

Expression of adjectival meaning in Kannada¹

Sindhu Herur

The English and Foreign Languages University (EFLU), Hyderabad, India.

1. Introduction

This paper explores the expression of adjectival meaning in Kannada. Adjectival meaning in Kannada is expressed through nouns, an idea established in Amritavalli & Jayaseelan (2003). Employing the semantic notion of *Property Concept* (PC) (Dixon 1982), to evaluate relevant data, the study proposes, in addition to nouns, a small, closed-class of functional adjectives in the language. The predication structures required by PCs² in Kannada work to further strengthen the analysis.

A *property concept term* or a *property concept lexeme*, in the sense of Francez and Koontz-Garboden (2015), is a morphologically simple lexical item which maybe lexicalised as an adjective in languages that have a lexical category of adjectives. In English, a language that has a lexical category of adjectives, the property of *height* is expressed by the adjective *tall*. This is the sense in which the term *property concept* was stated in Dixon (1982). However, in a language like Kannada wherein nouns are used to express *property concepts*, I apply this term to nouns that express a property such as *height, weight, anger* etc. Such terms in Kannada are hence PC nouns. In this paper, as stated earlier, I put forward the proposal for a small, closed-class of adjectives which I shall refer to as PC adjectives. Thus a PC lexeme maybe lexicalised as an adjective, a noun or a verb across languages to express a property.

¹ I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof .R. Amritavalli and my advisory committee head Dr.Rahul Balusu. All errors remain mine. Kannada in this paper refers to the standard Kannada of Bengaluru-Mysuru.

² In this paper, I use the notion of Property Concept (PC) in its broad sense to refer to lexical items, be it a noun or an adjective, which express adjectival meaning in Kannada.

Both these aspects, PCs and the realisation of these PCs in attributive and predicative contexts, lend to a broad consensus in understanding the expression of adjectival meaning in Dravidian in recent work — Balusu (2015) for Telugu and Menon (2013) and Menon & Pancheva (2014) for Malayalam.

We know that adjectives are analysed as expressions which denote relations between objects or individuals and abstract measures or degrees according to the *scalar analysis* in Kennedy (1997). The question then arises as to how PC nouns in Kannada in particular and Dravidian in general, expressing properties such as *anger*, *happiness*, *sadness*, *hunger*, etc. achieve truth conditions? In other words, how are PC nouns related to the individual they are attributive of? In this context, the semantics of possession of these *properties* comes into question as elaborated in Francez and Koontz-Garboden (2010; 2015) wherein certain languages like Ulwa are described to use genitive case to utilise PC nouns attributively and predicatively. In Kannada we shall see that PC nouns employ both the genitive and the dative case to encode possession in attributive and predicative contexts respectively.

Interestingly, the small, closed-class of adjectives in Kannada are the same in Malayalam and Telugu. By this, I mean that the same group of PCs exhibiting the same characteristics are found in Kannada, Malayalam, Telugu and Tamil. However, for Telugu, Balusu (2015) does not make a mention of this group and Menon and Pancheva (2014) have chosen to treat them as roots which take the help of functional architecture to be realised as PCs. My analysis in this paper does not take a pre-lexical perspective as in Menon and Pancheva (2014) but a lexical one and I treat them as a closed class of functional words which exhibit all the characteristics of an adjective.

In addition, Kannada, unlike its sister languages, has an overt instantiation of PC nouns like *udda* ‘height’ that take dative case, as in *udda-kke* ‘height-DAT’, in predication. I analyse *udda-kke* and its group members as adjectives. This supports Amritavalli and Jayaseelan’s (2003) claim (which we shall delve into further along) that universally nouns incorporate into dative case to be realised as adjectives. The Kannada data provides overt attestation for such a claim.

The outline of the paper is as follows. Section 1 was an introduction to this paper, placing this study in relevance to the current literature on adjectival expression in Dravidian languages. Section 2 is the main body of this paper. Section 2 begins with an account of the background work done to arrive at the descriptive facts of the data and is divided into two subsections, sub-section 2.1 and 2.2, dealing with PCs in Kannada in the attributive position and the predicative position respectively. Sub-section 2.2 dealing with PCs in the predicative position has two further sub-sections. Sub-section 2.2.1 discusses PC adjectives in the predicative position and sub-section 2.2.2 discusses PC nouns in the predicative position. A careful consideration of PC nouns in the predicative position calls for a re-formulation in the two simple groups of PCs in Kannada motivated thus far, namely, the functional closed-class of adjectives and nouns. Section 3 concludes the paper.

