



Solega-English

Dictionary

compiled by Aung Si

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ಮುನ್ನುಡಿ

ಭಾರತ ದೇಶದ ವಿವಿಧ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 705 ಆದಿವಾಸಿ ಬುಡಕಟ್ಟು ಗುಂಪುಗಳು ವಾಸವಾಗಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ, ಮೂಲ ಆದಿವಾಸಿಗಳು ಅರಣ್ಯದ ಒಳಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಅರಣ್ಯದ ಪ್ರದೇಶದ ಅಂಚಿನಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸವಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ, ಅವರ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಜೀವನೋಪಾಯವು ಅರಣ್ಯ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಶತಶತ ಮಾನಗಳಿಂದ ಅವಲಂಬಿತರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ, ಆದಿವಾಸಿಗಳು ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಯ ಆರಾಧಕರು, ಅರಣ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸವಾಗಿರುವ ಆದಿವಾಸಿಗಳು ಅವರದೇಯಾದ ಭಾಷೆ ಅಥವಾ ನುಡಿಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ, ಅವರು ಅವರ ಭಾಷೆಯನ್ನು ಅವರ ಸಮುದಾಯದ ಸದಸ್ಯರ ಒಳಗೆ ಮಾತನಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ, ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಆದಿವಾಸಿ ಗುಂಪು ಅವರದೇಯಾದ ಭಾಷೆಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ, ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಭಾಷೆಯು ವಿಶೇಷವಾದ ಗುಣವನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿರುತ್ತದೆ, ಭಾಷೆಯು ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಭಾಷೆಯ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಬೀರಿ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವವನ್ನು ರೂಪಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಷೆಯು ಪ್ರಮುಖ ಪಾತ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಆದಿವಾಸಿ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯ ಗುರುತುಸುವಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ನೋಡಬಹುದು.

ಆದಿವಾಸಿ ಸೋಲಿಗರು ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಮತ್ತು ತಮಿಳು ನಾಡು ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳ ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಜೀವ ಮಂಡಳ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸವಾಗಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ, ಸೋಲಿಗರು ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಚಾಮರಾಜನಗರ, ಮೈಸೂರು, ಕೊಡಗು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತು ಮಂಡ್ಯ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿ ತಾಲೂಕು ಹಾಗೂ ರಾಮನಗರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಕನಕಪುರ ತಾಲೂಕುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸವಾಗಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಸೋಲಿಗರನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಗರು, ಸೋಲಿಗ, ಸೋಲಗರು ಎಂದು ವಿವಿಧ ವಿಧಗಳಿಂದ ಕರೆಯುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಅನುಸೂಚಿತ ಬುಡಕಟ್ಟುಗಳ ಪಟ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸೋಲಿಗರನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಗರು, ಸೋಲಗರು ಎಂದು ನಮೂದಿಸಲಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೋಲಿಗರು, ಸೋಲಿಗ ಎಂಬ ಪದವನ್ನು ಬಳಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಸೋಲಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವಿಧ ಒಳ ಪಂಗಡಗಳನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದು ಅವರನ್ನು ಅವರು ವಾಸಮಾಡುವ ಪರಿಸರ ಮತ್ತು ಆಚರಿಸುವ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಯ ಆಧಾರದ ಮೇಲೆ ಮಲೆ ಸೋಲಿಗರು, ಕಾಡು ಸೋಲಿಗ, ದೇವ ಸೋಲಿಗ, ದಾಸಯ್ಯ ಸೋಲಿಗ, ಊರಳ್ಳಿ ಸೋಲಿಗ, ಪೂಜಾರಿ ಸೋಲಿಗ ಮತ್ತು ಏಳು ಕುಲದ ಸೋಲಿಗ ಎಂದು ಕರೆಯುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಬಿಳಿಗಿರಿಂಗನಬೆಟ್ಟ ಅಥವಾ ಬಿಳಿಗಿರಿ ರಂಗಸ್ವಾಮಿ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನ ವನ್ಯಜೀವಿ ಧಾಮದ ಒಳಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಅಂಚಿನಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸವಾಗಿರುವ ಸೋಲಿಗರು ಸೋಲಿಗ ನುಡಿ ಅಥವಾ ಸೋಲಿಗ ಭಾಷೆಯನ್ನು ಮಾತನಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಬಿಳಿಗಿರಿ ರಂಗಸ್ವಾಮಿ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನ ಹುಲಿ ಯೋಜನೆ ಪ್ರದೇಶ ಮತ್ತು ಮಲೆ ಮಹದೇಶ್ವರ ವನ್ಯಜೀವಿಧಾಮ ಅಂಚಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತು ತಮಿಳು ನಾಡು ಅರಣ್ಯ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸವಾಗಿರುವ ಸೋಲಿಗರು ಏಳು ಕುಲದ ಸೋಲಿಗ ಭಾಷೆಯನ್ನು ಮಾತನಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಉಳಿದ ಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸಮಾಡುವ ಸೋಲಿಗರಿಗೆ ಸೋಲಿಗ ಭಾಷೆ ಮಾತನಾಡಲು ಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಅವರುಗಳು ಕನ್ನಡವನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ಮಾತೃಭಾಷೆಯನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾತನಾಡುವುದನ್ನು ಕಾಣಬಹುದಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಅಂಗ್ಸಿರವರು ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಸಾಂಪ್ರದಾಯಿಕ ಕಾಡಿನ ಸಸ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರಾಣಿಗಳ ಜ್ಞಾನಗಳನ್ನು ಭಾಷೆಯ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಕೋನದಲ್ಲಿ 2012 ರ ಸಾಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಪಿಹೆಚ್.ಡಿ ಮಹಾ ಪದವಿಗೆ ಅಧ್ಯಾಯನ ಮಾಡಿ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಬಂಧವನ್ನು ಆಸ್ಟ್ರೇಲಿಯದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿ ಪಿಹೆಚ್.ಡಿ ಪದವಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದುಕೊಂಡಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇವರ ಮಹಾ ಪ್ರಬಂಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೋಲಿಗರಿಗೆ ಸಸ್ಯ, ಪ್ರಾಣಿ ಮತ್ತು ಪರಿಸರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ದಾಖಲಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಹಾಗಾಗಿ ಇವರಿಗೆ ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಸಾಂಪ್ರದಾಯಿಕ ಕಾಡಿನ ಜ್ಞಾನ, ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ, ಜೀವನಶೈಲಿಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ

ಅರ್ಥಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ, ಮತ್ತು ಅಧ್ಯಾಯನ ಮಾಡಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಅದರ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಭಾಗವಾಗಿ ಇವರು ಸೋಲಿಗ-ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶವನ್ನು ತರುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಸೋಲಿಗ ಸಮುದಾಯದವಾದ ನನಗೆ ಸಂತೋಷವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಡಾ. ಅಂಗ್‌ಸಿರವರು ಸೋಲಿಗ-ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಕಾಡಿನ ಜ್ಞಾನ, ವನ್ಯಜೀವಿಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಸೋಲಿಗರ ದಿನನಿತ್ಯದ ಜೀವನ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಶಬ್ದಗಳನ್ನು ಮತ್ತು ಅವುಗಳ ಚಿತ್ರಗಳೊಳಗೊಂಡ ಅಂಶಗಳು ಹಾಗೂ ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಶಬ್ದಗಳ ವಿಧಾನ, ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳು, ಸ್ವರಗಳು, ಶಬ್ದಗಳ ಬದಲಾವಣೆ ವಿಧಾನ, ಸೋಲಿಗರ ವ್ಯಾಕರಣ, ಪದಗಳು, ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂತಾದ ಅಂಶಗಳು ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶವು ಹೊಂದಿರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಸೋಲಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಆಧುನಿಕತೆ ಮತ್ತು ಜಾಗೃತಿಕರಣಗಳ ಪ್ರಭಾವದಿಂದ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗಳು ಆಗುತ್ತಿರುವುದನ್ನು ನೋಡಬಹುದಾಗಿದೆ. ಸೋಲಿಗರು ನಾಗರಿಕ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ, ಮತ್ತು ಹೊರಗಿನ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಯ ಪ್ರಭಾವಕ್ಕೆ ಒಳಗಾಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ, ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಔಪಚಾರಿಕ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದು ಅದರೊಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳು, ನಗರ ಮತ್ತು ಗ್ರಾಮ, ಪಟ್ಟಣಗಳಿಗೆ ಭೇಟಿ ನೀಡುವುದು, ಸಾರಿಗೆ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಮತ್ತು ಹೊರಗಿನ ಸಮಾಜದ ಪ್ರಭಾವಕ್ಕೆ ಒಳಗಾಗಿ ನಿಧಾನಗತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗಳು ಆಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಕಾಡಿನ ಸಾಂಪ್ರದಾಯಿಕ ಜ್ಞಾನ ಮತ್ತು ಸೋಲಿಗ ಭಾಷೆ ಮಾತನಾಡುವುದು ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ, ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪಡೆಯುತ್ತಿರುವ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ತಂದೆ, ತಾಯಿ, ಸ್ನೇಹಿತರು, ಹಿರಿಯರು, ಪೋಷಕರೊಂದಿಗೆ ಕಾಡಿಗೆ ಭೇಟಿ ನೀಡುವುದು ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಇದರ ಕಾರಣ ಅವರ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕೆ ಒತ್ತು ಕೊಡುವುದರಿಂದ ಕಾಡಿನಕಡೆ ಸಮಯ ನೀಡುವುದು ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದಲ್ಲದೆ ಇತ್ತೀಚಿನ ದಿನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಯುವಜನರು ಕೂಲಿಗಾಗಿ ಹೊರ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ವಲಸೆ ಹೋಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದ ಸೋಲಿಗ ಭಾಷೆ ಮತ್ತು ಕಾಡಿನ ಸಾಂಪ್ರದಾಯಿಕ ಜ್ಞಾನ ನಿಧಾನವಾಗಿ ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾಗುತ್ತಿರುವುದನ್ನು ಕಾಣಬಹುದಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಅಂಗ್‌ಸಿರವರು ಸೋಲಿಗ-ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಕಾಡಿನ ಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನು ದಾಖಲಿಸಿರುವುದು ಸೋಲಿಗ ಮಕ್ಕಳಿಗೆ ಬಹಳ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅದಲ್ಲದೆ ಯುವ ಜನರು ಸಾಂಪ್ರದಾಯಿಕ ಕಾಡಿನ ಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನು ಮತ್ತು ಸೋಲಿಗ ಭಾಷೆ ಮತ್ತು ಸೋಲಿಗ ಪದಗಳು ಅರ್ಥಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶ ನೆರವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶವನ್ನು ಬಿಳಿಗಿರಿ ರಂಗಸ್ವಾಮಿ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನ ಹುಲಿ ಯೋಜನೆ ಪ್ರದೇಶದ 61 ಪೋಡುಗಳಲ್ಲಿನ ಆಶ್ರಮ ಶಾಲೆಗಳು, ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಶಾಲೆಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಖಾಸಗಿ ಶಾಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿಕ್ಷಕರು ಮತ್ತು ಸೋಲಿಗ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಬಳಸಬಹುದು. ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶವನ್ನು ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಶಿಕ್ಷಕರು ಬಳಸಿದರೆ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಸೋಲಿಗ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಬಳಸುವ ಪದಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ವಾಕ್ಯಗಳು ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರ ಕಾರಣ, ಶಾಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿಕ್ಷಕರು ಕನ್ನಡ ಭಾಷೆಯ ಮೂಲಕ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದು ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಭಾಷೆಯನ್ನು ಬಳಸುವುದಿಲ್ಲ, ಹಾಗಾಗಿ ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶವು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಉಪಯೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ನಾನು ವೈಯಕ್ತಿಕವಾಗಿ ಮತ್ತು ನನ್ನ ಸಮುದಾಯದ ಪರವಾಗಿ ಡಾ. ಅಂಗ್‌ಸಿರವರು ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಸೋಲಿಗ-ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಕಾಡಿನ ಜ್ಞಾನ, ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ, ಆಚಾರ-ವಿಚಾರಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ದಿನನಿತ್ಯ ಬಳಸುವ ಪದಗಳನ್ನು ದಾಖಲಿಸಿ ಚಿತ್ರಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ತಂದಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ನಾನು ಅವರಿಗೆ ಹೃದಯಪೂರ್ವಕವಾದ ಧನ್ಯವಾದಗಳನ್ನು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿಯವರೆಗೆ ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಸೋಲಿಗ-ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶವನ್ನು ಯಾರು ತಂದಿರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದೇ ಮೊದಲಬಾರಿಗೆ ಡಾ. ಅಂಗ್‌ಸಿರವರು ಬರವಣಿಗೆ ಮಾಡಿ ಪ್ರಕಟಣೆ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶವನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಗರ

ಮಕ್ಕಳಿಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಸೋಲಿಗರ ಸಮುದಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಬಹಳ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇಂತಹ ಅಮೂಲ್ಯವಾದ ಕೆಲಸಕ್ಕೆ ನಾನು ಮತ್ತು ನನ್ನ ಸೋಲಿಗ ಸಮುದಾಯದವರ ಪರವಾಗಿ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಧನ್ಯವಾದಗಳನ್ನು ಅರ್ಪಿಸುತ್ತೇನೆ.

ಡಾ. ಸಿ. ಮಾದೇಗೌಡ

ಸೋಲಿಗ ಸಮಾಜವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ, ಸೋಲಿಗ ಬುಡಕಟ್ಟು ಜನಾಂಗದ ಮುಖಂಡರು,

ಸದಸ್ಯ, ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಆದಿವಾಸಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಮಂಡಳಿ

Preface

(Translated by Nima Manjrekar and Senani Hegde)

India's various regions are home to 705 tribal communities, who live mainly in the forests or on the fringes of forests. They have traditionally been dependent on forest resources for hundreds of years. They are worshippers of Nature, and have their own language or dialect, which they speak within their respective communities. All these languages have their own distinct properties. Language has a major role to play in shaping a person's character and identity. It also helps in identifying the tribe.

The Soliga¹ tribe inhabits the Nilgiri forest areas of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. In Karnataka, they live mainly in the districts of Chamarajanagar, Mysuru and Kodagu, in Malavalli Taluk of Mandya District, and in Kanakapura Taluk of Ramanagara District. The Soligas have been known variously as Soligas, Soliga, Solagas. In the Indian Government's list of Scheduled Tribes, they are listed as Soligas or Solagas. In Karnataka, they are known as Soligas or Soliga. Within the Soligas, there are sub-groups, named on the basis of where they live and the traditions they follow; they include the Male (Hill) Soliga, Kadu (Forest) Soliga, Deva Soliga, Dasayya Soliga, Uralli Soliga, Pujari Soliga and Yelu Kulada (Seven Clan) Soliga. The Soligas living within the Biligiri Rangana Betta or BRT Tiger Reserve, or along its borders, speak the Soliga dialect or Soliga language. Soligas living in the BRT Tiger Reserve, the Male Madeshwara Wildlife Reserve and Tamil Nadu forest areas, speak the 'Yelu Kula' Soliga language. Soligas residing in other areas do not speak Soliga language, and they seem to have accepted Kannada as their mother tongue.

Dr. Aung Si has studied the traditional Soliga knowledge of flora and fauna through the point of view of their language. He has done his doctoral research on this subject, and received his PhD from the Australian National University in 2012. He documented the traditional knowledge possessed by the Soligas of their natural surroundings in their own language, and hence he has thoroughly understood the culture, lifestyle and knowledge base of Soligas. As a person belonging to the Soliga tribe, it gives me immense pleasure to know that in continuation of his study, Dr. Aung Si is bringing out a Soliga-English dictionary. This dictionary contains the Soligas' knowledge of the forest and wildlife, and Soliga words that are used in everyday conversation, with illustrations. It also contains technicalities of the language, letters, vowels, modulations of words, grammar, and many other aspects of the Soliga language.

The effects of modernisation and globalisation are quite evident on the Soliga community. As the younger generations of Soligas are being exposed to modern education, life in towns and cities, modern means of transportation, and the media, one can see the obvious influence these factors are having on the community. This slow but enormous change has also reduced the number of people speaking the Soliga language.

¹ The spelling 'Soliga' has been retained in the Preface translation to reflect the Kannada pronunciation and spelling of the name of this language. See Section 1.2 of the Introduction for an explanation of the alternative spelling 'Solega'.

As more focus is being placed on education, children are not finding enough time to visit the forests with their parents, relatives and other elders. Youth are also migrating to other places for work. All these factors are taking youngsters away from their community's traditional knowledge, and hence the Soliga community as a whole is losing their language and knowledge base.

The Soliga-English dictionary by Dr. Aung Si documents the traditional forest knowledge with illustrations, and hence it will be very useful to Soliga children. It will also help the youth to keep in touch with the traditional forest knowledge, Soliga language and, in particular, Soliga vocabulary. This dictionary can be used by students and teachers in Ashrama schools, Government schools and private schools in all the 61 podus [hamlets] of the BRT Tiger Reserve. If the teachers make use of this dictionary well, it will help them understand words and sentences used by the Soliga children. As the medium of teaching in these schools is Kannada, and as the teachers usually don't know Soliga language, this dictionary will be of great use to bridge the gap between teachers and students.

I would like to wholeheartedly thank, personally and on behalf of my community, Dr. Aung Si for bringing out the Soliga-English dictionary and documenting Soliga language, culture and rituals, and common words with the help of numerous illustrations. No one has so far compiled a Soliga-English dictionary, and Dr. Aung Si's work is the first of its kind. This will be extremely useful to the Soliga children, and to the community as a whole. I once again thank him for this invaluable and unique work.

Dr. C. Madegowda

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Main Solega contributors to the dictionary



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ಜಡೆಯ
Jadeya

Acknowledgements

Work on this dictionary commenced in late 2008, during my first doctoral field trip to the Biligiri Rangaswamy Hills (B. R. Hills). Over the years, numerous people have generously contributed their time, information and expertise, and helped bring the first Solega-English dictionary to fruition. I express my sincere gratitude to the following people and organisations for their invaluable contributions, input and support:

Solega consultants

The first contacts I had with the Solega language were through the field research assistants employed by the field station of the Ashoka Trust for Research in Ecology and the Environment (ATREE). The following individuals generously taught me various aspects of Solega vocabulary and grammar, while patiently responding to my endless questions:

Nanjegowda (resident of Bangle Podu)
M. Kethegowda (resident of Muthakadagadde Podu)
Kumbegowda (resident of Hosa Podu)
Jadeswamy (resident of Bangle Podu)
Madhegowda (resident of Muthakadagadde Podu)
Jadegowda (resident of Hosa Podu)

At a later date, I met Hedhini Basavegowda (Keredimba Podu, deceased), M. R. Madhegowda (Muthakadagadde Podu) and Tammadi Dasegowda (Butani Podu), who provided the bulk of the information contained in this dictionary and in other publications authored by me. Dr. C. Madegowda (Hosa Podu) encouraged me to continue my work on Solega language and culture, and facilitated meetings with community elders and traditional knowledge holders.

Kannada language

Kannada was the only contact language available to me during my fieldwork, and I was fortunate to know two Kannada native speakers in Canberra - Dr. Ajay Narendra (currently at Macquarie University) and Dr. Ananth Rao (Australian National University) - who taught me as much as they could of their mother tongue in the months leading up to my first field trip. At the ATREE field station, I continued to learn Kannada from Renukamma, Nagendra P., Gayatri, and Rajanna S.

Scientific identifications

Professor Sankara Rao and his colleagues at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, very kindly identified numerous plant species from photographs I had taken during my field trips. The vast majority of the botanical species names included in the dictionary are a result of their efforts. Dr. Samira Agnihotri of the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore, has provided all the bird species identifications in the dictionary, based on her extensive ornithological fieldwork experience in the B. R. Hills in the company of Solega research assistants. Dr. Agnihotri has also played an important role in providing me with a constant stream of new words for the dictionary (encountered during her own fieldwork in the B. R. Hills), and in repeatedly checking grammatical and lexical

points with Solega consultants. Finally, Dr. Ajay Narendra provided tentative scientific identifications for numerous ant species, based on descriptions provided by Solega consultants.

Linguistic advice

My doctoral supervisors, Professors Nicholas Evans, Andrew Pawley and Alan Rumsey (Australian National University) provided sage advice on the countless intricacies of lexicography and grammar-writing, and continue to inspire me to this day. Special thanks go to Professor Birgit Hellwig for reading through the sketch grammar, and providing comments that greatly improved that section.

Institutional support

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the dictionary

<i>adj</i>	adjective
<i>adv</i>	adverb
<i>clit</i>	clitic
<i>comp</i>	complementiser
<i>conj</i>	conjunction
<i>cop</i>	copula
<i>dem</i>	demonstrative
<i>echo</i>	echo word
Eng.	English
<i>ideoph</i>	ideophone
<i>idiom</i>	idiomatic phrase
<i>intj</i>	interjection
Kan.	Kannada
<i>k.o.</i>	kind of
<i>n</i>	noun
<i>neg</i>	negation
<i>num</i>	numeral
<i>onom</i>	onomatopoeia
<i>part</i>	particle
poss.	possibly
<i>postp</i>	postposition
Per.	Persian
<i>pron</i>	pronoun
<i>prop.n</i>	proper noun
<i>q</i>	question word
Skt.	Sanskrit
<i>s.o.</i>	someone
<i>sth.</i>	something
Urd.	Urdu
<i>v</i>	verb
<i>v.intr</i>	intransitive verb
<i>v.tr</i>	transitive verb

Abbreviations used in the grammar sections

1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
ADD	address term
ADV	adverb
ATT	attention
CAUS	causative
COMPL	complementiser

COND	conditional
CONT	continuous aspect
CONV	converb
CPLS	compulsive
DAT	dative case
DES	desiderative
DISS	dismissive
DIST	distal
ECHO	echo word
ELD	elderly
EQ	equals
EXCL	exclusive
EXPR	expressive
F	feminine gender
FOC	focus
FRUST	frustration
FUT	future
GEN	genitive case
GER	gerund
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
IDEOPH	ideophone
IMP	imperative mood
INF	infinitive
INGR	ingressive aspect
INTJ	interjection
LOC	locative case
M	masculine gender
N	neuter gender
NAME	proper noun
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative case
NONHON	non-honorific
NPST	non-past tense
OBL	obligative
ONOM	onomatopoeia
OPT	optative
PART	participle
PERF	perfect aspect
PRES	present tense
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PL	plural
POT	potential
PP	past participle
PROX	proximal
PST	past tense
REDUP	reduplication

RHET	rhetorical
Q	question (polar)
SG	singular
SIMUL	simultaneous aspect
SPO	spouse
TAM	tense-aspect marker
TEMP	temporal
TERM	terminative
V	verb

The Solega people and language

1. The Solega people of the Biligiri Rangaswamy Hills²

The Solega live in the Biligiri Rangaswamy Hills (henceforth B. R. Hills) south-east of Mysore and south-west of Bangalore, the capital of Karnataka state. The B. R. Hills are a minor branch of a large mountain chain, called the Western Ghats, that run along much of the western coastline of peninsular India. The Western Ghats are recognized as a 'Biodiversity Hotspot' by international organizations such as Conservation International and the World Wide Fund for Nature. The Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Wildlife Sanctuary (henceforth BRT) was established at this site in 1972, and is part of a chain of protected areas called the Nilgiris Biosphere Reserve. This Reserve straddles the confluence of the Western Ghats with its mirror-image counterpart, the Eastern Ghats. BRT lies at an elevation of 750 m to 1800 m above sea level, and covers an area of approximately 540 km². It encompasses a range of vegetation types, including moist evergreen rainforest, tropical deciduous forest, scrub forest, grassland and shola forest, the latter being unique to the Western Ghats³.

