

TENSE AND ASPECT IN TULU

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CERTIFICATE

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List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
S	singular
PL	plural
PROX	proximate
HON	honorific
F	female
M	masculine
NEUT	neuter
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
NOM	nominative case
ACC	accusative case
ABL	ablative case
DAT	dative case
GEN	genitive case
LOC	locative case
PST	past
PRES	present
FUT	future
IMFV	imperfective
PERF	perfective
PROG	progressive
BE	be copula
IMP	imperative
CFL	counterfactual
cpm	conjunct particle marker

List of symbols:

ə	low central unrounded vowel
ɑ	low back unrounded vowel
i	high front short unrounded vowel
i:	high front long unrounded vowel
ʊ	high back rounded short vowel
u:	high back rounded long vowel
e	mid front short unrounded vowel
e:	mid front long unrounded vowel
ɔ	mid back rounded short vowel
o	mid back rounded long vowel
ɨ	high central unrounded short vowel
ɛ	low front unrounded short vowel
tʃ	palatal voiceless affricate
dʒ	palatal voiced affricate
ʈ	retroflex voiceless stop
ɖ	retroflex voiced stop
ɳ	retroflex nasal
t̪	dental voiceless stop
d̪	dental voiced stop
ʎ	retroflex lateral affricate
ʃ	retroflex voiceless sibilant

Contents

Introduction	3
About the language:	3
Script:	7
Dialects:.....	8
Tulu language in Academics:.....	12
Tulu community:	13
Cultural forms of the place:	14
Objective of present research:.....	15
Research Methodology:.....	15
Organization of the study:	15
Literature Review.....	17
General notion of tense and aspect	22
Tense:.....	22
Tense in Tulu.....	31
Past Tense:.....	31
Past tense marker /-ḍ-/:	31
Past tense marker -t/tt- :	32
Past tense marker -y-:	33
Present Tense:	38
Future tense:.....	42
Intransitive verbs:	44
Transitive verbs:.....	44
Ditransitive verbs:	45
Aspect in Tulu	47
Indefinite aspect:	47

Perfective aspect:	48
Perfect aspect in Tulu language:.....	48
Past perfect:.....	49
Present perfect:	50
Future perfect:	52
Imperfective Aspect:.....	54
Habitual aspect:	54
Non-habitual aspect:.....	55
Causative construction in Tulu:.....	61
Complex predicate construction in Tulu:.....	62
Mood.....	66
Indicative mood:	66
Imperative mood:	67
Subjunctive Mood:.....	68
Presumptive mood:.....	69
Summary	70
<i>Bibliography</i>	72

Introduction

About the language:

The Dravidian language family is a major language family of the Indo-European family of languages. It ranks the fifth largest in terms of speakers. The majority of the languages are concentrated in South and Central India. Some of the languages are spoken in Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Dravidian language family has four sub groups: South Dravidian, North Dravidian, Central Dravidian and South Central Dravidian. *Tulu* (Tu|u) belongs to the South Dravidian subgroup. Dravidian language family has five major languages. Tulu is one among them. The other four being Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada. The language is spoken in Southern parts of Karnataka (Mangalore, Udupi etc.) and Northern parts of Kerala (Kasaragod taluk). Other than these speakers of this language can also be found in some parts of Gulf, Maharashtra, Tamilnadu and Goa. The population of Tulu speaking community is 18, 46,427 (2011census).



Fig1. Map of Karnataka¹

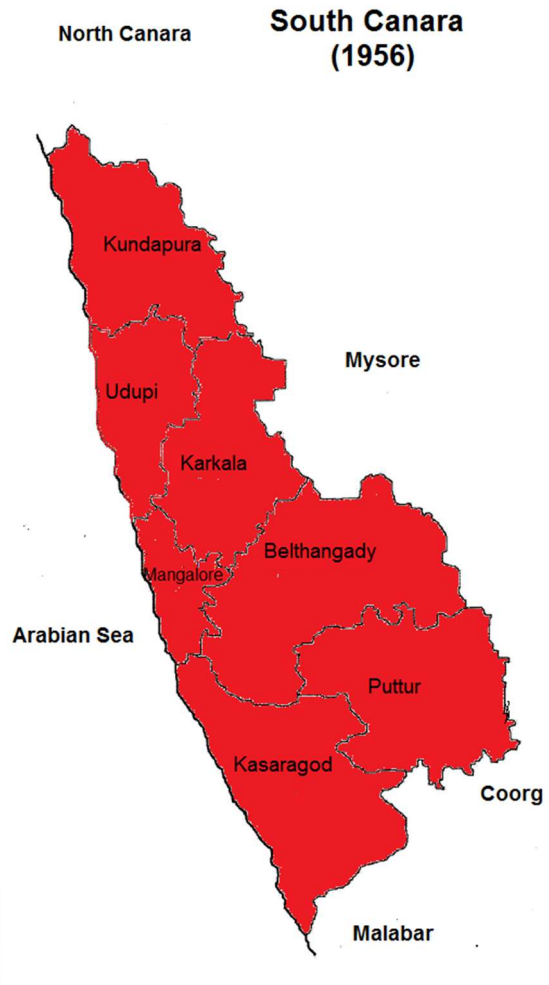


Fig2. Map of Tulu Nadu²

The whole region where the language is spoken is called *Tulunaadu* (the land of Tulus) and the people are called *Tuluva*. Historically, the region has also been referred as Tuluva, Tulu Rajya, Tuluva Desha, and Tulu Vishaya. The British referred to it as *South Canarese*.

The origin of the language cannot be traced because of the lack of a script. Tulu/thulu/Tuluva bhasa is opined by Purushottama Bilimale³ to derive its name from *thulave* which means watery in Tulu. Hence he proposed that Tulu ‘could mean land connected to the water’. Other than Tulu

¹ Source: Wikipedia

² Source: Wikipedia

³ Personal interview with Purushottama Bilimale.

people speak Malayalam, Marathi, a variety of Konkani and Kannada the dominant language of Karnataka.

Grierson (1906) classifies it as belonging to Dravidian group of languages (ISO 639-3, language code- tcy)⁴.The language has been categorized as 5(developing)⁵ which means it is vigorously in use with literature in a standardized form but is not widespread yet.

Tulu in the language cloud

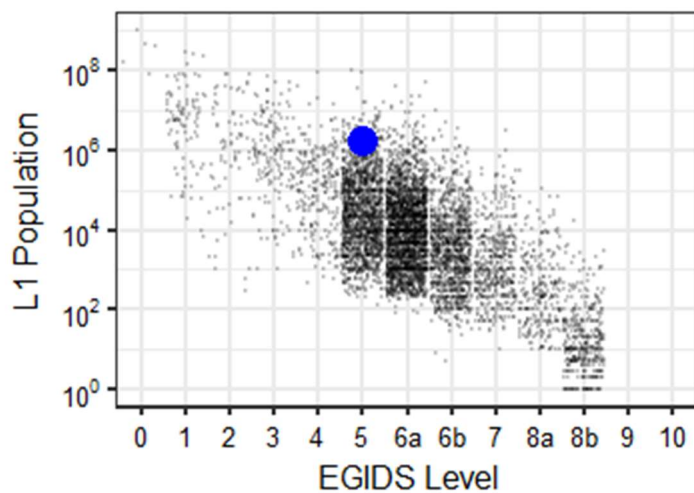


Fig3.

Grierson (1906) does not describe it further since his study concentrates on the literary languages of the place which does not include Tulu.

⁴ <https://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/tcy>

⁵ <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/tcy>

Grierson's classification of Tulu:

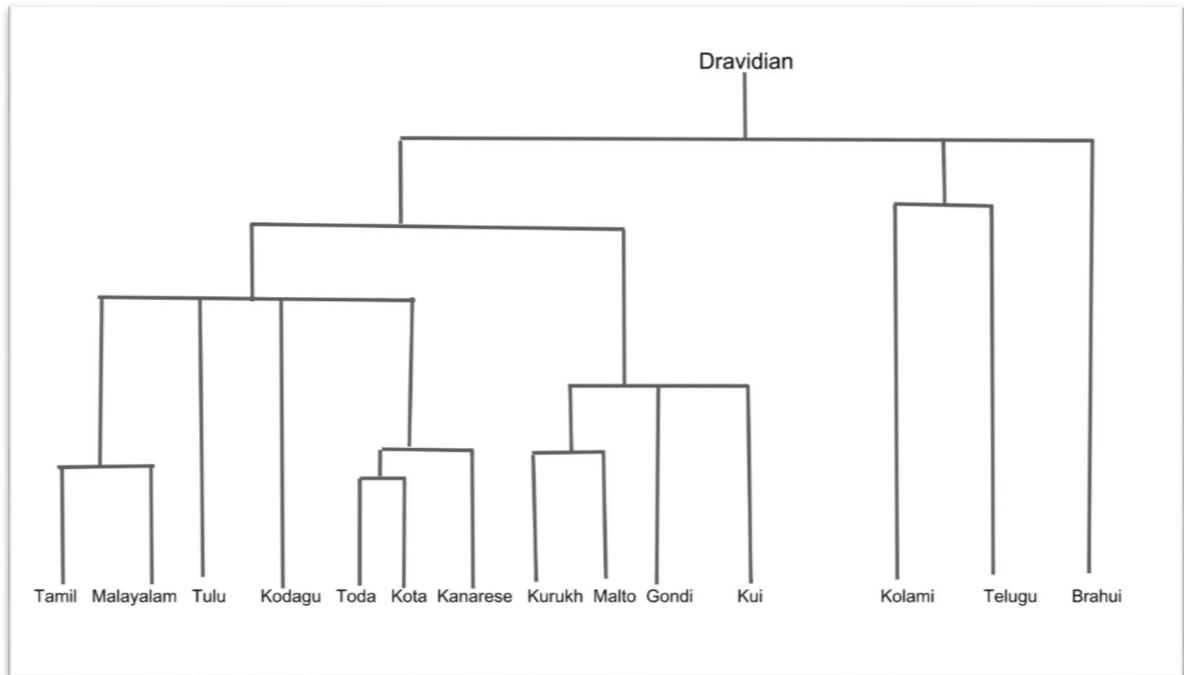


Fig4.

Dravidian is a major language family of the Indo-European language family. Other than aforementioned it includes languages like Toda, Kota, Badaga, Koraga, Irula. Central Dravidian consists of Telugu, Gondi, Kui and such whereas Malto, Kurux, Brahui fall under the North Dravidian family.

It is argued that '*Tulu is the first off shoot of proto south Dravidian language*⁶'. Eminent linguist Andronov (1970) claims that '*Tulu has emerged as an independent language from the Proto-Dravidian family 2000 years back*⁷'. Krishnamurthy (2003) classifies the language as belonging to Proto south Dravidian family of type I⁸. This language retains specific features of the proto-Dravidian and thus expresses similarity to certain salient features of Northern and Central Dravidian languages and since it has made certain innovations not noticed in other South Dravidian languages it is believed that this language branched off from the parent language before other

⁶ (Dravida bhashadalli Tulu vidha sthana P.S. subrahmanyam1968).

⁷ (M.S. Andronov: Dravidian langauges 1970).

languages of the South Dravidian group and hence it can be considered as the first language to diverge from its parent language, i.e. Proto-South Dravidian.

