

Toda Verbs 'to be' and 'to become'

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In this account, we will present an analysis of the basic finite forms of various verbs of Toda language that have the general meaning of 'to be, to become'. The verbal roots *wiḍ-*, *il-*, *oṛṭh-*, *oṭh-*, *oṛx-*, *wiḷṭh-* used individually or in certain combinations have the general range of meanings of 'to be, to exist, to become, not to be'. Some of them (individually or in combinations) may or may not be marked for tense. These differences are given in Table 1:

	TL	Pa	Npa	Verb	Sample 1s
1 Existential	+			wiḍ-	wiḍ-pini
2 Existential (Tense marked)		+	+	wiḍ-oṛx-	wiḍ-oṛyṣpini
3 Neg. existential	+			il-	ill-ṛni
4 Neg. existential	+			oṛṭh-	oṛṭh-fin-i
5 Neg. existential (Tense marked)		+	+	oṛṭh-oṛx-	oṛṭh-oṛyṣpini
6 Equational	+			oṭh-	oṭh-fin-i
7 Neg. Equational	+			oṛx-	oṛx-ṛni
8 to become (Tense marked)		+	+	oṛx-	oṛyṣpini
9 to stay, to be present				wiḷṭh-	wiḷṭh-

TL=Tenseless, Pa=Past, Npa=Non-past, 1s=1st person singular conjugation

Table 1

1. *wiḍ-* and *wiḷṭh-*

TGT (p.146b) lists the alternant forms *wiḷḍ-/wiḍ-* meaning 'to be' and further states that "*wiḍ-* is found in the 3rd person and *wiḷḍ-* in all the others". However, we find that verbs *wiḷṭh-* (=TGT's *wiḷḍ-*) and *wiḍ-* are not alternants but are individual verbs with complete sets of conjugations - except in 3rd person, where only *wiḍ-* is used. They have some overlap in their meaning: *wiḍ-* generally meaning 'to exist' and *wiḷṭh-* 'to stay, to be present'. *wiḍ-* used alone signifies the meaning of 'to exist' without a time reference. TGT (p.147a) says: 'Although the reference of forms of this verb is generally present, there are passages where past meaning is clear.... It would seem that the paradigms are essentially tenseless'. In our observation, though this verb could be used with reference to a past event, it specifies 'existence' of something in the past at the time of reference still maintaining its tenselessness as in the following sentence:

nim pod-ṣ-k oṛn ay aṣ-ṣ wiḍ-pin-i
 you(pl) when.you.came I that house-in present-PN-DECP
 'When you came, I was present in that house'

wiḍ- does not enter into the past paradigm - thus **wiḍ-s-pini* 'I was' is not possible. However, the regular past/non-past distinction available with the majority of verbs is brought into this verb by compounding it with the auxiliary *oṛx-* 'to become'. This is further illustrated under the section on verb *oṛx-*. In 2nd person conjugation, *wiḍ-* is used to denote respect given to the addressee as compared to the verb *wiḷṭh-*. E.g.,

'Are you(sg.) staying/living in that village?'

With respect: am-mod-ṣ ni' wiḍ-č-a'

Without respect: am-mod-ṣ ni' wiḷṭh-y-a'

'How many of you are there in that village?'

With respect: nim et-oṛ am-mod-ṣ wiḍ-tṣ

Without respect: nim et-oṛ am-mod-ṣ wiḷṭh-tṣ

Since honorificness is not expected with reference to first person, both verbs are used interchangeably in this person. In 3rd person inflection for both the paradigms only *wiḍ-* (but not *wiḷṭh-*) is used followed by *-ə* representing the PN marker. It may be noted that PN suffixes that have an initial *f-* (that corresponds to the initial *p-* of PN1 set of suffixes) occur only with verb bases that end in *ṭh-*, viz., *wiḷṭh-*, *oṭh-*, *oṛṭh-*.

Full paradigms of these two verbs are given in Table 2 along with corresponding forms from TGT (p.146), wherever available [in TGT as alternants *wiḷḍ-/wiḍ-* participate in a single paradigm].

	<i>wiḍ-</i>		<i>wiḷṭh-</i>			
	Pdml	Pdml	Pdml		Pdml	
				TGT Data		TGT Data
1s	wiḍ-pin-i	wiḍ-n	wiḷṭh-fin-i = wiḷḍbini	wiḷḍfini	wiḷṭh-n	wiḷḍn
1ep	wiḍ-pim-i	wiḍ-im	wiḷṭh-fin-i = wiḷḍbimi	wiḷḍfimi	wiḷṭh-im	wiḷḍm
1ip	wiḍ-pum-i	wiḍ-um	wiḷṭh-fum-i = wiḷḍbumi	wiḷḍfumi	wiḷṭh-um	wiḷḍm
2s	wiḍ-py-i > wiḍpi	wiḍ-č	wiḷṭh-fy-i = wiḷḍbi	wiḷḍfi (<wiḷḍ-f-y-i)	wiḷṭh-y	wiḷḍy
2p	wiḍ-tṣ-ṛ	wiḍ-tṣ	wiḷṭh-ṣ-ṛ	wiḷḍṣi	wiḷṭh-ṣ	wiḷḍṣ
3	wiḍ-ə-i > wiḍdi	wiḍ-ə	wiḷṭh-ə-i > wiḷḍdi	wiḷḍi	wiḷṭh-ə	wiḷḍ

Table 2

The 3rd person inflection for both *wiḍ-* and *wiḷṭh-* consists of the base *wiḍ-* followed by *-ə* representing the PN marker. In other words, *wiḷṭh-* does not occur in 3p

conjugation. When a declarative particle *-i* follows this in PdmI, the final *-d* of the base is geminated by a general rule of gemination that effects all verbs ending in *d-* resulting in the form *widd-*. Note that following a more widespread pattern of pronouncing word-initial *wi* as *u*, *wiθ-* and *wid-* are usually pronounced as *uθ-* and *ud-* respectively.

2. oθ- and oʀθ-

The verb *oθ-* is used only in the equational sense of 'to be' as in saying 'X is Y'. TGT gives PdmI and a partial PdmII of what it calls "be paradigm" of *oθ-*. In TGT, it has four shapes, viz., *o-*, *o'-*, *e-*, *e'-*. TGT further mentions that another 'parallel' paradigm (PdmI) was elicited which has the verb *oθ-*, which it calls 'somewhat suspect'. TGT does not have any PdmII forms for these verbs.

The verb *oʀθ-* has the existential meaning of 'not to be'. It is the negative counterpart of *wid-* 'to exist'. TGT has this verb which it mentions as a 'somewhat rarely recorded verb'. The full paradigms of these two verbs along with the available corresponding forms from TGT are listed in Table 3.

	oθ-			oʀθ-			
	PdmI		PdmII	PdmI		PdmII	
	TGT						
	(2 alternant paradigms)						
1s	oθ-fin-i	o(·)feni, e(·)feni	oθfeni	oθ-n	oʀθ-fin-i	oʀθfeni	oʀθ-n
1ep	oθ-fim-i	oʀfemi, efimi	oθfemi	oθ-ʔim	oʀθ-fim-i	oʀθfemi	oʀθ-ʔim
1ip	oθ-fum-i	oʀfumi	oθfumi	oθ-um	oʀθ-fum-i	oʀθfumi	oʀθ-um
2s	oθ-fy-i > o(θ)-fi	oʀfy-i > oʀfi	oθfi	oθ-y	oʀθ-fy-i > oʀθ-fi	oʀθfi	oʀθ-y
2p	oθ-s-ʔi	oθši, efi	oθši	oθ-s	oʀθ-s-ʔi	oʀθši	oʀθ-s
3	ʔ-θ-i > ʔyi	o(·)θi	oθi	ʔ-u > u	oʀθ-θ-i	oʀθi	oʀθ-θ

Table 3

Peculiarities of the Paradigm:

In PdmI, instead of the expected 3person form with *oθ-*, we get *ʔ-y-i*. *ʔ-* is an alternant of the verb *oʀx ~ oʀy* 'to become'. The *-y-* in *ʔyi* is a morphophonemic addition. Treating *ʔ-* in *ʔyi* as a representative of the verb base has parallel in the PaI and PaII of *wid-* and also of *oʀθ-*. Compare 3person forms of these verbs: *wid-θ-i > widdi*; *ʔ-θ-i > ʔyi*. In these forms, the additional *d* and *y* are products of morphophonemic addition. In PdmII, 3 person too, *ʔ-* is the form of the verb alternant with a change of *ʔ-u > u*. E.g., *aθ keloč-ʔ-u aʔ > keločua*: 'Is she an old woman?'

3. il-

This verb is somewhat different from the majority of verbs. It has only one stem [as compared to two stems (S1 and S2) of most of the other verbs]. Also it occurs only in the Negative Paradigm. Since only S1 stem of a verb occurs in the Negative Paradigm of a verb, one can interpret *il-* as the S1 form. Table 4 gives the paradigm of this verb along with corresponding forms from TGT.

	TGT			
	PdmI	PdmII	PdmI	PdmII
1s	il-ʔn-i	il-ʔn	ileni	ilen
1ep	il-ʔm-i	il-ʔm	ilemi	ilem
1ip	il-om-i	il-um	ilumi	ilum
2s	il-ʔfy-i	il-ʔiy	ilefi	ilefy
2p	il-s-ʔi	il-ʔs	ilši	ilš
3	il-ʔ-i > iliyi	il-ʔθ	iloθi, iliyi	iloθ, iliy

Table 4

il- and *oʀθ-* have a similar range of meaning. *il-* is used (in alternation with *oʀθ-*) in three types of constructions. They are: (1) dative subject constructions, (2) constructions with a verbal noun as the subject, (3) in a complex predicate after a subordinate clause. Examples:

al ʔr mi-s-pik pul oʀθi / iliyi 'There is no grass there for buffalos to graze'
a kuʔx maš-poʔ pok oʀn oʀθfimi / ilini 'I was not there when she delivered'
ay oʔ-k noʔn iliyi / oʀθi 'That man has no shame'
en-k il monč iliyi / oʀθi 'I don't feel like being here'

Compare the above to the following:

*al pul oʀθi / *iliyi* 'There is no grass there'

Thus all instances of *il-* can be replaced by *oʀθ-*, but only some instances of *oʀθ-* can be replaced by *il-*. With verbal nouns, *il-* is used more commonly than *oʀθ-*. When used with a verbal noun subject, *il-* signifies definiteness or completeness.

Examples:

mida-lš ʔr fatyš köʔ fi-pimi, iʔny ʔr fatyt iliyi.
In the olden days we used to sacrifice buffalos, these days buffalo catching is not there at all
mida-lš ʔr fatyš köʔ fi-pimi, iʔny ʔr fatyt oʀθi.
In the olden days we used to sacrifice buffalos, these days buffalo catching is not there

oṛθ- has a special connotation of 'be dead' (< 'not to be alive' < 'not to be present') whereas il- does not have this connotation.

4. oṛx- ~ oṛy

oṛx- ~ oṛy- primarily means 'to become'. This verb conjugates like any other regular verb. It has all the three paradigms of type I (PdmI of Pa NPa, Ng) as well the three paradigms of type II (PdmII of Pa, NPa, Ng). Structure of each of these six varieties is given below.

Pa PdmI	oṛy-š-PN1
NPa PdmI	oṛy-PN2
Ng PdmI	oṛx-PN5
Pa PdmII	oṛy-š-PN3
NPa PdmII	oṛy-PN4
Ng PdmII	oṛx-PN6

It may be recalled that in general the forms in NgPdmI as well as NgPdmII are tenseless. Thus, for instance, oṛn toṛoṛ oṛx-in-i means 'I did/will/do not become a doctor'. The Negative paradigm of oṛx- has the additional function of 'Tenseless Negative Equational'. Thus the additional meaning of toṛoṛ oṛx-in-i is 'I am not a doctor'. This means that the Negative Paradigm of oṛx- has both the 'existential negative' and 'equational negative' functions. The full paradigms of this verb are given in Table 5.

	A		B		C		D		E		F	
	PdmI						PdmII					
	Pa		NPa		Ng		Pa		NPa		Ng	
1s	oṛy-š-pin-i	oṛy-pin-i	oṛx-in-i	oṛy-š-n	oṛy-n	oṛx-in	oṛy-š-pin-i	oṛy-pin-i	oṛx-in-i	oṛy-š-n	oṛy-n	oṛx-in
1ep	oṛy-š-pm-i	oṛy-pm-i	oṛx-im-i	oṛy-š-ḥm	oṛy-ḥm	oṛx-ḥm	oṛy-š-pm-i	oṛy-pm-i	oṛx-im-i	oṛy-š-ḥm	oṛy-ḥm	oṛx-ḥm
1ip	oṛy-š-pum-i	oṛy-pum-i	oṛx-um-i	oṛy-š-um	oṛy-um	oṛx-um	oṛy-š-pum-i	oṛy-pum-i	oṛx-um-i	oṛy-š-um	oṛy-um	oṛx-um
2s	oṛy-š-py-i	oṛy-py-i	oṛx-iy-i > oṛxii	oṛy-š-y	oṛy-ḥ	oṛx-iy	oṛy-š-py-i	oṛy-py-i	oṛx-iy-i > oṛxii	oṛy-š-y	oṛy-ḥ	oṛx-iy
2p	oṛy-š-ḥ-i	oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	oṛx-ḥ-ḥ	oṛy-š-ḥ	oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	oṛx-ḥ-ḥ	oṛy-š-ḥ-i	oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	oṛx-ḥ-ḥ	oṛy-š-ḥ	oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	oṛx-ḥ-ḥ
3	oṛy-š-ḥ-i	oṛy-ḥ-i	oṛx-ḥ-i > oṛxii	oṛy-š-k	oṛy-ḥ	oṛx-ḥ	oṛy-š-ḥ-i	oṛy-ḥ-i	oṛx-ḥ-i > oṛxii	oṛy-š-k	oṛy-ḥ	oṛx-ḥ

Table 5

wiḍ+oṛx- and oṛθ+oṛx-

oṛx is compounded with the 'to be' verbs wiḍ- and oṛx- to produce 'existential' and 'negative existential' forms marked for tense as listed in rows 2 and 5 of Table 1. In Table 6, forms in columns H and J are formed by combining wiḍ- with the corresponding conjugated form of oṛx- from columns A to F from the Table 5. Thus, for instance, 1st person singular Past Paradigm I is formed by combining wiḍ- with the 1st person singular Past Paradigm I of oṛx- (from Column A) of Table 5, the final form being wiḍ+oṛy-š-pin-i 'I was (present somewhere)'.

