

## Chapter 2

# Tamil Morphology: An Introduction

### 2.1 Word Classes

It is a language's morphologically realized inflectional properties that help establish the morphological **categories**, and consequently, the word classes of the language. Morphologically determining these word categories would mean the identification of differences that cause certain affixes to attach only to a particular category, and certain other affixes to another. This entails an exhaustive enumeration of attested affixes ascribed specifically to a word-class based on the factors of morphological and syntactic distinctiveness. The common instances of various morphological categories found **with** the category of nouns are number, gender and case. Number can be described as 'a category of morphosyntactic properties used to distinguish the **quantity** to which a noun phrase refers' (Stump 1998). A majority of languages make use of the Singular and the Plural (a few like Sanskrit have the Dual number too). Gender is a category that is found to be not always grammatical. In Tamil where gender is morphologically expressed, the inflections mark the three distinct types: the Masculine, **Feminine**, and the Neuter. Case bundles up morphosyntactic features that express the distinctions in the relations, a noun phrase bears to its governing head, the verb. The far more commonly recognized cases are the Nominative, Accusative, and Dative. The remaining cases that express more of a semantic relation than a syntactic one are the Instrumental, Locative and the Ablative.

The inflectional properties that are expressed on verbs are those of Tense, Aspect, Modality, Voice, and Polarity. Tense identifies the temporal reference of an action denoted by a finite verb. The Past, Present, and sometimes the Future, mark the conceptually natural three-way distinction. Aspect helps to recognize the way a particular event locates itself in a particular time interval. Mood or Modality expresses the ways in which a proposition may relate to actuality (in the speaker's mind). Indicative, Optative, and the Imperative are the three basic kinds.

Voice describes the thematic relations that obtain between a verb, and its argument, which plays the syntactic role of subject. Active and Passive are the two commonly found types. Polarity can be defined as 'a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguishing affirmative sentences from negative sentences.' Though in some languages adjectives reflect nominal inflections as a result of governance by the head noun, the general inflectional features needed to identify adjectives are markers of degrees of comparison: namely, the Positive, Comparative, and the Superlative.

## 2.2 Tamil Grammar

Tamil morphology is primarily agglutinating, and **suffixal**. In other words, 'inflections are marked by suffixes attached to a lexical base, which may be augmented by derivational suffixes.' (Annamalai & Steever 1998). The traditional treatises on Tamil grammar define a distinction through free forms (the major grammatical classes), and bound forms (items like particles, and clitics). *Tolkaappiyam* recognizes Tamil as constituting two major word classes: nouns, termed *peVyarcoVl* (in Tamil) and verbs, termed *vinYEcoVl*. As per the classical grammatical treatises, and as recorded in Pope (1985), each of these is characterized by a narrow set of features, all of which are necessarily morphological. Pope's answer to the question of how nouns must be characterized and classified, morphologically substantiates this point: 'we must know four characteristics of nouns: 'class', 'division', 'person', and 'case'. 'Class is of two kinds, 'rational' and 'irrational'. As to the number of divisions of nouns, there are **five**: 'masculine', 'feminine', 'rational-plural', 'irrational-singular', and 'irrational-plural'. The three divisions of 'masculine', 'feminine', 'irrational-singular' are called the 'singular-number'. The two other divisions are called the 'plural-number'. There are three 'persons' recognized: the first, second, and the third. Cases are eight: nominative, accusative, sociative, dative, ablative, instrumental and the locative.

## 2.3 Morphological Classes And Categories In Tamil

In **Arden's** (1891) study of Tamil morphology nouns are divided as rational vs. irrational, the rational corresponding to the animate, the irrational corresponding to the inanimate. Singular and Plural are the two numbers. In the organization of case, nine thematic relations are realized - the Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Social, Dative, Ablative (of motion), Genitive, **Locative** and the Vocative. The Benefactive is subsumed under the Dative. The Vocative, as a referential case has been included. Gender has also been seen as a grammatical feature of nouns.

Based on morphosyntactic properties of a word Lehmann (1989) introduces eight parts of speech in Tamil i.e., nouns, verbs, postpositions, adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers, determiners and conjunctions. Narrowing down to morphological features, there is a further line of reasoning on how lexical items can fall under a broad classification of nominal vs. verbal roots (that cover a large portion of roots in Tamil), and a minor classification of adjectival and adverbial roots (that subsume the rest). Apart from nouns and verbs, a separate set of uninflected words, called **indeclinables**, form an additional morphological class. Noun stems are seen as inflecting for the plural suffix, oblique, euphonic and the case suffix.

Annamalai & Steever (1998) largely discuss nominal and verbal morphology, and treat other classes as minor. According to this study of morphology, nouns inflect for gender, number and case. Gender here, is believed to be determined by the kind of locative case marker used, that determines the distinction between what they call *iyartinai* ('rational' corresponding to human), and *akrinai* ('non-rational' corresponding to non-human). The validation for this argument is that the marker *il am* is used in the case of the rational and *il*, in the case of non-rational. This being the case, the application of the marker *itam*, on nouns with the features +rational, +human should be an exclusive rule, which means it cannot apply to nouns that lack this feature. Consequently, the noun form *nAy-itam* should be an

invalid one, but which is not really the case. For that matter *nAy-il* is not a valid occurrence. Therefore rather, the terms *uyartinai* and *akerinai* could be redefined in their **original** sense<sup>1</sup>

In addition there is also recognition of two numbers and eight cases, including the unmarked singular, in number and the unmarked nominative, in case. An allusion to the vocative case has also been made. Pronouns have been semantically categorized, based on number and person. Labeled as singular or plural, pronouns are grouped under the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or the 3<sup>rd</sup> person separately. This includes a list of twelve pronominal forms. Verbs again are semantically classified as either belonging to the 'strong' or the 'weak' class. Finite verbs are classified into the Past, Present, Future, Future Negative, Imperative, Negative Imperative and the Optative. Non-finite forms comprise a group of Verbal nouns, Infinitives, Conjunctives, Negative verbal forms, Conditionals, Negative Conditionals and Deverbal forms.

Other classes such as adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, particles and postpositions seen as minor parts of speech in different grammars, are treated as cases of defective morphology, incapable of playing a part in the inflectional range of nouns or verbs. Therefore these are regarded as derivatives of nouns or verbs. The argument in favour of this is: "Yet, to say that a form is a defective noun or verb is still to say that it is a noun or verb."

For purposes of implementation, what is borne in mind is a morphological classification of inflectional classes in Tamil. Theoretically therefore, based on certain **morpho-syntactic** factors that help **identify** morphological classes (and as have been discussed earlier), Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Pronouns and Numerals have been identified as the common morphological classes in Tamil (Uma Maheshwara Rao, 1999, 2002). Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives are treated as three major classes, Pronouns and Numerals being regarded as distinct word classes, that could not supposedly be grouped as subclasses of Nouns.

## 2.3.1 NOUNS

Nouns normally inflect for the categories of number and case. Tamil permits two numbers the Singular and the Plural. In Tamil the thematic roles that these nouns play in relation to the verb that they modify are indicated by a series of affixes commonly called as the Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Sociative, Genitive, Locative, Instrumental, Benefactive and the Ablative cases. Nominative is unmarked.

### 2.3.1.1 Number

The Singular number is unmarked in Tamil. The Plural is indicated by the suffix *kaY*, which is optional. Of the twenty-four classes of nouns, twenty-two have the suffixation of *kaY* for plural marking. Two other classes that end in long vowels have an allomorphic variant *kkaiY* as their plural suffix. These are, classes / ('fly'), and *pU* ('flower'). Within the Item and Arrangement (IA) description, plural suffixes are listed as two separate entries *kaY* and *kkaiY*, where the geminate suffix combines with stems that end in long vowels, and the non-geminate applies as the elsewhere condition. In the Item and Process (IP) model, *kaY* is held as the basic plural morpheme from which the allomorph *kkaiY* is derived in instances where the preceding stem ends in a long vowel.

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<sup>1</sup> As in the sense of *Tolkappiyam*

From among the classes of nouns, there are the following four kinds, wherein the allomorphy is involved as part of pluralization. These are: *manYivanY*, *maram*, *mulY* and *pul*.

1. *manYivanY*      *manYivanY* → *manYivar* + *kaY*
2. *maram*            *maram* → *maraf* + *kaY*
3. *mulY*              *mulY* → *mul* + *kaY*
4. *pul*                *pul* → *purY* + *kaY*

Each of these noun stems undergoes a morphophonemic change before the addition of the plural suffix.

### 2.3.1.2 Case

Case inflections are obtained in Tamil through two parallel mechanisms — the direct, as in the Nominative and the indirect, as in (other than the nominative) the Oblique. The Nominative case is unmarked in Tamil. The Oblique base in singular represents a stem that is open to further inflections. The Accusative, Dative, Genitive, Sociative, Locative, Benefactive and the Ablative case suffixes follow the Oblique form of the stem.

Case	Case Marker
Nominative	ϕ
Accusative	<i>E</i>
Dative	<i>kku</i> / <i>ukku</i> / <i>akku</i>
Instrumental	<i>A</i>
Locative	<i>il</i> (inanimate.) / <i>itam</i> or <i>kitte</i> (animate.)
Ablative	<i>ilrunnu</i> (animate.) / <i>itamirunnu</i> (inanimate)
Genitive	<i>utEya</i> (colloq.) / <i>awu</i> , <i>inY</i> , <i>inYawu</i> (classical.)
Benefactive	<i>kkAka</i>
Sociative	<i>otu</i> (colloq.) / <i>utanY</i> (classical.)

Table 2.1: Case Matters in Tamil

The Accusative case is indicated by the suffix *E*. The Dative case is indicated by the suffix *kku* following a vowel ending stem, or *ukku*, when following a consonant ending stem. The Instrumental case is indicated by the suffix *A*. The Locative case is indicated by the suffix *itam* or *kitte* for the animate and *il* for the inanimate nouns. Similarly, the Ablative case is marked by the suffix *itamirunnu*, for the animate and *ilrunnu*, for the inanimate nouns. The Genitive case is marked by either *utEya* or *awu* / *inYawu*. On lines similar to that of the Dative, the Benefactive case is marked by *kkAka* following a vowel ending stem, or *ukkAka* following a consonant ending stem. The Sociative case is indicated by the suffix *otu* or *utanY*.

From among the twenty-four classes of nouns, there are the following five kinds of stems that exhibit allomorphic change for case suffixation. These are: *Aryu*, *kAtu*, *maram*, *narampu* and *vaNtu*.

1. *Aryu*              *Aryu* → *Ary*
2. *kAtu*              *kAtu* → *kAt*
3. *maram*            *maram* → *maru*
4. *narampu*          *narampu* → *naramp*
5. *vaNtu*             *vaNtu* → *vaNi*

Apocope, or the loss of the final segment (vowel or consonant) is the single fundamental morphophonemic rule that characterizes these stems.