Krishnamurthy's (2003) classification of proto-dravidian:

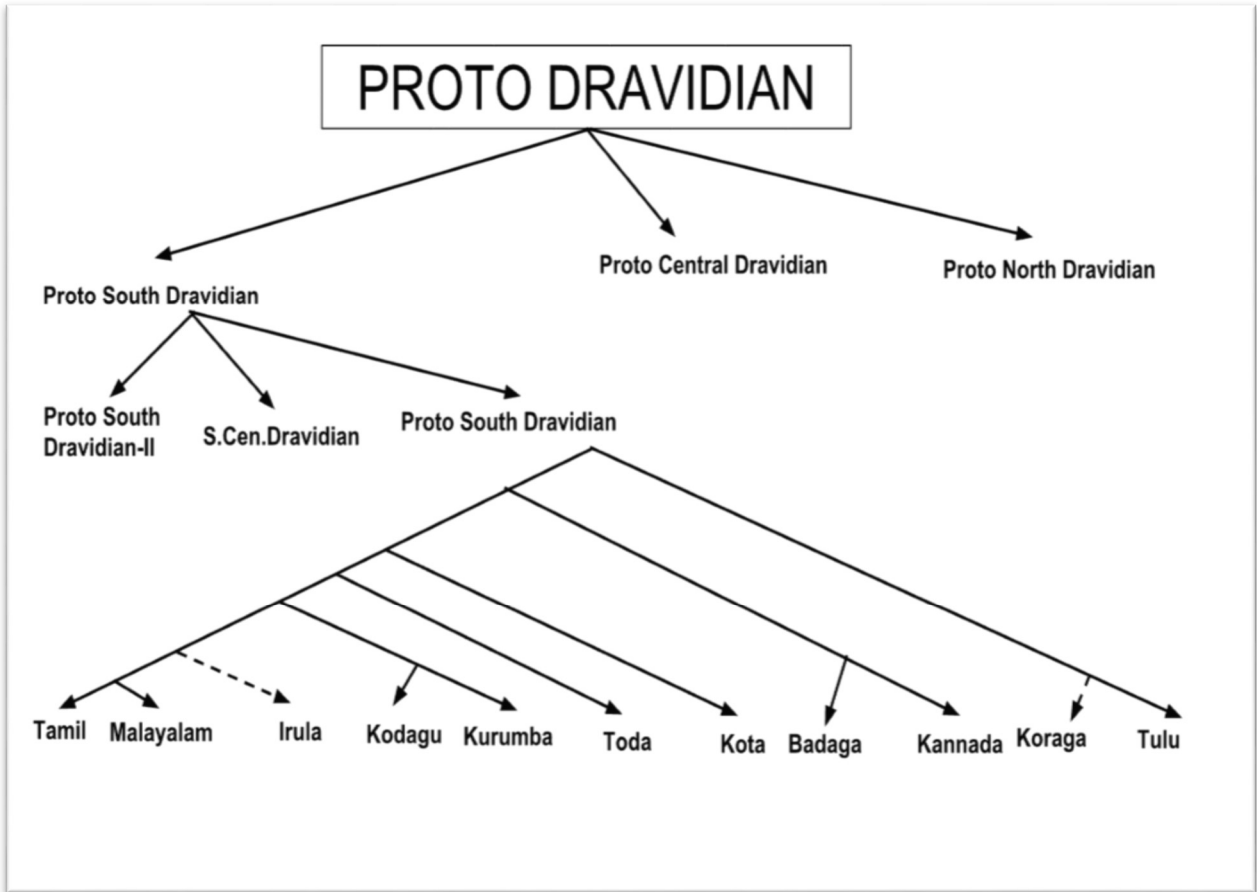


Fig5.

Script:

Tulu has no standard script of its own and hence employs the Kannada script. An inscription that is ascribed to the 15th century A.D. was found. The inscription is written in what they choose to call the Tulu script. The script is called the Tigalari script. The source for the said script is the grantha script. Malayalam orthography that is being followed presently is adapted from this script. There have been arguments because of its resemblance to the Malayalam script. This script shows similarities to the present day Malayalam script. Tulu people believe that the Brahmins who employed this script to write vedics might have travelled to Kasargod taluk which is now in Kerala but is a part of *tulunaadu*. And Malayalam has adopted the script from the so called Tulu script.

Scholars of Tulunadu claim since Tulu was shown as the first off-shoot of the proto-Dravidian Tulu having a script that was later on adopted by Malayalam.

Image of the script:



Fig6.

Dialects:

Tulu has developed many distinct social and regional dialects⁹. According to Kekunnaya (1994) because of the geographical barriers like Ghats and rivers the dialects remained unaltered and retains certain features. Present day mass media and introducing Tulu in academics has resulted in the convergence of certain features of specific dialects. The regional dialects are:

1. South west : spoken in Kasargod of Kerala
2. South East : sullya taluk
3. South Central : Puttur, Beltangady and Bantwal taluk
4. North West : Mangalore and Udupi taluk

⁹ (1994) *A comparative study of Tulu dialects*, Dr. K Padmanabha kekunnaya

5. South East: Karkala taluk

The social dialects may be broadly classified into the following categories.

- a) **Brahmin Dialect:** This dialect of Tulu is also called *ſivalli Tulu* because the Brahmins who speak this dialect are named *ſivalli Brahmins*. It also includes the dialect of Siva Brahmins or *Sthaanika Brahmins*. This dialect is highly influenced by Sanskrit language. Because of the strict caste barriers there was not any mixing of this dialect with the other dialects.

A lot of vocabulary is borrowed from Sanskrit and used with or without modification in this dialect. They maintain the distinction between retroflex and non-retroflex sounds, l-ļ, n-ŋ, s-ſ of the native language, and between aspirated and unaspirated sounds. These are some of the significant features of the Brahmin dialect. This dialect was employed in all the ancient classical works discovered till now.

- b) **Jain Dialect:** Jain speaking population is found in the Northern part of *tuļunaadu*. The number of Jains is comparatively small. But there are a few features that make it different from other dialects. Special words and terminology related to the Jain religion have got placed in the Tulu spoken by them. The t- and s-ſ and the word initial position of some words used in the other dialects is replaced by h- in the Jain dialect.

Ex: *tare* *hare* head
 tigale *higale* heart
 sappu *happu* leaf

- c) **Common Dialect:** The common dialect is comprised of a group of five dialects as Bunts' dialect, Billava dialect, Mogaveera dialect, Gowda dialect, Kumbara dialect etc. Since these dialects are similar in many aspects they are considered as one generic group and called the common dialect. This dialect contains lesser number of borrowed words. And also it accepts borrowed words into the language only after modifying their structure and sounds according to their mother tongue. The interchange of the sounds l-ļ, n-ŋ, s-ſ is found

in this dialect. The *Paaddana*, oral poetry is composed in this dialect. This is the dialect used in mass media and most of the Tulu writings.

- d) **Harijan and Tribal Dialect:** The main feature of this dialect is that the sound *c* is almost regularly used in correspondence to the phonemes *c, s and t* of other dialects. This category includes the dialects spoken by Mera, Mansa and such Harijan communities and the dialects of the tribal communities.

Ex: *saadi* *caadi* path
 tarso *barco* rain
 tare *care* head

This dialect uses the retroflex sounds ʎ and ŋ for l and n respectively.

Ex: *Ini* *iŋi* today
 Elle *eŋle* tomorrow

Various other languages and dialects are spoken in this region along with Kannada and Tulu. Beari is a dialect spoken in Tulu nadu with a lot of lexical borrowing from the Arabic language. This could be a result of the invasion or the settlements of the Arabs who came by the sea route for trade and other purposes. Fair amount of Catholics in and around Mangalore speak Konkani. The region under Kasaragod speak Malayalam and also a dialect of it which is called the Mappila dialect spoken by the Muslim community that belong to the region.

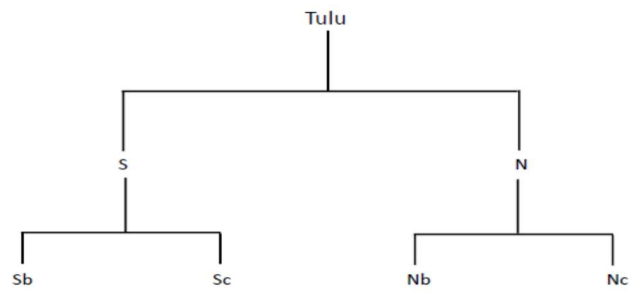
Kekunnaya's (1994) classification of Tulu dialects:

These social variations do not work irrespective to the region in which they are spoken. For example Bunts use a common dialect but Bunts staying in Sullya taluk would use the South East dialect. The inflection markers could have allomorphic variations because of this. Therefore Kekunnaya (1994) classified the dialects in the following manner.

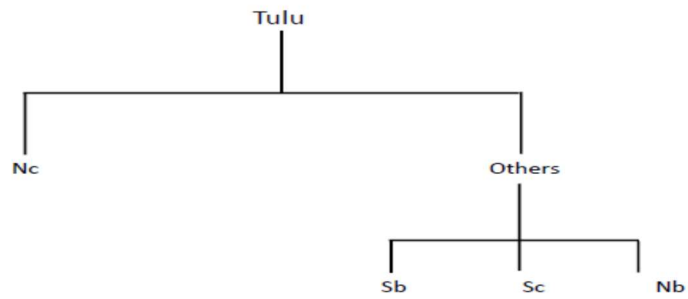
S – South dialect
N- North dialect
b-brahmin dialect
c-common dialect

Kekunnaya's (1994) classification

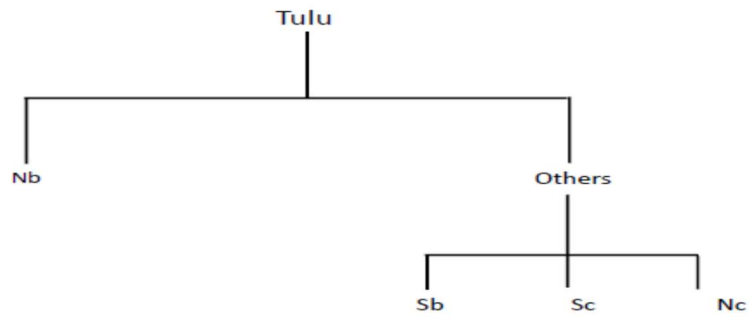
1.



2.



3.



4.

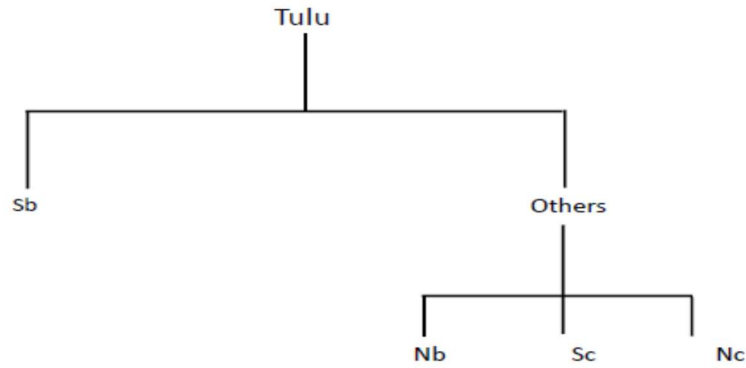


Fig7.

Tulu language in Academics:

Tulu language and culture have been included in academic programs in Universities and research institutions within India and abroad. In 1995 ‘Rani Abbakka Tulu Study Centre’ and ‘Tulu Baduku Vastusangrahalaya’ were established. This twin institutions involved in unearthing and exposing the rich tuluva way of life. Mangalore University in Karnataka has recognized Tulu for its academic programmes in the Masters level as early as 1976, which was followed by other Universities. The Govt. of Karnataka has established Tulu Sahitya Academy in 1994. This Tulu Academy is instrumental for the development of Tulu language and literature in modern times. The Govt. of Kerala has also established Tulu academy in 2007 Sahitya Academy, New Delhi recognizes Tulu in the form of instituting Bhasha Samman award. Two eminent Tulu writers Mandara Keshava Bhat and Kedambadi Jattappa Rai, have been honoured with Bhasha Samman by Sahitya Academy New Delhi in 1996.

Official status:

Tulu language is not recognized as the official language of India in the constitution. Tulu community is fighting to include it in the viii schedule and give it the status of an official language.

Tulu community:

Major religion followed here is Hinduism. But a considerable number of Christian population can be found along with Jains and Buddhists. Agriculture is the main occupation and paddy is the staple crop. Half of the Tulu speaking population uses the language as their first language while the other half as their second language. Most of the people are bilingual since Kannada is employed in formal communication and educational purposes.

