are *po:vu* - 'go', *vellu* - 'go' *ce:ru* - 'reach', *vatstsu* - 'come', *nadutsu* - 'walk', *parigettu* - 'run', etc.), occurs, the locative noun or pronoun that precedes the verb is added by *-ki/-ku* suffix depending on the final vowel of the word (i.e., if it is *-i* ending *-ki*, otherwise *-ki*, or *-ku*); however in modern Telugu this suffix is optionally used with place names and some locative nouns also. [See examples under (c) below]

Formula

- (i) + Mod: Loc. n/pron/NP + Loc. Marker + H:fin. vb.

Read, a verb phrase with a locative modifier has an optional modifier slot filled by a locative noun or a pronoun or noun phrase alongwith a locative suffix, and an obligatory head slot filled by a finite verb.

- (ii) + Mod: Loc. n/pron./NP (+ Loc. Marker) + *-ki/-ku* + H: fin. mov. vb.

Read, a verb phrase with a locative modifier has an optional modifier slot filled by a locative noun or a pronoun or a noun phrase with or without a locative marker alongwith the suffix *-ki/-ku*, and an obligatory head slot filled by a finite movement verb.

(a) Locative Noun/Noun Phrase

ne:nu	gadilo:	unna:nu
'I'	'room-in'	'am-I'
'I am in the room'		

(b) Locative Pronoun

pustakam	akkada	undi
'book'	'there'	'is-it'
'The book is there'		

To these nouns and pronouns, the indefinite marker *-o:* can be suffixed to make the meaning indefinite and then these indefinite forms are coordinated.

e.g.,

a:me	intlo:ne	baito:	untundi
'she'	'house-in (indef.)'	'out side (indef.)'	'will be-she'
'She will be either in the house or outside'			

(c) With Verbs of Movement Class

a:me	akkadiki	valtunnadi
'she'	'there-to'	'going-she'
'She is going there'		
ne:nu	re:pu	dhilli: veltunna:nu
'I'	'tomorrow'	'Delhi' 'going-I'
'I am going to Delhi tomorrow'		
ne:nu	udayam	illu ce:ranu
'I'	'morning'	'house' 'reached-I'
'I reached home in the morning'		

VI. Object Noun/Pronoun

Under this group occur all nouns and pronouns on which the action of the verb is directly implied i.e., those nouns and pronouns which are objects. Only a transitive verb occurs in these constructions.

e.g.,

ne:nu	sinima:	tsusa:nu
'I'	'movie'	'saw-I'
'I saw a movie'		

va:du da:nni kottae:du
 'he' 'that-to' 'bet-he'
 'He bet it'

Sometimes like in the case of locatives with a movement verb, *-ki/-ku* is suffixed to the object noun or pronoun.

e.g.,

ne:nu sinima:ku vellaenu
 'I' 'movie-to' 'went-I'
 'I went to a movie'

VII. Approximate Quantifiers

da:da:pu, rama:rami, intsumintsu, and suma:ru all meaning 'approximately' are the approximate quantifiers.

ne:nu i pustakam da:da:pu tsadive:nu
 'I' 'this' 'book' 'almost' 'read-I'
 'I almost read this book'

VIII. Limiters

Like the approximate quantifiers the limiters *kani:sam* and *ke:valam* also modify the verbal heads.

e.g.,

va:llu ke:valam atla:dukuntunna:ru
 'they' 'only' 'playing-they'
 'They are only playing'

IX. Interrogatives

The interrogative forms of the adverbials of categories II to VI (mentioned above) are included under this group.

Adverbial Category	Adverbial Word
II. Manner, and	etlu, etla:, ela:,
III. Qualitatives	e:la:gu, ela:ga:, etc.
IV. Temporal	eppudu
V. Locatives	ekkada
VI. Object Nouns and Pronouns	e:mi, e:di (de:nni), e:vi (ve:tini), evarini

e.g.,

a:me *ela:/etla:* *ma: tla: dindi?*
 ‘she’ ‘how’ ‘talked-she’
 ‘How did she talk?’

ne:nu a:menu *ekkada* *tsu:sa:nu?*
 ‘I’ ‘her-to’ ‘where’ ‘saw-I’
 ‘Where did I see her?’

Similarly examples with the other categories of adverbial words also can be given.

In the above examples, the indefinite marker *-o:/-no:* can be suffixed to the interrogative words to indicate ‘indefiniteness’ or ‘lack of knowledge’ or ‘inability of expression’ of the action of the finite verb that follows the indefinite word in which case the sentences become affirmative.

e.g.,

a:me *ela:no:/etla:no:* *ma: tla: dindi*
 ‘She talked in a strange manner’

ne:nu a:menu *ekkado:* *tsu:sa:nu*
 ‘I saw her somewhere’

Similarly, examples with other indefinite adverbial words can be given.

The approximate quantifiers precede the indefinite words belonging to the categories II to V, and limiters precede all the categories from II to VI.

Approximate Quantifiers

a:me *da:da:pu* *ela:/etla:* *ma: tla: dindi?*
 ‘How did she talk approximately?’

a:yana *rama:rami* *eppudu* *vacca:du?*
 ‘When did he come approximately?’

Similarly, examples with the interrogative adverbial words of categories III and V can be given.

Limiters

mi:ru a:menu *kani:sam* *ekkada* *tsu:sa:ru?*
 ‘At least where did you see her?’

ninna mi:ru *kani:sam* *e:mi/e:di/de:nni/evarini* *tsu:sa:ru?*
 ‘At least what/whom did you see yesterday?’

Similarly, examples with other interrogative adverbial words can be given.

5.1.2. PARTICIPLES

The past, the non-past and the negative adverbial participles, and the conditional and concessive forms occur as verb modifiers in Telugu. These participles occur as verb modifiers in the following situations and combinations:

- (i) The past, the non-past and the negative participles as single words occur as modifiers to the finite head verbs and other defective forms like obligatory, prohibitive, permissive, etc.
- (ii) The past and the non-past forms can be iterated.
- (iii) The past and the negative participles of the same verb can be coordinated (See section 5.3.2 for details).
- (iv) The same participle forms of two different verbs can be coordinated (See section 5.2.2 for details).
- (v) Any two of the past, the non-past and the negative participles of two different verbs can occur in a head and modifier relationship (H-MVP 2) which together modify the finite head verb, provided their combination is semantically possible (See section 5.2.1.2 for details).
- (vi) The past, the non-past and the negative participles of any verb can occur in a head and modifier relationship (H-MVP 2) with the conditional and concessive forms of some other verb as heads, which together modify the finite head verb, provided their combination is semantically possible (See section 5.2.1.2 for details).

Derivation of Participles

Past:	verb Root	+	-i		
	Vell-	+	-i	=	velli 'having gone'
	tin-	+	-i	=	tini 'having eaten'
Non-Past:	verb Root	+	-tu:/-tu:		
	vell-	+	-tu:	=	veltu: 'while going'
	tin-	+	-tu:	=	tintu: 'while eating'
Negative:	Infinitive	+	-aka/-akunda:		
	vella-	+	-aka/-akunda	=	vellaka/vellakunda: 'without having gone'
	tina-	+	-aka/-akunda:	=	tinaka/tinakunda: 'without having eaten'

Conditional:	Past Participle	=	-ite/-te		
	velli-	+	-ite/-te:	=	vellite:/velte: 'if go'
	tini-	+	-ite/-te	=	tinte: 'if eat'
Concessive:	Past Participle	+	-ina:		
	velli	+	-ina:	=	vellina: 'even if go'
	tini	+	-ina:	=	tinina:/tinna: 'even if eat'

Manifestations

(i) As Single Words

Under this group the past, the non-past and the negative participles occur as modifiers to the head verbs.

Formula

+ Mod: Part. + H:fin. vb.

(a) Past

ne:nu maisu:riki velli vacca:nu
 'I' 'Mysore-to' 'having gone' 'came-I'
 'I went to Mysore and came back'

ne:nu maisu:riki velli ra:va:li
 'I must go to Mysore and Come'

(b) Non-Past

ne:nu maisu:riki veltu: vacca:nu
 'I' 'Mysore-to' 'going' 'came-I'
 'I came while going to Mysore'

ne:nu maisu:riki veltu: ra:vatstsu
 'I may come while going to Mysore'

(c) Negative

ne:nu maisu:riki vellakunda: vacca:nu
 'I' 'Mysore-to' 'without going' 'came-I'
 'I came without going to Mysore'

ne:nu maisuriki vella kunda ra:ku:da du
 'I must not come without going to Mysore'

ne:nu	a:menu	maisuri:riki	vellakunda:	ce:sa:nu
'I'	'her-to'	'Mysore-to'	'without going'	'did-I'
'I made her not to go to Mysore'				

When sentence (2) is compared with sentence (3), though the negative participle *vellakunda:* appears to be the same in both, it expresses two different meanings. The reason is that in sentence (1) it is indicated that both the actions *vella-* 'go' and *vaccu-* 'come' one performed by the same subject (*ne:nu*) whereas in sentence (3), it shows that the two actions are performed by two different subjects, i.e., *vellu-* 'go' by *a:me* ('she') and *ce:s-* 'do' by *ne:nu* ('I'). In other words, the sentence *a:me vellale:du* 'she did not go' is embedded in the sentence *ne:nu ce:sa:nu* 'I did'.

(ii) Iteration

Only the past and the non-past participles occur in this group.

Formula

+ Mod: Iterated Part. + H: fin. vb.

(a) Past

mi:ku	ceppi	ceppi	alasipo:ya:nu
'you (pl.)-to'	'having told'	'having told'	'tired-I'
'I am tired of telling to you'			

(b) Non-Past

ne:nu	vastu	vastua:	tsu:sa:nu	a:menu
'I'	'coming'	'coming'	'saw-I'	'her-to'
'I saw her while I was coming'				

Sometimes verbal forms of the type Non-Past Part. + -ne: and Infinitive + -ga: + -ne: are used as verbal modifiers.

e.g.,

tintu:	+ -ne:	=	tintu:ne:	'as soon as finished eating'
tina-	+ -ga:	=	tinaga:ne:	'as soon as finished eating'
ne:nu	annam	tintune:	vellae:nu	
'I'	'food'	'as soon as finished eating'	'went-I'	
'I went as soon as I finished eating'				
ne:nu	annam	tinaga:ne:	vellae:nu	
'I'	'food'	'as soon as finished eating'	'went-I'	
'I went as soon as I finished eating'				

5.1.3 BOTH ADVERBIALS AND PARTICIPLES

Word groups in which either the adverbials precede the participles or the participles precede the adverbials occur as modifiers of finite verbal heads. When an adverbial precedes the participle, the adverbial becomes modifier to the head which is already a head-modifier phrase (H-MVP 2) provided that the cooccurrence of the two verbs (infinite and finite verbs) is more natural. That is, for example, in the sentence *mellaga: vacci vellae:du* ‘(He) slowly came and went’, the possible ICs are *mellaga:* and *vacci velledu* since *vatstsu-* and *vellu-* occur more naturally and commonly as a verbal pair. If the verbal pair is not more natural and common in the language, the modifier and the participle together become a H-MVP 2 and modify the following finite verb, thus, totally becoming a H-MVP1 [e.g., *mellaga: ku:rtsoni (nemmadiḡa:) ma:tla:dadu* ‘Having sat slowly (he) talked (gently)’. On the other hand, when the participle precedes the adverbial, then the participle modifies the head-modifier phrase (H-MVP 1) to which the adverbial is a modifier (*vacci mellaga: vellae:du* ‘(He) came and went slowly’). If again an adverbial precedes this phrase [*mellaga: vacci mellaga: vallae:du* ‘(He) came slowly and went slowly’], then the adverbial and the participle together becoming a H-MVP2 modifies the head-modifier phrase (H-MVP1) consisting of the other adverbial (modifier) and the finite verb (head).

In the above manner, the three participles, the past, the non-past and the negative, and the adverbials discussed in Section 5.1.1 occur in the construction of verb phrases.

Manifestations

(i) Adverbial + Participle

<i>tondaraga:</i>	<i>nadici</i>	<i>vacca:du</i>
‘quickly’	‘having walked’	‘came-he’
‘He came by walking quickly’		
<i>da:da:pu</i>	<i>parigetti</i>	<i>vacca:nu</i>
‘almost’	‘having-run’	‘came-I’
‘I came almost running’		

Sometimes there can be two or more adverbials.

<i>tondaraga:</i>	<i>akkadiki</i>	<i>velli</i>	<i>vacca:nu</i>
‘quickly’	‘there-to’	‘having gone’	‘came-I’
‘I quickly went there and came’			

In the above sentence, the ICs can be either *mellaga: vacci* and *ku:rtsoni ma:tla:dae:du* or *mellaga: vacci ku:rtsoni* and *ma:tla:dae:du*.

Sometimes either the adverbial or the participle can be iterated.

mellaga: + mellaga: = mellamellaga:

mellamellaga: vacci ku:rtsonna:du
 'slowly' 'having-come' 'sat-he'
 'He came slowly and sat'

tondaraga: parigetti parigetti alasipo:ya:nu
 'quickly' 'having-run' 'having-run' 'tired-I'
 'Having run and run I am tired'

(ii) Participle + Adverbial

a:me ku:rtsoni nida:nanga: tindi
 'she' 'having-sat' 'slowly' 'ate-she'
 'She sat and ate slowly'

Sometimes there can be two or more adverbials

a:me ku:rtsoni nida:nanga: sustuga: tindi
 'she' 'having-sat' 'slowly' 'satisfactorily' 'ate-she'
 'She sat and ate slowly and satisfactorily'

In the above sentence, the two adverbials become a coordinated structure.

a:yana bho:nce:ci nida:nanga intiki vellae:du
 'he' 'having taken meal' 'slowly' 'house-to' 'went-he'
 'He ate and slowly went home'

In the above sentence, the two adverbials unlike in the previous sentence directly and independently modify the head verb (*vellae du*).

Sometimes there can be two or more participles.

a:me vacci ku:rtsoni mellaga: ceppindi
 'she' 'having come' 'having sat' 'slowly' 'told-she'
 'She came and sat and told slowly'

Sometimes either the adverbial or the participle can be iterated.

ne:nu edurutsu:si edurutsu:si intiki vellae:nu
 'I' 'having waited' 'having waited' 'house-to' 'went-I'
 'Having waited and waited I went home'

tondaraga: + tondaraga: = tondaratondaraga:

nenu: tirigi vacci tondaratondaraga: intiki vellae:nu
 'I' 'having-returned' 'quickly' 'house-to' 'went-I'
 'Having returned I went home quickly'

(iii) Adverbial + Participle + Adverbial

a: yana tondaraga: ta: gi nida: nanga: tinna: du
 'he' 'quickly' 'having drunk' 'slowly' 'ate-he'
 'He drank quickly and ate slowly'

Sometimes either the adverbials or the participles can be iterated.

a: yana tondara tondaraga: vacci tondara tondaraga velale: du
 'he' 'quickly' 'having come' 'quickly' 'went-he'
 'He came quickly and went quickly'

a: yana oppiga: edurutsu: si edurutsu: si mellaga:
 'he' 'patiently' 'having waited- having waited' 'slowly'
 intiki vellae: du
 'house-to' 'went-he'
 'He patiently waited for a long time and went home slowly'

Two or more adverbials or participles occur in different combinations.

a: me mellaga: ta: piga: vacci
 'she' 'slowly' 'steadily' 'having come'
 ku: rtsoni dhairyanga: tonakakunda: java: bu ceppindi
 'having-eat' 'courageously' 'unshaked' 'reply' 'told-she'
 'She came slowly and steadily, sat and replied courageously without shaking'

5.2 THE MODIFIER PHRASE

Under this category all the head-modifier verb phrases whose head is a verbal participle (adverbial participle), and also the coordinate constructions whose constituents are either adverbials or verbal participles are included. These constructions act as modifiers of the H-MVP1.

In H-MVP2 all the five categories of participles, viz., the past, the present, the negative, the conditional and the concessive participles occur as verbal heads irrespective of the type of the verb, i.e., transitive or intransitive; and the modifier slot is filled by adverbials and other verbal participles, or the combination of both. Out of these phrases those which have the past or the present or the negative participle as verbal head fill the modifier slot of H-MVP1 and the predicate slot at clause level constructions. The H-MVP2s which have the conditional and the concessive forms as head-slot fillers, fill clause level predicate slots. The coordinate constructions of adverbials or verbal participles always fill phrase level modifier slots (of H-MVP1).

5.2.1. WITH ADVERBIALS

All the nine categories of adverbials that are discussed in Section 5.1.1 occur as

modifiers with all the five categories of verbal participles as heads.

Under each adverbial category only two examples (i.e., only with two types of adverbial participles as head-slot fillers) are given, but it must be noted that examples with other types of adverbial participles as head-slot fillers also can be given.

I. Intensifiers

a:yana *ba:ga: tini* vellae:du
 'he' 'well' 'having eaten' 'went-he'
 'He ate well and went'

a:me *bale: varnistu:* ceptundi
 'she' 'nicely' 'describing' 'will tell-she'
 'She tells describing nicely'

Sometimes the intensifiers *tša:la:* and *bale:* precede *ba:ga:*, thus both becoming a head-modifier adverb phrase. This occurs in all the above cases except in the case of the negative participle as head.

e.g.,

a:yana *tša:la ba:ga: tini* vellae:du
 'He ate very nicely and went'

a:me *tša:la: ba:ga: varnistu:* ceptundi
 'She tells describing very nicely'

II. Manner Adverbs

mellaga: *nadici* vacca:nu
 'slowly' 'having walked' 'came-I'
 'I came by walking slowly'

tondaraga: *ce:sina:* ayipo:le:du
 'quickly' 'even if-done' 'was not over-it'
 'It was not completed even after doing faster?'

The manner adverbials in the above sentences can be iterated.

e.g.,

tondaraga: + tondaraga: = tondaratondaraga:

tondaratondaraga: ce:sina: ayipo:le:du
 'It was not completed even after doing faster and faster'

The intensifiers *tša:la:* and *bale:* precede the manner adverbials in which case they together become head modifier adverbial phrases.

tsa:la mellaga: nadici vacca:nu
 'I came walking very slowly'

Two or more adverbs can cooccur together becoming a coordinate adverb phrase.

a:me mellaga: nirbhayanga nodici vaccindi
 'she' 'slowly' 'fearlessly' 'having-walked' 'came-she'
 'She came walking slowly and fearlessly'

III. Qualitatives

ku:ra paltsaga: ceyyakunda: vandu
 'vegetable curry' 'thinly' 'without doing' 'cook (sg.)'
 'Cook the curry in such a way that it will not become diluted'

tsokka: tellaga: utikite ardha ru:pa:yi ista:nu
 'shirt' 'whitely' 'if wash' 'half' 'rupee' 'will give-I'
 'I shall give you half a rupee if you wash the shirt cleanly'

Like in II, these adverbials also can be iterated, preceded by intensifiers and coordinated with other adverbs.

ku:ralu ve:dive:diga: tecci vaddintsandi
 'curries' 'hotly' 'having brought' 'serve (pl.)'
 'Bring hot curries and serve'

pa:yasam tsa:la tiyyaga: ce:si teccindi
 'payasam' 'much' 'sweetly' 'having done' 'brought-she'

a:me
 'she'
 'She prepared very sweet payasam and brought'

pa:yasam tiyyaga: cikkaga: ce:si
 'payasam' 'sweetly' 'thickly' 'having done'

teccindi a:me
 'brought-she' 'she'
 'She prepared very sweet and thick payasam and brought'

IV. Temporals

The temporals may be single nouns or noun phrases.

e.g.,

miru re:pu ra:kunda: ela:
 'You (pl.)' 'tomorrow' 'without coming' 'how'
 'velta:ru'
 'will go-you (pl.)'
 'How will you go without coming tomorrow?'

a:me sa:yantram vaccina: ne:nu ma:ta:danu
 'she' 'evening' 'even-if-come' 'I' 'will not talk-I'
 'I shall not talk to her even if she comes in the evening'

Coordination of two or more temporals is possible.

udayam sa:yantramu vacci vellandi
 'morning' 'evening' 'having come' 'go (pl.)'
 'Come in the morning and in the evening and go'

The constituents of the coordinate temporal phrases can be made indefinite.

udayamo: sa:yantramo: vacci
 'morning (indef.)' 'evening (indef.)' 'having come'
 vellandi
 'go (pl.)'
 'Come either in the morning or in the evening and go'

V. Locatives

a:yana kurci:lo ku:rtso:kunda: nilabadda:du
 'he' 'chair-in' 'without sitting' 'stood-he'
 'He is standing without sitting in the chair'

nuvvu ikkadiki vaste: ne:nu cepta:nu
 'you (sg.)' 'her-to' 'if come' 'I' 'will tell-I'
 'I shall tell you if you come here'

The locatives can be coordinated after the indefinite marker -o/-ne: is suffixed to them.

ne:nu sinima:tsu:si vaccaenu
 'I' 'movie' 'having seen' 'came-I'
 'I saw the movie and came'

va:du da:nni kottukontua: vacca:du
 'he' 'it-to' 'beating' 'came-he'
 'He came beating it'

VII. Approximate Quantifiers

ne:nu	da:da:pu	pu:rtice:si	ku:rtsonna:nu	
'I'	'almost'	'having completed'	'sat-I'	
'I almost completed and sat'				
nuvvu	da:da:pu	tinna:	la:bham	le:du
'you (sg.)'	'almost'	'even-eaten'	'benefit'	'no-it'
'There is no use even if you almost eat'				

VIII. Limiters

a:yna	kani:sam	bho:nce:yakunda:	velladu	
'he'	'at least'	'without eating'	'will not go-he'	
'He will not go at least without eating'				
nuvvu	kani:sam	parigettite: bassu	dorukutundi	
'you (sg.)'	'at least'	'if-run'	'bus'	'will be available-it'
'If you at least run the bus will be available'				

IX. Interrogatives

a:me	ela:/etla:	ma:tlā:di	ku:rtsondi?
'she'	'how'	'having talked'	'sat-she'
'How did she talk and sat'			
a:me	eppudu	e:dustu:	vellindi
'she'	'when'	'weeping'	'went-she'
'When did she go weeping?'			