		G	H	I	J	K
i			Existential	Example	Existential Negative	Example
ii	PdmI	Pa	wiḍ-A	wiḍ+oṛy-š-PN1 X was at Y	oṛθ+A	oṛθ+oṛy-š-PN1
iii		NPa	wiḍ-B	wiḍ+oṛy-PN2 X will be at Y	oṛθ+B	oṛθ+oṛy-PN2
iv		Ng	wiḍ-C	wiḍ+oṛx-PN5 X not at Y	-	-
v	PdmII	Pa	wiḍ-D	wiḍ+oṛy-š-PN3	oṛθ+D	oṛθ+oṛy-š-PN3
vi		NPa	wiḍ-E	wiḍ+oṛy-PN4	oṛθ+E	oṛθ+oṛy-PN4
viii		Ng	wiḍ-F	wiḍ+oṛx-PN6	-	-

Table 6

			1s	1ep	1ip	2s	2p	3
A	Pa PdmI	Pn1	oṛy-š-pin-i	oṛy-š-pm-i	oṛy-š-pum-i	oṛy-š-py-i	oṛy-š-ḥ-i	oṛy-š-ḥ-i
B	NPa PdmI	Pn2	oṛy-pin-i	oṛy-pm-i	oṛy-pum-i	oṛy-py-i	oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	oṛy-ḥ-ḥ
C	Ng PdmI	Pn5	oṛx-in-i	oṛx-im-i	oṛx-um-i	oṛx-iy-i > oṛxii	oṛx-ḥ-ḥ	oṛx-ḥ-ḥ > oṛxii
D	Pa PdmII	Pn3	oṛy-š-n	oṛy-š-ḥm	oṛy-š-um	oṛy-š-y	oṛy-š-ḥ	oṛy-š-k
E	NPa PdmII	Pn4	oṛy-n	oṛy-ḥm	oṛy-um	oṛy-ḥ	oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	oṛy-ḥ
F	Ng PdmII	Pn6	oṛx-in	oṛx-im	oṛx-um	oṛx-iy	oṛx-ḥ	oṛx-ḥ
A1	Pa PdmI	Pn1	wiḍ+oṛy-š-pin-i	wiḍ+oṛy-š-pm-i	wiḍ+oṛy-š-pum-i	wiḍ+oṛy-š-py-i	wiḍ+oṛy-š-ḥ-i	wiḍ+oṛy-š-ḥ-i
B1	NPa PdmI	Pn2	wiḍ+oṛy-pin-i	wiḍ+oṛy-pm-i	wiḍ+oṛy-pum-i	wiḍ+oṛy-py-i	wiḍ+oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	wiḍ+oṛy-ḥ-ḥ
C1	Ng PdmI	Pn5	wiḍ+oṛx-in-i	wiḍ+oṛx-im-i	wiḍ+oṛx-um-i	wiḍ+oṛx-iy-i > oṛxii	wiḍ+oṛx-ḥ-ḥ	wiḍ+oṛx-ḥ-ḥ > oṛxii
D1	Pa PdmII	Pn3	wiḍ+oṛy-š-n	wiḍ+oṛy-š-ḥm	wiḍ+oṛy-š-um	wiḍ+oṛy-š-y	wiḍ+oṛy-š-ḥ	wiḍ+oṛy-š-k
E1	NPa PdmII	Pn4	wiḍ+oṛy-n	wiḍ+oṛy-ḥm	wiḍ+oṛy-um	wiḍ+oṛy-ḥ	wiḍ+oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	wiḍ+oṛy-ḥ
F1	Ng PdmII	Pn6	wiḍ+oṛx-in	wiḍ+oṛx-im	wiḍ+oṛx-um	wiḍ+oṛx-iy	wiḍ+oṛx-ḥ	wiḍ+oṛx-ḥ
A2	Pa PdmI	Pn1	oṛθ+oṛy-š-pin-i	oṛθ+oṛy-š-pm-i	oṛθ+oṛy-š-pum-i	oṛθ+oṛy-š-py-i	oṛθ+oṛy-š-ḥ-i	oṛθ+oṛy-š-ḥ-i
B2	NPa PdmI	Pn2	oṛθ+oṛy-pin-i	oṛθ+oṛy-pm-i	oṛθ+oṛy-pum-i	oṛθ+oṛy-py-i	oṛθ+oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	oṛθ+oṛy-ḥ-ḥ
C2	Ng PdmI	Pn5	oṛθ+oṛx-in-i	oṛθ+oṛx-im-i	oṛθ+oṛx-um-i	oṛθ+oṛx-iy-i > oṛxii	oṛθ+oṛx-ḥ-ḥ	oṛθ+oṛx-ḥ-ḥ > oṛxii
D2	Pa PdmII	Pn3	oṛθ+oṛy-š-n	oṛθ+oṛy-š-ḥm	oṛθ+oṛy-š-um	oṛθ+oṛy-š-y	oṛθ+oṛy-š-ḥ	oṛθ+oṛy-š-k
E2	NPa PdmII	Pn4	oṛθ+oṛy-n	oṛθ+oṛy-ḥm	oṛθ+oṛy-um	oṛθ+oṛy-ḥ	oṛθ+oṛy-ḥ-ḥ	oṛθ+oṛy-ḥ
F2	Ng PdmII	Pn6	oṛθ+oṛx-in	oṛθ+oṛx-im	oṛθ+oṛx-um	oṛθ+oṛx-iy	oṛθ+oṛx-ḥ	oṛθ+oṛx-ḥ

Table 7

In Table 7, the forms in rows A-F have the meaning of 'X became/becomes/does not become'; rows A1-F1 have the meaning of 'X was/is/is not (existential)'; rows A2-F2 have the meaning of 'X could not/cannot be (existential)'. Since C2 and F2 have a negative conjugation of a 'negative existential', the total meaning will be: 'X will certainly be (existential)'. E.g., *o'n al oʔθ-o-x-ini* 'I will certainly be there'

Recall that *oʔθ-* has the existential sense of 'not to exist' and is the negative counterpart of *wiḍ-* 'to exist'. The forms in C1 (*wiḍ-o-x-*) should mean 'not to exist (<be-not) and so compete with *oʔθ* 'not to exist'. However, there is a difference in the meaning of these two constructions: *X wiḍ-o-x* signifies 'there is no possibility of X being there' whereas *X oʔθ* means 'X is not there'. Examples:

pūšy i-moḍ kōx-xuʔ-š oʔθ-i 'There is no tiger in the vicinity of this village'
pūšy i-moḍ kōx-xuʔ-š wiḍ-o-x-iyi 'There is no possibility of a tiger being in the vicinity of this village'

Abbreviations:

Pdml = Paradigm I, PdmlI = Paradigm II, Pa = Past, Npa = Non-past, Ng = Negative, 1s = 1st Person Singular, 1ep = 1st Person Exclusive Plural, 1ip = 1st Person Inclusive Plural, 2s = 2nd Person Singular, 2p = 2nd Person Plural, 3 = 3rd Person.

References:

Emeneau, M.B. 1984. *Toda Grammar and Texts*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. =TGT
 Bhaskararao, Peri. 2006. "Toda Verbal Paradigms - Past, Non-past and Negative". In: *Research on Minority Languages of South and South-east Asia - Working Papers*. Tokyo: ILCAA. 126-144pp.
 TGT = Emeneau 1984.

TODA VERBAL STEM ALTERNANTS

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As in the case of some other South Dravidian languages, a verb in Toda has two stems. Following TGT, they are labelled as S¹ and S². S¹ is basic from which S² is derived by changes in the termination. There are a few exceptions in which the radical vowel of S¹ also undergoes some changes and also a very few roots which have just S¹ forms only without corresponding S² forms. The S¹ and S² of a given verb occur in complementary distribution. For instance, as explained in TGT, some of the paradigms in which S¹ occurs are Negative, Voluntative and Imperative. Past, Non-Past, Tenseless are some of the paradigms in which S² occurs. In addition to these alternants, TGT identified a 'desiderative' stem (TGT p. 166 ff). The Desiderative stem (S^{desid}) is formed by adding the suffix -š to S¹.

A good number of S¹ and S² forms of the verbs were elicited during fieldwork on the language and were compared with those given in TGT. Some differences in the shapes of some verbs and in the meanings of some were noticed between our data and that of TGT. In the following pages, we present a list of the verbs of Toda with their S¹ and S² alternant forms (in the order S¹ ~S²) as well as their meanings.

af ~ aft	'pound with light strokes'
alx ~ alxy	'shake (intr)'
alk ~ alky	'shake (tr)'
aḷ ~ aḷθ	'measure'
arg ~ argy	'rub and sharpen (e.g. knife, pencil), nag, frost bites, teeth get frozen by cold'
ar ~ arθ	'loose way, be lost (in a crowd)'
arf ~ art	'cut (rope, vegetable, grass)'
ark ~ arky	'cut into pieces (with saw, axe), subdue'
ary ~ ars	'know, recognize'
arf ~ arft	'shut'
ar-ōšt ~ ar-ōšty	'feed a buffalo calf milk from a buffalo which is not its mother'
ar ~ arθ	'dig'
ašp ~ ašpy	'wash and clean (body parts, house floor, rinse a vessel)'
a'for ~ a'foʔ	'talk, speak'
a't ~ a't	'(stream) goes dry'
čip ~ čipy [-sip]	'sip a liquid bit by bit'

~ sipy]	
čop ~ čopy [=sop ~ sopy]	'suck a solid thing (e.g., a lollipop)
eg ~ egy	'contract the stomach'
ełf ~ ełft	'wheeze (due to ill health)'
er ~ erθ	'scoop up (water with a vessel)'
erbit ~ =	'become insane'
erf-küy ~ erf-kis	'tease'
erk ~ erky	'denigrate, give an injection (uš erk needle push-in)'
ert ~ erty	'win, overcome in contest, outstrip'
ery ~ ers	'(snake) bites, throw, sting, charge with horns, head/leg pains (throbs) due to internal reason'
eł ~ ety	[auxiliary that derives 'mediative' forms]
ełf ~ ełt	'take, receive'
e'mot ~ e'moty	'deceive'
erf ~ ert	'be hungry'
e's ~ e's	'ridicule'
ey ~ e's	'join together (pieces or two ends)'
i'k ~ i'ky	'put down'
i'n ~ i'd	'bear a child (as an animal)'
i'sf ~ i'st	'drag, pull'
i'x ~ i'xy	'descend'
i'θ ~ i'θy	'insert'
ic ~ ič	'be enough to manage, be able to reach'(cf. sō'r 'to reach')
in ~ id	'say'[also used as the base for quotative marker]
ič ~ ič	'put, put on/wear a garment, wear a traditional ornament on the wrist, earlobes, fingers, arms, nose'
idc ~ idč	'set fire to'(also light a cigar, cigarette, beedi)
id ~ idy	'limp'
ir ~ iθ	'sit, remain, live'(in the blessing expression: wiłt-o'y ir Live happily!)
iry ~ irs	'collapse'
iry ~ irč	'pull down, knock down'
iry ~ irč	'thunder'
ir ~ irθ	'poke'
ir ~ irθ	'suck, drink with noise (slurp)'
irk ~ irky	'swallow'
išt ~ išty	'seat, keep in a place'

ič ~ ič	'hit, hit (as sunlight or wind), hit against'
ič-kor ~ ič-koč	'get lost (as in the expression 'Get lost!'), loose something'
ix ~ ixθ	'have/form a gap, become separated'
ix ~ ixy	'slip, be slippery'
ičf ~ ičt	'create a gap'
ixy ~ ixc	'(a young animal) sucks (milk)'. [E.g., kor ixy iyi [calf not.suck] 'Calf does not suck (milk)']
iy ~ is	'learn how to do something (eg agriculture, dance, cooking, driving, building, singing)'
kar ~ karθ	'leave, pass, cross [= kid]'
kał ~ kał	'learn'
kak ~ kaky	'vomit a little'
kakc ~ kakč	'be stuck as door, bolt, cap of a pen etc'
kalc ~ kalč	'teach'
kalk ~ kalky	'stir'
kalkko'c ~ kalkko'č	'add fried seasoning [kalk-ko'c stir-heat]'
kalc ~ kalxy	'be stirred up, become turbid, be worried'
kar ~ karθ	'bellow'
kar ~ karθ	'steal'
kar ~ karθ	'churn'
karpor ~ karpoč	'complete the work'(this action is followed by going out of the place)
kark ~ karky	'melt, dissolve (tr)'
kar ~ karθ	'become tight'
kar ~ karθ	'milk, yield milk (as an animal)'
karf ~ kart	'become black, become dark'konmun pi's-k kartčl 'Face became dark in the sun'
karf ~ kart	'tighten (tr)'
kary ~ kars	'laugh'
karx ~ karxy	'melt, dissolve (intr)'
kary ~ kars	'be singed, scorched'
kary ~ karc	'blacken, to make something black by roasting'pergy karc parf 'roast the chillies dark', 'purify a new object (e.g. a pot, mod) same verb as kary 'to blacken'
kasp ~ kasy	'make things disorderly'
kašf ~ kašt	'mix by kneading with a liquid' twi'r po'y-k kašf [rice mouth-to mix] 'feed the rice'

ka'l ~ ka'd	'fall down from height, fall down as a tree'
ka'ṭ ~ ka'ty	'make fall, drop, pluck fruits, flowers, leaves'
ke'ḷ ~ ke'ṭ	'hear'
ked ~ kedy	'be stuck (when pushed), stab'
kef-eṭ ~ kef-ety	'eat undeservedly (to free-load), eat gluttonously'
keṭ ~ keṭ	'hesitate'
kelc ~ kelč	'be successful, to win a game'
kenf ~ kent	'roar like a tiger, bear, deer, buffalo makes a frightened sound'
kerf ~ kert	'scrape, scratch strongly (with longer movement of hands)'
kerf ~ kert	'dam, stop something from flowing or rolling, support by putting a wedge'
ki'c ~ ki'č	'comb, scrape, sharpen by scraping'
ki'p ~ ki'py	'kill buffalo at funeral (with one blow of the butt of an axe)'
ki'r ~ ki'ry	'tear'
ki'd ~ ki'dy	'sprinkle a liquid'
ki'lik ~ ki'liky	'trumpet (as an elephant), neigh as a horse'
ki'm ~ ki'mt	'beat (drum), hit repeatedly'
ki'ṭy ~ ki'ṭc	'ladle out (food)'
ki'ṭy ~ ki'ṭc	'pinch with fingers (or finger nails), nip off'
ki'rc ~ ki'rc	'shout, cry (as an animal or bird)'
ki's ~ ki'd	[auxiliary verb used in 'potential' forms]
kiskwiḷ ~ kiskwiḍ	'(it) tickles'
kiskwiṭ ~ kiskwiṭy	'tickle (tr)'
ki'st-e'f ~ ki'ste't	'pluck out forcibly (eg. a strong plant from the ground) take away forcibly (eg. snatch a purse)' [e'f to take]
ki't ~ ki'tt	'get rotten, (cloth) gets worn out, boil gets infected further'
kixy ~ kixc	'(worms) wriggle about in masses, move in a thick crowd'
ki'y ~ ki's	'do, make'
ko'c ~ ko'č	'boil (tr), heat (tr)'
ko'f ~ ko't	'wait, watch, woman marry man, {peṭ ko'f '(woman) marries a man', en-n ko't-fy [me married] 'my wife'. Cf. o'n mox-fat-fy [I married] 'my wife}'
ko'n ~ ko'd	'vomit'

ko'ṇ ~ ko'd	'see'
kō'r ~ kō'θ	'lean against (intr)'
kō'r ~ kō'ry	'winnow (in general as opposed to purf, kwic), fine spray of rain to drizzle sidewise'
ko'sf ~ ko'st	'have an itchy feeling (as when a nettle plant rubs against), be jealous'
kō'st ~ kō'sty	'lean against (tr)'
ko'ṭ ~ ko'ty	'show, (buffalo) suspends the flow of milk (while being milked)'
ko'y ~ ko's	'be hot, to be heated, boil, to bask in sun, sunshine to be there'
ko'y ~ ko'c	'bear fruit'
ko'θ ~ ko'θt	'nibble a hard thing (like a child does or an adult eats hard things), nibble as a rat does'
koc ~ koč	'bite and break a crisp thing such as garlic, onion and chillies, grit teeth due to cold, be jammed (as a door)'
kōd ~ kōdy	'process a sacrificed buffalo for obtaining meat (in the earlier days by the Kotas). Now it means 'to slaughter'
kočc ~ kočč	'make something out of sight, trouble people (so that they will finally go away)'
kōdc ~ kōdč	'spoil something/ somebody'
ko'dy ~ ko'ds	'disappear from sight, die, (period of time) passes, pass successfully over all the difficulties of life'
kof ~ kofθ	'be turned upside down'
kof ~ koft	'turn something upside down'
kofy ~ kofc	'avoid, dodge, hide, whisper'
kofy ~ kofs	'surround in great numbers or on all sides (e.g. people, fire)'
kōfy ~ kōfs[z]	'have piece broken off'
kōfy ~ kōfc	'break a piece'
kōk ~ kōky	'rub against an object (like a buffalo scratches)'
ko ~ ko θ	'steal'
ko'ṭy ~ ko'ṭc	'be fed up with'
kōr ~ kōṭ	'be extinguished (fire, lamp, flame), be spoiled (milk, vegetables, fruits, mind), die (other than Todas)'
kōrc ~ kōrc	'extinguish lamp, spoil a thing'
ko'ry ~ ko'rc	'have an itch'[requires a dative subject]
ko's-pi'r ~ ko's-piṭ	'dawn'[ko's 'dark'as in the ko'ṇ: ka'gar-no'r ko's-tal tō]