According to Bhatt (1969)¹⁰, there are five distinct features of *Tulunadu* that separates it from the rest of Karnataka. These give an exclusive *Tuluva* flavor to the region.

1. **Bhuta-nritya:** *Bhuta kola* (devil worship literally) or the Spirit worship is one of the ancient traditions of worshipping the bhuta or the holy spirit which is observed in Tulunadu. *Theyyam* performed in Kerala is said to be the counter part of *kola* in Kerala. This includes a ritual dance by the spirit impersonator and a fine tradition of *yakshagana*. Coastal Karnataka is popular for both these art forms. *Yakshagana* or sometimes simply called (*aata* meaning play in Tulu) can be seen as a temple art form.
2. **Naga-mandala and Dakke-bali:** The worship of the snake or *nagaradhane* is one of the ancient and unique rituals performed in tulunaadu. Dakke-bali is another worship tradition where the snake is worshipped.
3. **Aliya-santana:** This is the practice of inheritance to the maternal nephew directly instead of their direct progeny is seen in the non-brahmin community. Ashoka's inscription found at Girnar used the word *satiya puto* which literally would translate as Wife's son, Sati meaning wife and puto meaning son. This implies that Tulu community followed the matrilineal system of society.
4. **Tulu language:** The language is unique to this place.
5. **Tatva-vada of Sri Madhvacharya:** This land is the birth place of the dvaita philosophy.

¹⁰ Prof. Gururaja Bhatt, *Antiquities of South Kanara (1969)*

Cultural forms of the place:

Yakshagana

Yakshagana is otherwise referred as Aata. It is a distinct dance drama that is performed in Tulu Nadu. It is an art form renowned and performed in southern parts of Karnataka and certain places in North Kerala. The art form consists a character who narrates stories from the epic texts while being helped with the musician in the background.

It can also be noted that in Tulu Nadu or the South Canara region in Karnataka, agriculture is predominant that too paddy is the main crop. In these fields snakes help in saving the crop from rodents. This can be a plausible reason for worship of snakes in line with other nature worships such as cow and the banyan tree.



Fig8. An instance of Yakshagana performance¹¹

¹¹ Image Credits: with kind permission of Prof. Purushottama Bilimale

Objective of present research:

Tulu is one among the five major languages of the Dravidian language family and considered as the first off shoot from proto-Dravidian. Tulu has very few descriptive works despite it having a large number of speakers. The major works available are the Descriptive analysis of Tulu by Bhat, a comparative study of Tulu dialects by Kekunnaya and a lexicon of vi volumes by Upadhyaya. Other linguistic research that has been done depends on these books.

The objective of this study is linguistic analysis and description of Tense and Aspectual features in Tulu. This study would look into morphology of verbs trying to understand the tense and aspect morphemes present in the language.

Research Methodology:

Primary Data for analysis was taken in the form of interviews with the native speakers of the language. The information was recorded and analyzed. Abbie's list was followed initially and improvised later according to the requirement. For the secondary data I have relied on linguistic works available on the language and language family. The tense and aspectual features of the language were explored as is the aim of this study.

Organization of the study:

The study is organized into five chapters. The first chapter gives a brief introduction to the language, geographical location, number of speakers and such features. This chapter also includes history of the language, classification of the language by eminent linguists like Grierson and Krishnamurthy. Various distinct dialects spoken in the region are discussed and exemplified in a tabular form. Unique features of the land and region and its cultural art forms are introduced in this chapter. The second chapter deals with the review of the existing literature related to the topic of tense and aspect with main focus on Comrie (1976) and Comrie (1985). Linguistic works that are available on the language so far are reviewed in short. The third chapter discusses the general notion of tense and aspect, defining and explaining the intricacies and how they are different from each other. Some co-relational features of the language are also explained. The fourth chapter

explains all the tenses and aspects that Tulu language realizes and the inflectional suffixes used as the markers. The fifth chapter summarizes the whole study.

Literature Review

Caldwell (1856) places Tulu in the South Dravidian group of languages when he published the first edition of *A comparative grammar of the Dravidian family languages*. He has dealt with only literary languages in his book. The lack of a script can be mentioned as the reason for Tulu being a non-literary language despite being spoken by a developed and literate community. The first Tulu inscription is ascribed to the fifteenth century. And the next literary works available are two epic poems *Sri Bhaagavato* and *Kaaveri* which belong to the seventeenth century. All these are written in the Tigalari script. After these the next literary works seem to be the ones that are done by the Christian missionaries. Other than these we cannot find a continuous literary tradition in Tulu.¹²

The advent of western missionaries in the 19th century gave rise to printing of Tulu works. These missionaries were the one who started to use Kannada script for writing in Tulu since it was the dominant language and used for the purpose of education. The printing was not confined to translating religious texts but extended to other research activities too. Their contributions include

- 1) Preparation of two lexicons by Rev. A. Manner in 1886.

Tulu-English Dictionary and English –Tulu Dictionary

- 2) Preparation of Tulu Grammar by J. Brigel in 1872.

A grammar of the Tulu language

Maner (1886), in his dictionary wrote the Tulu words both in Kannada and Roman script. In addition to giving meanings he illustrated them by mentioning relevant phrases and idioms. Considering the limited resources like time and people this dictionary has its obvious limitations. The absence of Tulu literature and its distinct social and regional dialects made the work not only difficult but also restricted.

Brigel (1872) is the first notable work in Tulu. The book gives us a brief account of phonology, etymology and syntax. He describes the sounds and explains the vowels that have evolved in the language in the chapter for phonology and dedicates an elaborate section to the writing system. He

¹² Bhat:1998

explains the etymology of Tulu words, the borrowings from Sanskrit and Kannada and the modifications done when these words are bred in to the language. The syntax part gives a brief explanation about the noun and verb morphology of the language. But given the lack of linguistic science a century ago there remains a lot to be done in the fields he has dealt with in his book. This was followed by *Tulu Vyaakarana* by Paniyadi published in 1932. *Descriptive analysis of Tulu* by Bhat (1967)

Comparative study of Tulu dialects by (1991) has done a detailed and descriptive study of the various dialects spoken in this place. He includes and categorizes all the dialects based on the social and caste demarcations. This classification¹³ of the dialects was followed in the works that were done later on.

The Dravidian languages Cambridge Language survey, by Bhadriraju Krishnamurthy describes the phonological, morphological and syntactic features of Tulu language among others while trying to reconstruct the Dravidian languages back to the proto-Dravidian.

Comrie(1985) defines tense as the *grammaticalization of time*. Tense is a semantic concept that can be grammaticalised in a language. '*Tense relates the time of the situation referred to some other time usually to the moment of speaking*¹⁴.' Tense is that section which marks the time reference. Lyons¹⁵ describes tense as a deictic category since time of an event is always described in relation to the time of utterance. Time is relative and hence it is a deictic category. For example the word *then* in English would require the speaker and listener to share the same time frame for the word to make sense in the context. Languages have grammatical category to express time reference which are called tenses. However there are languages that lack tenses which in turn means they do not have a grammaticalized time reference. But it can be shown through lexicalized time reference in the form of temporal adverbials such as today, yesterday, and next week. Lyons¹⁶ describes tense as a deictic category. Tense can be defined as '*the systematic coding of the relation between two points along an ordered linear dimension of time*¹⁷

¹³ A table of his classification is shown in the appendix.

¹⁴ Comrie; Aspect (1976)

¹⁵ Lyons (1968)

¹⁶ Lyons (1968)

¹⁷ Givon(2001:285)

Languages generally realize three tenses namely past, present and future tense. According to Comrie (1985), tense is relative. Tense is described in relation to another event. One tense can have more than one meaning. In such cases one meaning would be more basic than the others and this meaning is derived from the context. One tense can possibly have more than one interpretations in the same situation. This is a result of the context-independent and context meaning. Tenses can be defined as past tense is any event that has occurred prior to the reference point. Present tense is that event which is simultaneous with a reference point or event that it is being related to. And future tense is a situation that occurs after the reference point. At this point he differentiates between absolute and relative tense. He defines tense in this fashion: Let S be the moment of speech which stands as the reference point or event for defining tense and E be the moment of the event. Considering S and E as given absolute tense is represented as following:

‘present E simultaneous to S ’

‘past E before S ’

‘future E after S ’

Tense is relative conceptually and hence cannot be specific. The term absolute tense is not to be mistaken for tense being specific. Comrie (1985) further explains relative tense using the same parameters with addition of one more parameter to the existing ones namely the reference point symbolized by R . Once these are established we can relate the location in time of the situation as ‘simultaneous with, falling before, or falling after this reference point’ in the following manner:

relative past E simultaneous to R

relative present E before R

relative future E after R

Formulae for relative non-past and relative non-future can be derived from the parameters that have been established above as:

‘relative non-past E not-before R ’

‘relative non-future E not-after R ’

In this representation, the reference point R is not anchored. The reference point is given by the context in case of a relative tense unlike the absolute tenses. Comrie (1985) concludes by giving one formula combining all these aspects as following:

$$\text{tense } E \text{ (relative } R)^n \text{ (relative } S) \\ \text{magn} \quad \text{magn}$$

Where E, R and S stand for moment of the event, reference point and moment of the speech respectively. And *magn* stands for magnitude to indicate a specification of magnitude which is described in detail with when the cross-linguistical constraints on grammaticalisation of degree of remoteness is dealt with.

Aspect, according to Comrie (1976)¹⁸, is concerned with encoding internal temporal constituency. He mainly differentiates between Perfective and imperfective. However the perfective referred to here is not to be confused with the Perfect used in the traditional grammars. According to him '*Aspects have to do, not with location of an event in time, but its temporal distribution or contour*¹⁹'.

Comrie (1976) talks about semantic aspectual distinction such as between perfect and imperfect meaning irrespective of whether they are grammaticalized or lexicalized in individual languages. The difference between perfective and imperfective meaning is to say that the perfective looks at the situation from outside without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation where as the imperfective looks at the situation from inside and as such as crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation and look forward towards the end of the situation. In discussing aspect it is important to grasp that the difference between perfectivity and imperfectivity is not necessarily an objective difference between situations nor is it necessarily a difference that is presented by the speaker as being objective.

¹⁸ id

¹⁹ Charles Hockett(1958:237)

Comrie (1976) differentiates between the general notion of tense and aspect '*although both aspect and tense are concerned with time, they are concerned with time in very different ways. As noted above, tense is a deictic category, i.e. locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations. Aspect is not concerned with relating the the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense).*'

Classification of aspectual oppositions in some languages do have a single category to express imperfectivity while there are other languages where imperfective is subdivided into various category.

Comrie's (1976) classification of aspect:

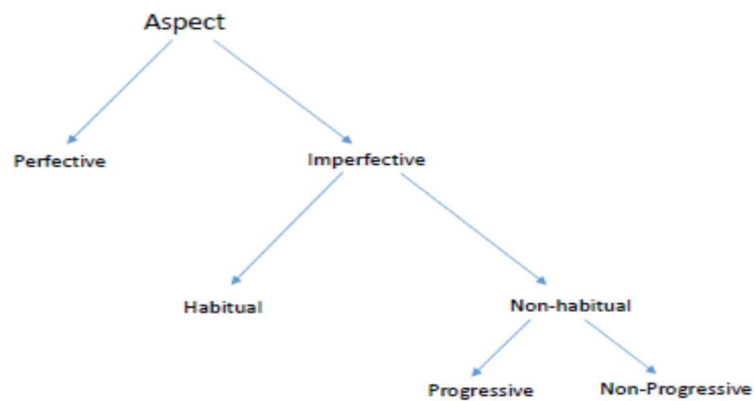


Fig9.

There is a lack of linguistics related work on this language. Though it has some exemplary works there is still a lot of scope for linguistic research in this language. Other than these many literary works that reflect the cultural and social life of Tulu community can be found in Kannada, English and German with which it shares a very old bond because of the advent of their missionaries which led to the renaissance in Tulu literature. The oral traditions like paddana, Bhuta Kola and Yakshagana that reflect the culture of this land have been researched upon extensively.