These interrogative words can be made indefinite when the past, the non-past and the negative participles occur.

e.g.,

a:me	ela:na:	ma:tlā:di	ku:rtsondi
'she'	'in an inexpressible manner'	'having talked'	'sat-she'
'She somehow talked and sat'			

The approximate quantifiers and limiters can precede the interrogative words.

e.g.,

a:me	da:da:pu	etla:/ela:	matla:di	ku:rtsondi?
'she'	'approximately'	'how'	'having talked'	'sat-she'
'Approximately how did she talk and sat'				
a:me	kani:sam	etla:/ela:	ma:tlā:di	ku:rtsondi?
'At least how did she talk and sat'				

5.2.1.2. WITH PARTICIPLES

All the five categories of verbal participles, viz., past, non-past, negative, conditional and concessive forms fill the head slot of the H-MVP2, and only the past, the non-past and the negative participles fill the modifier slot. These phrases (H-MVP2) when the past, the non-past and the negative participles are in the head slot fill both the predicate slot at clause level constructions and the modifier slot at phrase level constructions (in H-MVP1).

These verbal participles fill the modifier slot of H-MVP 2 either as single units, or in iteration, or in coordination.

I. As Single Units

The past, the non-past and the negative verbal participles occur as modifiers with all the five verbal participles, viz., the past, non-past, negative, conditional and concessive forms as heads.

Here also under each category only two examples (i.e., only with two adverbial participles as head-slot fillers) are given, but it must be noted that examples with the other three adverbial participles as head-slot fillers also can be given.

(a) Past

ne:nu ku:rtsoni tini le:ca:nu
 'I 'having sat' 'having eaten' 'got up-I'
 'I ate sitting and got up'

a:yana le:ci veltu: ceppa:du
 'he' 'having got up' 'going' 'told-he'
 'He told having got up and going'

(b) Non-Past

e:dustu: ceppakunda: anni: vivarintsu
 'weeping' 'without telling' 'all' 'detail (sg.)'
 'You tell everything in detail without weeping'

navvutu: ma:tla:dite: a:meku ko:pam vastundi
 'laughing' 'if-talk' 'her-to' 'anger' 'will come-it'
 'She will get angry if you talk with a smile'

(c) Negative

ne:nu vangakunda: ti:sukoni ku:rtsonna:nu
 'I 'without bending' 'having taken' 'sat-I'
 'I took without bending and sat'

nuvvu	ceppakunda:	vaccina	parava:le:du
'you (sg.)'	'without telling'	'even if-come'	'alright'
'It is alright even if you come without telling'			

Sometimes there are constructions in which the head verb itself becomes the modifier in the form of concessive participle, in which case certain doubt is expressed that the subject of the action 'may do' or 'might have done' the action. This occurs in both H-MVP1 and MVP2.

e.g.,

va:du	vaccina:	vasta:du	
'he'	'even-if-come'	'will come-he'	
'He may even come'			
va:du	vaccina:	vacci	unta:du
'he'	'even-if-come'	'having come'	'will be-he'
'He might have even come'			

II. In Iteration

Only the past, the non-past and the negative participles are iterated, and they act as modifiers to all the five types of verbal participles.

e.g.,

(a) Past

a:me	edurutnu:si	edurutsu:oi	le:ci	vellindi	
'she'	'having waited'	'having waited'	'having got up'	'went-she'	
'She waited for a long time and got up and went'					
ma:	pa:pa	nadici	nadici	alisipo:tu	undi
'our'	'baby'	'having walked'	'having walked'	'getting tired'	'is-she'
'My daughter is tired of excess of walking'					

Similarly, the negative, the conditional and the concessive participles occur as heads with the past participles.

(b) Non-Past

a:me	tirigi	tsu:stu:	tirigi:tsu:stu:	nadici	vellindi
'she'	'looking back'	'looking back'	'having walked'	'went-she'	
'She went by walk looking backwards again and again'					

a: yana	ma: tla: dutu:	matla: dutu	padipo: te	a: supatrilo:
‘he’	‘talking’	‘talking’	‘in-fall’	‘hospital-in’
ce: rca: mu				
‘admitted-we’				
‘We admitted him in the hospital when he fell down while talking’				

Similarly, the non-past, the negative and the concessive participles also occur as heads when the non-past participle is the modifier.

(c) Negative

a: me	edurutsu: dakunda:	tirigi		vellindi
‘she’	‘without waiting’	‘having returned’		‘went-she’
‘She went back without waiting’				
a: me	vellakunda:	ku: rtsonna:	la: bham	le: du
‘she’	‘without going’	‘even-if-sit’	‘benefit’	‘no-it’
‘There is no use even if she sits without going’				

Similarly, the non-past, negative and conditional participles occur as heads when the negative participle is the modifier.

III. In Coordination

When the verbal participles occur in coordination and fill the modifier slot of the H-MVP2, either the past and the negative participles of the same verb are coordinated, or the same participle forms of two different verbs are coordinated. In either case the head slot is filled by all the five types of verbal participles.

(i) Coordination of Past and Negative Participles of the Same Verb

The past and the negative participles of the same verb are coordinated and these coordinate phrases act as modifiers to the head verb which can be any one of the five types of verbal participles.

e.g.,

a: me	vini	vinakunda:	ma: tla: dutu:
‘she’	‘having listened’	‘having not listened’	‘talking’
undi			
‘is-she’			
‘She is talking without listening properly’			

<i>nuvvu</i>	<i>sariga:</i>	<i>tini</i>	<i>tinakunda</i>
'you (sg.)'	'properly'	'having eaten'	'having not eaten'
<i>velto: ventane:</i>		<i>a:kalautundi</i>	
'if-go' 'immediately'		'hunger-will-be come-it'	
'You will immediately feel hungry if you go without eating properly'			

Similarly the past, the negative (less frequent) and the concessive participles occur as heads when the coordinatives of the past and the non-past participles are modifiers.

The order of the coordinated participles in the above examples cannot be changed, i.e., Negative Participle + Past Participle is not possible.

(ii) Coordination of the Participles of Different Verbs

The same verbal participle either past, or non-past or negative participle of two or more different verbs are coordinated under this category. And these coordinated participle phrases fill modifier slots of H-MVP2. However, the conditional and concessive forms do not occur as modifiers. When these coordinated participle phrases fill the H-MVP2 any one of the five types of verbal participles may be in the position of the head verb.

Under each one of the following categories only two examples (i.e., only two verbal participles as head slot fillers) are given, but it must be noted that examples with other participles as head slot fillers also can be given.

(a) The Past Participles

<i>vacci</i>	<i>ku:rtsoni</i>	<i>tini</i>	<i>po:ya:du</i>	<i>va:du</i>
'having come'	'having sat'	'having eaten'	'went-he'	'he'
'Having come and sat, he ate and went away'				
<i>vacci</i>	<i>ku:rtsoni</i>	<i>tintu:</i>	<i>ma:tla:dukontunna:ru</i>	<i>va:llu</i>
'having come'	'having sat'	'eating'	'talking-they'	'they'
'They came, sat, and are talking'				

(b) Non-Past Participles

<i>egurutu:</i>	<i>du:kutu:</i>	<i>parigettakunda:</i>	<i>vastunna:ru</i>
'jumping-up'	'jumping down'	'without running'	'coming-they'
<i>va:llu</i>			
'they'			
'They are coming without running, with jumping and falling'			

<i>a:dutu:</i>	<i>pa:dutu:</i>	<i>nadiste:</i>	<i>a:ya:sam</i>
'playing'	'singing'	'if walk'	'tiredness'
teliyadu			
'not known-it'			
'Tiredness will not be known if you walk playing and singing'			

(c) Negative Participles

<i>ta:gakunda:</i>	<i>tinakunda:</i>	<i>tirigi</i>	<i>po:ya:du</i>
'without drinking'	'without eating'	'having returned'	'went-he'
a:yana			
'he'			
'He went back without drinking and eating'			
<i>kastapadakunda:</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>ce:yakunda:</i>	<i>ku:rtsonna:</i>
'without working hard'	'work'	'without doing'	'even if sit'
a:yanaku	annam	dorukutundi	
'him-to'	'food'	'will be available-it'	
'He will get his food even if he sits without taking any troubles or working hard'			

When this coordinated phrase of negative participles precede a negative participle instead of having a modifier and head relationship they together become a coordinate phrase of three participles.

e.g.,

<i>pillalu</i>	<i>a:dakunda:</i>	<i>pa:dakunda:</i>
'children'	'without playing'	'without singing'
<i>navvakunda:</i>	<i>ela:</i>	<i>unta:ru?</i>
'without laughing'	'how'	'will be-they'
'How can the children keep quite without playing, singing and laughing'		

5.2.1.3. WITH BOTH ADVERBIALS AND PARTICIPLES

The combination of adverbials and participles occur under the same conditions and in the same environment as in 5.1.3. However, the head slot is filled by a participle unlike in 5.1.3 where it is filled by a finite verb. The modifier of this type, composed of both adverbials and participles occur in the following combinations, viz., adverbial + participle, participle + adverbial and adverbial + participle + adverbial.

Here also under each category only two examples with adverbial participle as head slot fillers are given, but examples with the other three participles as head slot fillers also occur.

(i) Adverbial + Participle

va:du gattiga:arustu: parigetti po:ya:du
 'he' 'loudly' 'shouting' 'having run' 'went-he'
 'He ran shouting loudly'

a:me mellaga: le:ci ma:tla:dakunda vellindi
 'she' 'slowly' 'having got up' 'without talking' 'went-she'
 'She went having got up slowly and without talking to any body'

Sometimes there can be two or more adverbials.

tondaraga: intiki velli ceppi
 'quickly' 'house-to' 'having gone' 'having told'
 ra:
 'come (sg.)'
 'Go home quickly, and tell and come'

Sometimes there can be two or more participles.

tsa:la: mellaga: ce:ppi le:ci
 'very' 'slowly' 'having told' 'having got up'
 tirigitsu:dakunda: vellindi a:me
 'without looking back' 'went-she' 'she'
 'She told very slowly, got up and went without looking back'

Sometimes either the adverbial or the participle can be iterated.

mellaga: + mellaga: = mellamellaga:
 mellamellaga: vacci ku:rtsoni ceppindi
 'slowly-slowly' 'having come' 'having sat' 'told-she'
 'She came very slowly, sat and told'

ba:ga: nadici nadici alisipo:yi padipo:ya:du
 'well' 'having walked' 'having walked' 'having tired' 'fell down-he'
 'Having walked too much he was tired and fell down'

(ii) Participle + Adverbial

a:yana bho:nce:si intiki veltu vacca:du
 'he' 'having taken meal' 'house-to' 'going' 'came-she'
 'He came while going home after taking his meal'

a:yana gho:nce:si intiki velte: mancidi
 'he' 'having taken meal' 'home-to' 'if-go' 'good-it'
 'It is good if he goes home after eating'

Sometimes there can be two or more adverbials.

ve:llu ku:rtsoni nida:nanga: sustuga:
 'they' 'having sat' 'slowly' 'satisfactorily'
 bho:nce:si intiki vellae:ru
 'having taken meal' 'house-to' 'went-they'
 'They sat and ate slowly and satisfactorily, and went home'

Sometimes there can be two or more participles.

a:me vacci ku:rtsoni mellaga: ceppi
 'she' 'having come' 'having sat' 'slowly' 'having told'
 vellindi
 'went-she'
 'She came, sat, slowly narrated and went'

Sometimes either the adverbial or the participle can be iterated.

ne:nu ni: ko:sam edurutsu:si edurutsu:si
 'I' 'your (sg.)' 'for' 'having waited' 'having waited'
 mellaga: velli ku:rtsonna:nu
 'slowly' 'having gone' 'sat-I'
 'I waited for a long time for you, and then went slowly and sat'

tondaraga: + tondaraga: = tondaratondaraga:
 ne:nu tirigi vacci tondaratondaraga: intiki
 'I' 'having returned' 'quickly-quickly' 'house-to'
 velli nidrapo:ya:nu
 'having gone' 'slept-I'
 'I returned, quickly went home and slept'

(iii) Adverbial + Participle + Adverbial

ne:nu tondaraga: vacci intiki velli
 'I' 'quickly' 'having come' 'house-to' 'having gone'
 nidra:po:ya:nu
 'slept-I'
 'I quickly came, went home and slept'

ne:nu tondaraga: vacci intiki vellina:
 'I' 'quickly' 'having come' 'house-to' 'even-if-go'
 ma: a:vida metstsadu
 'my' 'wife' 'appreciate-will not-she'
 'My will will not appreciate even if I come early and go home'

Sometimes either the adverbials or the participles can be iterated.

a: yana tondaratondaraga: vacci tondaratondaraga:
 'he' 'quickly-quickly' 'having come' 'quickly-quickly'
 velli nidrapo: ya: du
 'having gone' 'slept-he'
 'He come very quickly, went very quickly and slept'

a: yana o: pigga: edurutsu: si edurutsu: si mellaga:
 'he' 'patiently' 'having waited' 'having waited' 'slowly'
 intiki velli nidrapo: ya: du
 'house-to' 'having gone' 'slept-he'
 'He waited patiently for a long time, then went home slowly and slept'

Two or more adverbials or participles occur in different combinations.

a: me mellaga: ta: pi: ga: vacci ku: rtsoni
 'she' 'slowly' 'steadily' 'having come' 'having-sat'
 dhairyanga: tonakakunda: java: bu ceppi baitiki
 'boldly' 'unshaked' 'reply' 'having-told' 'out-to'
 vellindi
 'went-she'
 'She came slowly and steadily, sat, replied boldly, and went out'

5.2.2. COORDINATE VERB PHRASE

The coordinate verb phrase in Telugu is a participle phrase having at least two participles, none of which is subordinate to the other as its constituents, and both the constituents have a coordinate relationship with each other. This type of coordinate phrases are partly discussed under 5.1.2 & 5.2.1.2 as modifier slot fillers of H-MVP1 and H-MVP2 respectively. The following discussion will deal with all the types of coordinate verb phrases found in Telugu.

As it is already said the coordinate verb phrase is a participle phrase, in the sense that it has only adverbial participle forms or infinite verbs as its constituents. There are two types of coordinate verb phrases occurring in Telugu. The first type is a multiple head phrase, and each head slot is filled by a participle of the same type but of different verbs, i.e., if the past participle fills one head slot, the other slots also are filled by the same kind of participles but of different verbs. The second type is also a multiple head phrase, but consisting of an even number of slots, and each pair of slots is filled by either a past participle and its negative, or a concessive participle and its negative. The coordinate verb phrases fill predicate slots at clause level constructions and modifier slots at phrase level constructions.

When the participle of the same verb occurs in both the slots it becomes iteration of

the same verb, and the phrase is no longer a coordinate one since both the slots are filled by the same form. Coordination of any one of the past, non-past and negative participles is not possible with conditional or concessive participles since the former are tense indicative participles and the latter are not. Coordination of conditional participles with concessive forms is not possible since they represent different functions. Coordination of the conditional participles of two or more different verbs is also not possible since a finite verb must occur after each conditional verb (or clause). Coordination of past or negative participle with non-past participle when the verb is the same is not possible since the former two indicate completed action or no action respectively and the latter indicates an incomplete action at one time-point the action being in progress. When the participles of different kinds and if different verbs are put in juxtaposition, they will be in a modifier and head relationship, the first one being the modifier and the second one being the head (See H-MVP2, 5.2.1), but when the same participles of the same kind but of different actions are put in juxtaposition either it can be treated as the modifier and the head relationship (H-MVP2) if the combination of the verbs is semantically more natural (*ku:rtsoni tine* ‘having sat and eaten’), or it can be treated as the coordinate relationship if the combination of the verbs is not semantically more natural (*le:ci tini* ‘having got up and eaten’). In the above examples, ‘sitting and eating’ is semantically more natural than ‘getting up and eating’. On the other hand, (*le:eivelli* ‘having got up and gone’) ‘getting up and going’ is semantically more natural than ‘getting up and eating’.

Thus, the verbal participles occur in coordinate construction,

- I. When the past and the concessive participles occur in juxtaposition with their negatives respectively; and
- II. When the same kind of participle of two or more verbs occur in juxtaposition provided their occurrence is semantically not more natural.

I. Coordination of Past and Negative Participles of Some Verb

Under this group only the past and the concessive participles are coordinated respectively with their negatives viz., the negative (past) participle and the negative concessive participle.

Formula

+ H: Positive Part. v_1 + H: Negative Part. v_1

(i) Past and (Past) Negative

nuvvu	<i>tsadivi</i>	<i>tsadavakunda</i>	pari:ksaku
‘you (sg.)’	‘having studied’	‘having not studied’	‘examination-to’
velto: failu	ka:vatam	kha:yam	
‘go-if’ ‘fail’	‘becoming’	‘definite’	
‘You will definitely fail if you go to the examination without studying properly’			

<i>telisi</i>	<i>teliyaka</i>	<i>tappu</i>	<i>ce:ste:</i>
‘having known’	‘having not known’	‘mistake’	‘do-if’
<i>oppuko:vatstsu</i>			
‘may accept’			
‘It may be accepted if the mistake is committed unknowingly’			

(ii) Concessive and Negative Concessive

<i>miru</i>	<i>vaccina:</i>	<i>ra:kapo:yina:</i>	<i>ne:nu</i>	<i>velta:nu</i>
‘you(pl.)’	‘even-come’	‘even not come’	‘I’	‘will go-I’
‘Whether you come or not I will go’				

II. Coordination of the Same Participle of Different Verbs

Only the past, non-past, negative and the concessive participles occur in this group. The conditional participle does not occur since a conditional verb must be followed by a finite verb. The coordination of the above mentioned participles is possible provided that the verb filling the first head slot is not semantically in a modificational relationship with the verb filling the second head slot, otherwise the combination became a H-MVP2.

The coordinate phrase of this type may be formulated as follows:

+ H: Part_i v_x + H: Part_i v_y

where *i* represents any one of the four participles viz., past, non-past, negative and concessive; and *x* and *y* represents two different verbs i.e., *x* not equal to *y*.

Manifestations**(i) Past Participle**

<i>ne:nu</i>	<i>velli</i>	<i>tsu:si</i>	<i>vacca:nu</i>
‘I’	‘having come’	‘having seen’	‘came-I’
‘I went and saw, and came’			

Pairs of verbs like *a:di pa:di* ‘having danced and sung’, *aldei solasi* ‘having tired’, *ta:gi tandanafla:di* ‘having drunk and danced’ also occur in coordination. These combinations are perfectly coordinate since the actions can cooccur simultaneously.

e.g.,

<i>pillalu</i>	<i>a:di</i>	<i>pa:di</i>	<i>nidrapo:ya:ru</i>
‘children’	‘having played’	‘having sung’	‘slept-they’
‘The children played and sang, and slept’			

Verbal idioms also can be treated as coordinate phrases.

e.g.,

me:mu	tsacci	cedi	tirigi
'we'	'having died'	'having got spoiled'	'having returned'
vacca:mu			
'came-we'			
'We returned after overcoming many difficulties'			

(ii) Non-Past Participle

These combinations are possible when the actions of the coordinated verbs are simultaneously in progress, or occur frequently.

e.g.,

va:llu	ma:	intiki	taratsuga:	va:stu
'they'	'our'	'house-to'	'often'	'coming'
po:tu:	unta:ru			
'going'	'will be they'			
'They will be coming to our house frequently'				

(iii) Negative Participle

e.g.,

manusulu	navvakunda:	ma: tla: dakunda:	ela:
'human beings'	'without laughing'	'without talking'	'how'
undagalaru?			
'can-be-they'			
'How can the human beings keep quite without laughing and talking?'			

(iv) Concessive Participle

e.g.,

mi:ru	vadlintle:	bho:nce:sina:	ba:saje:sina:
'you (pl.)'	'their-house-in'	'even-eat'	'even-stay'
na:ke:mi:	ba:dha	le:du	
'me-to-any'	'worry'	'no-it'	
'I do not have to bother even if you eat or stay in their house.'			
nuvvu	vellaka po:yina:	tinakapo:yina:	va:llu
'you (sg.)'	'even-do not go'	'even do not eat'	'they'
emi:	anuko:ru		
'any thing'	'will not think-they'		
'They do not feel anything even if you do not go or do not eat'			

Sometimes to increase the effect the interrogative quantifiers may be put before both the constituents.

ne:nu *enta* *ceppina:* *enta* *mottukunna:*
 'I' 'how much' 'even told' 'how much' 'even shouted'
va:du *ma:* *ma:ta* *vinale:du*
 'he' 'my' 'word' 'did not listen'
 'He did not listen to my word though I repeatedly told and shouted.'

