

Lesson 10

Other question markers: *-ēnu, -ē, -ō* – adjectives and adjectival expressions

Other question markers

In an earlier lesson it was explained how a statement can be turned into a question simply by adding the question marker *-ā* to the end of the sentence (*idu mara* ‘this is a tree’; *idu maravā?* ‘is this a tree?’). This type of question is a purely neutral question, i.e., the person who asks the question simply wants to know what the answer is, and he has no preconceived notion of what the answer probably will be.

There are, however, also other such markers for creating questions. Especially in northern Karnataka, one often hears the marker *-ēnu*, which is used just like *-ā*. *Ēnu*, as we have seen, is actually an independent word, meaning ‘what’ (*ēnadu / ēnu adu?* ‘what is that?’). As such it is a perfectly common Kannada word, used by all Kannada speakers every day; but as a question marker, *-ēnu* has a distinctly regional, northern flavour. (The learner should know that it exists; but if one is not from northern Karnataka oneself, it may sound a bit affected if one uses it, and therefore one is advised to use the standard *-ā*. Another such marker with a regional central Karnatakan dialectal flavour is the short *-e*, which is less common.)

Two other question markers are in common use throughout the entire speech area (*-ē* and *-ō*). What distinguishes them from *-ā* and *-ēnu* is that they do **not** produce neutral questions. The marker *-ē* usually¹ expresses the assumption on the part of the questioner that the answer will be affirmative; and *-ō* indicates doubt and the expectation that the answer will be negative:

ಅದು ಮರವಾ ?	<i>adu maravā?</i>	Is that a tree?
ಅದು ಮರವೇ ?	<i>adu maravē?</i>	That surely is a tree, isn't it?
ಅದು ಮರವೋ ?	<i>adu maravō?</i>	That is not a tree, is it?

The suffix *-ō*, as a suffix of doubt, is also used to express alternative possibilities. The marker is added to each of the options:

ಇವತ್ತೋ ನಾಳೆಯೋ ಬರುತ್ತಾರೆ	<i>ivattō nāleyō</i> <i>baruttāre</i> ²	he will come today or tomorrow
ನಿಮಗೆ ಏನು ಬೇಕು, ಟೀಯೋ ಕಾಪಿಯೋ ?	<i>nimage ēnu bēku,</i> <i>tīyō kāpiyō?</i> ³	what would you like: tea or coffee?

This usage, too, is based on the function of the *-ō* marker as a marker of uncertainty, just as the English 'or' expresses uncertainty or indeterminacy. In the first of these examples, a doubt is expressed about when 'he' will come: it may be today, but maybe not: it is also possible that 'he' will come tomorrow. In the second example, there is a doubt about what 'you' wishes to have: whether it is tea or coffee, and here again, the doubt is expressed by the *-ō* marker.

What has been said about the use of the suffixes *-ā*, *-ē*, *-ō* is according to the classical rules, so to say. **However**, one should beware that there are certain regional varieties of Kannada where *-ē* and *-ō* do not always agree with the above-mentioned rules concerning the implied attitude of the questioner. Particularly in spoken varieties of the language in central Karnataka, the suffix *-ē* (and also the shortened version *-e*) may simply have the same neutral meaning as the regular question suffix *-ā*.

Adjectives and adjectival constructions

The following section is a bit problematic, because among all the various classes of words in Kannada, the use of adjectives and other words and constructions that have adjectival functions is perhaps the most curious for the average Western learner. It may also appear odd that the entire question of the existence of adjectives, or of how many adjectives there are, is not exactly a simple one. Among linguists of Dravidian, there have been some who doubted whether adjectives in Dravidian exist at all.⁴ Kittel mentions the traditional category of *guṇavācaka-s* as 'thirty-three so-called adjectives' or 'thirty-three attributive nouns',⁵ and this terminology already indicates that adjectives in Kannada are a linguistically problematic matter. But even if one accepts the existence of adjectives as a separate class of words, one must accept that the number of simple, underived Dravidian adjectives, also in Kannada, is remarkably small, and that nearly all of them refer to colour, age, and size.⁶

Apart from this very limited number of adjectives that nowadays are in frequent use (this small number, depending on the Dravidian language in question, is roughly half a dozen), there is a very large number of other words that have, so to say, an adjectival or attributive function. Grammatically, all these attributive words behave in an identical way: they never change their form, irrespective of the gender, number or grammatical case of the noun to which they refer.⁷