There are certain morphophonemic changes that operate on noun stems to enable them to take suffixes. Nine such generic instances form the base for case suffixes. These are: *AŕY*u, *eVĭ*, *kaN*, *kAtu*, *maram*, *muŔ*, *poVnŔ*, *pul* and *pU*.

1.	<i>AŕY</i> u	<i>ŕY</i>	<i>AŕY</i> u → <i>AŕYŕY</i>
2.	<i>eVĭ</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>eVĭ</i> → <i>eVĭy</i>
3.	<i>kaN</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>kaN</i> → <i>kaNN</i>
4.	<i>kAtu</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>kAtu</i> → <i>kAtt</i>
5.	<i>maram</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>maram</i> → <i>maraww</i>
6.	<i>muŔ</i>	<i>Ŕ</i>	<i>muŔ</i> → <i>muŔŔ</i>
7.	<i>poVnŔ</i>	<i>nŔ</i>	<i>poVnŔ</i> → <i>poVnŔnŔ</i>
8.	<i>pul</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>pul</i> → <i>pull</i>
9.	<i>pU</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>pU</i> → <i>pUv</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

### 2.1. Gemination

If a noun stem ends in any of the consonants *ŕY*, *N*, *t*, *Ŕ*, *nŔ* or *l*, the latter undergo morphophonemic change of assimilation in accordance with the following segment of the case suffix.

### 2.2. Glide Insertion

If a noun stem ends in any of the vowels, glide insertion occurs. If the suffix initial vowel is a front vowel, *y*-insertion occurs, and if it is a back vowel, *v*-insertion occurs.

### 2.3. Insertion cum Gemination

If a noun stem ends in the nasal 'm' the consonant *w* is inserted as a geminate before a following vowel.

## 2.3.1.3 Gender

Early treatises on Tamil noun morphology have made a distinction between *ŕyartinai* and *akerinai* as referring to +animate and -animate respectively. Arden (1976) describes nouns as being classified into two:

1. High-caste or Rational
2. No-caste or Irrational

The former is a class said to denote "rational persons or beings", and which further divides into the Masculine (that denotes "gods and men") and the Feminine (that denotes "goddesses and women only"). The latter (2) has been ascribed as a set of nouns "denoting animals and inanimate things" and which are regarded as "Neuter".

There are however two formatives *kArAnŔ* and *kArĭ*, indicative of the Masculine and Feminine forms of the agentive noun. Examples are: *velEkkArĭ* (woman servant) *vottakkArAnŔ* (gardener). In addition, Arden (1976) notes the use of the Masculine Singular suffix *AnŔ*, Feminine *AŔ* and Plural suffix *Ar* or *ArkaŔ*, as attaching to the nominal base to form a personal noun like *savayavAnŔ* (a truthful man).

Such suffixes are not very productive, and occur with a relatively small set of nouns. There are a few instances of occurrences like *valEvanŔ* vs. *valEvi* that can be listed in the lexicon, since gender in such cases is lexically realized rather than morphologically. It can

therefore be maintained that Gender as a grammatical category in Tamil is not largely productive.

### 2.3.1.4 Other Attachments

Apart from Number and Case, other functional elements like Adverbials, Postpositions, Particles and Clitics attach to nouns.

Postpositions and Adverbials attach to nouns only if they are in the Nominative or the Dative case. Adverbials are largely, of a spatial or temporal nature. Particles attach to nouns if they are in the Nominative, Accusative or Dative case. Clitics can be added to any noun form irrespective of number or case.

### 2.3.1.5 The Nominal Paradigm

On the basis of allomorphy exhibited by nouns when inflected for number and case, nouns are classified into twenty-three distinct sets in order to generate correct word forms. The following table illustrates the features of contrast:

Sl. No.	Noun	Base ending	Base modification	Oblique Singular	Oblique Plural
1	AN	N	∅	∅	+kaY
2	ArYu	rYu	∅	rY >> rYrY	+kaY
3	eVli	i	∅	∅ >> y	+kaY
4	iE	E	∅	∅ >> y	+kaY
5	iwaYY	IYY	∅	∅	+kaY
6	l	l	∅	∅ >> y	+kkaY
7	kaN	N	∅	N >> NN	+kaY
8	kAl	l	∅	∅	+kaY
9	kAtu	tu	∅	t >> tr	+kaY
10	manYrwanY	nY	nY >> r	∅	+kaY
11	maram	m	m >> f	m >> ww	+kaY
12	maY	IY	IY >> t	IY >> IYIY	+kaY
13	mAnY	nY	∅	∅	+kaY
14	narampu	u	∅	∅	+kaY
15	nAy	y	∅	∅	+kaY
16	poVnY	nY	∅	nY >> nYnY	+kaY
17	poVy	y	∅	y >> yy	+kaY
18	pul	l	l >> rY	l >> ll	+kaY
19	poVruY	IY	IY >> t	∅	+kaY
20	pU	U	∅	∅ >> v	+kkaY
21	vaNtu	tu	∅	∅	+kaY
22	wer	r	∅	∅	+kaY
23	wolY	IY	∅	∅	+kaY

Table 2.2: The Nominal Paradigm: Noun Classes

The table records the morphophonemic changes that stems and suffixes undergo in different morphological contexts. The base endings indicate the specific phonological shape

a particular class ends in. The base modifications specify the phonological change the base undergoes prior to number suffixation. The table accounts for five instances of morphophonemic change in the oblique base of the noun stem, and fourteen instances of stem change prior to case suffixation. *kaŋ* is the basic plural morpheme, used with its allomorphic variant that is phonologically conditioned.

## 2.3.2 PRONOUNS

Pronouns normally inflect for the categories of number, gender and case. Tamil permits two numbers (Singular and Plural), three grammatical genders (Masculine, Feminine and Neuter), and nine cases (Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Sociative, Genitive, Locative, Instrumental, Benefactive and Ablative).

### 2.3.2.1 Number

The singular and plural forms of Pronouns are lexically identified as distinctly separate words and therefore the need for recognizing number, as a morphological category of pronouns does not arise. This is the significant difference between nouns and pronouns.

### 2.3.2.2 Case

The similar set of case markers that apply for nouns, apply for pronouns too. The Nominative and the Oblique, form the primary branching in case marking. The Nominative case remains unmarked. The Oblique case represents a stem that is open to further inflections. The Accusative, Dative, Genitive, Sociative, Locative, Benefactive and the Ablative case suffixes follow the Oblique form of the stem. (For details on case marking refer Table 2.1)

Pronouns are all lexical and fully specified for functional formants in the lexicon. The chief morphophonemics involving pronominal stems is the gemination of the stem final consonant when followed by a vowel initial suffix, when in the oblique form.

Nominative	Oblique1	Oblique2
<i>awu</i>	<i>aw</i>	<i>aww</i>
<i>nAnŋ</i>	<i>eVnŋ</i>	<i>eVnŋnŋ</i>
<i>nA/kaŋ</i>	<i>eV/kaŋ</i>	<i>eV/kaŋ</i>
<i>nI</i>	<i>unŋ</i>	<i>unŋnŋ</i>
<i>nI/kaŋ</i>	<i>u/kaŋ</i>	<i>u/kaŋ</i>
<i>nIr</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>umm</i>
<i>yAm</i>	<i>eVm</i>	<i>eVmm</i>
<i>wAm</i>	<i>wam</i>	<i>wamm</i>
<i>nAm</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>namm</i>
<i>wA/kaŋ</i>	<i>waf/kaŋ</i>	<i>waf/kaŋ</i>
<i>wAnŋ</i>	<i>wanŋ</i>	<i>wanŋnŋ</i>

Table 2.3: Pronominal Bases

As can be seen, each case involves a distinct vowel or consonant geminate; it is not possible to state a single rule in a segment formant. It proves rather economical to list these forms in the lexicon.

### 2.3.2.3 Gender, Number, Person

Since every member of the pronominal paradigm forms part of the lexicon, the concept of gender realization is a semantic feature of each of these lexemes. It is only the 3<sup>rd</sup>. person pronouns in their singular forms, which have the feature of gender. While *avalY* refers to the 3<sup>rd</sup>. person Feminine Singular, *avanY* refers to the 3<sup>rd</sup>. person Masculine, and *awu*, to the 3<sup>rd</sup>. person Neuter.

### 2.3.2.4 Other Attachments

Like that of a noun, pronouns do take Postpositions, Particles and Clitics to form larger strings to indicate the relevant semantics. Postpositions follow pronouns that are in their Nominative or Dative case. Particles follow pronouns if they are in the Nominative, Accusative or Dative case. Clitics can be appended to any pronominal form irrespective of case.

### 2.3.2.5 The Pronominal Paradigm

In accordance with the discussion above, fifteen distinct forms of pronouns are required in order to generate correct word forms. The following table illustrates the features of contrast:

Sl. No.	Pronoun	Ending	Oblique Base1	Oblique Base2
1	avaY	lY	∅	∅
2	avaY	nY	∅	∅
3	ava	r	∅	∅
4	awu	u	∅	aw / aww
5	avE	E	∅	avarYrY
6	nAnY	nY	eVnY	eVnYnY
7	nAfkalY	fkalY	eVfkalY	eVfkalY
8	nI	I	unY	unYnY
9	nIfkalY	fkalY	ufkalY	ufkalY
10	nIr	r	um	umm
11	wAfkalY	fkalY	wafkalY	wafkalY
12	wAm	m	wam	wamm
13	wAnY	nY	wanY	wanYnY
14	yAm	m	eVm	eVmm
15	nAm	m	nam	namm

Table 2.4: The Pronominal Paradigm: Pronoun Classes

The table lists the fifteen distinct pronominal forms in their nominative forms with the relevant stem changes alongside each entry in different columns for the distinct oblique counterparts. The base endings indicate the specific phonological shape a particular class ends in. Forms in Oblique2 necessitate a following case suffix, while those in Oblique1 do not.



### 2.3.3 NUMERALS

Numerals form a subcategory of nouns inflecting for categories of number, gender and case. Tamil permits two numbers (Singular and Plural), three grammatical genders (Masculine, Feminine and Neuter), and nine cases (Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Sociative, Genitive, Locative, Instrumental, Benefactive and Ablative). In addition to this there are certain distinct inflections that occur only with numeral words, which make them a distinct subcategory of nouns.

#### 2.3.3.1 Number

The Singular number is unmarked in Tamil. The Plural is indicated by the suffix *kaŋ*. All of the classes of numerals have the suffixation of *kaŋ* for plurality. The only stem that undergoes morphophonemic change for number suffixation is *Ayiram*, and which undergoes nasal assimilation.