The umbrella term 'Solega' can actually be applied to at least two quite different ethnic groups⁴, each with its own language and customs. The Solega who live in the B. R. Hills are the *Aidu Kula* 'five clan' Solega, and the bulk of their population lives within the borders of the state of Karnataka (see Si 2016 for a more detailed ethnographic account). There is another community, the *E:lu Kula* 'seven clan' Solega, who live primarily in the neighbouring state of Tamil Nadu to the south, and whose distribution overlaps slightly with that of their northern counterparts. Apart from the fact that the *E:lu Kula* Solega have a very different social structure, their language is also noticeably different, even at a first hearing. Just as the *Aidu Kula* Solega language is closely allied with Kannada, the speech of the *E:lu Kula* Solega has many affinities with Tamil. All four languages belong to the Dravidian language family. The two Solega communities do not intermarry, and appear to have little to do with each other, in spite of a lack of animosity. This dictionary contains exclusively the vocabulary of the *Aidu Kula* 'five clan' Solega of the B. R. Hills.

1.1 Attitudes towards the language

The 2001 Census of India reported that out of a total of 3.4 million individuals recognized as belonging to Scheduled Tribes in the state of Karnataka, just under 30,000 individuals were identified as '*Soligaru*'. This figure probably encompasses people from both the *Aidu Kula* and *E:lu Kula* groups, and the actual number for the 'five clan' Solega is likely to be significantly lower (between 10,000 and 20,000). The Solega language has little prestige outside the community, and the Solega's own conceptions of the relationship between their own language and Kannada (the official language of Karnataka state) are varied. The language is often referred to as *soliganuḍi*

² This section comprises extracts from Chapter 1 of Si. A (2016) *The Traditional Ecological Knowledge of the Solega - A Linguistic Perspective*. Cham: Springer Verlag, pp. 252.

³ Krishnaswamy, J., Kiran, M. and Ganeshiah, K. (2004) Tree model based eco-climatic vegetation classification and fuzzy mapping in diverse tropical deciduous ecosystems using multi-season MDVI. *Int. J. Remote Sens.*, 25:1185–205.

⁴ See Dr. C. Madegowda's Preface for a broader definition of the term.

‘Soliga speech’ by Kannada speakers, who tend to also classify Solega as a dialect of Kannada. The Solega sometimes echo this categorisation by sometimes referring to their speech as *namma kannada* ‘our Kannada’, although, for the most part, the generic phrase *namma ba:se* ‘our language’ is used. Solega speakers are aware of the proximity of their language to Kannada, and can, in most cases, alter their speech so as to make it intelligible to Kannada speakers. At the same time, they point out that Kannada speakers would find it impossible to understand a normal-speed conversation, in ‘pure’ Solega, between speakers from interior settlements.

Practically all Solega recognise that their language is changing, and that ‘young people’ no longer speak like their parents or grandparents. Language attrition in favour of Kannada was prevalent in all settlements, but was strongest in lowland villages, and weakest in villages situated in the interior of the evergreen forest. Solega living in certain lowland settlements have now completely switched to Kannada, while in the highland villages, children of school age (and young adults) would be able to speak little or no Solega, but still have a passive comprehension of it. Their parents, now in their 30s and 40s are still able to hold an extended conversation in ‘pure’ Solega, but would, in practice, frequently switch between Kannada and Solega. Even in the highland villages near the ATREE field station (i.e. accessible by road, but within the rainforest proper), certain high frequency Kannada words, such as *benki* ‘fire’, have completely displaced their indigenous Solega counterparts⁵—*kiccu* in this case. It is only in the interior settlements that very young children can still speak Solega as a first language. The division of labour between Solega and Kannada among bilinguals seems, on the surface, to be straightforward. Simply put, Kannada is used with non-Solega people, while Solega is reserved for in-group members. Most adult Solega in their 30s and 40s are now bilingual, however, and are equally at home in either code. The knowledge of ritual texts, plant and animal names, their uses and usual habitats, place names and their cultural significance, and other items of specialized vocabulary and cultural information are being significantly eroded in all but the interior villages. Solega parents regret this state of affairs, but are pragmatic about their children’s opportunities to keep up the old ways. These consultants, in their 30s and 40s, arguably represent the last Solega generation to have been brought up in the times when shifting cultivation was still practised, but was already on the decline.

Another extremely significant factor that has precipitated a break in the transmission of traditional knowledge is the dominance of *Lantana camara* in the forests of the B. R. Hills. Acting as a cruel and highly visible metaphor for the influx of foreign cultural influences into the Solegas’ world, this plant has completely swamped large tracts of the forest understorey, obliterating old forest trails, swallowing up sites of religious and utilitarian significance, and driving many culturally important

⁵ It could be argued that words like *kiccu* (and others: *giḍugā* ‘Common Kestrel’, *kirubā* ‘leopard’, *musu* ‘langur’, to name a few) are actually ‘regional’ or ‘archaic’ forms of Kannada, rather than ‘pure’ Solega words, and that these words must have been borrowed into Solega to fill lexical gaps in that language. In most cases, this would be an incorrect assumption, for the fact that Solega and Kannada share a certain word does not automatically indicate that that word must have originated in Kannada. From a linguistic point of view, it is reasonable to expect a large degree of overlap between the lexicons of Kannada and Solega, as the two languages are closely related, and descended from a common ancestor. Consider, for instance, that all the Dravidian languages of southern India share a great deal of vocabulary due to their common ancestry. There are, of course, words for modern concepts (such as *a:spatre* ‘hospital’; *sarkal* <Eng. circle, ‘roundabout/ crossroads’) that have been borrowed into Solega from English via Kannada, while indigenous Kannada words such as *mudde* ‘millet ball’ and *benki* ‘fire’ are also commonly used by Solega speakers.

species of plants and animals to local extinction. The impact of this invasion on Solega cultural transmission is as noxious as any government directive to curtail traditional activities— *Lantana* ensures that the knowledge of countless plants and animals will fade from the Solega’s collective memory, even as those species quietly disappear from the forest floor.

1.2 *Social and historical context*

In published and online sources, there seems to be a range of orthographic renditions used by various authors for the name of this group. Variants include ‘Solaga’, ‘Sholagar’, ‘Sholaga’ (this is the spelling used in Ethnologue; ISO code: sle), ‘Sholiga’ and ‘Soliga/Soligaru’. The latter spelling is the one currently preferred by the Indian media and by Kannada speakers—this applies to both English and Kannada orthography (in the Kannada script, this would be rendered as ಸೊಲಿಗನ್ ‘*soliga*’). I have used the spelling ‘Solega’ in this book⁶, as I have been told quite unambiguously by the late Eddini Basavegowda that “*we are called So:lega. Soliga—that’s what outsiders call us!*”

The Solega inhabit a large area in the B. R. Hills and surrounding plains, and many settlements are either a few hours’ or a few days’ walk distant from each other. An average Solega person will have relatives—close and distant—living in several other villages, but may not see them except in case of an illness, a festival or a family celebration. Nevertheless, many people will regularly expend the effort and/or monetary cost of traveling long distances to attend important events occurring in distant villages. The Solega are aware of the existence of other tribal groups living in the Western Ghats, but state that they have historically had little interaction with them. In the past, Solega people’s lifestyle was a mix of hunter-gatherer and swidden agriculturalist, with *ra:gi* ‘finger millet’ being the main staple, along with corn and pumpkins. Wild yams and honey were routinely sought from the forest, as were a variety of seasonal fruits. Following the establishment of the BRT, Solega people were moved into permanent settlements, and forced to give up much of their traditional lifestyle. The practice of lighting low-intensity fires to clear land for small farms was prohibited, and this has had a major impact on the structure and composition of the forest.

The name of the BRT wildlife sanctuary derives from the presence of an ancient temple to the god Rangaswamy or Ranganatha (alternate names for Venkateshwara, or Vishnu) on top of a bare granite hilltop (*bili giri* means ‘white hill’). While the Solega do not worship Biligiri Rangaswamy, they show him a certain amount of respect, and claim kinship with him, as told by one of their myths. BRT is also home to the Vivekananda Girijana Kalyan Kendra (VGKK; ‘Vivekananda Mountain-Dweller Welfare Centre’), a non-profit organization that was first set up by Dr. Sudarshan, a physician from Bangalore, in 1981. For his decades of work with the Solega community, Dr. Sudarshan was presented with the Right Livelihood Award in 1994. More recently, he was runner-up for the 2009 Inaugural BMJ (British Medical Journal) Group Lifetime Achievement Award⁷. Over the years, the organization he started has grown, and radically

⁶ Strictly speaking, the /o/ in Solega is a long vowel, but I have decided against writing So:lega in English publications, for reasons of aesthetics and convenience.

⁷ Coombes, R. (2009) Hanumappa Sudarshan: the quiet reformer who has set up health services for 600,000 people. *Br. Med. J.*, 338(b):1100–1.

improved the living conditions of numerous Solega families, particularly those living in the settlements surrounding VGKK. It now provides a free school (which includes a free afternoon meal) and basic health services through its clinic, and also takes part in various community development programs⁸ in collaboration with another non-profit organization known as the Ashoka Trust for Research in Ecology and the Environment (ATREE). Over the last few decades, ATREE researchers have been involved in numerous community conservation programmes in partnership with Solega people⁹ to combat the invasive weed *Lantana*, promote sustainable forest use, map sacred sites, promote ecotourism and organize workshops and disseminate information on the recently-enacted *Recognition of Forest Rights Act*.

In recent years, the media, researchers, many of whom have affiliations to ATREE and VGKK, and the general public have become increasingly aware of the existence of the Solega, due to their involvement in a land-rights movement and a heated wildlife conservation debate. Certain aspects of Solega traditional knowledge have therefore been presented in academic journals and in popular magazines, primarily as a means of showcasing the beneficial impacts of Solega agricultural activities on the forest ecosystem, or the potential for incorporating Solega traditional practices into modern forest management regimes¹⁰. The Solega's involvement in a participatory resource monitoring programme, as well as in organic agriculture and self-help projects, has also been reported. Many practical issues being faced by modern Solega have drawn the attention of researchers. These include the effect of *Lantana* on the livelihoods of forest-dwelling Solega, low crop yields and the interactions between traditional and modern healthcare systems. The full references for these studies are given in Section 5 'Further Reading' below.

1.3 Previous work on the Solega language

Probably the first educational publication on the Solega language was produced by the Central Institute of Indian Languages (Mysore). Siddegowda & R.Subbakrishna co-authored the *Soliga Nudi Primer* and the *Soliga Nudi Copybook* in 1982. Two primary school textbooks were produced in 1999 by the District Primary Education Programme (Bangalore), in collaboration with VGKK. Called *Soliga Siddhi*, they are being used in the VGKK school for language teaching in Standards I and II. More recently, a resource for teaching environmental science to Solega children has been jointly produced by ATREE, VGKK and the NGO Kalpavrikhsa. The original book, *Forests Alive* (written by Sujatha Padmanabhan, Sunita Rao and Yashodara Kundaje) has been translated into a Kannada version with the title *Vana Sanjeevana* (translated by Nagesh Hegde). Both versions contain information on the environment of the BRT, along with key items of Solega biological vocabulary.

Among the academic publications on the Solega language, the first was probably the 1977 ethnographic sketch '*The Soliga of Biligiri Rangana Hills*' by S. G. Morab. This volume touches on

⁸ For more information, see <http://www.vgkk.org/br-hills.php>

⁹ For more information, see <https://www.atree.org/community-conservation>

¹⁰ Madegowda, C (2009). Traditional knowledge and conservation. *Econ. Polit. Weekly*, 44(21): 65-69.

several aspects of Solega temporal and spiritual life, and provides important vocabulary items from several semantic domains. A sketch grammar of the Solega language was published by the Russian Dravidianist Kamil Zvelebil in 1990. The author worked with a single native-speaker consultant, but from the phonological data presented in the paper, it is possible that he was a speaker of *E:lu Kula* ‘Seven-clan’ Solega (and not the language which form the focus of this dictionary). A handful of publications on linguistic and ethnobiological issues have been written by me, some in collaboration with Samira Agnihotri of the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore. These publications are listed in the section ‘Further Reading’ below (Section 5).

The present publication represents a first attempt to systematically present all aspects of Solega vocabulary and grammar in written form. Even after several years of research and repeated field trips, numerous Solega words and grammatical forms remain to be documented. A potentially vast network of semantic links to other concepts, entities, observations, beliefs and cultural practices is rendered invisible with each missing word, and it is hoped that such lacunae will be addressed in a future, more comprehensive, second edition. In the meantime, may this imperfect volume with its errors - for which the author is solely responsible - serve as a modest repository of language, knowledge and culture for Solega people, as well as a showcase, for outsiders, of the Solega people’s world view.

2. The Solega language - sound system and spelling

The following description of the Solega sounds and spelling has been written using non-technical language, as far as possible, with the aim of increasing its utility to a non-linguist audience. The Solega sound system shares many features in common with Karnataka's official language Kannada, and the nation's co-official language, Hindi. This section provides a pronunciation guide using phonetic, Roman and Kannada script in order to allow readability by a larger audience. Words in the Solega language are written in a slightly modified Kannada script in dictionary entries, along with a practical Roman spelling. In keeping with Indian literary tradition, the order of letters followed in the dictionary when sequencing Solega headwords is:

a ā ã i ī ī u ū ũ e ē ai aī o ō õ au aũ k g ŋ c j ʈ ɖ ɳ t d n p (ph) b m y r l ʃ v sh s h

For those unfamiliar with Indic scripts, the underlying principle for the ordering of sounds is as follows: [Vowels (short, long, nasal)] [Consonants {Velar (unvoiced, voiced, nasal)¹¹}, {Palatal}, {Retroflex}, {Dental}, {Bilabial}, {Glide, Rhotic, Liquids, Fricatives}]. Within the dictionary, non-geminated, simplex sounds (*e.g. k*) precede geminated (doubled) sounds (*e.g. kk*).

2.1 Vowels

Solega vowels show length contrast like in Hindi and Kannada. Unlike Kannada, however, Solega vowels can also be nasalised, usually in the first and/or last syllable of a word.

Table 1. Solega vowels and correspondences in four scripts

Kannada script	Practical Roman script	Devanagari script	Phonetic alphabet
ಅ	<i>a</i>	अ	ɐ
ಆ	<i>a:</i>	आ	ɛ:
ಆಂ	<i>ã</i>	आं	ẽ:
ಇ	<i>i</i>	इ	i, ɪ
ಈ	<i>i:</i>	ई	i:
ಈಂ	<i>ĩ</i>	ईं	ĩ:
ಉ	<i>u</i>	उ	u, ʊ
ಊ	<i>u:</i>	ऊ	u:
ಊಂ	<i>ũ</i>	ऊं	ũ:
ಎ	<i>e</i>	ए	e, ɛ
ಏ	<i>e:</i>	एः	e:

¹¹ This pattern is repeated for the Retroflex, Dental and Bilabial series. No phonemic palatal nasal has been recorded for Solega.

ಏಂ	ē	एं:	ē:
ಐ	ai	अइ / ऐ	ai
ಐಂ	āĩ	अइं / ऐं	aĩ
ಒ	o	ओ	o
ಓ	o:	ओ:	o:
ಓಂ	ō	ओं	ō:
ಔ	au	अउ / औ	au
ಔಂ	āũ	अउं / औं	aũ

Pronunciation notes: When ‘a’ occurs at the end of a word, it is invariably pronounced as a long vowel ‘a:’, while all other vowels are pronounced as a short vowel in this position. In both the Kannada and practical Roman scripts, such vowels are written in their short form. For example:

ಮರ	<i>mara</i>	[mərə:]	‘tree’
ಮಸಿ	<i>masi</i>	[məsi]	‘soot’
ಜೇನು	<i>je:nu</i>	[dʒe:nu]	‘honey(bee)’

In general, long vowels are absent before geminates or consonant clusters (*i.e.*, double consonants such as *kk* or *tr*), but infrequent counter-examples can be found. Nasalised vowels are also long.

The vowels indicated by *i*, *u* and *e* are pronounced differently when followed by a geminate consonant or a consonant cluster. In such situations, the resulting sounds (represented phonetically as *ɪ*, *ʊ* and *ɛ*) are similar to the vowels in the English words *hid*, *hood* and *head* respectively. Compare the following pairs of words, where the above vowels appear in contrasting environments:

ಬಿದಿರು	<i>bidiru</i>	[biḍiɾu]	‘bamboo’
ಬಿತ್ತ	<i>bitta</i>	[biṭṭɐ:]	‘seed’
ಕುಪುಟಿ	<i>kupuṭi</i>	[kupuṭi]	‘play (young animals)’
ಕುಪ್ಪು	<i>kuppu</i>	[kɒp:u]	‘scar’
ಕೆರೆ	<i>kere</i>	[kere]	‘reservoir’
ಕೆಂಚು	<i>kencu</i>	[kɛntɛu]	‘red’

Nasal vowels are written in two different ways in Kannada script, depending on the surrounding sounds. When the first syllable of a word consists solely of a nasal vowel (*āse*, *īsilu*), then it is composed of a long vowel symbol followed by the *anusvāra* diacritic (◌◌). When nasal vowels occur with a consonant onset (*e.g.* *avā*, *kō*), then it is written with the appropriate consonant-vowel combination (*gunitākshara*) followed by a ‘half’ *h* written as a subscript. This usually occurs at the end of a word.

ಆಸೆ	<i>āse</i>	[ĕ:se]	‘desire’
ಈಸಿಲು	<i>īsilu</i>	[ī:silu]	‘rattan’
ಅವೆ	<i>avā</i>	[ĕvĕ:]	‘he’
ಕೊ	<i>kō</i>	[kō:]	‘ADDRESS term’

The *anusvāra* diacritic is also used to indicate nasal-(non-nasal-)consonant clusters, which only occur word-medially. Examples include the following (see the next section for an explanation of consonant symbols):

ಎಂದು	<i>endu</i>	[ɛᅇᅇdu]	‘having said’
ರಂಗೊ	<i>rangā</i>	[rɛᅇᅇgĕ:]	‘man’s name’

2.2 Consonants

Solega has a smaller inventory of consonants compared to Kannada and Hindi, in that it lacks the phonemic (unvoiced) aspirated and breathy series of sounds (*i.e.*, the sounds represented by graphemes such as ಫ್ and ಫ್ಫ/ ಳ and ಳ respectively).

Table 2. Solega consonants and correspondences in four scripts

Kannada script	Practical Roman script	Devanagari script	Phonetic alphabet
ಕ	<i>k</i>	क	k
ಗ	<i>g</i>	ग	g
ಙ	<i>ŋ</i>	ङ	ŋ
ಚ	<i>c</i>	च	te
ಜ	<i>j</i>	ज	dʒ
ಟ	<i>t</i>	ट	t
ಡ	<i>d</i>	ड, ड	t, d
ಣ	<i>n</i>	ण	ŋ
ತ	<i>t</i>	त	t̪
ದ	<i>d</i>	द	d̪
ನ	<i>n</i>	न	n̪
ಪ, ಫ	<i>p, ph</i>	प, फ	p, p ^h
ಬ	<i>b</i>	ब	b
ಮ	<i>m</i>	म	m
ಯ	<i>y</i>	य	j

ರ, ಱ	<i>r, rr</i>	ರ, ರ್	<i>r, r</i>
ಲ	<i>l</i>	ಲ	<i>l</i>
ಲ	<i>l</i>	ಲ	<i>l</i>
ವ	<i>v</i>	ವ	<i>v, w</i>
ಶ, ಷ	<i>sh</i>	ಶ	<i>ʃ</i>
ಸ	<i>s</i>	ಸ	<i>s</i>
ಹ	<i>h</i>	ಹ	<i>h</i>

2.3 *Pronunciation notes:*

As noted above, there is no phonemic (systematic) contrast between aspirated and unaspirated consonants in Solega. The only exceptions are a handful of words consistently beginning with *ph* (ಫ್). Note that no words begin with *η*, *ŋ*, or *l*, while only those words borrowed from other languages begin with *t* and *d*.

2.3.1 *Phonological variation*

There is much variation in Solega with regard to the onset of a word (its first sound). Dictionary entries for words which show variation are presented according to the pronunciation of the speaker from which the word was recorded, and it is suggested that the reader look up alternative forms based on the following handful of rules. Depending on the speaker and dialect, some words beginning with *k* (ಕ್), *c* (ಚ್), *t* (ತ್), *t* (ಠ್) and *p* (ಪ್) may be pronounced with an aspirated consonant (ಫ್, ಷ್, ಠ್, ಘ್, ಫ್), e.g. *t̃yyanakki~ th̃yyanakki* ‘lapwing’. Question words and indefinite pronouns derived from question words may begin with *a*, *d* or *y* (the latter being similar to the standard Kannada pronunciation), e.g. *a:ru~da:ru~ya:ru* ‘who’. Lastly, word-initial *h* may be dropped for some speakers, resulting in a vowel onset, e.g. *hola~ola* ‘field’.