To efficiently explain the peculiarities of adjectives in Kannada, it is necessary to introduce a bit of linguistic theory. An adjective is a word that 'is to be added' (the term 'adjective' is derived from the Latin verb *adicere*, 'to add'): it expresses a quality of something else that is indicated by means of a noun, as *lucky* in *a lucky man* (or, more rarely, a pronoun, as in *lucky you*). In Indo-European languages, adjectives can also be used independently (or **substantively**), that is to say: that which is qualified by them remains implicit and the adjective stands by itself, as in the sentence *The fortunate will come again* (where the expression *the fortunate*, more completely and explicitly, means 'those persons who are fortunate').

Furthermore, an Indo-European adjective can either be used **attributively**, i.e., it can be added to a substantive (i.e., to a noun or a pronoun) as an additional attribute that is not of essential importance for the sentence, or it can be used **predicatively**, i.e., the main purpose of the sentence is to communicate that a certain object is characterized by the quality that is expressed by the adjective. An instance of attributive use of an adjective is found in the sentence *The red pencil is lying on the table*, where we could easily leave out the adjective 'red' and still have a meaningful and grammatically correct sentence (*The pencil is lying on the table*), or we could substitute the adjective 'red' by one of many other adjectives ('green', 'old', etc.). Redness is mentioned here, more or less in passing, as an attribute of the pencil. An instance of predicative use is found in *The pencil is red*, where the only purpose of the sentence is to state the redness of the pencil: if we were to leave out the adjective, we would have *The pencil is*, which communicates a totally different message.

It is important for the learner to know that, except for a small number of exceptions, **Kannada adjectives can only be used attributively. For predicative or substantive use, they must be pronominalized:** this is a simple adding of suffixes, which will be discussed in lesson 11, p. 133.

Among the exceptions that in the modern language can commonly be used attributively or substantively or predicatively are the colours *kempu* 'red', *kappu* 'black', *bīli* 'white', *nīli* 'blue', *hasīru* 'green', *haḷadi* 'yellow'.

ಅದು ಕೆಂಪು ಬಸ್ಸು	<i>adu kempu bassu</i> ⁸	that is a red bus
ಆ ಬಸ್ಸು ಕೆಂಪು	<i>ā bassu kempu</i>	that bus is red

However, one can also hear and read ಅದು ಕಂಪುಬಣ್ಣದ ಬಸ್ಸು *adu kempu-baṇṇada bassu* ('that is a bus of red colour') and ಅದು ಕೆಂಪಾದ ಬಸ್ಸು *adu kempāda bassu*.

With nearly all other adjectives (for instance, those which indicate size), **the predicative use is not allowed:**

ಅವನು ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಹುಡುಗ	<i>avanu cikka huḍuga</i>	he is a small boy
*ಆ ಹುಡುಗ ಚಿಕ್ಕ	* <i>ā huḍuga cikka</i>	(for 'that boy is small' is wrong: predicative use is not allowed) ⁹

Notice that in the following examples, the word *cikka* 'small' never changes its form. Attributively used adjectives are unchangeable: there is only one form, irrespective of gender, number, or grammatical case of the noun to which it refers.

ಅವಳು ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಹುಡುಗಿ	<i>avaḷu cikka huḍugi</i>	she is a small girl
ಅದು ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಮನೆ	<i>adu cikka mane</i>	that is a small house
ಅವರು ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಹುಡುಗರು	<i>avaru cikka huḍugaru</i>	they are small boys
ಅವಳು ಆ ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಹುಡುಗರನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದಳು	<i>avaḷu ā cikka huḍugarannu nōḍidaḷu</i>	she looked at those small boys

Most 'adjectives' are actually verb forms or inflected forms of nouns that are used where most Indo-European languages have real adjectives. For instance, the common Kannada word for 'bad', *keṭṭa*, is actually a particular type of participle,¹⁰ derived from the verb *keḍu* 'to be spoilt, ruined; to rot'. If one says

ಅದು ಕೆಟ್ಟ ಪುಸ್ತಕ *adu keṭṭa pustaka* that is a bad book

then one is actually saying (from an etymological and grammatical point of view) 'that is a book that has been ruined'.¹¹