In all the above cases, i.e., past, non-past, negative and concessive forms adverbials precede these phrases as modifiers. When the adverbials act as modifiers they modify the entire phrase as a unit, but not the constituents of the phrase individually.

e.g.,

Past Participle

ne:nu *ninna* *velli* *tsu:si* *vacca:nu*
 'I' 'yesterday' 'having gone' 'having seen' 'came-I'
 'Yesterday I went, saw and came'

Non-Past Participle

vallu *ma:* *intiki* *ba:ga:* *vastu:* *po:tu*
 'they' 'our' 'house-to' 'well' 'coming' 'going'
untaru
 'will be-they'
 'They will be frequently coming and going to our house'

Negative Participle

manusulu *eppudu:* *navvakunda:*
 'human beings' 'any time' 'without laughing'
ma:tla:dakunda: *ela:* *unta:ru?*
 'without talking' 'how' 'will be-they'
 'How can the human beings keep quite always without laughing or talking?'

Concessive Participle

mi:ru *va:llintlo:* *sa:svatanga:* *bhonce:sina:*
 'you (pl.)' 'their-house-in' 'permanently' 'even-eat'
basace:sina *na:ke:mi* *ba:dha* *le:du*
 'even-stay' 'me-to-say' 'worry' 'no-it'
 'I do not have to bother even if you permanently eat or stay in their house'

5.3. THE HEAD PHRASE

The head phrase is the head part of the head modifier verb phrase 1 (H-MVP1) : and it is a close-knit phrase since it consists of three interrelated systems, namely, the verbal base system; the mood aspect and tense system; and the gender, number and person system. The head phrase fills the head slot of the H-MVP 1.

The head phrase or the close-knit phrase can conveniently be divided into two parts, viz., the head consisting of the verbal base, and the non-head consisting of the mood-aspect-tense and the person-number-gender markers.

Thus, the head phrase or the close-knit phrase consists of three interrelated systems, viz., the verbal base system, the mood-aspect-tense system and the person-number-gender system.

5.3.1. THE BASE

The base indicates the lexical meaning of the verb phrase. It can be either simple or compound of verbs or verbs and nouns, which in turn can be manifested by intransitives, transitives, ditransitives, receptors, statives, causatives, etc. When a compounding is made, the resultant verbal idea can be either single, in which case one verb is modified by the other, or double in which case the meanings of both the verbs prevail.

I. Simple Verbal Bases

The simple verbal bases include the entire stock of roots composed of single morphemes, and derived stems that are obtained from nouns, adjectives, etc., and composed of at least two morphemes.

(A) ROOTS: Root by its simplest form occurs as a verbal base. To this root only the model, aspect and tense markers are added. This base root can contain intransitives, transitives, ditransitives, receptors, statives and opinionatives.

(i) Intransitives

po:-, vell-, nadus(c)-, arus(c), etc.

Formula

+Lex: ive

Read, an intransitive verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by an intransitive verb stem.

e.g.,

ne:nu	veltunna:nu
'I'	'going (I)'
	'I am going'

a:me navvutunnadi
 'she' 'laughing (she)'
 'She is laughing'

(ii) Transitives

tin-, ta:gu-, pa:du-, ce:s-, etc.

Formula

+Lex: tvs

Read, a transitive verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by a transitive verb stem.

e.g.,

a:me tintunnadi
 'she' 'eating-she'
 'She is eating'

va:llu pa:dutunna:ru
 'they' 'singing-they'
 'They are singing'

(iii) Ditransitives

Ditransitives include those verbs which involve an indirect object also in addition to the direct object-*is(c)*-. *ras*-, *tsu:pu*-, etc.

Formula

+ Lex: dvs

Read, a ditransitive verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by a ditransitive verb stem.

e.g.,

ne:nu a:meku pustakam icca:nu
 'I' 'her-to' 'book' 'gave-I'
 'I gave her a book'

a:me na:ku uttaram ra:sindi
 'he' 'me-to' 'letter' 'wrote-she'
 'She wrote a letter to me'

(iv) Receptors

Receptors include the verbs that express a receptive sense - *doruku*- 'be available', *telusu*- 'know', etc.

+ Lex: rvs

Read, a receptor verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by a receptor verb stem.

e.g.,

na:ku	telugu	pustakam	<i>dorikindi</i>
'me-to'	'Telugu'	'book'	'is available-it'
'I got the Telugu book'			
a:	visayam	na:ku	<i>telugu</i>
'that'	'matter'	'me-to'	'know'
'I know that matter'			

(v) Statives

Statives include the verbs that involve stability of action. Only one verb *un-/undu-* 'be' occurs in this class.

Formula

+ Lex: svS

Read, a stative verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by the stative verb stem *un-/undu-*.

e.g.,

a:me	lo:pala	<i>undi</i>
'she'	'inside'	'is-she'
'She is inside'		
ikkada	evvaru:	<i>undaku:dadu</i>
'here'	'any body'	'be-should not'
'Nobody should be here'		

(vi) Opinionatives

Opinionatives include the verbs that indicate judgement or opinion - *mettsu-* 'like', *oppu-* 'like', etc.

Formula

+Lex: ovs.

Read, an opinionative verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by an opinionative verb stem.

a:me nannu meccindi
 'she' 'me-to' 'liked-she'
 'She liked me'

a:me ninnu oppale:du
 'she' 'you (sg.)-to' 'liked-no'
 'She did not like you'

(B) DERIVED STEMS: Only derived roots by suffixation are included under this category. This includes the stems derived from nouns and verbs by means of verbalizing suffixes.

(i) Verbal Bases Derived From Nouns

-intsu/-itstu is the suffix which is added to the nouns to derive verbal stems. In this process the final *-m(u)*, *-na* and *-da* suffixes are deleted in the case of nouns ending in *-m(u)*, *-na* and *-da* respectively.

Formula

+ Lex: n + Suf.: *-intsu/-itstu*

Read, a verbal base derived from nouns consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by a noun and an obligatory suffix slot filled by a verbalizer.

e.g.,

pu:ja + intsu = pu:jintsu 'worship

ne:nu pu:jinca:nu
 'I' 'worshipped-I'
 'I worshiped'

praya:nam + intsu = praya:nintsu 'travel'

ne:nu inta du:ram praya:nintsale:nu
 'I' 'this much' 'distance' 'travel cannot-I'
 'I cannot travel this much distance.'

Similarly, examples can be given for nouns ending in *-na* and *-da*.

(ii) Verbal Bases Derived From Verbs

Derived stems from verbs are mostly transitives and causatives, and the most frequent suffixes employed are *-intsu*, *-pintsu* and *-pu*. When these causatives and transitives are derived the verb stems take many alternatives which are not discussed here.

(a) Transitives

Transitives are derived from intransitive verb stems by adding a variety of suffixes

like *-intsu*, *-tsu*, *-pu*, *-tstsu*, *-mpu*, *-npu/-nupu*, etc. Most of the transitive bases are derived by suffixing *-intsu*, *-tsu* and *-pu*. The numerical frequency of the other forms is very less.

Formula

+ Lex: *ivs.* + Suf.: *-intsu*

Read, the transitive verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by an intransitive verb stem and an obligatory suffix slot filled by a variety of suffixes of which *-intsu* is the representative.

Manifestations

1. With *-intsu*

Verb Stem		Transitive	
cirugu-	‘be torn’	cintsu-	‘tare’
munugu-	‘dive’	muntsu-	‘sink, drown’
digu-	‘decend’	dintsu-	‘bring down’

2. With *-tsu*

Verb Stem		Transitive	
ka:lu-	‘burn’	ka:ltsu-	‘burn’
adagu-	‘subside’	adatsu-	‘supress’

3. With *-pu*

Verb Stem		Transitive	
le:tsu-	‘get up’	le:pu-	‘wake up’
tsu:tsu-	‘see’	tsu:pu-	‘show’
nadutsu-	‘walk’	nudupu-	‘drive’
		(nadipintsu-)	

4. With *-ccu*

Verb Stem		Transitive	
po:-	‘go’	puttsu-	‘send’

5. With *-mpu*

Verb Stem		Transitive	
tsatstsu-	‘die’	tsampu-	‘kill’

6. With -npu/-nupu

Verb Stem	Transitive
tsotstsu- 'enter'	tsonpu-/tsonupu- 'insert'

(b) Causatives

Causatives are derived from both intransitive and transitive verb stems by adding the suffixes -intsu, -pintsu and -ipintsu. Causative verb bases derived by other devices are negligible.

Formula

+ Lex: ivs./tvs. + Suffix: -ints(u)/-pints(u)/-ipints(u)

Read, a causative verb base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by either an intransitive or a transitive verb stem and an obligatory suffix slot filled by the suffix *-ints (u)* or *-pints(u)* or *-ipints(u)*.

Manifestations

1. With -ints(u)

Verb Stem	Causative
navvu- 'laugh'	navvintsu- 'cause to laugh'
adugu- 'ask'	adigintsu- 'cause to ask'
ko:s- 'cut'	ko:yintsu- 'cause to cut'

2. With -pints(u)

Verb Stem	Causative
du:rtsu- 'insert'	du:rpintsu- 'cause to insert'
icc(u)- 'give'	ippintsu- 'cause to give'
ce:ru- 'reach'	ce:rpintsu- 'cause to reach'

3. With -ipints(u)

Verb Stem	Causative
podutsu- 'prick, stab'	podipintsu- 'cause to prick or stab'
arutsu- 'shout'	aripintsu- 'cause to shout'
kon- 'buy'	konipintsu- 'cause to buy'

Though the stems kanipints(u)- 'appear' and vinipints(u)- 'be heard' are structurally

causatives of type (3) above, semantically they are ‘intransitive-passives’.

e.g.,

a:yana na:ku kanipinca:du
 ‘he’ ‘me-to’ ‘appeared-he’
 ‘He appeared to me’

a: pa:ta na:ku vinipincindi (Intransitive-Passive)
 ‘that’ ‘song’ ‘me-to’ ‘was heard-it’
 ‘I heard that song’

In modern Telugu the stem *vinipints(u)*- becomes both ‘intransitive-passive’ and also ‘transitive’ depending on the subject of the sentence. When the subject is non-human it becomes ‘intransitive-passive’ and when it is human it is ‘transitive’. The second use seems to be non-native to Telugu and probably it may be the influence of Hindi during recent times. For exam compare the sentence below with sentence above.

e.g.,

miru na:ku oka pa:ta vinipintsandi (Transitive)
 ‘you (pl.)’ ‘me-to’ ‘one’ ‘song’ ‘cuse to listen (pl.)’
 ‘You mke me listen to a song (You sing a song)’

Another verb of this series is *anipints(u)*- which is both ‘intransitive-passive’ and ‘causative’. Unlike *vinipints(u)*-, the causative use of this verb is native to Telugu. In ‘intransitive-passive’ sense, it appears more as a subjectless verb taking always non-masculine singular suffix -di.

e.g.,

na:ku i amma:yi ni: amma:yi ka:du
 ‘me-to’ ‘this’ ‘girl’ ‘your (pl.)’ ‘girl’ ‘not’
anipincindi
 ‘caused to feel-it’
 ‘I felt that this girl is not your daughter’

miru na: ce:ta i ma:ta anipinca:ru
 ‘you (pl.)’ ‘my -hand’ ‘this’ ‘word’ ‘caused to say (pl.)’
 ‘You made me to say this’

An important point to be noted here is that the transitive verbal roots *kan-*, *vin-*, and *an-* after taking the causative suffix *-ipints(u)*-, instead of becoming causative stems, unlike other transitives become ‘intransitive - passives’.

One more verb of this series is *tinipints(u)*-. This behaves as a causative like *anipints(u)*-, and as a transitive like *vinipints(u)*-.

e.g.,

amma pillalaku annam *tinipistunnadi*
 ‘mother’ ‘children-to’ ‘food’ ‘causing to eat-she’
 ‘The mother is feeding the children’

miru a:me ce:ta annam *tinipintsandi*
 ‘you (pl.)’ ‘she’ ‘by’ ‘food’ ‘cause to eat (pl.)’
 ‘You make her take food’

These five verbs including *konipints(u)-* ‘cause to buy’ and their behaviour can be put in the following matrix.

TABLE 5.1

Behaving as Verb Stem	Transitive	Causative	Intransitive Passive	Subjectless Intransitive
kanipints(u)-			x	
vinipints(u)-	x		x	
anipints(u)-		x		x
tinipints(u)-	x	x		
konipints(u)-		x		

II. COMPOUND VERBAL BASES

Compounds of two or more verbs belonging either to intransitive or transitive or both the categories are found in Telugu.

(A) INTRANSITIVES

I. DOUBLE INTRANSITIVE COMPOUNDS

Very few compounds are formed by the intransitive verbs when compared to the transitive verbs. The verb roots *po:-*, *vas(c)-*, *padu-*, *sa:gu-*, *marugu-*, *au-*, *tsotsu-* and *kalugu-* take the auxiliary position in intransitive compounds, but *po:-* is the most frequently occurring auxiliary. The compounds formed with these verbs have either ‘singular verbal idea’ - one verb (auxiliary) modifying the other, or ‘double verbal idea’ - having the meaning of both the verbs.

(i) Singular Verbal Idea Compounds

Only *po:-* ‘go’, *vas(c)-* ‘come’ and *padu-* ‘fall’ occur as auxiliaries in this category which are added to an intransitive verb stem.

Formula

+ Lex: ivpp. + Aux: *po:-/vas(c)-/padu-*

Read, an intransitive compound verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by the past participle of an intransitive verb stem, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the verb stem *po:-*, or *vas(c)-* or *padu-*.

Manifestations(a) *With po:- ‘go’*

Intransitive compounds with *po:-* ‘go’ are the most frequently available compounds. These compounds with *po:-* as auxiliary can be called ‘completives’ since *po:-* gives the idea of completeness to the main verb. When *po:-* is suffixed to the main verb as auxiliary the main verb is put in its past participle form.

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Compound	
vell-	‘go’	vellipo:-	‘go away’
ka:lu-	‘burn’	ka:lipo:-	‘burn down’
padu-	‘fall’	padipo:-	‘fall down’

(b) *With vas(c)- ‘come’*

vas(c)- ‘come’ occurs as auxiliary only with *po:-* and *vell-* (main verbs). These combinations are used when somebody is departing or taking leave (to avoid inauspiciousness).

When these are used by the person from whom leave is being taken, they will be in the imperative form, and when used by the departing person they occur only in non-past tense. When the auxiliary is in any other form other than imperative, the combination of the main verb and the auxiliary becomes a head modifier verb phrase [See 5.1.2(i)].

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Compound	
<i>po:-</i>	‘go’	<i>po:yira:</i>	
<i>vell-</i>	‘go’	<i>vellira:</i>	

(c) *With padu- 'fall'*

Compound verbal bases with *padu-* 'fall' as auxiliary indicate suddenness of the action of the main verbs. As in the case of (a) and (b) here also the main verb becomes past participle.

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Compound	
eguru-	'jump'	egiripadu-	'experience fright', 'become angry'
oluku-	'jump out of a vessel (milk, water etc.)'	olikipadu-	'fall out (of a vessel)'
po:-	'go'	po:yipadu-	'going and reaching like a storm'

egiripadu-, olikipadu-, and po:yipadu- also indicate respectively the meanings of 'jump up and fall', 'jump out and fall', and 'go and fall'. As singular verbal idea compounds all these are idiomatic expressions.

(ii) Double Verbal Idea Compounds

Unlike the singular verbal idea compounds the double verbal idea compounds will express a collective meaning of both the main and the auxiliary verbs. Under this category of compounds occur *po:-*, *sa:gu-*, *marugu-*, *tsotstsu-*, *kalugu-* and *d(r)obbu-* (*ordengu*).

Formula

+Lex: *ivi* + Aux: *po:-/sa:gu-/marugu-/tsotstsu-/kalugu-/d(r)obbu-*

Read, an intransitive compound verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by the infinitive form of an intransitive verb stem, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the verb stem *po:-* or *sa:gu-* or *marugu-* or *tsotstsu-*, or *kalugu-* or *d(r)obbu-*.

A notable point here is that unlike in the singular verbal idea compounds, in the double verbal idea compounds the main verb infinitive when the auxiliary is suffixed and the meanings of both the verbs find prominence in the compound.

(a) *With po:- 'go'*

The intransitive compounds with *po:-* 'go' as auxiliary do not indicate 'completive' action as in singular verbal idea compounds, but indicate the 'near futurity' of the action of the main verb. In the process of compounding the initial *p* of *po:-* is voiced.

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Compound
a:du-	‘play’	a:dubo:- ‘go to play’
pa:du-	‘sing’	pa:dubo:- ‘go to sing’
ma:ta:du-	‘talk’	matla:dubo:- ‘go to talk’

Therefore, certain verb stems like *eguru-*, etc., have three different forms to which the auxiliary *po:-* is added, viz., the past participle, the infinitive and the root.

e.g.,

eguru-	‘fly, jump’	-	egurubo:-	‘go to jump’
			egiripo:-	‘fly away’
			egarabo:-	‘about to jump’

(b) *With sa:gu-* ‘continue, start’

Intransitive compounds with *sa:gu-* ‘continue’ as auxiliary can be called continuatives since *sa:gu-* indicates continuation of the action of the main verb.

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Compound
po:-	‘go’	po:sa:gu- ‘start or continue to go’
vell-	‘go’	vellasa:gu- ‘start or continue to go’
parigettu-	‘run’	parigettasa:gu- ‘start or continue to go’

(c) *With marugu-* ‘get accustomed’

Intransitive compounds with *marugu-* ‘habituate’, ‘get accustomed’ as auxiliary is very less frequent, and very few verbs are found combined with it. Suffixation of *marugu-* to the main verb indicates the ‘habituation’ of the action of the main verb by the subject.

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Compound
vell-	‘go’	vellamarugu- ‘accustomed to go’

(d) *With tsotsts-* ‘penetrate’

Intransitive verbal compounds with *tsotsts-* ‘penetrate’ gives more or less the same meaning as those with *sa:gu-* as auxiliary. However, compounds with *tsotsts-* as auxiliary are not frequent in colloquial Telugu. In the process of compounding the initial ‘ts’ is voiced.

e.g.,

Verb Stem

Verb Compound

vas(c)- 'come'

ra:dzotstsu- 'begin to come'

po:- 'go'

po:dzotstsu- 'begin to go'

(d) *With kalugu- 'he able to'*

This indicates the ability of the subject to perform the action of the main verb.

e.g.,

Verb Stem

Verb Compound

vell- 'go'

vellagalugu- 'able to go'

vas(c)- 'come'

ra:galugu- 'able to come'

(f) *With d(r)obbu- 'push'*

Compounds with *d(r)obbu-* indicate 'to push' or 'to beat' to perform the action of the main verb. This is added only to those whose actions change the physical shape or condition of the object that receives the action. This auxiliary is partially taboo in Telugu.

e.g.,

Verb Stem

Verb Compound

padu- 'fall'

padad(r)obbu- 'to push to fall'

virugu- 'break'

viragad(r)obbu- 'to beat to break'

tsas(c)- 'die'

tsa:vad(r)obbu- 'to beat to death'

(g) *With dengu- 'do sexual intercourse'*

Compounds with *dengu-* indicate the same meaning as those with *d(r)obbu-*, but this word is of more taboo and its usage is more sharp and vulgar. Its usage is objectionable and is strictly prohibited in the presence of women, and in public, and if at all used, used with the same set of verbs used with *d(r)obbu-*.

e.g.,

Verb Stem

Verb Compound

padu- 'fall'

padadengu- 'to beat to fall'

virugu- 'break'

viragadengu- 'to beat to break'

tsas(c)- 'die'

tsa:vadengu- 'to beat to die'

II. TRIPLE INTRANSITIVE COMPOUNDS

There are very few triple compounds. The main verbs are the double intransitive compounds. The auxiliary slot is filled by *po:-*, *kalugu-*, *sa:gu-* and *marugu-*.

Formula

+Lex: Com, vsi + Aux: *po:-/kalugu-/sa:gu-/marugu-*

Read, a triple intransitive compound base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by double compound verb stems and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by *po:-* or *kalugu-* or *sa:gu-* or *marugu-*.

It should be noted that these triple compounds are only singular verbal idea compounds. Triple compounds of double verbal idea type do not occur in Telugu.

Manifestations

(a) *With po:- 'go'*

Verb Stem

vellipo:- 'go away'

egiripo:- 'fly off'

Verb Compound

vellipo:bo:- 'about to go away'

egiripo:bo:- 'about to fly off'

(b) *With kalugu- 'be able to'*

Verb Stem

vellipo:-

egiripo:-

Verb Compound

vellipo:galugu- 'be able to go away'

egiripo:bo:- 'be able to fly off'

(c) *With sa:gu- 'continue', 'start'*

Verb Stem

vellipo:-

egiripo:-

Verb Compound

vellipo:sa:gu- 'start or continue to go away'

egiripo:sa:gu- 'start or continue to fly off'

(d) *With marugu- 'get habituated'*

Verb Stem

vellipo:-

Verb Compound

vellipo:marugu- 'habituated to go away'

(B) TRANSITIVES

Both double transitive compounds - compounds of two transitive verbs, and triple transitive compounds - compounds with three transitive verbs - exist in Telugu. There are

a number of verbs which take the auxiliary position in these compounds but the number of triple transitive compounds are very less when compared to double transitive compounds.

I. DOUBLE TRANSITIVE COMPOUNDS

As in the case of intransitive compounds, in transitive compounds also there are singular verbal idea compounds and double verbal idea compounds.

(i) Singular Verbal Idea Compounds (or Single Action Compounds)

In the singular verbal idea compounds the main verb occurs in the form of a past participle. The verb roots *(v)e:s-* ‘throw’, *pettu-* ‘put’ and *pattu-* ‘catch’ occur as auxiliaries in forming these compounds.