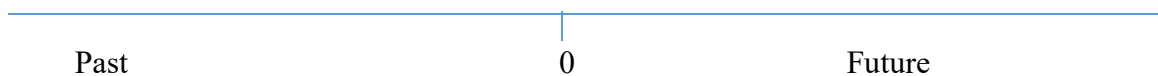
General notion of tense and aspect

Tense:

The term *tense* is derived from the Latin word *tempus* which is a translation of the Greek word *Khronos* for time. There are many definitions for the term *tense* given by many linguists. Many linguists agree that tense is a grammaticalization of time location. The *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* describes tense as follows, Tense “*refers to the grammatical expression of the time of the situation described in the proposition relative to some other time. This other time maybe the moment of speech example the past and future designate the time before and after the moment of speech respectively; Tense is expressed by inflections, by particles or by auxiliaries in connection with the verb.*”

Givon (2001) defined tense as “*the systematic coding of the relation between two points along an ordered linear dimension of time*”

Tense is a category that is used to express time and location of an event. It is the grammaticalization of location in time. In order to understand the notion of tense and aspect one has to understand the relation between tense and time and how it is manifested grammatically in a sentence. According to Comrie (1985)²⁰, If tense is represented on a straight line, conventionally the past is marked towards the left and the future is represented on the right. The present moment will be referred by a 0.

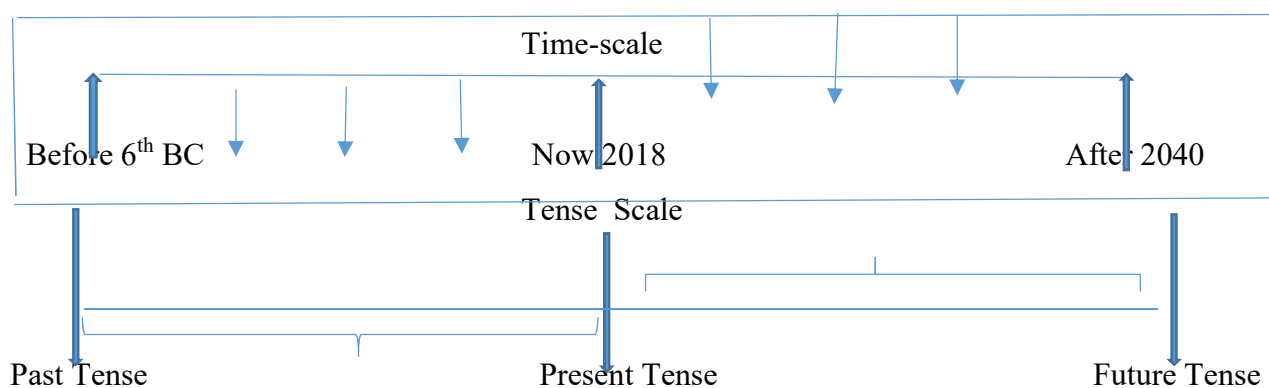


Considering 0 as a reference point events that have occurred before 0 are in the past which would be represented towards the left and situations that have occurred after 0 would be in the right which would mean they are in the future. Thus *I did my homework* is in the past and hence on the left and *I will do my homework* is an event that would be marked to the right in the *future*. Comrie (1985)

²⁰ Comrie , *Tense* (1985)

claims that this diagrammatic representation of time is adequate for an account of account of tense in human language. With reference to the present time which we show as zero on the timeline and which Comrie (1985) refers to as the *deictic centre*, we understand whether the event has occurred before or after the point of speaking or at the time of speaking. According to Das (2010), it is necessary to understand the concept of time to understand the term tense. If we consider the point of utterance as the reference point, the present, by the time the speaker completes the sentence the utterance would become past. Time is a *continuous flow of events* which we are making an effort to locate on the time scale.

Figure of time-scale and tense-scale:



The point of speech is *now* that is when the person is uttering the words or performing a certain action the point of event is when the action has happened and the point of reference is the entity with whose reference we describe other events. And since time of the event is located in reference to the time of utterance, tense is deictic.²¹ But time is relative in the sense that to locate an event on the timeline we necessarily need a point of reference and in reference to this point, in our case 0 we locate the events on the timeline. In reference to *today* what happened yesterday is the past, and what happens after today is future and what is happening on today is the present. Time is not a specific. According to Comrie (ibid), the term absolute tense is misleading because it is not

²¹ Lyons(1968)

possible to have an absolute time of reference. Because the only way to locate an event is in relation to some other established time point. The present reference point is only one among the infinite number of such reference points.

Here we have to consider three things,

a) *Point of speech, (S)*

b) *Point of reference(R) and*

c) *The point of the event. (E)*

According to Comrie (1985), '*S is the moment of the speech, and E is the moment of the event*' in which case the temporal relation between S and E is established in relation to each other in the following way:

Considering S and E as given, the three tenses are

'Present E *simultaneous* S'

'Past E *before* S'

'Future E *after* S'

Now that the subject of what and how to define tense is discussed the notion of aspect has to be defined. It is difficult to talk about tense without defining aspect.

Aspect:

Aspect is concerned with encoding the temporal constituency. While tense deals with time reference aspect deals with the internal temporal constituency. Comrie (1976)²² defines aspect as '*aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.*' The distinction in '*she read*' and '*she will be reading*' is an aspectual difference rather than just a tense difference. To understand the aspect of aspect it is important to understand the difference between aspect and time. Though both these categories are concerned with time they do so in completely different ways. '*Tense needs another point of reference to talk about the location of the event which makes tense a deictic*²³ *category.*' Whereas aspect does not need another point of reference like tense it rather deals with the internal temporal constituency. The situation can be described as

²² Comrie's definition based on Holt(1943)

²³ Lyons (1968)

internal time is dealt by aspect and external time is dealt by tense. Comrie (ibid) mainly differentiates between two aspects:

- 1) Perfective
- 2) Imperfective

Comrie (ibid) describes Perfective as '*it indicates a completed action. The perfective denotes a complete situation with beginning, middle and end.*' And imperfective as '*General definition of Imperfectivity will be explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation in the situation from within and also imperfectivity is not incompatible with perfectivity.*' Perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation while the imperfective gives essential attention to the internal structure of the situation.

According to Ridjanovic (1976)²⁴, "major feature of opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs is not the completion versus the incompletion of the action designated by the verb, but rather the indivisibility versus the divisibility of the temporal dimension associated with action."

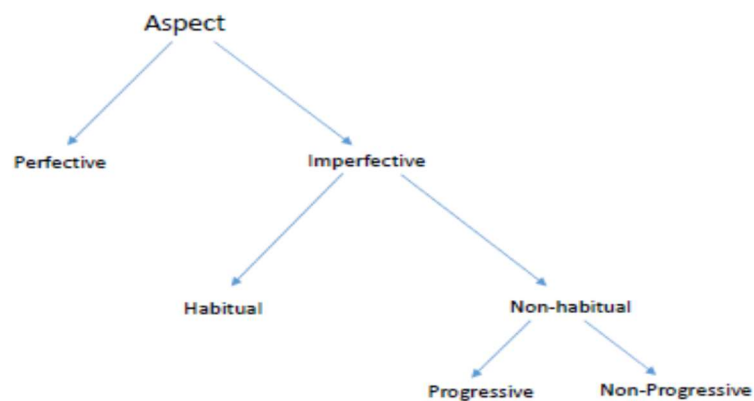
The term perfective contrast with imperfective and denotes a situation viewed in its entirety without regard to internal temporal constituency the term perfect refers to a situation which has present relevance for instance the present result of a past event (his arm has been broken) in the subdivision of impulse activity a distinction is made between the terms progressive and continuous the former being a subdivision of the latter progressive as the combination of continuous noise with non-stativity it was referred to as continuous so the distinction has to be made clear.

Aspect as a grammatical category just like any other grammatical category maybe expressed by means of the inflectional morphology of the language it may also be expressed by means of a periphrasis. Just like some languages do not grammaticalized time reference to give tenses some languages do not grammaticalize semantic and special distinctions. Languages with less profuse aspects of morphology may not be able to give direct expression to a single whole with internal structuring either the situation is presented as a single whole perfective or else it is divided and folded into its component parts in perfective. The imperfective is divided into habitual and non-habitual which is further divided into progressive and non-progressive.

²⁴ As mentioned in Bhatt (2010)

Comrie (ibid) states ‘In some languages, the distinction between progressive and non-progressive meaning by means of progressive and non-progressive forms is obligatory, whereas in others the use of the specifically progressive forms is optional, that is the non-progressive form does not exclude the progressive meaning. English belongs to the first type, so that progressive and non-progressive are not in general interchangeable, nor can any one of these in general be replaced by the other.’

Comrie’s (ibid) division of aspects:



Lehmann’s constituent order correlations for OV languages are:

1. OV languages have post-positions.
2. Genitive nouns precede the possessed noun.
3. Adjective precedes the noun it modifies.
4. Relative clauses precede noun it modifies.
5. Question words are not placed in the initial position of the sentence.
6. Suffixes are used for grammatical markings in OV languages.
7. Auxiliary verb follows the main verb.
8. Standard of comparison precedes the comparative adjective.

9. Adverb precedes verb.
10. Verb precedes negation.
11. The subordinator follows the subordinate clause.

Correlation features for languages with the word order OV are discussed below with examples from Tulu.

1. *OV languages have post-positions.*

ya:n səntɛgi po:v-ond-u||-ɛ
 I-1S-Nom market-Dat go-prog-be pres-1S

‘I am going to the market.’

The dative marker is marked by an inflectional suffix in sentence (1).

2. *Genitive nouns precede the possessed noun.*

Sita kursi-du ku||u-p-ali
 Sita-3SF-Nom chair-Loc sit-pres-3SF

‘Sita sits on the chair’.

3. *Adjective precedes the noun it modifies.*

Seli ni:r
 clear water

‘Clear/pure water’

kəipe kəkku
 bitter Mango

‘Bitter mango’

Adjectives in the examples precede the noun they modify.

4. *Relative clauses precede noun it modifies.*

təq-a:du bərtinə pəŋŋu
late-Abl come-IMFV girl-3SF

‘The girl who came late’

5. *Question words are not placed in the initial position of the sentence.*

undu da:də
This-3SN-PROX What-Q

‘What is this?’

i:r olu be:le malt-undu-ull-ari
You-2S(hon)-NOM where work do-PROG-be PRES-2PL

‘Where do you work?’

i: sarti bərsə entʃə itt-undu
This-3NEUT(PROX) year rain how be PST

‘How were the rains this year?’

The question word occurs after the subject.

6. *Suffixes are used for grammatical markings in OV languages.*

Inflectional markers are used to mark the tense and aspect information on the verb.
These markers are affixed to the verb. And these markers exist in the form of suffixes.

7. *Auxiliary verb follows the main verb.*

i: kɑ:pi pər-d-itt-a

You-2S-Nom coffee drink-PERF- BE PST-2S

‘You had drank coffee’.

The auxiliary is followed by the main verb drink in the sentence.

8. *Standard of comparison precedes the comparative adjective.*

amala si:ta-ddu uddɑ-ulle

Amala-3SF-NOM si:ta-ABL tall-be PRES

‘Amala is taller than Sita’

9. *Adverb precedes verb.*

ɑ:ye mast mellə balpu-v-e

He-3SM-NOM Very-ADV slow-ADJ run-FUT-3SM

‘He runs very slowly.’

jorʊ bərsə bər-t-undu

heavy rain Come-past-3SNeut

‘It rained heavily.’

10. *Verb precedes negation.*

akulo tʃ: par-p-uj-eri

They-3PL-NOM tea drink-present-neg-3PL

‘They don’t drink tea.’

11. The subordinator follows the subordinate clause.

imbe ille-gu po-y-e a:ye pən-d-e
he-3SM(PROX)-NOM house-DAT go-PST-3SM he-3SM-NOM say-PST-3SM
He said he went home.