Many English adjectives have no simple corresponding adjectives in Kannada, but can be reproduced by what actually are adjectival constructions consisting of a noun and the participle *āda*, which approximately means 'which / who has become'. Here one sees, once again, how Indo-European grammatical categories are not always fit Dravidian grammar. For instance, in the sentence

ಅದು ಸುಂದರವಾದ *adu suṁdaravāda* that is beautiful
ಸಂಗೀತ *saṁgīta* music

the English adjective 'beautiful' is translated as *suṁdaravāda*, which is actually the Sanskrit loan word *suṁdara* (which in Sanskrit is a 'real' Indo-European adjective, but is not thus used in Kannada) plus the adjectivizing relative participle *āda* 'which has become'; thus the sentence *adu suṁdaravāda saṁgīta*, when one tries to translate it extremely literally, means 'that is music that has become something beautiful'. This happens with most of the Sanskrit adjectives that have been borrowed into Kannada.

ಅದು ಕ್ಲಿಷ್ಟವಾದ *adu kliṣṭa-v-āda* that is a
ವಿಷಯ *viṣaya* complicated matter

ಅದು ಕಷ್ಟವಾದ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆ *adu kaṣṭa-v-āda* that is a difficult
praśne question

ಆ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆ ಕಷ್ಟ *ā praśne kaṣṭa* that question is
 difficult

Now the reader will have understood better why adjectives are a problem for Dravidian linguistics, and why the monolingual Kannada-Kannada dictionary *Kannaḍa ratnakōśa* lists the word *kaṣṭa* as a noun, while the Kannada-English *IBH Kannada-Kannada-English Dictionary* says that it can be a noun ('difficulty') or an adjective ('difficult'). If one thinks of the loan word *kaṣṭa* as a noun ('a difficult thing, something difficult'), as the *Ratnakōśa* does, then *ā praśne kaṣṭa* is a simple nominal sentence, of the type that has been discussed in lesson 1, and *adu kaṣṭavāda praśne* means 'that is a question that has become something difficult'. But if one considers it an adjective, as the *IBH Dictionary* does, then why must *-āda* be added? The compilers of the dictionary have obviously tried to indicate that the word *kaṣṭa* appears in Kannada where in English we naturally find the adjective 'difficult'.¹²

Similarly, there is, strictly speaking, no Kannada word for 'heavy'. There are words for 'weight' (the Dravidian ತೂಕ *tūka* and the Sanskritic ಭಾರ *bhāra*). When one says ಆ ಕುರ್ಚಿ ಭಾರ *ā kurci bhāra* for 'that chair is heavy', one is actually saying 'that chair is weight'. For 'a heavy chair' one says ಭಾರವಾದ ಕುರ್ಚಿ *bhāravāda kurci*, literally 'a chair that has become weight'. The Western learner can best think of *-āda* as a kind of adjective-building suffix that is added to nouns.

Furthermore, the question of whether an adjective can be used predicatively or not, or whether a word, in order to be used attributively, needs to be adjectivized by means of *-āda* or not, is often an idiomatic matter, based on custom within the speech community. In some rare cases, a word can be used attributively, or predicatively, or need a suffix to make it attributive. The best example is the old Kannada word ಬೇರೆ *bēre*, which can mean 'other, different', or 'something else':

ಅದು ಬೇರೆ ಪುಸ್ತಕ	<i>adu bēre pustaka</i>	that is a different book
ಆ ಪುಸ್ತಕ ಬೇರೆ	<i>ā pustaka bēre</i>	that book is a different one

However, especially in older texts, one also finds ಅದು ಬೇರೆಯ ಪುಸ್ತಕ *adu bēreya pustaka*, which very literally would mean 'that is a book of something different', with *bēre* in the genitive in order to turn it into an attributive word.

The learner should basically assume that except for numerals, basic colours, and a very small number of words like *cikka* 'small' and *doḍḍa* 'big', whatever is an adjective in English becomes an adjectival construction in Kannada: a verb form, the genitive of a noun, or a noun that is adjectivized by means of *-āda*. At the same time, the learner should learn from actual practice where idiomatic usage offers exceptions to this rule. There also seems to be some tolerance for purely personal preferences. Sometimes adjectives that have been borrowed from Sanskrit are used like real attributive adjectives; and sometimes exactly those same words are adjectivized by means of *-āda*.