2. Property Concepts in Kannada

The background work to this paper is as follows. Working with a data set of fifty PCs in Kannada, tests of attribution and case marking provided the initial classification of PCs into PC adjectives and PC nouns in Kannada. I shall elaborate on these tests shortly. *Ollaya* ‘good’ exemplifies the group of PC adjectives and henceforth in this paper I refer to this group as the *ollaya* group. The predication structures of PC nouns reveal a further divide based on whether these nouns occur in only dative subject constructions or in dative as well as nominative subject constructions. A majority of the PC nouns behave like ‘true-blooded’ nouns and occur only in dative subject constructions. *Koopa* ‘anger’ represents this group of PC nouns and hence we shall refer to this

group as the *koopā* group. A small group of PC nouns however, occur predicatively in nominative as well as dative subject constructions. In nominative subject constructions, these PCs take dative case and are realised as adjectives. *Udda* ‘height’ represents this group of PC nouns and we shall call this group, the *udda-kke* ‘height-DAT’ group. I have summed up here, a three-way classification of PCs that the subsequent sub-sections will elaborate. The *oLleya* group of PC adjectives and the *koopā* group of PC nouns indicating two ends of the spectrum of PCs in Kannada and the *udda(kke)* group of PCs displaying the properties of both these groups. The dative case hence, plays a crucial role in PC noun predication in Kannada; in the sense of whether it is the subject that is case-marked or the PC noun which is case-marked.

2.1 Property Concepts in the attributive position

My first step was to identify if Kannada has adjectives at all. I employ a two-fold test in order to identify PC adjectives in Kannada. The first part of the test is to ascertain whether they can occur in the attributive position of NPs/DPs. The second part of the test is that the PCs should not take case. A handful of PC adjectives, were identified and are listed below in (1).

(1) Members of the ***oLleya* group** of PC adjectives in Kannada- *oLleya* ‘good’, *ketta* ‘bad’, *cikka* ‘small’, *doḍḍa* ‘big’, *hosa* ‘new’, *haḷeya* ‘old’, *yeḷeya* ‘tender’ and *baḍa* ‘poor’

However as the reader may observe in the list in (1) above, it appears difficult to determine a semantic basis for this group of functional lexemes. Below in (2) is the data for one of these adjectives, *oLleya*, being representative of its class, for the two mentioned tests. In (2a) we can see that *oLleya* occurs attributively in the prenominal position and in (2b) we can see that *oLleya* cannot take case.

(2) a. *oLleya huḍuga* / *oLleya huḍugi* / *oLleya huḍugaru* / *oLleya huḍugiyaru* / *oLleya maatu-ga* | u
good boy / good girl / good boys / good girls / good word-PL
‘good boy / good girl / good boys / good girls / good words’

b. **oLleya-da* / **oLleya-vannu* / **oLleya-kke* / **oLleya-dalli* / **oLleya-dinda*
good-GEN / good-ACC / good-DAT / good-LOC / good-ABL

Comparing this to a PC noun in Kannada like *koopā* ‘anger’, we see that the opposite holds true. *Koopā* cannot occur attributively without the help of genitive case (as seen in 3a-b); and in (3c) I illustrate the fact that *koopā* ‘anger’ can combine with various cases in Kannada as any ordinary noun would.

(3) a. *koopā maatu-ga[-u]

anger word-PL-NOM

‘*anger words’ (intended: ‘angry words’)

b. koopā-**da** maatu-ga[-u]

anger-GEN word-PL-NOM

‘words of anger’ (lit. anger’s words)

c. koopā-da / koopā-vannu / koopā-kke / koopā-dalli / koopā-dinda

anger-GEN / anger-ACC / anger-DAT / anger-LOC / anger-ABL

We have seen that *koopā*, a noun, can modify another noun attributively with the help of genitive case. We can liken the use of genitive case in the example above in (3b) to the genitive PP *of* in English. In a language like English too, a noun cannot directly modify another noun without the use of *of* (with the exception of compound nouns). This genitive PP signifies possessive semantics as illustrated by these examples- *the land of the rising sun* (ref. *the rising sun’s land*), *the home of the deceased* (ref. *the deceased’s home*) and *the music of the soul* (ref. *the soul’s music*).