kot ~ koty	'light, burn, glitter, flash'
köt ~ köty	'strike and take out a slice as a wood chunk with an adge, mud chunk with a spade' <i>kök-wiṭ iṭ köt</i> 'slice off with a spade', <i>me'n uḷy iṭ köt</i> 'chop a slice of wood with an adge'
koṭ ~ koṭy	'tie, to build (a construction that is different in design from the traditional Toda house, e.g., a concrete house, a bridge)'
koy ~ koc	'be bitter'
koy-mux ~ koymuxṭ	'worship, salute [hand-salute]'
kuṛ ~ kuṛy	'a woman marries a man from the Badaga community' (the woman could be from any community) (object should be in dative case) [Cf. <i>meṭf-kiy</i> 'a Badaga man marries a woman from any community' (object should be in accusative case)]
kuṛ ~ kuṛṭ	'bend down', 'slope down'
kuṛ ~ kuṛy	'finish doing' [auxiliary verb that follows S2 form of the main verb]
kuṛ ~ kuṛy	'join (intr)' [<i>mu'k-kuṛ</i> 'join the tips' as in embroidery or two rivers meeting]
ku's ~ ku's	'be heaped up, to accumulate'
ku's ~ ku's	'fire makes a noise, teeth have a sensation'
ku'sc ~ ku'sč	'heap up (tr)'
kuṭ ~ kuṭy	'gather (tr)'
kuṛx ~ kuṛxy	'crow (as a cock)'
kub ~ kuby	'criticize due to irritation, scold gently for small mistakes'
kud ~ kudy	'hit with fist, box'
kuf ~ kufy	'pound (clothes in washing), stuff into'
kum ~ kumy	'pound (grain) with light strokes'
kuṛk ~ kuṛky	'shorten (tr)'
kuṛx ~ kuṛxy	'be shortened (intr), be short'
kušt ~ kušty	'build with stones or bricks, build (wall of a pen) with stone'
kut ~ kuty	'pierce, sew, dip, thrust with a knife'
kuṭ ~ kuṭy	'knock, pound'
kwir ~ kwirṭ	'rot'
kwal ~ kwalṭ	'become emaciated (of persons and animals)'

kwan ~ kwanṭ	'act slowly or disinterestedly'
kwarf ~ kwart	'bark, to snore'
kwār ~ kwārṭ	'be cold'
kwār ~ kwārṭ	'become short'
kwār ~ kwārṭ	'cut by chopping motion (e.g., cutting a tree or hard wood)'
kwār-iṭ ~ kwār-iṭ	'become stiff because of too much cold [iṭ 'to put']'
kwic ~ kwic	'snip off small branches and leaves by a knife by moving it over the big branch'
kwic ~ kwic	'winnow with roundish movement [cf. <i>kö'r, purf</i> ']
kwidz ~ kwidj	'(calf) frisks, be over excited'
kwiz ~ kwij	'make fun, banter'
kwil ~ kwid	'heed [<i>mo't kwil</i> word-obey 'to listen to somebody']'
kwil ~ kwid	'fight, quarrel [<i>pi'r kwil</i> 'to have delivery pains'], take out the corpse from inside the house to outside'
kwil ~ kwid	'wear a ceremonious sacred <i>mony</i> (by temple buffaloes during funeral ceremonies, <i>mony pu'?</i> 'buffalo to wear a <i>mony</i> during non-funeral functions)'
kwir ~ kwirt	'give to 3rd person'
kwiry ~ kwirc	'move violently, thrashing about (snake when attacked, person in convulsion)'
kwit ~ kwity	'knock'
kwixy ~ kwixc	'take a nap'
kwioy ~ kwioč	'boil (intr)'
kwiy ~ kwic	'pluck leaves (and beans etc.) from a plant, (bee) sucks'
kwioč ~ kwiočky	'peck (as hen), to bite (as snake), to irritate, to hurt others'
malf ~ malt	'(buffalo) gives a slide glance before charging'
mar ~ mart	'become numb'
mar ~ marṭ	'forget'
mary ~ mars	'fall (tree, wall), (teeth) break, (horn) is broken'
mary ~ marc	'take out (resulting in disturbance in arrangement e.g., pull out tooth, plant, take out honey from honey comb)'
maš-por ~ maš-poṭ	'deliver a child' [<i>por</i> 'to lie down']
mer ~ mery	'take animals on migration from one place to another'
metk-e'f ~ metk-e't	'chew cud' (<i>metk</i> 'lower jaw')

möšk ~ möšky	'soak (tr)'
möšx ~ möšxy	'become soaked'
mi'c ~ mi'č	'a non-Toda makes animals graze' [cf. <i>ir kub-k pi'x</i> 'to follow a buffalo while it is grazing' this is done by Todas]
mi'r ~ mi'ry	'overtake, become uncontrollable'
mi'ry ~ mi's	'graze (intr)'
mik ~ miky	'be saved (as money etc.), be left over'
misk ~ misky	'move a heavy object slightly'
mixc ~ mixč	'save, put by'
mo'z ~ mo'j	'fade (as colour), loose colour (of the face and become pale)'
mo'r ~ mo'ry	'change (intr), sell'
mo't ~ mo'ty	'change (tr)'
mo't ~ mo'ty	'put (firewood) into fire'
mo't-ït ~ mo't- ït	'have a premonition in a dream [<i>konof a'n-mil mo't-ït-s twi'ŕšši</i> I had a premonition about him in a dream]
mođ ~ mođy	'animal allows its baby to suck milk from udder'
mo'r ~ mo'ry	'a Badaga man keeps a lover'
monc-k-poy ~ monc-k-poc	'keep in mind'
mořk ~ mořky	'defeat in argument'
mořk ~ mořky	'fold a large object such as a mat, bend (tr), put somebody down'
mořx ~ mořxy	'bend (intr), to be ashamed of (after realising ones mistake), be put down (in pride)'
mořy ~ mořc	'fold a small object such as cloth (tr)'
moř ~ mořs	'be folded as a small or a large object' [the transitive of this verb has two forms depending upon the size of the object: mořk ~ mořky, mořy ~ mořc]
mořy ~ mořs	'have foot and mouth disease'
möšk ~ möšky	'smear buffalo dung on (as ritual cleaning)'
möt ~ möty	'trample on'
moy ~ moc	'become dark, become evening'
moy-nař ~ moy-nařθ	'corpse to be burnt completely'
muθ ~ muθ	'become old'
mu'k ~ mu'ky	'drown and destroy (like rain does to crops)'
mu'k-ït ~ mu'k- ït	'turn face the other way (to show anger or dislike)'

mu-kur' ~ mu- kur'y	'(pesons, rivers) meet'
mu-kur't ~ mu- kur'ty	'make to meet, join together pieces'
mu't ~ mu'ty	'smell (tr)'
mu'x ~ mu'xy	'be drowned', 'be annihilated as people, buffalos'
mu'xc ~ mu'xč	'reach the top of head, complete, in abundance, be deep, to be in excess than necessary, to be of abnormal quantity'
mu'xc ~ mu'xč	'destroy, drown (tr)'
müc ~ müč	'flash'
müc ~ müč	'cover'
muf ~ mufθ	'person's temper to rise, buttermilk to rise after <i>pep</i> is added'
mug ~ mugy	'become stale (as food)'
muk ~ muky	'strain, grunt while defecating when constipated or during delivery'
mul'k ~ mul'ky	'destroy completely (tr)'
mul'x ~ mul'xy	'be destroyed completely'
müty ~ müts	'become dry (leaves, flowers), wither'
murf ~ mur't	'solve a problem, remove bad effect of poison, settle debt'
mur'k ~ mur'ky	'refuse to talk (because of misunderstanding, small fight, being scolded etc. e.g., children refuse to eat)'
mur'x ~ mur'xy	'growl (like a buffalo, tiger, cat, dog)'
mur ~ murθ	'become angry and cut off friendship or relationship which may result in revenge'
müry ~ mürs	'be broken (as a stick, bone)'
müry ~ mürc	'break (tr)'
mury-ït ~ mury ït	'complain [complaint-put]'
mury-o'k ~ mury-o'ky	'complain [complaint-to plant]'
müry-wiry ~ müry-wirc	'stretch ones body (as while yawning, or as cats and dogs do after getting up)'
mut ~ =	'tender things (plant, child etc) become hard and strong, vegetable to become hard and unfit for consumption, show disagreement on face'
mu't ~ mu'ty	'touch, collide'
mux ~ muxt	'settle a financial account (tr), finish, complete'

mux ~ muxθ	'financial account be settled (intr), be finished, be completed'
naš ~ našy	'play'
nađ ~ nađθ	'happen'
nađc ~ nađč	'organize, conduct' [=nađt ~ nađty]
nađt ~ nađty	= nađc ~ nađč
nar ~ narθ	'walk, happen, (buffaloes) migrate'
nar̄t ~ nar̄ty	'make to walk, string beads, move (=offer) a <i>tūny</i> , <i>poš</i> , <i>ir</i> , <i>mony</i> (sacred bell) or sacred <i>pep</i> to a temple'
ne·twī·r ~ ne·twī·ry	'be transparent (< ne·š 'reflection', twī·r 'be visible)'
ne·t·wī·k ~ ne·t·wī·ky	'move the corpse over fire three times [ne·š shadow [= a part of the corpse] - tu·k 'to hang']'
nenf ~ nent	'think of'
ner ~ nerθ	'go in a line, be or sit in a line'
ner̄ ~ ner̄θ	'be full'
ner̄f ~ ner̄t	'fill (tr)'
nerb ~ nerby	'pinch and twist anywhere on the body (eg., ear lobes, cheeks, thigh)'
ner̄y ~ ners	'twirl or twist as in fire making or crushing dry red chillies by hand [tit <i>ner̄y</i> 'to make fire with firesticks', <i>pergy ner̄y</i> 'to crush dry chillies']'
neš·oť ~ neš·oťy	'put to forehead in salutation, put forehead to the feet of a dead person, touch a thing with top portion of the palm of hands and then put the hand to the forehead as a sign of worship'
ni·d ~ ni·dy	'swim [= ni·s]'
ni·f ~ ni·fy	'stroke'
ni·k ~ ni·ky	'brush away'
ni·l ~ ni·d	'peep out, become long'
ni·s ~ ni·š	'swim'
ni·s ~ ni·s	'weave'
ni·šf ~ ni·št	'become bruised or pale (as body)'
ni·t ~ ni·ty	'stretch out (tr)'
ni·x ~ ni·xy	'crawl like a snake'
ni·xoy ~ ni·xos	'be thirsty [ni 'water', ko·y 'to be dry']'
niif ~ niift	'straighten a bent object'
niil ~ niid	'stand, stand still, stop, wait'
niilc ~ niilč	'make to stand, erect (stone, post), stop (an action, flow

	of a liquid)'
niif ~ niift	'whistle'
nixy ~ nixθ	'move slightly on base (=ixy) (intr)'
no·ko·ť ~ no·ko·ty	'snake, lizard, buffalo hisses showing tongue [show-tongue]'
no·l ~ no·d	'get wet in rain, (roof or house) leaks (Cf. pil)'
nö·l ~ nö·d	'make a rope'
no·ŋ ~ no·ny	'be shy'
no·t ~ no·ty	'make to get wet in rain'
nö·w·por̄ ~ nö·w·poť	'echo [nö·w sound por̄ to hit]'
nob ~ noby	'trust, believe'
nok ~ noky	'lick'
nör̄ ~ nör̄y	'be tall'
nörk ~ nörky	'lengthen (tr)'
nörx ~ nörxy	'become tall'
nu·šf ~ nu·t	'join (ends of threads by rolling them together)'
nug ~ nugy	'gulp down'
nwi·ť ~ nwi·ty	'look at'
o·ť ~ o·ty	'dance, move in a swinging motion'
o·rc ~ o·rč	'make to dance, make to move, stir'
ö·ť ~ ö·ť	'(boil) comes to a head'
o·k ~ o·ky	'plant (a plant, tree, vegetable, seed), place something ritually'
ö·ku·ť ~ ö·ku·ty	'join together'
o·l ~ o·d	'own (buffaloes), rule'
o·por̄ ~ o·poť	'be found, be got'
o·porc ~ o·porč	'find, find out'
o·piły ~ o·piłc	'yawn'
o·r ~ o·θ	'dash against, attack'
o·rc ~ o·rč	'win against another person (in an assembly, competition etc.)'
o·r ~ o·ry	'become dry by heating, become dry in sun, heal (as wound)'
o·r ~ o·ry	'fly off [as a chip of wood, stone, metal piece, nail etc when hit]', 'a girl who is betrothed to one goes away and marries another'
ö·r̄ ~ ö·ry	'rise high, price or number increases, poison or medicine spreads in the body [noz ö·r̄ 'poison spreads in the body',

	<i>mad öꞛ</i> 'medicine spreads in the body', to get into brain'
oꞛc ~ oꞛč	'throw in air and catch [related to oꞛc 'win against..because winning is like catching that is thrown up'
öꞛc ~ öꞛč	'make high, raise something'
öt ~ öty	'to load (onto a cart, into the brain)'
oꞛθ	'not to exist' [negative existential verb (with defective paradigm)]
oꞛsf ~ oꞛšt	'dance (by Toda men) while uttering specific words (<i>kon</i>) suitable for the occasion [<i>kon-öst- oꞛsf kon- uttering-dance</i> ']
öꞛsf ~ öꞛšt	'boil (anything, eg vegetable, clothes)'
oꞛt ~ oꞛty	'weep, embroider, shake a tree or branch so that fruits etc fall, push a swing, insert a needle once in and then out (in a paper or in a piece of cloth), defeat somebody (=shake him thoroughly)'
oꞛt ~ oꞛty	'dry (tr) in heat or sun'
oꞛx ~ oꞛxy	'be burnt completely'
oꞛx ~ oꞛy	'become, be of use'
oꞛx ~ oꞛy	'menstruate'
öꞛx ~ öꞛxy	'utter scream (cock, peacock, oracle, ancestor) [<i>amuto-Ł öꞛx</i> 'ancestors shout'. Sometimes ancestors come and produce this kind of voice to indicate good fortune, <i>töw oŁ öꞛx</i> 'oracle speaks']
öꞛ ~ öꞛθ	'be high or raised, rise, (tree) grows, get up' [<i>muk-öꞛ</i> 'get up']
ođg ~ ođgy	'be quiet, adjust oneself in a crowded place (as in a bus or sleeping place), be obedient, listen to others'
ođy ~ ođc	'overtake, spend'
ođy ~ ođs	'be spent'
oꞛ ~ oꞛj	'fear'
oꞛy ~ oꝼc	'calm (tr)'
oꝼy ~ oꝼs	'calm down (intr)'
oꝼ ~ oꝼθ	'shiver, tremble'
oꝼöꝼc ~ oꝼ-öꝼč	'terrify'
ök ~ öky	'scratch (lightly and with shorter movement of hands)'
omg ~ omgy	'be pressed down'
omk ~ omky	'press down (tr)'