2.4 *Other orthographic features*

Like Hindi and Kannada, most Solega consonants are frequently geminated or combined with other consonants. In the Kannada script, such phenomena are indicated by a number of digraphs (combined letters), which will not be further discussed here. Combinations of consonants with vowel diacritics can also change the form of the consonant letter. More information on these important topics can be found at <http://www.omniglot.com/writing/kannada.htm> (also see the links to further resources at the bottom of the page). The doubling of three consonants will be briefly mentioned here, because of the aberrant sound changes associated with these consonants. Normally, when a consonant is doubled, it simply becomes longer, while the quality of the consonant is maintained. For example, with *k* (ಕ್), the consonant merely becomes longer:

ಮಲಕಿ *malaki* [mələki] ‘name of mountain’

ಹಕ್ಕಿ *hakki* [hək:i] 'bird'

With the consonants *ḍ*, *r* and *v*, however, the 'doubled' versions are pronounced in qualitatively different ways, as indicated in the table above. The first of these, *ḍ*, is pronounced as a retroflex flap when occurring as a single consonant, but as a retroflex stop when doubled. The second, *r*, is an alveolar tap when single, but an alveolar trill when doubled. Finally, *v* is a labiodental fricative when single (much like the English *v*), but becomes a labiovelar approximant (like the English *w*) when double.

ತಡೆ	<i>tade</i>	[ṭeṭe]	'wait'
ಕಡ್ಡಿ	<i>kaḍḍi</i>	[kəḍḍ:i]	'stick'
ಬರೆ	<i>bare</i>	[bære]	'boulder'
ಅರಣಿ	<i>arre</i>	[æ:r:e]	'rock platform'
ಅವ	<i>ava</i>	[əvə]	'she'
ಅವ್ವ	<i>avva</i>	[əw:ə]	'mother'

Note that there is no distinction in Solega between the two fricatives traditionally represented by $\overline{\text{v}}$ and $\overline{\text{w}}$. Both are pronounced as [ʃ] (*sh*) in modern Hindi, Kannada and Solega, but the two symbols have been retained in keeping with traditional Kannada literary practices. Briefly, $\overline{\text{w}}$ is used in clusters with retroflex stops (e.g. ಕೆಷ್ವೆ *keshṭe* 'Red Spurfowl'), while $\overline{\text{v}}$ is used elsewhere.

2.5 Phonological (sound-change) processes

Key phonological processes that occur at word boundaries, or when combining words with grammatical elements, include:

- 1) the reduction of V_1+V_2 vowel sequences to V_2 , as in:
ka:ḍu 'forest' + *ella* 'all' → *ka:ḍella* 'the whole forest'
- 2) the insertion of epenthetic glides -y- (following *i-*) as in:
sari 'proper' + *-a:gi* 'ADV' → *sariya:gi* 'properly'
- 3) and -v- (following *-a*, *-e* and preceding *-a*, *-e*, *-u* and *-o*), as in:
me:leka 'above' + *-e* 'EXCL' → *me:lekave* 'right above'

3. The Solega language - grammatical notes

The following sketch of Solega grammar has been included to help readers understand the ways in which Solega words are used in context, and the various changes in form that they may undergo. Out of necessity, this section contains much technical linguistic vocabulary, but helpful explanations in plain English within text boxes have been given in some sections.

First, the broad classes of Solega words are briefly described.

3.1 Word classes

Box 1

‘Word class’ is the technical term for ‘part of speech’, e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives, *etc.* Word classes are proposed on the basis of grammatical criteria, and not just their meaning.

‘Open word classes’ are those with a potentially limitless number of members, *e.g.* nouns.

‘Closed word classes’ are those with a clear upper limit on the number of members, *e.g.* pronouns.

‘Cases’ are grammatical markings on nouns and pronouns, which indicate a variety of grammatical roles for that noun and its relationships with other entities or events. Solega case markings produce meanings such as ‘to’, ‘for’, ‘with’, ‘from’, ‘since’, ‘of’, ‘in’, ‘at’ and so on.

‘Prefixes’ are grammatical markers that attach *before* a target word, *e.g.* *un-* in *unhappy*.

‘Suffixes’ are grammatical markers that attach *after* a target word, *e.g.* *-ness* in *happiness*.

A ‘morpheme’ is the smallest indivisible grammatical unit that carries meaning, *e.g.* *-s* in *cats*. The word *relocation* has three morphemes (*re-locat-ion*), while the word *umbrella* has just one. ‘Morphological’ means ‘pertaining to morphemes’. Morpheme boundaries within words are indicated by a hyphen ‘-’.

A ‘converb’ is a morpheme added to a verb in order to chain it with other verbs. This results in constructions, such as ‘She sat down and ate.’

3.1.1 Open Word classes

Open word classes are those with no upper limit on membership. Five open word classes may be identified in Solega on morphosyntactic grounds: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and expressives. Each of these is briefly described below.

3.1.1.1 Nouns

Nouns can bear the six case suffixes, namely NOMinative, ACCusative, DATive, ABLative, GENitive and LOCative. Nouns can have one of three genders, namely masculine, feminine and neuter. Masculine (*e.g. kunna* ‘boy’, *jotega:rā* ‘male friend’, *de:varu* ‘god’) and feminine (*e.g. avve* ‘mother’, *daiya* ‘evil spirit’, *hengisu* ‘woman’) gender apply to humans and supernatural beings, whereas non-human animals, plants and other inanimate objects are of neuter gender (*e.g. mara* ‘tree’, *a:ne* ‘elephant’, *beṭṭa* ‘mountain’). Nouns can form compounds with other nouns; these are described in detail in Section 3.5.

3.1.1.2 Verbs

Solega verbs always show agreement with the number and person of the subject, and also with gender in the third person. They can be inflected for tense (1), and also readily form serial verb constructions – both to indicate aspect (2), as well as actions performed in sequence – with the help of a few CONVerb morphemes (3).

1. *avā bann-ā*
3SG.M come.PST-3SG.M
‘He came.’
2. *avā ban.d-a:k-in-ā*
3SG.M come.CONV₁-put-PST-3SG.M
‘He has come.’
3. *avā ban.d-u oṇto:-n-ā*
3SG.M come-CONV₂ go.away-PST-3SG.M
‘He came and went.’

Verbs can be transitive (taking one or two objects) or intransitive (unable to take any objects). In addition, there is a third category of Solega verbs which are lexicalised with an incorporated noun. These noun-verb combinations often have a very different meaning from the meaning of the verb in isolation, and are indicated as *v* ‘verb’ in dictionary entries, as opposed to *v.tr* or *v.intr*. Examples include *uyi* ‘hit’ > *maḷe uyi* (rain hit) ‘rain’, *ni:ra uyi* (water hit) ‘bathe’, *ucce uyi* (urine hit) ‘urinate’. See section 3.7 for further details of Solega verb morphology.

3.1.1.3 Adjectives

Adjectives do not inflect for case, gender, number or tense when used in an attributive frame. In a predicative frame, they are optionally nominalised with the dummy head *-adu* (see the section 3.6 on Nominalization for further explanation).

4. *i:* *dodda* *marā*
 PROX big tree
 ‘this big tree’
5. *a:* *marā* *ba:ri* *dodda(a/-adu)*
 DIST tree very big(-3SG.N)
 ‘That tree is very big.’

A common strategy used in naturalistic speech is the addition of the ADVerb suffix *-a:ge* after certain adjectives, as in *neṭṭa:ge* ‘straight (looking)’, *karra:ge* ‘black (looking)’ (see the following section).

3.1.1.4 Adverbs

Adverbs are a diverse class of words, both in terms of form and function. Many simple adverbs exist in Solega, which carry no overt morphological marking. Examples include *ba:ri* ‘very’, *be:ga* ‘quickly’, *ka:nu:nu* ‘freely’, and *indu* ‘today’. The prototypical explicitly marked adverb takes the form of an adjective or a noun with the ADverbial suffix *-a:gi*. There seems to be some variation in the form of the suffix, as some recorded adverbs have the form *-a:ge*, which may represent the original Solega form. If this is the case, then *-a:gi* may represent the influence of Kannada, which has an identical adverb suffix¹². The adverb suffix *-a:gi/-a:ge* is quite productive, and can be combined with a number of nouns and adjectives to produce adverbs having the meaning ‘like X’ or ‘in the manner of X’. The following example (6) shows the ADV suffix combining with the adjective *karri* ‘black’, to form an adverb *karra:ge*, which may be roughly glossed as ‘black-looking’.

6. *ka:nukattale* *karr-a:ge=ve* *ir-a:du.* *adu* *dodda-adu.*
 eagle black-ADV=EXCL be-GER that big-3SG.N
 ‘The eagle is totally black. It’s a big (bird).’

The suffix *-a:ge/-a:gi* can also attach to nouns to produce adverbs, as in *ni:rina:ge* ‘like water’ (7), in addition to being a derivational morpheme for converting adjectives into adverbs (8). Note that in (7) the GEN case marker is optionally placed between the noun and the adverb suffix.

7. *raguta* *ni:r-in-a:ge* *ir-a* *be:ku*
 blood water-GEN-ADV be-CONV₃ must
 ‘Blood should be (non-viscous) like water.’
8. *kelsa* *ranj-a:gi* *maḍ-ou*
 work sharp-ADV do-IMP
 ‘Do the work properly!’ (lit. ‘Do the work sharply!’)

¹² Sridhar, S (1990) *Kannada: Descriptive Grammar*. Routledge.

In addition to *-a:ge/-a:gi*, a handful of other suffixes, namely *-enna* and *-ane/-a:ne/-anne* can also be used to produce adverb-like words from nouns and adjectives, but mostly from the class of words known as expressives (see Section 3.1.1.5 below).

9. *pess-enna* *tappis-un-ā*
 EXPR-enna hide-PST-3SG.M
 ‘He hid quickly.’
10. *takkatakk-a:ne* *kuṇ-d-a:k-in-ā*
 EXPR-a:ne dance-CONV₁-put-PST-3SG.M
 ‘He danced animatedly.’

Many expressives facultatively combine with one or more of these suffixes. The situation is largely similar to that reported by Emeneau¹³ for onomatopoeics [sic.] in other Dravidian languages, such as Toda, Kannada and Tamil. Kannada, in particular is reported to make use of *-ane*, *-ene*, *-ana* and *-anna*, and Emeneau characterises such suffixes as having an adverbial function. The Solega verb *ennu* does mean ‘say, speak’, and is often used alongside its synonym *(h)e:lu*, which also occurs in Kannada. The suffix *-enna* can be analysed as a non-finite form of *ennu*, and represents a converb form used in a variety of verb-chaining constructions.

3.1.1.5 Expressives

Box 2

A ‘Complement’ is a word or clause that provides additional meaning about the subject of a sentence, and is necessary to complete the sentence. In the following example, ‘he would come’ is the complement of the verb ‘said’. In Solega, the complementizer typically follows the complement, unlike English.

A ‘Complementizer’ is a word that marks a word or clause as a complement of a verb, e.g. *that* in ‘He said *that* he would come’.

The expressives represent another diverse class of words, and include onomatopoeia, ideophones and descriptors of manner (*i.e.* adverb-like words). Prototypically, expressives are framed by the complementizer and reported speech marker *endu* ‘having said’ (11 & 12).

11. *kodokodo* *en-du* *ma:ta:q-a* *be:ḍa*
 EXPR say-CONV₂ talk-CONV don’t
 ‘Don’t talk incessantly!’

¹³ Emeneau, M. (1980) Onomatopoeics in the Indian linguistic area. In *Language and Linguistic Area*, pp. 250-293, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

12. *mincu* *baga:r_en-du*¹⁴ *ba-nd-a:k-ittu*
lightning EXPR_say-CONV₂ come-CONV₁-put-3N.PST
‘The lightning struck suddenly.’

The boundary between expressives and adverbs is not rigid, and several ideophones, for instance, can take the suffix *-a:gi* to become functioning adverbs. This is true even of the reduplicated ideophones and onomatopoeia which are normally described exclusively as expressives in other Dravidian languages (Emeneau 1980). As mentioned above, many expressives can also combine with the adverbial suffixes derived from *endu* ‘say’ (13).

13. All suffixes (*-ane/-a:ne/-anne*, *-enna*, *-a:gi*), complementiser *endu*
a) *kaṭikaṭi-y.a:ne naḍuvik-ine*
b) *kaṭikaṭi-y.enna naḍuvik-ine*
c) *kaṭikaṭi endu naḍuvik-ine*
d) *kaṭikaṭi-y.a:gi naḍuvik-ine*
‘I shivered, going *kaṭikaṭi*.’

There do not seem to be any strict rules governing the combinatorial potential of adverbs and expressives on the one hand, and the suffixes *-a:gi*, *-enna* and *-ane/-a:ne/-anne* on the other, but some broad tendencies can be observed. Briefly, non-reduplicated expressives preferentially combine with *-a:gi* (although there are many exceptions to this, as in (13)). In terms of semantics, expressives that are onomatopoeic and those that describe the speed of events (usually happening very quickly) tend not to combine with the adverb suffix *-a:gi*. Examples include *sikku-sikku* ‘squirrel call’ and *ge:l* ‘thunder’ for the former category, and *navā-navā* ‘quickly’ and *pessenna ~ pessa:ne ~ pesekendu* ‘in a hurry/ moving fast’ for the latter. On the other hand, the categories denoting ‘physical property’, ‘movement’ and ‘appearance’ are dominated by expressives that do combine readily with *-a:gi* to form canonical adverbs. Examples for each type of expressive include *gagguri* ‘thick, dense, well cooked’ (physical property), *pinṇu- pinṇu* ‘repeated action’ (movement) and *nanni-panni* ‘messy’, ‘tattered’ (appearance).

3.1.2 Closed word classes

There are four major closed word classes in Solega, namely the pronouns, postpositions, interrogatives and demonstratives. Each of these will be briefly described in turn:

3.1.2.1 Pronouns

Solega pronouns occur as free words and behave like nouns, in that they can take case suffixes. Pronouns are distinguished from nouns on the basis that the former cannot be paired with the demonstrative determiners *i*: ‘this’ and *a*: ‘that’. The plural morpheme *-galu* or *-ga* is never used in conjunction with pronouns, however, as plurality is lexicalised on pronouns. The pronouns distinguish singular and plural number for all persons, and gender only in the third person (Table 3). For the majority of pronouns, the ACC and GEN cases are identical in form (the same is true for

¹⁴ The underscore is used to indicate phonological sandhi between two otherwise independent words.

some nouns – see Section 3.4). However, the different forms of the 3SG.N pronoun indicate that the two cases are indeed distinct.

Table 3. Solega free pronouns with the six case suffixes. [§] *na:nu* is frequently used in the example sentences presented in the sketch grammar, but this is likely to be a Kannada influence. The bare 1SG pronoun is simply *na:* (/nɛ/ [na:]). [#] There is no ‘polite’ 2SG pronoun form in Solega, and *ni:vu* is used exclusively to indicate 2PL.

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG.M	3SG.F	3SG.N	3PL
NOM	<i>na:(nu)[§]</i>	<i>na:vu</i>	<i>ni:</i>	<i>ni:vu[#]</i>	<i>avā</i>	<i>ava</i>	<i>adu</i>	<i>ave/avaru</i>
ACC	<i>nanna</i>	<i>namma</i>	<i>ninna</i>	<i>nimma</i>	<i>avana</i>	<i>avaḷa</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>aveya</i>
DAT	<i>nanaga</i>	<i>namaga</i>	<i>ninaga</i>	<i>nimaga</i>	<i>avaniga</i>	<i>avaḷiga</i>	<i>adaka</i>	<i>aveka</i>
ABL	<i>nanaginda</i>	<i>namaginda</i>	<i>ninaginda</i>	<i>nimaginda</i>	<i>avaninda</i>	<i>avaḷinda</i>	<i>adarinda</i>	<i>aveyinda</i>
GEN	<i>nanna</i>	<i>namma</i>	<i>ninna</i>	<i>nimma</i>	<i>avana</i>	<i>avaḷa</i>	<i>adara</i>	<i>aveya</i>
LOC	<i>nannalli</i>	<i>nammadalli</i>	<i>ninnadalli</i>	<i>nimmadalli</i>	<i>avanadalli</i>	<i>avaḷadalli</i>	<i>adaralli</i>	<i>aveyalli</i>

In practice, there are other (lexical) ways of pluralising pronouns in the nominative case, through the use of *ella* ‘all’ and *uvve* ‘also’. *Ella(ru)* can occur by itself following a pronoun (as in *na:v-ella* ‘we all’), but the use of *uvve* on its own leads to a change in meaning (*na:n-uvve* ‘I also’). However, the use of both in conjunction is better interpreted as ‘all’, rather than ‘also’.

14. *avar-ella:r-uvve eraḍ-eraḍu se:r-a gu:s-id-aru.*
 3PL-all-also two-REDUP pile-ACC put.together-PST-3PL
 ‘They all made two piles each.’

The third person pronouns can also occur in a ‘bound’ form as the dummy head in a compound to indicate a person, animal or thing that possesses, or is associated with a particular attribute. The first element in the compound encodes the attribute, and can either be a noun or an adjective. In example (16), the 3rd-person singular neuter pronoun functions as a general nominalizer for non-human entities, just as in example (5).

15. *avā na:d-avā*
 3SG.M lowland-3SG.M
 ‘He’s a man from the lowlands’ (a non-Solega)
16. *doḍḍ-adu, ondu heḍa:ge, tumb-u u.ḷḷ-u*
 big-3SG.N one bamboo.vessel fill-CONV₁ leave-CONV₂
 ‘Having filled a big one (a bamboo vessel)...’

Solega has proximal (for nearby entities, ‘this’) and distal versions (for distant entities, ‘that’) of the third person pronouns. Table 3 above shows the distal pronouns, but the only difference in form is that the word initial *a-* is replaced by *i-* in the proximal pronouns. The distal and proximal pronouns are used to indicate the location of an entity being talked about, with respect to the speaker. In naturalistic speech, the usual form seems to be the distal form (*adu* ‘that’, *ava* ‘she/ that

woman’), as it occurs far more frequently than the proximal. However, proximal forms such as *iva* ‘she/ this woman’ do occur with some regularity in narratives (usually retellings of folk tales) where there may be more than one character of the same gender in a particular scene or episode. Here, the *avaliva* contrast (i.e., ‘that woman’ vs. ‘this woman’) can be used to keep track of two different characters.

Solega has a few indefinite pronouns that can be analysed as being formed from an interrogative (question word; see Section 3.1.2.4), the INDEFinite morpheme *-a:dar* and *-uvve* ‘also’. Examples include *(d)e:n-a:dar-uvve* ‘something’ (lit. what-*a:dar*-also) and *(d)elli.y-a:dar-uvve* ‘somewhere’ (lit. where-*a:dar*-also). Pronouns which indicate anyone/no-one and something/nothing are formed by combining the corresponding interrogative pronoun with *-uvve* and/or the negative marker *ille*. Examples include *(d)a:r-uvve* ‘anyone/no-one’ and *(d)e:n-uvve* ‘anything/nothing’. Appropriate case marking can be added to the pronoun in such constructions, to produce meanings such as ‘to anyone’ (*da:r-ig-uvve*), ‘to anywhere’ (*dell-ig-uvve*) with the DAT case, for instance.

Table 4. Indefinite pronouns derived from interrogative pronouns.

Interrogative pronoun	Indefinite pronoun	Indefinite pronoun + NEG
<i>(d)e:nu</i> ‘what’	<i>(d)e:n-a:dar-uvve</i> ‘something’, <i>(d)e:nondu</i> ‘some (particular person/thing)’ <i>(d)e:no</i> ‘something’ <i>(d)e:n-uvve</i> ‘anything’	<i>(d)e:n-uvve ille</i> ‘nothing’
<i>(d)a:ru</i> ‘who’	<i>(d)a:r-a:dar-uvve</i> ‘someone’ <i>(d)a:r-uvve</i> ‘anyone’	<i>(d)a:r-uvve ille</i> ‘nobody’
<i>(d)etta</i> ‘where’	<i>(d)ettondu</i> ‘someone’ <i>(d)ettavo</i> ‘somewhere’	
<i>(d)elli</i> ‘where’	<i>(d)elli.y-a:dar-uvve</i> ‘somewhere’ <i>(d)elliyo</i> ‘somewhere’ <i>(d)elli uvve</i> ‘anywhere’	<i>(d)elli uvve ille</i> ‘nowhere’
<i>(d)e:va</i> ‘which’	<i>(d)e:v-a:dar-uvve</i> ‘something’ <i>(d)e:vadondu</i> ‘some (particular person/thing)’	

Some interrogative pronouns can also be combined with the numeral *ondu* ‘one’ to form an indefinite adjectival construction meaning ‘some(one/thing)’. Example (17) indicates that the noun being modified may be plural, in spite of the numeral ‘one’. Note that in Table 4, the indefinite adjective *(d)ettondu*, formed from the question word *(d)etta* ‘where’, actually means ‘someone’, and not ‘somewhere’.

17. *e:va.d-ondu* *na:d-a:ve-ga* *ban-d-ave* *go:ra:k-a:ge*
 which-one plains-3PL-PL come-NPST-3PL give.injection-INF
 ‘Some plains-people are coming to give us injections.’

Finally, some interrogative pronouns can also be combined with the co-ordinating clitic =*o* (meaning ‘or’) to produce indefinite pronouns. Examples include (*d*)*e:no* ‘something’ and (*d*)*elliyo* ‘somewhere’.

3.1.2.2 Postpositions

Box 3

A ‘Postposition’ is a word that indicates the spatial or temporal relationship between two entities (similar to the English words *on*, *behind*, *before* etc.) Unlike the English *prepositions*, the Solega *postpositions* appear after the noun which acts as the reference.

The Solega postpositions can follow either a noun or noun phrase over which it has scope, or, for a subset of postpositions, a past participle. In the former case, an appropriate case marking, namely GEN, is required. Postpositions that follow a past participle are the temporal ones, *me:le* ‘after’ and *munce* ‘before’. Solega postpositions encountered so far include:

Table 5. Solega postpositions

<i>onda:ge</i>	with
<i>oreka</i>	outside
<i>oļage/ oļeka</i>	inside
<i>keļage/ keļeka</i>	down, below, under
<i>gaṭṭa</i>	until
<i>takka</i>	like, in accordance with
<i>daṇḍe(-ka)</i>	in the possession of, near
<i>munceri(-ka)</i>	in front of
<i>me:le(-ka)</i>	up, above, after
<i>sadura</i>	around
<i>savaniga</i>	beside
<i>saita</i>	with
<i>hinde/ hinceri(-ka)</i>	behind

Some of the items listed in the above table can take the DAT suffix *-ka*, but this has the effect of changing the meaning of the postposition. In general, the bare form is used when some kind of motion is implied, whereas the *-ka* forms are used with stative verbs. Note that two of the postpositions, *oļeka* ‘inside’ and *keļeka* ‘below’, appear to have absorbed *-ka* morphemes (**oļe*, **keļe*). The postposition *onda:ge* ‘with’ can be analysed as *ond-a:g-e* ‘just as one’.

18. *a:* *taragin-a* *me:le* *bitta* *bi.dd-a:ga* *adu* *u.ʈ-a:ge*
 DIST leaf.litter-GEN above seed fall-TEMP that grow-INF
da:ri ille
 path NEG

‘When seeds fall on the leaf litter, there’s no way for them to grow.’