Other PC nouns like *koopā* are listed in (4) and the reader may note that the list includes Sanskrit borrowings as well as native Dravidian nouns.

(4) Some members of the ***koopā* group** representing PC nouns in Kannada- *koopā* ‘anger’, *santōsha* ‘happiness’, *sukha* ‘contentment’, *dukha* ‘sadness’, *bhaara* ‘heaviness’, *bhaya* ‘fear’, *hagura* ‘lightness’, *sulabha* ‘ease’, *kaṣṭa* ‘difficulty’, *teḷuvu* ‘thinness’, *kobbu* ‘arrogance’ and *beesara* ‘sadness/sulk’

The reader may feel that both the *olḷeya* group of PC adjectives and the *koopā* group of PC nouns seem to end with *-a*. Phonologically, Kannada has an open syllable coda rule. Any lexeme, be it a functional or a lexical one, can never end with a consonant but have to always end in a vowel. As seen in the PC nouns listed in (4) above, lexemes end in *-a*, *-i*, *-e* or *-u*. It would therefore not be prudent to do a morphological analysis of all PCs in Kannada based on the *-a* in their coda position. Having said this, all PC adjectives in Kannada, without an exception, end in *-a* (as seen in 1). The genitive case marker in Kannada is also an *-a*. We have seen that PC adjectives resist genitive case marking (as seen in 2b) - *olḷeya* ‘good’ cannot become *olḷeya-da* ‘good-GEN’. However, we shall discuss a little later on that *-a* is a very versatile suffix in Kannada and is a case in syncretism. The *-a* is a marker of genitive case, a relative clause and a yes-no question.

The *koopā* group of PC nouns do not resist genitive case. Hence, the *-a* in *koop-a* cannot be genitive case but is the effect of the phonological rule of Kannada of a lexeme ending in an open syllable. *Koopā* and other PC nouns ending in *-a* take genitive case with a phonological consonant epenthesis rule being applied- *koopā* ‘anger’ becomes *koopā-d-a* ‘anger-GEN’. There is a clear difference in behaviour between the two groups of PCs described so far. Thus a straight-forward *-a* ending morphological test of PCs in Kannada will lead us nowhere.

With these tests of attribution and case-marking, we have an initial classification of PCs in Kannada into PC adjectives and PC nouns. PC adjectives are represented by *o||leya* ‘good’ and PC nouns are represented by *koopā* ‘anger’. The former does not combine with various case morphemes in Kannada while the latter does. Furthermore, we have noted that the former group, i.e., PC adjectives, can occur in their ‘bare’ form in attributive positions of NPs while the latter group, i.e., the PC nouns, require genitive case to attributively modify a noun.

2.2 Property Concepts in the predicative position

PC adjectives in Kannada occur predicatively in verbless copular clauses of the kind illustrated below in (5). We shall discuss this below in 2.2.1.

- (5) *ava|u* *o||leya-ava|u*.
 she-NOM good-she
 ‘She is a good person.’

PC nouns on the other hand cannot occur in such verbless copular clauses but require the copula to be overt. As illustrated below and mentioned earlier, the members of the *koopā* group of PC nouns occur only in dative subject constructions as seen in (6a-b). The *udda* group of PC nouns can occur in both nominative subject and dative subject constructions as seen in (7a-b). This latter point has been noted along with the corresponding data I have presented (7a-b), in Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2003; ex. 21 and 22).

- (6a) *avan-ige* *koopā* *id-e*. / (6b) **avan-u* *koopā-kke* *idd-aane*.
 he-DAT anger be-3.N.SG / he-NOM anger-DAT be-3.M.SG
 ‘He has anger.’ / ‘intended: He is angry.’

- (7a) *avan-u* *udda-kke* *idd-aane*. / (7b) *avan-ige* *udda* *id-e*.
 he-NOM height-DAT be-3.M.SG / he-DAT height be-3.N.SG
 ‘He is tall.’ / ‘He has (the) height.’

In Kannada PC nouns, as we shall see shortly, the classification is between PC nouns which can occur predicatively only in dative subject constructions vis a vis PC nouns that can occur in both the nominative subject construction (with the PC noun itself marked for dative case) and the dative subject construction. We shall also see that these two groups of PC nouns have a semantic basis for classification. Thus, with PC nouns in Kannada, the dative case is always present predicatively, either on the subject or on the PC noun.