öꝼ ~ öꝼy	'count'
onk ~ onky	'drizzle'
oꝼ ~ oꝼt	'cook (intr)'
oꝼ ~ oꝼy	'weep'
öꝼf ~ öꝼrt	'rouse from sleep, carry in the crook of the arm, [<i>köꝼ öꝼr</i> carry corpse, <i>mox öꝼf</i> 'give girl in marriage (girl's elder giving the girl in marriage)']
ork ~ orky	'subdue (tr.)'
osp-eꝼf ~ osp-eꝼt	'feel hunger [requires a dative subject]'
öst ~ öšty	'tell'
öt ~ öty	'climb up'
oꝼt ~ oꝼty	'pour'
ox-eꝼt ~ ox-ety	'make broad, put child to sleep' [<i>oxety oc-vaꝼt</i> 'embroider the edge of <i>puꝼtuꝼty</i> wider!']
oxuꝼt ~ oxuꝼty	'make broad' [<i>öꝼtaꝼr oxuꝼty kiy</i> 'make the road wider']
ox-in ~ ox-ĩđ	'be wide, be broad, be asleep as a child'
oxy ~ oxs	'eat a snack or a fruit (crispy, chunky or hard thing which needs biting and chewing) (eg, biscuit, murruku, apple)'
öθk ~ öθky	'jump'
paꝼg ~ paꝼgy	'fall into, fall on (eg man into a river, shadow on something)'
paꝼg ~ paꝼgy	'open the embroidered portion <i>puꝼtu괁ty</i> and turn the outside (the correct side) in and stitch it back <i>amun pa괁ky</i> '
pa괁g ~ pa괁gy	'use (things, path)'
pa괁k ~ pa괁ky	'scold'
pađf ~ pađθ	'slip (as a thing from its intended position eg screw driver, screw)'
paf ~ paf괁	'kick'
paly ~ pals	'(child, plant) grows strong'
palg ~ palgy	'be bent down'
pa괁x ~ pa괁x	'get the habit of'
pa괁f ~ pa괁t	'buy a domestic animal (buffalo, cow, goat, horse)'
par ~ parθ	'write'
parf ~ part	'fry'
pary ~ pars	'be (not) possible [used with negative <i>pary ty</i> not possible, It is also used in the following: <i>en-k pary oꝼy-viꝼši</i> 'It is impossible for me'], 'unworthy, very weak', <i>pary</i> 'be

	useless! [used as an admonition] pars-it̪i 'don't be useless! [cf. pary 'useless rag cloth']
pary ~ parc	cloth tears (intr) 'pluck, break string, tear cloth (tr)'
part ~ party	'pray'
paš-it̪ ~ paš-it̪	'nibble or bite with the front edge of mouth (eg. with front teeth in the case of a man, with proboscis in the case of a mosquito or pincers in the case of an insect) (biting with molars is excluded), bite as footwear [teeth-keep]'
paš-ox̪y ~ paš-ox̪s	'bite teeth and show anger'
pat̪ ~ pat̪y	'seize, (man) to marry a (woman) (in the compound <i>mox fat</i> , <i>mox</i> 'girl' -)
pax ~ paxθ	'be divided'
paxf ~ paxt	'divide, distribute'
pe! ~ pe'd	'(buffaloes) are frightened and run away'
pe!z̪ ~ pe!j	'console or pacify a buffalo by stroking and uttering specific sounds (for instance when it is frightened, lost its calf, had the first time delivery)'
pe'f ~ pe'd	'be born'
pe't̪ ~ pe'ty	'chase an animal'
pe't̪-wi'd (> pe'to'd) ~ pe't-wi'dy	'run after'
pe'y ~ pe's	'thatch'
pe't̪ ~ pe't̪	'(buffalo) goes dry'
pe't̪ ~ pe't̪θ	'food plants (but not trees) grow (intr)'
pe't̪f ~ pe't̪t	'grow food plants (but not trees) (tr)'
perk ~ perky	'pick up small things (eg a person picking up small stone particles from rice)'
per-kōr̪ ~ per-kōt̪	'become poor'
pešf ~ pešt̪	'(ghee, oil) solidifies, (milk) curdles after adding <i>pep</i> to it'
pex ~ pexy	'become stout'
pi'k ~ pi'ky	'tell lie'
pi'! ~ pi'd	'fall down from a standing position (not fall down steps or a hill) (eg a cup falls down, a man falls down)'
pi'ṭ ~ pi'ṭy	'scatter, shed (tears) in profusion, sprinkle liquids or powders, throw away money (over spend)'

pi's ~ pi'š	'abandon, to loose, buffalo swings its horns and throws a catcher', swing'
pi's ~ pi's	grind with grinding stone'
pi'šk ~ pi'šky	'kill (animal, insect), thrash a person [pi'šk-fitt]
pi't̪ ~ pi'ty	'make tumble over, knock down'
pi'x ~ pi'y, pi', pi', pi'n, pi's	'go'
pi'r̪ ~ pi'r̪θ	'(humans) fall, (animals) die'
pi'g ~ pi'gy	'blistry bubble to appear on palms or soles, bubble to appear, rise as boiling rice or milk, (stomach) swells, worries increase (arkil)'
pi'k ~ pi'ky	'cough'
pi'n ~ pi'ny	'(hair) is matted, weave (basket), be plaited'
pent ~ penty	'ask'
pi'ty ~ pi'tc	'make a joyful sound'
pi'r̪ ~ pi't̪	'release, let go, leave ones spouse, release water, leave, forsake, drive a vehicle'
pidz̪ ~ pidj	'separate people fighting, release buffalo from a pound, open a boil' [the things to be released are tighter than denoted by pi'r̪ or releasing them is more difficult as getting a person release from a jail or an animal from a pound]
pi'rc̪ ~ pi'rč̪	'make spring forth, tell everything openly, open a boil'
pi'ry ~ pi'rc̪	'hurt the eye of somebody (tr)'
pi'ry ~ pi'r̪s	'(eye) is hurt [koṅ pi'ry eye to be hurt] eg koṅ pi'rct̪ iyi 'The eye is hurt'
pi'ry ~ pi'r̪s	'break forth, spring forth, pus comes out from a boil'
pi'r̪ ~ pi't̪	'carry'
pi'r̪(f) ~ pi'r̪t̪	'endure, be patient with'
pi'rk ~ pi'rky	'complete doing something (e.g. eat, work, quarrel, walk, talk)'
pi'rx ~ pi'rx̪y	'be finished'
pi'ry ~ pi'r̪s	'be used up, decrease'
pi'ry ~ pi'rc̪	'use up'
pi'ry ~ pi'r̪s	'be parted, be opened'
pi'ry ~ pi'rc̪	'open (bag, umbrella etc), part (hair), demolish (a house etc)'
piš-u't̪ ~ piš-u'ty	'the ceremony of throwing mud at the corpse'

pīt ~ pīty	'sow'
pīṭ ~ pīty	'burst, potatoes open up in the ground when there was no rain, blisters form on the hand'
pīxc ~ pīxc	'tighten'
pīxy ~ pīxs	'become tight'
pīy ~ pīs	'beat'
pary-piy ~ pary-pīs	'put a cloth-patch or wrap with cloth'
pīṭk ~ pīṭky	'squeeze'
pīṭx ~ pīṭxy	'be squeezed'
po'c ~ po'č	'(someone or something) suits (eg. dress suits, spouse suits)'
pō'ṛ ~ pō'ry	'beg'
po'f ~ po't	'(body part) swells'
po'k ~ po'ky	'filter' [cf. u't 'to drain']
po'ṇ ~ po'ny	'shave, trim bushes'
po'r ~ pod	'come'
po'r ~ po'ṭ	'it pains (due to wound or swelling) (cf. ery head/leg pains (throbs) due to internal reason)'
po'r ~ po'ry	'sing (a special type of song called po't)'
po'r ~ po'ry	'fly'
pō'sf ~ pō'st	'give name'
po'sf ~ po'st	'yield (fruit), (fruit) ripens'
po't ~ po'ty	'spread (mat, mattress, cloth)'
po't ~ po'ty	'shout'
po'x ~ po'xy	'viscous liquid flows down completely (eg. honey, ghee, oil, blood)'
poḍy ~ poḍc	'scrape with fingers or spoon like object'
pōḷk-oḍy ~ pōḷk-oḍc	'be ordained as priest'
poḷc ~ poḷč	'live, get on in life'
pōḷf ~ pōḷt	'be white'
pōḷk ~ pōḷky	'make to dawn'
pōḷx ~ pōḷxy	'dawn'
poṛ ~ poṭ	'(child) has (teeth) fall out, to lie down'
po'd-poṛ ~ poṭ	'experience difficulties'
poy ~ poc	'keep, place, have money or buffaloes, bear (child)'
pōy ~ pōd	'burn (intr), to be cooked sufficiently and properly (as rice, potatoes)'

poṭ-erc ~ poṭ-erč	'adjust to each other, have a friendly give and take relationship'
poṭk ~ poṭky	'prosper'
pu'c ~ pu'č	'put a cloak or shawl on someone else'
pu'f ~ pu'f	'blossom'
pu'f ~ pu't	'wear (cloak, pu'ṭxuṭy, dhoti, shawl)'
pu' ~ pu'd	'wear around neck'
pu'ṭ ~ pu'ty	'put a string like object around a thing so that it hangs down (eg. a garland around the neck)'
pūḷy ~ pūḷc	'be sour'
pūrc ~ pūrč	'fill (tr)'
puṛf ~ puṛt	'winnow by slightly tapping', flap, (some objects) effect the health (e.g. a river, the face of a buffalo returning from grazing, a newly polished cooking vessel - the remedy is to drink a little water from the same source e.g., from the newly polished vessel)
puṛ-iṛ ~ puṛ-iṭ	'beat [slap-keep]'
pūry ~ pūrs	'become full'
pūry ~ pūrs	'disappear from sight, (heavenly body) sets'
puṣk ~ puṣky	'boil with less water so that all the water evaporates (eg. boil potatoes in such a way)'
pūsor ~ pūsorṭ	'call'
puṭ ~ puṭy	'stick (intr)'
pux ~ puk	'enter'
sal ~ sad	'be accepted (as someone's opinion, request or currency note or coin)'
salc ~ salč	'inform'
so'k ~ so'ky	'rear'
sō'r ~ sō'd	'arrive'
sō'r ~ sō'd	'come together'
sō'rc ~ sō'rč	'hand over, cause to join with oneself, collect, accomplish, win an argument'
sō't ~ sō'ty	'make to arrive, make to join with others, put in school'
sip ~ sipy = čip ~ čipy	
sop ~ sopy = čop ~ čopy	
sotym-o'ṛ ~ sotym-o'ry	'make (an oath)'

soy ~ sot	'die (used in angry scolding e.g., sot-fit 'Die and get lost!') [S ² sot is attested, but S1 soy is not known]
swit ~ swity	'drop (some liquid)'
tal-firy ~ tal-firs	'reach age of discretion, when one can distinguish things'
tarf ~ tart	'stop'
tar ~ tarθ	'(head) becomes bald'
tar ~ tarθ	'get stuck in mud or marshy place'
tar ~ tart	'skin gets abraded'
tel ~ tely	'winnow grains for the purpose of separating hard particles such as small stones etc.'
te:l ~ te:d	'do work'
te:t ~ te:ty	'join leaves together for making a leaf plate (for keeping food), to fold a leaf so that it gets the shape of ladle (for holding butter milk)'
teg ~ tegy	'tuck in (dhoti, saree, shirt etc.)'
tef ~ teṭ	'pay (fine, debt)'
tef ~ teṭ	'be wrapped tightly (garment), be stuck in walking because of wearing a cloth very tight'
ter ~ terθ	'open (tr)'
teš-kwiṭ ~ teš-kwiḍ	'hug [tešk 'rounded shape like two horns']'
teš-im ~ teš-imt	'perform naming ceremony (of a child by his maternal uncle by ceremonially cutting the hair of the boy)'
teš-or ~ teš-oṭ	'cover oneself or another with a blanket or any cloth while lying down'
teṭ ~ tety	'be free from work' [requires dative subject: nīn-k tety-u-a 'Are you free?' (do you have leisure)? en-k teṭṣṣi 'I am free']
tīr ~ tīry	'(dispute) is settled, settle (dispute)'
tīrc ~ tīrč	'finish, complete'
tīy ~ tī's	'be singed'
tīc ~ tīc	'singe, roast'
tīd ~ tīdy	'correct (something, some event or someone)'
tik ~ tiky	'be caught, be stuck (like a finger in a hole), be sprained (as leg) [cf. tog]'
tīmṭ ~ tīmt	'(deer) bells'
tīn ~ tīḍ	'eat'
tīrb ~ tīrby	'twist (tr)'

tīrk ~ tīrky	'twirl, wind, turn something like a knob, dial, key (tr)'
tīrp ~ tīrpy	'turn (key)'
tīrx ~ tīrxy	'turn (intr)'
tīrc ~ tīrč	'keep somebody aloof (tr)'
tīry ~ tīrs	'be separate, be aloof'
tīry ~ tīrc	'separate (tr)'
tīry ~ tīrc	'twist (tr), twine (tr)'
tīx ~ tīxθ	'slip away slowly'
tīxf ~ tīxt	'make (buffalo) stand without running away'
to:d ~ to:dy	'cross something (eg., boundary, path)'
to:g ~ to:gy	'bear burden (like a person or a pillar), bear (pain)'
to:k ~ to:ky	'touch (tr) a thing that should not be touched (eg. sacred bell, a wound, an electric outlet) [touching of such a thing might result in something undesirable]'
tō:k ~ tō:ky	'belch'
to:r ~ tod	'give to 1st or 2nd person or reflexive [tam]'
tō:r ~ tō:ry	'improve (in health or wealth)'
to:t ~ to:ty	'bring up a child, rear a pet'
to:t ~ to:ty	'have a formalized conjugal relationship with a woman from the other moeity' - a system now extinct (as opposed to <i>mox-patyṭ</i> 'to marry a woman from one's own moeity')
no:ym-to:t ~ no:ym-to:ty	'take a problem to a person who will arrange for a council etc. to give a judgement'
tō:t ~ tō:ty	'make to improve (in health or wealth)'
to:x ~ to:xy	'become lean, slender'
to:y ~ to:s	'be lowered'
to:y ~ to:c	'lower (tr)'
to:c ~ to:č	'hammer, to pound'
to:d ~ to:dy	'have ability or strength, to be able to face'
to:q-boṭ ~ to:q-boṭ	'feel way in dark, walk stumbling (as an old and weak person), search something by touching with fingers or palms'
tō:dy-xōrc ~ tō:dy-xōrč	'make tired'
tō:dy-xōr ~ tō:dy-xōt	'be tired, weak, poor'
to:f ~ to:fθ	'go on all fours'
tog ~ togy	'get stuck (as a stone thrown into tree branches gets