Tense in Tulu

Tense is the grammatical category that allows the speaker to locate an event with reference to another event. Generally three basic tenses namely past, present and future are recognized in a language. They are grammatically realized through inflectional affixes, auxiliaries in relation to the verb. Comrie (1985) describes them as present tense means coincidence of the time of the situation and the present moment; past tense means location of the situation prior to the present moment; future tense means location of the situation after the present moment.

Tulu language recognizes three tenses, past, present and future which are marked on the main verb through inflectional suffixes. These affixes are in agreement with the person, number and gender of the verb. Further each of these tenses and the inflectional affixes that it takes are explained individually.

Past Tense:

Tulu language marks past tense through the use of three markers:

Past tense marker: /-t/ or /-tt-/

Past tense marker: /-y-/

Past tense marker: /-ɖ-/

Tulu uses these three markers for the past tense marking and the difference in these markers however does not affect the inflectional person number and gender suffixes. These markers remain the same despite the difference of past tense markers.

A table of the root form of the verbs of Tulu language and the different past markers those verbs are marked with to form the past tense are listed below:

Past tense marker /-ɖ-/:

The past tense marker /-ɖ-/ is phonologically conditioned by the retroflex and dental nasal in the final syllable before the root final vowel. Below is a table with roots that take /-ɖ-/ as their suffix:

Root verb in Tulu	Past tense marker	English
pəŋi	-ɖ-	‘to tell’
pini	-ɖ-	‘to know’
ke:ŋi	-ɖ-	‘to ask’
beni	-ɖ-	‘to work’
getton	-ɖ-	‘to take’
tiŋ	-ɖ-	‘to eat’

Past tense marker –t/tt- :

This past tense marker occurs with roots of the form CVCV. Roots ending in /-pʊ/ or /-ppʊ/ also take this marker. Below is a table with roots that take /-tt-/ as their suffix:

Root verb in Tulu	Past tense marker	English
səi	-tt-	‘to die’
beyi	-tt-	‘to cook’
bari	-tt-	‘to come’
nalpʊ	-tt-	‘to dance’
leppʊ	-tt-	‘to take’
ɑɖəppə	-tt-	‘to eat’

Past tense marker –y-:

This past tense marker occurs with roots of the form (C) VVCV. Roots ending in /-mbu/ or /-bbu/ also take this marker. Below is a table with roots that take /-y-/ as their suffix:

Root verb in Tulu	Past tense marker	English
po	-y-	‘to go’
kor	-y -	‘to give’
mi:	-y -	‘to bathe’
o:di	-y -	‘to read’
soḍḍi	-y -	‘to burn’
pa:ḍḍi	-y -	‘to put’
rumbu	-y-	‘to wash’

The conjugation of the verb /po/ ‘to go’ with all the personal pronouns in the nominative case representing past tense conjugation is shown in a tabular form below:

1S	ya:n ‘I’	po-t-ε go-PST-1S ‘I went’
1PL	enkulo ‘we’	po-t-ᵛ go-PST-1PL ‘we went’
2S	i: ‘you’	po-t-a go-PST-2S ‘you went’

2PL	nikoɭu 'you' (pl)	po-t- ari go-PST-2PL 'you(pl) went'
3SM	a:ye 'he'	po-t-e go-PST-3SM 'he went'
3SF	a:l 'she'	po-t-a i go-PST-3SF 'she went'
3PL	akulo 'they'	po-t-eri go-PST-3PL 'they went'

Illustrated below are examples for past tense in Tulu language.

Ex:

- ya:n Tuɭu kəl-t-ε
I-1Sg- NOM Tuɭu learn-PST-1S
'I learnt Tulu'

The verb /kəl/ 'to learn' is marked with the past tense marker /-t-/ and since the subject is in the first person singular the first singular person suffix /-ε/ is attached to the verb. The first person does not agree in gender and takes the same inflection marker suffix /-ε/, to mark first person singular.

- i: kukku tiŋ-d-a
You-2S- NOM mango eat- PST-2S
'You ate a mango'

The verb /tiŋ/ 'to eat' takes the past tense marker /-d-/ and the subject is in agreement with the verb and therefore takes the suffix /-a/ the second person singular marker on the verb. The second

person inflection marker does not agree in gender and takes the same suffix /-a/, to mark second person in singular number.

3. jo:ku-lu sa-le-g1 po-y-eri
child-PL-NOM-3PL school-DAT go-PST-3PL
'Children went to school'

In the above sentence the plural marker /-lu/ in the subject position results in the third person number marker /-eri/ on the verb. And to denote past tense the marker /-y-/ is taken.

Intransitive verbs:

Intransitive verbs are verbs that are monovalent. They have the subject as their argument and occur in the form of subject + verb and does not necessarily take an object.

Ex:

4. a:ye sai-t-e
he-3SM-NOM die-PST-3SM
'He died'.
5. sita teli-tt-ali
sita-3SF-NOM laugh-PST-3SF
'She laughed.'

The intransitive verbs /sai/ 'to die' and /teli/ 'to laugh take the past tense marker /-t-/ and /-tt-/ respectively in the above examples.

Transitive verbs:

Transitive verbs are the verbs that that need one or more arguments, one would be the main object and the rest are indirect objects. Hence they are divalent, trivalent and occur as subject + verb + direct object.

Transitive verbs can be of two kinds:

- a. Inherent transitive
- b. Derived transitive

Inherent transitive verbs are those which are transitive by nature. Derived transitive are verbs that are derived from intransitive verbs by adding a marker. Tulu language employs -pu/-ppu to make an intransitive verb into a transitive verb.

Ex:

intransitive		transitive	
i:li	‘to melt itself’	i:lpu	to melt
kædeli	‘to become loose’	kædelpu	‘to loosen’

6. glass nəri-tt-u
 glass-3NEUT break-PST-3NEUT
 ‘the glass broke’

7. mo:lu glass nərīppu-v- ali
 She-3SF(prox)- NOM glass break- FUT-3SF
 ‘she broke the glass’

The verb /nəri/ ‘to be broken’ becomes /nərīppu/ and behaves like a transitive verb. Below are some examples for some inherent transitive verbs of Tulu language in past tense.

Ex:

8. ya:n bā:jana dekki-y-ε
 I-1S-NOM Vessels clean- PST-1S
 ‘I cleaned the vessels.’

9. a:l kə:pi pər-y-ali
 She-3SF- NOM Coffee drink- PST-3SF
 ‘She drank coffee’

In the above examples, the transitive verbs /dekki/ ‘to clean’ and pər ‘to drink’ are shown taking the past tense marker /-y-/ on the verb to denote that the verb is in past tense.

Ditransitive verbs:

Ditransitive verbs are the verbs which requires three arguments, subject, a direct object and the indirect object.

Ex:

10. a:r Ram-gi kakaji bare-y-eri
 He/she-3S(hon)-NOM Ram-gi letter write-PST-3PL
 ‘He/She wrote a letter to Ram.’

The verb /bar/ ‘to write’ is ditransitive in nature and takes two objects letter and Ram as its arguments while being affixed with the past tense marker /-y-/ on the verb.

/a: r/ is the personal pronoun in Tulu language for honorific marking. Despite the number of the person being singular the verb is affixed with the third person plural marker /-eri/ to mark honorificity.

11. ya:n jokulu-gi onji kətə pən-d-ε
 I-1S-NOM children-DAT one story tell-PST-1S
 ‘I told a story to the children.’

Tense conjugation in past tense for the ditransitive verbs is exemplified in sentences (10) and (11).

Tulu language has three past tense markers /-t/ or /-tt/, /-d/, and /-y/. It makes use of these grammatical inflectional suffixes to mark past tense on the verb. The transitivity of the verb is not responsible for the difference in the past tense marker in the inflection process. The selection of the tense is phonologically conditioned.

Present Tense:

Present tense marks the event that has occurred simultaneous with the point of reference. Tulu language marks the present tense with the marker /-p-/.

Table of some verbs of the Tulu language with the present tense marker:

Root verb in Tulu	Present tense marker	English
kollu	-p-	'to sit'
pər	-p-	'to drink'
bultu	-p-	'to cry'
tu:	-p-	'to see'
getton	-p-	'to take'
ker	-p-	'to kill'

Conjugation of the transitive verb bare ‘to write’ with person number and gender in present tense:

1S	ya:n ‘I’	bare-p-ε write- PRES -1S ‘I write’
1PL	enkulo ‘we’	bare-p-ɔ write - PRES -1PL ‘we write’
2S	i: ‘you’	bare -p-a write - PRES -2S ‘you write’
2PL	nikulo ‘you (pl)’	bare -p- ari write-PRES -2PL ‘you (pl) write’
3SM	a:ye ‘he’	bare -p-e write - PRES -3SM ‘he writes’
3SF	a:l ‘she’	bare -p-aɿ write - PRES -3SF ‘she writes’
3PL	akulo ‘they’	bare-p-eri write –PRES-3PL ‘they write’

Examples of present tense marking in Tulu language:

Ex:

12. mo:lʊ sa:le-gu po-p-ali
She-3SF (prox)-NOM school-DAT go-PRES-3SF
'She goes to school.'

In the above sentence, the third person feminine proximate pronoun results in the inflection marker /ali/ along with the present tense marker /-p-/ on the verb. The difference in the proximal and distant pronoun does not bring a change in the inflectional suffix. In the above case 'al' is the suffix that occurs with /a:l/ and /mo:lʊ/.

13. a:ye Cricket gobbu-p-e
He-3SM-NOM Cricket Play-PRES-3SM
'He plays cricket.'

14. i:r kate bare-p-ar
You-2S(hon)-NOM story write-PRES-2PL
'You write a story.'

In sentences (12), (13) and (14) the present tense marker in Tulu language, -p- is represented.

Intransitive verbs:

15. pəkki-lʊ ra:pa
bird-PL-3Neu fly
'Birds fly.'

16. akulʊ jeppu-p-eri
they-3PL-NOM sleep-PRES-3PL
'They sleep.'

The intransitive verbs ra: ‘to fly’ and /jeppu/ ‘to sleep’ are conjugated in the present tense in the above examples. The nature of the verb justifies the absence of more arguments in the sentence.

Transitive verbs:

Some examples for transitive verbs along with the present tense conjugation:

17. enkulo pu: ma:r-p-o
we-1PL-NOM flowers sell-PRES-1PL
‘We sell flowers.’

18. akulo kəŋɔo-ɔu ben-p-eri
they-3PL-NOM field-LOC work-PRES-3PL
‘They work²⁵ in the field.’

Transitive verbs /ma:r/ ‘to sell’ and /ben/ ‘to work’ are in the present tense and take the person number and gender marker on the verb expressing subject verb agreement.

Ditransitive verbs:

19. Sita pustəkə meji-di di: -p-ali
Sita-3SF-NOM book table-LOC keep-PRES-3SF
‘Sita keeps the book on the table.’

The ditransitive verb di: ‘to keep’ is conjugated in the present tense. The indirect object meji ‘table’ is assigned Locative case. So the locative marker ‘-di’ is used in the sentence.

20. Ram Lata-gl Tulu kalpə-p-e
Ram-3SM-NOM Lata-DAT Tulu learn-PRES-3SM
‘Ram teaches Tulu to Lata.’

²⁵ The verb ben is a native word to Tulu language but not used frequently. It is an alternative for məlpə ‘to do’ which is colloquially used in everyday speech.

The ditransitive verb kalpavu ‘to teach’ takes three arguments. And the indirect object is assigned with dative case and therefore the marker ‘-gi’ is affixed to the receiver of the action, Lata in this instance.

In Tulu language, the present tense is marked with –p- for transitive, ditransitive and intransitive verbs.

Future tense:

Future tense is the event that occurs after the reference time-point.