2.2.1 Predication of Property Concept adjectives

Beginning with PC adjectives in Kannada, I have stated that they occur predicatively in verbless copular clauses. Let us examine such a clause. A sentence like ‘*John is a doctor*’ in Kannada has only an NP NP structure as illustrated in example (8). Such constructions are noted in Amritavalli (2000) as ‘verbless clauses’ of the form NP NP.

(8) John doctoru.

John doctor

‘John is (a/the) doctor.’

O||eya ‘good’ occurs predicatively in such a clause structure with a suffixal morpheme encoding what appears to be ‘agreement’ for number and gender. The invariant value for person is 3rd person. As the data demonstrates, these suffixal morphemes are homophonous with the pronominals in Kannada- *avanu* ‘he’, *avaLu* ‘she’ and *avaru* ‘they’.

(9) *avanu/huḍuga o||eya-avanu.* / *ava|u/huḍugi o||eya-ava|u.* / *avaru o||eya-avaru.*

he/boy good-he / she/girl good-she / they good-they

‘He/The boy is a good person/boy.’ / ‘She/The girl is a good person/girl.’ / ‘They are good people.’

The adjective *o||eya* ‘good’ cannot occur predicatively in its ‘bare’ form.

(10) **avanu/huḍuga o||eya.*

he/boy good

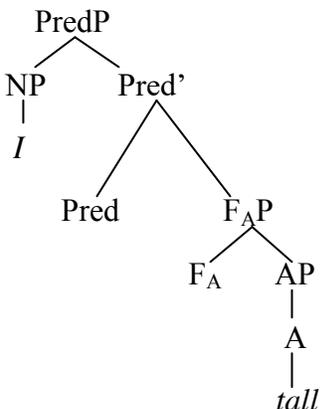
‘Intended: He/ The boy is good.’

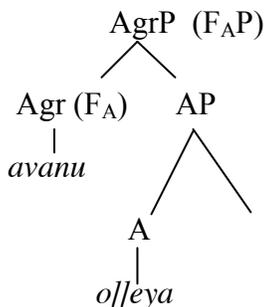
The data in (9) and (10) above, leads us to two ways of analysing the suffixal morpheme on the *olleya* group of functional adjectives in their predicative position. The *avanu*, *aval* and *avaru* morphemes that combine with the adjective can be analysed as below, either as adjectival agreement (as in 11a) or a pronominal (as in 11b). At the phrasal level, the two analyses hence predict different complements, either an AP or an NP complement.

(11a) [[_{NP} *avanu*] [_{AP} [_{Ag_rP} *avanu*] [_{AP} *olleya*]]] → [NP AP] clause structure

(11b) [[_{NP} *avanu*] [_{NP} [_{FP} *olleya*] [_{NP} *avanu*]]] → [NP NP] clause structure

According to the first analysis as illustrated in (11a), the data in (9) would have an NP AP clause structure, wherein these morphemes would be analysed as some sort of adjectival agreement in the predicative position (though they do not show agreement in the attributive position). Adopting Baker's (2008) schema as illustrated in (12) for predicate adjectives, we could represent the *adjectival agreement approach* as in (13)³ - the AgrP headed by the *avanu* morpheme would be a functional layer in the domain of the A.

(12)  [structure for 'I am tall'; Baker 2008; pg 37; ex 58b]

(13) 

³Baker (2008) when discussing Kannada data from Sridhar (1990) suggests treating phrases like *olleya-avanu* as predicate nominal constructions rather than as predicate adjectival constructions with agreement. Thus, (13) is not a representation Baker uses to explain the Kannada data. However, for the purpose of this discussion, I adopt Baker's (2008) schematic representation of a predicative adjective.