Formula

+Lex: $tv_{pp.} + Aux: (v) e:s-/pettu-/pattu-$

Read, a transitive verbal base consists of an obligatory head slot filled by the past participle of a transitive verb stem, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the verb root *(v) e:s-* or *pettu-* or *pattu-*.

Manifestations

(a) With *(v)e:s-* ‘throw’

(v)e:s- ‘throw’ as auxiliary indicates that the action of the main verb is performed ‘very easily’.

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Compound	
tin-	‘eat’	tin(iv)e:s-	‘eat up’
kottu-	‘beat’	kott(iv)e:s-	‘beat up’
adugu-	‘ask’	adig(iv) e:s-	‘to ask completely’

(b) With *pettu-* ‘put’

pettu- ‘put’, ‘keep’ as an auxiliary indicates that the action of the main verb is ‘already performed and it is intact’, i.e., the action of the main verb precedes the action of the auxiliary.

Verb Stem		Verb Compound	
adumu-	‘press down’	adimipettu-	‘press down’, ‘cancel’
tokku-	‘press down with foot’	tokkipettu-	‘withhold’
konu-	‘buy’	konipettu-	‘buy and give’, ‘buy and keep’

(c) *With pattu* 'catch'

pattu- 'catch' as an auxiliary also gives the same meaning as *pettu-*. Its occurrence is very less and is found mostly with *tokku-* 'press down with foot' as main verb.

e.g.,

Verb Stem

Verb Compound

tokku-

tokkipattu-

'press down with foot
firmly'

(ii) Double Verbal Idea Compounds (or Joint Action Compounds)

In double verbal idea compounds the main verb mostly occurs in the form of an infinitive, but only with *kon-* as auxiliary it occurs in the form of root.

1. INFINITIVES

The auxiliaries which are suffixed to the infinitives of the main verbs are *pettu-* 'put, keep', *ce:s-* 'do', *tsu:s-* 'see, look', *ko:ru-* 'desire, wish', *talatsu-* 'think', *is(c)-* 'give', *padu-* 'fall', *ne:rtsu-* 'learn' and *tsu:pu-* 'show'.

Formula

+ Lex: tv_i + Aux: *pettu-/ce:s-/tsu:s-/ko:ru-/talatsu-/is(c)-/padu-/ne:rtsu-/tsu:pu-*

Read, a transitive verb base consists of an obligatory head slot filled by the infinitive form of a transitive verb and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by one of the following transitive verbs *pettu-*, *ce:su-*, *tsu:s-*, *ko:ru-*, *tales(c)*, *padu-*, *ne:rts(u)* and *tsu:pu-*.

Manifestations

(a) *With pettu-* 'put, keep'

Transitive compounds with *pettu-* as an auxiliary indicate the sense of 'making' to perform the action of main verb. *pettu-* occurs with very few transitive verbs, and occurs more frequently with intransitive verbs. In the process of compounding the initial 'p' of *pettu-* is voiced.

e.g.,

Verb Stem

Verb Infinitive

Verb Compound

tin-

'eat'

tina-

tinabettu-

'make to eat'

ku:rtso:-

'sit'

ku:rtso:-

ku:rtso:bettu-

'make to sit'

(b) *With ce:s-* 'do'

Transitive compounds with *ce:s-* 'do' also give the same meaning a *pettu-* i.e., the meaning of making to perform the action of main verb, but its occurrence is more frequent

than *pettu-*. Here also the initial *c* of *ce:s:-* is voiced in compounding.

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Infinitive		Verb Compound
tin-	‘eat’	tina-	tina je:s-	‘make to eat’
kon-	‘buy’	knoa-	kona je:s-	‘make to buy’
kottints-	‘make	kottimpa-	kottimpaje:s-	‘make to beat by
	to beat’			somebody’

(c) *With tsu:s-* ‘see’, ‘look’

Compounds with *tsu:s-* ‘see, look’ as an auxiliary indicate the meaning of ‘trying’ to perform the action of the main verb. The initial *ts* is voiced in the process of compounding.

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Infinitive		Verb Compound
kottu-	‘beat’	kotta-	kottadzu:s-	‘try to beat’
tin-	‘eat’	tina-	tinadzu:s-	‘try to see’
adugu-	‘ask’	adaga	adagadzu:s-	‘try to ask’

(d) *With ko:ru-* ‘desire’, ‘wish’

Compounds with *ko:ru-* ‘desire’, ‘with’ as an auxiliary indicate that the subject is ‘desirous’ to perform the action of the main verb. Here also the initial *k* is voiced in the process of compounding.

e.g.,

Verb Stem		Verb Infinitive		Verb Compound
tsu:s-	‘see’	tsu:da-	tsu:dago:ru-	‘desire to see’
tin-	‘eat’	tina-	tinago:ru-	‘desire to eat’
ta:gu-	‘drink’	ta:ga-	ta:gago:ru-	‘desire to drink’

(c) *With talats(c)-* ‘think’

Compounds with *talatsu-* ‘think’ give more or less the same meaning as those with *ko:ru-*, but unlike in the case of *ko:ru-* these compounds always occur with the reflexive suffix *kon-*, thereby the meaning of the main verb reflecting only the performer or the subject of the action. Here also the initial consonant *t* is voiced.

e.g.,

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound	
tin- 'eat'	tina-	tinadalatsukon-	'decide to eat'
adugu- 'ask'	adaga-	adagadalatsukon-	'decide to ask'
a:du- 'play'	a:da-	a:dadalatsukon-	'decide to play'

(f) *With is(c) - 'give'*

Compounds with *is(c)*- 'give' as an auxiliary indicate that the subject permits the action of the main verb to be performed by somebody else.

NOTE: The verbal infinitives in Telugu end in *n*. But when the verbal forms that are suffixed to the infinitives start with consonants the final *n* of the infinitives is dropped [See examples of (a) to (e) above]; on the other hand, when the verbs with initial vowel [*is(c)*, *au-*, *und-*, etc.] are suffixed the final *n* of the infinitives is retained.

e.g.,

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound	
tin- 'eat'	tinan-	tinanis(c)-	'allow to eat'
pa:du- 'sing'	pa:dan-	pa:danis(c)-	'allow to sing'
ra:s- 'write'	ra:yan-	ra:yanis(c)-	'allow to write'

(g) *With padu- 'fall'*

Compounds with *pa:du-* 'fall' as an auxiliary indicate passive meanings. Here also the initial consonant '*p*' is voiced in the process of compounding.

e.g.,

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound	
kottu- 'beat'	kotta-	kottabadu-	'be beaten'
ra:s- 'write'	ra:ya-	ra:yabadu-	'be written'
kan- 'see'	kana-	kanabadu-	'appear'

(h) *With ne:rts(u)- 'learn'*

Compounds with *ne:rts(u)-* 'learn' as an auxiliary indicate the 'proficiency' of the subject of the verb in performing the action of the main verb.

e.g.,

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound	
bratuku-‘live’	brataka-	bratakane:rts(u)-	‘learn to live’
tirigu- ‘wander’, ‘move around’	tiraga-	tiragane:rts(u)-	‘learn to wander’

(i) *With tsu:pu- ‘show’*

Compounds with tsu:pu- ‘show’ as an auxiliary indicate the inclination of the subject to perform the action of the main verb. Here also the initial consonant *ts* is voiced.

e.g.,

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
ammu ‘sell’	amma-	ammadzu:pu- ‘incline to sell’

2. ROOTS

There is only one verb *kon-* ‘buy’, ‘take’ which acts as an auxiliary and suffixed to the verbal roots. By suffixing *kon-* to any transitive verb root, a reflexive compound is derived. The reflexive compound indicates that the action of the main verb to which *kon-* is suffixed is implied or reflected on the performer of the action.

Manifestations

e.g.,

Verb Root		Verb Compound	
ti:s(u)-	‘take’	ti:sukon-	‘take for self use’
tsaduvu-	‘read’	tsaduvukon-	‘read oneself’
a:du-	‘play’	a:dukon-	‘play oneself’

kon- is rarely suffixed to intransitive verb stems, but however, there exist a few cases (This is discussed under C: Mixed Compounds).

e.g.,

Verb Root		Verb Compound	
navvu-	‘laugh’	navvukon-	‘laugh oneself’
padu-	‘fall’	padukon-	‘lie down, sleep’

II. TRIPLE TRANSITIVE COMPOUNDS

As in the case of intransitives, there are very few triple transitive compounds. The verbal base slot is filled by double transitive compounds, and the auxiliary slot is filled by *tsu:s-*, *ko:ru-*, *talatsu(c)-*, *kon-*, *r:s(c)-* and *sa:gu-*.

Formula

+Lex: com. vs_i + Aux: *tsu:s-/ko:ru-/talats(c)-/kon-/is(c)-/sa:gu-*

Read, a triple transitive verbal compound consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by double transitive verbal compounds, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the transitive verb roots *tsu:s-*, *ko:ru-*, *talats(c)-*, *kon-*, *is(c)-* or *sa:gu-*.

Unlike triple intransitive verbal compounds these are double verbal idea compounds, and hence, the auxiliary is added to the infinitive form of the verbal base, except when *kon-* occurs as auxiliary in which case it is added to the root form.

Manifestations

(a) *With tsu:s-* 'see'

e.g.,

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound	
tin(iv)e:s- 'eat up'	tin(iv)eyya-	tin(iv)eyyadzu:s-	'try to eat up'

(b) *With ko:ru-* 'desire', 'wish'

e.g.,

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound	
tin(iv)e:s- 'eat up'	tin(iv)eyya-	tin(iv)eyyago:ru-	'desire to eat up'

(c) *With talats(c) - 'think'*

e.g.,

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound	
ta:g(iv)e:s- 'drink up'	ta:g(iv)e:ya-	ta:g(iv)e:yadas(c)-	'decide to drink up'

(d) *With kon-* 'take'

e.g.,

Verb Stem

Verb Compound

tinadas(c) 'decide to eat'

tinadalatsukon- 'decide oneself to eat'

ra:s(iv)e:s- 'write out'

ra:s(iv)e:sukon- 'write out oneself'

(e) *With is(c)-* 'give'

e.g.,

Verb Stem

Verb Infinitive

Verb Compound

ra:s(iv)e:s- 'write out'

ra:s(iv)eyya-

ra:s(iv)eyyanis(c)-

'permit to
write out'

(C) MIXED COMPOUNDS

Mixed compounds are those which have both intransitives and transitives as their constituents. There is no particular order of occurrence of these verbs, and both the categories, i.e., intransitives and transitives, can occur both as main verb and also as auxiliary in the formation of compounds.

In mixed compounds both the double verbal compounds, and the triple verbal compounds exist in Telugu.

I. DOUBLE VERBAL COMPOUNDS

There are a number of verbs both intransitives and transitives that occur as auxiliaries in the formation of double verbal compounds, but most of these compounds are of double verbal idea type.

(i) Singular Verbal Idea Compounds (or Single Action Compounds)

As in the case of transitive compounds, here also only (v)e:s- occurs as an auxiliary with intransitive verbs. (v)e:s- 'throw' indicates that the action of the main verb is performed easily. In singular verbal idea compounds the main verb is always in the past participle form. The reason for this is that ultimately the action of the compound verb is the same as that of the main verb, whereas in the double verbal idea compounds the actions of both the constituents are involved.

Formula

+ Lex: iv_{pp} + Aux: (v) e:s-

Read, a mixed compound verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by the past participle of an intransitive verb stem, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the

Manifestation

Verb Stem	Past Participle	Verb Compound
vas(c)- ‘come’	vacci	vacc(iv)e:s- ‘come off’
navvu- ‘laugh’	navvi	navv(iv)e:s- ‘laugh out’
parigettu- ‘run’	parigetti	‘arigett(iv)e:s- ‘run up’

(ii) Double Verbal Idea Compounds (or Joint Action Compounds)

As in the case of transitive compounds in most of the double verbal idea compounds the main verb is in the infinitive form. Only in the case of the reflexive suffix the main verb remains as a root.

As it is already mentioned there is no restriction that a particular type of verb must occur in a particular slot. Therefore, the lexical slot may be filled by either intransitives or transitives in which case the auxiliary slot is filled respectively by either transitives or intransitives. Thus, the formulae are as follows:

When the main verb is in the infinitive form

+ Lex: iv_i/tv_i + Aux: tvs/ivs.

Read, a verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by the infinitive form of either an intransitive verb or a transitive verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled respectively by either a transitive or an intransitive verb stem.

When the main verb is in the root form,

+ Lex: ivs. + Aux: kon-

Read, a verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by an intransitive verb stem, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the transitive verb stem *kon-*.

1. INFINITIVES

When the infinitive of the main verb fills the lexical slot the following verbs fill the auxiliary slot. The following are a few of a number of verbs that are used as auxiliaries

Auxiliaries

(v)e:s-	‘throw’,	po:s-	‘pour’	t(r)o:s-	‘push’
ce:s-	‘do’,	tsu:s-	‘see, look’	is(c)-	‘give’
sa:gu-	‘start continue’	ko:ru-	‘desire, wish’	talats(x)-	‘think’

kottu-	‘beat’	pettu-	‘put’	kalugu-	‘happen’
kattu-	‘tie’	tsallu-	‘spray’	cimmu-	‘spout’
t(r)o:lu-	‘drive’	po:-	‘go’	k(r)okku-	‘vomit’
t(r)o:lu-	‘habituate’	padu-	‘fall’		

When these verb stems are suffixed as auxiliaries to the main verbs, the initial voiceless stop consonants and affricates are voiced in the process of compounding.

Manifestations

(a) *With (v) e:s- ‘throw’*

Compounds with (v)e:s- ‘throw’ as auxiliary indicate ‘to put’ or ‘to throw’ the object so that it undergoes the action of the main verb.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
pa:ru- ‘run’	pa:ra-	pa:rave:s- ‘throw away’
endu- ‘dry’	enda-	endave:s- ‘put to dry’
padu- ‘fall’	pada-	padave:s- ‘drop to fall’

(b) *With po:s- ‘pour’*

Compounds with po:s- ‘pour’ as auxiliary indicate to ‘pour’ the object to perform the action of the main verb. It is evident from the auxiliary that the object of the verb would always be a liquid, or a collection of small solid particles or pieces like grain, flour, dust, etc.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
vadu- ‘leak’	vadiya-	vadiyabo:s- ‘filter’
	vada-	vadabo:s-
pa:ru- ‘run’	pa:ra-	pa:rabo:s- ‘throw away’
endu- ‘dry’	enda-	endabo:s- ‘pour to dry’

(c) *With t(r) o:s- ‘push’*

Compounds with t(r)o:s- ‘push’ indicate the performance of the action of the main verb by pushing.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
padu- ‘fall’	pada-	padad(r)o:s- ‘push to fall’
digu- ‘climb down’	diga-	digad(r)o:s- ‘push down’
po:- ‘go’	po:-	po:d(r)o:s- ‘make discount’, ‘reduce’

(d) *With ce:s- 'do'*

Compounds with *ce:s-* 'do' as auxiliary are not much frequent. The addition of *ce:s-* indicates 'to make to perform the action of the main verb'. Initial *c* of *ce:s-* is voiced in the process of compounding.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
navvu-	'laugh' navva-	navvaje:s- 'make to laugh'
ku:rtson-	'sit' ku:rtsona-	ku:rtsonaje:s- 'make to sit'
	ku:rtso:-	ku:rtso:je:s-

(e) *With tsu:s- 'see, look'*

Compounds with *tsu:s-* 'see' as auxiliary indicate the subject's 'effort to perform the action of the main verb'.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
vas(c)- 'come'	ra:-	ra:dzu:s- 'try to come'
po:- 'go'	po:-	po:dzu:s- 'try to go'

(f) *With is(c)- 'give'*

Compounds with *is(c)-* 'give' as auxiliary indicate 'to permit the object to perform the action of the main verb'.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
po:- 'go'	po:n-	ponis(c)- 'allow to go'
vell- 'go'	vellan-	vellanis(c)- 'allow to go'
navvu- 'laugh'	navvan-	navvanis(c)- 'allow to laugh'

See (B) (ii). 1.(f), for the details regarding infinitive forms.

(g) *With sa:gu- 'continue'*

Compounds with *sa:gu-* 'continue' as auxiliary indicate the 'starting' or the 'continuation' of the main action of the verb.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
tsaduvu-	'read' tsadava-	tsadavasa:gu- 'continue to read'
tin-	'eat' tina-	tina sa:gu- 'continue to eat'

(h) *With ko:ru- 'desire, wish'*

Compounds with *ko:ru-* 'desire, wish' as auxiliary indicate 'the desire of the

subject to perform the action of the main verb’.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
vell- ‘go’	vella-	vellago:ru- ‘wish to go’
ekku- ‘climb’	ekka-	ekka go:ru- ‘wish to climb’

(i) *With talas(c)- ‘think’*

Compounds with *talas(c)-* ‘think’ as auxiliary indicate the ‘thinking of the subject to perform the action of the main verb’. *talas(c)-* usually occurs with the reflexive suffix *kon-*.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
vell- ‘go’	vella-	velladalatsukon- ‘decide to go’
vas(c)- ‘come’	ra:-	ra: dalatsukon- ‘decide to come’

(j) *With kottu- ‘beat’*

Compounds with *kottu-* ‘beat’ as auxiliary indicate that the subject beats or makes the object to perform the action of the main verb.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
padu- ‘fall’	pada-	padagottu- ‘beat to fall’
vell- ‘go’	vella-	vellagottu- ‘make to go’
po:- ‘go’	po:-	po: gottu- ‘make to go loose’

(k) *With pettu- ‘put, keep’*

Compounds with *pettu-* as auxiliary indicate ‘putting or keeping of the object by the subject so that the object undergoes the action of the main verb’.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
endu- ‘dry’	enda-	endabettu- ‘put to dry’
a:ru- ‘dry up’	a:ra-	a:rabettu- ‘put to dry’
digu- ‘climb down’	diga-	digabettu- ‘drop at’

(l) *With kalugu- ‘happen’*

Compounds with *kalugu-* ‘happen’ as auxiliary indicate the ‘ability of the subject to perform the action of the main verb’.

	Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
	tin-	‘eat’ tina-	tinagalugu- ‘able to eat’
	tsaduvu-	‘read’ tsadava-	tsadavagalugu- ‘able to read’
	ra:s-	‘write’ ra:ya-	ra:yagalugu- ‘able to write’
(m)	<i>With kattu-</i> ‘tie’		
	Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
	ekku- ‘climb up’	ekka-	egagattu- ‘tie upwards’
			egattu-
	digu- ‘climb down’	diga-	digagattu- ‘tie downwards’
			diggattu-
	vangu- ‘bend’	vanga-	vangagattu- ‘tie to bend’
(n)	<i>With tsallu-</i> ‘spray, sprinkle’		
	Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
	virus- ‘blossom’	viriya-	viradzallu ‘spray to spread’
		vira-	
(o)	<i>With cimmu-</i> ‘spout’		
	Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
	aguru- ‘fly, jump’	egara-	egarajimmu- ‘spout to jump’
	digu- ‘climb down’	diga-	digajimmu- ‘spout downwards’
(p)	<i>With t(r)o:lu-</i> ‘drive’		
	Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
	pa:ru- ‘run’	pa:ra-	pa:rad(r)o:lu- ‘drive to run away’
	ekku- ‘climb up’	ekka-	egad(r)o:lu- ‘drive upwards’, ‘encourage to quarrel’
(q)	<i>With po:-</i> ‘go’		

Compounds with *po:-* as auxiliary indicate that ‘the action of the main verb is about to start’.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
tin- 'eat'	tina-	tinabo:- 'go to eat'
tsu:s- 'see'	tsu:da-	tsu:dabo:- 'go to see'

(r) *With k(r)akku- 'vomit'*

Compounds with *k(r)akku-* 'vomit' as auxiliary indicates 'vomiting of the object so that the object undergoes the action of the main verb'. There is only one verb *vedalu-* that takes the position of the main verb.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
vadalu- 'come or go out'	vedala- vella-	vedalag(r)akku- 'vomit out', 'speak out'.

(s) *With marugu- 'habituate'*

Compounds with *marugu-* as auxiliary indicate 'the subject's habit to perform the action of the main verb'.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
tin(u)- 'eat'	tina-	tinamarugu- 'habituate to eat'
ta:gu- 'drink'	ta:ga-	ta:gamarugu- 'habituate to drink'

(t) *With padu- 'fall'*

Compounds with *padu-* as auxiliary gives passive meaning to the main verb.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
tin(u)- 'eat'	tina-	tinabadu- 'be eaten'
vin(u)- 'hear'	vina-	vinapadu- 'be heard'
		vinabadu-

Besides the above mentioned auxiliary verbs there are a number of transitive and intransitive verbs which act as auxiliaries with certain other verbs. But the frequency of these verbs is very less and whenever they are used, they are used with specific verbs to express specific meanings.

Some of these less frequent auxiliaries are *viduts(u)-* 'leave, stab', *t(r)a:gu-* 'drink', *tuduts(u)-* 'wipe', *poduts(u)-* 'prick', *ra:s-* 'write', *dunnu-* 'plough', *ti:s-* 'take' *tsotsts(u)-* 'penetrate', etc.