1. *Ayiram*     *Ayiram* —\**Ayiraf*

#### 2.3.3.2 Case and Ordinality

The Nominative stem remains an unmarked one. The Oblique form of the numeral stem is open to further inflections. There are two kinds of Oblique bases. The first kind, **Oblique1**, allows case inflections and a specific set of quantitative particles peculiar to the class of numerals. The Accusative, Dative, Cienitive, **Sociative**, Locative, Benefactive and the Ablative case suffixes follow the Oblique form of the stem. (For a discussion of particles see section 2.3.3.4, Table 2.8)

All classes of numerals exhibit stem allomorphic change in the oblique case, prior to inflection for case, or any other kind of suffixation. There is a morphophonemic difference however, in the stem realization between the two kinds of oblique bases in numeral words. The following table makes a note of stem changes in different phonological and morphological contexts:

No.	Nominative	Oblique 1
1	<i>oVnYŋu</i>	<i>oVnYŋ</i>
2	<i>iraŋtu</i>	<i>iraŋt</i>
3	<i>mUnYŋu</i>	<i>mUnYŋ</i>
4	<i>nAnYku</i>	<i>nAnYk</i>
5	<i>Ennu</i>	<i>Enn</i>
6	<i>Aŋu</i>	<i>Aŋ</i>
7	<i>eŋu</i>	<i>eŋ</i>
8	<i>eVttu</i>	<i>eVtt</i>
9	<i>oVnYpawu</i>	<i>oVnYpaw</i>
10	<i>pawu</i>	<i>paw</i>
11	<i>nUŋu</i>	<i>nUŋ</i>
12	<i>Ayiram</i>	<i>Ayiraww</i>
13	<i>latcam</i>	<i>latcaww</i>
14	<i>koti</i>	<i>kotiy</i>

Table 2.5: Numeral Bases - 1

Apocope, the rule of loss of the final segment (vowel or consonant) is the fundamental morphophonemic rule characterizing these stems.

Numerals also assume a similar set of stems to indicate **ordinality**. The ordinality suffix denoted by *Am* or *Avawu*, effects certain other morphophonemic changes. Two classes of numerals, *nUrY'u*, and *Ayiram* illustrate this change:

1. *nUrY'u*      *nurY'u* → *nUrY'Y'*
2. *Ayiram*      *Ayiram* → *Ayiraww*

These changes are mainly effected by rules of gemination and assimilation operating on the numeral stem.

### 2.3.3.3 Gender, Number & Person

In addition to number and case, some of the numeral stems inflect for GNP suffixes as well. It is on the second kind of the oblique stem, Oblique 2, that specific GNP inflections and a set of temporal particles are permissible. The following is a list of the relevant GNP suffixes:

GNP	Suffix
3 <sup>rd</sup> . Sing. Feminine	<i>wwi</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> . Sing. Masculine	<i>vanY'</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> . Sing. Honorific/Plural	<i>var</i> / <i>²mar</i>

Table 26: GNP suffixes for Numerals

Gender, Number and Person inflections are possible up to the first eight classes of numerals. The 3<sup>rd</sup>. singular masculine, and feminine suffixes, apply only to class 1 of the numeral paradigm, *oV'nY'rY'u*. The 3<sup>rd</sup>. singular honorific/ plural suffix, applies to all of the other classes (including *oV'nY'rY'u*). A complete list of the numerals that inflect for GNP along with their allomorphic stem variations in the oblique form, could be shown as:

No.	Nominative	Oblique 2
1	<i>oV'nY'rY'u</i>	<i>oV'ru</i>
2	<i>iraNitu</i>	<i>iru</i>
3	<i>mUnY'rY'u</i>	<i>mU</i>
4	<i>nAnY'ku</i>	<i>nAl</i>
5	<i>Enwu</i>	<i>E</i>
6	<i>A'rY'u</i>	<i>aru</i>
7	<i>eN'Y'u</i>	<i>eV'N'Y'u</i>
8	<i>eV'itu</i>	<i>eV'N</i>
9	<i>oV'nY'pawu</i>	-
10	<i>pawwu</i>	-
11	<i>nUrY'u</i>	-
12	<i>Ayiram</i>	-
13	<i>latcam</i>	-
14	<i>koti</i>	-

Table 2.7: Numeral Bases - 2

<sup>2</sup> Applies only in the case of the numeral *el'itu*

Morphophonemic changes in the case of GNP **suffixation** in numerals are complex, and the phonological processes involve more than a single level of transformation or derivation.

### 2.3.3.4 Other Attachments

Adverbials, Postpositions, Particles, Clitics and Vocatives are the other inflections that apply on numerals. Adverbials that follow particles need to be followed by the locative or dative case. Postpositions follow numerals that are in their Nominative or Dative case.

Two different sets of particles attach to numerals in their oblique form. **Quantitative** Particles such as *(e)kAl* 'quarter', *arE* 'half', *arEkkAl* 'one-eighth', *(e)mukkAl* 'three-quarters', occur after Oblique 1 forms, while certain **other** Particles such as those indicative of like *maNi* 'o'clock', occur after the Nominative form of classes other than *oVnYŋYu*, in which case it occurs only after its Oblique 2 form. Other particles like *peVyar* 'number of persons' occur after the nominative forms of numerals.

The following table indicates a list of permissible inflectional combinations applicable to each allomorph:

Sl.No.	Numeral	Case Suffixes	Ordinality (Am/Arawu)	Particles1 (ma/Ni)	Particles2 (ekAl, acE, arEkkAl, mukkaI)	Class1 Particles (kAl, cilu, cilur, cirYu)	Particle other than for Class1 (peVyar)
1	<i>oV<sub>n</sub>YrYu</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
2	<i>oV<sub>n</sub>YrY</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x
3	<i>oV<sub>r</sub>u</i>	x	x	✓	x	✓	x
4	<i>iraNtu</i>	x	x	✓	x	x	✓
5	<i>iraNt</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x
6	<i>iru</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
7	<i>mU<sub>n</sub>YrYu</i>	x	x	✓	x	x	✓
8	<i>mU<sub>n</sub>YrY</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x
9	<i>mU</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
10	<i>nAnYku</i>	x	x	✓	x	x	✓
11	<i>nAnYk</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x
12	<i>nAl</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
13	<i>Enwu</i>	x	x	✓	x	x	✓
14	<i>Enw</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x
15	<i>E</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
16	<i>ArYu</i>	x	x	✓	x	x	✓
17	<i>ArY</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x
18	<i>aru</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
19	<i>aYYu</i>	x	x	✓	x	x	✓
20	<i>aYY</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x
21	<i>aVYYu</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
22	<i>aVtu</i>	x	x	✓	x	x	✓
23	<i>aVt</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x
24	<i>aVN</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
25	<i>oV<sub>n</sub>Ypawu</i>	x	x	✓	x	x	✓
26	<i>oV<sub>n</sub>Ypaw</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x
27	<i>pawwu</i>	x	x	✓	x	x	✓
28	<i>paww</i>	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x

Table 2.8: Permissible Suffixes in Numerals

### 2.3.3.5 The Numeral Paradigm

On the basis of allomorphy exhibited by numerals when inflected for number, case/ordinality and GNP, fourteen distinct classes of numerals are required in order to generate correct word forms. The following table illustrates the features of contrast:

Sl. No.	Numeral	Oblique1	Oblique2	Ordinality Suffix
1	oVnYrYu	oVnYrY	oVru	muwal
2	iraNtu	iraNt	iru	_Am/Avawu
3	mUnYrYu	mUnYrY	mU	_Am/Avawu
4	nAnYku	nanYk	nAl	_Am/Avawu
5	Enwu	Enw	E	_Am/Avawu
6	ArYu	ArY	arYu	_Am/Avawu
7	eYYu	eYY	eVYYu	_Am/Avawu
8	eVtu	eVt	eVN	_Am/Avawu
9	oVnYpawu	oVnYpaw	∅	_Am/Avawu
10	pawwu	paww	∅	_Am/Avawu
11	nUrYu	nUrYrY	∅	_Am/Avawu
12	Ayiram	Ayiraww	∅	∅
13	latcam	latcaww	∅	∅
14	koti	koti	∅	∅

Table 2.9: The Numeral Paradigm; Numeral Classes

The table lists the fourteen distinct numeral forms in their nominative forms with the relevant stem changes along with their oblique corresponding forms. Case inflections and ordinality markers can occur after Oblique 1 bases, while GNP inflections can append to the Oblique 2 base forms.

### 2.3.4 VERBS

Verbs chiefly inflect for tense, aspect and modality. Tamil records 3 tenses (Past, Present, Future), 5 aspects (Verbal Participles, Positive Conditional, Negative Conditional, Durative Conditional, Infinitive), 6 modals (Negative Past, Negative Future, Hortative, Admonitive, Prohibitive, Imperative).

#### 2.3.4.1 Tense

Verbs in Tamil have three morphological tenses: the Past, Present and the Future

##### 2.3.4.1.1 PAST

Verbs can be classified into fourteen classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stem before the past tense suffix. The following is a list of paradigmatic classes of verbal declension in the past tense.

From among the 24 classes of verbs, there are 14 stems that exhibit allomorphic change before past tense suffixation. These are: *Aku*, *AŋcA*, *ceVl*, *coVl*, *kAN*, *keŋ*, *koVŋ*, *ni*, *no*, *peVŋu*, *potu*, *vA* and *wUjku*.

SLNo	Root	Stem	Morphophonemic Process
1	<i>Aku</i>	<i>A</i>	Final Syllable Deletion
2	<i>Aŋ</i>	<i>AN</i>	Assimilation
3	<i>aŋŋu</i>	-	-
4	<i>cA</i>	<i>ceV</i>	Vowel Shortening
5	<i>ceVl</i>	<i>ceVnŋ</i>	Assimilation
6	<i>ceVy</i>	-	-
7	<i>coVl</i>	<i>coVnŋ</i>	Assimilation
8	<i>eVnŋ</i>	-	-
9	<i>ikaŋŋ</i>	-	-
10	<i>iru</i>	-	-
11	<i>kAN</i>	<i>kaN</i>	Vowel Shortening
12	<i>keŋ</i>	<i>ket</i>	Assimilation
13	<i>koVŋ</i>	<i>koVN</i>	Assimilation
14	<i>ni</i>	<i>ninŋ</i>	Assimilation
15	<i>no</i>	<i>noV</i>	Vowel Shortening
16	<i>pai</i>	-	-
17	<i>peVŋu</i>	<i>peVŋ</i>	Final Vowel Deletion
18	<i>po</i>	-	-
19	<i>potu</i>	<i>pot</i>	Final Vowel Deletion
20	<i>pUN</i>	-	-
21	<i>uN</i>	-	-
22	<i>vA</i>	<i>va</i>	Vowel Shortening
23	<i>uŋŋu</i>	-	-
24	<i>wUjku</i>	<i>wUjke</i>	Final Vowel Deletion

Table 2.10(a): Verb Stem Allomorphy in the Past Tense forms

Various kinds of morphophonemic rules come into operation in the instance of stem changes. There are 7 kinds of variations in the past tense suffixes. These are: *nŋ*, *t*, *uw*, *ŋ*, *w*, *uw* and *inŋ*.