	stuck there or a person on visit to a place cannot get out of that place) (cf. tik)
tok ~ toky	'last long, to be saved, to stop in ones tracks while arguing'
tol ~ toly	'push'
tolb ~ tolby	'spill or appear to spill due to movement of the container'
tolly-foy ~ tolly-foc	'postpone'
tonc ~ tonč	'make cool, cool somebody's anger'
tony ~ tons	'become cool (as a liquid)'
top ~ topy	'escape (intr), a planned action not to happen (intr) [o'n a'n-k fi-t topy-fi'si 'My going there failed'], fail to do something (tr) [e.g. a'n-k pily kwir-o's topy-fi'spini 'I failed to give him money']
topc ~ topč	'cause to escape'
tor ~ toř	'bump foot'
törk ~ törky	'search for'
toř ~ tořy	'strike, slap, pat'
toy ~ toc	'be stuck in a narrow cavity and not able to get loose, be stuck in a crowded area'
toθx ~ toθxy	'get dented, get out of shape (of metallic objects such as vessels) be squeezed flat or smashed flat'
toθk ~ toθky	'squeeze flat, crumple flat, hit flat, make a dent'
tu'f ~ tu'fy	'spread (grains, flowers etc)'
tu'k ~ tu'ky	'hang (tr), lift up'
tu'ł ~ tu'd	'roll up (intr), pull legs close to body (in sleep)'
tu'r ~ tu'ry	'shrink'
tu's ~ tu's	'become useless, (woman) is not married'
tu't ~ tu'ty	'roll up'
tu'x ~ tu'xy	'hang (intr)'
tüb ~ tüby	'sneeze'
tudy ~ tuds	'loungue, move in a circle'
tudy ~ tudc	'tell lie'
tudy ~ tudc	'turn (tr) in a circle, make somebody go in circles (and gain from it)'
tügy-kör ~ tügy-köt	'be sad [sadness-become.bad]'
tülc ~ tülč	'solve a problem, clear something (like stain, or a

	stigma)
tüly ~ tüls	'become clear, calm'
tüzy ~ tülc	'make hole (in stone, plank, or tree), sprinkle a liquid (not powder cf. pi'r)'
tüty ~ tülc	'twitter'
tur ~ tuř	'burn (tr)'
tüt ~ tüty	'wind (tr), wind around, wear (waist cloth), wander about'
tüy-e'f ~ tüy-e't	'breathe audibly'
twa'n ~ twa'nt	'sweep'
twal ~ twalθ	'be lost, get lost'
twalf ~ twalt	'settle a long-pending problem or debt (cf. murf)'
twalk ~ twalky	'move a thing and change its original position'
twalx ~ twalxy	'be out of order, be polluted as pep (coagulant)'
twar ~ twarθ	'(buffalo or cow) is ready for milking (with milk drawn down into the teats)'
twar ~ twarθ	'break friendship'
twi'ł ~ twi'd	'be foreseen (=have a feeling that something will happen)' [requires a dative subject]
twi'ł ~ twi't	'be defeated'
twi'ł ~ twi't	'become dull in activity, loose shine, fade'
twi'lc ~ twi'lč	'defeat'
twi'r ~ twi'ry	'be visible'
twi'y ~ twi'c	'wash (clothes)'
twi'ř ~ twi'rt	'link, entangle (tr)'
twi'ř-kot ~ twi'ř-koty	'become numb, to be fully drenched and have a numb feeling'
twiθk ~ twiθky	'start, begin'
u'c ~ u'č	'throw away a liquid, (cattle) have diarrhoea'
u'k ~ u'ky	'make a heavy object glide along [eg. a heavy stone, timber]'
u'θ ~ u'θ	'vanish (intr), be lost completely (as a panned object)', disappear suddenly by divine power because of the displeasure of the divine power (the divine power, people, buffalos, money usually disappear in this way)'
u'ł ~ u'd	'roll (intr)'
u'r ~ u'ry	'path gets closed (overgrown with grass) because of not using it, holes in the earlobes close because of not wearing an ornament'

uṛ ~ uṛy	'stick a stick-like object in the ground'
uṝ ~ uṝy	'roll (tr)'
uṝ ~ uṝy	'drain'
uṛx ~ uṛxy	'glide along, slip through hands'
ub ~ uby	'swell'
ud ~ udy	'smear'
uf ~ uf̄	'get detached and fall down (flowers, fruits, hair)'
uf ~ uft	'shake off (tr), empty a sack or a container by lifting it and pouring out its contents, loose property completely'
ufc ~ uf̄c = upc ~ up̄c	'hand over'
uḷ-por̄ ~ uḷ-por̄t	'agree'
uṇ ~ uṇ	'(rain) rains'
uṇ ~ uṇ	'drink'
uny ~ unc	'think'
up ~ upy	'be pleased (dat subject), agree'
upc ~ up̄c = ufc ~ uf̄c	
ūrp ~ ūrpy	'play (flute)'
uṣf ~ uṣt	'plough'
usk ~ usky	'move slightly horizontally (tr) (cf. uṛk)'
ūs-oṝ ~ ūs-oṝy	'stubbornly refuse to do something [ūy 'chase', oṝ 'defeat, shake off']'
uṣt ~ uṣty	'emerge'
uṣt ~ uṣty	'take off (ring, bangle, shirt or coat)'
usx ~ usxy	'move slightly horizontally (intr)'
uṣ̄ ~ uṣ̄y	'be born'
ux ~ uk	'leak, dribble (intr) [causative of this is uṛc 'to cause to leak, dribble']'
ux ~ ux̄	'become loose and fall down (eg tarp worn on the waist) leak, dribble'
ū-xuṝ ~ ū-xuṝy	'be in comfortable, enjoy life [ū-x-kuṝy]'
ū-kur̄ ~ ū-kur̄̄	'have under control'
ūy ~ ūs	'chase, run after, drive a buffalo'
warf ~ wart	'rub, wipe'
war̄ ~ war̄̄	'be broken in pieces'
warf̄ ~ wart̄	'break in pieces (tr)'
warf̄ ~ wart̄	'flow with force from a breach (eg blood from a cut, water from a broken dam)'

warp ~ warpy	'refuse'
wark ~ warky	'make to sleep'
warx ~ warxy	'sleep'
waṣf ~ waṣt	'defecate'
wiṝ ~ wiṝy	'run, run away (with money, valuables, girl)'
wa'g ~ wa'gy	'movement inside to be visible or felt (eg. feeling in stomach, snake or rat moving under a cloth, movement of a child in the womb) [see, pa'g]
wiṝk ~ wiṝky	'aim, lift the arm for hitting, start thinking (eg start thinking to come)'
wiṝr ~ wiṝry	'emulate for competing (not a good behaviour)'
wiṝr-ṝ ~ wiṝr-ṝt	'listen'
wiṝt̄ ~ wiṝty	'keep the calf away from the mother buffalo for the purpose of milking the buffalo'
wiṝx ~ wiṝxy	'be crushed'
wiṝ̄ ~ wiṝ̄y	'read'
wiḍy ~ wiḍc	'save by keeping in small amounts'
wiḷk ~ wiḷky	'(bullocks) go round in threshing'
wiṅx ~ wiṅxy	'get dried, be scorched by sun'
wiṅk ~ wiṅky	'wither, dry (tr)'
wiḷy ~ wiḷc	'hide (intr & tr)'
wiṝk ~ wiṝky	'crush, thrash'
wiṝk ~ wiṝky	'do embroidery pattern'
wiṝy ~ wiṝs	'(joints) crack (intr)'
wiṝy ~ wiṝc	'crack (joints)'
wiṝy ~ wiṝc	'kill by sorcery by a Kurb person using some utterances and plants'
wiṝ ~ wiṝt	'undertake, accept'
wiṝt̄ ~ wiṝty	'increase (rain, wind, fever, level of water, level of ground etc)'
wiṝ̄ ~ wiṝ̄y	'get untied or get disorderly (as sari, dhoti, turban, tied rope)'
wiṝ̄x ~ wiṝ̄x	'get ready (intr), be of use, be of help'

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 TGT = Emeneau 1984.

yut (skt. *yukta*). Union, jonction, alliance; liaison, relation, rapport(s); être en relation ou en rapport (avec quelqu'un); amitié, affinité, sympathie; mon ami, ami, amie; amant, amante. **yuut** = *yut* (skt. *yukta*). Ami, camarade; maîtresse; intime, familier; convenable, amis, connaissances. – *gop yut*, amis, compagnons; amitié. *yut ñu*, son amant. *moyut*, faire alliance.

yuut = *yut* (skt. *yukta*). Ami, camarade; amis, connaissances. – *gop yuut*, id.

Ritual Structure and Naming Patterns of the Todas Past and Present¹

Peri Bhaskararao

ABSTRACT

The linguistic situation on the Nilagiri Mountains is examined. The interrelationship between the ritual structure and personal names of the Todas is analyzed. A comparison of a database of their names collected around 70 years ago with that of a large database of the contemporary Todas reveals significant changes in their naming patterns as well as adoption of a double-name system. It was shown that the double-naming was due to the obligation to have a name that can be written down in the official language of the area. Different processes adopted for adapting their names in the official language are discussed.

The Five Communities on the Nilagiris:

Todas live on the Nilagiri mountains of South India. Presently their population is around 1200. They view themselves as one of the five major Nilagiri communities. They are:

LOCAL NAME	PRONUNCIATION	TODA NAME
Toda	{tōḍā}	{oḥ}
Kota	{kōṭā}	{kwīf}
Badaga	{baḍaga}	{maḥ}
Irula	{iru a}	{er }
Kuruba	{kurumba}	{kurb}

The names given under the column "Toda Name" above are the terms the Todas use to call these five communities. In addition, they recognize two major 'types' of people. They are: Non-Nilagiri people (from a Toda's view point) called by them {pōḥ} which could be roughly translated as 'an Indian-looking person from the plains'; and {ars} 'white person' (< lord).

Toda Personal Names:

An analysis of the personal names of the contemporary Todas and a comparison of their past names reveals that in the span of about 70 years, their naming patterns underwent several changes and that they had to adopt a double naming system and adapt their native names to suit the spelling system of Tamil, the

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dominant language in the area. This process of adaption is due to the phonemic complexity of their own language which cannot be handled by the writing system of the dominant language. This becomes clear when we compare the naming patterns of another community in the same area viz., Badaga. The Badagas have been a literate community in that area. The phonology of their language follows typical Dravidian system and the Tamil writing system can easily accommodate the phonemes of Badaga. As a result the Badagas did not evolve a double naming system and can easily write their names in Tamil script.

Emeneau (1974:25) describes the structure of the names of Toda men: "... in general the names of the men of a clan are derived from the names and *kwašm* of its sacred dairy institutions and of the territorial features connected with the clan". The above was the situation with Toda men's names that he collected during 1935-38. Women's names do not contain any sacred vocabulary. As far as the Toda name of a Toda man is concerned, the above observation holds good even today to a large extent. The term *kwašm* here refers to the sacred vocabulary. Though in the 30's this vocabulary might have been known as *kwašm*, these days it is known by a more general term *koṇ*. A Toda person belongs to one of their 15 exogamous patrilineal clans called *moḍ*s. These 15 clans have been traditionally grouped under two moieties viz., *toṛṭhaš* moiety (containing 10 clans) and *tōṛṭy* (5 clans). This division into moieties had several social functions some of which are discarded now. A person from the opposite moiety is called *soṛty* - hence, to a person of *toṛṭhaš* moiety, a person from *tōṛṭy* moiety is a *soṛty* and vice versa). A male is born in a particular clan and remains in that clan. Since the clans are exogamous, he can marry a woman only from another clan. A woman is born in one clan, marries a man from another clan and consequently becomes a member of husband's clan -- thus a woman has a birth-clan (*pe'd-fy-noṛ*) and a married-clan (*koṛt-fy-noṛ*). Reference to one's mother's clan is made sometimes and it is known as *kuṛ-fy-noṛ*.

Besides the regular vocabulary of the language, Toda language has hundreds of special terms for various objects that are sacred to them. Some of the sacred objects are: Villages and clans (both called *moḍ*) and related areas - every Toda village (either currently inhabited or not) and every clan is sacred to a Toda; temples (*poṭy-foš*) and related areas; sacred places (*noṛ*); sacred buffalos (*pustir*); cremation grounds (*kōṭ-noṛ*) and their parts; ceremonial objects such as the ritual bow given at the time of clan-affiliation-rite (*piš*); sacred objects in temples (such as *moṇy*).

² A 16th clan by name *koṭem* is now extinct. Only two women borne in this clan are alive now but since they got married into other clans, this birth-clan (*koṭem*) is now extinct.

Items belonging to some of the above categories have two sets of names: a sacred name and a simple (profane) name. Names of villages and clans are of this type. Some other categories have only the sacred names e.g., the ritual bow names of different clans, cremation grounds etc. Among these various categories, villages and various other geographical locations are also known to non-Todas living the Nilagiris (in fact, due to their large numbers, the non-Todas might form the majority who refer to these geographical areas). Consequently, they have been given non-Toda 'local' names. Some examples are:

Village: Kandal Mund (local non-Toda name) = *kaš moḍ* (ordinary Toda name) = *iškity-iškfo'w* (sacred Toda name pair)

Village: Inkiti Mund (local non-Toda name) = *iṅkity moḍ* (ordinary Toda name) = *peṅkity-peṅbow* (sacred Toda name pair)

As we will examine later, only the sacred name (either in part or in full) is used as a source for deriving male personal names of Todas as shown in the following examples:

peṅbow-kuḍṇ (a 74 year old man from *iṅkity* village of *iṅkity* clan) is derived from the second element in the sacred name pair of *iṅkity* village: *peṅkity-peṅbow*.

mut-fo-kuḍṇ (a 42 year old man from *meḷgaš* village of *meḷgaš* clan) is derived from the second element in the sacred name pair of the *meḷgaš* village: *našniš-mutfo*.

Before analyzing the various issues related to the dual personal naming of Todas, a brief review of the linguistic situation in the Nilagiris would be of use.

Language situation in the Nilagiris:

Earlier we listed five Nilagiri communities. Each of these communities possesses an independent language. All of them belong to the Dravidian family of languages. In addition to them, several other linguistic groups are present in the Nilagiris in large numbers. Most prominent among them are: Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam -all these three also belong to the Dravidian family. The Nilagiris form a district in the state of Tamil Nadu. After the linguistic reorganization of states in India in 1950s, Tamil was designated as the official language of the state of Tamil Nadu formed then. Being the official language of Tamil Nadu state, Tamil is the major language used for official purposes in the Nilagiris. It is also the most populous language used by the locals as well as in the major media including newspapers, television, radio, political speeches, administration etc. It is also

taught as a compulsory subject in schools and also as a medium of teaching of various subjects in several schools. Consequently, most of the Todas (except for a handful of very old Todas who live in remote villages) are bilingual in Toda and Tamil languages. All literate Todas can read, write and speak Tamil.

Phonemic Structure of Toda and Tamil:

Though Toda is a Dravidian language, it differs from all the other Dravidian languages largely due to its highly complex phonology. Toda is the only Indian language that has 7 fricative sounds, 3 trills and 4 laterals, in addition to 2 front rounded vowels contrasting with their unrounded counterparts. It also has stops/affricates at 7 places of articulation (with a further voiced and voiceless contrast). All these sounds are phonemically distinct hence should be distinctly marked if Toda language is written down. However, all these complex sets came from a basic set of phonemes of Proto-Dravidian stage. On the other hand, Tamil preserves to a large extent the Proto-Dravidian set of phonemes. Thus the writing system of Tamil contains a small set of letters that caters to all the necessary phonemic and phonetic details of the language. The following tables illustrate the difference between the phonemic systems of these two languages. In these tables, rows are separated by thick lines. Each row is divided into two sub-rows separated by dotted lines. The phonemes listed above the dotted line are of Toda and the those below the dotted line are of Tamil. Phonemes from both the languages are put together for ease of comparison.