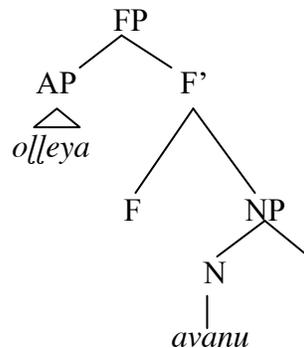
When we consider Baker’s (2008) detailed cross-linguistic analysis of the distribution and behaviour of adjectives in the attributive and the predicative positions, *olleya* in *avanu olleya-avanu* ‘He is a good person (lit. *he good-he*)’ can be analysed as an adjective that attributively shows no agreement but predicatively agrees for number and gender. In such a case, the subject NP has interpretable features of person, number and gender while the *avanu* in ‘*olleya-avanu*’ has uninterpretable features that check for number and gender only (consistent with Baker’s 2008 theory of adjective agreement). However, Baker (2008: 61-62) argues that adjectives that don’t agree attributively cannot possibly show agreement predicatively. He brings up the Kannada data (ref. Sridhar 1990:249-50) as a possible counterexample to his proposal, but goes on to refute such a possibility. Baker then proposes the solution that *olleya-avanu* is not a predicate adjective construction but a predicate nominal construction (this is also Sridhar’s view). Then the “agreement” is not by Agree (Chomsky 2000). Baker (2008:10-11) would explain it as semantic agreement: the subject NP and the object NP are inserted at random and then their semantic features are matched. If there is a match the utterance is realised. Hence, the features on both the nouns are interpretable. This is similar to the *accidental co-reference* of pronominal coreference Lasnik (1976). Sentence (14) is an example of semantic agreement.

(14) He is an actor/ *He is an actress.

If we adopt Baker’s (2008) explanation of this clause structure in Kannada, we run into some problems. The semantic agreement solution has not been elaborated upon in his work. Even if we take the semantic agreement as a possible solution, there is sufficient proof that only the subject pronominal is referential and the suffixal pronominal can never be referential. Thus a featuring matching explanation between the two NPs will not be possible. On the other hand, treating the predicate as an AP which shows agreement, does not seem to hold water. Firstly, it would be problematic to propose a separate clause structure for a small, closed-class of functional lexemes. Secondly, as Baker (2008) notes, adjectives that do not show agreement in the attributive position cannot ‘agree’ predicatively.

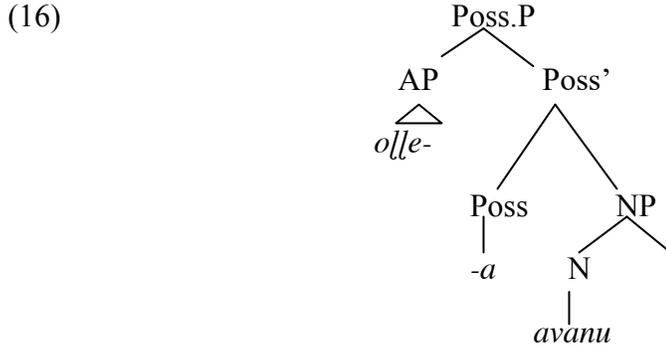
Let us turn now to the second analysis as illustrated in (11b) which would predict an NP NP clause structure wherein *olleya* ‘good’ would be treated as a ‘nominalised adjective’. Adopting Cinque’s (2010) framework, we could represent it as follows. The AP *olleya* is in the [Spec, FP] position where FP represents a functional projection. The F head chooses an NP as its complement headed by the pronominal *avanu*.

(15)



Under this approach then *olleya* maybe realised as *olle-* which is a root, which attaches to *-a*, the genitive case marker in Kannada. The genitive case is the head of the functional layer which aids the root *olle-* to en-

derivation process. As explained in (17) below, *olle+ya* can now modify its nominal complement. At the moment, I am not certain whether I would have to treat the root as a nominal root or a bare root and I keep this question aside for now. We can now re-analyse the representation in (15) above to capture this idea. We have to thus motivate a Possessive Phrase (Poss.P), in the re-representation of (15) in (16) below, whose head is the genitive/possessive case marker *-a* and whose specifier position hosts the root *oLLe-*. The specifier-head combine and the resultant Poss.P selects and modifies its NP complement.



(17) *olle + (y⁴) a = olleya* (lit. meaning ‘of goodness’, ‘goodness’)

olleya-avanu would then literally mean ‘he of goodness’, ‘goodness’s one’

This idea captured in (16-17) above can be seen through, as all the members of the *olleya* group end with *-a* – *ketta* ‘bad’, *hosa* ‘new’, *halleya* ‘old’, *yeleya* ‘tender’, *cikka* ‘small’ and *doḍḍa* ‘big’. However, there is one problem. The suffix *-a* is also the relative clause marker in Kannada. Hence, another option would be to treat *olleya-avanu* as a relative clause in terms of ‘one who is good’. The suffixal *-a* in Kannada thus is a case in syncretism. Its varied uses include being a genitive case marker, a relative clause marker and a yes-no question particle as mentioned earlier in this paper as well. Either of the two analyses (the genitive case explanation or the relative clause explanation) posit *olleya* in the domain of the NP and hence syncretism does not pose any real problem to the analysis.