19. (*tale.y-a*) *me:le-ka* *ondu* *kokku* *i.dd-a:gev=e*
 (head-GEN) above-DAT one beak be.PST-like=EXCL
ka:ŋ-a:du
 seem-GER

‘It looks like it’s got a beak on top (of its head).’

3.1.2.3 Determiners

Box 4

A ‘Determiner’ is a word preceding a noun, that provides information on the definiteness of that noun, and its location with respect to the speaker.

Solega has two demonstrative determiners *i:* and *a:*, the former being proximal, and the latter being distal. The determiners precede a noun, as in the following:

20. *i:/a:* *kunna* *pa:* *ille*
 PROX/DIST boy good NEG
 ‘This/That boy is no good.’

The determiners do not take any case or number inflections even when the following noun is inflected (e.g. *i: marada hesaru* ‘the name of this tree’), but can be compounded with words such as *eraḍu* ‘two’ and *ella* ‘all’ (*avella* ‘all of them’, *iveraḍu* ‘both of these’). As *i:* and *a:* cannot be used as NP heads, it is common, in normal discourse, to use the demonstrative pronouns *idu* and *adu* (Section 3.1.2.1) for non-human referents, and *avā* and *ivā* etc. for human referents. Additionally there is also an indefinite determiner *anta* ‘such’, as in *anta pera:ŋi* ‘such an animal’.

3.1.2.4 Interrogatives

Box 5

An ‘Interrogative’ is a question word that indicates the spatial or temporal relationship between two entities (similar to the English words *on*, *behind*, *before* etc.) Unlike the English *prepositions*, the Solega *postpositions* appear after the noun which acts as the reference.

A ‘Clitic’ is a grammatical morpheme (in Solega, a suffix), which can attach to members of more than one word class. In standard grammatical notation, clitics are indicated by a ‘=’. In the present section, the Question morpheme (=a) is presented as a clitic, because it can attach to members of almost every word class.

* before a Solega expression indicates something that is ungrammatical, or otherwise disallowed by the rules of the language.

Although largely equivalent to the English *wh-* interrogative (question) pronouns, the Solega interrogatives are here treated separately from the pronouns because of their complementary distribution with the Question morpheme =a.

21. *ti:ni a:t=a*

food happen.PST.3SG.N=Q

‘Have you eaten?’

22. *e:na a:t-u*

what happen.PST.3SG.N

‘What happened?’

**e:na a:t=a*

what happen.PST.3SG.N=Q

The other Solega interrogatives include *ya:ru/da:ru* ‘who’, *(d)elli/detta* ‘where’, *(d)e:vadu* ‘which’, *(d)e:ka* ‘why’, *(d)e:va:ga* ‘when’ and *he:ge* ‘how’. There is a phonological ‘echoing’ effect among the first segment of the proximal and distal responses to some interrogatives, as in the following:

<i>(d)elli</i>	<i>illi</i>	<i>alli</i>
where	here	there

<i>detta</i>	<i>itta</i>	<i>atta</i>
where	here	there

<i>(d)e:va:ga</i>	<i>i:ga</i>	<i>a:ga</i>
when	now	then

<i>(d)e:vadu</i>	<i>idu</i>	<i>adu</i>
which	this	that

<i>(h)e:ge</i>	<i>(h)i:ge</i>	<i>(h)a:ge</i>
how	like this	like that

3.1.2.5 Conjunctions

A small number of conjunctions exists in Solega, with some being of the co-ordinating type, and some being of the subordinating type. Co-ordinating conjunctions are here defined as those that either chain nouns or noun phrases together, especially when enumerating lists of entities, e.g. *matte* ‘and’ (23), or those that have a discourse function, e.g. *a:ga* ‘then’ (24), and chain together independent clauses. Apart from *matte* ‘and’ and *a:ga* ‘then’, other co-ordinating conjunctions include *adakka:gi* ‘therefore’ and *uvve* ‘and’ (lit. ‘also’). The latter differs from *matte* in that it needs to appear after each of the nouns or noun phrases being co-ordinated (25).

23. *ka:ḍ.in-alli* *a:ne* *huli* *matte* *karaḍi* *ade*
 forest-LOC elephant tiger and gaur 3SG.N
 ‘There are elephants, tigers and gaurs in the forest.’

24. *a:ga* *maḍake* *ta.nd-u* *savaṇa.n-iga* *koḍ-a:du*
 then pot take-CONV₂ NAME-DAT give-GER
 ‘Then (he) took the pot, and gave it to *Savaṇa*.’

25. *atte* *uvve* *sose* *uvve*
 mother-in-law also daughter-in-law also
 ‘the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law’

Subordinating conjunctions chain together a dependent and an independent clause. In (26), the conjunction *endale*, derived from the verb *ennu* ‘say’, joins together a conditional clause with its outcome.

26. *a:neka* *be:di* *a:tu* *end-ale*
 elephant-DAT diarrhoea become-PST.3SG say-COND
aranelli mara-da *sekke* *tin-d-a:de*
 NAME tree-GEN bark eat-NPST-3SG.N
 ‘When an elephant has diarrhoea, it eats the inner bark of the *aranelli* tree.’

27. *band=e* *e:ṭiga* *ke:l-in-ã*
 come.CONV₂=EXCL as.soon.as ask-PST-3SG.M
 ‘He asked (sth.) as soon as he arrived.’

28. *mene-ka* *ho:g-a:rda* *onda:ge ondu* *na:yi* *no:ḍ-in-e*
 house-DAT go-INGR while one dog see-PST-1SG
 ‘While going home, I saw a dog.’

29. *mari* *kui.d-a* *e:ṭinalli*
 goat kill-CONV₃ at.time.of
 ‘When killing a goat...’

Other subordinating conjunctions include *e:ṭiga* ‘as soon as’, *onda:ge* ‘while’, *e:ṭinalli* ‘at the time of’ and *e:kandale* ‘because’. The first three conjunctions require specific non-finite inflections on the verb of the subordinate clause. *E:ṭiga*, for example, requires a CONVerb₂=EXCLUSIVE construction (27), *onda:ge* requires an INGRESSIVE suffix (28), while *e:ṭinalli* requires a CONVerb₃ suffix (29). Complementizers, frequently used in reported speech constructions (see Section 3.10.4) also chain together a dependent and an independent clause, as in (30).

30. *neḍe=ppa je:n-iga hog-ō endu avā oṇto:nā*
 walk=HON honey-DAT go-HORT COMP 3SG leave-PST-3SG
 ‘‘Come on, let’s go look for honey,’’ he said, and set off.’

The COMPLEMENTIZER *endu* is derived from the verb *ennu* ‘say’ and can be given the literal gloss ‘having said (sth.)’

3.2 The noun phrase

The simplest noun phrase (NP) in Solega is a single noun. NPs can, of course, be more complex, and include free words such as numerals, colours and other adjectives, quantifiers and demonstratives. The canonical maximally elaborated NP is given below (relative clauses are not being considered at this point; see Section 3.7.9 for a description of relativisation):

NP → (Possessor NP) [DEMONstrative NUMeral INTensifier ADJective N]

31. *ma:da-na mene*
 Mada-GEN house
 ‘Mada’s house’
32. *i: mu:ru ba:ri doḍḍa mara-ga*
 PROX three very big tree-PL
 ‘these three very big trees’

3.3 Numerals

Solega has a full complement of numerals based on the decimal system. The numerals, including terms for larger values such as 100,000 and 10,000,000, are identical to the Kannada forms, and it is likely that the latter numerals have been borrowed from this language (Table 6).

Box 6

An ‘Adjunct’ is an optional word or phrase that provides additional information about the event mentioned in a sentence. Unlike a Complement, the Adjunct is not necessary for making the sentence grammatical. In the sentence ‘He hit the dog on its head’, *on its head* is the adjunct.

‘Discourse’ or ‘Discursive’ pertains to conversation, but more broadly, the term indicates a stretch of narrative or a sequence of utterances.

Table 6. Solega numerals

<i>ondu</i>	one	<i>hanneradu</i>	twelve
<i>eradu</i>	two	<i>ippattu</i>	twenty
<i>mu:ru</i>	three	<i>ippattondu</i>	twenty-one
<i>na:ku/na:laku</i>	four	<i>mu:vattu</i>	thirty
<i>aidu</i>	five	<i>nalavattu</i>	forty
<i>a:ru</i>	six	<i>aivattu</i>	fifty
<i>e:lu</i>	seven	<i>nu:ru</i>	hundred
<i>eṅṅu</i>	eight	<i>sa:vira</i>	thousand
<i>ombattu</i>	nine	<i>hattu sa:vira</i>	ten thousand
<i>hattu</i>	ten	<i>laksha</i>	hundred thousand
<i>hannondu</i>	eleven	<i>ko:ṭi</i>	ten million

Like Kannada, Solega has special lexemes to refer to one or two humans: *obba/obbā* (one female/one male) and *ibbaru* (two people). For some speakers, these forms seem to be optional, as the non-human forms *ondu* and *eradu* are sometimes used when clearly referring to people (33).

33. *ondu suma:ru vaisa:da muduki*
 one all old old.woman
 ‘a very old woman’
34. *ibbar-uvve ma:va.n-uvve sose-vve ho:d-a:ga*
 two.people-also father.in.law-also daughter.in.law-also go-TEMP
 ‘as the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law were both going...’
35. *avā bara:-na gaṭṭa se:nevē*
 3SG.M come-TERM until extremely
so:t-u uṭṭ-aru, ibbar-uvve.
 grow.old-CONV₁ leave.PST-3PL, two.people-also
 By the time he returned, they’d grown very old, the two of them.

As mentioned in the previous section, numerals tend to occur within the noun phrase (34). There are exceptions, however, as numerals can sometimes appear as an adjunct, outside the relevant clause (35).

The ‘one’ numerals *ondu* and *obba* frequently appear in combination with other morphemes, or are reduplicated, to serve a range of grammatical, semantic or discursive functions. The following sentences provide a few examples of these functions:

36. *obb-obbā* *ipipa:ṭi* *tin-t-id-adu.*
 one.person.M-REDUP this.much eat-CONT-be.PST-GER
 ‘Each person would eat a bit.’
37. *ondu* *ra:pa:na* *uvve* *savēyā.d-ille.*
 one bit also possible-NEG
 ‘It wasn’t at all possible.’
38. *avan-iga* *asṭ-ondu* *ko:pa* *band-u* *uḍtu.*
 3SG.M-DAT that.much-one anger come-CONV₁ leave-PST.3SG.N
 ‘He became so angry!’
39. *e:vad-ondu* *de:sa-kka* *ho:g-a* *be:k-a:g-ittu.*
 which-one country-DAT go-CONV₃ need-happen.PST-3SG.N
 ‘He had to go to some other country.’
40. *ond=e* *ondu,* *kumbaḷa-da* *haṇṇu.*
 one=EXCL one pumpkin-GEN fruit
 ‘A pumpkin, and nothing else.’

In addition, *ondu* and *obba* also appear in words such as *pratiyondū* ‘each one’, *ondutte* ‘only’, *innondu* ‘another’ and *e:nondu* ‘something’ (as discussed in Section 3.1.2.4 ‘Interrogative Pronouns’).

3.4 Noun morphology

Box 7

A ‘Direct Object’ of a verb is the entity that is directly affected by the event encoded by the verb. In the sentence ‘She hit him’, *him* is the Direct Object.

An ‘Indirect Object’ of a verb is the entity indirectly affected by the verb. In the sentence, ‘I gave the book to him’, *him* is the Indirect Object.

As mentioned in section 3.1.1.1, Solega nouns have the potential to take one of six case suffixes. Broadly speaking, NOMinative case indicates the subjects of sentences, ACCusative case indicates direct objects, and DATive case indicates indirect objects. ABLative case conveys the meaning ‘from’ (a location, an entity or a point in time). The GENitive case (1) indicates possession (being marked on the possessor, *e.g. a:ne-ya ba:la*, elephant-GEN tail, ‘elephant’s tail’), and (2) also appears together with postpositions (*e.g. mara-da me:le*, tree-GEN on, ‘on the tree’). Finally, the LOCative case (1) indicates that something is present in, at or on a location (*e.g. mene-li*, house-LOC, ‘in the house’), and (2) indicates the means by which an action is performed (*e.g. katti-li*, machete-LOC, ‘with a machete’, much like an instrumental case¹⁵). Of these, the NOM case is not marked (except optionally on pronouns, Section 3.1.2.1), and some of the others are optional in some contexts, as described below. As in the case of the personal pronouns, the ACC- and GEN-inflected forms are identical for many nouns (*e.g. maṅa* ‘son’, *awwe* ‘mother’, Table 7).

Table 7. Representative Solega nouns with the six case suffixes.

	General form	<i>maṅā</i> (son)	<i>avve</i> (mother)	<i>mene</i> (house)	<i>kai</i> (hand)	<i>mara</i> (tree)	<i>ha:vu</i> (snake)
NOM	-∅	<i>maṅā</i>	<i>avve</i>	<i>mene</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>ha:vu</i>
ACC	-a	<i>maṅana</i>	<i>avveya</i>	<i>meneya</i>	<i>kaiya</i>	<i>marava</i>	<i>ha:va</i>
DAT	-ka	<i>maṅaniga</i>	<i>avveka</i>	<i>meneka</i>	<i>kaika</i>	<i>maraka</i>	<i>ha:viga</i>
ABL	-inda	<i>maṅaninda</i>	<i>avveyinda</i>	<i>meneyinda</i>	<i>kaiyinda</i>	<i>maradinda</i>	<i>ha:vinda</i>
GEN	-a	<i>maṅana</i>	<i>avveya</i>	<i>meneya</i>	<i>kaiya</i>	<i>marada</i>	<i>ha:vina</i>
LOC	-alli	<i>maṅanalli</i>	<i>avveli</i>	<i>meneli</i>	<i>kaili</i>	<i>maradalli</i>	<i>ha:vinalli</i>

The precise case ending, as well as the consonant that is inserted between the bare noun and the case ending, are determined by the gender and final vowel of the noun. In Table 7, *maṅā* ‘son’ is masculine and *avve* ‘mother’ is feminine, whereas the remaining nouns are of neuter gender. *Mara* ‘tree’ and *maṅā* ‘son’ both end in *-a*, but the former is of neuter gender, and follows a different pattern. *Maṅā* ‘son’ provides a pattern for the declension of all human nouns ending in *-a*, regardless of whether they are masculine or feminine (*e.g. amma* ‘grandmother’). In everyday conversation, the ACC case is often unmarked, causing it to be indistinguishable from NOM (41).

¹⁵ In Kannada, this function is taken on by the ABL case suffix *-inda*.

41. *avā mara no:ḍ-d-avane*
 3SG.M tree look-CONT-be.PRES.3SG.M
 ‘He’s looking at the tree.’
42. *avā mara-va no:ḍ-d-avane*
 3SG.M tree-ACC look-CONT-be.PRES.3SG.M
 ‘He’s looking at a tree.’

There is some indication that the presence or absence of the ACC case marker signals the speaker’s prior knowledge or lack of prior knowledge, respectively, of the entity in question. Example (42) is also grammatical, but here, the speaker does not know which particular tree (out of a stand of trees, for example) the referent (he) is looking at. In the prior example (41), the speaker does know this. This key difference between the two sentences is highlighted in the free translation through the use of the definite and indefinite articles respectively.

3.4.1 Plural

Box 8

An ‘Allomorph’ is an alternative form of a morpheme, that is only used in certain grammatical or phonological (sound-related) contexts. The meaning of the Allomorph is no different from that of the original morpheme.

Plurals are formed by addition of the morpheme *-ga*, as in *a:ne-ga* ‘elephants’. When a case marking other than NOM is to be added to a plural noun, the allomorph *-gaḷu* is used, and the noun takes the form NOUN-PL-CASE, as in the following:

43. *i: a:ne-gaḷ-a me:le maṇṇu adduk-ur-a:de.*
 PROX elephant-PL-GEN on soil lie-PERF-3SG.N
 ‘There’s soil on (the backs of) those elephants.’

Usually only ACC and GEN case markings appear on explicitly marked plural nouns (as indicated by Table 6, these have the identical form *-a*). Cases such as DAT, ABL and LOC can be added to a bare noun without an intervening PL marker, even in contexts that unambiguously signal a plural noun (44).

44. *nanna ibbaru ku:s-iga uvve baṭṭe ta.nd-ur-ivine.*
 my two child-DAT also clothes bring-PERF-be.PRES.1SG
 ‘I have brought clothes for my two children as well.’
45. *na:yi-gaḷ-iga anna a:k-u*
 dog-PL-DAT rice put-IMP

‘Put out some rice for the dogs.’

46. *na:yi-ka* *anna* *a:k-u*
dog-DAT rice put-IMP
‘Put out some rice for the dog(s).’

While examples (45) and (46) are both grammatical, the explicit plural marker in (45) is possibly an indication of the speaker’s belief that his/her interlocutor is unaware of the number of dogs to be fed. The plural marker is therefore employed to point out that several dogs are to be fed. In (46), the plural marker is omitted, because of the speaker’s belief that his/her interlocutor knows how many dogs are to be fed. Perhaps the dog or dogs in question are waiting beside the speaker and his/her interlocutor, and both humans know the exact number with certainty. (46) can therefore indicate the presence of one or several dogs, and the plural marker is omitted because the number is obvious to both interlocutors.

3.5 *Compounding*

Nouns are frequently juxtaposed in Solega to form lexicalised ‘phrasal compounds’. Often, no overt morphology is required, but the GENitive case marker is used in some cases – the motivation for using GEN is still not clearly understood. In my corpus, compounding is best exemplified in the names of plants and animals, as well as landscape/forest types. In the following examples, this type of ‘phrasal compounding’ is achieved simply by placing two nouns in sequence, the second noun being the head.

<i>dolli mara</i>	<i>dolli</i> tree
<i>dimba ka:du</i>	flatland forest
<i>ba:ne hullu</i>	<i>ba:ne</i> grass
<i>nesari je:nu</i>	stingless bee
<i>a:dire ko:de</i>	June foggy-rain
<i>rotti habba</i>	millet-bread festival

The above noun pairs can never be compounded using GEN (**dolliya mara, *dimbada ka:du, etc.*). However, some bird names, elephant terms, as well as some anatomical terms take GEN while others do not:

<i>gi:na-n-akki</i>	parrot
parrot-GEN-bird	
<i>gi:jiga-n-akki</i>	weaver bird
weaver.bird-GEN-bird	

neṭṭa-gomb.i-n-a:ne straight-tusked elephant
 straight-tusk-GEN-elephant

hall.i-na ba:ḍu gums
 tooth-GEN meat

When forming compounds, the initial consonant of the second element (if unvoiced) becomes voiced, as in *dimba-ga:ḍu* ‘flatland forest’. Lexemes such as the one labelling ‘flatland forest’ may be treated as a phrase or as compounded noun (*dimba ka:ḍu* or *dimba-ga:ḍu*; there is high inter-speaker variation), and the voicing status of the first consonant of the ‘forest’ morpheme is useful when determining the status of the lexeme as a whole. This process can also be seen in the above example ‘straight-tusked elephant’, where *kombu* ‘tusk’ → *gomb*.

3.6 Derivational morphology – nominalisation

There are limited opportunities to derive one word class from another. Nouns can be derived from verbs by use of the morphemes *-ava* ‘3SG.F’, *-avā* ‘3SG.M’, *-avaru* ‘3PL’, *-adu* ‘3SG.N’ (which incidentally are identical in form to the third person distal pronouns, section 3.1.2.1). The nouns formed in this way mostly have the meaning ‘person/people/thing(s) who VERB(s)’ (e.g. *poṭo iḍi.y-avaru* ‘people who take photos’, from *iḍi* ‘catch’), and the resulting forms can freely take case marking, as shown in (47).

47. *a:* *ṭaim.in-alli* *poṭo* *iḍi.y-avar-iga* *ba:ri*
 DIST time-LOC photo catch-3PL-DAT very
 send-a:g-ittu.
 good-ADV-be.PST.3SG.N
 ‘At that time, it was very nice for people who (wanted to) take photos.’

Bound third person distal pronouns can be suffixed not only onto adjectives (48), but also onto other nouns, whose attributes are being singled out, or with which an association is being made (49).

48. *a:* *mara* *ba:ri* *doḍḍ-adu*
 DIST tree very big-3SG.N
 ‘That tree is very big.’ [lit. ‘That tree is a very big one.’]

49. *garuḍa* *pakshi* *rangappa.n-adu.*
 brahminy.kite bird NAME-3SG.N
 ‘The Brahminy kite is Rangappa’s bird.’

Nominalized forms of adjectives can also take case marking, and can behave as core arguments of verbs, as in the following:

50. *na: a: dođđ-ad-a tinn-a:ku.*
 1SG DIST big-3SG.N-ACC eat-DES
 ‘I want to eat that big one.’

Note that the nominalizer *-adu* is very similar in form to the GERund morpheme *-a:du* (section 3.7.8.3), and it is likely that both are derived from a bound form of the 3SG.N pronoun *adu*.

3.6.1 Derivational morphology – other cases

As mentioned in Section 3.1.1.3, adjectives can be converted into adverbs through the addition of *-a:gi* or *-a:ge* ‘ADVerb’, as in *baṇḍa* ‘good’ and *baṇḍa:gi* ‘well’. The following two sentences were volunteered by one speaker, and said to be equivalent in meaning:

51. *na:nu biri.y=e i.d-d-ivine.*
 1SG destitute=EXCL be-CONT-be.PRES.1SG
 ‘I am (lit. have been) destitute.’

52. *na:nu biri.d-a:ge nitt-ivine.*
 1SG destitute-ADV stand.CONT-be.PRES.1SG
 ‘I am (lit. am standing) destitute.’

3.7 Solega Verb Morphology

Box 9

‘TAM’ stands for Tense-Aspect-Mood, and indicates a set of related grammatical markers that are frequently attached to a verb.

‘Agreement’ on a verb indicates the presence of the person, number and gender grammatical markers appropriate for the subject of that verb. In the sentence ‘He runs’, the *-s* on runs is the third person singular agreement marker.

A ‘Finite’ verb form is one that carries agreement and TAM markers. A ‘Non-finite’ verb form does not

‘Causative’ is a grammatical marker which changes the meaning of a verb to denote that someone is made to do something, *e.g.* ‘sleep’ to ‘make someone sleep’.

‘Aspect’ markers typically provide information on how a particular event relates temporally to a reference point (in time), and/or how it unfolds over time. Such markers indicate that an event is/was in the process of happening, has/had happened, is about to happen, and so on.