SLNo	Verb Stem	Past Suffix	Variant Change	Morphophonemic Process
1	<i>Aku</i>	<i>nŋ</i>	<i>Anŋ</i>	Final Syllable Deletion
2	<i>Aŋ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ANt</i>	Assimilation
3	<i>aŋŋu</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>aŋŋuw</i>	-
4	<i>cA</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>ceVuw</i>	Vowel Shortening
5	<i>ceVl</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ceVnŋŋ</i>	Assimilation
6	<i>ceVy</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>ceVyw</i>	-
7	<i>coVl</i>	<i>nŋ</i>	<i>coVnŋnŋ</i>	Assimilation
8	<i>eVnŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>eVnŋŋ</i>	-
9	<i>ikaŋŋ</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>ikaŋŋuw</i>	-
10	<i>iru</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>iruw</i>	-
11	<i>kAN</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>kaNt</i>	Vowel Shortening
12	<i>keŋ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ket</i>	Assimilation
13	<i>koVŋ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>koVNt</i>	Assimilation
14	<i>ni</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ninŋŋ</i>	Assimilation

15	<i>no</i>	<i>nw</i>	<i>noVnw</i>	Vowel Shortening
16	<i>pai</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>pa<u>in</u>w</i>	-
17	<i>peVʔu</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>peVʔʔ</i>	Final Vowel Deletion
18	<i>po</i>	<i>nʔ</i>	<i>po<u>n</u>ʔ</i>	-
19	<i>potu</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>po<u>t</u></i>	Final Vowel Deletion
20	<i>pUN</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>pUN<u>t</u></i>	-
21	<i>uN</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>uN<u>t</u></i>	-
22	<i>vA</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>va<u>uw</u></i>	Vowel Shortening
23	<i>viʔʔu</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>viʔʔ<u>uw</u></i>	-
24	<i>wUʔku</i>	<i>inʔ</i>	<i>wUʔ<u>kin</u>ʔ</i>	Final Vowel Deletion

Table 210(b): Verb Suffix Allomorphy in the Past Tense forms

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

#### 👉 Apocope

There are 4 instances of final vowel deletion in the verbal paradigms. If a verbal base ends in the vowel *u*, which is preceded by a stop consonant, the vowel gets deleted before suffixation of the past tense marker.

#### 👉 Assimilation

There are 6 instances, or rather 3 types, of assimilation in the verbal paradigm, particularly along with rule of gemination. Specific changes include *ʔ* to *N*, /to *nʔ* and *ʔ* to /*t*. The trend can be described as a liquid assimilating to a nasal stop, in the context of a stop.

#### 👉 Vowel Shortening

There are 4 instances of vowel shortening in the verbal paradigm. Any of the verbal stems, that end in a vowel gets shortened if it is followed by a stop or a sequence of nasal + stop.

Apart from the Past tense, aspectuals like the Past Adjectival Participle, Positive Verbal Participle and the Positive Conditionals also inflect on the same base. The Past Adjectival Participle involves an additive *a*, after the past tense marker, the Positive Verbal Participle involves an additive *w* or *i*, and the Positive Conditional, and additional *AL*

### 23.4.1.2 PRESENT

Verbs can be classified into five classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stem for the present tense. There are 5 stems that exhibit allomorphic change before present tense suffixation. These are: *Aku*, *keʔ*, *keVʔ*, *mlpUN* and *vA*. The following is a list of paradigmatic classes of verbal declension in the present tense.

Sl.No	Root	Stem	Morphophonemic Process
1	<i>Aku</i>	<i>A</i>	Final Syllable Deletion
2	<i>Aʔ</i>	-	-
3	<i>aʔʔu</i>	-	-
4	<i>cA</i>	-	-
5	<i>ceVʔ</i>	-	-
6	<i>ceVʔy</i>	-	-
7	<i>ceVʔl</i>	-	-
8	<i>eVʔnʔ</i>	-	-
9	<i>ikaʔʔ</i>	-	-

10	<i>iru</i>	-	-
11	<i>kAN</i>	-	-
12	<i>keŋ</i>	<i>ket</i>	Assimilation
13	<i>koVŋ</i>	-	-
14	<i>mi</i>	<i>miŋ</i>	Assimilation
15	<i>no</i>	-	-
16	<i>pati</i>	-	-
17	<i>peVŋu</i>	-	-
18	<i>po</i>	-	-
19	<i>potu</i>	-	-
20	<i>pUN</i>	<i>pUNu</i>	Vowel Insertion
21	<i>uN</i>	-	-
22	<i>vA</i>	<i>varu</i>	Final Syllable Insertion
23	<i>viŋŋu</i>	-	-
24	<i>wUŋku</i>	-	-

Table 2.11(a): Verb Stem Allomorphy in the Present Tense forms

The present tense suffix is *kirŋ*, that functions as default, excepting in cases of stems that end in the vowels *u* or *i*, where the allomorphic variant *kkirŋ* appears. The following is how the present tense suffix allomorphs *kirŋ* and *kkirŋ* are distributed.

Sl.No	Verb Stem	Present Suffix	Variant Change	Morphophonemic Process
1	<i>Aku</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>Akirŋ</i>	-
2	<i>Aŋ</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>Aŋkirŋ</i>	-
3	<i>aŋŋu</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>aŋŋukirŋ</i>	-
4	<i>cA</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>cAkirŋ</i>	-
5	<i>ceVl</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>ceVlkirŋ</i>	-
6	<i>ceVy</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>ceVykirŋ</i>	-
7	<i>coVl</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>coVlkirŋ</i>	-
8	<i>eVnŋ</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>eVnŋkirŋ</i>	-
9	<i>ikaŋŋ</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>ikaŋŋkirŋ</i>	-
10	<i>iru</i>	<i>kkirŋ</i>	<i>irakkirŋ</i>	Gemination
11	<i>kAN</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>kANkirŋ</i>	-
12	<i>keŋ</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>ketkirŋ</i>	-
13	<i>koVŋ</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>koVŋkirŋ</i>	-
14	<i>mi</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>miŋkirŋ</i>	-
15	<i>no</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>nokirŋ</i>	-
16	<i>pati</i>	<i>kkirŋ</i>	<i>patikkirŋ</i>	Gemination
17	<i>peVŋu</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>peVŋukirŋ</i>	-
18	<i>po</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>pokirŋ</i>	-
19	<i>potu</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>potukirŋ</i>	-
20	<i>pUN</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>pUNukirŋ</i>	-
21	<i>uN</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>uNkirŋ</i>	-
22	<i>vA</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>varukirŋ</i>	-
23	<i>viŋŋu</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>viŋŋukirŋ</i>	-
24	<i>wUŋku</i>	<i>kirŋ</i>	<i>wUŋkukirŋ</i>	-

Table 2.11(b): Verb Suffix Allomorphy in the Present Tense (bans

In instances where a verb stem ends in short vowel, the suffix geminates its initial stop consonant.



### 2.3.4.1.3 FUTURE

Verbs can be classified into five classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verbs before the future tense suffix. There are 5 stems that exhibit allomorphic change. These are: *Aku*, *keŋʻ*, *niŋ*, *pUN*, and *vA*. The following is a list of paradigmatic classes of verbal declension in the future tense.

Sl.No	Root	Stem	Morphophonemic Process
1	<i>Aku</i>	<i>A</i>	Final Syllable Deletion
2	<i>Aŋʻ</i>	-	-
3	<i>aŋʻYu</i>	-	-
4	<i>cA</i>	-	-
5	<i>ceV/</i>	-	-
6	<i>ceV/y</i>	-	-
7	<i>coV/</i>	-	-
8	<i>eV/nYʻ</i>	-	-
9	<i>ikaŋʻYʻ</i>	-	-
10	<i>iru</i>	-	-
11	<i>keAN</i>	-	-
12	<i>keŋʻ</i>	<i>ket</i>	Assimilation
13	<i>koVŋʻ</i>	-	-
14	<i>niŋ</i>	<i>niŋʻ</i>	Assimilation
15	<i>no</i>	-	-
16	<i>pai</i>	-	-
17	<i>peVʻŋʻu</i>	-	-
18	<i>po</i>	-	-
19	<i>potu</i>	-	-
20	<i>pUN</i>	<i>pUNu</i>	Vowel Insertion
21	<i>uN</i>	-	-
22	<i>vA</i>	<i>varu</i>	Final Syllable Insertion
23	<i>viŋʻYu</i>	-	-
24	<i>wUʻku</i>	-	-

Table 2.12(a): Verb Stem Allomorphy in the Future Tense forms

There are 3 variants of the future tense suffix. These are: *v*, *p* and *pp*. 17 of these stems take *v*, 5 take *p*, and 2 take the geminate *pp*. The following is how the future tense suffix allomorphs *v*, *p* and *pp* are distributed.

Sl.No	Verb Stem	Future Suffix	Variant Change	Morphophonemic Process
1	<i>Aku</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>Av</i>	-
2	<i>Aŋʻ</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>Aŋʻv</i>	-
3	<i>aŋʻYu</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>aŋʻYuv</i>	-
4	<i>cA</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>cAv</i>	-
5	<i>ceV/</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>ceV/v</i>	-
6	<i>ceV/y</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>ceV/yv</i>	-
7	<i>coV/</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>coV/v</i>	-
8	<i>eV/nYʻ</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>eV/nYʻp</i>	-
9	<i>ikaŋʻYʻ</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>ikaŋʻYʻv</i>	-
10	<i>iru</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>irapp</i>	Gemination

11	<i>kAN</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>kANp</i>	-
12	<i>keŋ</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>ketp</i>	-
13	<i>koVŋ</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>koVŋv</i>	-
14	<i>niŋ</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>nirŋp</i>	-
15	<i>no</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>nov</i>	-
16	<i>pati</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>patipp</i>	Gemination
17	<i>peVŋu</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>peVŋuv</i>	-
18	<i>po</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>por</i>	-
19	<i>potu</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>potuv</i>	-
20	<i>pUN</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>pUNuv</i>	-
21	<i>uN</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>uNp</i>	-
22	<i>vA</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>varuv</i>	-
23	<i>viŋŋu</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>viŋŋuv</i>	-
24	<i>wUŋku</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>wUŋkuv</i>	-

Table 2.12(b): Verb Suffix Allomorphy in the Future Tense forms

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

**2. Deletion**

In deletion, the final consonant and vowel sequence i.e., a syllable gets deleted, prior to the addition of a glide.

**2. Assimilation**

As examples of assimilation, the retroflex lateral *ŋ* changes to the obstruent *t*, in the context of the following obstruent. The change can be described as a liquid assimilating to a stop, if the context is governed by another stop consonant.

**2. Gemination**

The suffix geminates, if the verb stem's penultimate vowel is short.

2.3.4.2 Aspect

**2.3.4.2.1 INFINITIVE**

The Infinitive form serves as the basis for many non-finite verbal stems. Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems before the infinitive. The 14 classes that decline for the infinitive form are: *Aku, aŋŋu, keŋ, niŋ, peVŋu, potu, vA, viŋŋu* and *wUŋku*.