Consonants							
	BL	D	DA	A	PA	R	V G
St (14)	p b	t d	c z	ɽ ɽ	ɟ j	ɽ ɽ	k g
(6)	p	t			ɟ j	ɽ	k
Fr (7)	f	θ	s	ʂ	ʃ	ʂ	x
(4)			s		ʃ	ʂ	h
Tr (3)			r	r		r	
(2)			r	r			
Lt (4)		ɽ	ɽ			ɽ	ɽ
(2)		ɽ				ɽ	
Ns (3)	m	n				ɳ	
(6)	m	n		ɳ	ɳ	ɳ	ɳ
Ap (2)	w				y		

(3)	w	y	z
-----	---	---	---

BL: Bilabial, D: Dental, DA: Denti-alveolar, A: Alveolar, PA: Palato-alveolar, R: Retroflex, V: Velar, G: Glottal;
 St: Stops (and Affricates), Fr: Fricatives, Tr: Trills, Lt: Laterals, Ns: Nasals, Ap: Approximants.

The numbers after each category indicates the number of contrastive phonemes present in each of the languages in those series (E.g. In the first row, St(14) means that there are 14 stop phonemes in Toda whereas (6) stands for the number of stop phonemes in Tamil.)

Vowels				
	FU	FR	CU	BU BR
High	i i'	u u'		ɨ ɨ' u u'
	i ī			u ū
Mid	e e'	ø ø'		o o'
	e ē			o ō
Mid			a a'	
			a ā	

F: Front, C: Central, B: Back, U: Unrounded, R: Rounded.
 Total number of Vowels: Toda (16), Tamil (10).

These tables show that there are 49 phonemes in Toda that require a separate letter for each whereas Tamil has 33 letters.

Structure of a Toda personal name:

Earlier Stage: As described by Emeneau 1974, the name of a Toda man or woman has only one part - the given name. There was no other name such as family name, father's name or surname as a part of ones name. A man's name had to be derived from the sacred vocabulary related to his clan and a woman's name should not contain any such sacred vocabulary. A few examples from Emeneau 1974 are: a man's name No. 169: tũɽy-pow (Rivers' spelling Tilipa) of-the ka:š village was named after the sacred name: po:w tũɽy-pow of the temple-dairy at

the *Naešminor* village of the *ka:š* clan; and woman's names such as: *sin-bu:f* 'golden flower', *piLy-mut* 'silver pearl', *naš-tu:fy* 'beautiful feather'.

Present Situation: Currently, the traditional name of a Toda continues to have only one part. However, the strict system of using only items from the sacred vocabulary associated with one's clan seems to have weakened to some extent. The bearer of the name sometimes does not seem to comprehend the full meaning of his name. Structure of woman's names continues as in earlier stage. The most important change in the Toda personal names in general is the inclusion of 'official names' for them as described below.

Need for an 'Official Name': Though Rivers 1906 listed several Toda personal names in his own romanization, there was no indication that Todas were literate or used those names. Similar to some other communities around, literacy spread among the Todas in post-Independent India. Besides being literate in Tamil, a literate Toda person can also read and write Roman script.

Official business of the state is conducted basically in Tamil and sometimes in English. This includes the transactions in various government agencies such as village administrative offices, municipal offices, state government departments, food-rationing offices, banks, schools, hospitals, police stations, forest offices etc. Some of the documents that one gets from these various agencies are: Community Certificate (verifying that the person belongs to the Toda tribe - a 'scheduled tribe' that entitles certain reserved positions in public employment and educational institutions; Birth Certificate; Ration Card that entitles the family to get some food at subsidized rates; Bank accounts; Forest Pass that allows the Todas to get access to the wide forests in the Nilagiris. At each of these places, a Toda person has to write down his or her name mostly in Tamil script and sometimes in Roman script. Hence the Toda person needs to have a name that can be written in these two scripts.

The second factor that influences the way a Toda needs to write one's name is the Tamil system of personal names. Mostly a Tamil person has a given name and a surname which is usually his/her father's name (e.g., the full name of 'S. Rajendran' is: 'Sankaravelayudhan Rajendran' - Rajendran is the given name and the rest is his father's name)³. For all official purposes, a Toda is expected to have a name in conformity with the local 'system' which should contain his/her

³ It may be noted that in Dravidian names, the given name is not usually abbreviated whereas, the surname is abbreviated. In some cases the name of native place is also included in the full name (e.g., Coimbatore[Place name] Ramaswami [father's name] Sankaran [given name]).

father's name. Thus the Toda is expected to have (1) a name that can be written down in Tamil script and/or Roman script, (2) a name containing two parts: his/her father's name followed by his/her given name.

Choice of Toda Name and Official Name:

The original Toda name of a person is decided upon by the parents. Suggestions by elders in the clan are usually welcome. There is an elaborate ritual of 'face-uncovering and name-giving' sometime between one and three months after birth of the child (Walker 1986:198-9). The official name is decided by parents and sometimes by the school teacher and perhaps others. The only criterion for fixing this name is its legibility in the local 'official' script.

Structure of an 'Official Name': As explained earlier, if one was to write Toda language in Tamil script, because of its complex phonology, 16 out of Toda's 49 phonemes will be left without written representation. Same is the situation in using unmodified Roman script for Toda. Every Toda needs an official name (=OfN) for various official purposes as explained later. Thus the Todas were left with two choices: modify the available script (Tamil or Roman) to suit the needs of Toda phonology, or modify their names to suit the available scripts. Todas have chosen the second option due to lack of a reliable writing system for their language. In addition, following the Tamil system, they also started including their father's name in their name. An examination of the name of the following female person who was born in the *mortxö:r* village of the *mortxö:r* clan and married into *ka:š* clan is illustrative:

Toda name of the person: *ko:s-man-θe:fy* 'wealth-house-goddess'

Her personal name in Tamil script: *Vāsa-malli* (fragrant-jasmine) [her school teacher chose this name for her]

Her father's name in Toda: *kwir̥i:jo:n* (named after the *kwir̥o:r* village of *mortxö:r* clan)

Her official name in Tamil script: *Kurtāz Vāsamalli*

Her official full name in Roman script: *Kurtaz Vasamalli* (abbreviated as *K.Vasamalli*).

The above case shows how approximations are achieved in formulating names in Tamil language and Tamil script and in Roman script. Following is an analysis of some of the issues that arise out of these approximations.

A. Phonetically different but meaningful Official Names (=OfN):

1. The OfN is phonetically very different from the original name. However, the OfN is meaningful in Tamil language. E.g., *peš-to:x-guḍḥ* (of *ki'wir̥* clan). *peš* < *pešn* means 'the sacred object (*mony*) that is kept in the temple-dairy at the *ki'wir̥-mod* (=Ki'wir̥ village), and *to:x* means 'the divine power that flows or emanates from a

temple or a sacred object'. OfN in Tamil script: *makātēvan* pronounced as [magādēvan]. *makātēvan* (from the Sanskrit word *mahādeva*) means 'great god (= the god Shiva)'.
B. Phonetically similar but meaningless OfN:

B. Phonetically similar but meaningless OfN:

The OfN sounds similar to the original name in the Toda language. However, the whole of OfN has no meaning in Tamil language (though part of it may resemble in meaning with a corresponding part in Toda language). Some examples are given below:

1. Emeneau 1974 lists *tūly-po-w* (Number 169 in his list and was named after the *kwašm* of the *wiśoty* temple at the *Naešminoṛ* village). His grandson is now called *po-w-tūly* (his name is derived by mirroring the grandfather's name to avoid repeating the name while the grandfather was alive). The OfN of *po-w-tūly* is *Potilikkuṭṭan* in Tamil spelling which is meaningless in Tamil except for the ending *-kuṭṭan*.

2. *eṭ-ars* (Male 43 years) of *inkity* village of *inkity* clan is named after the Mount *eṭeṛ* near his village. This name contains the suffix, *-ars* which is a borrowed form meaning 'king'. His OfN is: *eṭ-rāj* (the *-rāj* portion means 'king' corresponding to the *-ars* portion in the Toda name).

3. *oṇmury-guḍṇ* (Male 19) of *peleṭkwaṛ* village of *kaṣ* clan is named after the now abandoned *oṇmury* village of that clan. His OfN is: *ān-muṭi-kkuṭṭan* which is similar in sound to the Toda name but has no meaning in Tamil language.

C. Phonetically different and meaningless OfN:

In some cases, the OfN neither has phonetic similarity with the original Toda name nor has any meaning in Tamil language.

pešo-šy-guḍṇ (of *meḷga-š* clan) named after the sacred buffalos of the clan (whose sacred name is: *en pešo-šy*). His OL in Tamil script is: *poḷjan* pronounced as: [boḷjan] which is meaningless in Tamil language. However, it is a commonly used personal name in *Badaga* language.

D. Both the Toda name and the OfN are phonetically and semantically similar:

In a very few cases, we get both the Toda name and the OfN have similar pronunciation and meaning.

puḷ-kwiṭṇ of *iṣaroṛ* village of *kaṣ* clan is named after a garland made of cotton which was presented the British when they first met the persons from this clan. It was preserved as an important object and used to be kept on the corpse of a

man of the clan as an honour. The word *puḷ* refers to the flower like arrangement in the garland. The corresponding OfN is *pūv-kkuṭṭan* which is similar in meaning.

Female Names continue to be formed as in the earlier stage. E.g., *roj-sin* 'rose-gold', *puḷ-niṭy* 'flower-moral'. A few of them have original Toda roots. Some of them are borrowed from Tamil and some from Hindi etc. (through Tamil). E.g., *suga:sini* 'one who has a good smile' < Ta. *suka:sini* < Sanskrit *suha:sini*. Occasionally an OL with different sound and meaning is adopted for a Toda name, e.g., *ko's-man-ṭe:fy* discussed above.

Conclusion:

Lack of a writing system for a community and pressure from the dominant language to write down their personal names forces the community to adapt their names to fit into the writing system of the dominant language. Comparison of a large database of personal names compiled around 70 years ago with another database of names of contemporary Todas reveal significant changes in their naming patterns. Compounding this change might be the truncation of their ritual processes which will probably result in a more drastic change in their naming patterns in the decades to come unless the Todas adopt a viable writing system.

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TODA VERBAL PARADIGMS PAST, NON-PAST AND NEGATIVE

Peri Bhaskararao

Introduction:

Based on the data collected during our ongoing fieldwork on Toda language, a part of its verb morphology is presented here. Since the past, non-past and negative forms of Toda verbs form the basis for several other paradigms, they are analysed and discussed in this paper. Since Emeneau 1984 (hereafter TGT) is the most exhaustive analysis of Toda language available so far, we take it as a reference point and also adhere, as much as possible, to the terminology and description given therein.

Past, Non-past, and Negative Paradigms:

In TGT's analysis, the past tense (Pa), non-past tense (NPa) as well as negative (Ng) verbs have two sets of forms that are grouped under two separate 'paradigms'. Following TGT, we call them Paradigm I (Pdml) and Paradigm II (PdmlI). The structure of Pdml and PdmlI of the three conjugations as found in our data is given in Table 1 followed by an analysis of their usage.

		A	B	C	D	E	F
i	Choice of a Paradigm →	Pa Pdml	NPa Pdml	Pa PdmlI	NPa PdmlI	Ng Pdml	Ng PdmlI
ii	Assignment of S1/S2 →	S2				S1	
iii	Assignment of tense suffix →	-s	-	-s	-	-	-
	Choice of a PN ↓						
iv	1s →	-pin		in		-in	-in
v	1ep →	-pim		im		-im	-im
vi	1ip →	-pum		um		-um	-um
vii	2s →	-py		-y	-č	-ify	-iy
viii	2p →	-š	-tš	-š	-tš	-š	-š
ix	3 →	-s	-č	-k	-u	-i	-(o)θ
x	PN suffix set Number	1	2	3	4	5	6

Table 1

[Abbreviations: S1 = Stem1, S2 = Stem2; 1 = 1st person, 2 = 2nd person, 3 = 3rd person; s = singular, p = plural, e = exclusive, i = inclusive; PN = Person-Number. Note that there is no number difference in 3rd person.]

As described in TGT, a Toda verb typically has two stems -- Stem1 (S1) and Stem2 (S2). All S1 forms are consonant-final. Except for four irregular verbs¹, S1 is the imperative singular form of the verb. S2 is derived from S1 by suffixing a consonant to S1 or changing the final consonant of S1.

Pdml of Pa and NPa are listed first (in columns A and B respectively) because the 1s, 1ep, 1ip PN suffixes are the same for them. Same is the case of PdmlI of Pa and NPa. Absence of a marker in the cells, iiiB, iiiD-F means that there is no separate suffix to express the concerned tense, viz., in both the paradigms of Pa and Ng. Thus, a NPa or a Ng verb is formed by the combination of just the appropriate stem (S1 or S2) and the appropriate PN marker.

Usage of Table 1: First, in Row i, a paradigm is selected. Then in Row ii, a choice between S1 and S2 is made. In Row iii, a tense suffix is assigned. Depending upon the person agreement, a row between Row iv and ix is selected. As an example, let us take the verb 'to eat' whose S1 is *tin-* and S2 is *tid-*. To get the 1s Pa Pdml form of this verb, we choose its S2 *tid-*, add Pa suffix *-s*, and then 1s suffix *-pin* giving the full form *tid-s-pin*. To this form, we add the declarative particle as described below.

Declarative Particle: TGT (p.152) posited a declarative particle *-i* that is added to forms in Pdml. We find that the declarative particle has two allomorphs: *-i* occurring after the 2p PN suffix which always ends in *-š*, and *-i* occurring after the rest of the PN suffixes. Table 2 lists the PN suffixes followed by the appropriate allomorph of the declarative particle. The morphophonemic changes involving the declarative particle are: *y+i > i* and *t+i > iyi*.

	Pa Pdml	NPa Pdml	Ng Pdml
1s	-pin-i	-in-i	-in-i
1ep	-pim-i	-im-i	-im-i
1ip	-pum-i	-um-i	-um-i
2s	-py-i (> pi)	-ify-i (> ifi)	-iy-i
2p	-š-i	-tš-i	-š-i
3	-s-i	-č-i	-i-i (> iyi)

Table 2

¹ The irregular verbs are: *por* 'to come', *tor* 'to give', *ptx* 'to go', *ox* 'to become'.

Presentation of PdmI and PdmII: Formation and function of PdmI of Pa, NPa and Ng will be presented first separately. Formation and function of PdmII of all the three tenses will be presented together in 1.4 because of the similarities among them.

Past PdmI:

Past Tense stem (PaS) is formed by suffixing the past suffix -s to the S2 of a verb. PaS is the basis for all further expansions of the verb in Past tense. A morphophonemic change involving the S2 form of a verb base, the past suffix -s as well as the initial -s of a PN suffix has to be noted first.

Morphophonemic Rule 1: Palatalization of a Suffixal Consonant

A large number of S2 forms end in a palatal consonant (š, č, j, y). Of them, š, č, j are products of assimilation of S1-final s, c, z and the /y/ that is suffixed to them (during the formation of S2). This final palatal consonant further palatalizes the Past tense suffix -s as well as the -s part of 3rd person PN suffix in Past tense conjugation. This process is expressed by the following rule:

$$[-\check{C}]_{S2} + [s]_{\text{suffix}} (+[s]_{\text{suffix}}) > [-\check{C}]_{S2} + [\check{s}]_{\text{suffix}} (+[\check{s}]_{\text{suffix}})$$

where Č = one of the palatal consonants š, č, j, y.