Terminology: The verb ‘root’ is the smallest indivisible part of the verb, which also carries the semantic content of the verb. The verb ‘stem’, is defined as the element onto which TAM morphemes can be attached, followed by subject agreement morphemes. For most verbs, the stem is identical to the root; when a causative morpheme is employed, however, the stem takes the form verb.root-CAUS. There are also numerous cases where the verb root undergoes a change when (becoming a stem and) combining with non-finite or TAM morphemes; these are discussed in Section 3.7.2. The dictionary citation form of a verb, which is the singular imperative form of the verb, is called the ‘bare form’. Some examples of the different verb types are given below:

Citation form/ Bare form	Verb root	Verb stem (root/root-CAUS)
<i>ma:ɖ-u</i> ‘do’	<i>ma:ɖ-</i>	<i>ma:ɖ-/ma:ɖ-is-</i>
<i>oɖ-e</i> ‘hit’	<i>oɖ-</i>	<i>oɖ-/oɖ-s-</i>
<i>kud-i</i> ‘boil’	<i>kud-</i>	<i>kudi-/kudi-s-</i>
<i>nil-u</i> ‘stop’	<i>nil-</i>	<i>nitt-/nil-s-</i>

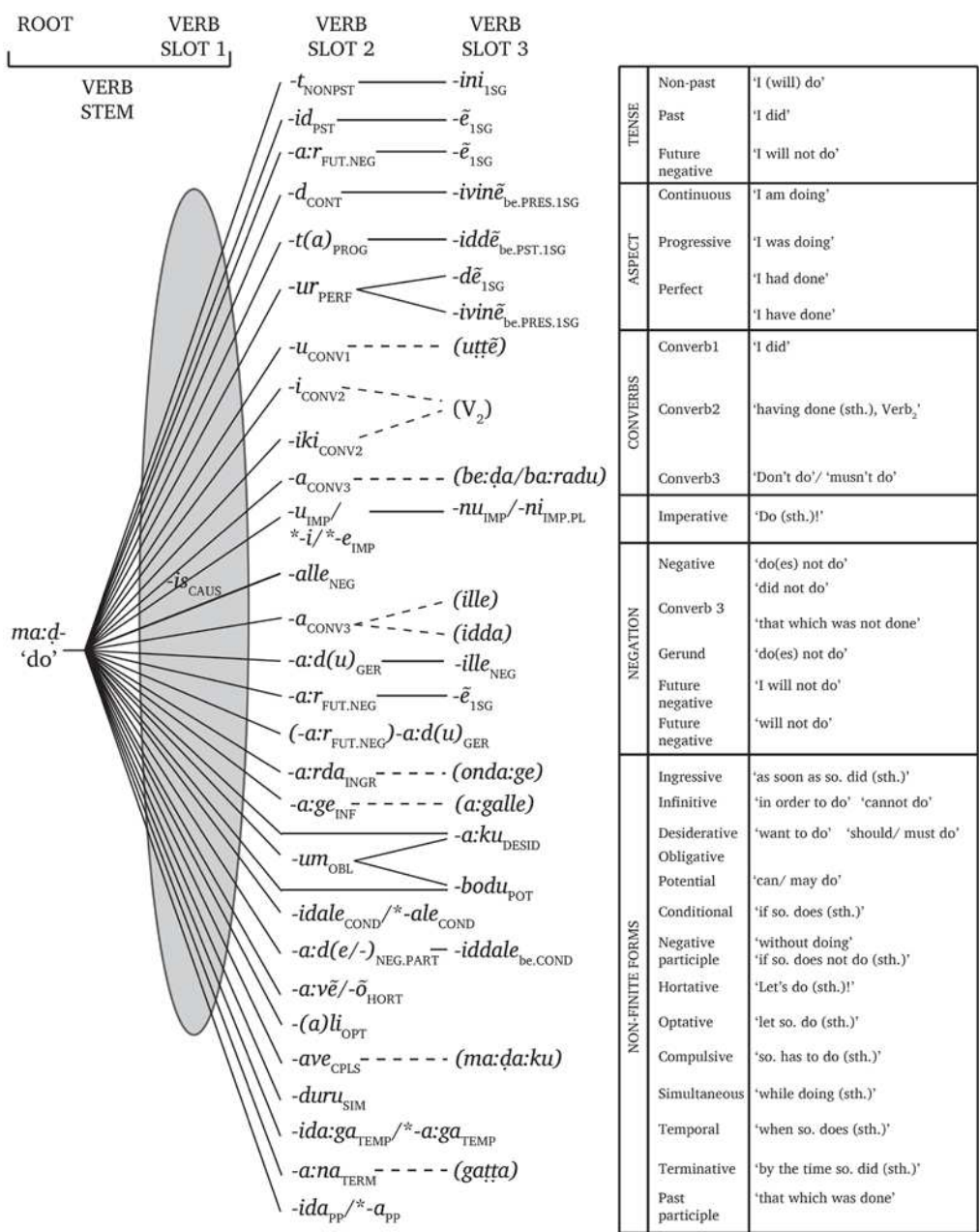


Figure 1. Solega verbal slots and their occupant morphemes. The items in parentheses, linked by broken lines, indicate phonologically independent words required to complete each verb paradigm, and are not occupants of the verb slots. * indicates forms that are relevant for other verbs. Note that clitics, which can attach to verbs, but are not essential for any verb paradigm, are not shown here (e.g. =a ‘Question’, =e ‘EXCLUSIVE’, ADDRESS morphemes); see text for details. The table on the right provides the names of the main morphemes, along with approximate English glosses for the corresponding verb forms.

3.7.1 Verbal slots

The Solega verb has three verb slots following the verb root (e.g. *ma:ɖ*- ‘do’ in Fig. 1), which can be occupied by morphemes that encode tense, aspect, person/number/gender agreement, negation and a range of moods. Frequently, only one or two of the slots on a verb are occupied, but it is possible to have verb forms with all three slots containing morphemes, along with additional clitic morphemes, as in (53) and (54):

53. [*ma:ɖ-is*]-*id-e=y.a=ppa*
do-CAUS-PST-2SG=Q=ADD.M.HON
‘Did you make (s.o.) do (it), old man?’

54. [*ma:ɖ-is*]-*um-a:k=a*
do-CAUS-OBL-DES=Q
‘Do you want to make (s.o.) do (it)?’

As shown in Fig. 1, Verb Slot 1 is (optionally) occupied exclusively by the CAUSative morpheme, which, in theory can be used with any downstream combination of morphemes. Its usage in naturalistic discourse is probably far more restricted, however, and this issue needs to be investigated further. For current purposes, verb.root-CAUS can be considered the verb stem, onto which TAM morphemes can be attached. Verb Slot 2 houses, among other things, the tense and aspect morphemes and the three CONVerb morphemes (which typically prevent the addition of any further bound morphemes). The person/number/gender inflections occupy Slot 3. Clitics that can be added to a verb beyond Slot 3 include the EXCLUSIVE morpheme ‘=e’, the Question morpheme =a and morphemes such as =kō used by elderly people to address each other (ELD.ADD). The following example shows that these clitics can also attach to nouns.

55. *A:ne=v.e=ɖau!*
elephant=EXCL=ADD.NONHON
‘It’s an elephant!’ (and not sth. else)

3.7.2 Verb classes

Four verb classes are proposed, based on phonological changes to the verb root in the CONV₂ and simple past forms (described below in more detail). There is also a small set of irregular verbs, which behave in slightly different ways from the verbs in the four main classes. Class I verbs are those where the verb root remains unchanged, but the CONV₂ and PST forms require an additional -i after the root. In the following tables, the 1SG inflection of the PST form is provided. Note that for two verbs, namely *a:ku* and *muccu*, an alternative PST form with -u is considered acceptable.

Table 8. Class I verbs: No root change, additional vowel -i in CONV₂ and PST

Verb	CONV ₂	PST
<i>ma:ɖu</i> ‘do’	<i>ma:ɖi</i>	<i>ma:ɖinē</i>
<i>maɖagu</i> ‘put’	<i>maɖagi</i>	<i>maɖaginē</i>

<i>kaṭṭu</i> ‘attach’	<i>kaṭṭi</i>	<i>kaṭṭinē</i>
<i>baḷsu</i> ‘pass by’	<i>baḷsi</i>	<i>baḷsinē</i>
<i>attu</i> ‘burn’	<i>atti</i>	<i>attinē</i>
<i>iṇḍisu</i> ‘squeeze’	<i>iṇḍisi</i>	<i>iṇḍisinē</i>
<i>edarisu</i> ‘frighten’	<i>edarisi</i>	<i>edarisinē</i>
<i>a:ḍu</i> ‘sing’	<i>a:ḍi</i>	<i>a:ḍine</i>
<i>no:ḍu</i> ‘look’	<i>no:ḍi</i>	<i>no:ḍinē</i>
<i>kuṭṭu</i> ‘grind’	<i>kuṭṭi</i>	<i>kuṭṭinē</i>
<i>a:ḍisu</i> ‘wag’	<i>a:ḍisi</i>	<i>a:ḍisinē</i>
<i>se:ru</i> ‘meet’	<i>se:ri</i>	<i>se:rinē</i>
<i>a:ku</i> ‘put’	<i>a:ki</i>	<i>a:kune/a:kine</i>
<i>muccu</i> ‘cover’	<i>mucci</i>	<i>muccunē/muccinē</i>

Class II verbs also show no change to their verb root, but either the CONV₂ form, or both the CONV₂ and PST forms, are constructed by the addition of the suffix *-du*. Three subclasses can be distinguished: in Class IIa, the final verb of the bare form is lost, and only the CONV₂ form takes the *-tu/-du* suffix (Table 9), in Class IIb, the final verb of the bare form is lost, and both the PST and CONV₂ forms take the *-tu/-du* suffix (Table 10), and in Class IIc, the final vowel of the bare form is retained, and only the CONV₂ form takes the *-tu/-du* suffix (Table 11).

Table 9. Class IIa verbs: No root change, loss of final vowel of bare form in CONV₂ and PST, *-tu/-du* in CONV₂

Verb	CONV ₂	PST
<i>muri</i> ‘break’	<i>murtu</i>	<i>murnē</i>
<i>horu</i>	<i>hordu</i>	<i>hornē</i>
<i>kuḷi</i> ‘sit’	<i>kuḷdu</i>	<i>kuḷnē</i>
<i>oḍe</i> ‘hit’	<i>oḍdu</i>	<i>oḍnē</i>

Table 10. Class IIb verbs: No root change, loss of final vowel of bare form in CONV₂ and PST, *-tu/-du* in CONV₂ and PST

Verb	CONV ₂	PST
<i>ka:ye</i> ‘wait’	<i>ka:du</i>	<i>ka:dunē</i>
<i>eḍe</i> ‘peel’	<i>eḍdu</i>	<i>eḍdunē</i>
<i>ari</i> ‘cut’	<i>ardu</i>	<i>ardunē</i>
<i>iḍi</i> ‘hold’	<i>iḍdu</i>	<i>iḍdunē</i>
<i>iḷi</i> ‘descend’	<i>iḷdu</i>	<i>iḷdunē</i>
<i>huri</i> ‘burn’	<i>hurdu</i>	<i>hurdunē</i>

<i>jaḍu</i> ‘push’	<i>jaḍdu</i>	<i>jaḍdunē</i>
<i>kaḍe</i> ‘exit’	<i>kaḍdu</i>	<i>kaḍdunē</i>
<i>kale</i> ‘finish’	<i>kaḷdu</i>	<i>kaḷdunē</i>
<i>keḍe</i> ‘sleep’	<i>keḍdu</i>	<i>keḍdunē</i>
<i>taḍe</i> ‘wait’	<i>taḍdu</i>	<i>taḍdunē</i>
<i>nuḍi</i> ‘speak’	<i>nuḍdu</i>	<i>nuḍdunē</i>
<i>me:vu</i> ‘graze’	<i>me:du</i>	<i>me:dunē</i>
<i>tinnu</i> ‘eat’	<i>tindu</i>	<i>tindunē</i>
<i>kadi</i> ‘steal’	<i>kaddu</i>	<i>kaddunē</i>

Table 11. Class IIc: No root change, final vowel in bare form retained, -tu/-du in CONV₂

Verb	CONV ₂	PST
<i>aḷe</i> ‘measure’	<i>aḷedu</i>	<i>aḷenē</i>
<i>kudi</i> ‘boil’	<i>kudidu</i>	<i>kudinē</i>
<i>ha:si</i> ‘spread’	<i>ha:sidu</i>	<i>ha:sunē</i>
<i>agge</i> ‘dig’	<i>aggedu</i>	<i>aggenē</i>
<i>parre</i> ‘tear’	<i>parredu</i>	<i>parrdunē</i>
<i>more</i> ‘call’	<i>moredu</i>	<i>mordunē</i>
<i>sī</i> ‘burn’	<i>sīdu</i>	<i>sīdunē</i>
<i>ne:</i> ‘hang’	<i>ne:du</i>	<i>ne:dunē</i>
<i>uyi</i> ‘rain’	<i>uyidu</i>	<i>uyinē</i>
<i>ai</i> ‘heal’	<i>aidu</i>	<i>aidē</i>

Class III verbs undergo a change in the final consonant of the verb root (Table 12). The resultant form generally involves a geminate -*tt*, -*dd* or -*tt*.

Table 12. Class III verbs: Change in final consonant of root in CONV₂ and PST

Verb	CONV ₂	PST
<i>toḍu</i> ‘wear’	<i>toṭṭu</i>	<i>toṭṭē</i>
<i>biḷu</i> ‘fall’	<i>biddu</i>	<i>biddē</i>
<i>biḍu</i> ‘emit’	<i>biṭṭu</i>	<i>biṭṭē</i>
<i>uḍu</i> ‘leave’	<i>uṭṭu</i>	<i>uṭṭunē</i>
<i>koḍu</i> ‘give’	<i>koṭṭu</i>	<i>koṭṭē</i>
<i>buḍu</i> ‘drop off’	<i>buṭṭu</i>	<i>buṭṭē</i>
<i>gelu</i> ‘hurry’	<i>geddu</i>	<i>geddunē</i>
<i>iru</i> ‘be’	<i>iddu</i>	<i>iddunē</i>

<i>nilu</i> ‘stop’	<i>nittu</i>	<i>nittunē</i>
<i>paḍu</i> ‘face’	<i>paṭṭu</i>	<i>paṭṭunē</i>
<i>su:ḍu</i> ‘burn’	<i>suṭṭu</i>	<i>suṭṭunē</i>

Class IV verbs exhibit a change in the final *-u* of the bare form to *-i*. Unlike Class I, however, this change is restricted to the CONV₂ forms, whereas the PST forms retain the original *-u* (Table 13).

Table 13. Class IV verbs: No root change, final vowel of bare form changes in CONV₂

Verb	CONV ₂	PST
<i>tappisu</i> ‘avoid’	<i>tappisi</i>	<i>tappisunē</i>
<i>īsu</i> ‘lend’	<i>īsi</i>	<i>īsunē</i>
<i>ettu</i> ‘take’	<i>etti</i>	<i>ettunē</i>
<i>edaru</i> ‘be frightened’	<i>edari</i>	<i>edarunē</i>
<i>e:rru</i> ‘climb’	<i>e:rri</i>	<i>e:rrunē</i>
<i>ottu</i> ‘carry’	<i>otti</i>	<i>ottunē</i>
<i>udurisu</i> ‘remove grain’	<i>udurisi</i>	<i>udurusunē</i>
<i>kalasu</i> ‘mix’	<i>kalasi</i>	<i>kalasunē</i>
<i>cuccu</i> ‘poke’	<i>cucci</i>	<i>cuccunē</i>
<i>meṭṭu</i> ‘step on’	<i>meṭṭi</i>	<i>meṭṭunē</i>
<i>ta:gu</i> ‘scratch’	<i>ta:gi</i>	<i>ta:gunē</i>
<i>turugu</i> ‘turn’	<i>turugi</i>	<i>turugunē</i>
<i>nuggu</i> ‘enter’	<i>nuggi</i>	<i>nuggunē</i>
<i>tu:ku</i> ‘hang’	<i>tu:ki</i>	<i>tu:kunē</i>
<i>ne:du</i> ‘swing’	<i>ne:di</i>	<i>ne:tunē</i>
<i>a:ku</i> ‘put’	<i>a:ki</i>	<i>a:kunē</i>

A handful of irregular verbs has been recorded so far, and these exhibit minor variations from the patterns presented above. The first verb *ho:gu* ‘go’ in Table 14 retains its original root in the CONV₂ form like Class I verbs, but not in the PST form. The second verb *sa:vu* ‘die’ is irregular because of the insertion of the continuants *y* and *v* between the vowel *a:* of the verb root and the vowels of the bare form and CONV₂ morphemes respectively. This paradigm is further complicated when we consider other TAM forms such as the present continuous *sattivine* (where the verb stem is now *satt-*). The verb *baru* ‘come’ behaves partly like a Class IIa verb, but is irregular in the sense that the verb root changes from *bar-* to *ban-*. Finally, *siḍu* ‘sing’ behaves like a Class III verb in its CONV₂, but the PST form reverts back to the original root.

Table 14. Irregular verbs

Verb	CONV ₂	PST
<i>ho:gu</i> ‘go’	<i>ho:gi</i>	<i>ho:nẽ</i>
<i>sa:vu</i> ‘die’	<i>sa:yi</i>	<i>sa:sunẽ</i>
<i>baru</i> ‘come’	<i>bandu</i>	<i>bannẽ</i>
<i>siḍu</i> ‘sing’	<i>siṭṭu</i>	<i>siḍinẽ</i>

3.7.3 Tenses

There are two ‘simple’ tenses in Solega, namely past (*ma:ḍ-inẽ* (do-PST.1SG) ‘I did’) and non-past (*ma:ḍ-t-ini* (do-NPST-1SG) ‘I (will) do’). Gender is marked on verbs only in 3SG. There is also a ‘negative’ tense, which, by default, is interpreted as ‘future’ (‘I will not do’, Table 15). However, this is the only instance where a purely ‘future’ reading can be obtained in a Solega verb, as there is no corresponding affirmative ‘future’ form. There is an analogous paradigm in Kannada (a future negative tense with inflections that are quite different from the Solega ones), which is ‘found mostly in older writing’ (Sridhar 2007; p. 228).

Table 15. Simple Solega tense forms for *ma:ḍu* (Class I verb)

	Past	Non-past	Fut.NEG
1SG	<i>ma:ḍinẽ</i>	<i>ma:ḍtini</i>	<i>ma:ḍa:rẽ</i>
1PL	<i>ma:ḍidõ</i>	<i>ma:ḍtivi</i>	<i>ma:ḍa:rõ</i>
2SG	<i>ma:ḍ(i)de</i>	<i>ma:ḍtive</i>	<i>ma:ḍa:re</i>
2PL	<i>ma:ḍ(i)diru</i>	<i>ma:ḍtivire</i>	<i>ma:ḍa:riru</i>
3SG.M	<i>ma:ḍinã</i>	<i>ma:ḍtavane</i>	<i>ma:ḍa:rã</i>
3SG.F	<i>ma:ḍida</i>	<i>ma:ḍtavaḷe</i>	<i>ma:ḍa:ra</i>
3PL	<i>ma:ḍ(i)ḍaru</i>	<i>ma:ḍtavare</i>	<i>ma:ḍa:raru</i>
3SG.N	<i>ma:ḍittu</i>	<i>ma:ḍtade</i>	<i>ma:ḍa:rdu</i>
3PL.N	<i>ma:ḍido</i>	<i>ma:ḍtave</i>	<i>ma:ḍa:rdu</i>

The PST morpheme is nasalised in the 1SG and 3SG.M forms, possibly due to the following nasal vowel, as in the case of *%ma:ḍ-id-ẽ%* → *ma:ḍinẽ* and *%ma:ḍ-id-ã%* → *ma:ḍinã* (but not **ma:ḍinõ*). Both nasal forms are obligatory. As described in Section 3.7.2 above, the PST form may require a change in the verb root, depending on verb class.

There is only one verb in Solea which has an explicit present tense paradigm, namely *iru* ‘be’ (Table 16). The present tense forms of this verb are not only used in isolation (to indicate meanings like ‘I am’), but also as a key part of complex verb forms which indicate various types of aspect.

3.7.4 Aspect

The present and past continuous aspectual forms are generated by combining the verb root of the main verb to the inflected (PST, PRES or FUT respectively) forms of the auxiliary verb *iru* ‘be’ (see Table 16 for conjugations of *iru*, and Table 17 for the continuous aspect paradigms). The present

continuous form also requires an intervening *-d-* morpheme, which indicates continuous aspect, followed by *iru* in the PRES tense (56).

56. *ma:ḍ-d-ivini*
do-CONT-be.PRES.1SG
'I am doing (sth.)'

The past continuous, on the other hand, requires a *-t* morpheme, indicating PROGRESSIVE (see Section 3.7.4.1 for another use of this morpheme), followed by the verb *iru* in the past tense (57). Note that the PROG morpheme is similar in form, but unrelated, to the NPST morpheme (Section 3.7.3).

57. *a: beṭṭa-da me:le hola ma:ḍ-t-iddō*
that mountain-GEN on field do-PROG-be.PST.1PL
'We used to farm on that mountain.'

Table 16. Conjugations of the verb *iru* 'to be'.

	Past	Future	Fut.-Neg.	Present
1SG	<i>iddē</i>	<i>irtini</i>	<i>ira:rē</i>	<i>ivinē</i>
1PL	<i>iddō</i>	<i>irtivi</i>	<i>ira:rō</i>	<i>ivē</i>
2SG	<i>idde</i>	<i>irtive</i>	<i>ira:re</i>	<i>iddive</i>
2PL	<i>iddiru</i>	<i>irtivire</i>	<i>ira:riru</i>	<i>iddivire</i>
3SG.M	<i>iddā</i>	<i>irtavane</i>	<i>ira:rā</i>	<i>avane</i>
3SG.F	<i>idda</i>	<i>irtavaḷe</i>	<i>ira:ra</i>	<i>avaḷe</i>
3PL	<i>iddaru</i>	<i>irtavare</i>	<i>ira:raru</i>	<i>avare</i>
3SG.N	<i>ittu</i>	<i>irtade</i>	<i>ira:rdu</i>	<i>ade</i>
3PL.N	<i>iddo</i>	<i>irtave</i>	<i>ira:ru</i>	<i>iddave</i>

Table 17. Continuous aspectual forms

	Pr. Cont.	Past Cont.
1SG	<i>ma:ḍdivin(ē/i)</i>	<i>ma:ḍtiddē</i>
1PL	<i>ma:ḍdivē</i>	<i>ma:ḍtiddō</i>
2SG	<i>ma:ḍ(i)dive</i>	<i>ma:ḍtidde</i>
2PL	<i>ma:ḍ(i)divire</i>	<i>ma:ḍtiddiru</i>
3SG.M	<i>ma:ḍdavane</i>	<i>ma:ḍtiddā</i>
3SG.F	<i>ma:ḍdavaḷe</i>	<i>ma:ḍtidda</i>
3PL	<i>ma:ḍdavare</i>	<i>ma:ḍtiddaru</i>
3SG.N	<i>ma:ḍdade</i>	<i>ma:ḍtittu</i>
3PL.N	<i>ma:ḍdave</i>	<i>ma:ḍtido</i>

Three kinds of perfect aspect can be marked on verbs, indicating past perfect, present perfect and future perfect. This is achieved by inserting the PERFect morpheme *-ur* into a modified simple past, present continuous and non-past paradigms respectively. This results in the following constructions:

- ma:ḍ-ur-dē* do-PERF-PST.1SG ‘I had done’
ma:ḍ-ur-ivinē do-PERF-be.PRES.1SG ‘I have done’
ma:ḍ-ur-t-ini do-PERF-NPST-1SG ‘I will have done’.