A piece of evidence in support of an NP NP structure is that, the predicate NP can take various case markings.

(18a) *olleya-avan-a* / *olleya-avan-annu* / *olleya-avan-ige* / *olleya-avan-alli* / *olleya-avan-inda*
 good-he-GEN / good-he-ACC / good-he-DAT / good-he-LOC / good-he-ABL

When the data in (18a) is realised in a sentence, the pronominal in the examples below, *avanu* ‘he’ in (18b) and *avaru* in (18c), is always non-referential.

⁴ consonant epenthesis rule in Kannada phonology.

(18b) ava[-u obba **o||eya-avan-annu** maduve-yaagalu bayasi-da|u.
 she-NOM one good-he-ACC marriage-happen desire-3.F.SG
 ‘She desired to marry a good man.’

(18c) avan-u **o||eya-avar-ige** haṇa koṭṭu sahaaya maad-utt-id-danu.
 he-NOM good-they-DAT money give help do-IMPER.-be-PST-3.M.SG
 ‘He used to help by giving money to good people.’

A desirable outcome of analysing the –a as a genitive case marker would be that, there is a uniform paradigm for PCs occurring attributively and modifying a noun in Kannada. In such an analysis, all PCs in Kannada, whether PC nouns or PC adjectives, would take the help of genitive case in the attributive position, to modify a noun.

2.2.2 Predication of Property Concept nouns

Coming to PC nouns, a sub-classification is motivated on the basis of whether they can occur predicatively bearing dative case in nominative-subject constructions or not. For the convenience of reading, I have repeated the data in (6-7) in (19, 24 and 25). Below is the predication structure of PC noun *udda* ‘height’ which becomes *udda-kke* ‘height-DAT’ predicatively. This is the *uddakke* group.

(19) raama **udda-kke** idd-aane.⁵
 Rama(nom.) height-DAT be-3.M.SG
 ‘Rama is tall.’

. *Udda-kke* in (19) is analysed as an adjective following the analysis put forward in Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2003) that a noun like *udda* incorporates into case to result in a syntactic category of adjectives. We may hence represent *udda-kke* as in (20) below.

⁵ This construction is attested in my variety of Kannada and may not be in other varieties of the language. Further more (as far as my knowledge goes) this construction is not attested in Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu or Tulu. It is interesting to note however that this pair (7a-b) exists in Marathi. I would like to thank Ashwini Deo for bringing this to my notice (p.c).

a. Raam unchi-laa aahe. / b. Raam-laa unchi aahe.
 Ram-NOM height-DAT be-3.sg / Raam-DAT height be-3.sg
 ‘Ram is tall.’ / ‘Ram has (the) height.’

(20) *udda*_n + *-kke*_{dat} = *uddakke*_{adj}

To quote Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2003) on the nature of the debate on derived forms such as *udda-kke* (2003; pg 70), ‘Whether the derived forms are categorially compositional, or categorially different from the components, has been open to debate. There are only a few indisputable underived adjectives, such as *ollēya* ‘good.’ The question then becomes, what characterises a lexical category vis a vis a semantic type or a syntactic category? To answer this question would be beyond the scope of this paper and I leave this discussion to further research. The study (Amritavalli and Jayaseelan 2003) adopts the framework of Lexical Relational Structure (LRS) from Hale and Keyser (1993) to explain the role of case, the dative case specifically, to propose that all three of the representations below in (21) can be derived from the same underlying thematic structure. The thematic structure of (21a) is representative of the dative experiencer construction we have noted for the *koopā* group of PC nouns in predication. The *to* represents the dative case on the subject DP. The thematic structure of (21b) is representative of the canonical English adjectival predication and is also representative of the *udda-kke* construction we just encountered in (19). So while English incorporates the dative case into the noun to result in a separate lexical category of adjectives, Kannada provides overt evidence for such an incorporation account with *udda-kke* ‘PC noun-DAT’. Kannada does not have the thematic structure of (21c) as the language does not have the verb *have*. The dative case in English incorporates with the *be* verb to result in the verb *have*. So while Kannada has (21a-b) in its inventory of thematic structures, it does not have (21c). English on the other hand attests (21b-c) but not (21a) because it has lost ‘strong’ case features.

- (21) a. to-DP be NP e.g. raaman-ige koopā ide. [Amritavalli and Jayaseelan 2013; ex 20]
 b. DP(nom.) be AdjP e.g. I am happy.
 c. DP(nom.) have NP e.g. I have happiness.