Following are some examples for this process:

Verb 'to comb' : S1 ki·c- , S2 ki·č (<ki·c-y).

Pa PdmI of 1s: ki·č-s-pin-i > ki·čšpini 'I combed'

Pa PdmI of 3s: ki·č-s-s-i > ki·čši (<ki·č-š-š-i < ki·č-s-s-i) 'He combed'

Usage and Expansion of Past Stem: The expansions of a PaS are: 1. PaS+PN1; 2. PaS+PN3(+X); 3. PaS(+Y).

1. PaS+PN1: PaS receives Person Markers of set PN1 to form a finite verb of Paradigm I in Past tense.

2. PaS+PN3(+X): PaS receives Person Markers of set PN3 to form a finite verb of Paradigm II in Past tense. The Past PdmII can optionally be expanded by adding a suffix or a particle (X).

3. PaS(+Y): On its own, PaS functions as the Past Non-finite verb. Alternatively, it can be further expanded by adding an auxiliary or a particle (Y).

1.1.1. Formation of Past finite (PaF) from PaS:

The Past Finite Verb (= Past verb in Paradigm I) is produced by adding a PN1 suffix to PaS. The set of PN1 suffixes (alongwith the declarative particle separated by a hyphen) are given below.

Person	1s	1ep	1ip	2s	2p	3
PN Suffix	-pin-i	-pim-i	-pum-i	-py-i > pi	-s-ř	-s-i

Morphophonemic Rule 2: Devoicing of -y and vowel colouring of -s

In PdmI, in slow tempo pronunciation, if the S2 ends in a -y, it is devoiced and made very short in pronunciation. Thus, *noby-š-pini* is pronounced as [nob'špini]. In fast tempo pronunciation, two changes take place: A. The -y ending S2 forms is deleted. B. The -(p)V portion of the sequence -s-(p)VN (in 1s, 1ep, 1ip forms) is deleted and the vocalic character of the deleted V portion is superimposed on the originally preceding tense suffix -s which could be represented as -s'.

For instance, the underlying form of Past PdmI in 1ip of the verb 'to trust' *nob~noby-* is *noby-s-pumi*. Its pronunciation in slow tempo is: *nob'špumi* which is further reduced in fast tempo to: *nobš^umi*. The resulting /s^u/ is an /s/ with co-articulated lip-rounding. The 1st person exclusive plural and inclusive plural forms are clearly differentiated by means of presence or absence of lip-rounding on the concerned fricative. /s^u/ and /š^u/ are pronounced with rounded lips whereas /s'/, /š'/, /s'/ and /š'/ have no associated lip rounding. Their qualitative differences are distinctly audible across many speakers.

This process is depicted in the formula: -(S)-pV_aN > -(S)^vN where S = s or š. This change applies to Past Paradigm I forms as well as to the Past Paradigm II forms of all verbs.

Sample paradigms:

y-ending S2 type: 'to trust, believe' S1: nob- ; S2= noby-

Person	Underlying structure	In slow tempo pronunciation	In fast tempo pronunciation	Meaning
1s	noby-s-pini	nob'špini	nobš'ni	I believed
1ep	noby-s-pimi	nob'špimi	nobš'mi	We (excl) believed
1ip	noby-s-pumi	nob'špumi	nobš ^u mi	We (incl) believed
2s	noby-s-pi	nobšpi		You (sg) believed
2p	noby-s-ři	nobšři		You (pl) believed
3	noby-s-si	nobšši > nobšti		He/she/it/they believed

č-ending S2 type: 'to comb' S1: ki·c- ; S2= ki·č-

Person	Underlying structure	In slow tempo pronunciation	In fast tempo pronunciation	Meaning
1s	ki·č-s-pini	ki·čšpini	ki·čš'ni	I combed
1ep	ki·č-s-pimi	ki·čšpimi	ki·čš'mi	We (excl) combed
1ip	ki·č-s-pumi	ki·čšpumi	ki·čš ^u mi	We (incl) combed
2s	ki·č-s-pi	ki·čšpi		You (sg) combed
2p	ki·č-s-ři	ki·čšři		You (pl) combed

3	ki·č-s-si	ki·čšši > ki·čši	He/she/it/they combed
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j-ending S2 type: 'to be afraid' S1: oz- ; S2= oj-

Person	Underlying structure	In slow tempo pronunciation	In fast tempo pronunciation	Meaning
1s	oj-s-pini	ojšpini	ojš'ni	I was afraid
1ep	oj-s-pimi	ojšpimi	ojš'mi	We (excl) were afraid
1ip	oj-s-pumi	ojšpumi	ojš'mi	We (incl) were afraid
2s	oj-s-pi		ojšpi	You (sg) were afraid
2p	oj-s-si		ojšši	You (pl) were afraid
3	oj-s-si		ojšši > ojši	He/she/it/they was/were afraid

š-ending S2 type: 'to abandon' S1: pi-s- ; S2= pi-š-

Person	Underlying structure	In slow tempo pronunciation	In fast tempo pronunciation	Meaning
1s	pi-š-s-pini	pi-š-š-pini	pi-šš'ni	I abandoned
1ep	pi-š-s-pimi	pi-š-š-pimi	pi-šš'mi	We (excl) abandoned
1ip	pi-š-s-pumi	pi-š-š-pumi	pi-šš'mi	We (incl) abandoned
2s	pi-š-s-pi	pi-š-š-pi	pi-ššpi	You (sg) abandoned
2p	pi-š-s-si	pi-š-š-si	pi-ššši	You (pl) abandoned
3	pi-š-s-si	pi-š-š-ši	pi-ššši	He/she/it/they abandoned

Non-y-ending S2 type: 'to eat' S1: tiŋ- ; S2= tiđ-

Person	Underlying structure	In slow tempo pronunciation	In fast tempo pronunciation	Meaning
1s	tiđ-s-pini	tiđspini	tiđs'ni	I ate
1ep	tiđ-s-pimi	tiđspimi	tiđs'mi	We (excl) ate
1ip	tiđ-s-pumi	tiđspumi	tiđs'mi	We (incl) ate
2s	tiđ-s-pi		tiđspi	You (sg) ate
2p	tiđ-s-si		tiđsši	You (pl) ate
3	tiđ-s-si		tiđssi > tiđsi	He/she/it/they ate

'to go' S1: pi-x- ; S2 pi-y-

Person	Underlying structure	In slow tempo pronunciation	In fast tempo pronunciation	Meaning
1s	pi-y-s-pini	pi-y-š-pini	pi-yš'ni	I went
1ep	pi-y-s-pimi	pi-y-š-pimi	pi-yš'mi	We (excl) went
1ip	pi-y-s-pumi	pi-y-š-pumi	pi-yš'mi	We (incl) went
2s	pi-y-s-pi	pi-y-š-pi	pi-yšpi	You (sg) went

2p	pi-y-s-si	pi-y-š-si	pi-yšši	You (pl) went
3	pi-y-s-si	pi-y-š-ši	pi-yšši	He/she/it/they went

Differences Between the Present Data and TGT:

There are two major differences between the present data (and its analysis) and the data and analysis given in TGT.

Difference in the allomorphs of past tense suffix:

Table 3 lists the differences in the allomorphy as well as the conditioning of allomorphs between the present data and that of TGT.

Past suffix allomorph	TGT's Data	Present Data
	occurs after stems ending in	
š	y, č, j, t, d, θ, k, a vowel	a palatal sound
s	s, c	a non-palatal sound
š	t, d	[this allomorph does not occur]
š	t, d	[this allomorph does not occur]

Table 3

TGT posits š as the basic allomorph of the suffix along with the allomorphs s, š, and s that occur in complementary distribution. Our data does not have the š and s allomorphs of this suffix. Distribution of the remaining two allomorphs viz. š and s also differs between TGT and our data. In TGT, š allomorph occurs after stems ending in y, č, j, t, d, θ, k or a vowel. However, in the present data, the š shape of the past tense suffix is obtained through palatalization of an underlying s. Out of the sounds that influence the selection of š in TGT, the non-palatal sounds viz., t, d, θ, k and non-front vowels do not have a motivated connection with the palatalness of š. On the other hand, in the present data and analysis we find that the process of palatalization is a motivated change.

Following are some examples of S2 forms ending in various types of non-palatal consonants from the present data:

Root meaning	S1 form	S2 form	Examples of 3 rd person past form
to cook	oŋ-	oŋ-	oŋ-s-si
to hear	ke' -	ke'ŋ-	ke'ŋ-s-si
to own buffalos	o' -	o'd-	o'd-s-si
to see	ko'ŋ-	kođ-	kođ-s-si
to learn	kal-	kaŋ-	kaŋ-s-si

to vomit	ko'n-	ko'g-	ko'g-s-si
to hide	kofy-	kofc-	kofc-s-si
to do	küy-	kis-	kis-s-si
to take	e'f-	e't-	e't-s-si
to forget	mar-	marθ-	marθs-s-si
to enter	pux-	puk-	puk-s-si

In the present data, the past suffix -s does not become a retroflex -ʃ after a base-final retroflex. However, when it occurs after the 'completive auxiliary' piḍ- ~ piṭ- it merges with the final ṭ of the auxiliary resulting in ʃ as illustrated below. In fact, the auxiliary piḍ- ~ piṭ- changes to fiḍ- ~ fiṭ- and then to viḍ- ~ viṭ- which ultimately gets reduced to -i. This whole process of reduction of piḍ- ~ piṭ- to -i is explained later in comparison with some other Dravidian languages.

Root: nob- ~ noby- 'to believe'

	Underlying form	In slow tempo pronunciation	In fast tempo pronunciation	Meaning
Simple past	noby-s-pini	nobʃpini	nobʃni	I believed
Completive-past form	noby-piṭ-s-pini	nobʷiṣpini > nobiṣpini	nobiṣni	I believed (regretfully)

Root: tiṅ- ~ tiḍ- 'to eat'

	Underlying form	In slow tempo pronunciation	In fast tempo pronunciation	Meaning
Simple past	tiḍ-s-pini	tiḍspini	tiḍsni	I ate
Completive-past form	tiḍ-piṭ-s-pini	tiḍwiṣpini > tiḍiṣpini	tiḍiṣni	I ate (away)

TGT consistently has ʃ as the allomorph of past tense suffix in a large number of contexts. The unmotivated association between a palatal ʃ with several non-palatal endings of S2 forms of verbs such as t, d, θ, k and non-front vowels is possibly due to the interference of an underlying Completive auxiliary piḍ- ~ piṭ- in all such forms recorded by TGT. The reason for this doubt arises from a similar phenomenon in other Dravidian languages as explained below. Speakers of Toda have a tendency to frequently use the Completive-past form (with the auxiliary piḍ- ~ piṭ-) in the place of simple past form (without this auxiliary) – without actually implying a completive-intensive meaning. As shown above, this auxiliary is reduced to ʃ in pronunciation. We could elicit the verbs without the completive auxiliary.

Such a tendency to use compound verbs with reduced 'completive' auxiliary is wide-spread in other Dravidian languages. Observe the following cases of Telugu: vēyu [the completive auxiliary]; tinu '(You sg.) eat!' (Imperative Singular); tinnānu (<tinn-ā-nu) 'I ate (it)' (Past); tin-i-vēy > tinē(y) > tini(y) '(You sg.) eat it away!' (Imperative Singular completive); tin-i-vēs-ē-nu > tinēsēnu > tinisēnu 'I ate it away!'. In spoken Telugu, usage of this reduced auxiliary is so pervasive that one can propose that the auxiliary is 'morphologized' in the sense that the auxiliary for all practical purposes functions as a suffix. Shanmugam Pillai 1962 and Annamalai (1985:18) quoting Ramanujan and Annamalai 1967 claim that some of the auxiliary verbs in Tamil were suffixes and that claim was 'motivated by their phonological shape'. Irulappan (1980:172-3) lists the way in which the Tamil 'completive' auxiliary -viṭu has several shortened forms such as -vuṭ, -iṭu, -ṭu, -ṭa, -iṭ in different dialects. The extremely shortened form is -ṭ as in poteccu-ṭ-ṭu 'having buried definitely'. Schiffman (1999: 84-5) notes that the 'completive' aspectual verb 'adds a notion that an action was, is, or will be complete or definite'. His examples are: pooyṭṭaan 'He went away; he's definitely gone'; vand-iḍreen 'I am definitely coming; I'll come for sure'; anuppuccuḍu 'send him away; get rid of him'; saappiṭṭuṭṭeen 'I ate it all up'; vand-iḍu-nga 'be sure to come'; pooyiḍalaam 'one may go along'; paattuṭṭeen 'I definitely saw'. Steever (1993-196) shows that this auxiliary undergoes 'compound verb contraction' in Tamil with the main verb and thus "the compound vantu viṭṭēṅ 'I did come' is thus ordinarily pronounced as vantiṭṭē 'I did come'". For Malayalam, Nair (1980: 296) shows the process of reduction of the 'completive' auxiliary viṭu as in : avan añṅane ceytuṭṭu (ceytu+viṭṭu) 'He did so'. For Iruḷa, Perialwar (1980: 511) gives instances of the 'definitive' auxiliary viḍu being reduced as in the following examples: ava coru tinru viṭṭa:ru / tinruṭṭa:ru. 'They have finished the eating'.

With this background, one could doubt whether the forms quoted in TGT containing past stems with the suffix /ʃ/ could actually be a result of an insertion of the reduced completive auxiliary /ʃ/ as it is very difficult to differentiate an /ʃ/ from /s/ in this position.

The other alternative for this difference in TGT and the data of present analysis could be that the language has undergone a change in this area.

Differences in Pronominal Suffixes:

TGT data and our data differ in the shape of some of the PN1 suffixes. Taking the full paradigm of the verb po-r- (S2= pod-) 'to come' given in TGT, we can compare with the forms in our data as shown in Table 4.

Person	Our Data	TGT Data
1s	pod-s-pin-i	pod-š-pin-i
1ep	pod-s-pim-i	pod-š-pim-i
1ip	pod-s-pum-i	pod-š-pum-i
2s	pod-s-py-i > podspi	pod-š-py-i > podšpi
2p	pod-s-s-i	(pod-š-š-i >) podši
3	pod-s-s-i	(pod-š-t-i >) podči

Table 4: Comparison of Past Paradigm of verb 'to come' S1 = *poT*, S2 = *pod-*

Notice the major difference in the forms for 3rd person in the two sets of data. The surface form *podči* stands for 3rd person past tense in TGT, whereas, interestingly, the same surface form stands for 3rd person Non-past tense in our data. This is a major difference.

TGT mentions (p.152) "the 2pl. suffix in the past paradigms is of such rare occurrence in the texts that certainty about its form can hardly be arrived at. However, there are occurrences of *š* after *t*, *s* after *d*, and *s* after *s*, and in eliciting paradigms of various verbs it appeared that otherwise the form is *š*." However we elicited 2p forms in all the paradigms and found that the PN suffix for this person is /-*s*/ which has no variants.