These constructions may be used with temporal adverbials, but this is not necessary:

58. *avā modale=tte jaaga no:ḍ-iki*
 3SG.M previous=FOC place see-CONV₂
ba.nd-ur-dā
 come-PERF-PST.3SG.M
 ‘He had arrived after seeing the place previously.’

The complete paradigms are shown in Table 18.

Table 18. Perfect verb paradigms

	Past Perfect	Present Perfect	Future Perfect
1SG	<i>ma:ḍurdē</i>	<i>ma:ḍurivinē</i>	<i>ma:ḍurtini</i>
1PL	<i>ma:ḍurdō</i>	<i>ma:ḍurivē</i>	<i>ma:ḍurtivi</i>
2SG	<i>ma:ḍurde</i>	<i>ma:ḍurive</i>	<i>ma:ḍurtive</i>
2PL	<i>ma:ḍurdiru</i>	<i>ma:ḍurivire</i>	<i>ma:ḍurtivire</i>
3SG.M	<i>ma:ḍurdā</i>	<i>ma:ḍuravane</i>	<i>ma:ḍurtavane</i>
3SG.F	<i>ma:ḍurda</i>	<i>ma:ḍuravaḷe</i>	<i>ma:ḍurtavaḷe</i>
3PL	<i>ma:ḍurdaru</i>	<i>ma:ḍuravare</i>	<i>ma:ḍurtavare</i>
3SG.N	<i>ma:ḍurtu</i>	<i>ma:ḍurde</i>	<i>ma:ḍurtade</i>
3PL.N	<i>ma:ḍurdo</i>	<i>ma:ḍurave</i>	<i>ma:ḍurtave</i>

Another set of constructions exists, where the main verb is used in conjunction with a following auxiliary verb to produce a perfect-like meaning. This construction is formed by combining a CONVerb form (CONV₁; see Section 3.7.5 for a more detailed discussion on converbs) of the main verb and inflected forms of auxiliary verbs such as *ha:ku* ‘put’, *uḍu* ‘leave’, *ho:gu* ‘go’ etc. (see Table 19). The second (auxiliary) verb may or may not appear as a separate phonological word, depending on its phonological properties. For instance, (*h*)*a:ku* is usually phonologically bound with the main verb, whereas *uḍu* is not.

59. *band-a:k-in-ā*
 come.CONV₁-put-PST-3SG.M
 ‘He has come’

60. *ni: e:na ma:d-u uṭṭ-e*
 you what do-CONV₁ leave.PST-2SG
 ‘What have you done?’

The auxiliary verbs signal different aspectual meanings, including ‘attitudinal’ or ‘evaluational’ meanings, as they do in Kannada (Sridhar, 2007; p. 230). While the exact semantics of these meanings need further research, it appears that *(h)a:ku*, at least, indicates a negative evaluation on the part of the speaker, or at the very least an unexpected event. Combining a verb with *(h)o:gu* ‘go’ seems to produce only a sense of completion (perfect aspect), with this auxiliary only collocating with intransitive verbs (such as *sa:vu* ‘die’ in Table 19).

Table 19. Perfect verb paradigms incorporating auxiliary verbs

	(ba:+(h)a:ku) ‘I have come’	(ma:ḍu+uḍu) ‘I have done (sth.)’	(sa:vu+ (h)o:gu) ‘I have died’
1SG	<i>banda:kinē</i>	<i>ma:ḍu uṭṭē</i>	<i>satto:nē</i>
1PL	<i>banda:kinō</i>	<i>ma:ḍu uṭṭō</i>	<i>satto:nō</i>
2SG	<i>banda:kide</i>	<i>ma:ḍu uṭṭe</i>	<i>satto:de</i>
2PL	<i>banda:kidiru</i>	<i>ma:ḍu uṭṭiru</i>	<i>satto:diru</i>
3SG.M	<i>banda:kinā</i>	<i>ma:ḍu uṭṭā</i>	<i>satto:nā</i>
3SG.F	<i>banda:kida</i>	<i>ma:ḍu uṭṭa</i>	<i>satto:na</i>
3PL	<i>banda:kidaru</i>	<i>ma:ḍu uṭṭaru</i>	<i>satto:daru</i>
3SG.N	<i>banda:kittu</i>	<i>ma:ḍu uṭṭattu</i>	<i>satto:tu</i>
3PL.N	<i>banda:kido</i>	<i>ma:ḍu uṭṭo</i>	<i>satto:to</i>

Finally, the semantics of *uḍu* seem to have become somewhat bleached, and this auxiliary is now frequently used to link clauses together in narratives where several actions or events happen in succession. Often, *uḍu* also functions as a dummy verb which takes on gender/number agreement, as well as the tense/aspect markers associated with the event indicated by the main verb. In such situations, the main, content-bearing verb is expressed in the non-finite CONV₁ form. The following example illustrates both the discourse and the grammatical load-bearing function of *uḍu*. The first instance of *uḍu* in (61) serves to chain the clauses ‘make flour’ and ‘come (to the festival)’, whereas the second instance, occurring at the end of the utterance, carries an imperative marker, which could have theoretically been suffixed to the verb ‘come’ instead.

61. *kuṭṭ-i akki ma:d-u uṭṭ-u*
 dehusk-CONV₂ flour do-CONV₁ leave-CONV₂
ba.nd-u uḍ-u
 come-CONV₁ leave-IMP
 ‘After you dehusk (the beans) and make flour out of them, come (along to the festival).’

Indeed, a shorter and wholly grammatical (although rather stilted) way of rendering (61) could be:

62. *kuṭṭ-i* *akki* *ma:ḍ-i* *ba:*
 dehusk-CONV₂ flour do-CONV₂ come.IMP
 ‘After you dehusk (the beans) and make flour out of them, come (along to the festival).’

In (62), in the absence of *uḍu*, the clause-chaining CONV₂ is suffixed onto the content verb ‘do’ (as it is with ‘dehusk’), while the IMP is suffixed onto the content verb ‘come’. In practice, while it is possible to find such utterances in spontaneous narratives or discourse, the verb *uḍu* tends to be used frequently. The following extract, from which (61) is taken, shows the frequency with which *uḍu* (shown in bold) can occur in short amount of time. Here, a wicked mother-in-law tries to prevent her daughter-in-law from going to a festival by giving her an impossible task to perform (the task of dehusking has been made impossible, because the mother-in-law has secretly poured oil onto the beans).

“*na: navaṇe koḍṭini, adava ni:nu kuṭṭu. kuṭṭi akki ma:ḍu uṭṭu bandu uḍu.*” *a:gendu uṭṭu*
ava e:na ma:ḍu uṭṭa, a: navaṇeka eṇṇe bersu uṭṭa...atte koṭṭu uṭṭu oṭṭo:da.
 ‘I will give you some beans, after you dehusk them, and make flour from them, come
 (along to the festival).’ Having said that, what did she do? She poured oil into the beans...
 the mother-in-law gave that to her and went away.

It is conceivable that *uḍu* indicates volition, and therefore contrasts with *(h)a:ku* which, as mentioned above, can express situations that are contrary to the speaker’s expectations.

3.7.4.1 Progressive

The PROGRESSIVE morpheme *-ta* can also occur on a content verb without the inflected auxiliary verb *iru* ‘be’, as shown in (57). When the auxiliary is absent (63), the resulting construction indicates actions performed over a (usually long) period of time. In ordinary discourse, the verb-*ta* construction is often repeated two or three times, to emphasise the passing of time.

63. *a:ga* *maḷe* *biḍ-ta* *biḍ-ta* *biḍ-ta* *ni:ru*
 then rain fall-PROG fall-PROG fall-PROG water
- bi.d-du* *bitta* *ella* *koḍ-t=e* *o:-tu*
 fall-CONV₂ seed all spoil-PROG=EXCL go-PST.3SG.N
- i:ga* *giḍa* *bar-a:d-ille*
 now plant come-GER-NEG
 ‘It kept on raining; the water fell on the seeds, and they kept getting spoiled. Now they
 won’t sprout.’

3.7.5 Converbs

Three verbal forms are analysed here as converbs, as they allow the main verb to be followed by either a finite verb, or invariant verbal forms that are presumably fossilised forms of once productive verbs. Converb 1 (CONV₁) is involved in forming the perfect aspect form in conjunction

with auxiliary verbs such as *uḍu* ‘put’ (see Section 3.7.4 above), and requires the addition of an *-u* morpheme to the verb root. As such, it becomes homophonous with the non-polite, imperative form of several verbs, including *ma:ḍu* ‘do’ → *ma:ḍ-u* ‘do-CONV₁’; *ma:ḍ-u* ‘do-IMP’ (see Section 3.7.6 below). For some verbs, the CONV₁ and CONV₂ forms may also be homophonous (e.g. *baru* ‘come’ → *bandu*).

Converb 2 (CONV₂) is used to link two or more verbs, which allows speakers to talk about events or actions that occur in sequence. Verbs can be chained as ‘x.CONV₂ y’, and express the meaning, ‘x having happened, y’, and there is no theoretical limit on the number of verbs that can be so chained (65).

64. *ka:ḍ-iga* *ho:g-i* *je:n-a* *kui-du*
 forest-DAT go-CONV₂ honey-ACC collect-CONV₂
- ele* *me:le* *ha:k-i* *tin-du* *uṭṭ-ã*
 leaf on put-CONV₂ eat-CONV₁ leave.PST-3SG.M
- ‘He went to the forest, collected some honey, put it on a leaf, and ate it up.’

Derivation of CONV₂ forms from verb roots is highly irregular, as in Kannada. See Tables 8 to 14 for the appropriate CONV₂ form according to verb class. CONV₂ has an alternative form *-iki* which seems to only attach to a few verbs. Alternative forms are frequently observed: *ma:ḍa:iki* ‘having put sth.’, *no:ḍiki* ‘having seen’, *eṭṭiki* ‘having stretched (oneself)’, etc. Among the transitive verbs, there seems to be a complementary relationship between verbs that exhibit a perfect form by combining with *ha:ku* ‘put’ (Table 19), and those that exhibit a CONV₂ form with *-iki* (e.g. *no:ḍiki*, **no:ḍa:kinẽ*, (*no:ḍu* ‘see’) but **tinniki/tindiki*, *tinda:kinẽ* (*tinnu* ‘eat’)). The precise semantic difference between *-iki* and the more standard CONV₂ forms shown in Tables 8-14 needs to be investigated further.

A third type of converb, CONV₃ is employed in the formulation of relative clauses containing a negative, or of prohibitive utterances. In both cases, *-a* is added to the verb root, and is followed by the phonologically independent, invariant lexemes, *idda* (66; see Section 3.7.9.1 for a discussion on *idda*), *be:ḍa* and *ba:radu* (67).

65. *ma:ḍ-a* *i.d-da* *kelsa*
 do- CONV₃ NEG-PP work
 ‘work that has not been done’
66. *oḍḍu-ga:ḍ-iga* *ho:g-a* *be:ḍa/ba:radu*
 boulder-forest-DAT go-CONV₃ PROH
 ‘Don’t go to the boulder forest.’

3.7.6 Imperative

For the vast majority of verbs, the bare form (the dictionary citation form) can be used as an imperative. The bare forms are basically composed of the verb root followed by a vowel (in most cases, this is *-u*, but it is also frequently *-e* and *-i*). Examples include *ho:g-u* ‘Go!’, *no:d-u* ‘Look!’, *tad-e* ‘Stop!’, *ogg-e* ‘Wash (sth.)!’, *mur-i* ‘Break (sth.)!’, etc. A prominent exception to this rule is the verb *baru* ‘come’, which has a distinct imperative form *ba:*. An explicit IMPERATIVE morpheme, which has singular (*-nu*) and plural (*-ni*) variants, can be suffixed to the bare form as in (68). Quite often, cliticized ADDRESS morphemes are used to add emphasis to a command (69).

67. *Ku:t-u-ni*.

sit-IMP-IMP.PL

‘Sit!’ (to numerous addressees; unlike the English translation, the Solega utterance is not considered impolite)

68. *Ba:=dau*

come.IMP=ADD.NONHON

kunna!

boy

‘Come here, boy!’

The explicit IMP morphemes appear to collocate with most verbs - e.g. *iṭṭunu* ‘keep’, *ma:dunu* ‘do’, *iḍṭunu* ‘catch’ - but there are some exceptions, which do not show any systematic pattern. These include *ho:gu* ‘go’ (**ho:gunu*), *baru* ‘come’ (**barunu/ba:nu*), *he:lu* ‘say’ (**he:ḷunu*) and *iḍu* ‘throw/put’ (**iḍunu*).

3.7.7 Negation

Negation in Solega varies with tense and aspect. For PST and NPST, there is one negative form each, that shows no agreement with the subject. There is no specific PST.NEG morpheme, but the verb needs to be in a non-finite, CONV₃ form (70) to form a negative past meaning with *ille*. In the NPST tense, the negative is formed by suffixing *-alle* directly onto the verb root (71), to produce a negative habitual meaning. A negative continuous meaning is produced by first converting the verb into a non-finite form (see Section 7) using the GERund morpheme (72). Suffixing *-ille* onto the gerund form produces the desired negative meaning. It is only for the future tense only (see Section 3.7.3) that the negated verb is inflected for number, person and gender (73, 74).

69. *na:/na:vu/ni:/avã*

I/we/you/he

‘I/We/You/He didn’t work yesterday.’

ninne

yesterday

kelsa-va

work-ACC

ma:d-a ille

do-CONV₃

NEG

70. *ad-ava*

that-ACC

‘No one would touch it.’

ya:v_obbar-uvve=te

who_one.person-also=FOC

muṭṭ-alle

touch-NEG

71. *na:/na:vu/ni:/avã* *i:ga* *kelsa-va* *ma:d-a:d-ille*
 I/we/you/he now work-ACC do-GER-NEG
 ‘I am/We/You are/He is not working now’
72. *na:nu* *na:le* *kelsa-va* *ma:d-a:r-ẽ*
 1SG tomorrow work-ACC do-NEG.FUT-1SG
 ‘I won’t work tomorrow.’
73. *avã* *mundina* *varsha* *bar-a:r-ã*
 3SG.M next year come-NEG.FUT-3SG.M
 ‘He won’t come next year’

Negation also occurs in conjunction with non-finite verb forms and in relativized clauses. These are discussed in sections 3.7.8.1 and 3.7.9.1 respectively.

3.7.8 Non-finite forms

Apart from the converb forms of Solega verbs, there are some other forms that show no person, number or gender agreement. The first two of these display aspectual properties, but are presented here, because they do not show agreement, unlike the ‘true’ aspect constructions shown in Section 3.7.4.

3.7.8.1 Ingressive

The INGRESSIVE-postposition construction indicates that something starts to happen as soon as something else occurs. The general construction is *X-a:rda onda:ge* Y, which can be translated as ‘as soon as X happened, Y also happened’. *Onda:ge* is the postposition ‘with’, which can be further analysed as *ond-a:ge* (one-ADV ‘as one’).

74. *male* *bid-a:rda* *onda:ge* *giða* *ella* *bele.d-u*
 rain fall-INGR with plant all grow-CONV₁

uð-t-ade
 leave-NPST-3SGN
 ‘As soon as the rain falls, all the plants start growing.’

3.7.8.2 Gerund

Non-finite verb forms (*i.e.* those which take the suffix *-a:du* or just *-du* (GERund) instead of regular verbal inflections) are frequently used in Solega in naturalistic discourse. Note that GER is similar in form to the 3SG.N distal demonstrative *adu*, as well as to the NOM morpheme *-adu*. Verbs suffixed with GER can be interpreted as occurring in the past, present and future, as well as with continuous aspect, depending on the context. A negative gerund form is also frequently used, with a future reading (80). In the following examples, the alternative, inflected verb forms are given

in parentheses. While the use of these forms is perfectly acceptable, speakers often use the non-inflected GERund forms.

75. *i: na:yi e:na tinn-a:du? (tin-t.a-de)*
 this dog what eat-GER (eat-NPST-3SGN)
 ‘What does this dog eat (habitually)?’
76. *ni: i:ga e:na kelsa-va ma:d.a-d-a:du?*
 you now what work-ACC do-CONT-GER
 (*ma:d-Ø-de*)
 (do-CONT-2SG)
 ‘What work are you doing now?’
77. *ipaṭi iṭṭu apaṭi soppu tin.d-u*
 this.much rāgi.ball that.much greens eat-CONV₁
uṭṭ-u malag.i-t-i.dd-a:du.
 leave-CONV₂ sleep-CONT-be.PST-GER
 (*malag.i-t-i.d-dō*)
 (sleep-CONT-be.PST-1PL)
 ‘We would eat some *ra:gi* balls with greens and go to sleep.’
78. *serka:ye beṭṭa ho:g-i hola ma:d-a:du*
 NAME mountain go-CONV field do-GER
 (*ma:d-id-ō*)
 (do-PST-1PL)
 ‘(We) went to Serka:ye Mountain and planted crops.’
79. *bo:ḷi ga:ḍu end-ale alli biri hullu ta:ne ir-a:du.*
 bare forest say-COND there only grass self be-GER
 (*ir-t-ade*)
 (be-NPST-3SGN)
 ‘*Bo:ḷi ga:ḍu* means there’s only grass there.’
80. *i: ka:d.in-alli je:nu sikk-a:r-du.*
 PROX forest-LOC honey find-FUT.NEG-GER
 ‘You won’t find any honey in this forest.’

There are limited pragmatic contexts in which such non-finite forms take case marking, and they can also act as the core arguments of verbs:

81. *na: je:nu kui.y-a:d-a no:d-r-ivini.*
 1SG honey harvest-GER-ACC see-SIMUL-be.PRES.1SG
 ‘I am watching the harvesting of honey.’

3.7.8.3 Infinitive

The infinitive is used in Solega in constructions that indicate purpose or ability to carry out an action. The Solega constructions are similar to those used in spoken Kannada, although an investigation of literary Kannada reveals a more complicated underlying pattern:

82. *na: a: hakki-ya no:d-a:ge a:g-a:d-ille*
 1SG DIST bird-ACC see-INF become-GER-NEG
 ‘I can’t see that bird.’

(Solega)

83. *je:n-a kui.y-a:ge ka:d-iga*
 honey-ACC collect-INF forest-DAT go-CONT-
o:-d-ivinē
 be.NPST.1SG
 ‘I’m going to the forest to collect honey.’

(Solega)

84. *na:-nu a: hakki.y-annu no:d-uvud-akke*
 1SG-NOM DIST bird-ACC see-GER-DAT
a:g-uvud-illa
 become-GER-NEG
 ‘I can’t see that bird’.

(Literary Kannada)

85. *na:-nu a: hakki no:d-akk-a:g-alla*
 1SG-NOM DIST bird see-DAT-become-NEG
 ‘I can’t see that bird.’

(Spoken Kannada)

A literal translation of (82) might be ‘I do not become (able) to see that bird’. While the literary Kannada sentence in (84) makes use of the GER morpheme in both the ‘see’ and ‘become’ verbs, in spoken Kannada one is able to leave out both GER morphemes (85). In Solega, on the other hand (82), the GER on the ‘become’ verb is retained, while the corresponding morpheme on the ‘see’ verb is omitted.

3.7.8.4 Desiderative/Deontic

The DESiderative morpheme occupies Verb Slot 3, and may be suffixed directly to the verb root, or via the intervening OBLigative morpheme *-um* (see the following section). While the ‘I/he want(s) to X’ reading is preferred in the 1st and 3rd persons (86, 87), the more common reading in the 2nd person (or when the subject is dropped) is that of ‘You/one should X’ (88). When followed by the interrogative morpheme *=a*, however, the reading ‘want’ is maintained in the 2nd person as well, as in (89). Note that although the *-a:ku* morpheme is phonetically identical to the verb *a:ku* ‘put’, the two forms are probably etymologically unrelated.

86. *na: ba:ɖ-a tinn-a:ku*
 I meat-ACC eat-DES
 ‘I want to eat meat.’

87. *avā u:r-iga ho:g-a:ku*
 he town-DAT go-DES
 ‘He wants to go to town.’

88. *i: tingaɭ-alli geɳas-a agge.y-a:ku*
 this month-LOC yam-ACC dig-DES
 ‘(One/you) need(s) to dig for yams in this month.’

89. *na.n-na onda:ge bar-a:k=a*
 1SG-GEN with come-DES=Q
 ‘Do you want to come with me?’

3.7.8.5 Obligative

There is another morpheme *-um* (here glossed as OBLigative) with a deontic function in Solega. Although its exact role is unclear, it may serve to indicate actions that ‘ought to’ be performed, and modulate the semantics of the DES morpheme. Verbs incorporating this morpheme can take both the gerund *-a:du* as well as the desiderative *-a:ku*.

90. *eshɔ jana eɽi-ki no:ɖ-um-a:du puna*
 how.many people get.up-CONV look-OBL-GER again

alk-um-a:du

crouch-OBL-GER

‘You should get up and check how many people there are, and then sit down again.’

91. *mundina-varsha ta:ne uttara ett-um-a:du*
 next-year self answer take-OBL-GER
 ‘You’ll only get an answer next year’ (lit. ‘you’ll have to take an answer next year itself’)

92. *ada-kka puna tumb-um-a:ku*
 that-DAT again fill-OBL-DES
 ‘You have to fill it again.’

93. *ava.n-iga ka:rappan=e ka:t-um-a:ku*
 3SG.M-DAT NAME=EXCL protect-OBL-DES
 ‘Karappa himself should protect him.’

3.7.8.6 Potential

The morpheme, *-umbodu* (POTential; var. *-umbaidu*, sometimes appearing as the standard Kannada form *bahudu* in careful speech) are attached to the verb root to form the POTential, with the meaning ‘X may/can happen’. The potential form of the verb shows no agreement with the subject, and may take an interrogative particle, to give the meaning ‘can X happen?’