Thus the occurrence of the dative experiencer construction in a language is in fact a diagnostic to suggest that such a language would not have a lexical category of adjectives. This discussion has provided a syntactic account of *udda-kke* ‘height-DAT’.

We continue now to a brief yet interesting semantic account of *udda-kke* ‘height-DAT’. Following Amritavalli (2013), we may analyse *udda-kke* as a resultative with the dative case encoding the path. Amritavalli (2013) discusses the example below as an accomplishment resultative in Kannada wherein the resultee, *roTTi* ‘bread’, is a transitive object and the noun *dappa* ‘thickness’ here is dative case-marked and this fulfils the role of an adjective.

- (22) *avanu* *roṭṭi-yannu* ***dappa-kke*** *laṭṭisida(nu)*. [Amritavalli 2013 ; ex 38]
 he-NOM bread-ACC thick(ness)-DAT rolled out

‘He rolled the bread out thick.’

The example below again indicates a *path*, with *udda-kke*, along which the trees grew.

(23) mara-ga[-u **udda-kke** be[e-d-avu.
tree-PL-NOM height-DAT grow-PST-3.N.PL

‘The trees grew tall. (Lit. The trees grew to a height.)’

The similar construction in English encodes the semantics of a resultative with a dative *to*- *She honed her skills to perfection* [Amritavalli 2013; ex 40]. Thus, the *udda-kke* group of PCs are a group of PC nouns which have inherent gradability and hence can incorporate with dative case which helps denote a degree or extent to the property through a path projection from the Ramchand (2008) framework. The *udda* group of PCs as listed below in (26) denote tangible, physical properties and hence I propose, come with inherent gradability unlike the *koopa* group.

Interestingly this sub-class of nouns can also occur in a dative subject construction with the meaning of *X has the property Y for something* as in (24) below.

(24) raaman-ige **udda** id-e.
Raama-DAT height be-3N

‘Raama has height.’

To distinguish these two types of constructions in (19 and 24), we can understand it better when we draw a parallel to their respective counterparts in English, *Raama is tall* and *Raama has height*. Just as in English, in Kannada too, *Raama has height* is the more marked of the two constructions. However, with the right context, the construction in (24) is fully acceptable just as it would be in English; for example, in a context like *Raama has the height (to join the basketball team)*. This aspect holds true for all the members of the *uddakke* group as listed below in (26).

The PC nouns that cannot occur in nominative-subject constructions such as *koopa*, occur predicatively, only in dative-subject constructions, as seen in (25) below.

(25) raaman-ige **koopa** id-e. / *raama **koopa-kke** idd-aane.

Rama-DAT anger be-3.N.SG / Rama(nom.) anger-DAT be-3.M.SG

‘Rama is angry.’ (Lit. Rama has anger) / ‘Intended: Rama is angry.’

Despite not being able to find a semantic basis for the *olleya* group of PC adjectives, there is a semantic basis for the *koopa* and the *uddakke* groups. The *koopa* group of nouns (as listed in 4) encode psycho-somatic properties. The *udda(kke)* group of PCs encode physically tangible or measurable properties and are listed below in (26).

(26) Members of the ***udda(kke)*** group of PCs in Kannada- *udda* ‘height’, *saṇṇa* ‘thinness’, *dappa* ‘fatness/thickness’, *yetra* ‘height’, *kuḷḷa* ‘shortness’, *agala* ‘width’, *nuṇṇa* ‘smoothness’, *bisi* ‘hotness’, *taṇṇa* ‘coldness’, *mett* ‘softness’, *gaṭṭi* ‘hardness’ etc.