Sl.No	Root	Stem	Morphophonemic Process
1	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Ak</i>	Final Syllable Deletion
2	<i>Aŋ</i>	<i>Aŋ</i>	Assimilation
3	<i>aŋŋu</i>	<i>aŋŋ</i>	-
4	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i>	Vowel Shortening
5	<i>ceVl</i>	<i>ceVl</i>	Assimilation
6	<i>ceVy</i>	<i>ceVy</i>	-
7	<i>ceVl</i>	<i>ceVl</i>	Assimilation
8	<i>elVnŋ</i>	<i>elVnŋ</i>	-
9	<i>ikaŋŋ</i>	<i>ikaŋŋ</i>	-
10	<i>iru</i>	<i>iru</i>	-
11	<i>kAN</i>	<i>kAN</i>	Vowel Shortening

12	<i>keŋ'</i>	<i>ket</i>	Assimilation
13	<i>koVŋ'</i>	<i>koVŋ'</i>	Assimilation
14	<i>ni</i>	<i>niŋ'</i>	Assimilation
15	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	Vowel Shortening
16	<i>pai</i>	<i>pai</i>	-
17	<i>peVŋ'u</i>	<i>peVŋ'</i>	Final Vowel Deletion
18	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	-
19	<i>potu</i>	<i>pot</i>	Final Vowel Deletion
20	<i>pUN</i>	<i>pUN</i>	-
21	<i>uN</i>	<i>uN</i>	-
22	<i>vA</i>	<i>var</i>	Vowel Shortening
23	<i>viŋŋ'u</i>	<i>viŋŋ'</i>	-
24	<i>wUŋku</i>	<i>wUŋk</i>	Final Vowel Deletion

Table 2.13(a): Verb Stem Allomorphy in the Infinitive forms

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are two instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the infinitive form. These are: *a*, *ka*, *la*, *ya*, *kka*, *ŋ'a* and *Na*.

Sl.No	Verb Stem	Infinitival Suffix	Variant Change	Morphophonemic Process
1	<i>Aku</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Ak</i>	-
2	<i>Aŋ'</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Aŋ'</i>	-
3	<i>aŋŋ'u</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>aŋŋ'</i>	-
4	<i>cA</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>cA</i>	-
5	<i>ceV'l</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ceV'l</i>	-
6	<i>ceV'y</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ceV'y</i>	-
7	<i>ceV'l</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ceV'l</i>	-
8	<i>eV'nŋ'</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>eV'nŋ'</i>	-
9	<i>ikaŋŋ'</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ikaŋŋ'</i>	-
10	<i>iru</i>	<i>kka</i>	<i>iru</i>	Gemination
11	<i>kAN</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kAN</i>	-
12	<i>keŋ'</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ket</i>	-
13	<i>koVŋ'</i>	<i>ŋ'a</i>	<i>koVŋ'</i>	-
14	<i>ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>niŋ'</i>	-
15	<i>no</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>no</i>	-
16	<i>pai</i>	<i>kka</i>	<i>pai</i>	Gemination
17	<i>peVŋ'u</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>peVŋ'</i>	-
18	<i>po</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>po</i>	-
19	<i>potu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pot</i>	-
20	<i>pUN</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pUN</i>	-
21	<i>uN</i>	<i>Na</i>	<i>uN</i>	-
22	<i>vA</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>var</i>	-
23	<i>viŋŋ'u</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>viŋŋ'</i>	-
24	<i>wUŋku</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>wUŋk</i>	-

Table 2.13(b): Verb Suffix Allomorphy in the Infinitive forms

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

**2.1 Apocope + Insertion**

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve first, a deletion of the stem final vowel, that is in turn replaced by the infinitive marker *a*.

## 2.3.4.2 Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

## 2.3.4.2.1 Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of **gemination** where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.2.2 PARTICIPLES

Participles are of two types: Adjectival and Verbal.

#### 2.3.4.2.2.1 Adjectival

Adjectival Participles branch into the Past, Present, Habitual and the Negative, according to the corresponding tense base.

##### 2.3.4.2.2.1.1 PAST ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLE

Verbs can be classified into 12 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Past Adjectival Participle. The 12 stems that decline for the past adjectival form, are: *Aku, aŋY'u, keŋ', nil, peV'ŋ'u, potu, vA, viŋY'u* and *wUfku*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AnY'</i>
2.	<i>Aŋ'</i>	<i>Aŋ'</i> → <i>AN</i>
3.	<i>cA</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>ceV'</i>
4.	<i>kAN</i>	<i>kAN</i> → <i>kaN</i>
5.	<i>keŋ'</i>	<i>keŋ'</i> → <i>ket</i>
6.	<i>koV'ŋ'</i>	<i>koV'ŋ'</i> → <i>koVN</i>
7.	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i> → <i>nirY'</i>
8.	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i> → <i>noV'</i>
9.	<i>peV'ŋ'u</i>	<i>peV'ŋ'u</i> → <i>peV'ŋ'</i>
10.	<i>potu</i>	<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
11.	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i> → <i>va</i>
12.	<i>wUfku</i>	<i>wUfku</i> → <i>wUfke</i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 8 suffix variants for the past adjectival participial form. These are: *a.ta, wwa, wa, rŋ'a, nY'nY'a, nwa* and *inY'a*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>a</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AnY'a</i>
2.	<i>Aŋ'</i>	+	<i>ta</i>	<i>aŋ'</i> → <i>ANta</i>
3.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>wwa</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>ceV'wwa</i>
4.	<i>ceV'y</i>	+	<i>wa</i>	<i>ceV'y</i> → <i>ceV'ywa</i>
5.	<i>ceV'l</i>	+	<i>rŋ'a</i>	<i>ceV'l</i> → <i>ceV'nY'rŋ'a</i>
6.	<i>coV'l</i>	+	<i>nY'nY'a</i>	<i>coV'l</i> → <i>coV'nY'nY'a</i>
7.	<i>iru</i>	+	<i>nwa</i>	<i>iru</i> → <i>irunwa</i>
8.	<i>wUfku</i>	+	<i>inY'a</i>	<i>wUfku</i> → <i>wUfkinY'a</i>

There are three kinds of **morphophonemic** rules that operate here:

**2. Apocope**

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve deletion of the stem final vowel, that is in turn replaced by the past adjectival participial marker *a*

**2. Insertion**

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

**2. Gemination**

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

**2.3.4.2.2.1.2 PRESENT ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLE**

Verbs can be classified into two classes, based on **allomorphic** variations exhibited by the verb stem for the present adjectival participial form. Allomorphy is simple, if any. Verb stems do not undergo any phonological change. The present tense suffix is *kiiY*, that functions as default, excepting in cases of stems that end in the vowels *u* or *i*, where the allomorphic variant *kkiiY* appears. The Present Adjectival Participle involves an additive *a*, after the present tense marker. The following is how the suffixes *kiiYa* and *kkiiYa* for the present adjectival participle function.

1. *Aku*    *kiiYa*    *Aku* → *AkukiiYa*
2. *iru*    *kkiiYa*    *iru* → *irukkirYa*

In instances where a verb stem ends in short vowel, the suffix geminates its initial stop consonant.

**2.3.4.2.2.1.3. HABITUAL ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLE**

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the **Habitual** Adjectival Participle. The 9 stems that decline accordingly, for the **habitual participle** are: *Aku*, *aŋYu*, *keY*, *ni*, *peVrYu*, *potuA*, *viŋYu* and *wUfku*.

1. *Aku*    *Aku* → *Ak*
2. *aŋYu*    *aŋYu* → *aŋY*
3. *keY*    *keY* → *ket*
4. *ni*    *ni* → *nirY*
5. *peVrYu*    *peVrYu* → *peVrY*
6. *potu*    *potu* → *pot*
7. *vA*    *vA* → *var*
8. *viŋYu*    *viŋYu* → *viŋY*
9. *wUfku*    *wUfku* → *wUfk*

Most of these changes **involve** final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the habitual form. **These are: *urn*, *kum*, *lum*, *yum*, *kkum*, *Yurn* and *Num*.**

1. *Aku*    +    *um*    *Aku* → *Akum*
2. *cA*    +    *kum*    *cA* → *cAkum*
3. *ceVl*    +    *lum*    *ceVl* → *ceVlum*

4.	<i>ceVy</i>	+	<i>yum</i>	<i>ceVy</i> → <i>ceVy<sup>h</sup>um</i>
5.	<i>iru</i>	+	<i>kkum</i>	<i>iru</i> → <i>iruk<sup>h</sup>kum</i>
6.	<i>koVɽ</i>	+	<i>ɽum</i>	<i>koVɽ</i> → <i>koVɽ<sup>h</sup>um</i>
7.	<i>uN</i>	+	<i>Num</i>	<i>uN</i> → <i>uNN<sup>h</sup>um</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

#### 2. Apocope

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve first, a deletion of the stem final vowel that is in turn replaced by the habitual adjectival participial marker *um*.

#### 2. Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

#### 2. Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.2.1.4 NEGATIVE ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLE

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Negative Adjectival Participle. The 9 stems that decline accordingly, are: *Aku*, *aɽɽu*, *keɽ*, *ni*, *peVɽu*, *potu*, *vA*, *riWYu* and *wUfku*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>
2.	<i>aɽɽu</i>	<i>aɽɽu</i> → <i>aɽɽ</i>
3.	<i>keɽ</i>	<i>keɽ</i> → <i>keɽ</i>
4.	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i> → <i>nir</i>
5.	<i>peVɽu</i>	<i>peVɽu</i> → <i>peVɽ</i>
6.	<i>potu</i>	<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
7.	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i> → <i>var</i>
8.	<i>riWYu</i>	<i>riWYu</i> → <i>riWY</i>
9.	<i>wUfku</i>	<i>wUfku</i> → <i>wUfk</i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the negative adjectival participial form. These are: *Awa*, *kAwa*, *LAwa*, *yAwa*, *kkAwa*, *ɽAwa* and *NAwa*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>Awa</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AkAwa</i>
2.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>kAwa</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>cAkAwa</i>
3.	<i>ceVl</i>	+	<i>LAwa</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVllAwa</i>
4.	<i>ceVy</i>	+	<i>yAwa</i>	<i>ceVy</i> → <i>ceVy<sup>h</sup>yAwa</i>
5.	<i>iru</i>	+	<i>kkAwa</i>	<i>iru</i> → <i>iruk<sup>h</sup>kAwa</i>
6.	<i>koVɽ</i>	+	<i>ɽAwa</i>	<i>koVɽ</i> → <i>koVɽ<sup>h</sup>ɽAwa</i>
7.	<i>uN</i>	+	<i>NAwa</i>	<i>uN</i> → <i>uNN<sup>h</sup>Awa</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

#### 2. Apocope

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve first, a deletion of the stem final vowel, that is in turn replaced by the negative adjectival participial marker *Awa*.

### 2. Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

### 2. Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

## 2.3.4.2.2.2 Verbal

The Verbal Participles branch into the Positive and the Negative.