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Verb Compound
digu-	‘climb down’	diga-
		digavidus(c)- ‘drop at’
		digat(r)a:gu- ‘drink to go down’
		digaduduts(u)- ‘wipe downwards’
		digaboduts(u)- ‘prick to go down’
		digara:s- ‘write downwards’
		digadunnu- ‘plough towards down’
		digadi:s- ‘take downwards’
po:-	‘go’	po:-
		po:dzottsu- ‘start to go’

In the mixed compounds discussed so far, an important point to be noted is, that in those which have a transitive verb as an auxiliary the action of the auxiliary verb is performed by the subject of the sentence whereas the object undergoes the action of the main verb, i.e., the actions of the main verb and the auxiliary verb are performed by two different actors. On the other hand, when the auxiliary is an intransitive, the compound action is performed by the same actor, i.e., the subject of the sentence.

e.g.,

- (1) a:me ni:llu pa:ra bo:stunnadi
- └──────────┘
- └──────────┘
- ‘she’ ‘water’ ‘pouring-away-she’
- ‘She is pouring away the water’
- (2) a:me ni:llu ta:gabo:tunnadi
- └──────────┘
- ‘she’ ‘water’ ‘going-to drink-she’
- ‘She is about to drink water’

In (1) a:me performs the action of *po:s-* ‘pour’ and *ni:llu* undergoes the action of *pa:ru-* ‘flow’. Thus, ‘she pours the water in such a way that it flows’. But in (2) there

2. ROOT

Only when *kon-* ‘take’ occurs as reflexive suffix, the main verb of the compound is in its root form; and the occurrence of this type of compounds is very less in Telugu.

Manifestations

Verb Stem		Verb Compound
navvu-	‘laugh’	navvukon- ‘laugh oneself’
parigettu-	‘run’	parigettukon- ‘run oneself’

II. TRIPLE VERBAL COMPOUNDS

In triple verbal compounds of mixed verbs, there is only one auxiliary *(v)e:s-* ‘throw’. This is suffixed to a double compound of mixed verbs, and the derived compound becomes a singular verbal idea compound. All the other triple verbal compounds of mixed verbs with other verb stems as auxiliaries are of the double verbal idea type.

(i) Singular Verbal Idea Compounds

(v)e:s- ‘throw’ is the only auxiliary that is suffixed to the double verbal compounds.

Formula

+ Lex: Mixd. Com. vs. + Aux: *(v) e:s-*

Read, a verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by a mixed compound verb stem, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the verb root *(v) e:s-* ‘throw’. *(v)e:s-* indicates the meaning of ‘completeness’.

Manifestations

Compound Verb Stem		Triple Compound
padagottu-	‘beat to fall’ (make to fall)	padagottes- ‘falling down’
a:rabettu-	‘put to dry’	a:rabettes- ‘keep out to dry’

When a double compound stem with *(v)e:s-* as auxiliary is used as the lexical slot filler or a triple compound verb with again *(v)e:s-* as auxiliary, the triple compound formed in such a way is used only as an imperative.

Compound Verb Stem		Triple Compound
vacce:s-	‘come off’	vacce:seyyi ‘come off’
tine:s-	‘eat up’	tine:seyyi ‘eat up’

(ii) Double Verbal Idea Compounds

In double verbal idea compounds the main verb is a compound of mixed verbs expressing singular verbal idea. The main verb as the lexical slot filler occurs in three different forms, viz., as infinitive, as root and as imperative. There are about eleven auxiliary verbs that are used in the formation of these compounds.

The auxiliary verbs are as follows:

With Infinitives

po:-	‘go’	sa:gu-	‘continue’
ko:ru-	‘desire, wish’	talats(u)-	‘think, decide’
ce:s-	‘do’	tsu:s-	‘see, look’
kalugu-	‘happen’	is(c)-	‘give’
marugu-	‘habituate’	padu-	‘fall’

With Roots

kon-	‘take, buy’
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With Imperatives

po:-	‘go’
------	------

1. INFINITIVES

Formula

+ Lex: Mixd. Com. vs_i + Aux: po:-

Read, a verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by the infinitive of a mixed verbal compound and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by a class of verbs of which *po:-* is the representative.

Manifestations

(a) *With po:-* ‘go’

Compounds with *po:-* indicate that the subject tries to perform the action of the main verb.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
tines-	‘eat up’	tineyya- tinneyyabo:- ‘try to eat up’
padad(r)o:s-	‘push down’	padad(r)o:ya- padad(r)o:yabo: ‘try to push down’

Verbs like *ti:sukellipo:-* and *pattukellipo:-* ‘take and go away’, and *pilutsukellipi:-* ‘take alongwith and go away’ appear to be triple compounds. But they

are head-modifier verb phrases, and *tisuka-* (<*ti:sukoni* ‘having taken’), *pattuka-* (<*pattukoni* ‘having picked up’) and *pilutsuka-* (<*pilutsukoni* ‘having taken alongwith’) are past participle forms modifying the head verb (*v*) *ellipo:-* ‘go away’.

(b) *With sa:gu-* ‘continue’

Compounds with *sa:gu-* ‘continue’ indicate the continuation of the action of the main verb by the subject.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
tine:s- ‘eat up’	tineyya-	tinneyyasa:gu- ‘continue to eat up’
endabettu- ‘dry up’	endabetta-	endabattasa:gu- ‘continue to dry up’

(c) *With ko:ru-* ‘desire, wish’

Triple compounds with *ko:ru-* ‘desire, wish’ as auxiliary indicate the desire of the subject to perform the action of the main verb.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
ra:yanis(c)- ‘permit to write’	ra:yaniyya-	ra:yaniyyago:ru- ‘wish to permit to write’
vellipo:- ‘go away’	vellipo:-	vellipo:go:ru- ‘wish to go away’

(d) *With talas(c)-* ‘think’

Triple Compounds with *talas(c)-* ‘think’ as auxiliary indicate the subject’s ‘thinking to perform the action of the main verb’.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
tine:s- ‘eat up’	tineyya-	tineyyadala(c)- ‘think to eat up’
pa:ripo:- ‘run away’	pa:ripo:-	pa:ripo:dala(c)- ‘think to run away’

(e) *With ce:s-* ‘do’

Triple Compounds with *ce:s-* ‘do’ as auxiliary indicate that ‘the subject makes the object to perform the action of the main verb’.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
va:dipe: ‘fade away’	va:dipo:-	va:dipo:je:s- ‘make to fade away’
vellipe:- ‘go away’	vellipo:-	vellipo:je:s- ‘make to go away’

(f) With *tsu:s-* 'see, look'

Triple compounds with *tsu:s-* 'see, look' as auxiliary indicate that the subject tries to perform the action of the main verb.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
vellipo:- 'go away'	vellipo:-	vellipo:dzu:s- 'try to go away'
tine:s- 'eat up'	tine:ya-	tine:yadzu:s- 'try to eat up'

(g) With *kalugu-* 'happen', 'be able to'

Triple compound with *kalugu-* 'happen, be able to' as auxiliary indicate the 'capability of the subject to perform the action of the main verb'.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
tine:s- 'eat up'	tine:ya-	tine:yagalugu- 'able to eat up'
vellipo:- 'go away'	vellipo:-	vellipo:galugu- 'able to go away'

(h) With *is(c)-* 'give'

Compounds with *is(c)-* 'give' as auxiliary indicate 'the permission of the subject to the object to perform the action of the main verb'.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
va:dipo:- 'fade away'	va:dipo:n-	va:dipo:nis(c)- 'allow to fade away'
vellagottu- 'drive away'	vellagottan-	vellagottanis(c)- 'allow to drive away'

(i) With *marugu-* 'habituate'

Compounds with *marugu-* 'habituate' indicate that 'the subject is 'habituated' to perform the action of the main verb'.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
tin(iv)e:s- 'eat up'	tin(iv)e:ya-	tin(iv)e:yamarugu- 'habituate to eat up'
vacc(iv)e:s- 'come off'	vacc(iv)e:ya-	vacc(iv)e:yamarugu- 'habituate to come off'

(j) With *padu-* 'fall'

Compounds with *padu-* 'fall' as auxiliary indicate 'passive' meaning.

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
tsamp(iv)e:s- ‘kill off’	tsamp(iv)e:ya-	tsamp(iv)e:yabadu- ‘be killed off’
viragagottu- ‘break off’	viragagotta-	viragatottabadu- ‘be broken off’

2. ROOTS

As in the case of intransitive and transitive compounds, only the reflexive suffix *kon-* occurs with the root form of the main verb. Compounds with *kon-* as auxiliary express that ‘the action of the main verb is for the self benefit of the door’.

Formula

+ Lex: Mixd. Com. VS_r . + Aux: *kon-*

Read, a verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by a mixed compound verb stem plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the reflexive verb root *kon-*.

Manifestations

Compound Verb Stem	Triple Compound
tinadalats(u)- ‘think to eat’	tinadalatsukon- ‘think oneself to eat’
po:gottu- ‘loose’	po:gottukon- ‘loose oneself’

3. IMPERATIVES

The auxiliary verb suffixed to the imperative form of the main verb is *po:-* ‘go’. When after the suffixation of the auxiliary the triple compound derived in this way will also be in the imperative form like the main verb of the compound. These compounds in their imperative form indicate the ordering or directing of the object by the subject to precede to perform the action of the main verb.

Formula

+ Lex: Mixd. Com. vs_{imp} . + Aux: *po:-*

Read, a verbal base consists of an obligatory lexical slot filled by the imperative form of a mixed compound verb stem, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the verb root *po:-*.

Manifestations

Compound Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
a:dukon- ‘play oneself’	a:duko:	a:duko:bo:- ‘(you) play yourself’
vacc(iv)e:s- ‘come off’	vacc(iv)eyyi	vacceyyibo:- ‘(you) come off’

(D) NOMINAL COMPOUND VERBAL BASE

As verbs are combined to form compounds, nouns are also combined with verbs, and these nominal compounds represent a singular verbal idea. There are a number of verbs in Telugu that are added to various nouns to derive singular verbal meaning some of which are discussed below. Out of these verbs the most widely and commonly occurring verb in the formation of nominal compounds in *ce:s-* 'do'.

Nominal compound verbal bases consisting of upto six constituents exist in Telugu.

NOTE: With verbs so far, only double and triple compounds are discussed under (A), (B) and (C). But an important point to be noted is that from the nominal compound verbal bases of five and six constituents, if the noun constituent is deleted, we can also have mixed verbal compounds of four and five constituents respectively (Because of lack of space these details are not discussed here).

I. DOUBLE COMPOUNDS

Double compounds are derived by adding a verb to an inanimate noun that becomes the verbal object.

Formula

+ VO: inan. n. + Lex: *ce:s-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal object slot filled by an inanimate noun, plus an obligatory lexical slot filled by a class of verbs of which *ce:s-* 'do' is the representative.

An important point to be noted here is that the noun in each compound functions as the object of the verb. The verbs occurring in these compounds though mostly are transitives may sometimes be intransitives. Even though the verb is transitive, the resultant compound may be transitive or intransitive.

Manifestations

(a) *With ce:s- 'do'*

Inanimate Noun		Nominal Compound	
pani	'work (n)'	panice:s-	'work (v)'
khu.ni:	'murder (n)'	khu.ni:ce:s-	'murder (v)'
nidra	'sleep'	nidra je:s-	'to go and sleep at some other place for a specified period to avoid bad happenings'.

(b) *With (v)e:s- 'throw'*

Inanimate Noun		Nominal Compound	
muggu	'decorative design'	mugg(uv)e:s-	'decorate with designs'
tu:kam	'weight'	tu:kam(v)e:s-	'to weigh'
tsukka	'a drop'	tsukk(v)e:s-	'to drink alcoholic liquids'

(c) *With padu- 'fall'*

Inanimate Noun		Nominal Compound	
ci:kati	'darkness'	ci:katipadu-	'fall dark'
dsabbu	'sickness'	dzabbupadu-	'fall sick'
srama	'labour'	sramapadu-	'work hard'

(d) *With kalugu- 'happen'*

Inanimate Noun		Nominal Compound	
adrstam	'luck'	adrstamkalugu-	'possess luck'
manci	'goodness'	mancikalugu-	'happen good'

(e) *With a:du- 'play'*

In compounds *a:du-* is used in the sense of 'do'.

Inanimate Noun		Nominal Compound	
sna:nam	'bath'	sna:nama:du-	'take bath'
ni:llu	'water'	ni:lla:du-	'give birth'
debbalu	'blows'	debbala:du-	'quarrel(v)'

(f) *With is(c) - 'give'*

Inanimate Noun		Nominal Compound	
appu	'loan'	appis(c)-	'lend'
java:bu	'reply'	java:bis(c)-	'reply (v)'

(g) *With pettu- 'put, keep'*

Inanimate Noun		Nominal Compound	
appu	'loan'	appupettu-	'lend'
ni:llu	'water (n)'	ni:llupettu-	'water (v)'
ka:fi:	'coffee'	kafi:pettu-	'prepare coffee'

(h) With *mo:s-* 'carry'

Inanimate Noun

munda 'widow'

Nominal Compound

mundamo:s- 'become widow', 'loose everything'

(i) With *au-* 'become'

Inanimate Noun

payanam 'journey'

nayam 'cure'

Nominal Compound

payanamau- 'get ready for travel'

nayamau- 'be cured'

(j) With *ra:s-* 'write'

ra:s- is used only with the noun *poga* 'smoke' to indicate the way in which smoke goes up straight from the extinguished firewood.

Inanimate Noun

poga 'smoke'

Nominal Compound

pogara:s- 'going up of smoke from an extinguished firewood'

(k) With *kattu-* 'tie'

Inanimate Noun

ni:llu 'water'

Nominal Compound

ni:llugattu- 'water the field'

(l) With *tsu:s-* 'see', 'look'

Inanimate Noun

antu 'end'

Nominal Compound

antutsu:s- 'see the end', 'finish (v)'

(m) With *to:mu-* 'brush'

Inanimate Noun

pallu 'teeth'

Nominal Compound

palluto:mu- 'brush the teeth'

(n) With *kottu-* 'beat'

Inanimate Noun

ga:li 'wind, air'

buddi 'small bottle'

mandu 'medicine'

Nominal Compound

ga:ligottu- 'fill air', 'flatter'

buddigottu- 'to drink alcoholic liquids'

mandugottu- 'consume alcoholic drinks'

(o) *With ekkū- 'climb up'*

Inanimate Noun

kaipu 'intoxication'

picci 'madness'

Nominal Compound

kaipeddu- 'get intoxicated'

piccekku- 'get mad'

(p) *With pattu- 'catch'*

Inanimate Noun

picci 'madness'

deyyam 'spirit'

Nominal Compound

piccipattu- 'get mad'

deyyampattu- 'be possessed by a spirit'

(q) *With tirugu- 'move', 'wander'*

Inanimate Noun

kallu 'eyes'

tala 'head'

Nominal Compound

kallutirugu- 'feel giddiness'

talatirugu- 'feel giddiness'

(r) *With duvvu- 'comb'*

Inanimate Noun

tala 'head'

ka:lu 'leg'

Nominal Compound

taladuvvu- 'comb the hair'

ka:luduvvu- 'invite for combat'

(s) *With cedu- 'get spoiled'*

Inanimate Noun

mati 'wisdom'

Nominal Compound

maticedu- 'to get mad'

(t) *With calints(c)- 'shake'*

Inanimate Noun

mati 'wisdom'

Nominal Compound

maticalints(c)- 'become mad'

(u) *With po:s- 'pour'*

It gives the meaning of 'make' in compounds.

Inanimate Noun

kucce 'frills'

na:ru 'seedlings'

Nominal Compound

kuccebo:s- 'make frills'

na:rubo:s- 'sow the seeds'

(v) *With tsu:pu-* ‘show’

Inanimate Noun

Nominal Compound

a:sa ‘desire’

a:sadzu:pu- ‘create desire, promise to give something’

(w) *With ceppu-* ‘tell’

Inanimate Noun

Nominal Compound

tsaduvu ‘education’

tsaduvuceppu- ‘teach’

badi ‘school’

badiceppu- ‘teach’

(x) *With t(r)o:s-* ‘push’

Inanimate Noun

Nominal Compound

cetta ‘garbage’

cettat(r)o:s- ‘to sweep’

ceddo:s-

The example given in (x) is used only in certain parts of Cuddapah district of Rayalaseema.

An important thing to be noted is that all the 24 auxiliaries can be converted into transitive-causative verbs by adding suitable suffixes, and used with the same inanimate nouns to derive nominal compounds. Because of lack of space these verbs are not discussed here in detail. However, the verbs after the conversion would be as *ce:yints(c)*- ‘get the work done by others’, *(v)e:yints(c)*- ‘make one throw’, *padaje:s-* ‘make one fall’, *kaligints(c)*- ‘make happen’, *a:dints(c)*- ‘make one play’, *ippints(c)*- ‘make one give’, *pettints(c)*- ‘make one put or keep’, *mo:yints(c)*- ‘make one carry’, *ka:nits(u)*- and *avanits(u)*- ‘make one tie’, *tsu:pints(u)*- ‘show’, *to:mints(u)* ‘make one brush’, *kottints(u)*- ‘make one beat’, *ekkints(u)*- ‘make one climb’, *pattintsc(u)*- ‘make one catch’, *tippu-* or *tirigints(u)*- ‘make one move’, *duvvints(u)*- ‘make one comb’, *ceirts(u)*- , *cerupu-*, *cedupu*, *cedagottu-* ‘make one get spoiled’, *calimpaje:s-* ‘make one shake’, *po:yints(u)*- ‘make one pour’, *tsu:pints(u)*- ‘show’, *ceppints(u)*- ‘make one tell’ and *t(r)o:yints(u)*- ‘make one push’.

II. TRIPLE COMPOUNDS

Triple compounds consist of a double verbal compound plus an auxiliary. These compounds are formed exactly as double compounds except that the verbal object slot is replaced by the verbal base slot filled by a double compound (discussed in I), and the lexical slot is replaced by the auxiliary slot filled by an auxiliary verb.

The double nominal compound verb that fills the verbal base slot occurs either as a

past participle, or as an infinitive, or as a root. As in the previous cases, when the base slot filler is in the past participle form the compound expresses a singular verbal idea. On the other hand, when it is in the root or in infinitive form the compound expresses a double verbal idea.

There are not many types of triple compounds like the double compounds. Some of the more common triple compounds are discussed below.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Double Com. Vb. + Aux:(v) e:s-

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a double compound verb and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by a class of auxiliary verbs of which (v)e:s- is representative.

Manifestations

(a) Singular Verbal Idea Compounds

The base occurs always in the form of a past participle.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Double Com. Vb_{pp}. + Aux: (v) e:s-/po:-

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a past participle of a double compound verb, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by (v)e:s- or po:-

(1) *With (v)e:s- 'throw'*

Verb Stem	Past Participle	Triple Compound
vantace:s- 'cook(v)-	vantace:si	vantace:s(iv) e:s- 'finish off cooking'
tu:kam(v) e:s- 'weigh'	tu:kam(v)e:si	tu:kam(v)e:s(ic)e:s- 'finish off weighing'

(2) *With po:- 'go'*

Verb Stem	Past Participle	Triple Compound
kasta(m)padu- 'undergo troubles'	kasta(m)padi	kasta(m)padipo:- 'undergo troubles'
sramapadu- 'work hard'	sramapadi	sramapadipo:- 'work hard'

(b) Double Verbal Idea Compounds

The verbal base occurs both as infinitive as well as root.

(1) INFINITIVES

When the verbal base is in infinitive form *po:-*, *sa:gu-*, *ko:ru-*, *talas(c)-*, *kalugu-*, *tsu:s-*, etc., occur as auxiliaries.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Double Com. Vb_i. + Aux: *po:-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive of a double compound verb, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by a class of verbs of which *po:-* is the representative.

(1) With *po:-* 'go'

Verb Stem		Infinitive	Triple Compound
<i>tu:kam(v)e:s-</i>	'to weigh'	<i>tu:kame:ya-</i>	<i>tu:kame:yabo:-</i> 'about to start weighing'
<i>palluto:mu-</i>	'brush the teeth'	<i>palluto:ma-</i>	<i>palluto:mabo:-</i> 'about to brush the teeth'

(2) With *sa:gu-* 'continue'

Verb Stem		Past Participle	Triple Compound
<i>panice:s-</i>	'work(v)'	<i>paniceyya-</i>	<i>paniceyyasa:gu</i> 'continue to work'
<i>tu:kam(v)e:s-</i>	'weigh'		<i>tu:kam(v)e:yasa:gu-</i> 'continue to weigh'

(3) With *ko:ru-* 'desire, wish'

Verb Stem		Past Participle	Triple Compound
<i>panice:s-</i>	'to work'	<i>paniceyya-</i>	<i>paniceyyago:ru-</i> 'wish to work'
<i>pellice:s-</i>	'to marry off'	<i>pelliceyya-</i>	<i>pelliceyyago:ru-</i> 'wish to marry off'

(4) *With talas(c)- 'think'*

Verb Stem		Past Participle	Triple Compound
panice:s-	'to work'	panice:ya-	panice:yadadas(c)- 'to think to work'
tu:kam(v)e:s-	'to weigh'	tu:kame:ya-	tu:kam(v)e:yadadas(c)- 'to think to weigh'

(5) *With kalugu- 'happen'*

Verb Stem		Past Participle	Triple Compound
panice:s-		panice:ya-	panice:yagalugu- 'be able to work'
pellice:s-		pellice:ya-	pellice:yagalugu- 'be able to marry off'

(6) *With tsu:s- 'see, look'*

Verb Stem		Past Participle	Triple Compound
pellice:s-		pellice:ya-	pellice:yadzu:s- 'try to marry off'
tu:kam(v)e:s-		tu:kam(v)e:ya-	tu:kam(v)e:yadzu:s- 'try to weigh'

(2) ROOTS

Only the reflexive verb *kon-* 'take' occurs as auxiliary and after suffixing *kon-* the entire compound gives a reflexive meaning.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Double. Com. Vb_r. + Aux: *kon-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a double verbal compound stem, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the reflexive verb *kon-*.