Function of PaS as Past Non-finite: Following TGT, we use the term 'Past Non-finite' (PaNf) to denote verbal forms with the meaning 'having done ...'. Eg., *tīd-s* 'having eaten'. In Dravidian linguistics, these forms are known by different names such as 'past adverbial participle', 'verbal participle' etc. We find in our data, PaS alone is used as a PaNf verb. The PaNf can function both as a past adjective and as a past adverb. Observe the following:

tal-s # *jermaṅ* # *nwiṅty-s* (> *nwiṅtš*) # *oḷ* # *oṅ* # *oṅθ-fin-i*
 first # Germany # saw.PaNf # person # I # is
I am the first Toda person to have seen Germany

an-n # *noby-s* (> *nobš*) # *soṅfy* # *kwīdt-s-pin-i*
 him # having.trusted # key # gave.I
'Having trusted him, I gave the key'

"nim # *poc-fy* # *ko's* # *etk-u*" # *iḍ* # *ars-fiṅ-s* (> *ars-fiš*) # *"tan-k*
 you(pl) # kept # money # how.much-Q # so # having.known.away # self-to
 # to-mo" # *iḍš* # *noṅtyxišm* # *aθ* # *penty-s-iθ-s-s-i* (> *pentišši*)
 # give # so # always # he # asked

'Having known how much money you kept, he kept on asking for money'

Since the PaS alone functions as PaNf, no separate suffix is necessary to form PaNf from a verbal base. It may be noted that Sakthivel (1977:105-6) too had posited a -*ø* allomorph of what he terms 'verbal participle' suffix which is equivalent to 'past non-finite' of TGT. A couple of examples from Sakthivel (1977:105-6) are: *pod-s-ø* 'having come', *koḍ-s-ø* 'having seen', *puk-s-ø* 'having entered'.

However, TGT has three allomorphs for Past Non-finite viz., -*s*, -*č*, -*c*. The allomorphs of the Past tense suffix and of the Past Non-finite suffix along with their distribution as given in TGT are shown in Table 5.

After S2 forms ending in→	t	θ	ṭ	ḍ	ṭ	ḍ	c	k	s	č	j	y	V			
or after the S2 forms of the verbs→															o'y-	pi'-
the following allomorphs of the suffix occur↓																
Past Non-finite suffix																
č										+	+	+			+	+
c	+			+	+	+				+					+	
s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
Past suffix																
s							+		+							
š	+	+						+		+	+	+	+			
š			+	+												
š					+	+										
	t	θ	ṭ	ḍ	ṭ	ḍ	c	k	s	č	j	y	V			

Table 5: Allomorphs of past tense suffixes and their distribution in TGT

The above table shows that some of the allomorphs of both the suffixes have several 'unmotivated' distributional patterns. On the other hand, in the present data, since PaNf does not have a separate suffix, the allomorphy of the past tense suffix -*s* (and its allomorph -*š*) would suffice for the whole of past tense inflection.

Non-Past Pdml

Pdml of Non-Past (NPa) is formed by adding PN2 directly to S2 of a verb base.

The set of PN2 suffixes are:

Person	1sg	1ep	1ip	2s	2p	3
PN Suffix	-pin-i	-pim-i	-pum-i	-py-i > pi	-tš-i	-č-i

Sample paradigms:

Verb 'to eat': S1= tīn- ; S2= tīd-

Person	Underlying Structure	Spoken Form	Meaning
1s	tīd-pin-i	tīdpini	I eat
1ep	tīd-pim-i	tīdpimi	We (excl) eat
1ip	tīd-pum-i	tīdpumi	We (incl) eat
2s	tīd-py-i	tīdpi	You (sg) eat
2p	tīd-tš-i	tīdtš-i	You (pl) eat
3	tīd-č-i	tīdči	He/she/it/they eat(s)

Root: 'to comb': S1= ki'c-; S2= ki'cy > ki'č

Person	Underlying Structure	Spoken Form	Meaning
1s	ki'č-pini	ki'čpini	I comb
1ep	ki'č-pim-i	ki'čpimi	We (excl) comb
1ip	ki'č-pum-i	ki'čpumi	We (incl) comb
2s	ki'č-py-i	ki'čpi	You (sg) comb
2p	ki'č-tš-i	ki'čtš-i	You (pl) comb
3	ki'č-č-i	ki'čči	He/she/it/they comb(s)

Note that in 3rd person ki'čči, the release of the first [č] is distinctly heard.

Verb 'to trust, believe': S1= nob- ; S2= noby-

A	C	D	E	F
Person	Underlying Structure	Spoken Form in slow tempo	Spoken Form in fast tempo	Meaning
1s	noby-pin-i	nob ^y pini	nobpini	I trust
1ep	noby-pim-i	nob ^y pimi	nobpimi	We (excl) trust
1ip	noby-pum-i	nob ^y pumi	nobpumi	We (incl) trust
2s	noby-py-i	nob ^y pi	nobpi	You (sg) trust
2p	noby-tš-i	nob ^y tš-i	nobtš-i	You (pl) trust
3	noby-č-i	nob ^y či	nobči	He/she/it/they trust

Older speakers maintain the spoken forms in D whereas, some younger speakers use the forms in D as well as E. Forms in D are pronounced with a voiceless release of /y/ that is represented by /'/. The sequence of /bp/ in forms in E begins with a voiced bilabial stop and ends in a voiceless bilabial stop. After the oral stricture is formed for this sequence, voicing remains for sometime which then trails off into voicelessness. Maintenance of this voicing-voicelessness transition is important in differentiating these forms from corresponding Negative forms: Cf. *nobpini* 'I trust', *nobbini* 'I do not trust'.

Differences from TGT: The PN suffixes in Non-Past paradigm in TGT data differ from the present data as listed below.

'to come' S1: po'r- ; S2: pod-

Person	Present Data	TGT Data
1s	pod-pin-i	pod-pin-i
1ep	pod-pim-i	pod-pim-i
1ip	pod-pum-i	pod-pum-i
2s	pod-py-i	pod-py-i
2p	pod-tš-i	pod-tš-i
3	pod-č-i	pod-t-i

The difference in the 2p suffix -tš (in the present data) compared to -tš (in TGT) was already noted. The fricative element both in the 2s suffix and 2p suffix is š in our data as opposed to ž in TGT.

The major deference between TGT and the present data is in the 3rd person form. TGT's PN suffix (followed by the declarative particle) -t-i for 3rd person is not found in our data. Instead, our data has -č-i. It is interesting to note that -či is the PN marker for 3rd person in Past tense in our data. Thus the curious but a crucial difference in meaning arises between the present data and TGT's data as given below:

Present data: pod-č-i 'He/she/it comes/will come' Non-past 3rd person
TGT: podč-i (<pod-š-t-i) 'He/she/it came' Past 3rd person

1.3. Negative Pdml

The Negative (Ng) is formed by the combination of S1 followed by a PN suffix of PN5 set. There is no overt Negative marker. As mentioned in TGT, the negative paradigm is tenseless.

PN5 Set:

Person	1s	1ep	1ip	2s	2p	3
--------	----	-----	-----	----	----	---

PN Suffix	-in-i	-im-i	-um-i	-ify-i > ifi	-s-i	-i-i > -iyi
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Morphophonemic Rule 3: Base-final consonant gemination:

This rule applies when a vowel-initial suffix follows bases of a particular structure. This rule is applicable in this paradigm as well as some other paradigms which have vowel-initial suffixes involved.

$$(C_1)VC_2 - [VCx]_{\text{suffix}} > (C_1)VC_2C_2 - [VCx]_{\text{suffix}}$$

where V is a short vowel and C₂ is not /r, ɾ, ɽ, ʂ, ʃ, x/

When a vowel-initial suffix follows it, the base final C₂ is geminated in the case of S1 forms of (C₁)VC₂ structure, provided the V is a short vowel and C₂ is a consonant other than /r, ɾ, ɽ, ʂ, ʃ, x/. In the present paradigm, among the PN suffixes, only the 2p suffix, -s does not trigger this rule as it not vowel-initial.

In connection with the verbs with final /d/ an interesting point has arisen in our data. Observe the following:

Meaning	S1	Underlying structure of Ng form	Spoken form	Meaning
to limp	id	id-in-i	iddini	I did/do/will not limp
to put	it	it-in-i	itini	I did/do/will not put

TGT has

	Present Data			TGT		
	S1	S2	Neg	S1	S2	Neg*
to limp	id	idy	iddini	id	idy	ideni
to put	it	it	itini	id	it	ideni

*Though these negative forms are not listed in TGT, these are the forms expected according to the rules of TGT.

In our data, at phonetic level, we found that all the following verbs end in a voiced retroflex flap (as opposed to a voiced retroflex stop).

oɽ	dance: move in a swinging motion
pɔɽ	beg
sotym-oɽ	make an oath
wiɽ	run
aɽ	dig
kiɽ	leave; pass; cross
kuɽ	bend down
kwɽ	rot
naɽ	happen

oɽ	be high or raised; rise; (tree) grows; get up
piɽ	(humans) fall; (animals) die
piɽoɽ	call
it	put; put on a garment or an ornament

As opposed to the above we find a final voiced retroflex stop in the following verbs

id	limp
kod	process a sacrificed buffalo for obtaining meat (in the earlier days by the Kotas).
kuɽ	(other than Todas) marry
moɽ	(buffalo) allows calf to suck
toɽ	have ability or strength to
toɽ	cross something (eg., boundary, path)

In TGT all the above verbs (with final flap as well as stop), were recorded with a final stop. In our data, the contrast between iddini 'I did/do/will not limp' and itini 'I did/do/will not put' is very distinct as repeated tests with several contemporary speakers of the language consistently gave the difference in the two verbs as listed. From the point of view of phonology of the language, if /ɽ/ is to be setup as a phoneme, it occurs only in these specific verbs and nowhere else. One alternative could be to treat [ɽ] as an intervocalic allophone of /d/. Then the data will have to be rewritten as:

	Present Data		
	S1	S2	Neg
to limp	id	idy	iddini
to put	id	it	itini

Here, the choice of gemination versus single stop in the Neg forms of both these verbs is not predictable. So also, in all the other cases, the flap [ɽ] has to be phonemically marked as a single /d/. However, the verbs kuɽ 'to bend down' and kuɽ 'to marry (other than Todas)' supply a stronger argument for having /ɽ/ at phonemic level. /d/ like other stops is not geminated in Negative forms if it is preceded by a long vowel. Both of these verbs have a long radical vowel. The Negative forms of these verbs are distinctly different in pronunciation as observed from several native speakers: kuɽini 'I do not bend down' has a clear flap pronunciation whereas kuɽini 'I do not marry' has a retroflex stop in it. Hence, we will use ɽ at phonemic level pending further verification.

2s	pī'x-īfy-i	pī'x-fi, pī'x-ofi, pī'x-efi
2p	pī'x-š-i	pī'x-š
3	pī'x-ī-i	pī'x-oθi, pī'x-īyi,

PdmII of Past, Non-Past and Negative

As shown in Table 1, Paradigms II of Pa, NPa and Ng are formed in the following way:

PdmII of Past (=Pall) : PaS+PN3 (The Past Stem is followed by a Pronominal Suffix of the set PN3)

PdmII of Negative (=NgII) : S1+PN6 (The S1 of the verb is followed by a Pronominal Suffix of the set PN6)

PdmII of Non-Past (=NPall) : S2+PN4 (The S2 of the verb is followed by a Pronominal Suffix of the set PN4)

The various PN suffixes used in these paradigms are:

Person	1sg	1ep	1ip	2s	2p	3
PN3	-in					-k
PN6	-in	-im	-um	-y	-š	-(o)θ
PN4	-in			-č	-ts	-u

The following is a sample paradigm:

'to come' S1: po'r-; S2: pod-

Person	Past PS+PN3		Non-Past S2+PN4		Negative S1+PN6	
	Underlying form	Spoken form	Underlying and spoken form			
1s	pod-s-in	pod's'n	pod-in	pod-in	po'r-īn	po'r-īn
1ep	pod-s-im	pod's'm	pod-im	pod-im	po'r-īm	po'r-īm
1ip	pod-s-um	pod's'm	pod-um	pod-um	po'r-um	po'r-um
2s	pod-s-y	pod's'y	pod-č	pod-č	po'r-y	po'r-y
2p	pod-s-š	pod'sš	pod-ts	pod-ts	po'r-š	po'r-š
3	pod-s-k	podsk	pod-u	pod-u	po'r-(o)θ	po'r-(o)θ

Morphophonemic Rule 2 given earlier is applied to the PaPdmII forms in fast tempo giving rise to the spoken forms given in the table above.

Morphophonemic Rule 3 given earlier is applied to the Ng PdmII forms also giving rise to gemination of base-final consonants in certain cases. E.g., *tin-in* > *tinn-in*, *nob-in* > *nobb-in*

Some actual usages of these three forms are given below:

Pall

	Spoken form	Meaning	Spoken form	Meaning
1s	in-g pi'yš'n	Where did I go?	in tids'n	What did I eat?
1ep	in-g pi'yš'm	Where did we (excl) go?	in tids'm	What did we (excl) eat?
1ip	in-g pi'yš'm	Where did we (incl) go?	in tids'm	What did we (incl) eat?
2s	in-g pi'yš	Where did you (sg) go?	in tids	What did you (sg) eat?
2p	in-g pi'yšš	Where did you (pl) go?	in tidsš	What did you (pl) eat?
3	in-g pi'yšk	Where did he/she/it/they go?	in tidsk	What did he/she/it/they eat?

NPall:

	Spoken form	Meaning	Spoken form	Meaning
1s	in-g pi'yin	Where will I go?	in tidin	What will I eat?
1ep	in-g pi'yim	Where will we (excl) go?	in tidim	What will we (excl) eat?
1ip	in-g pi'yum	Where will we (incl) go?	in tidum	What will we (incl) eat?
2s	in-g pi'yč	Where will you (sg) go?	in tidč	What will you (sg) eat?
2p	in-g pi'yts	Where will you (pl) go?	in tidts	What will you (pl) eat?
3	in-g pi'yu	Where will he/she/it/they go?	in tidu	What will he/she/it/they eat?

The above examples show the use of bare PdmII forms when preceded by a Wh-question word such as /in/ 'what', /in-g/ 'to where'.

Examples of usage of NgII forms (along with the Pall) form are given below:

Underlying form	Spoken form	Meaning
pod-s-in, po'r-in	pod's'n, po'r-in	I went, didn't I?
pod-s-im, po'r-im	pod's'm, po'r-im	We(excl) went, didn't we?
pod-s-um, po'r-um	pod's'm, po'r-um	We(incl) went, didn't we?
pod-s-y, po'r-y	pod's'y, po'r-y	You (sg) went, didn't you?
pod-s-š, po'r-š	pod'sš, po'r-š	You (pl) went, didn't you?
pod-s-k, po'r-(o)θ	podsk, po'r-(o)θ	He/she/it/ they went, didn't he/she/it/they?

Pall, NPall and NgII are used in several other syntactic constructions.

Differences between the forms from the present data and those from TGT are given in the following table.

Person	Pa		NPa		Ng	
	Present Data	TGT Data	Present Data	TGT Data	Present Data	TGT Data
1s	pod's'n	podš'n	pod-in	podn	po'r-in	
1ep	pod's'm	podš'm	pod-im	podm	po'r-im	-

1p	podš ^m	podšm	pod-um	podm	po'r-um	-
2s	podš'	podč	pod-č	podty	po'r-y	pi'xy
2p	podšš	podš	pod-tš	podtš	po'r-š	kō·d-o'xš
3	podsk	podšk	pod-u	podu	po'r-(o')θ	pi'xoθ

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タイ東北地方におけるクーイ語の物語調査

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目次

1 はじめに	2
1.1 クーイ語の系統	2
1.2 現在のクーイ語の分布及び話者人口	2
1.3 クーイ語の音韻体系	3
1.4 調査対象データ	5
2 クーイの物語についての調査内容	6
2.1 音声収録を行った物語とその内容	6
2.2 物語の分析	7
2.3 具体的な分析例	7
3 終わりに	9
参考文献	9
A クーイの物語の音韻記述例	10
A.1 campaa sii ton : 「4本のキンコウボク」	10

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