Root verb in Tulu	Future tense marker	English
koll	-v-	‘to sit’
pər	-v-	‘to drink’
bult	-v-	‘to cry’
tu:	-v-	‘to see’
getton	-v-	‘to take’
ker	-v-	‘to kill’

Conjugation of the transitive verb odu ‘to read’ for person number and gender in the future tense:

1S	ya:n ‘I’	odu -v-ε read-FUT-1S ‘I will read’
1PL	enkulu ‘we’	odu -v-ɔ read-FUT -1PL ‘we will read’
2S	i: ‘you’	odu-v-a read-FUT -2S ‘you will read’
2PL	nikulu ‘you’ (pl)	odu-v- ari read-FUT -2PL ‘you (pl) will read’
3SM	ɑ:ye ‘he’	odu-v-e read-FUT -3SM ‘he will read’
3SF	ɑ:l ‘she’	odu-v-a i read-FUT -3SF ‘she will read’
3PL	akulu ‘they’	odu-v-eri read-FUT-3PL ‘they will read’

Some sentences to explain future tense formation in Tulu language are given below:

Ex:

21. ya:n elle bar-v-ε
I-1S-NOM Tomorrow come-FUT-1S
‘I will come tomorrow.’

The transitive verb bare ‘to come’ takes the future tense marker –v- in the above sentence.

22. enkulo Kudla-gl po-v-o
 We-1PL-NOM Kudla-DAT go-FUT-2PL
 ‘We will go to Mangalore’²⁶

23. a:ye sætyə panu-v-e
 He-3SM-NOM truth say-FUT-3SM
 ‘He will say the truth.’

The verb pan ‘to say’ implies different meanings in particular contexts. In a context like the above it would imply to say. It can also mean ‘to tell’. When the verb occurs with the noun pədyə ‘song’ in a verb phrase of the sentence, the verb pən would mean ‘to sing’.

Intransitive verbs:

24. enkulo telipu-v-ari
 We-1PL-NOM laugh-FUT-2PL
 ‘We will laugh.’

25. ba:le buɫpu-v-u
 Baby-3SNEUT cry-FUT-3SNEUT
 ‘The baby cried.’

Intransitive verbs /telipu/ ‘to laugh’ and /buɫpu/ ‘to cry’ are conjugated in the future tense in the sentences (24) & (25). Tulu language treats the noun baby as neuter in gender and therefore takes the neuter gender marker -u in this sentence.

Transitive verbs:

26. putʃtʃe pər par-v-u
 Cat-3NEUT-NOM milk drink-FUT-3NEUT
 ‘Cat will drink the milk.’

²⁶ Mangalore is called Kudla in Tulu.

The transitive verb pər ‘to drink’ forms the future verb by affixing the Future tense marker –v- in Tulu language. Tulu language marks animate, non-human nouns with neuter gender inflections. Hence the verb is inflected and affixed with the suffix -u the neuter gender marker for third person in agreement with the subject cat in this sentence.

27. a:ye ninə-ni leppu-v-e
 He-3SM-NOM You-2S-ACC call-FUT-3SM
 ‘He will call you.’

Transitive verb conjugation with the third person in masculine gender is exemplified in the sentence (27)

Ditransitive verbs:

Ex:

28. i: a:ye-g1 bu:ku-ni kori-v-a
 You-2S-NOM him-2S-DAT book- ACC give-FUT-3S
 ‘You will give the book to him.’

29. ya:n poŋŋu-lu-gu pu:ni kəɖəpu-v-ε
 I-1S-NOM girl-PL flowers-ACC send-FUT-1S
 ‘I will send the flowers to the girls.’

In the examples, ditransitive verbs /kor-/ ‘to give’ and /kəɖu/ ‘to send’ are affixed with the future tense inflection marker in Tulu language /-v-/ to mean ‘will give’ and ‘will send’ respectively. The main object is marked with dative case marker and the indirect object with accusative case marker in both the instances of (28) & (29).

The future tense marker in Tulu language for transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs is /-v-/ as conveyed from all the examples in Tulu.

Conjugation of the transitive verb kənə ‘to sit’ in Tulu for personal pronoun in the nominative case for the three tenses that are realized in the language:

person	pronoun	Past	Present	Future
1S	ya:n ‘I’	kən-t-ε bring- PST-1S ‘I brought’	kən-p-ε bring- PRES-1S ‘I bring’	kən-v-ε bring-FUT-1S ‘I brought’
1PL	enkulu ‘we’	kən-t-ɔ bring- PST-1PL ‘we brought’	kən-p-ɔ bring-PRES-1PL ‘we bring’	kən-v-ɔ bring- FUT-1PL ‘we brought’
2S	i: ‘you’	kən-t-a bring- PST-2S ‘you brought’	kən-p-a bring- PRES-2S ‘you bring’	kən-v-a bring- FUT-2S ‘you brought’
2PL	nikulu ‘you (pl)’	kən-t- ari bring- PST-2PL ‘you(pl) brought’	kən-p- ari bring-PRES-2PL ‘you (pl) bring’	kən-v- ari bring- FUT-2PL brought’
3SM	ɑ:ye ‘he’	kən-t-e bring- PST-3M ‘he brought’	kən-p-e bring- PRES-3M ‘he brings’	kən-v-e bring- FUT-3M ‘he brought’
3SF	ɑ:l ‘she’	kən-t-a ɨ bring- PST-3SF ‘she brought’	kən-p- a ɨ bring- PRES-3F ‘she brings’	kən-v- a ɨ bring- FUT-3SF ‘she brought’
3PL	akulu ‘they’	kən-t- eri bring- PST-3PL ‘they brought’	kən-p- eri bring-PRES-3PL ‘they bring’	kən-v- eri bring- FUT-3PL ‘they brought’

In Tulu language, the future tense is marked with -v- for transitive and intransitive verbs.

Aspect in Tulu

Comrie (1976)²⁷ defines aspect as ‘*aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation*’. Aspect as a grammatical category just like any other grammatical category maybe expressed by means of the inflectional morphology of the language it may also be expressed by means of a periphrasis.

Tulu language has three aspects Simple, progressive and perfective for all the present past and future tenses.

Indefinite aspect:

Indefinite aspect is what can be called simple tense. It does not embed any temporal information or inherent temporal situation. It is used to describe situations or to make statements or establish facts.

Ex:

30. i: kukku tiŋ-p-a
 You-2S- NOM mango eat- PRES-2S
 ‘You eat a mango’

This is a present indefinite sentence. And there is no overt marking of aspect on the verb.

31. Sita teli-tt-all
 Sita-3SF-NOM laugh-PST-3SF
 ‘She laughed.’

This is a past indefinite sentence. And the aspect on the verb is not overtly marked.

32. a:ye Lata-gu English kalpə-v-e
 he-3SM-NOM Lata-DAT English learn-PRES-3SM
 ‘He will teach English to Lata.’

²⁷ Comrie’s definition based on Holt(1943)

This is a future indefinite sentence. And there is no overt marking of aspect on the verb. In all the sentences listed above there is no aspectual marker. Tulu does not have a marker for indefinite aspect. Many languages do not have a marker for indefinite aspect.

Comrie (1976) divides aspect into perfective and imperfective which are described further in this chapter.

Perfective aspect:

Perfective form indicates the completion of a situation when it is explicitly contrasted with an impulse active form since the imperfect indicates a situation and progress and since the perfect two indicates a situation which has an end the only new semantic element introduced by the perfect is that of the termination of the situation.

‘Perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation while the imperfective gives essential attention to the internal structure of the situation’²⁸ as described by Comrie (1976)

33. enkulu tiŋ-t-ə
 We-1PL-NOM eat-PST PERF-1PL
 ‘We ate.’

In this sentence the past tense marker /-t-/ acts as both the perfective aspect while marking the past tense.

Perfect aspect in Tulu language:

This aspect can be referred to as complete aspect. It deals with a ‘complete action and has to take into account the point of speech, point of time and point of reference time.’²⁹ Tulu language has

²⁸ Comrie *Aspect*, (1976)

²⁹ id

perfect aspect markers are /-d-/ and /-t/ or /-tt-/. These forms are affixed to the stem. Since it always occurs with a copula form the copular verb takes the tense information.

Past perfect:

The verbs of Tulu language in the past tense occurs in the form of ‘stem + PERF + BE PST + PNG’.

Intransitive:

34. a:ye jetti-d-itt-e
He-3SM-NOM sleep- PERF - BE PST-3SM
‘He had slept.’

35. ba:le bult-d-itte-u
Child-3NEUT-NOM cry- PERF - BE PST-3NEUT
‘The baby had cried.’

Baby in the subject position of the sentence () is marked in neuter gender on the verb in Tulu language.

The intransitive verbs in the sentences () & () are affixed with /-d-/ as their perfect marker and the BE copula in the past tense /-itt-/ along with the PNG marker it. In case of past perfect the main verb does not take the function of tense instead the tense is marked on the copular verb.

Transitive:

36. a:l nuppu tiṅ-d-itt-ali
She-3SF-NOM rice eat- PERF - BE PST-3SF
‘She had eaten rice.’

37. a:ye be:le malpu-d-itt-e
 He-3SM-NOM work do- PERF - BE PST-3SM
 ‘He had done the work.’

The transitive verbs in the sentences (36) & (37) are affixed with /-d-/ as their perfect marker and the BE copula in the past tense /-itt-/ along with the PNG marker to form the past perfect aspect.

Ditransitive:

38. a:l bu:ku meji-di pədi-d-itt-ali
 She-3SF-NOM book Table-LOC keep- PERF - BE PST-3SF
 ‘She had kept the book on the table.’

39. akulu jokulu-gi Tulu kəlpə-d-itt-eri
 They-3PL-NOM children-DAT Tulu teach- PERF - BE PST-3PL
 ‘They had taught Tulu to the children.’

The ditransitive verbs in the sentences (38) & (39) are affixed with /-d-/ as their perfect marker and the BE copula in the past tense /-itt-/ along with it.

The above sentences show perfect aspect in the past tense. The perfect aspect marker for past tense in Tulu is /-d-/ and it is same for transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs. It is affixed to the stem of the verb with the copula /-itt-/ along with the PNG marker it. In case of past perfect the main verb does not take the function of tense instead the tense is marked on the copular verb in the past tense as exemplified above.

Present perfect:

Intransitive:

40. akulo jetti-t-eri
They-3PL-NOM sleep- PRES PERF -3PL
'They have slept.'

41. enkulo telipu-t-i
We-1PL-NOM laugh- PRES PERF -1PL
'We have laughed.'

The intransitive verbs in the sentences (40) & (41) are affixed with /-t/ or /-tt-/ as their perfect marker and occur along with the PNG marker *it*.

Transitive:

42. i: sətyə paterdi-t-a
You-2S-NOM truth say- PRES PERF -2S
'You have spoken the truth.'

Ditransitive:

43. ya:n pen kursi-di padi-tt-ε
I-1S-NOM pen chair-LOC keep-PRES PERF -1S
'I have kept the pen on the chair.'

44. i: a:ye-gi kasu kori-tt-ε
you-2S-NOM he-3SM-DAT money give- PRES PERF -2S
'You gave the money to him.'

The ditransitive verbs in the sentences (43) & (44) are affixed with /-t/ or /-tt-/ as their perfect marker.

The above sentences show perfective aspect in the present tense. The perfective aspect marker for present tense in Tulu is /-t/ or /-tt-/ and it is same for transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs.

Future perfect:

Intransitive:

45. a:l jetti-d-ippuv-ali
She-3SF-NOMs sleep- PERF - BE FUT-3SF
'She will have slept.'

Transitive:

46. enkulu kukku tiŋ- d-ippuv-ə
We-1PL-NOM mango eat- PERF - BE FUT-1PL
'We will have eaten a mango.'

Ditransitive:

47. akulu a:njovnəkulu-gi a:harə kor-d-ippuv-eri
They-3PL-NOM men-DAT food give- PERF - BE FUT-3PL
'They will have given the food to the men.'