Often a noun in the genitive case fulfils the function of an attributive word, more or less as in English: instead of 'rural people' one can speak of 'people of a village', ಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಜನ *halliya jana*. Colloquially, two nouns can also be juxtaposed to form a kind of quasi-compound, and thus one may also hear ಹಳ್ಳಿ ಜನ *halli jana*.

The interesting question of the Dravidian equivalents of comparatives and superlatives will be discussed in lesson 11.

Reduplications of adjectives

When an adjective is doubled, it can mean one of two things, depending on the context: (a) an intensifying of the meaning that is contained in the adjective, (b) distributive or referring to several things (of course only possible if the noun to which the adjective refers is a plural).

ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಜನ ಬರುತ್ತಾರೆ	<i>alli bēre bēre jana baruttāre</i>	different kinds of people come there
ಮನೆಯ ಮುಂದೆ ದೊಡ್ಡ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಕಾರು ಇದೆ	<i>maneya muṇḍe doḍḍa doḍḍa kāru ide</i>	in front of the house there is a very big car

Exercises

Exercise 1

Read and translate the following sentences:

೧. ಅದು ಸುಂದರವಾದ ಬಣ್ಣ.

೧. ಅದು ನನಗೆ ಇಷ್ಟ.
೨. ನಿಮಗೆ ಇಷ್ಟವಾದ ಹಣ್ಣುಗಳು ಇವೆಯಾ ?
೩. ಆ ಕೆಟ್ಟ ಪುಸ್ತಕ ನನಗೆ ಇಷ್ಟವಲ್ಲ.
೪. ಇವರು ಕಷ್ಟವಾದ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ.
೫. ಕೆಟ್ಟ ಪುಸ್ತಕಗಳು ನಿಮಗೆ ಇಷ್ಟವಾ ?
೬. ನನಗೆ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತವಾದ ಪದಾರ್ಥಗಳು ಇಷ್ಟ.
೭. ನಿಮ್ಮ ಚೀಲ ಕಪ್ಪೋ ಕೆಂಪೋ ?
೮. ನಿಮ್ಮ ಚೀಲ ನೀಲಿಯೇ ?
೯. ಆ ಕೋಣೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರವಾದ ಕುರ್ಚಿಗಳಿವೆ.
೧೦. ಈ ಮನುಷ್ಯ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಕೆಲಸ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾನೆ.
೧೧. ಬೀದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಹಕ್ಕಿಗಳು ಆಡುತ್ತವೆ.
೧೨. ಈ ಕುರ್ಚಿ ಭಾರವೋ ?
೧೩. ಕೆಂಪು ಹೂಗಳು ಅವಳಿಗೆ ಇಷ್ಟ.
೧೪. ನನ್ನ ಮೇಜಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ತುಂಬ ಭಾರವಾದ ಪುಸ್ತಕ ಇದೆ.
೧೫. ಅವರು ಸುಂದರವಾದ ಕಾರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುವರು.
೧೬. ಆ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ಲಿಷ್ಟವಾದ ಕೆಲಸಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ.
೧೭. ನನ್ನ ತಂಗಿಯ ಮನೆ ದೂರವಾದ ಊರಿನಲ್ಲಿದೆ.
೧೮. ಏಕೆ ಅಷ್ಟು ಅಸಹ್ಯವಾದ ಗದ್ದಲ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೀರಿ ?

Exercise 2

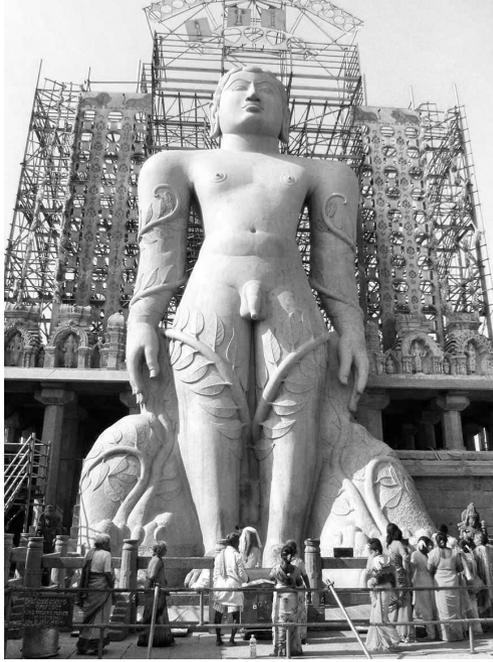
Translate into Kannada:

1. That person is disgusting.
2. His beautiful house is over there.
3. There are no yellow flowers here.
4. He brought heavy tables.