Manifestation

Verb Base		Triple Compound
panice:s-	'work(v)'	panice:sukon- 'do one's own work'
pellice:s		pellice:sukon- 'marry oneself'

III. QUADRUPLE COMPOUNDS

The number and frequency of the quadruple compounds are less when compared to the double and the triple compounds, but they do occur frequently in the modern spoken Telugu. These compounds are also formed in the same manner as the triple compounds are formed, i.e., by suffixing an auxiliary to a triple compound discussed in the previous section.

The auxiliaries that derive the quadruple compounds from the triple compounds are again (v)e:s-, sa:gu-, telas(c)-, ko:ru-, po:-, kalugu-, tsu:s-, kon-, etc.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Triple Com. Vb. + Aux: (v) e:s-

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a triple compound verb plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by a class of auxiliary verbs of which (v)e:s- is the representative.

Manifestations

In quadruple compounds the base form occurs both as infinitive as well as root.

(1) INFINITIVES

The auxiliaries that occur with infinitives are (v)e:s-, sa:gu-, talas(c)-, ko:ru-, po:-galugu-, tsu:s-, etc.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Triple. Com. Vb. + Aux: (v) e:s-

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive of a triple compound verb, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by a class of auxiliaries of which (v)e:s- is the representatives.

(1) *With (v) e:s- 'throw'*

Verb Stem	Infinitive	Quadruple Compound
panice:sipa:ru-	panice:sipa:ra-	panice:sipa:r(av) e:s-
'finish off the work'		'finish off the work easily'
pellice:sipa:ru-	pellice:sipa:ra-	pellice:sipa:r(av) e:s-
'finish off the marriage'		'finish off the marriage easily'

(2) *With sa:gu- 'continue'*

Verb Stem	Infinitive	Quadruple Compound
tsukk(av)e:sukon- 'drink alcoholic liquids'	tsukk(av)e:suko:-	tsukk(av)e:suko:sa:gu- 'continue to drink alcoholic liquids'
bhaya(m)padipo:- 'be afraid off'	bhaya(m)padipo:-	bhaya(m)padipo:sa:gu- 'continue to be afraid off'

(3) *With talas(c)- 'think'*

Verb Stem	Infinitive	Quadruple Compound
panice:sokon- 'work oneself'	panice:suko-	panice:suko:das(c)- 'think to work oneself'
pellice:sokon- 'marry oneself'	pellice:suko:-	pellice:suko:das(c)- 'think to marry oneself'

(4) *With ko:ru- 'desire, wish'*

Verb Stem	Infinitive	Quadruple Compound
panice:sokon-	panice:suko:-	panice:suko:go:ru- 'wish to work oneself'
pellice:sokon-	pellice:suko:-	pellice:suko:go:ru- 'wish to marry oneself'

(5) *With po:- 'go'*

Verb Stem	Infinitive	Quadruple Compound
panice:sokon-	panice:suko:-	panice:suko:bo:- 'about to work oneself'
pellice:s(iv)e:s-	pellice:s(iv)eyya-	pellice:s(iv)eyyabo:- 'about to marry off'

(6) *With galugu- 'be able to'*

Verb Stem	Infinitive	Quadruple Compound
panice:sokon-	panice:suko:-	panice:suko:galugu- 'be able to work oneself'

pellice:sukon-	pellice:suko:-	pellice:suko:galugu-
		‘be able to marry oneself’

(7) With *tsu:s-* ‘see, look’

Verb Stem	Infinitive	Quadruple Compound
pellice:sukon-	pellice:suko:-	pellice:suko:dzu:s-
		‘try to marry oneself’
tu:kam(v)e:sukon-	tu:kame:suko:-	tu:kame:suko:dzu:s-
		‘try to weigh oneself’

(2) ROOTS

Only the reflexive verb *kon-* occurs with root forms.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Triple Com. Vb._r. + Aux: *kon-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a triple verbal compound stem, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the reflexive verb *kon-*.

Verb Base		Quadruple Compound
panice:yadalas(c)-	‘think to work’	panice:yadalatsukon- ‘think to work oneself’
pella:dadalas(c)-	‘think to marry’	pella:dadalatsukon- ‘think to marry oneself’

IV. QUINTUPLE COMPOUNDS

These compounds are very less frequent in number but they do find place in modern Telugu. These are derived in the same manner as the other compounds are derived. These compounds are formed by suffixing an auxiliary verb to a quadruple compound discussed in the previous section.

The main auxiliaries which form the quintuple compounds are *po:-*, *talas(c)-*, *tsu:s-* and *kon-*.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Quadruple. Com. Vb. + Aux: *po:-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a quadruple compound verb, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by a class of auxiliary verbs of which *po:-* is the representative.

In quintuple compounds also the base form occurs both as infinitive as well as root.

(1) INFINITIVES

The auxiliaries that occur with infinitives are *po:-*, *tsu:s-*, *kalugu-*, etc.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Quadruple Com. Vb_i. + Aux: *po:-/tsu:s-/kalugu-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive of a quadruple compound verb, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the auxiliary *po:-* or *tsu:s-* or *kalugu-*.

(1) With *po:-* 'go'

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Quintuple Compound
pellice:s(iv)e:sukon- 'finish off the marriage oneself'	pellice:s- (iv) e:suko:-	pellice:s- (iv) e:suko:bo:- 'about to finish off the marriage oneself'

(2) With *tsu:s-* 'see, look'

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Quintuple Compound
pellice:si- pa:r(av)e:s- 'finish off the marriage'	pellice:si- par(av)e:ya-	pellice:si- pa:r(av) e:yadzu:s- 'try to finish off the marriage'

(3) With *kalugu-* 'happen'

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Quintuple Compound
pellice:s- (iv)e:sukon- 'finish off the marriage oneself'	pellice:s- (iv)e:suko:-	pellice:s(iv) e:su- ko:galugu- 'be able to finish off the marriage oneself'

(2) ROOTS

Only the reflexive verb *kon-* 'take' occurs with root forms.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Quadruple Com. Vb_i. + Aux: *kon-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a quadruple compound stem, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the reflexive verb *kon-*.

Verb Base	Quintuple Compound
pellice:suko:dalas(c)-	pellice:suko:dalatsukon-
‘to think to marry oneself’	‘to think oneself to marry oneself’

V. SEXTUPLE COMPOUNDS

Though very rare, compounds of six constituents also are found in modern Telugu.

The sextuple compounds are formed by suffixing an auxiliary to the quintuple compounds discussed in the previous section. The reflexive verb root *kon-* is the frequently occurring auxiliary in the formation of sextuple compounds.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Quintuple Com. Vb_r. + Aux: kon-

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a quintuple compound stem, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the reflexive verb *kon-*.

Manifestations

Verb Base	Sextuple Compound
pellice:sipa:r(av)eyya- dalas (c)-	pellice:sipa:r(Av)eyya- dalatsukon-
‘think to finish off marriage’	‘think oneself to finish off marriage’

In all the types of verbal compounds discussed so far, it is presented that single root auxiliaries are suffixed to simple or compound verbal stems. That is, in a compound, the auxiliary is treated as a single root form, and the remaining part (i.e., compound minus auxiliary as the base stem. But, compounds with compound auxiliaries also exist. That is, the auxiliaries that are suffixed to the verbal bases are composed of more than one verb root. The commonly occurring auxiliary of this type is *pa:r(av) e:s-* ‘throw away’. In such compounds generally the base form is in the past participle form, thus, the entire compound becoming a ‘singular verbal idea’ compound. For want of space the internal structure of these compound auxiliaries and their types are not discussed here, but however, a few examples are given below. A general and overall formula for these compounds is,

+ Lex: iv_{pp.}/tv_{pp.} + Aux: pa:r (av) e:s-

Read, a compound verb consists of an obligatory lexica slot filled by the past participle of an intransitive or a transitive verb, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by compound auxiliaries of which *pa:r(av) e:s-* ‘throw away’ is the representative.

Verb Stem	Past Participle	Quintuple Compound
ra:s- 'write'	ra:si	ra:sipa:r(av)e:s- 'write out'
vantace:s- 'cook(v)'	vantace:si	vantace:si pa:r(av) ea:s- 'cook off'

It is to be noted that, in the above examples the base slot can be filled by either a single root or a compound root or an intransitive root or a transitive root.

(e) Adjectival Compound Verbal Base

As nouns and verbs are combined to form compounds, adjectives are also combined with verbs. The commonly found verbs that are added to various adjectives are *padu-* and *ce:s-*. *padu-* 'fall' is added to all the colour and quality indicating non-derived adjectives (*nalla* 'black', *tsalla* 'cold', etc.) to indicate the 'obtaining of that quality', And *ce:s-* is added only with a very few non-derived adjectives.

With adjectives mostly double and triple compounds are found. Compounds with more than three constituents are not frequent and hence they are not discussed.

I. DOUBLE COMPOUNDS

Double compounds are derived by adding the verb root *padu-* more commonly and *ce:s-* less commonly to non-derived colour and quality indicating adjectives. The double compounds with *padu-* (intransitive) express 'singular verbal idea' and with *ce:s-* (transitive) express 'double verbal idea'. In the process of compounding the initial consonants of *padu-* and *ce:s-* are voiced.

Formula

+ Base: Non-derived Adj. + Lex: *padu-/ce:s-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory adjectival base slot filled by a non-derived adjective, plus an obligatory lexical slot filled by the verbs *padu-* or *ce:s-*.

Manifestations

(1) *With padu- 'fall'*

Base Adjective	Adjectival Compound
nalla 'black'	nallabadu- 'become black'
pa:ta 'old'	pa:tabadu- 'become old'
sanna 'thin'	sannabadu- 'become thin'

(2) With *ce:s-* 'do'

Base Adjective		Adjectival Compound	
vettsa	'warm'	vetstsaje:s-	'make warm'
tsalla	'cold'	tsallaje:s-	'make cool'

When *ce:s-* is added to adjectives which also act as nouns, the combinations give idiomatic meanings.

Adjective/Noun		Compound	
kotta	'new'	kottaje:s-	'feel strange'
manci	'good'	mancije:s-	'tame'
ve:di	'hot'	ve:dije:s-	'get urinary infection'

II. TRIPLE COMPOUNDS

There are very few adjectival triple compounds. In the formation of these the double compounds become the verbal bases, and the verbs *po:-*, *sa:gu-*, *ko:ru-*, *ce:s-*, etc., become auxiliaries. In the formation of these compounds most of these auxiliaries are added to the infinitive form of the verbal base, and only *po:-* is added to both the infinitive form and the past participle. Also *kon-* is suffixed to the root form only when the double compound contains a transitive verb (i.e., only when *ce:s-* occurs, since no other transitive verb occurs in the formation of adjectival double compounds). Thus, there are both 'singular verbal idea' compounds and 'double verbal idea' compounds in adjectival triple compounds also.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Double Com. Vb. + Aux: *po:-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a double compound verb, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by a class of verbs of which *po:-* is the representative.

(a) Singular Verbal Idea Compounds

The auxiliary is added to the past participle form of the base. The only auxiliary occurring in this type is *po:-* 'go'

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Double Com. Vb_{pp}. + Aux: *po:-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the past participle form of a double compound, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the auxiliary *po:-*.

Verb Stem	Past Participle	Triple Compound
nallabadu-	‘become black’ nallabadi	nallabidipo:- ‘become black’
tiyyabadu-	‘become sweet’ tiyyabadi	tiyyabadipo:- ‘become sweet’

(b) Double Verbal Idea Compounds

In the formation of double verbal idea compounds the base form either becomes infinitive or remains as root.

(1) INFINITIVES

The auxiliaries *po:-*, *sa:gu-*, *ko:ru-*, *ce:s-*, etc., occur with the infinitive form of the base verb. In the process of compounding the initial voiceless consonants become voiced.

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Double Com. Vb_i + Aux: *po:-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a double compound verb stem, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by a class of verbs of which *po:-* is representative.

Manifestations

(1) With *po:-* ‘go’

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
tellabadu-	‘become white’ tellabada-	tellabadabo:- ‘about to become white’
vetstsabadu-	‘become warm’ vetstsabada-	vetstsabadabo:- ‘about to become warm’

(2) With *sa:gu-* ‘continue’

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
nallabadu-	‘become black’ nallabada-	nallabadasa:gu- ‘continue to become black’
sannabadu-	‘become thin’ sannabada-	sannabadasa:gu- ‘continue to become thin’

(3) With *ko:ru-* 'desire', 'wish'

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
nallabadu-	'become black' nallabada-	nallabadago:ru- 'with to become black'
sannabadu-	'become thin' sannabada-	sannabadago:ru- 'wish to become thin'

(4) With *ce:s-* 'do'

Verb Stem	Verb Infinitive	Triple Compound
vetstsabadu-	'become warm' vetstsabada-	vetstsabadaje:s- 'make to become warm'
sannabadu-	'become thin' sannabada-	sannabada je:s- 'make to become thin'

(2) ROOTS

kon- 'take' is the only auxiliary that occurs with the root form of the base. *kon-* occurs as auxiliary only when the double compound verb base to which it is added contains a transitive verb (in this case *ce:s-* 'do').

Formula

+ Vb. Base: Double Compound Vb_r. + Aux: *kon-*

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a double compound verb stem, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the verb root *kon-*.

Manifestations

Verb Stem	Triple Compound
vetstsaje:s- 'make warm'	vettsa je:sukon- 'make oneself warm'
kotta je:s- 'make new, feel strange'	kottaje:sukon- 'feel oneself strange'

III. QUADRUPLE COMPOUNDS

Quadruple compounds are very rarely found. The base slot is filled by a triple compound verb and the auxiliary slot is filled by either *kon-* or *sa:gu-*.

The triple verbal compound that fills the base slot can be either of the 'singular verbal idea type' or of the 'double verbal idea type', and it occurs both in the infinitive form and in the root form, thus the resulting quadruple compound belonging to the 'double verbal idea type'.

+ Vb. Base: Triple Com. Vb_{i/r} + Aux: sa:gu-/kon-

Read, a compound consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive form or the root of a triple compound verb, plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by *sa:gu-* or *kon-*.

Manifestations

1. INFINITIVES

With sa:gu- 'continue'

Verb Stem	Infinitive	Quadruple Compound
nallabadipo:-	nallabadipo:-	nallabadipo:sa:gu-
'become black'		'continue to become black'
tsallabadipo:-	tsallabadipo:-	tsallabadipo:sa:gu-
'become cool'		'continue to become cool'

2. ROOTS

With kon- 'take'

Verb Stem	Quadruple Compound
sannabadago:ru-	sannabadago:rukon-
'wish to become lean'	'wish oneself to become lean'

5.3.2. MOOD

Moods show different degrees or kinds of reality, desirability or contingency of an event (Hockett of 1958). It is much more correct to say that they express certain attitudes of the mind of the speaker towards the contents of the sentence, though in some cases the choice of the mood is determined not by the attitude of the actual speaker, but by the character of the clause itself, and its relation to the main nexus on which it is dependent. Further, it is very important to remember that we speak of 'mood' only if this attitude of mind is shown in the form of the verb. Mood thus is a systematic, not a notional category (Jespersen O 1963).

Mood like tense is frequently realized by inflecting the verb, or by modifying it by means of 'auxiliaries'. It is best defined in relation to an 'unmarked' class of sentences which express simple statements of fact, unqualified with respect to the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying (Lyons J, 1969).

Most of the models in Telugu are some sort of defective verbs, i.e., the verbal expansion is terminated with the model system, and no tense system and aspect system take place. Though some of them clearly express futurity in the action, they are never marked for the tense. For example, the abilitative *galugu-*, and the negatives *vaddu* and *akkarale:du* clearly indicate future in meaning, but they are not marked for future tense. But there are some moods such as the tense form of the abilitative *galugu-* and the continuative *sa:gu-* which indicate tenses.

MOODS AND COMPOUNDS

A compound verb is a verbal base like any other verbal base which takes tense, mood and aspect markers. And it indicates a singular verbal action [*vellipo:ya:du* ‘(he) went away’], or a joint verbal action taking both the verbs into account (*padagottu-* ‘fell’), whereas mood expresses different degrees of reality of an event with the same verb (*tinagalugu-* ‘able to eat’). Model auxiliaries may be main verbs or auxiliaries in the verbal compounds, but according to the need, to express a particular degree of meaning of the main verb they become model auxiliaries.

A major portion of moods in Telugu are derived by modifying the main verb by means of auxiliaries.

Comprehensively, the following models can be listed in Telugu:

Mood		Markers
Indicative	:	ϕ
Obligatory	:	-a:li
Prohibitive	:	-ku:dadu
Dubitative	:	vatstsu
Imperative	:	-u/-i
Permissive	:	is(c)-
Negative	:	vaddu/ra:du/ka:du/le:du
Abilitative	:	gala-/galugu-
Continuative	:	sa:gu-
Optative	:	-ga:ka/-ga:ta
Desiderative	:	ko:ru-
Effortative	:	tsu:s-

Hartative	:	-da:m
Sufficientative	:	akkarale:du
Negative		
Double Imperative	:	po:- (tinubo:-)
Habitutive	:	marugu-

In Telugu the models are suffixed to the infinitive form of the main verb except in the case of double imperative. In the case of double imperative the models are added to the imperative form of the main verb. After the suffixation of the model suffixes either they may be terminated, or linked with tense-aspect systems.

(i) Indicative Mood

Indicative mood is structurally unmarked. It can be said that simple declarative statements of fact such as *a:yana vasta:du* 'He comes' are in indicative mood. This mood is represented by zero, and it directly connects the verbal base to tense-aspect systems.

(ii) Obligatory Mood

The obligatory mood indicates that the action of the main verb 'must' take place, or in other words, it is an obligation on the part of the actor to perform the action of the main verb. Though it is an obligation, this can be either a 'request' or a 'suggestion' sometimes depending on the situation. For example, the sentence *re:pu ne:nu vella:li* 'I must go tomorrow' indicates an obligation on the part of the doer; but the sentence *re:pu mi:ru vella:li* indicates three or four shades of meaning. It may indicate that 'You must go tomorrow', or 'It is your duty to go tomorrow', or 'You are supposed to go tomorrow'. These indicate no obligation but only a suggestion. Or, it may even express that 'It is better if you go tomorrow'. These shades of meaning are indicated by different intonational patterns.

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mode: obl. -a:li

Read, the obligatory mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the obligatory suffix *-a:li*.

Manifestations

Verb Root		Infinitive	Mood: Obligatory
tin-	'eat'	tina-	tina:li 'must eat'
vell-	'go'	vella-	vella:li 'must go'

The obligatory mood acts as a 'compulsive', with an auxiliary *ti:ru-* 'be cleared off'

suffixed to the main verb, in which case the verb base becomes a compound. The above formula may be modified in this case in the following way.

+ VB: inf. of a compound with *ti:ru-* + Mood: obligatory *-a:li*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Infinitive	Mood: Obligatory
<i>vacciti:ru-</i>	<i>vacciti:ra-</i>	<i>vacciti:ra:li</i>
‘come without fail’		‘must come compulsorily’

(iii) Prohibitive Mood

It prohibits the action of the main verb being performed.

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mood: Prohibitive *-ku:dadu*

Read, the prohibitive mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by an infinitive, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the prohibitive suffix *-ku:dadu*

Manifestations

Verb Root	Infinitive	Mood: Prohibitive
<i>tin-</i> ‘eat’	<i>tina-</i>	<i>tinaku:dadu</i> ‘should not eat’
<i>vell-</i> ‘go’	<i>vella-</i>	<i>vellaku:dadu</i> ‘should not go’
<i>a:du-</i> ‘play(v)’	<i>a:da-</i>	<i>a:daku:dadu</i> ‘should not play’

(iv) Dubitative Mood

-vatstsu a defective form of the verb *vas(c)-* ‘come’ is the dubitative marker which indicates the probability of occurrence of an event. When this model is marked the verbal head is terminated, i.e., no tense and PNG (person-number-gender) are marked.

The dubitative mood does not strictly mark only the dubitative degree of the attitude of the mind of a person, but depending on the context and environment it shifts to the degrees of ‘imperative’, and even to ‘abilitative’ and ‘permissive’ sense. For example, see the following sentences:

- (1) *inka padi nimisallo: bassu ra:vtstsu*
‘The bus may come in another 10 minutes’ (Dubitative)
- (2) *nuvvu kla:sulo:nunci vellavatstsu*
‘You may go out of the class’ (Imperative)

(3) inka mi:ru ku:rtso:vatstsu

‘You may sit now’ (Permissive)

(4) a:yana inta annam tinavatstsu

‘He may eat this much food’ (Abilitative)

In the above sentences though the modal marker is dubitative it is really true only in sentence (1). ‘The bus may come in another 10 minutes’ may happen or may not happen in some cases. In (2), ‘You may go out of the class’ is the polite way of ordering to get out of the class. Sentence (3) is clearly permissive. ‘You may sit now’ indicates that until then permission to sit was prohibited. Sentence (4) is abilitative since it estimates the capability to perform the action. ‘He may eat this much food’ is estimating the capability of ‘he’ to eat the specified quantity of food.