3. Conclusion

The paper began by stating that Kannada employs nouns to express adjectival meaning but also employs a small, closed-class of functional adjectives. By adopting the notion of Property Concept expressions from Dixon (1982), we referred to these two groups as PC nouns and PC adjectives. Tests of attribution and case-marking on a data set of fifty PCs in Kannada helped sort the PCs into the two groups, exemplified by *koopa* ‘anger’ for PC nouns and *olleya* ‘good’ for PC adjectives. We saw that in the attributive position, the *olleya* group of PC adjectives could modify an NP in their ‘bare’ form. PC nouns could not occur in their ‘bare’ form attributively and required genitive case to modify an NP. The predicative position revealed interesting aspects about PCs in Kannada. The *olleya* group of PC adjectives occurred predicatively in ‘verbless’ copular clauses. Such clauses are well-attested in Kannada and have an NP NP skeletal structure. We had two choices before us in the treatment of the *avanu olleya-avanu* ‘he good-he’ clause- to either treat it as an NP AP or an NP NP clause structure. We chose to treat it as an NP NP clause structure wherein *olleya* in the predicative NP was a nominalised adjective. Such a nominalisation process was explained by decomposing *olleya* as *olle* and *-a*, wherein the suffixal *-a* maybe a genitive case marker (possessive marker) or a relative clause head as the same marker is used for both purposes in Kannada. Either ways, this did not affect the analysis of the predicate ultimately being the maximal projection of a nominal head. Coming to PC nouns in the predicative position, we realise that PC nouns were not a uniform, homogenous category exemplified by *koopa* ‘anger’. *Koopa* occurred predicatively only in the dative experiencer construction. A group of nouns exemplified by *udda* ‘height’ occurred predicatively, marked for dative case as *udda-kke* ‘height-DAT’ and hence analysed as PC adjectives according to the Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2003) account. This was a syntactic account of the *udda-kke* construction and analysed *udda-kke* as a syntactically derived adjectival form. I also attempted to provide a brief account of this construction in terms of a semantic understanding of *udda-kke*. Here, the dative case in *udda-kke* denoted a PathP according to Amritavalli (2013) in which the Ramchand (2008) framework was employed to explain achievement resultatives in Kannada. Thus a PC noun like *udda* ‘height’ has inherent gradability or measurability and hence combines with dative case which encodes the extant or measure of *udda*. Such an analysis of the *udda-kke* group of PCs is based on very clear and transparent semantics wherein all the group members are examples of tangible, physically measurable properties such as height, weight, width, length, temperature and texture. The *koopa* group of PC nouns also have a semantic basis of being PC nouns which

encode psycho-somatic properties. The *olleya* group of PC adjectives are only about eight in number and seem to be a closed-class without a semantic basis to them. They seem to ‘frozen’ forms of some kind, roots probably as analysed in Menon (2013) and Balusu (2015), ‘frozen’ in the evolution of Dravidian as a language family as its counterparts are found across Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu.

References

- Amritavalli, R. 2000.** *Kannada Clause Structure*. In R. Singh et al. (eds.), *The Yearbook of South Asian Language and Linguistics*, pp. 11-30. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Amritavalli, R. 2013.** *Result Phrases and Dative Experiencers in Kannada*. 19th International Congress of Linguists (ICL) Papers. Edited, published and distributed by Département de Linguistique de l’Université de Genève, Rue de Candolle 2, CH-1205 Genève, Switzerland.
- Amritavalli, R. and Jayaseelan, K.A. 2003.** *The genesis of syntactic categories and parametric variation*. Proceedings of the 4th GLOW in Asia, pp. 19- 41. Seoul: Hancock.
- Baker, Mark C. 2008.** *The Syntax of Agreement and Concord*. Cambridge University Press.
- Balusu, Rahul . 2015.** *Comparison, predication and lexical semantics of PC nouns in Telugu*.
- Cinque, G. 2010.** *The Syntax of Adjectives- A comparative study*. The MIT Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W., 1982.** *Where have all the adjectives gone? And other essays in semantics and syntax*. Berlin:Mouton
- Francez, Itamar and Koontz-Garboden, Andrew. 2015.** *Semantic variation and the grammar of Property Concepts*. Language volume: 91, issue-3, pp.533-563.
- Kennedy, Christopher D. 1997.** Projecting the adjective: The syntax and semantics of gradability and comparison. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California, Santa Cruz002E
- Menon, Mythili. 2013.** *The Apparent Lack of Adjectival Category in Malayalam and other Related Languages*. In Nobu Goto, Koichi Otaki, Atsushi Sato, Kensuke Takita eds. Proceedings of Glow-in-Asia IX 2012: The Main Session. Mie University, Japan. Pp. 157-171.
- Menon, Mythili and Roumyana Pancheva. 2014.** *The grammatical life of property concept roots in Malayalam*. In U. Etxeberria, A. Fălăuş, A. Irurtzun, B. Leferman, Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 2013. pp. 289-302.
- Sridhar, S. N. 1990.** *Kannada*. London: Routledge.

Sindhu Herur Subramanya

sindhu.herur@gmail.com