94. *a: mara-va e:rr-umbod=a*
 DIST tree-ACC climb-POT=Q
 ‘Can (you) climb that tree?’

The form of this morpheme indicates that there may have historically been a fusion of the OBL morpheme *-um-* and a *bahudu* type morpheme. Negated constructions using the POT morpheme have not been recorded, with Solega speakers preferring to use the INF constructions discussed in Section 3.7.8.2 when expressing meanings such as, ‘I cannot do sth.’

3.7.8.7 Conditional

As in Kannada (*-dare*), the suffix *-(i)dale* is added to the verb root in Solega to form CONDitionals:

95. *ka:ṭi sikk-idale e:ṭi-na onda:ge oḍ-du*
 gaur find-COND horn-GEN with gore-CONV₁
uṭṭ-ade
 leave-3SG.N
 ‘If you run into a gaur, it will gore you with its horns.’

The conditional-with-negation form in Solega is formed by making use of a NEGative PARTICiple morpheme *-a:de* (e.g. *tinn-a:de* ‘without eating’), followed by suffixation of a be-COND complex. Unlike Kannada¹⁶, the be-COND complex is phonologically linked to the preceding main verb:

96. *je:n-a sikk-a:d=idd-ale e:na ma:d-a:vē*
 honey-ACC find-NEG.PART=be-COND what do-HORT
 ‘What should we do if we find no honey?’

¹⁶ The Kannada form would be (V-*ade iddare*, V-NEG.PART be-COND).

The negative particle *ille* can also combine with NEG.PART, to give a negative conditional form with the reading ‘if there is no X’:

97. *nin-aga* *duḍḍu* *ill-a:de* *ti:ni* *sig-alle*
 you-DAT money NEG-NEG.PART food find-NEG
 ‘If you don’t have money, you won’t get any food.’

3.7.8.8 Hortative

The HORTative (two variants: *-a:vē, -ō*) is used to suggest a course of action to one’s addressees. The semantics of this morpheme restricts its range to first-person plural subjects.

98. *(na:vu) u:r-iga ho:g-a:vē/ho:g-ō*
 (we) town-DAT go-HORT
 ‘Let’s go to town.’

3.7.8.9 Optative

Solega has an OPTative form, which admits first and third-person subjects¹⁷. Currently, there is only evidence that supports a simple verb.root-OPT pairing (99), but more complex forms may be possible¹⁸.

99. *adu* *ir-ali.* *i:ga* *a:ne* *bagge* *kate* *he:l-a:ku*
 that be-OPT now elephant about story tell-DES
 ‘Let that (topic) be. Now you have to tell us a story about elephants.’

Following the OPT morpheme with a Q morpheme, switches the verb to a first-person reading, and thus forces a permission-seeking meaning, as follows:

100. *ava.n-iga* *duḍḍu* *koḍ-l=a*
 he-DAT money give-OPT=Q
 ‘Should I give him money?’

3.7.8.10 Compulsive

The compulsive construction is used to indicate that an action must be performed (*i.e.* the addressee has no choice in the matter). The construction consists of two independent words – the compulsive morpheme (CPLS) *-ave* is added to the verb root to form the first word, and then the DES morpheme *-a:ku* is added to the same verb root to form the second element of the construction (101). The Solega construction shows some parallels with the Kannada strategy of verb-*le*: *be:ku* (*e.g. ma:ḍle: be:ku* ‘(S.o.) must do it!’), where *be:ku* is a phonologically independent non-inflecting particle that performs the same functions as the Solega *-a:ku*.

¹⁷ Cf. for Kannada, Sridhar, p. 32: “only third person subjects (!)”

¹⁸ Cf. Sridhar, p. 32: “the verb is not inflected for agreement, though it can be for aspect”

101.*ni:* *a:* *kelsa-va* *ma:ḍ-ave* *ma:ḍ-a:ku*
 you that work-ACC do-CPLS do-DES
 ‘You must do that work!’

3.7.8.11 Simultaneous

Simultaneous aspect (indicating two actions happening at the same time) is marked by the SIMUL suffix on V₁, while V₂ takes the full complement of person, gender, number and tense marking (102). Some verb pairs incorporating SIMUL have been lexicalised, with the entire complex indicating either a phrasal verb, or a specific, modified way of performing V₂ (102 and 103). In (102), *aṅṭ-ru baru* (stick-SIMUL come) means ‘follow someone closely’, (i.e. come along while sticking closely to someone) while in (103), *ettu-ru baru* ‘carry-SIMUL come’ means to bring sth.

102.*doḍḍa na:yi aṅṭ-ru aṅṭ-ru joteli*
 big dog stick-SIMUL REDUP together
ban-d-a:de be:ga neḍ-e
 come-PRES-3SG.N quickly walk-IMP
 ‘The tiger is following us closely, walk faster!’

103.*je:n-a illi ettu-ru ba:*
 honey-ACC here carry-SIMUL come.IMP
 ‘Bring the honey here!’

3.7.8.12 Temporal

The TEMPoral morpheme *-(id)a:ga* is used to link two events that happen close together in time, often with the latter being a consequence of the former (104).

104.*me:le-ka no:ḍ-da:ga su:ryade:va-na=te no:ḍ-in-ã*
 up-DAT 1 ook-TEMP sun-god-ACC=FOC see-PST-3SG.M
 ‘When he looked up, he saw the Sun God.’

3.7.8.13 Terminative

The TERMinative suffix is used only with the postposition *gaṭṭa* ‘till/until’, and conveys the meaning ‘until sth. happened’ or ‘by the time sth. finished happening’ (105).

105.*ni:r-iga ho:g-ur-du bar-a:n=e gaṭṭa*
 water-DAT go-PERF-CONV₂ come-TERM=EXCL till
geṇasu ella suṭṭ-u uṭṭ-ã
 yam all bake-CONV₁ leave.PST-3SG.M
 ‘By the time he came back from the water, (his brother) had baked all the yams.’

3.7.9 Relativisation

Subjects (106) and direct objects (107) can be relativised in Solega, with relativisation being marked on the verb (as a past participle (PP)).

Box 10

‘Relativisation’ is a grammatical operation where a subordinate clause is used to provide more information about a noun or noun phrase. Such a subordinate clause is known as a Relative Clause.

Superficially, the PP form of some verbs may resemble their CONV₃ form (e.g. *be:yu* ‘burn’ → *be:ya*; compare examples 108 and 111), but the different derivations of these forms is illustrated by verbs such as *ma:ðu* ‘do’ (*ma:d-ida* (do-PP), *ma:d-a* (do-CONV₃); 107 and 112).

106.*doḍḍa mara i.d-da ja:ga ka:nu ka:ðu anta*
 big tree be-PP place evergreen forest COMP
 ‘A place where there are big trees is called an evergreen forest.’

107.*ninne ma:d-ida kelsa*
 yesterday do-PP work
 ‘the work that was done yesterday’

108.*be:y-a ja:ga.d-alli bend-oi.t-i-ttu*
 burn-PP place-LOC burn-go-CONT-be-PST.3SG.N
 ‘The places that were set alight were getting burnt.’

Relative clauses only occur in the past tense. In the case of any other tense or aspect, the preferred means of rendering expressions equivalent to “the bird that is singing is a barbet” is to use two sentences, as in the following:

109.*alli ondu hakki ha:d-d-ade. adu kuṭrakki.*
 there one bird sing-CONT-3SG.N that barbet
 ‘There’s a bird singing there. That’s a barbet.’

Incidentally, the PP form of a verb can be used with the adverbs *me:le* ‘after’ and *munce* ‘before’, to form utterances which chain discrete events together (110). Note that the use of *me:le* produces a verb chain similar in meaning to one produced by using the CONV₂ morpheme (Section 3.7.5 above). A key difference is that *me:le* usually only chains two events, whereas, in theory, the number of verbs that can be chained using CONV₂ is unlimited.

110. *ma:da:risenna endu hesaru kaṭṭ-ida me:le*
 NAME COMP name give-PP after
de:vama:navar-ella ku:g-i kar-nā
 gods-all call-CONV₂ summon-PST.3SG.M
 ‘After giving him the name *Ma:da:risenna*, he summoned the gods.’

3.7.9.1 With negation:

Negative relative clauses require the use of an invariant particle *idda* which is probably historically related to the Kannada *illa-da*¹⁹ ‘NEG-PP’. It is used in conjunction with the CONV₃ form of a verb, as in (111 and 112).

111. *be:y-a i.d-da ja:ga.d-alli hullu ade*
 burn-CONV₃ NEG-PP place-LOC grass be.NPST.3SG.N
 ‘There is grass in the places that have not been burnt.’

112. *hola ma:ḍ-a i.d-da ja:ga.d-alli je:nu sikk-a:du*
 field do-CONV₃ NEG-PP place-LOC bee find-GER
 ‘You will find bees in places that have not been farmed.’

3.8 Address

There are several ADDRESS morphemes in Solega, which can be cliticised onto nouns, verbs and adjectives, and often help to place emphasis on a command or statement. While not all the morphemes presented in Table 20 are used exclusively for addressing interlocutors, they are discussed together because of their shared morphosyntactic characteristics. Other functions of these morphemes include the expression of frustration, a dismissive attitude or emphasis (113-117). The use of the different morphemes =*po*, =*lo*, =*ḍao* etc. depends on the relative age/social status and gender of both speaker and addressee. The cliticised kin terms =(a)*ppa* ‘father’ and =(a)*wwe* ‘mother’ are canonically used when younger Solega address their elders (to whom they may or may not be related), or when gods and other deities are addressed in prayers. Like the English ‘old man’, however, this form of address can also be used among friends (114), but usually only among elderly people.

¹⁹ As in the Kannada *haṇṇu illada marakke kallu oḍeyabe:ḍa* ‘Don’t throw stones at a tree which has no fruit!’ (avoid pointless work).

Table 20. Address morphemes and their patterns of usage.

Address morpheme	Gloss and usage
= <i>kō</i>	ADD.ELD Mostly used by elderly people to address equals
= <i>po</i>	ADD.DISS Can be used in a dismissive manner to ward off addressee response; can also be used to emphasise the import of the utterance
= <i>lo</i>	ADD.ATT Can be used to draw attention to new or unexpected information
= <i>la</i>	ADD.ATT.EQ Similar to <i>-lo</i> , but used more among intimates, such as one's (male) spouse or friends
= <i>ḍau</i>	ADD.NONHON 'Non-honorific' address morpheme, can be used to talk down to (usually younger) addressee. Frequently used in a neutral manner among equals.
=(<i>a</i>) <i>ppa</i>	ADD.M.HON Honorific, for (usually more senior) male addressees
=(<i>a</i>) <i>wwe</i>	ADD.F.HON Honorific, for (usually more senior) female addressees
=(<i>a</i>) <i>mmi</i>	ADD.F.SPO Used when addressing one's female spouse or sweetheart
= <i>poi</i>	ADD.FRUST Used when frustrated or annoyed

113. *kallu ettu-ru ba:=po*
 rock bring-SIMUL come=ADD.DISS
 'Just bring that rock here.'

114. *nanna daṇḍe duḍḍu ille=po*
 1SG.GEN in.possession money NEG=ADD.DISS
 'I haven't got any money (so stop asking).'

115. *ba:ri e:ṭ-iga sikk-u u.ṭ-ṭ-e=po*
 very hurt-DAT find-CONV₁ leave-PST-1SG=ADD.DISS
 'I really got hurt!'

116. *ni:vu esṭu jana*
 you.PL how.many person
ba.n-d-iru=ḍao
 come-PST-2PL=ADD.NONHON
 'How many of you have come?'

117. *neq-e=ppa* *je:n-iga* *ho:g-õ*
 walk-IMP=ADD.M.HON bee-DAT go-HORT
 ‘Come on, old man, let’s go to the bees.’ (to get some honey)

3.9 Valency change

Box 11

‘Valency’ is an indication of the number of arguments (entities involved in the event or action) that a verb can possess. Typically, intransitive verbs have a valency of one (e.g. ‘**She** slept’), transitive verbs have a valency of two (e.g. ‘**They** watched **a movie**’), while ditransitive verbs have a valency of three (e.g. ‘**I** showed **them my house**’). The arguments in the preceding examples are shown in bold. Certain grammatical operations, such as passivization or adding a causative, can reduce or increase valency respectively.

Solega has no grammaticalised reflexive or reciprocal, but it does have a way of reducing valency by means of a passive construction. Transitive verbs can be so modified by optionally dropping the agent, promoting the patient to subject position, and adding *-a:tu* (derived from *a:gu* ‘happen’) to the verb.

118. *iṭṭu* *giṭṭ-ella* *tind-a:-tu*
 ra:gi.ball ECHO-all eat.CONV₁-happen-PST.3SGN
 ‘All the ra:gi balls were eaten.’

119. *da:ri-li* *nan-aga* *gumma*
 path-LOC 1SG-DAT owl

kaṇḍ-a:-tu
 see.CONV₁-happen-PST.3SGN
 ‘An owl appeared (as I was walking) along the path.’

As mentioned in section 3.7.1, the CAUSative morpheme *-is* can be used in conjunction with most verbs, without changing the downstream application of tense-aspect markers. CAUS is highly productive, and commonly changes intransitive to transitive verbs (e.g. *malagu* ‘sleep’, *malagisu* ‘put so. to sleep’), adds an argument to transitive verbs (e.g. *ma:ḍu* ‘do’, *ma:ḍisu* ‘make so. do sth.’ ((120) and (121)), or changes the semantics of transitive verbs subtly (e.g. *iṇḍu* ‘wring clothes’, *iṇḍisu* ‘make a fist’; *taḷḷu* ‘move sth. away from self’, *taḷḷisu* ‘push sth. or so. away’).

120. *avā* *maḍake* *ma:ḍ-i* *tar-ta* *ir-a:d=e*
 3SG pot make-CONV₂ bring-PROG be-GER=EXCL
 ‘He kept making pots and bringing them.’

121. *nim-aga* *sammalige* *ma:d-is-i* *ta.nd-ivini*
 2SG-DAT slippers make-CAUS-CONV₂ bring-be.PST.1SG
 ‘I had a pair of slippers made, and have brought them (for you).’

3.10 *Sentence-level phenomena*

3.10.1 *Basic clause structure and verb agreement*

The canonical Solega word order is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV), as seen in the following example:

122. *na:* *a:ne* *no:d-d-ivine*
 1SG elephant see-CONT-be.NPST.1SG
 ‘I am looking at the elephant.’

Word order is flexible, however, and non-subject constituents of a verbal clause may be fronted, depending on pragmatic requirements, as in (123). As indicated by (124), a verbal clause may consist of just the verb with appropriate inflections for person, number and gender.

123. *i:* *ti:ni-ya* *na:* *tinn-a:r-ē*
 PROX food-ACC 1SG eat-FUT.NEG-1SG
 ‘This food I won’t eat!’

124. *bar-t-avane*
 come-NPST-be.3SG.M
 ‘He’ll come.’

At the other extreme, serial verb constructions, which indicate a succession of actions taking place in a sequence, can be easily formed through the use of converbs (Section 3.7.5).

3.10.2 *Non-verbal clauses*

Non-verbal clauses are routinely used in Solega discourse, usually in the context of equative constructions (126) or adjectival predicates (127). Such constructions frequently occur not only in colloquial Solega, but also in songs (125).

125. *kembare* *bare* *je:nu* *ken-je:nu*, *soppi* *nera-ke*
 NAME rock bee red-bee leaves shade-DAT

ka:ra:na
 NAME

‘The bees at Kembare Rock are red bees, O Ka:ra:na (who dwells) in the shade of the leaves!’

126. *adu* *ucc-anabe*
 DIST useless-mushroom
 ‘That’s an inedible mushroom.’

127.i: *uduka pa: ille*
 PROX soup good NEG
 ‘This soup is no good.’

3.10.3 Adverbs and adjuncts

Temporal adverbs are preferred sentence-initially, although there is considerable freedom of movement to other locations (except the sentence-final location).

128.ninne *avā* *a:ne* *no:ḍ-in-ā*
 yesterday 3SG.M elephant see-PST-3SGM
 ‘He saw the elephant yesterday.’

OR

Avā ninne a:ne no:ḍinā

OR

Avā a:ne ninne no:ḍinā

BUT

**Avā a:ne no:ḍinā ninne*

Adverbs of manner, on the other hand, seem to be preferred immediately prior to the verb:

129.iva *guḍukenna* *edd-u* *uṭṭ-a.*
 3SG.F.PROX rapidly rise-CONV1 leave.PST-3SG.F
 ‘She sat bolt upright.’
 ?*Guḍukenna iva eddu uṭṭa.*
 **Iva eddu uṭṭa guḍukenna.*

Adjuncts can appear sentence initially, between subject and verb, or even sentence finally.

130.marada *me:le* *ondu* *hakki* *ku:t-id-ade.*
 tree-GEN on one bird sit-PP-be.3SG.N
 ‘There’s a bird seated on the tree.’

ondu hakki marada me:leka ku:t-id-ade.

ondu hakki ku:t-id-ade, marada me:leka.

When an adverb of manner (like *guḍukenna*) and an oblique argument (like *mara sadura*, (131)) both occur in a sentence, the latter can be placed between the former and a verb, as follows:

131. *Bitta jal̥lu.pal̥l-ella pu:ra guḍukenna mara sadura*
 seed old.seed-all very rapidly tree around

huṭṭ-u uḍ-t-ittu.

grow-CONV₁ leave-CONT-be.PST.3SG.N

‘All the seeds, even the old ones, would sprout rapidly around the tree.’

3.10.4 Co-ordination

Co-ordination of noun phrases is carried out using repeated tokens of (*u*)*vve* ‘also’ after each element that is being co-ordinated:

132. *na:n-uvve na.n-na eḍti-vve*
 1SG-also 1SG-GEN wife-also
 ‘I and my wife’

When reciting a list, however, additional items may be co-ordinated to preceding items using *matte*:

133. *ba:ṇe hullu, ko:ḷi hullu matte jabbaru hullu*
 ba:ṇe grass ko:ḷi grass and jabbaru grass
 ‘*ba:ṇe* grass, *ko:ḷi* grass and *jabbaru* grass’

Although *matte* can be used to co-ordinate verb clauses in Kannada, this strategy is not attested in Solega. In Solega, the preferred strategy is to employ serial verb constructions, as described in Section 3.7.5, or to use multiple sequential, single-clause sentences. There are some other instances where *matte* is used in naturalistic Solega speech: these include the co-ordination of non-verbal clauses, and discourse-level coordination. The first of these is exemplified in the following sentence, where the current state of the Solegas’ home forest is being described:

134. *saṇṇa giḍa ille, matte saṇṇa pairu ille*
 small plant NEG and small seedling NEG
 ‘There are no young plants, and there are no small seedlings.’

Matte is frequently used utterance-initially, in order to link the current utterance to the previous one in the discourse.

135. *matte a:sottiga avare ka:yi ban-tu*
 also/and.then at.that.time bean unripe.fruit come-PST.3SG.N
 ‘Also, at that time, the beans started yielding fruit.’

3.10.5 Questions

The role of interrogative words in the construction of non-polar questions has already been discussed in Section 3.1.2.4. Here, I describe the construction of polar questions. This is carried out by means of the interrogative clitic =*a* with an appropriate phonological operation prior to the clitic (insertion of either ‘y’, or ‘v’). Only in the case of the verb ‘to be’, is there a change in form from *ade* to *i:te* (137).

136. *kelsa-va ma:ḍ-id-e.y=a ã: ma:ḍ-in-ẽ*
 work-ACC do-PST-2SG=Q yes do-PST-1SG
 ‘Did you do the work?’ ‘Yes, I did (the work).’

137. *a:ne i:te.y=a?*
 elephant be.3SG=Q
 ‘Is there an elephant (there)?’

ã: attaka oṅṅi a:ne ade
 yes there single elephant be.3SG.N
 ‘Yes, there’s a lone elephant over there.’

The interrogative clitic can attach to a range of word classes, including nouns (e.g. *ane.y=a* ‘the elephant?’/‘is it an elephant?’), adverbs (*na:le.y=a* ‘tomorrow?’), pronouns, including interrogative pronouns (*delli.y=a* ‘where?’) and adjectives (*bisil=a* ‘is it hot?’).

3.10.6 Reported speech and thought

A full canonical reported speech construction makes use of one or more matrix clauses incorporating the verbs *he:lu* or *ennu* ‘say’. The matrix clause(s) may occur before, after, or on either side of a stretch of reported speech, as illustrated by examples (138-141).

138. *ma:dappa ho:g-i e:na he:l-in-ã, “a:,*
 NAME go-CONV what say-PST-3SG.M INTJ
navaste buddi!”
 greeting lord
 (So) what did Madappa go and say (to Savana)? “Oh, greetings, my Lord!”

139. *“o: oḷḷe sakuna no:ḍ-i buddi” avã*
 INTJ good omen look-IMP lord 3SG.M
he:l-in-ã
 say-PST-3SG.M
 “Oh, it’s a good omen! Look, my lord!” he said.

140. *a: haki tanna hesar-a ta:ne*
 DIST bird self.GEN name-ACC self
“kuṭru-kuṭru” en-t-ade
 ONOM-REDUP say-NPST-3SG.N
 That bird says its own name, “*kuṭru-kuṭru*”.

141. *i:ga no:ḍ-u i: kammarã, acugã, avã*
 now look-IMP PROX blacksmith NAME 3SG.M
he:l-id-adu,
 say-PST-GER

“*na: ma:tra ille, na: huṭṭ.id-a:ga.ḷ-inda uvve*
 1SG absolutely NEG 1SG be.born-TEMP-ABL also

ma:tr=e tinn-ḷ-alle...”

pills=EXCL at-PST-NEG

ha:g_enn-a lekka avā he:ḷ-in-ā
 thus_say-PP account 3SG.M say-PST-3SG.M

Now look here, this blacksmith, Acugā, he said, “I completely avoided it [western medicine], I haven’t taken any pills from the time I was born...” That was the kind of account he gave.

Reported speech/thought is often presented in a discourse or narration without any modification or overt signalling; indeed, the question of whether a given utterance represents reported speech or thought can, in most cases, only be resolved by considering the surrounding context. For instance, one might conclude that a person’s thoughts are being reported if the narrative does not explicitly mention the presence of any other interlocutors. The onset of a reported utterance is normally indicated indirectly by means of prosodic features, interjections such as *e! dau! aḍo!* or *oho!* (142) or by a switch in perspective from, say the third person to the first person (143).