The above sentences show perfect aspect in the future tense. The perfect aspect marker for future tense in Tulu is /-d-/ and it is same for transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs. It occurs with the copula /-ippuv-/ in the future tense.

Conjugation of the transitive verb /məlpu/ 'to do' demonstrating the **perfective aspect** in Tulu language with person number and gender inflections.

person	pronoun	Past	Present	Future
1S	ya:n 'I'	kor-d-itt -ε say - PERF BE PST-1S 'I was saying'	panond ull-ε say - PERF BE PRES-1S 'I am saying'	kor-d-ippuv-ε say - PERF BE FUT-1S 'I will be saying'
1PL	enkulu 'we'	kor-d- itt-ο say - PERF BE PST- 1PL 'we were saying'	kor-t -ο say – PERF BE PRES- 1PL 'we are saying'	kor-d-ippuv-ο say - PERF BE FUT-1S 'we will be saying'
2S	i: 'you'	kor-d-itt-a say - PERF BE PST- 2S 'you was saying'	panond ull -a say - PERF BE PRES-1S 'you are saying'	kor-d-ippuv-a say- PERF BE FUT-2S 'you will be saying'
2PL	nikulu 'you (pl)'	kor-d-itt -ari say - PERF BE PST- 2PL 'you (pl) were saying'	panond ull - ari say - PERF BE PRES-1 PL 'you (pl) are saying'	kor-d-ippuv-ari say- PERF BE FUT- 2PL 'you (pl) will be saying'
3SM	α:ye 'he'	kor-d-itt –ε say - PERF BE PST- 3SM 'he was saying'	panond ull -e say - PERF BE PRES- 3SM 'he is saying'	kor-d-ippuv-e say- PERF BE PRES- 3SM 'he will be saying'
3SF	α:l 'she'	kor-d-itt -a j say - PERF BE PST- 3SF 'she was saying'	panond ull -a j say - PERF BE PRES- 3SF 'she is saying'	kor-d-ippuv-a j say - PERF BE PRES- 3SF 'she will be saying'
3PL	akulu 'they'	kor-d-itt - eri say - PERF BE PST- 3SPL 'they were saying'	panond ull - eri say - PERF BE PRES- 3PL 'they are saying'	kor-d-ippuv-eri say- PERF BE FUT- 3PL 'they will be saying'

Imperfective Aspect:

Comrie (1976)³⁰ defines Imperfective aspect as '*explicit references to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within*'. It is possible to use perfective to refer to situations that have internal structure but Imperfective forms cannot be used to refer to situations that lack internal structure. Present tense is essentially used to describe rather than to narrate it is essentially imperfective either continuous or habitual and not perfective.

Ex:

48. ya:n tiŋ-ond-ippuv-ε
 i-1S-NOM eat-prog-be FUT- 1S
 'I will be eating.'

49. ya:n tiŋ-ond-itt-ε
 i-1S-NOM eat-prog-be PST- 1S
 'I was eating.'

In Tulu language, the aspect marker is affixed to the verb and the 'be' copula contains the tense information. The imperfective aspect is subdivided into habitual and non-habitual which would be dealt with in detail below.

Habitual aspect:

'It is assumed that habitually is essentially the same as iterative that is the repetition of a situation the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation. Any situation that can be protracted sufficiently in time or that can be iterated a sufficient number of times over a long enough period can be expressed as a habitual. Repetition of a single action is not sufficient to call it habitual since it can be viewed as single event on the whole and expressed by perfective. In the

³⁰ Comrie(1976:24)

same manner habitual can be expressed without any amount of iterativity at all. Tulu language does not realize habitual aspect with the use of inflectional markers. It does use adverbials like *daily*, *every year* etc., with a combination of future tense in the verb to describe a habitual aspect.

Ex:

50. enkulo dinola newspaper o:du-v-o
We-2PL-NOM daily newspaper read-FUT-2PL
'We read newspaper daily.'

51. a:ye va:ro-gu cricket gobbu-v-e
He-3SM-NOM every week-DAT cricket play-FUT-3SM
'He plays cricket every week.'

As can be observed in the above sentences, the verb of the sentence occurs in the future tense marked by /-v-/ in Tulu and the function of the habitual aspect in the sentence is done by the adverb /dinola/ and /varogu/ in the first and second sentence respectively. Tulu language does not have a habitual aspect marker but performs the function by expressing it using adverbs.

Non-habitual aspect:

The non-habitual aspect is further divided into progressive and non-progressive aspects.

Progressive aspect:

Progressive aspect deals with the incompleteness of the action. It expresses the ongoing process of an event or an action. Tulu language marks progressive aspect by the marker /-ond-/ which is attached to the main verb. This inflectional suffix is attached after the main verb and before the PNG agreement markers. The progressive markers all occur with the copula in the respective tenses. The copular verb expresses the tense information.

Past Progressive:

Ex:

Intransitive:

46. pəkkilʊ rɑ:vond itt-a
Birds-3Neut-NOM fly-prog BE PST-3Neut
'Birds were flying.'

47. a:ye jettond itt-e
He-3SM-NOM sleep-prog BE PST- 3SM
'He was sleeping.'

The intransitive verbs in the sentences () & () are affixed with /-ond-/ as their progressive marker and the copular verb in the past tense /-itt-/ along with the PNG marker it. In case of past progressive the main verb does not take the function of tense instead the tense is marked on the copular verb.

Transitive:

48. i: cricket gobbond itt-a
You-2S-NOM cricket play-prog BE PST- 2S
'You were playing Cricket.'

49. jokʊlʊ bu:kʊ o:dond itt-eri
Children-3PL-NOM book read-prog BE PST- 3PL
'Children were reading a book.'

Ditransitive:

50. Kamala Ram-gi Tulu kəlpədond itt-ali
Kamala-3SF-NOM Ram-DAT Tulu teach-prog BE PST- 3SF
'Kamala was teaching Tulu to Ram.'

51. i: Ram-gi kɑ:sʊ korond itt-a

You-2S-NOM Ram-DAT money give-prog BE PST- 2S
'You were giving the money to Ram.'

Present Progressive:

Ex:

Intransitive:

52. a:ye bultond ull-e
He-3SM-NOM cry-prog BE PRES-3SM
'He is crying.'

53. ya:n jettond ulle-e
I-1S-NOM sleep-prog BE PRES-1S
'I am sleeping.'

The intransitive verbs in the sentences () & () are affixed with /-ond-/ as their progressive marker and the BE copula in the past tense /-ull-/ along with the PNG marker it. In case of past progressive the main verb does not take the function of tense instead the tense is marked on the copular verb.

Transitive:

54. akulu kəbəddi gobond ull-eri
They-3PL-NOM Kabaddi play-prog BE PRES-3PL
'They are playing Kabaddi.'

55. ya:n TV tu:vond ull-e
I-1S-NOM TV watch-prog BE PRES-1S
'I am watching TV.'

Ditransitive:

56. a:ye poŋŋu-g1 pu kədapuond-ull-e
 He-3SM-NOM girl-DAT flowers send-prog BE PRES-3SM
 ‘He is sending flowers to the girl.’

57. Ram Kamala-g1 kəkqji bareyond ull-e
 Ram-3SM-NOM Kamala-DAT letter write- prog BE PRES-3SM
 ‘Ram is writing a letter to Kamala.’

Future Progressive:

Ex:

Intransitive:

58. ya:n jettond ippuv-ε
 I-1S-NOM sleep-prog BE FUT-1S
 ‘I will be sleeping.’

59. ba:le telipuond ippuv-u
 Child-3SNeut-NOM laugh-prog BE FUT-3Neut
 ‘The child will be laughing.’

The intransitive verbs in the sentences (58) & (59) are affixed with /-ond-/ as their progressive marker and the BE copula in the future tense /-ippuv-/ along with the PNG marker it. In case of future progressive the main verb does not take the function of tense instead the tense is marked on the copular verb.

Transitive:

60. enkulu kukku tinond ippuv-i
 We-2PL-NOM mango eat-prog BE FUT-2PL
 ‘We will be eating mango.’

61. nikulu pəðə panond ippuv-ari
 You-1PL-NOM song say-prog BE FUT-2PL
 ‘You will be singing a song.’

Ditransitive:

62. ya:n Kamala-gi kəkaji barond ippuv-ε
 I-1S-NOM Kamla-DAT letter write-prog BE FUT-1S
 ‘I will be writing a letter to kamala.’

63. akulu jokulu-gi bu:kulu korond ippuv-er□
 They-3PL-NOM children-DAT books give-prog BE FUT-3PL
 ‘They will be giving books to the children.’

The above sentences show aspect in the future tense. The progressive aspect marker for future tense in Tulu is /-ond-/ and it is same for transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs. It occurs with the copula /-ippuv-/ in the future tense.

Conjugation of the ditransitive verb /di:/ ‘to keep’ in past, present and future tense for progressive aspect with person number and gender is tabulated below:

person	pronoun	Past	Present	Future
1S	ya:n ‘I’	panond itt -ε say -prog BE PST-1S ‘I was saying’	panond ull-ε say -prog BE PRES-1S ‘I am saying’	panond ippuv-ε say -prog BE FUT-1S ‘I will be saying’
1PL	enkulu ‘we’	panond itt-ɔ say -prog BE PST- 1PL ‘we were saying’	panond ull -ɔ say –prog BE PRES-1PL ‘we are saying’	panond ippuv-ɔ say -prog BE FUT-1S ‘we will be saying’
2S	i: ‘you’	panond itt-a say -prog BE PST- 2S ‘you was saying’	panond ull -a say -prog BE PRES-1S ‘you are saying’	panond ippuv-a say-prog BE FUT-2S ‘you will be saying’
2PL	nikulu ‘you (pl)’	panond itt -ari say -prog BE PST- 2PL ‘you (pl) were saying’	panond ull - ari say -prog BE PRES-1 PL ‘you (pl) are saying’	panond ippuv-ari say-prog BE FUT-2PL ‘you (pl) will be saying’
3SM	ɑ:ye ‘he’	panond itt -e say -prog BE PST- 3SM ‘he was saying’	panond ull -e say - prog BE PRES-3SM ‘he is saying’	panond ippuv-e say-prog BE PRES-3SM ‘he will be saying’
3SF	ɑ:l ‘she’	panond itt -a j say -prog BE PST- 3SF ‘she was saying’	panond ull -a j say - prog BE PRES-3SF ‘she is saying’	panond ippuv-a j say - prog BE PRES-3SF ‘she will be saying’
3PL	akulu ‘they’	panond itt - eri say -prog BE PST- 3SPL ‘they were saying’	panond ull - eri say -prog BE PRES-3PL ‘they are saying’	panond ippuv-eri say-prog BE FUT-3PL ‘they will be saying’

Non-Progressive:

Non- progressive aspect is expressed in Tulu language through simple tense. The present tense marker is affixed to the stem of the verb to express the non-progressive aspect.

64. ya:n bu:ku o:du-p-ε
I-1S-NOM book read- sim PRES-1S
'I read a book.'

65. i: ka:pi par-t-a
you-2S-NOM coffee drink- sim-PRES-2S
'You drink coffee.'

From the above sentences the use of simple present tense on the verb to indicate non-progressive can be observed. Hence it can be concluded that Tulu language uses the simple present tense marker –p- to express non-progressive aspect of the imperfective aspect.

Causative construction in Tulu:

A causative construction is where the subject does not perform the action directly. But rather causes it to be done. In other words the subject gets the work done by someone else i.e, another agent. The causative causes an increase in the valency of the verb. And hence the number of arguments in the sentence would increase in number.

Tulu expresses causative morphologically. It uses –a:- , pa-, -dɔ- for causative construction. The basic form is -A:- and the insertion of p and dɔ could be assumed as a morphophonemic requirement of the specific verb.