5. That chair is not heavy.
6. This is a good book.
7. That isn't your book, is it?
8. Why is the green chair standing¹³ there?
9. My bag is lying on his chair.
10. His home town is far away.
11. There are good books in the store.

Religions of Karnataka

ಬಾಹುಬಲಿ



The Bāhubali statue at Śravaṇabelāgoḷa

ಶ್ರವಣಬೆಳಗೊಳ ಜೈನಧರ್ಮದ ಒಂದು ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ. ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡು ಬೆಟ್ಟಗಳು ಇವೆ, ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು 'ವಿಂಧ್ಯಗಿರಿ' ಅಥವಾ 'ದೊಡ್ಡ ಬೆಟ್ಟ'. ಆ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲೆ ಬಾಹುಬಲಿಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ದೊಡ್ಡ

ಮೂರ್ತಿ ಇದೆ. ಇಡೀ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇರೆ ಯಾವ ಜಾಗದಲ್ಲೂ ಅಂಥ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಮೂರ್ತಿ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಜೈನರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಯುಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊದಲು ಬಾಹುಬಲಿ ಸಂಸಾರದಿಂದ ಮೋಕ್ಷ ಹೊಂದಿದನು. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಇವನು ತುಂಬ ಪೂಜಾರ್ಹ. ಇವನು ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ತೀರ್ಥಂಕರರ ಮಗ. ಭರತ ಇವನ ಅಣ್ಣ. ಭರತ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಆಗಿದ್ದನು, ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಜೈನರ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಈ ದೇಶದ ಹೆಸರು 'ಭಾರತ'.

Vocabulary

ಅಥವಾ	<i>athavā</i>	or
ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ	<i>abhiprāya</i>	opinion
ಅಷ್ಟು	<i>aṣṭu</i>	that much
ಅಸಹ್ಯ	<i>asahya</i>	intolerable, disgusting
ಅಗಿದ್ದನು	<i>āgiddanu</i>	he was (copula) ¹⁴
ಆಡು	<i>āḍu</i>	to play
ಇಡೀ	<i>iḍiya</i>	entire
ಇಷ್ಟ	<i>iṣṭa</i>	liked, appreciated
ಉಪಯುಕ್ತ	<i>upayukta</i>	useful
ಊರು	<i>ūru</i>	place, town, 'native place'
ಎರಡು	<i>eraḍu</i>	two
ಏಕೆ	<i>ēke</i>	why?
ಕಾರು	<i>kāru</i>	car
ಕೆಟ್ಟ	<i>keṭṭa</i>	bad
ಕೇಳು	<i>keḷu</i>	to ask, to hear
ಕ್ಲಿಷ್ಟ	<i>kliṣṭa</i>	complicated

ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ	<i>kṣētra</i>	place of pilgrimage
ಗದ್ದಲ	<i>gaddala</i>	noise
ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ	<i>cakravarti</i>	emperor
ಚಿಕ್ಕ	<i>cikka</i>	small
ಜಗತ್ತು	<i>jagattu</i>	world
ಜಾಗ	<i>jāga</i>	place, space
ತಂಗಿ	<i>taṅgi</i>	younger sister
ತೀರ್ಥಂಕರ	<i>tīrthaṅkara</i>	(holiest person in Jainism)
ದೂರ	<i>dūra</i>	distance
ದೇಶ	<i>dēśa</i>	country, land
ನೀಲಿ	<i>nili</i>	blue
ಪೂಜಾರ್ಹ	<i>pūjārha</i>	worthy of worship
ಪ್ರಕಾರ	<i>prakāra</i>	according to
ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆ	<i>praśne</i>	question
ಬೀದಿ	<i>bīdi</i>	street
ಬೆಟ್ಟ	<i>beṭṭa</i>	hill, mountain
ಭಾರ	<i>bhāra</i>	weight
ಭಾರತ	<i>bhārata</i>	India
ಮಗ	<i>maga</i>	son
ಮನುಷ್ಯ	<i>manuṣya</i>	human, person
ಮುಖ್ಯ	<i>mukhya</i>	important
ಮೂರ್ತಿ	<i>mūrti</i>	icon, statue
ಮೊದಲನೆಯ	<i>modalaneya</i>	first
ಮೊದಲು	<i>modalu</i>	(adverb) first, in the beginning
ಮೋಕ್ಷ	<i>mōkṣa</i>	(religious) liberation
ಯುಗ	<i>yuga</i>	era