Though *-vatstsu* indicates different degrees of reality of the mental attitude of the speaker structurally it is dubitative only.

Formula

+ VB. inf. + Mood: Dubitative -vatstsu

Read, the dubitative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive of a verb, plus an obligatory modal slot filled by the dubitative marker *-vatstsu*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Infinitive	Mood: Dubitative
vell- ‘go’	vella-	vellavatstsu ‘may go’
ra:s- ‘write’	ra:ya-	ra:yavatstsu ‘may write’

The dubitative has a negative which is marked by *-akapo:vatstsu*.

e.g.,

tin- ‘eat’	tina-	tinakapo:vatstsu	‘may not eat’
ra:s- ‘write’	rasa-	ra:yakapo:vatstsu	‘may not write’

(v) Imperative Mood

Imperatives do not express statements, but they express commands or instructions. Since the commands or orders cannot be given to persons who are not present, only the second person nouns or pronouns can occur with the imperatives, and in most of the languages the verbs do not inflect for imperatives, i.e., the verb root itself acts as an imperative (English: *bring, go*, etc., Hindi: *ja*., *kha*., etc.). In classical literary Telugu for most of the verbs the root form and the imperative form is the same. But in modern Telugu though some of the

imperatives are still roots, in general roots are separated from imperatives, and the verb roots are inflected for imperative. The general imperative markers are *-u* and *-i* which are suffixed to the verb roots which undergo certain morphophonemic changes when they are suffixed to certain verb roots.

The imperative is a will-mood as its main function is to express the will of the speaker, and meant to influence the behaviour of the bearer. As Jespersen says the imperatives range from the strictest command to the humblest prayer (See Jespersen; *The Philosophy of Grammar*, p.313). The imperatives not always express 'command' or 'order' or 'request', but sometimes they even mean 'permission'.

In Telugu, the imperative expresses four shades of meaning, viz., command or order, request, permission and indication or declaration. For example, see the following sentences,

nuvvu bayatiki vellu
'you go out' (command, order)
mi:ru i: ro:dze: vellandi
'you go today only' (Request)
mi:ri i: pustakam ti:suko:ndi
'you take this book' (Permission)
mi:ru i: pu:ta annam tinandi
'you take food today' (Indication, Declaration)

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mood: Imperative -u/-i

Read, the imperative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the imperative marker *-u/-i*.

Manifestations

Verb Root		Infinitive	Mood: Imperative
ra:s-	'write'	ra:ya-	ra:yi '(you) write' (ra:ya- + -i)
tsu:s-	'see, look'	tsu:da-	tsu:du- '(you) see' (tsu:da- + -u)

(vi) Permissive Mood

Permissive mood indicates permitting or allowing the object of the sentence to perform the action of the main verb. Permissive mood is marked by the auxiliary *is(c)-* 'give'.

+ VB: inf. + Mood: Permissive. is(c)-

Read, the permissive mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the permissive marker *is(c)-*.

Verb Root		Infinitive		Mood: Imperative
vas(c)-	‘come’	ra:-	ra:nis(C)-	‘allow to come’
pa:du-	‘sing’	pa:da-	pa:danis(c)-	‘permit to sing’

(vii) Negative Mood

Negative mood indicates the negation of the action of the main verb to which the model markers are suffixed. In Telugu, there are five negative markers, viz., *-aku*, *(-)vaddu*, *(-)le:du*, *-le:-* and *-a-*. Of these, *(-)vaddu* ‘do not want’ and *(-)le:du* ‘does not exist’ are independent words, and are also sentences themselves as negative responses to questions. *vaddu* is negative response to *ka:va:lae?* (*ka:va:li* + *a:*), but it is also used as negative response with future verb.

e.g.,

Question	Negative Response
annam ka:va:la: ?	vaddu
‘Do you want food?’	‘Do not want’
annam tinta:va: ?	vaddu
‘Will you take food?’	‘(I) will not take’

But, *-le:-* is an allomorph of *und-* ‘be’. With the suffix *-du* it negates the ‘existence’, in other words, it is the negative of *undi*. As a negative model marker it is suffixed to the infinitive of the main verb, and it negates the past tense. *-le:-* as a bound morpheme when suffixed to the infinitive of the main verb, takes the PNG markers of the subject of the action and negates the abilitative mood. The negative marker *-a-* is also bound and suffixed to the infinitive of the main verb and negates the future-habitual tense taking the PNG markers of the subject of the action of the main verb.

Of the three negative markers *-aku*, *(-)vaddu* and *(-)le:du*, the first two negate the imperative mood and the last one negates the past tense of the action. This can be seen from the following table.

DISTRIBUTION MATRIX OF NEGATIVE MARKERS

TABLE 5.2

Form Marker	Imperative	Past Tense	Abilitative	Future Habitual
-aku	x	-	-	-
(-)vaddu	x	-	-	-
(-)le:du	-	x	-	-
-le:-	-	-	x	-
-a-	-	-	-	x

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mood: Negative -aku/(-)vaddu/(-)le:du/-le:-/-a-

Read, the negative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by a negative marker *-aku* or *(-)vaddu* or *(-)le:du* or *-le:-* or *-a-*.

Manifestations

	Verb Root	Infinitive	Mood: Negative	
(a)	aku-			
	tin- 'eat'	tina-	tinaku	'do not eat'
	vell- 'go'	vella-	vellaku	'do not go'
(b)	(-)vaddu			
	tsu:s- 'see, look'	tsu:da-	tsu:davaddu	'do not see or look'
	ra:s- 'write'	ra:ya-	ra:yavaddu	'do not write'
(c)	(-)le:du-			
	po:- 'go'	po:-	po:le:du	'did not go'
	ti:sukon- 'take'	ti:suko:-	ti:suko:le:du	'did not take'

(d)	-le:-				
	ra:s-	‘write’	ra:ya-	ra:yale:nu	‘I cannot write’
	a:du-	‘play (v)’	a:da-	a:dale:vu	‘you (sg.) cannot play’
(e)	-a-				
	tin-	‘eat’	tina-	tinanu	‘I shall not eat’
	navvu-	‘laugh’	navva-	navvadu	‘He will not laugh’

(viii) Abilitative Mood

Abilitative mood indicates the capability of the subject to perform the action of the main verb. Abilitative mood is marked by the auxiliary *gala-* alongwith the person markers. It is not marked for tense, but indicates person markers. It is not marked for tense, but indicates futurity in action. However, there is an alternative marker of the abilitative mood. *galagu-* which is marked for the tense.

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mood: Abilitative *gala-/galugu-*

Read, the abilitative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the abilitative marker *gala-* or *galugu-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root		Infinitive	Mood: Abilitative	
tin-	‘eat’	tina-	tinagala-/tinagalugu-	‘be able to eat’
vell-	‘go’	vella-	vellagala-/vellagalugu-	‘be able to go’

(ix) Continuative Mood

Continuative mood indicates continuation or prolonging of the action of the main verb by its performer. Continuative mood is marked by the auxiliary *sa:gu-*. It is marked only for the past tense. It is not marked for non-past tense because it indicates prolongation of the action, and prolongation of the action cannot be done unless the action has already started.

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mood: Continuative *sa:gu-*

Read, the continuative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the continuative marker *sa:gu-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root		Infinitive		Mood: Continuative
tin-	‘eat’	tina-	tinasa:gu-	‘continue to eat’
vas(c)-	‘come’	ra:-	ra:sa:gu-	‘continue to come’

There is another auxiliary verb *tsotstu-* that gives the same meaning as *sa:gu-*, but its usage is restricted to a very few verbs and is also less frequent.

e.g.,

vax(c)	‘come’	ra:-	ra:dzotstu-	‘start or continue to come’
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(x) Optative Mood

Optative mood indicates the desire or will of the person that the action of the main verb be performed. Optative mood is marked by a suffix *-ga:ka* or *-ga:ta* and it is not marked for any tense. Unlike in other moods, here the suffix is added to the root form of the main verb. Optative mood is used while blessing or cursing somebody.

Formula

+ VB: verb root + Mood: Optative: *-ga:ka/-ta:ta*

Read, the optative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the root form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the optative marker *-ga:ka* or *-ga:ta*.

Manifestation

Verb Root		Mood: Optative
vas(c)-/vatstsu-	‘come’	vatstsuga:ka ‘may come’
tsu:s-/tsu:tsu-	‘see’	tsu:tsuga:ka ‘may see’
vardhillu-	‘flurish’	vardhilluga:ka ‘may flurish’

Since the optative mood is found more commonly in written language, only the old or original verbal roots are used with optative suffix.

(xi) Desiderative Mood

Desiderative mood indicates the desire or intention of the subject to perform the action of the main verb. Desiderative mood is derived by suffixing the auxiliary *-ko:ru* ‘wish, desire’ to the main verb, and it is marked for the tense.

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mood: Desiderative: *ko:ru-*

Read, the desiderative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the

infinitive form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the desiderative marker *ko:ru-*, the initial consonant of which is voiced in the process of compounding.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Infinitive	Mood: Desiderative
tin- 'eat'	tina-	tinago:ru- 'desire to eat'
pa:du- 'sing'	pada-	pa:dago:ru- 'desire to sing'

(xii) Effortative Mood

Effortative mood indicates the subject's 'waiting for a chance' or 'trying' to perform the action of the main verb. It is marked by the verb root *tsu:s-* 'see', 'look', and also marked for the tense. The initial consonant of *tsu:s-* is voiced in the process of compounding.

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mood: Effortative: *tsu:s-*

Read, the effortative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the effortative marker *tsu:s-*.

Manifestations

Verb Base	Infinitive	Mood: Effortative
ra:s- 'write'	ra:ya-	ra:yadzu:s- 'try to write'
vas(c)- 'come'	ra:-	ra:dzu:s- 'try to come'

(xiii) Hartative Mood

Hartative mood indicates the suggestion of the subject to 'his own group including himself' or 'a group which can be replaced by the inclusive pronoun *manam* 'we'', to perform the action of the main verb. Hartative mood is marked by the suffix *-da:m* which is added to the root form of the main verb. This is not marked for the tense, but indicates the action in future.

Formula

+ VB: verb root + Mood: Hartative *-da:m*

Read, the hartative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by a verb root, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the hartative suffix *-da:m*.

Verb Root		Mood: Harative	
tin-	‘eat’	tinda:m	‘let us eat’
ra:s-	‘write’	ra:dda:m	‘let us write’

(xiv) Sufficientative Negative Mood

Sufficientative negative mood indicates that the action of the main verb need not be performed. This is marked by the combination of the noun *akkara* ‘need’ and the negative marker *-le:du* ‘no, not’. This mood is not marked for the tense. It simply negates the obligatory mood (*-a:li*) and expresses that the action of the verb to which *(-)akkarale:du* ‘not necessary’ is suffixed may be performed, but it is not an obligation.

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mood: -akkarale:du

Read, the needlessness indicative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the sufficientative negative mood *(-)akkarale:du*.

Manifestations

Verb Base	Infinitive	Mood: Sufficientative Negative	
vas(c)- ‘come’	ra:-	ra:nakkarale:du	‘need not come’
tsu:s- ‘see’, ‘look’	tsu:da-	tsu:danakkarale:du	‘need not see’

(xv) Double Imperative Mood

Double Imperative mood indicates the action of ‘moving away’ from the speaker, by the subject of the main verb before performing the action of the main verb. In other words, it indicates that the performer has to move away (*po:-* ‘go’) first to a specified place and then perform the action of the main verb. Double imperative mood is marked by the verb *po:-* ‘go’ in its imperative form, and it is not marked for the tense. Double imperative is formed by suffixing *po:-* to the imperative form of the main verb and in the process of compounding the initial consonant of *po:-* is voiced.

Formula

+ VB: imp. + Mood: po:-

Read, the double imperative mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the imperative form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the double imperative marker *po:-* ‘go’.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Imperative	Mood: Double Imperative
tin- 'eat'	tinu	tinubo: 'go and eat'
tsu:s- 'see, look'	tsudu	tsu:dubo: 'go and see'

(xvi) Habitutive Mood

The habitutive mood indicates the habituation of a person to perform the action of the main verb. It is marked by the verb root *marugu-* 'habituate', and is also marked for the tense.

Formula

+ VB: inf. + Mood: Habitutive marugu-

Read, the habitutive mood consists of an obligatory verbal base slot filled by the infinitive form of a verb, plus an obligatory model slot filled by the habitutive marker *marugu-* 'habituate'

Manifestations

Verb Root	Infinitive	Mood: Habitutive
tin- 'eat'	tina-	tinamarugu- 'habituate to eat'
vas(c)- 'come'	ra:-	ra:marugu- 'habituate to come'

5.3.3. ASPECT

Aspect is more semantic oriented and indicates the temporal distribution of an event. That is, it indicates the events occurrence at different points of time, or in other words, shows contrasts of meaning in respect of its temporal contour.

In Telugu, the aspectual meanings are achieved either by inflecting the main verb, or by suffixing an auxiliary to it. The Telugu aspect indicates mainly the meanings of perfect-stative, perfect-predictive (or suppositive), incessant, durative, inceptive, habitual, completive, malevolent, accellerative, self-benefactive and future-utilitative.

In Telugu verbs, the base system connects into the model system, or directly into the aspectual system with zero mood, or even into tense system with zero mood and zero aspect. The model system either terminates the verb when the mood is not marked for the tense, or connects either into the aspectual system when the aspect is inflexional, or directly into the tense system with zero aspect. The aspect system terminates the verb with PNG markers if the aspect is inflexional, or connects into tense system of the aspect is derivative, i.e., by suffixation. Also, the aspect whether it is inflexional or derivative, in a reverse order

connects even into the model system provided the mood is not marked for the tense, except the inceptive with *po:-* 'go'. The entire system discussed above is displayed in the following matrix..

TABLE 5.3

BASE - MOOD - ASPECT - TENSE LINKAGE MATRIX

BASE	MOOD	ASPECT	TENSE
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; height: 300px; position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; top: 0; right: 0; width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; text-align: center; line-height: 20px;">X</div> <div style="position: absolute; bottom: 0; left: 0; width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; text-align: center; line-height: 20px;">X</div> <div style="position: absolute; top: 50%; left: 50%; transform: translate(-50%, -50%);"> tin- 'eat' </div> </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; height: 300px; position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; top: 0; right: 0; width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; text-align: center; line-height: 20px;">X</div> <div style="position: absolute; bottom: 0; left: 0; width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; text-align: center; line-height: 20px;">X</div> <div style="position: absolute; top: 10%; text-align: center;"> -a:li -ku:dadu etc. </div> <div style="position: absolute; top: 50%; left: 50%; transform: translate(-50%, -50%);"> - ----- -kalugu- -sa:gu- etc. </div> </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; height: 300px; position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; top: 0; right: 0; width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; text-align: center; line-height: 20px;">X</div> <div style="position: absolute; bottom: 0; left: 0; width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; text-align: center; line-height: 20px;">X</div> <div style="position: absolute; top: 10%; text-align: center;"> -e:s- -po:- etc. </div> <div style="position: absolute; top: 40%; left: 50%; transform: translate(-50%, -50%);"> - ----- -tu: und- -i und- etc. </div> <div style="position: absolute; top: 50%; left: 50%; transform: translate(-50%, -50%);"> - ----- -galugutu:und- -galigiund- etc. </div> </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; height: 300px; position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; top: 0; right: 0; width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; text-align: center; line-height: 20px;">X</div> <div style="position: absolute; bottom: 0; left: 0; width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; text-align: center; line-height: 20px;">X</div> <div style="position: absolute; top: 10%; text-align: center;"> -tinna:nu -tinta:nu -tine:sa:nu -tine:sta:nu ----- -tinagalugu- -ta:nu etc. </div> </div>

The aspect in Telugu may be with a single marker or with double or triple markers. The markers may be inflexional or derivative or both mixed.

I. ASPECTS WITH SINGLE MARKER

(A) INFLEXIONAL ASPECTS

This includes the aspects achieved by inflecting the verbal base, and since they are already temporal they are not marked for the tense. The following types of aspects are found under this category.

(i) Habitual Aspect

Habitual aspect indicates a habitual or a routine action in the past. This is achieved by suffixing the pronoun of the subject of the verbal action to its non-past verbal adjective.

Formula

+ Base: Non-past verbal adj. + suf: pn.

Read, the habitual aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the non-past verbal adjective of a verb, and an obligatory suffix slot filled by a pronoun.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base	Suffix	Aspect: Habitual
vax(c)- 'come'	vacce:-	va:du	vacce:va:du 'coming person (Mas.)'
ra:s- 'write'	ra:se:-	adi	ra:se:di 'writing person (Fem. & Nue.)'

NOTE: The above mentioned habitual form is also used as a noun (subject of the sentence), but in the natural order it occurs at the end of the sentence as verb, and at the beginning as noun.

(ii) Suspective Aspect

Suspective aspect indicates a doubt whether somebody may perform the action when actually he is not supposed to perform, and expresses the speakers advice to him not to perform the action. Suspective aspect indicates future in tense, and is restricted only to the second person as in the case of imperative. The suspective aspect is achieved by suffixing person markers to the non-past verbal adjective of a verb, and it is not marked for the tense.

Formula

+ Base: Non-past verbal adj. + Suf. -vu/-ru

Read, the suspective aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the non-past verbal adjective of a verb, and an obligatory suffix slot filled by the second person markers.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base	Suffix	Aspect: Suspective
a:du- 'play (v)'	a:de:-	-vu/-ru	a:de:vu 'may you a:de:ru play'

tin-	‘eat’	tine:-	-vu/-ru	tine:vu	‘may you
				tine:ru	eat’

(iii) Incessant Habitual Aspect

Incessant habitual aspect indicates a progressive and habitual action in the past. It is achieved by adding the habitual aspectual form of the verb *und-* ‘be’ to the progressive participle of any verb. The incessant habitual aspect is not marked for the tense.

Formula

+ Base: Prog. Part. + Aux: Habitual Aspect of *und-*

Read, the incessant habitual aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the progressive participle of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the habitual aspect with verb *und-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base	Suffix	Aspect: Incessant Habitual
ra:s-	‘write’ ra:stu:-	undeya:du	ra:stu:unde:va:du
		‘existing person (Mas.)’	‘(He) used to write’
pa:du-	‘sing’ pa:dutu:-	unde:di	pa:dutu:unde:di
		‘existing person (Fem./Neu.)’	‘(She/It) used to sing’

(iv) Perfect - Stative Aspect

The perfect-stative aspect indicates that the subject performed the action of the verb, and is in the stative condition. The perfect-stative aspect is not marked for any tense. This is achieved by adding the non-future tense form of the verb *und-* ‘be’ to the past adverbial participle of any verb.

Formula

+ Base: Past Adv. Part. + Aux: Non-future *und-*

Read, the perfect-stative aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the past adverbial participle of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the non future tense form of the verb *und-*.

Verb Root	Base	Suffix	Aspect: Perfect Stative
tin-	'eat'	tini	'having eaten'
		unna:du	tiniunna:du
			'he ate and he is'
			'is(he)'
vas(c)-	'come'	vacci	'having come'
		unna:mu	vaccinunna:mu
			'we came and we
			'are (we)'
			'are'

(v) Perfect-Predictive (or Suppositive) Aspect

The perfect-predictive aspect indicates that the action of the main verb might have been performed by its subject. This is achieved by adding the future tense form of the verb *und-* 'be' to the past adverbial participle of any verb. The first constituent, the past adverbial participle indicates that the action of the main verb is performed, and the second constituent, the auxiliary expresses 'futurity of existing', and both together express an indefiniteness of 'uncertainty' about the performance of the action.

Formula

+ Base: Past Adv. Part. + Aux: Future Tense. *und-*

Read, the perfect-predictive aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the past adverbial participle of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the future tense form of the verb *und-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base	Suffix	Aspect: Perfect Predictive
ta:gu-	'drink'	ta:gi	'having drunk'
		unta:du	ta:giunta:du
			'he might have
			'will be (he)'
			'drunk'
a:du-	'play'	a:di	'having played'
		untundi	a:di-untundi
			'she/it might have
			'will be (she/it)'
			'played'

(vi) Incessant Aspect

The incessant aspect indicates progress or continuity of an action. It is achieved by suffixing the non-future tense form of the verb *und-* to the progressive adverbial participle of the main verb.

Formula

+ Base: Prog. part. + Aux: Non-future *und-*

Read, the incessant aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the progressive

participle of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the non-future tense form of the verb *und-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base	Suffix	Aspect: Incessant
vas(c) ‘come’	vastu:- ‘coming’	unna:du ‘is(he)’	vastu:unna:du ‘he is still coming’
tsu:s- ‘see’, ‘look’	tsu:stu:- ‘seeing’	unna:mu ‘are (we)’	tsu:stu:unna:mu ‘we are still seeing’

(vii) Durative Aspect

The durative aspect indicates ‘continuation’ or ‘repetition’ of the action as a bhabit as in ‘He *often comes* to my house’. It also indicates that the action is ‘continuing, but the speaker only predicts that the action is going on, and he did not see it’. The best example to express it in English is ‘He *must be coming now*’.

Formula

+ Base: Prog. Part. + Aux: Future *und-*

Read, the durative aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the progressive adverbial participle of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the future tense form of the verb *und-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base	Suffix	Aspect: Durative
vin- ‘listen’	vintu:- ‘listening’	unta:du ‘will be (he)’	vintu:unta:du ‘he will be listening’
le:s- ‘get up’	le:stu:- ‘getting up’	untundi ‘will be (she/it)’	le:stu:untundi ‘she/it will be getting up’

(B) DERIVATIVE ASPECTS

This category includes all the aspects that are derived by suffixation, i.e., by suffixing auxiliaries to the main verb. Unlike inflexional aspects these aspects are marked for the tense. The derivative aspects found in Telugu are as follows.