Verbs		Causative	
kəttu	'to build'	kəttɑ:yu	'to cause x to build'
odu	'to read'	odɑyu	'to cause x to read'
tin	'to eat'	tinpa:	'to cause x to eat'
bər	'to come'	bərpa:	'to cause x to come'
jeppu	'to sleep'	jeppuɖɑ:	'to cause x to sleep'
leppu	'to call'	leppuɖɑ:	'to cause x to call'

66. a:l illu kətt-ɑy-al
 She-3SF-NOM house build-CAUS-3SF
 'She got the house built.'

67. əppe ba:le-ni jepp-da:-yal
 Mother-3SF-NOM Child-ACC Sleep-CAUS-3SF
 'Mother made the child sleep.'

The causative marker /ɑ:/ is inserted in the verb of the sentence. It is attached to the stem of the verb before the person number and gender inflectional marker that are in agreement with the subject of the sentence. The causative is placed after the stem and before the inflectional agreement markers.

Complex predicate construction in Tulu:

Complex verbs are predicates that are formed by the combination of two elements. The elements share semantic features mutually. Verbs are categorized based on the number of arguments. In the case of complex verbs they are differentiated based on their internal complexity. There are more than one verbal element in this kind of construction. One of which serves as the main verb which is called a 'host' and the other verbal element is termed 'light verb'. There are two types of complex

verbs conventionally. Conjunct verb and Compound verbs. These two kinds of complex verbs are explained below with examples.

Conjunct verb:

Conjunct verbs are entities that are formed by a nominal element and a verbal element. The construction allows a noun or an adjective to be the host. And the second element is called a ‘light verb’. The host is attached to the light verb. The transitivity of the verb does not affect the construction. A light verb in this construction could be transitive or intransitive. However not all the verbs participate in conjunct verb construction. But the nouns that act as the host must be abstract nouns. The nominal should be under the verb phrase but is not allowed to be an argument of the clause of the light verb it is attached to.

68. a:l ram-ni nempu mən-t-ali
She-3SF-NOM ram-ACC remember do-PST-3SF
‘She remembered Ram.’

69. sita ram-ni mɑ:pʊ məl-p-ali
sita-3SF-NOM Ram-ACC forgiveness do-PRES-3SF
‘Sita forgave Ram.’

70. a:ye a:l-gi tɑma:sə mal-t-e
he-3SM-NOM she-3SF-DAT insult do-PST perf-3SM
‘He insulted her.’

71. jokulu ili-ni gəliju man-t-eri
children-3PL-NOM house-3SNeut-ACC dirty-ADJ do-PST perf-3PL
‘Children made the house dirty.’

In the above sentence the host is an adjective /galiju/ ‘dirty’. And the adjective being in the position of the host makes it a conjunct verb construction in Tulu. The adjective /galiju/ ‘dirty’ is followed by the verb ‘do’ and is not an auxiliary in the sentence.

Compound verbs:

A compound verb is the combination of two verbs. The construction has both the host and light verb within a verb phrase. The first verb is called ‘polar verb’ or the main verb and the second verb is called as ‘vector verb’ or the light verb. The main verb has semantic dominance. The vector verb is bleached or in other words its semantic features have been reduced. Hence it does not add any semantic value of the main verb. But the vector verb does take all the inflections for tense aspect mood and person-number distinction and works as an auxiliary in some sentences. This light verb is grammaticalized which leads to the loss of the semantic features and hence does not modify the semantic value of the verb.

In Tulu language, the main verb or the polar verb takes what can be called the ‘conjunct particle marker’ /-di/ and the light verb takes the agreement inflection markers.

V1 + V2=Compound verb

V1 + cpm V2 + inflection = Compound verb

In Tulu the frequently occurring vector verbs are /məɽpu/ ‘to do’ and /po/ ‘to go’. The compound verb construction is not rich in Tulu. It has very limited set of vector verbs. Both the main polar verb and the vector verb are transitive verbs in Tulu language. Some of the compound verb constructions are given below along with examples.

72. a:ye bu:r-di po-y-e
 He-3SM-NOM fell-cpm go-PST-3SM
 ‘He fell down.’

73. enkulo pu:ra: kukku tiŋ-d-di pa:d-y-ε
 We-1PL-NOM all mango eat-PST-cpm put-PST-1PL
 ‘We ate all the mangoes.’

74. a:l be:le pu:ra: məl-t-di buḍj-y-al
She-3SF-NOM work all do-PST-cpm leave-PST-3SF
'She completed all the work.'

In the above sentences combination of polar verbs and vector verbs in Tulu and how the compound verbs in Tulu are constructed using the conjunctive particle marker '-di' is exemplified.

Mood

The term mood is described as something that ‘*relates the speaker’s attitude towards the situation or the speaker’s commitment to the probability that the situation is true*’ by Payne³¹. Mood conveys attitude. It is conveyed through two ways in a language. It is expressed either through grammatical inflections which are marked on the verb. Or modal verbs are another way through which a language manifests mood. Some languages indicate mood periphrastically too. It is possible for a language to exhibit both the mechanisms but one of them always tends to be the dominant feature.

The terms mood and modality are often confused and used interchangeably. However there is a difference between the terms. Palmer explains this difference ‘*modality is the linguistic mechanism that is concerned with the encoding of information regarding the status of the proposition described by the event.*’

Mood can express a wish, command, describe a fact etc.

Indicative mood:

This mood expresses factual statements, beliefs and asks questions about an action. It can occur with moods in habitual and perfective aspects.

75. ya:n market-gi po-p-ε
I-1S-NOM market-DAT go-PRES-1S
‘I go to the market.’

76. Ram book o:d-d-itt-e
Ram -3SM-NOM bu:kʊ read-PST PERF-3SM
‘Ram has read the book.’

³¹ Payne(1997)

77. i: kate-ni e:r bəre-t-eri
 this-3NEUT(prox) story- ACC who write-PRES PERF-3PL
 ‘Who has written this story?’

In the above sentences indicative mood is expressed in habitual aspect and perfective aspect. Mood can also occur with verbs in Imperfective aspect.

Imperative mood:

The function of this mood is to make commands and requests. Imperative mood also demonstrates prohibitions, advice and warnings. Semantically they are always expressed in future tense. But the verb does not take any future tense marker and there is no future tense copular verb in the construction. Since imperative mood performs the function of a command or request, they are always directed towards the listener and are hence the subject of the sentence is in the second person singular or plural. The verb agrees with the subject in person and number and hence takes the second person inflectional marker on the verb depending upon the number and honorificity. Commands and requests that are made to the third person indirectly also fall under this category. Imperative mood is not compatible with present and past tense.

Pronoun can be dropped*

78. iɖe bələ
 here come
 ‘come here.’

79. ba:kilʊ deppule
 door open
 ‘Open the door.’

80. po
go-IMP
'go'

81. i: po-lə
you-2S-NOM go-IMP-2S
'you go'

Subjunctive Mood:

Palmer (2001) describes subjunctive mood as 'a status of non-assertion of the proposition described by the event.' This mood expresses hypothetical situations and events that have not occurred yet. These statements do not exist in reality and can be used to demonstrate wish, opinion, judgement, desire etc. Subjunctive forms are generally demonstrated through constructions with a sub-ordinate clause. Statements made in this mood are generally not part of everyday speech situations.

*'A proposition is worthy of non-assertion when 1.The speaker doubts its veracity, 2.It is unrealized or 3.It is presupposed.'*³²

Counterfactual:

Counterfactuals are mood that express hypothetical events. These are conditional statements typically consisting of two clauses. The validity of one clause is dependent on the other. The truth value of one statement validates the other.

82 i: enan lettin-də yɑ:n bər-p-ε
you-2S-NOM me-1S-ACC call-CFL I-1S-NOM come-PRES-1S
'If you call me, I will come.'

³² Lunn(1995:430)

83. i: Hyderabad-di uttun-də eḍḍe a: -t-u
you-2S-NOM Hyderabad-LOC live-CFL good be-PST-3NEUT
'It would have been good if you have lived in Hyderabad.'

Counterfactuals are expressed in Tulu language by affixing the marker ‘-də’ to the verb in the construction.

Presumptive mood:

This is a mood used to express the judgement or inference or an opinion of the speaker. This construction consists of a presumption. There is a lack of certainty to the statement. The speaker makes a speculation about the occurrence of an event.

84. akulu ille-gi bəttudu upp-odu
they-3PL-NOM house-DAT come-IMFV BE PST-must
'they must have come home'

85. Ram o:donti upp-odu
Ram -3SM-NOM read PROG- BE PRES BE PST-must
'Ram must be reading now.'

Summary

The present study aims to explore the concept of tense and aspect in Tulu language. An attempt is made to describe how the language marks the tense and aspect features grammatically and analyze the internal constituents.

Tulu is a language that belongs to the Dravidian language family. The Dravidian language family is one of the major language families of the Indo-European language family. Tulu is a South Dravidian language that exhibits certain amount of Central Dravidian and North Dravidian features. The language is spoken in the southern part of Karnataka and certain parts of Kerala and the whole region is termed as Tulunadu. It has 18, 46,427 number of speakers according to 2011 census. Grierson classifies this language belonging to the Type 5a.

The first chapter of this study presents the introduction to the language, the geographical location and its classification based on division done by Grierson and Bh Krishnamurthy. The history of the script and language is explained briefly. Various dialects of Tulu language and the differences between them were demonstrated within the scope of the study. Unique features of the language and land, other languages spoken in the place are elucidated. The rich treasure of cultural art forms are briefly described.

The second chapter deals with a review of the existing literature available on Tulu language. The language lacks literary tradition owing to the absence of script. The advent of missionaries resulted in literary works of Tulu language using the Kannada script. *Descriptive Grammar of Tulu* by Brigel , *Classification of Tulu Dialects* by Kekunnaya and such were reviewed. Literature related to the current topic of tense and aspect are assessed.

The third chapter deals with the general notion of tense and aspect. Concept of tense and aspect are defined and explained concisely.

The fourth chapter is the main chapter. It analyzes the tenses realized in Tulu language. Tulu has three tenses – past, present and future. Tulu realizes this category grammatically through the use of inflectional suffixes. The affixing on the verb is presented as stem + inflectional suffix(tense marker) + PNG marker. It has been observed that the language uses ‘-tt/t, -ḍ. -y’ as the past tense markers, ‘-p’ as the present tense marker and ‘-v’ as the future tense marker. The markers for transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs are the same.

The fifth chapter explores the aspectual category of Tulu language. Tulu marks two aspects- perfective and imperfective. The perfective is expressed as stem + PROG + BE PERF + PNG marker. It can be seen that the perfective marker occurs along with copula ond, and itt in past tense and ull in future tense. However the present tense does not take the progressive marker while forming a perfective sentence.

The causative construction, moods marked in the language are discussed and exemplified briefly. Counterfactuals, presumptive mood are represented.

Though the cultural forms of the land are researched extensively, linguistic works seem limited. There are areas that have not been explored yet. There is a lot scope for research in other aspects of linguistics like syntax. Since the language exhibits certain features of Central and North Dravidian, a comparative study of Tulu with one of these would make place for an interesting study.

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List of figures:

1.	Map of Karnataka	4
2.	Map of Tulunadu	4
3.	Tulu in the language cloud	5
4.	Grierson's classification of Tulu language	6
5.	Krishnamurthy's classification of Tulu language	7
6.	Classification of Tulu dialects	11
7.	Image of Tigalari script	8
8.	Figure of yakshagana	14
9.	Time and tense scale	23
10.	comries's division of aspects	26

Appendix 1:

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive							
Voiceless	p	t̪		ʈ		k	
Voiced	b	d̪		ɖ		g	
Nasal	m	n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
Trill			r				
Affricate					tʃ dʒ		
Fricative		s					h (brahmin)
Approximant	w				j		
Lateral		l		ɭ			

Appendix 2:

Pronoun system:

Person	Singular		Plural	
I	yan		yenkulu/nəmə	
II	i:		nikulu/i:r	
III	Proximal	Distant	Proximal	Distant
Masc	imbe	aye	mi:r	ar
Fem	mo u	a j	mokulu	əkulu
Neut	indu/undu	əvu	undekulu	elkulu