### 2.3.4.2.2.1 POSITIVE VERBAL PARTICIPLE

Verbs can be classified into 14 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Positive Verbal Participle. The 14 stems that decline accordingly, are: *Aku*, *Aŋ*, *aŋY<sub>u</sub>cA*, *ceVl*, *coVl*, *kAN*, *keŋ*, *koVŋ*, *ni*, *no*, *peVŋY<sub>u</sub>*, *potu*, *vA*, and *wUjku*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>
2.	<i>Aŋ</i>	<i>Aŋ</i> → <i>AN</i>
3.	<i>cA</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>ceV</i>
4.	<i>ceVl</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVnY</i>
5.	<i>coVl</i>	<i>coVl</i> → <i>coVnY</i>
6.	<i>kAN</i>	<i>kAN</i> → <i>kaN</i>
7.	<i>keŋ</i>	<i>keŋ</i> → <i>ket</i>
8.	<i>koVŋ</i>	<i>koVŋ</i> → <i>koVN</i>
9.	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i> → <i>nirY</i>
10.	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i> → <i>noV</i>
11.	<i>peVŋY<sub>u</sub></i>	<i>peVŋY<sub>u</sub></i> → <i>peVŋY</i>
12.	<i>potu</i>	<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
13.	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i> → <i>var</i>
14.	<i>wUjku</i>	<i>wUjku</i> → <i>wUjke</i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 8 instances of assimilation. There are 8 suffix variants for the positive verbal participial form. These are: *i*, *tu*, *uu*, *www*, *nnu*, *ŋY<sub>u</sub>*, *ii*, and *y*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>i</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>Aki</i>
2.	<i>Aŋ</i>	+	<i>tu</i>	<i>Aŋ</i> → <i>ANtu</i>
3.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>www</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>ceVwww</i>
4.	<i>ceV<sub>y</sub></i>	+	<i>nn</i>	<i>ceV<sub>y</sub></i> → <i>ceV<sub>y</sub>nn</i>
5.	<i>coVl</i>	+	<i>li</i>	<i>coVl</i> → <i>coV<sub>li</sub></i>
6.	<i>ikaŋY</i>	+	<i>nnu</i>	<i>ikaŋY</i> → <i>ikaŋYnnu</i>
7.	<i>peVŋY<sub>u</sub></i>	+	<i>ŋY<sub>u</sub></i>	<i>peVŋY<sub>u</sub></i> → <i>peVŋYŋY<sub>u</sub></i>
8.	<i>po</i>	+	<i>y</i>	<i>po</i> → <i>po<sub>y</sub></i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

### 2. Apocope

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve deletion of the stem final vowel, which is in turn replaced by the positive verbal participial marker *i* or *u*.

### 2.3.4.2.2.1 Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

### 2.3.4.2.2.2 Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.2.2.2.2 NEGATIVE VERBAL PARTICIPLE

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Negative Verbal Participle. The 9 stems that decline accordingly, are: *Aku*, *aŋYu*, *keŋ*, *mi*, *peVŋYu*, *potu*, *vA*, *viŋYu* and *wUŋku*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>
2.	<i>aŋYu</i>	<i>aŋYu</i> → <i>aŋY</i>
3.	<i>keŋ</i>	<i>keŋ</i> → <i>ket</i>
4.	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i> → <i>niŋ</i>
5.	<i>peVŋYu</i>	<i>peVŋYu</i> → <i>peVŋY</i>
6.	<i>potu</i>	<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
7.	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i> → <i>var</i>
8.	<i>viŋYu</i>	<i>viŋYu</i> → <i>viŋY</i>
9.	<i>wUŋku</i>	<i>wUŋku</i> → <i>wUŋk</i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the negative verbal participial form. These are: *AmaL*, *kAmaL*, *LAmaL*, *yAmaL*, *kkAmaL*, *ŋYAmaL* and *NAmaL*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>AmaL</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AkAmaL</i>
2.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>kAmaL</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>cAkAmaL</i>
3.	<i>ceVl</i>	+	<i>LAmaL</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVllAmaL</i>
4.	<i>ceVy</i>	+	<i>yAmaL</i>	<i>ceVy</i> → <i>ceVyyaAmaL</i>
5.	<i>iru</i>	+	<i>kkAmaL</i>	<i>iru</i> → <i>irukkaAmaL</i>
6.	<i>koVŋ</i>	+	<i>ŋYAmaL</i>	<i>koVŋ</i> → <i>koVŋŋYAmaL</i>
7.	<i>uN</i>	+	<i>NAmaL</i>	<i>uN</i> → <i>uNNAmaL</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

### 2.3.4.2.2.2.1 Apocope

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve deletion of the stem final vowel, which is in turn replaced by the negative verbal participial marker *AmaL*

### 2.3.4.2.2.2.2 Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

### 2.3.4.2.2.2.3 Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.2.2.3 Conditional

The Conditionals branch into the Positive and the Negative.



**2.3.4.2.2.3.1 Positive Conditional**

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Positive Conditional. The 9 stems that decline accordingly, are: *Aku, aŋŋu, keŋ, ni, peVŋu, potu, vA, viŋŋu* and *wUŋke*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>Aŋŋ</i>
2.	<i>Aŋŋ</i>	<i>Aŋŋ</i> → <i>AN</i>
3.	<i>cA</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>ceV</i>
4.	<i>keAN</i>	<i>keAN</i> → <i>keAN</i>
5.	<i>keŋŋ</i>	<i>keŋŋ</i> → <i>ket</i>
6.	<i>koVŋŋ</i>	<i>koVŋŋ</i> → <i>koVN</i>
7.	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i> → <i>nirŋ</i>
8.	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i> → <i>noV</i>
9.	<i>peVŋu</i>	<i>peVŋu</i> → <i>peVŋŋ</i>
10.	<i>potu</i>	<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
11.	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i> → <i>va</i>
12.	<i>wUŋke</i>	<i>wUŋke</i> → <i>wUŋke</i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 8 suffix variants for the positive conditional form. These are: *Al, lAl, wuAl, uAl, ŋŋAl, nŋŋAl, nuAl* and *inŋAl*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>Al</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AŋŋAl</i>
2.	<i>Aŋŋ</i>	+	<i>lAl</i>	<i>Aŋŋ</i> → <i>ANlAl</i>
3.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>wuAl</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>ceVwuAl</i>
4.	<i>ceVŋ</i>	+	<i>uAl</i>	<i>ceVŋ</i> → <i>ceVŋuAl</i>
5.	<i>ceVl</i>	+	<i>ŋŋAl</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVŋŋŋAl</i>
6.	<i>coVl</i>	+	<i>nŋŋAl</i>	<i>coVŋŋ</i> → <i>coVnŋŋŋAl</i>
7.	<i>iru</i>	+	<i>nuAl</i>	<i>iru</i> → <i>irunuAl</i>
8.	<i>wUŋke</i>	+	<i>inŋAl</i>	<i>wUŋke</i> → <i>wUŋkeinŋAl</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

**2.1 Apocope**

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve deletion of the stem final vowel that is in turn replaced by the positive conditional marker *Al*.

**2.2 Insertion**

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

**2.3 Gemination**

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.2.2.3.2 Negative Conditional

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the negative conditional. The 9 stems that decline hereby, are: *Aku, aŋYu, keŋY, nil, peVŋYu, potu, vA, viŋYu and wUŋku.*

- |    |                      |                                     |
|----|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>Aku</i>           | <i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>              |
| 2. | <i>aŋY<u>u</u></i>   | <i>aŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>aŋY</i>     |
| 3. | <i>keŋY</i>          | <i>keŋY</i> → <i>ket</i>            |
| 4. | <i>nil</i>           | <i>nil</i> → <i>niŋY</i>            |
| 5. | <i>peVŋY<u>u</u></i> | <i>peVŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>peVŋY</i> |
| 6. | <i>potu</i>          | <i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>            |
| 7. | <i>vA</i>            | <i>vA</i> → <i>var</i>              |
| 8. | <i>viŋY<u>u</u></i>  | <i>viŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>viŋY</i>   |
| 9. | <i>wUŋ<u>ku</u></i>  | <i>wUŋ<u>ku</u></i> → <i>wUŋk</i>   |

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the negative conditional form. These are: *AvittAL, kAvittAL, lAvittAL, yAvittAL, keAvittAL, ŋAvittAL* and *NAvittAL*.

- |    |              |   |                  |  |
|----|--------------|---|------------------|--|
| 1. | <i>Aku</i>   | + | <i>AvittAL</i>   | <i>Aku</i> → <i>AkAvittAL</i>                |
| 2. | <i>cA</i>    | + | <i>kAvittAL</i>  | <i>cA</i> → <i>cAkAvittAL</i>                |
| 3. | <i>ceVl</i>  | + | <i>lAvittAL</i>  | <i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVllAvittAL</i>            |
| 4. | <i>ceVy</i>  | + | <i>yAvittAL</i>  | <i>ceVy</i> → <i>ceVy<sub>y</sub>AvittAL</i> |
| 5. | <i>iru</i>   | + | <i>keAvittAL</i> | <i>iru</i> → <i>irukkeAvittAL</i>            |
| 6. | <i>koVŋY</i> | + | <i>ŋAvittAL</i>  | <i>koVŋY</i> → <i>koVŋYŋAvittAL</i>          |
| 7. | <i>uN</i>    | + | <i>NAvittAL</i>  | <i>uN</i> → <i>uNNAvittAL</i>                |

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

#### 2. Apocope + Insertion

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve deletion of the stem final vowel, which is in turn replaced by the negative conditional suffix, *AvittAL*

#### 2. Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

#### 2. Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.2.2.3.3 Durative Conditional

From among the 24 classes of verbs, there are 14 stems that exhibit allomorphic change prior to the realization of the durative conditional. The verb stems that inflect for the durative conditional suffix are: *Aku, aŋY, cA, ceVl, ceVl, kAN, keŋY, koVŋY, nil, no, peVŋYu, potu, vA* and *wUŋku*. The Durative Conditional involves the marker *keoVNturu*, on the positive verbal participial base of the verb. The following is a list of the relevant verb declensions:

1.	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>
2.	<i>AY</i>	<i>AY</i> → <i>AN</i>
3.	<i>cA</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>ceV</i>
4.	<i>ceVl</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVnY</i>
5.	<i>coVl</i>	<i>coVl</i> → <i>coVnY</i>
6.	<i>kAN</i>	<i>kAN</i> → <i>kaN</i>
7.	<i>keY</i>	<i>keY</i> → <i>ket</i>
8.	<i>koVY</i>	<i>koVY</i> → <i>koVN</i>
9.	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i> → <i>noV</i>
10.	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i> → <i>ninY</i>
11.	<i>peVrYu</i>	<i>peVrYu</i> → <i>peVrY</i>
12.	<i>potu</i>	<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
13.	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i> → <i>va</i>
14.	<i>wUfku</i>	<i>wUfku</i> → <i>wUfke</i>

There are 8 kinds of variations in the suffixes. These are: *ikekoVNtiru*, *tukkoVNtiru*, *wukkoVNtiru*, *wwukkoVNtiru*, *rYukkoVNtiru*, *likekoVNtiru*, *mwukkoVNtiru* and *kikekoVNtiru*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>ikekoVNtiru</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AkikekoVNtiru</i>
2.	<i>AY</i>	+	<i>tukkoVNtiru</i>	<i>AY</i> → <i>ANtukoVNtiru</i>
3.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>wukkoVNtiru</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>ceVwwukkoVNtiru</i>
4.	<i>ceVl</i>	+	<i>rYukkoVNtiru</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVnYrYukkoVNtiru</i>
5.	<i>coVl</i>	+	<i>likekoVNtiru</i>	<i>coVl</i> → <i>coVllikekoVNtiru</i>
6.	<i>no</i>	+	<i>mwukkoVNtiru</i>	<i>no</i> → <i>noVmwukkoVNtiru</i>
7.	<i>po</i>	+	<i>ykekoVNtiru</i>	<i>po</i> → <i>peykekoVNtiru</i>
8.	<i>wUfku</i>	+	<i>ikekoVNtiru</i>	<i>wUfku</i> → <i>wUfkeikekoVNtiru</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

### 2. Apocope

There are 4 instances of final vowel deletion in the verb paradigm. Classes 1, 17, 19 and 24 exhibit this property'. If a verbal base ends in the vowel *u*, which is preceded by a stop consonant, the final vowel gets deleted before suffixation of the past tense marker.