(i) Completive Aspect

Completive aspect indicates the ‘completion of the action’, or ‘finishing the action without any difficulty’. This is marked by two auxiliaries in Telugu, viz., *po:-* ‘go’ and *(v)e:s-* ‘throw’. There is no clear cut distinction that to which verbs *po:-* is suffixed and to which verbs *(v)e:s-* is suffixed, but *po:-* is suffixed to most of the intransitive verbs and

(v)e:s- to the transitive verbs more frequently. Both the auxiliaries are suffixed to the past adverbial participle form of the main verb.

Formula

+ Base: Past Adv. Participle + Aux: po:-/(v)e:s-

Read, the completive aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the past adverbial participle of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the auxiliaries po:-/(v)e:s-.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base: Past Part.	Auxiliary	Aspect: Completive
vell- 'go'	velli 'having gone'	po:-	vellipo:- 'go away'
tin- 'eat'	tini 'having eaten'	(v)e:s-	tin(iv)e:s- 'eat up'

(ii) Self-Benefactive Aspect

Self-benefactive aspect indicates that the action performed by the subject is for the self benefit or self use. This is marked by the reflexive auxiliary *kon-* 'take'. Self benefactive aspect is marked for the tense.

Formula

+ Base: Verb Root + Aux: Reflexive kon-

Read, the self-benefactive aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the verb root, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the reflexive suffix *kon-*.

Manifestations

Base: Verb Root	Auxiliary	Aspect: Completive
a:du- 'play'	kon-	a:dukon- 'play for self benefit'
tsaduvu- 'read'	kon-	tsaduvukon- 'read for self benefit'

(iii) Accelerative Aspect

Accelerative aspect quickens the action of the main verb, in other words, the action of the main verb is performed faster. The accelerative aspect is marked by the auxiliary *padu-* 'fall', and it is also marked for the tense. The accelerative suffix *padu-* is added only to verbs which already indicate the process of quick or faster action. Some of these verbs are *uluku-* 'shake', *aguru-* 'jump', *aduru-* 'tremble', etc.

Formula

+ Base: Past Adv. Part. + Aux: padu-

Read, the accelerative aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the past adverbial participle of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the auxiliary marker *padu-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base: Past Adv. Part.	Auxiliary	Aspect: Completive
uluku-	uliki	padu-	ulikipadu-
‘shake’	‘having shaken’		‘be shaken’
eguru-	egiri	padu-	egiripadu-
‘jump’	‘having jumped’		‘jump up’

(iv) Future Utilitative Aspect

Future utilitative aspect indicates prolongation of the action of the main verb for certain time for future use. This is generally marked by the auxiliary *pettu-* ‘put’, ‘keep’ and the aspect is marked for the tense.

Formula

+ Base: Past Adv. Part. + Aux: *pettu-*

Read, the future utilitative aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the past adverbial participle of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the auxiliary marker *pettu-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base: Past Adv. Part.	Auxiliary	Aspect: Future Utilitative
adumu-	adimi	pettu-	adimipettu-
‘press’	‘having pressed’		‘pressed and keeping pressed, hide’
anus(c)-	anici	pettu-	anicipettu-
‘press’	‘having pressed’		‘pressed and keeping pressed, hide’

(v) Malevolent Aspect

Malevolent aspect indicates the nuance of malevolence. In Telugu, the malevolent aspect is marked by the auxiliaries *tsas(c)-* ‘die’, *e:dus(c)-* ‘weedp’ and *e:gu-* ‘go’, or by the compound *pa:r(av)e:s-* ‘throw away’ used as an auxiliary. The malevolent aspect is marked for the tense.

+ Base: Past Adv. Part. + Aux: tsas(c)-/e:dus(c)-/e:gu-/pa:r(av)e:s-

Read, the malevolent aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the past adverbial participle of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the auxiliary markers *tsas(c)-*, or *e:dus(c)-*, or *e:gu-* or *pa:r(av)e:s-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base: Past Part.	Auxiliary	Aspect: Malevolent
vas(c)-	vacci	tsas(c)-	vaccitsas(c)-
‘come’	‘having come’	‘die’	‘come off (contempt)’
tin-	tini	e:dus(c)-	tin(i)e:dus-
‘eat’	‘having eaten’	‘weep’	‘eat up (contempt)’

(vi) Inceptive Aspect

Inceptive aspect indicates ‘setting up to start’ the action of the main verb, and it is marked by the auxiliary *po:-* ‘go’, the consonant ‘p’ becoming voiced in the process of combination. The inceptive aspect is marked for the tense. The specialty of the auxiliary *po:-* is that it occurs with the main verb as the primary auxiliary (*tinabo:-* ‘about to eat’), and also as a secondary auxiliary with a compound which already expressed as aspectual meaning (*tokkipettabo:-* ‘about to suppress’), or with an inflexional aspect (*vacciundubo:-* ‘about to stay after having come’). Unlike the other aspectual markers *po:-* is suffixed to the infinitive form of the main verb.

Formula

+ Base: inf. + Aux: po:-

Read, the inceptive aspect consists of an obligatory base slot filled by the infinitive form of a verb, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the inceptive auxiliary *po:-*.

Manifestations

Verb Root	Base: Infinitive	Auxiliary	Aspect: Inceptive
vas(c)- ‘come’	ra:-	po:-	ra:bo:- ‘about to come’
tin- ‘eat’	tina:-	po:-	tinabo:- ‘about to eat’

II. ASPECTS WITH DOUBLE MARKERS

Some of the more commonly occurring double marker-aspects are of the following types:

Base + Derivative Suffix + Inflexional Suffix

Base	+	Derivative Suffix	+	Derivative Suffix
Base	+	Inflexional Suffix	+	Inflexional Suffix

(i) Base + Derivative Suffix + Inflexional Suffix

e.g.,

uliki - pade:- va:du ‘(He) used to feel shock’

egiri - padutu:- unna:du ‘(He) is feeling shock’

(ii) Base + Derivative Suffix + Derivative Suffix

e.g.,

uliki- pada- bo:ya:du ‘(He) was about to feel shock’

(iii) Base + Inflexional Suffix + Inflexional Suffix

e.g.,

pa:d-utu: unde:- va:du ‘(He) used to be singing’

III. ASPECTS WITH TRIPLE MARKERS

Aspects with triple markers are very less in frequency, but they too occur both in spoken as well as in written Telugu. Aspects with triple markers are not discussed here in detail because of lack of space, however, the following example can be noted.

e.g.,

tin-(iv)e:ya- bo:tu:-unna:du ‘(He) is about to eat up’

ASPECT TO MOOD

As it is already discussed under Aspect (5.3.3.), the aspectual system in the reverse order connects into the model system provided the mood is not marked for the tense. This is not true with all the aspects. Only the aspects which consists of a verb root as its final constituent connects in the reverse order into the model system. This aspect-mood system is represented by the following formula.

Formula

+ Base: Vb. Root/Past Part.	+ Aux ₁ : Aspect
+ Aux ₂ : Mood	

Read, the aspect-mood system consists of an obligatory base slot filled by a verb root or its past participle, an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the aspect markers, and an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by the model markers.

Auxiliary₁ is filled by the aspectual markers (v)e:s-, po:-, -tu: und-, -i und(u), etc., and auxiliary₂ is filled by the modal markers that are not marked for the tense such as -a:li, -ku:dadu, -le:du, is(c)-, etc.

Manifestations

Base	Aspect	Mood	Aspect-Mood System	
tin-	‘eat’ (v)e:s-	-a:li	tinneyya:li	‘must eat away’
ra:s-	‘write’ tu:und(u)-	ku:dadu	ra:stu:undaku:dadu	‘should not be writing’

5.3.4. TENSE

As Hockett says, tense typically shows different locations of an event in time. Or, in other words, tense relates the time of the action or event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance.

In Telugu, the verb base directly connects into the tense system, or through the modal system, or through both the modal and the aspectual systems (see TABLE 5.3: BASE - MOOD - ASPECT TENSE LINKAGE MATRIX).

In Telugu all the verbs uniformly show a two way tense system, viz., past and future-habitual, except the verb root *un(d)*- ‘be’. The present tense is expressed by other devices. *un(d)*- has a different system of two way tense, viz., future and non-future. The Rayalaseema dialect however, shows a three way tense system- Past, Present and future for *un(d)*-.

I. PAST TENSE SYSTEM

TABLE 5.4

PAST TENSE MATRIX

	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV
<div>Verb Root</div> <div>Person</div>	-n ending roots with preceding short vowel. tin- 'eat'	long vowel ending roots. po:- 'go'	-d ending roots with preceding short vowel. pad- 'fall'	Other roots navvu- 'laugh'
1st person sg.	-na:-	-ya:-/ -(y)ina:-	-da:-/ -(y)ina:-	-se-/ -(y)ina:-
1st person Pl.	-na:-	-ya:-/ -(y)ina:-	-da:-/ -(y)ina:-	-se-/ -(y)ina:-
2nd person sg.	-na:-	-ya:-/ -(y)ina:-	-da:-/ -(y)ina:-	-se-/ -(y)ina:-
2nd person Pl.	-na:-	-ya:-/ -(y)ina:-	-da:-/ -(y)ina:-	-se-/ -(y)ina:-
3rd person sg. Mas.	-na:-	-ya:-/ -(y)ina:- -(y)in-	-da:-/ -(y)ina:- -(y)in-	-se-/ -(y)ina:- -(y)in-
3rd person sg. Non-Mas.	ϕ -na- -na:- -(y) in-	--(y)in-	-da:-/ -(y)in-	-(y)in-/ (y)ina:-
3rd person Pl. Non-Neu.	-na:-	-ya:-/ -(y)ina:- -(y)in-	-da:-/ -(y)ina:- -(y)in-	-se-/ -(y)ina:- -(y)in-
3rd person Pl. Neu.	-na:- -na-	-ya:-/ -(y)ina:- -(y)ina-	-da:-/ -(y)ina:- -da-	-se-/ -(y)ina:- -(y)ina-

1. The past tense markers are *-na:-* and *-se-* with a few exceptions.
2. With all *-n-* ending roots having a preceding short vowel such as *vin-*, *tin:sukon-* etc., *-na:-* occurs as past tense marker.

e.g.,

Root	Past Tense Marker	Person Marker	
vin-	-na:-	-nu	‘(I) heard’
ti:sukon-	-na:-	-du	‘(He) took’

The only exception to this rule is, that in the 3rd person non-masculine singular the past tense marker is either ‘zero’, or *-na-* borrowed from old Telugu and used in the Brahmin dialect. Either the regular marker *-na:-* or *-in-* is used in the Rayalaseema dialect. Again in the 3rd person neuter plural, besides the regular marker *-na:-*, *-na-* is also found especially in the Brahmin dialect as in the earlier case.

3. With long vowel ending roots (or, in other words, with *po:-* ‘go’, since *po:-* is the only long-vowel-ending root), *-ya:-* occurs uniformly as the past tense marker except in the 3rd person non-masculine singular. In all the cases whenever *-ya:-* occurs, *-(y)ina:-* occurs as the past tense marker in the Rayalaseema dialect.

In the 3rd person non-masculine singular *-(y)in-* is the past tense marker in all the dialects. *-(y)in-* is also used in the 3rd person both in masculine singular and non-neuter plural in the Telangana dialect.

e.g.,

po:-	-ya:-	-du	‘(He) went’
po:-	-(y)ina:-	-nu	‘(I) went’

4. With the verb roots ending in *-d-* with a preceding short vowel, *-da:-* occurs uniformly as the past tense marker except in the 3rd person non-masculine singular. In all these cases wherever *-da:-* occurs, *-(y)ina:-* occurs as the past tense marker in the Rayalaseema dialect.

In the 3rd person non-masculine singular, *-da-* is the past tense marker. *-(y)in-* occurs in this case in the Rayalaseema dialect.

e.g.,

pad-	-da:-	-du	‘(He) fell’
pad-	-(y)ina:-	-du	‘(He) fell’
pad-	-(y)in-	-di	‘(She/It) fell’

5. With the remaining verbs the past tense marker is uniformly *-se-* except in the case of 3rd person non-masculine singular, and in all these places *-(y)ina:-* occurs in the Rayalseema dialect.

In the 3rd person non-masculine singular *-(y)in-* occurs as the past tense marker though rarely *-(y)ina:-* occurs as a sub-standard form in the Rayalseema dialect.

e.g.,

tsu:s-	-ae-	-du	‘(He) saw’
adug(u)-	-ina:-	-nu	‘(I) asked’
ra:s-	-(y)in-	-di	‘(She/It) wrote’

6. *au-* ‘become’ is an exceptional root. To achieve the past tense, *ay-* has to be posited as the root instead of *au-* in which case it falls into the verbs of Group IV.

e.g.,

ay-	-ae-	-du	‘(He) became’
ay-	-ina:-	-nu	‘(I) became’
ay-	-(y)in-	-di	‘(She/It) became’

7. In the 3rd person masculine singular, and in the 3rd person non-neuter plural, *-(y)in-* occurs as the past tense marker with the verbs of Groups II, III and IV in the dialect of Telangana.

e.g.,

po:-	-(y)in-	-du	‘(He) went’
po:-	-(y)in-	-ru	‘(They) went’
pad-	-(y)in-	-du	‘(He) fell’
pad-	-(y)in-	-ru	‘(They) fell’
ra:s-	-(y)in-	-du	‘(He) wrote’
ra:s-	-(y)in-	-ru	‘(They) wrote’

8. In some parts of Coastal Andhra, in the 3rd person neuter plural, *-na-*, *-(y)ina-*, *-da-* and *-(y)ina-* occur as additional past tense markers respectively with the verbs of Groups I, II, III and IV. These are derived by shortening the final vowel in the general forms *-na:-*, *-(y)ina:-* and *-da:-*.

e.g.,

tin-	-na-	-y =	tinney	‘(They) ate’
po:-	-(y)ina-	-y =	po:yinay	‘(They) went’
pad-	-da-	-y =	padday	‘(They) fell’
vas(c)-	-(y)ina-	-y =	vaccinay	‘(They) came’

FORMULA FOR PAST TENSE SYSTEM

+ Base: Vb. Root with Mood & Aspect + Past Tense: -na:-/-ae-

Read, the past tense consists of an obligatory base slot filled by a verb base with model and aspectual markers, and an obligatory past tense slot filled by the past tense markers -na:- or -ae-.

Manifestations

Verb Base		Past Tense Markers	Past Tense Form	
Group I				
vin-	‘listen’	-na:-	vinna:(nu)	‘(I) listened’
a:dukon-	‘play oneself’	-na-/∅	a:dukonnadi	‘She/it played
			a:dukondi	herself/itself’
Group II				
po:-	‘go’	-ya:-	po:ya:(du)	‘(He) went’
padipo:-	‘fall down’	-(y)in-	padipo:yin(di)	‘(She/it) fell
				down’
Group III				
pad(u)-	‘fall’	-da:-	padda:(du)	‘(He) fell’
kanapad(u)-	‘appear’	-(y)in-	kanapadin(di)	‘(She/It)
				appeared’
Group IV				
ra:s-	‘write’	-ae-	ra:sae(nu)	‘(I) wrote’
pa:rabo:s-	‘throw away’	-(y)in-	pa:rabo:sin(di)	‘(She/It) threw
				away’

II. FUTURE - HABITUAL TENSE SYSTEM

TABLE 5.5
FUTURE - HABITUAL TENSE MATRIX

Person \ Verb Root	Group I	Group II
	-n- ending roots with preceding short vowel kon- 'buy'	Other Roots a:du- 'play' tsu:s- 'see'
1st Person Sg.	-ta:-	-ta:-
1st Person Pl.	-ta:-	-ta:-
2nd Person Sg.	-ta:-	-ta:-
2nd Person Pl.	-ta:-	-ta:-
3rd Person Sg. Mas.	-ta:-	-ta:-
3rd Person Pl. Non-Mas.	-tun-/-ta:-/ta	-tun-/-ta:-/ta
3rd Person Pl. Non-Neu.	-ta:-	-ta:-
3rd Person Pl. Neu.	-ta:-/-ta-	-ta:-/-ta-

Comments

1. The future-habitual tense markers are -ta:- and -ta:-.
2. With all the -n- ending roots with preceding short vowel such as *vin-*, *ti:sukon-*, etc., (Group I) -ta:- occurs as the future-habitual marker with the exception of the 3rd person non-masculine singular.

In 3rd person non-masculine singular in the case of these verbs the future-habitual tense marker is -tun-. In the Rayalseema dialect uniformly -ta:- occurs as future-habitual tense marker including the 3rd person non-masculine singular. In some sub-standard

speeches, *-pa-* which is derived by shortening the vowel in *-ta:-* occurs as future-habitual tense marker in the 3rd person non-masculine singular and the 3rd person neuter plural.

e.g.,

tin-	-ta-	-nu	‘I shall eat’
kon-	-tun-	-di	‘(She/It) will buy’

3. With all the other verb roots that do not end in *-n-*, *-ta:-* occurs as the future-habitual tense marker with the exception of the 3rd person non-masculine singular.

In the 3rd person non-masculine singular the future-habitual tense marker is *-tun-*.

Like in Group I in the Rayalseema dialect *-ta:-* occurs uniformly including the 3rd person non-masculine singular as the future-habitual tense marker, and in some sub-standard speeches *-ta-* which is derived by shortening the vowel in *-ta-* occurs both in the 3rd person non-masculine singular and the 3rd person neuter plural.

e.g.,

ra:s-	-ta:-	-mu	‘(We) will write’
adugu-	-tun-	-di	‘(She/It) will ask’

Formula for Future-Habitual Tense System

+ Base: Vb. Root with Mood & Aspect + Fut.Hab.Tense: *-ta:-/-ta:-*

Read, the future-habitual tense consists of an obligatory base slot filled by a verb base with mood and aspectual markers, plus an obligatory future-habitual tense slot filled by the future-habitual tense markers *-ta:-* or *-ta:-*.

Manifestation

Verb Base	Future-Habitual Tense Markers		Future-Habitual Tense Form	
Group I				
vin-	-ta:-		vinta:(nu)	
‘listen’			‘(I) shall listen’	
ti:sukon-	-tun-		ti:sukontun(di)	
‘take’			‘(She/It) will take’	
Group II				
a:d(u)- ‘play’	-ta:-		a:data:(nu)	‘(I) shall play’
le:s-	-tun-		le:stun(di)	‘(She/It) will get
‘get up’				up’

5.3.5. PERSON, NUMBER AND GENDER

Person-number-gender system is the closure of the finite verb, i.e., the finite verb cannot be further expanded beyond this. Either the verbal base directly connects into the person-number-gender system, or through the model system, or through model and aspectual systems, or through model, aspectual and tense systems. The PNG system terminates the finite verb and indicates the person, the number and the gender of the subject of the sentence, or the ‘performer’ of the action of the main verb. The PNG system is as follows:

PNG System

TABLE 5.6
PNG MATRIX

Person \ Number & Gender	Singular		Plural	
	Masculine	Non-Masculine	Non-Neuter	Neuter
First	-nu	-nu	-m(u)	-m(u)
Second	-vu	-vu	-ru	-ru
Third	-du	-di	-ru	-yi/-vi

In the 3rd person neuter plural, though -yi occurs as person-number-gender marker both in the past and future-habitual tenses, sometimes the old Telugu form -vi is used in the past tense with the verb roots like *vin-*, *tin-*, *a:dukon-*, etc., in modern Telugu (especially in the Brahmin variety).

Formula for PNG System

+ Base: Vb. Root with Mood, Aspect & Tense + PNG: PNG Marker

Read, the person-number-gender system consists of an obligatory base slot filled by a verb with model, aspectual and tense systems, and an obligatory PNG slot filled by the person-number-gender markers.

Verb Base	PNG Markers	Finite Verb	
1st Person			
ra:s- 'write'	-nu	ra:sta:nu	'(I) shall write'
po:- 'go'	-m(u)	po:ya:m(u)	'(We) went'
2nd Person			
a:d(u)- 'play'	-vu	a:dae:vu	'[You (sg.)] will walk'
nadus(c)- 'walk	-ru	nadusta:ru	'[You (pl.)] will walk'
3rd Person			
po:- 'go'	-du	po:ya:du	'(He) went'
vin- 'listen'	-di	vintundi	'(She/It) will listen'
pa:d(u)- 'sing'	-ru	pa:dae:ru	'(They) sang'
le:s- 'get up'	-yi	le:sta:yi	'[They (non-hum)] will get up'
tin- 'eat'	-vi	tinnavi	'[They (non-hum)] ate'

5.4 THE DISTRIBUTION OF VERB PHRASES

The verb phrase in every case fills the predicate slot on clause level. When the over-all verb phrase (Head-modifier Verb Phrase 1:, See 5.1) fills the clause level predicate slot, the modifier phrases (Head-Modifier verb phrase 2 and Coordinate Verb Phrase: See 5.2) fill the modifier slots at phrase level. The head phrase (Close-Knit Verb Phrase: See 5.3) fills the head slot on the phrase level.

The type of the clause in which the phrase occurs is determined by the verbal base. That is, if the verbal base is transitive, the whole verb phrase is transitive, and consequently, fills the predicate slot in a transitive clause. Similarly, if the verb base is intransitive, the verb phrase is intransitive, and fills the predicate slot in an intransitive clause.