ಸಂಗೀತ	<i>saṅgīta</i>	music
ಸಂಸಾರ	<i>saṃsāra</i>	'the worldly system of things' ¹⁵
ಸಿದ್ಧಪುರುಷ	<i>siddhapuruṣa</i>	(in Jainism) religiously liberated person
ಸುಂದರ	<i>suṃdara</i>	beautiful
ಹೂ	<i>hū</i>	flower
ಹೊಂದು	<i>hoṃdu</i>	to acquire, achieve

Notes

¹ See the remark at the end of this section.

² *ivattu* today, *nāle* tomorrow, *baruttāre* he / she (honorific) comes / they come. The present tense is often used to indicate the near future, like in a German sentence such as *er kommt morgen* / Dutch *hij komt morgen*.

³ There is also an older word for tea, *cahā*, but the English *ti* is gradually supplanting it, especially in southern Karnataka. The word *kāpi* is a good illustration of what can happen when a foreign loan word contains an 'f', which is not part of the native Kannada phonemic system. Note that the loan words 'coffee' and 'copy' become homonyms in Kannada.

⁴ "The question of whether adjectives are to be recognized as a separate class of words in Kannada (and Dravidian in general) is a controversial one. Some scholars treat adjectives as a subclass of nouns, while others posit a separate category", Sridhar 1990: 248 (§2.1.4). Among the most prominent linguists who tended to deny or denied the existence of Dravidian adjectives are Jules Bloch and M.S. Andronov. See Zvelebil 1990: 27.

⁵ Kittel 1903: 242, 244 (§273).

⁶ It would exceed the limitations of an introductory manual of Kannada to deal with the complex question of Dravidian adjectives in detail. Interested readers are advised to read chapter XIV, 'On adjectives', in Kittel 1903: 242-251 (§273-277).

⁷ For speakers of English, this may seem a natural matter that needs no further explanation or attention; however, this is nothing more than a happy coincidence. In the overwhelming majority of the languages of the Indo-European family of languages, to which English belongs, adjectives are declined, i.e., assume different forms according to the case, gender and number of the nouns to which they refer. See the French word *rouge* 'red' in *un livre rouge* but *des*

livres rouges, or the corresponding German *rot* in *rotes Buch* but *rote Bücher* ‘red book / red books’, etc. etc.

⁸ ‘Bus’: another example of how an English word is borrowed and ‘Kannadized’ by adding a short *u* at the end.

⁹ In linguistic writings, an asterisk (*) means that a certain construction is not allowed by the rules of the language.

¹⁰ This type of participle, which will be explained in a later lesson, is commonly called a ‘relative participle’, because it is used in syntactic constructions that are the equivalent of relative clauses in Indo-European languages such as English.

¹¹ It should be stressed here that this explanation of a grammatical construction should **not** be seen as a description of what occurs in the consciousness of a Kannada speaker, for whom *keṭṭa* simply means just the same as the word ‘bad’ for an English speaker, and grammatically it behaves exactly like an adjective such as *cikka*.

¹² T.V. Venkatachalastry suggested (in a private conversation, Mysore, February 2005) that when such Sanskrit adjectives are borrowed into Kannada, they are treated as nouns, and when used attributively, they form a quasi-compound with the following noun to which they refer.

¹³ Simply say ‘is’ for ‘is standing’.

¹⁴ This form *āgiddanu* (*āgi* + *iddanu*), literally meaning ‘he had become’, can be used as a copula ‘he was’, indicating identity in the past. See lesson 15.

¹⁵ *Samṣāra* in Indian thought can best be understood as ‘the worldly system of things in general’, including, characteristically, the rebirth of living beings after each death until one achieves liberation. In some languages, including Kannada, the word is also used in the meaning of ‘family’ or ‘household’.