### 2. Assimilation

There are 6 instances, or rather 3 types, of assimilation in the verb paradigm. Classes 2, 5, 7, 12, 13 and 14 exhibit this property, particularly along with rule of gemination. Specific changes include *Y* to *N*, *l* to *nY* and *Y* to *t*. The trend can be described as a liquid assimilating to a nasal, if the context is governed by a geminate.

### 2. Vowel Shortening

There are 4 instances of vowel shortening in the verb paradigm. Any of the verbal stems, that end in a vowel gets shortened if it is followed by a stop or a sequence of nasal + stop.

## 2.3.4.3 Mood

### 2.3.4.3.1 NEGATIVE PAST

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Negative Past. The 9 stems that decline hereby are: *Aku*, *arYu*, *keY*, *nil*, *peVrYu*, *potu*, *vA*, *virYu* and *wUfku*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>
2.	<i>aŋY<u>u</u></i>	<i>aŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>aŋY</i>
3.	<i>keŋY</i>	<i>keŋY</i> → <i>ket</i>
4.	<i>niŋ</i>	<i>niŋ</i> → <i>nirY</i>
5.	<i>peVrY<u>u</u></i>	<i>peVrY<u>u</u></i> → <i>peVrY</i>
6.	<i>potu</i>	<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
7.	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i> → <i>var</i>
8.	<i>viŋY<u>u</u></i>	<i>viŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>viŋY</i>
9.	<i>wUj<u>ku</u></i>	<i>wUj<u>ku</u></i> → <i>wUj<u>k</u></i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the negative past form. These are: *villE*, *kevillE*, *hivillE*, *yavillE*, *kekavillE*, *ŋavillE* and *NavillE*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>avillE</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AkavillE</i>
2.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>kevillE</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>cAkevillE</i>
3.	<i>ceVl</i>	+	<i>lavillE</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVllavillE</i>
4.	<i>ceVy</i>	+	<i>yavillE</i>	<i>ceVy</i> → <i>ceVyyavillE</i>
5.	<i>iru</i>	+	<i>kekavillE</i>	<i>iru</i> → <i>irukkavillE</i>
6.	<i>koVŋY</i>	+	<i>ŋavillE</i>	<i>koVŋY</i> → <i>koVŋYŋavillE</i>
1.	<i>uX</i>	+	<i>NavillE</i>	<i>uN</i> → <i>uNNavillE</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

#### 2. Apocope + Insertion

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve the deletion of the stem final vowel, which is in turn replaced by the negative past marker *avillE*.

#### 2. Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

#### 2. Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.3.2 NEGATIVE FUTURE

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Negative Future. The 9 stems that decline hereby are: *Aku*, *aŋYu*, *keŋY*, *niŋ*, *peVrYu*, *potu*, *vA*, *viŋYu* and *wUjku*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>
2.	<i>aŋY<u>u</u></i>	<i>aŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>aŋY</i>
3.	<i>keŋY</i>	<i>keŋY</i> → <i>ket</i>
4.	<i>niŋ</i>	<i>niŋ</i> → <i>nirY</i>
5.	<i>peVrY<u>u</u></i>	<i>peVrY<u>u</u></i> → <i>peVrY</i>
6.	<i>potu</i>	<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
7.	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i> → <i>var</i>
8.	<i>viŋY<u>u</u></i>	<i>viŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>viŋY</i>
9.	<i>wUj<u>ku</u></i>	<i>wUj<u>ku</u></i> → <i>wUj<u>k</u></i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the negative future form. These are: *amAtt*, *kamAtt*, *lamAtt*, *yamAtt*, *kekamAtt*, *tfamAtt* and *NamAtt*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>amAtt</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AkamAtt</i>
2.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>kamAtt</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>cAkamAtt</i>
3.	<i>ceVl</i>	+	<i>lamAtt</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVllamAtt</i>
4.	<i>ceVy</i>	+	<i>yamAtt</i>	<i>ceVy</i> → <i>ceVy YamAtt</i>
5.	<i>iru</i>	+	<i>kekamAtt</i>	<i>iru</i> → <i>irukkamAtt</i>
6.	<i>koVɲ</i>	+	<i>ɲamAtt</i>	<i>koVɲ</i> → <i>koVɲɲamAtt</i>
7.	<i>uN</i>	+	<i>NamAtt</i>	<i>uN</i> → <i>uNNamAtt</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

### 2. Apocope + Insertion

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve the deletion of the stem final vowel, which is in turn replaced by the negative future marker *amAtt*.

### 2. Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

### 2. Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

## 2.3.4.3.3 HORTATIVE

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Hortative. The 9 stems that decline hereby are: *Aku*, *aɲɲu*, *keɲ*, *niɲ*, *peVɲu*, *potu*, *vA*, *viɲɲu* and *wɲfɲu*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>		<i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>
2.	<i>aɲɲu</i>		<i>aɲɲu</i> → <i>aɲɲ</i>
3.	<i>keɲ</i>		<i>keɲ</i> → <i>ket</i>
4.	<i>niɲ</i>		<i>niɲ</i> → <i>nirɲ</i>
5.	<i>peVɲu</i>		<i>peVɲu</i> → <i>peVɲɲ</i>
6.	<i>potu</i>		<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
7.	<i>vA</i>		<i>vA</i> → <i>var</i>
8.	<i>viɲɲu</i>		<i>viɲɲu</i> → <i>viɲɲɲ</i>
9.	<i>wɲfɲu</i>		<i>wɲfɲu</i> → <i>wɲfɲɲ</i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the hortative form. These are: *alAm*, *kalAm*, *lalAm*, *yalAm*, *kekAlAm*, *fiTalAm* and *NalAm*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>alAm</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AkalAm</i>
2.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>kalAm</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>cAkalAm</i>
3.	<i>ceVl</i>	+	<i>lalAm</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVllalAm</i>
4.	<i>ceVy</i>	+	<i>yalAm</i>	<i>ceVy</i> → <i>ceVy yalAm</i>
5.	<i>iru</i>	+	<i>kekAlAm</i>	<i>iru</i> → <i>irukkalAm</i>
6.	<i>koVɲ</i>	+	<i>ɲalAm</i>	<i>koVɲ</i> → <i>koVɲɲalAm</i>

7. *uN* + *NaAm* *uN* → *uNNaAm*

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

**2. Apocope + Insertion**

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve the deletion of the stem final vowel that is in turn replaced by the hortative marker *aAm*.

**2. Insertion**

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

**2. Geminatio**

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.3.4 ADMONITIVE

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Admonitive. The 9 stems that decline hereby are: *Aku*, *aŋYu*, *keŋY*, *niŋ*, *peVŋYu*, *potu*, *vA*, *viŋYu* and *wUŋku*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>		<i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>
2.	<i>aŋY<u>u</u></i>		<i>aŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>aŋY</i>
3.	<i>keŋY</i>		<i>keŋY</i> → <i>ket</i>
4.	<i>niŋ</i>		<i>niŋ</i> → <i>nirY</i>
5.	<i>peVŋY<u>u</u></i>		<i>peVŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>peVŋY</i>
6.	<i>potu</i>		<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
7.	<i>vA</i>		<i>vA</i> → <i>var</i>
8.	<i>viŋY<u>u</u></i>		<i>viŋY<u>u</u></i> → <i>viŋY</i>
9.	<i>wUŋ<u>ku</u></i>		<i>wUŋ<u>ku</u></i> → <i>wUŋk</i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the admonitive form. These are: *a*, *ka*, *la*, *ya*, *keka*, *ŋa* and *Na*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+	<i>a</i>		<i>Aku</i> → <i>Aka</i>
2.	<i>cA</i>	+	<i>ka</i>		<i>cA</i> → <i>cAka</i>
3.	<i>ceV/l</i>	+	<i>la</i>		<i>ceV/l</i> → <i>ceVlla</i>
4.	<i>ceV/y</i>	+	<i>ya</i>		<i>ceV/y</i> → <i>ceVyya</i>
5.	<i>iru</i>	+	<i>keka</i>		<i>iru</i> → <i>irukeka</i>
6.	<i>koV/ŋ</i>	+	<i>ŋa</i>		<i>koV/ŋ</i> → <i>koVŋŋa</i>
7.	<i>uN</i>	+	<i>Na</i>		<i>uN</i> → <i>uNNa</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

**2. Apocope + Insertion**

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve the deletion of the stem final vowel that is in turn replaced by the admonitive marker *a*.

**2. Insertion**

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

## mination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.3.5 PROHIBITIVE

Verbs can be classified into 9 classes, based on allomorphic variations exhibited by the verb stems for the Prohibitive. The 9 stems that decline hereby are: *Aku*, *aŋŋu*, *keŋ*, *ni*, *peVŋu*, *potu*, *vA*, *viŋŋu* and *wiŋku*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>Ak</i>
2.	<i>aŋŋu</i>	<i>aŋŋu</i> → <i>aŋŋ</i>
3.	<i>keŋ</i>	<i>keŋ</i> → <i>ket</i>
4.	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i> → <i>niŋ</i>
5.	<i>peVŋu</i>	<i>peVŋu</i> → <i>peVŋŋ</i>
6.	<i>potu</i>	<i>potu</i> → <i>pot</i>
7.	<i>vA</i>	<i>vA</i> → <i>var</i>
8.	<i>viŋŋu</i>	<i>viŋŋu</i> → <i>viŋŋŋ</i>
9.	<i>wiŋku</i>	<i>wiŋku</i> → <i>wiŋk</i>

Most of these changes involve final vowel deletion of the stem, in the case of a following vowel. There are 2 instances of assimilation. There are 7 suffix variants for the prohibitive form. These are: *Aw*, *kAw*, *LAw*, *ɣAw*, *kkAw*, *ŋAw* and *NAw*.

1.	<i>Aku</i>	+ <i>Aw</i>	<i>Aku</i> → <i>AkAw</i>
2.	<i>cA</i>	+ <i>kAw</i>	<i>cA</i> → <i>cAkAw</i>
3.	<i>ceVl</i>	+ <i>LAw</i>	<i>ceVl</i> → <i>ceVllAw</i>
4.	<i>ceVy</i>	+ <i>ɣAw</i>	<i>ceVy</i> → <i>ceVyɣAw</i>
5.	<i>iru</i>	+ <i>kkAw</i>	<i>iru</i> → <i>irukAw</i>
6.	<i>keVŋ</i>	+ <i>ŋAw</i>	<i>keVŋ</i> → <i>keVŋŋAw</i>
7.	<i>uN</i>	+ <i>NAw</i>	<i>uN</i> → <i>uNNAw</i>

There are three kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

#### 2. Apocope + Insertion

Classes 1, 2, 3, 17, 19, 23 and 24 involve the deletion of the stem final vowel that is in turn replaced by the prohibitive marker *Aw*.

#### 2. Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 involve insertion. A stop consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix, when the verb ends in a vowel.

#### 2. Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant or glide that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.3.6 IMPERATIVE

The Imperative always assumes the basic, rather the uninflected form of the verb. The only suffixes possible are the plural or the honorific, in which case, the addition of the plural or honorific suffix, *uŋkaŋ* is required.

classes of verbs are affected by the morphophonemic rule of apocope, during the **suppletion** of the plural/honorific marker. These are: *Aku*, *aŋŋu*, *iru*, *peVŋu*, *potu*, *viŋŋu* and *wUŋku*.

- |    |              |              |               |             |
|----|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. | <i>Aku</i>   | <i>Aku</i>   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>Ak</i>   |
| 2. | <i>aŋŋu</i>  | <i>aŋŋu</i>  | $\rightarrow$ | <i>aŋŋ</i>  |
| 3. | <i>iru</i>   | <i>iru</i>   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>ir</i>   |
| 4. | <i>peVŋu</i> | <i>peVŋu</i> | $\rightarrow$ | <i>peVŋ</i> |
| 5. | <i>potu</i>  | <i>potu</i>  | $\rightarrow$ | <i>pot</i>  |
| 6. | <i>viŋŋu</i> | <i>viŋŋu</i> | $\rightarrow$ | <i>viŋŋ</i> |
| 1. | <i>wUŋku</i> | <i>wUŋku</i> | $\rightarrow$ | <i>wUŋk</i> |

The basic rule in stem change is that of final vowel deletion, in the context of a following vowel segment. The morphophonemics involved here, falls in line with the pattern of the 'infinitive'. The suffix varies based on the phonological nature of the stems it attaches itself to.

- |    |             |   |               |             |               |                   |
|----|-------------|---|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. | <i>cA</i>   | + | <i>kufkaŋ</i> | <i>cA</i>   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>cAkufkaŋ</i>   |
| 2. | <i>ceVl</i> | + | <i>lufkaŋ</i> | <i>ceVl</i> | $\rightarrow$ | <i>ceVlufkaŋ</i>  |
| 3. | <i>ceVy</i> | + | <i>yufkaŋ</i> | <i>ceVy</i> | $\rightarrow$ | <i>ceVyufkaŋ</i>  |
| 4. | <i>koVŋ</i> | + | <i>ŋufkaŋ</i> | <i>koVŋ</i> | $\rightarrow$ | <i>koVŋŋufkaŋ</i> |
| 5. | <i>pai</i>  | + | <i>yufkaŋ</i> | <i>pai</i>  | $\rightarrow$ | <i>paiyufkaŋ</i>  |
| 6. | <i>uN</i>   | + | <i>Nufkaŋ</i> | <i>uN</i>   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>uNNufkaŋ</i>   |
| 7. | <i>vA</i>   | + | <i>rufkaŋ</i> | <i>vA</i>   | $\rightarrow$ | <i>vArufkaŋ</i>   |

There are two kinds of morphophonemic rules that operate here:

#### 2. Insertion

Classes 4, 10, 16, 18 and 22 are examples of insertion, wherein a consonant segment gets inserted between the stem and the suffix. This often happens when the verb ends in a long vowel.

#### 2. Gemination

Classes 5, 6, 7, 13, 14 and 21 are examples of gemination where, the suffix geminates the consonant that the verb stem ends in.

### 2.3.4.4 Other Attachments

Apart from Tense, Modal and Aspectual features, verbs also take on other functional elements like Adverbials, Particles, Auxiliary verbs, Clitics and Vocative Clitics. They also inflect for Gender, Number and Person.

Particles attach to both finite and non-finite verbs, as do Clitics and Vocative Clitics. Finite forms of a verb take on GNP suffixes after they inflect for tense. Adverbials and Auxiliary verbs attach only to non-finite forms of a verb.



### 2.3.4.5 The Verb Paradigm

Considering verbal variations based on different kinds and levels of inflections, paradigms of distinct, attested verb forms representative of their class had been established. Based on the verb stem and suffix allomorphy a total of twenty-four classes of verbs have been identified:

Sl.No.	Base1/ Suffix1	Base2/Suffix2 (Future)	Base3/Suffix3 (Present)	Base4/Suffix4 (Future)	Base5/Suffix5 (Non-Finite)
1	Aku	A   nY	A   kirY	A   v	Ak   a
2	AIY	AN   t	AIY   kirY	AIY   v	AIY   a
3	aYYu	aYYu   w	AIYYu   kirY	aYYu   v	aYY   a
4	cA	ceV   ww	cA   kirY	cA   v	cA   ka
5	ceVI	ceVnY   rY	ceVI   kirY	ceVI   v	ceVI   la
6	ceVy	ceVy   w	ceVy   kirY	ceVy   v	ceVy   ya
7	coVI	coVnY   nY	coVI   kirY	coVI   v	coVI   la
8	eVnY	eVnY   rY	eVnY   kirY	eVnY   p	eVnY   a
9	ikaYY	ikaYY   nw	ikaYY   kirY	ikaYY   v	ikaYY   a
10	iru	iru   nw	iru   kkirY	iru   pp	iru   kka
11	kAN	kaN   t	kAN   kirY	kAN   p	kAN   a
12	keY	ket   t	ket   kirY	ket   p	ket   ka
13	koVIY	koVN   t	koVIY   kirY	koVIY   v	koVIY   IYa
14	niI	niinY   rY	niirY   kirY	niirY   p	niirY   ka
15	no	noVnY   w	no   kirY	no   v	no   ka
16	pati	pati   ww	pati   kkirY	pati   pp	pati   kka
17	peVrYu	peVrY   rY	peVrYu   kirY	peVrYu   v	peVrY   a
18	po	po   nY	po   kirY	po   v	po   ka
19	potu	pot   t	potu   kirY	pot   v	pot   a
20	pUN	pUN   t	pUNu   kirY	pUNu   v	pUN   a
21	uN	uN   t	uN   kirY	uN   p	uN   Na
22	vA	va   nw	varu   kirY	varu   v	var   a
23	viYYu	viYYu   nw	viYYu   kirY	viYYu   v	viYY   a
24	wUfku	wUfk   inY	wUfku   kirY	wUfku   v	wUfk   a

Table 2.14: The Verbal Paradigm: Verb Classes

The table records the morphophonemic changes that stems and suffixes undergo in different morphological contexts. The base endings indicate the specific phonological shape a particular class ends in. The base modifications specify the phonological change the base undergoes prior to number suffixation.

### 2.3.5 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Tamil are of two kinds: Basic, and Derived. A few basic adjectives are *nalla*, *cinY nY a*, and *paau*. Inflectionally, adjectives do have specific affixal patternings peculiar to them alone, to mark them off as a category on their own. Morphologically therefore, one cannot rule out adjectives as an inflecting class<sup>1</sup>. Adjectives in Tamil do not morphologically mark comparative and superlative degrees of relation. To syntactically express these, either of the two nominal postpositions, *pola*, and *vita* is used after the bound form of a noun, which

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion on how adjectives form a distinct morphological class, refer Ch.6, sec.6.1

performs the predicative adjectival function. Although adjectives can be **derived** from both nouns and verbs taking the suffixes, what really brings in morphological distinction, is the phenomenon of Affixal **Homonymy**. Adjectives generally inflect for GNP, and certain Particles and Postpositions.

### 2.3.5.1 Gender, Number, Person

It is only the 3<sup>rd</sup>. person GNP suffixes that can follow adjectives. These are as follows:

GNP	Suffix
3 <sup>rd</sup> . Sing. Feminine	<i>avaŋʻ</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> . Sing. Masculine	<i>avaŋʻ</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> . Sing. Honorific/Plural	<i>avar</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> . Sing. Neuter	<i>avu</i>

Table 2.15: GNP suffixes for Adjectives

Class 1 in the adjectival paradigm remains unmarked, and therefore directly takes any of these suffixes onto its unmarked bound base. Class 2 has to be followed by the GNP base marker *iya*, before taking on any of these suffixes. Both classes of adjectives exhibit stem allomorphic change for the bound base and GNP. As far as bound stem formation is concerned, stems of Class 2 stems lose their final vowel in their bound form.

1. *nalla*      *nalla*—\* *nall*
2. *puwu*      *puwu*→*puw*

In the case of GNP **suffixation**, stems of Class 2 stems lose their final vowel prior to the addition of GNP suffixes.

1. *nalla*      *nalla*—\* *nall*
2. *puwu*      *puw**iya*→*puwiy*

Apocope is the important change that these stems involve.

### 2.3.5.2 Other Attachments

There are certain comparative Particles that follow adjectival forms such as *maʻuiri*, *viʻam* and *pati*. All of these particles need to be followed by the adverbial postposition *Aka*, while occurring after an adjectival base.

### 2.3.5.3 The Adjectival Paradigm

Only two classes of adjectives can be morphologically established. They have been considered distinct due to *allomorphy* of the base. Whereas *nalla* does not exhibit any morphophonemic variation, the form *puwu* undergoes a change to the bound form, *puwiya*. Based on such a distinction, the following adjectival paradigm has been established:

Sl. No.	Stem1/Suffix1	Stem2/Suffix2	Stem3/Suffix3
1	nalla   ∅	nalla   ∅	nalla   ∅
2	puwu   ∅	puw   iya	puwiya   ∅

Table 2.16: The Adjectival Paradigm: Adjective Classes

The table lists two distinct adjectival forms in their free/direct forms with the relevant stem changes along with their corresponding bound /indirect forms. GNP inflections can occur on the bound forms, after the augment *iya*.