142. *antadaralli e:n a:g.o-ttu,*
 at.that.moment what happen.PST-3SG.N

sose-ka atte ba:ri tondari
 daughter.in.law-DAT mother.in.law much problem

ko.ṭṭ-u uṭṭa.
 give-CONV₁ leave.PST-3SG.F

“*Oho! ni:nu ja:tre-ka bar-a be:k=a*
 INTJ 2SG festival-DAT come-CONV₃ want=Q

sose?
 daughter.in.law

ṇa:nu oi-t-ini ja:tr-eka, ni:nu ir-u.”
 1SG go-NPST-1SG festival-DAT 2SG be-IMP

‘So what happened then? The mother-in-law was very mean to the daughter-in-law. “Oho! You want to come to the festival, daughter-in law? I’ll go to the festival, you stay” (she said).’

143. *avaḷ-iga e:n a:g.o-ttu? sari.y-a:gi ro:shu*
 3SG.F-DAT what happen.PST-3SG.N proper-ADV anger

u.ṭṭ-attu. inta:donda himse ko.ṭṭ-u
 leave.PST-3SG.N this.much suffering give-CONV₁

146. *ella:.r-uvve=te ku:g-i kar-nā*
 all-also=FOC call-CONV₂ summon-PST.3SG.M
 ‘He called everyone (to him).’
147. *hol_ella pu:ra sore=ve=tte ha:k-u*
 field_all full pumpkin=EXCL=FOC put-CONV₁
uṭṭ-ā
 leave.PST-3SG.M
 ‘He planted only pumpkins in his entire field.’
148. *avana heḍti ni:r-iga=tte ho:g-ur-da*
 his wife water-DAT=FOC go-PERF-PST.3SG.F
 ‘His wife had gone to the water.’
149. *avā modale=tte jaaga no:ḍ-iki*
 3SG.M previous=FOC place see-CONV₂
ba.nd-ur-dā
 come-PERF-PST.3SG.M
 ‘He had arrived after seeing the place previously.’ [repeat of (58) above]
150. *ma:dappā beṭṭa beṭṭa-da me:le=te*
 NAME mountain REDUP-GEN above=FOC
bar-t-iddā
 come-PROG-be.PST.3SG.M
 ‘Madappa was walking on top of entire mountains.’
151. *baṭṭe uvve ille=te*
 clothes also NEG=FOC
 ‘They didn’t even have any clothes.’
152. *anjuru aḷk-uru=te bar-t-iddā*
 fear crouch-SIMUL=FOC come-PROG-be.PST.3SG.M
 ‘He came closer, crouching from fear.’

The above examples may give the impression that the FOC clitic occurs exclusively in 3rd person contexts. This however, may be an artefact resulting from the nature of the language material examined thus far, which is heavily dominated by historical and mythological narratives. Rare instances of FOC co-locating with 1st and 2nd person contexts do occur in the current corpus, as illustrated by (153):

153. *na:vū=tte beḷe-duru ave-ya sāk-i*
 we=FOC grow.crops-SIMUL they-GEN raise-CONV₂
tin-d-a:du
 eat-CONT-GER

‘While we grow the crops, they (wild animals) are raising their offspring and eating (our crops).’

Solega speakers will often use the FOC morpheme several times in a single sentence or utterance, as shown in (154). This has the effect of highlighting a cluster of words pertaining to a single event or entity in the narrative.

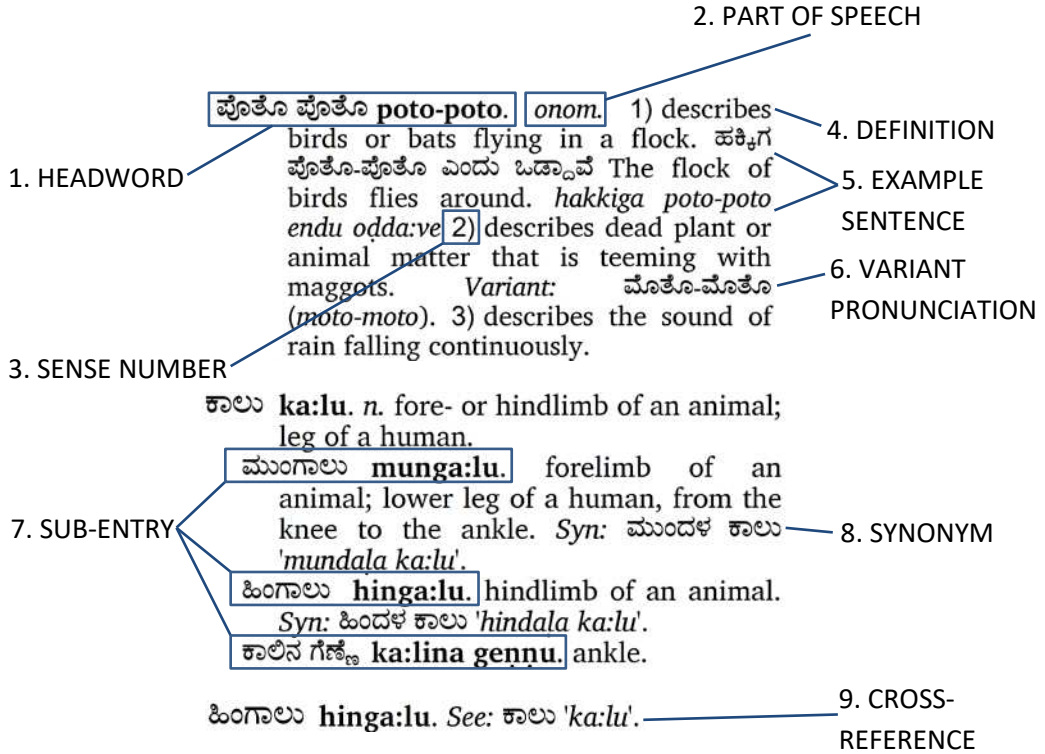
154. *ga:li sari.y-a:gi bi:s-ottiga avā ragga=te*
 wind good-ADV blow-at.time.of he blanket=FOC
innuvve=te muddurs-i=te iḍtu-nā
 still=FOC hold.tight-CONV₂=FOC hold-PST.3SG.M
 ‘When the wind blew hard, he held on to the blanket even more tightly.’

The EXCLUSIVE clitic =*e* also plays a focus-like role, normally highlighting one of many possibilities as the relevant or appropriate one (155). This clitic can also attach to members of all word classes (see examples 6, 27, 40, 51, 55, 63).

155. *ni.n-aga=v.e henṇu ru:pa ma:d-a:ku*
 2SG-DAT=EXCL woman form do-DESID
 ‘It is you that we have to turn into a woman.’

4. How to use this dictionary

The entries in this dictionary make use of both Roman script and a modified Kannada script to represent Solega words. The definitions are in English, and any example sentences are accompanied by an English translation. The following extracts illustrate the key parts of an entry; see the numbered notes on the following page for more information:



ನರವಲು ಮರ **naravalu mara. n.** a tree of the
10. SOLEGA **ka:nu** and **male** forests; the flowers are
CONCEPT visited by large numbers of bees. *Olea*
11. SCIENTIFIC *glandulifera.* NAME



12. ILLUSTRATION

1. Headword: This is the main item to be looked up; headwords are arranged according to the Kannada sequence of sounds, described in Section 2.
2. Part of speech: Indicates the word class that a word belongs to; see List of Abbreviations and Section 3.1 for more details.
3. Sense number: When a word has two or more related senses, these are indicated as 1), 2) etc., with their own definitions and, if available, example sentences.
4. Definition: This is a detailed English description of the meaning of a word.
5. Example sentence: The use of many words is illustrated by means of example sentences. The order of presentation is Solega sentence in Kannada script, English translation, Solega sentence in English transcription. In general, no example sentences are provided for nouns.
6. Variant pronunciation: When a word can be pronounced on two or more ways, these are indicated as variants. At this stage, the dictionary does not contain information on the sociolinguistic variables associated with each variant. Also see Section 2.3.1 'Phonological variation' above, for information on variants that are *not* systematically represented in the dictionary.
7. Sub-entry: Words related in form and meaning to (or often derived from) a headword are listed as sub-entries.

8. Synonym: This provides a cross-reference to other words in the dictionary, which have a similar meaning. Synonyms are different from variants in that the former have a significantly different form compared to the relevant headword.

9. Cross-reference: This may also direct the reader to other words in the dictionary with a conceptual link to the headword. Sub-entries of broader concepts are listed as headwords in the dictionary, but a cross-reference will direct the reader to the broader concept (*e.g. dimbaga:du* 'highland forest' will be an empty entry, and a cross-reference will direct the reader to *ka:du* 'forest').

10. Solega concept: Important Solega concepts that frequently appear in dictionary entries are not translated into English, and are shown in bold. The reader is encouraged to look up these key words in the dictionary.

11. Scientific name: Scientific names have been provided for as many plants and animals as possible. Note that not all organisms were identified with the same degree of rigour, and there may be some erroneous scientific names in the dictionary. Birds were identified by an ornithologist in the company of Solega consultants in the field, whereas plants were identified by a botanist from photographs taken by the author. Mammal names, especially those of smaller species, are the result of educated guesswork following discussions with Solega consultants, and may contain the most errors.

12. Illustration: Where possible, plants, animals, artefacts and culturally-relevant landscapes are illustrated by means of photographs taken by the author (or by Samira Agnihotri or M. R. Madegowda when indicated).

5. Further reading

Following is a short list of scientific and popular articles and other publications about the Solega language and people:

- Agnihotri, S. and Si, A (2012) Solega ethno-ornithology. *Journal of Ethnobiology*, 32(3): 185-211.
- Jadegowda, M. and Ramesh, M. N. (2008) Empowerment of Soliga tribes. *LEISA India* (September).
- Madegowda, C. and Usha Rao, C. (2017) Impact of forest policies and the economy of the Soliga tribals in Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Wildlife Sanctuary, South India. *Journal of Historical Archaeology & Anthropological Sciences*, 1(4): 112-123.
- Mandal, S., Rai, N. D. and Madegowda, C. (2010) Culture, conservation and co-management: strengthening Soliga stake in biodiversity conservation in Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Wildlife Sanctuary, India. In: B. Verschuuren, R. Wild, J. McNeely and G. Oviedo (Eds.), *Sacred Natural Sites: Conserving Nature and Culture* (p. 263-271). London: Earthscan and IUCN.
- Morab, S. G. (1977) *The Soliga of Biligiri Rangana Hills*. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India.
- Morlote, D., Gayden, T., Arvind, P., Babu, A. and Herrera, R. (2011) The Soliga, an isolated tribe from Southern India: genetic diversity and phylogenetic affinities. *Journal of Human Genetics*, 56: 258–269.
- Poulsen, J. (2001) Impact of invasive species on biodiversity conservation and poor people's livelihoods. In: *Assessment and Management of Alien Species that Threaten Ecosystems, Habitats and Species* (p. 77-79). Montreal, Canada: Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity.
- Setty, S. R., Bawa, K., Ticktin, T. and Madegowda, C. (2008) Evaluation of a participatory resources monitoring system for non-timber forest products: the case of Amla (*Phyllanthus* spp.) fruit harvest by Soligas in South India. *Ecology and Society*, 13(2): 1-19.
- Setty, S., Joseph, G., Madegowda, C., Raghunandan. (2007) Strengthening traditional agriculture and enhancement of livelihood security among Soligas at Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Wildlife Sanctuary. In: Arunachalam V. (Ed.) *Participatory Plant Breeding and Knowledge Management for Strengthening Rural Livelihoods* (p. 215-216). Chennai: M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation.
- Si, A (2013) Aspects of honeybee natural history according to the Solega. *Ethnobiology Letters*, 4: 76-84.
- Si, A (2016) *The Traditional Ethnobiological Knowledge of the Solega – A Linguistic Perspective*. Cham: Springer Verlag. pp. 252.
- Si, A and Agnihotri, S (2014) Solega placenames and their ecological significance, *Anthropological Linguistics* 56(3-4): 389-414.

Somasundaram, H. N and Kibe, R. V. (1990) *Soliga: The Tribe and its Stride*. B. R. Hills: Vivekananda Girijana Kalyana Kendra.

Zvelebil, Kamil (1990) The language of the Sholegas, Nilgiri area, south India. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110, 417-433.

Solega-English

ಅ - a

ಅಕಸ್ಮಿತ್ **akasmit.** *adv.* suddenly, unexpectedly. ಅವ್ವ ಅಕಸ್ಮಿತ್ ಸತ್ತೋನೊ He died suddenly. *avā akasmit satto:nā Etym: <Skt. akasmit.*

ಅಕ್ಕ **akka.** *n.* 1) older sister. 2) wife's older brother's wife. 3) a respectful term of address for an older woman within the age range of a potential sibling of the speaker. *See: ಅಮ್ಮ amma.*

ಅಕ್ಕ ತಂಗಿ ಕಲ್ಲು **akka tange kallu.** *n.* place name; a place near the hill **A:ne E:rada Betta** and the village of **Nellikaduru,** with stone representations of two sisters.

ಅಕ್ಕಿ **akki.** *n.* dehusked grain.

ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಗಂಜಿ **akki ganji.** *See: ಗಂಜಿ ganji.*

ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮಣ್ಣು **akki manṇu.** *See: ಮಣ್ಣು manṇu.*

ಅಗಟಿ ಓಗು **agaṭi o:gu.** *v.intr.* to be bow-legged.

ಅಗಲ **agalā.** *n.* wide; typically accompanied by a modifier, such as **i:su** 'this much', **a:su** 'that much' or **angai** 'hand'. ಅವನ ಒಲ ಈ ಕೆರೆ ಅಗಲಕ ಅದೆ His field is as big as this lake. *avana ola i:kere agalaka ade*

ಅಂಗೈ ಅಗಲ **angai agala.** *adv.* as big as one's hand.

ಅಗಲದ **agalada.** *adj.* big. ಅಗಲದ ಎಲೆ ಕಿತ್ತುರು ಬಾ Bring some big leaves. *agalada ele kitturu ba:*

ಅಗಲಾಗಿ **agala:gi.** *adv.* said of sth. being done over a big area. ಬೊಂತೆ ಅಗಲಾಗಿ ಆಸು Lay the sheet (lit. sacks) over a wide area (so that many people can sit on it). *bonte agala:gi a:su*

ಅಗಸ **agasa.** *n.* leukonychia; white spots that sometimes appear on people's fingernails; it is said that a person so affected will receive new clothes.

ಅಗ್ಗಟ್ಟಿಗೆ **aggattige.** *n.* a vase-shaped incense burner that is held in the hand while performing a **parima:ḷa.**

ಅಗ್ಗಿ **aggi.** *v.tr.* chew food.

ಅಗ್ಗಿ **agge.** *v.tr.* dig sth. out of the ground. ಗೆಣಸು ನೋಡಿ ಅಗ್ಗಿ Locate the yam and dig it out *geṇasu no:ḍi agge* ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಅಗ್ಗಿ ತೆರು Dig here. *illi aggeteru See: ತೆಗೆ tege.*

ಅಚ್ಚಡೆ **accada.** *adv.* here and there; in many places.

ಅಚ್ಚು ಕಟ್ಟು **accu kaṭṭu.** *adj.* clean; also tidy, orderly.

ಅಚ್ಚು ಕಟ್ಟಾಗಿ **accu kaṭṭa:gi.** cleanly. ಫಾಡೆ ಎಲ್ಲ ನೀರಿಗೆ ಅಚ್ಚು ಕಟ್ಟಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಾಕು You need to clean all the clothes with water. *pha:ḍe ella ni:rige accu kaṭṭa:gi ma:da:ku*

ಅಜಾರ **ajara.** *n.* place, location.

ಅಜ್ಜ **ajja.** *n.* lit. grandfather, but mainly used as a term of address for old men. *See: ಐಯ್ಯ aiyā.*

ಅಜ್ಜು **ajju.** *v.tr.* wet or soak something by dipping it into a liquid; usually said of clothes or vessels plunged into water for cleaning. ಇಟ್ಟಿ ಜಡಿಯಾದು, ಅಪಾಟಿ ಮುರಿಯಾದು ಅಜ್ಜಾದು ತಿನ್ನಾದು One stirs the **ra:gi** dough, pinches off bits of the **ra:gi** ball, mixes it (with the **uduka** 'lentil soup') and eats it. *iṭṭa jaḍiya:du, a:pa:ṭi muriya:du ajja:du tinna:du*

ಅಜ್ಜೆ **ajje.** *n.* footprint of an animal or a human.

ಅಟ **aṭa.** *n.* an order; an imperative.

ಅಟ್ಟಣೆ **aṭṭaṇe.** *n.* a pit dug to extract a large yam; usually large enough for a person to fit inside; sometimes, steps are dug into one side in order to dig a very deep pit. ಸರಿಯಾದ ಅಟ್ಟಣೆಯ ಹೊಡೆಯಾಕು

ಕೊಣೊ We'll have to dig a deep pit!
sariya:da aṭṭaṇeya hoḍeya:ku koṇo
 ಅಟ್ಟಣೆ ಗುಳಿ **aṭṭaṇe guḷi**.
 ಅಟ್ಟಣೆಲು **aṭṭa:lu**. *n.* a free-standing rack
 constructed within a Solega house
 during the rainy season, on which **joḷa**
 grain is dried, with the help of smoke
 from a fire lit underneath.

ಅಟ್ಟಣೆಲು ಬೇಯಾದು **aṭṭa:lu be:ya:du**.
idiom. a useless thing or person; a
 wastrel; so. who is dirty or unkempt.
Syn: ಸುಟ್ಟಣೆಲು ಬೇಯಾಲು 'suṭṭaḷu
 be:ya:du'.

ಅಟ್ಟಣೆ **aṭṭi**. *n.* an enclosure where cows are
 kept for the night. *Syn:* ದೊಡ್ಡಿ 'doḍḍi'.

ಅಟ್ಟಣೆ-ಅಟ್ಟಣೆ ಕೆರೆ **aṭṭu-aṭṭu kere**. *onom.* the
 call of a red spurfowl. *See:* ಕೆಷ್ಣೆ
keshṭe. *Variant:* ಸುಟ್ಟಣೆ-ಸುಟ್ಟಣೆ ಕೆರೆ *suṭṭu-*
suṭṭu kere.

ಅಟ್ಟಣೆಗೊಳಿಪುರ ಡ್ಯಾಮ್ **aṭṭugu:lipura**
ḍya:m. *n.* a village of the **kutare**
 forest, well outside the borders of the
 BRT Tiger Reserve; nearby is
 Suvarnavati Dam.

ಅಟ್ಟಣೆ ಹುಳ **aṭṭe huḷa**. *n.* aquatic leeches;
 they can enter the noses of cattle or
 humans as they drink from ponds or
 streams; humans can remove them by
 exhaling **bi:ḍi** smoke through the
 nostrils; for cattle, chewing tobacco
 can be applied to the affected nostril.
See: ಜಗುಳೆ *jaguḷe*. *Variant:* ಅಂಟೆ ಹುಳ
aṅṭe huḷa.

ಅಡಕೆ **aḍake**. *n.* betel nut, eaten wrapped in a
 betel leaf with lime paste. *Areca*
catechu. *See:* ಎಲೆ *ele*; ಸುಣ್ಣ *suṇṇa*.

ಅಡಗಿಸು **aḍagisu**. *v.tr.* to get rid of someone
 unpleasant. ಅವನಿಗ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಕೊಟ್ಟು
 ಅಡಗಿಸು Give him the money (he's
 asking for), and get rid of him!
avaniga doḍḍa koṭṭu aḍagisu

ಅಡಗು **aḍagu**. *v.tr.* flatten sth.
 ಅಡಗಿ ಓಗು **aḍagi o:gu**. *v.intr.* become flat.
 ಮೇಲೆಕ ಒಪ್ಪು ಎಂದಿರ ತರಗು ನೆಲಾಕವೇ ಅಡಗಿ
 ಓತು The dry leaves that were curled
 up (now lie) flat on the ground

(because of the rain). *me:leka oppu*
endira taragu nela:kave: aḍagi o:tu

ಅಡಗು ಓಗು **aḍagu o:gu**. *intj.* Get lost!
 (said in anger).

ಅಡಗೋದೊ **aḍago:dā**. *adj.* ruined.
 ಅಡಗೋದ ದನ a useless thing; lit. 'dead
 cow' *aḍago:dā dana*

ಅಡಲಳ್ಳಿ **aḍalalla**. *n.* 1) a stream whose bed
 is composed mainly of pebbles and
 small smooth rocks. 2) place name; a
 stream near K. Gudi, named after its
 pebbly bed.

ಅಡಲು **aḍalu**. *n.* pebbles and small smooth
 rocks, usually associated with stream
 beds.

ಅಡವಾಳಿಸು **aḍava:lisu**. *v.tr.* adapt to sth.
 ಕಾಡಿನ ವಾತಾವರಣ ಅಡವಾಳಿಸಿ ನಾವು ಇರಾದು
 We have adapted to the forest
 environment. *ka:ḍina va:ta:varaṇa*
aḍavaḷisi na:vu ira:du

ಅಡವಿ **aḍavi**. *n.* the wilderness or forest (and
 the settlements within it), as opposed
 to urbanised areas. ನಾವು ಅಡವಿಯೆ
 ಬದ್ದು ಅಡವಿಯೆ ಸಾಯದು We (were
 meant to) grow up in the wild, and die
 in the wild. *na:vu aḍaviliye baddu,*
aḍaviliye sa:yadu

ಅಡವೆ **aḍave**. *n.* clutch of eggs. *See:* ಮೊಟ್ಟೆ
moṭṭe.

ಅಡಾಕು **aḍa:ku**. *v.tr.* pile sth. up. ಆಗ ಜೇನೆಲ್ಲ
 ಇರ್ತು ಅಡಾಕುರು ತಿನ್ನು ಮತ್ತೆ Then you put
 all the honey(comb) in a pile, and eat!
a:ga je:nella irtu aḍa:kuru tinnu matte

ಅಡಿ **aḍi**. *n.* 1) shelter/shade (e.g. of a tree).
 ಆ ಮರದ ಅಡಲಿ ಮಳೆ ತಡೆತದೆ There is
 shelter from the rain under that tree. *a:*
marada aḍi:li maḷe taḍetade 2) base ;
 underside. ಈ ಮಟ್ಟ ಪೂರ ಬನ್ನಾದೆಲ್ಲ
 ಬೆಟ್ಟಾದಿನೊ ಅಡಲಿ, ಅದಕ್ಕಿಲ್ಲ ದಿಮ್ಮಗಾಡು
 All this flatland forest at the base of
 the mountain is called dimbaga:ḍu. *i:*
matṭa pu:ra banda:della beṭṭa:dinda
aḍi:li, adakkella dimbaga:ḍu 3) floor
 (e.g. of an enclosed space, such as a
 grain storage pit). ಗುಳಿಯ ಅಡಿ floor of a
 storage pit *guḷiya aḍi*

ಅಡಿ **adi**. *n.* a unit of length, roughly one foot.

ಅಡಿ **adi**. *n.* door; nowadays, the Kan. word **ba:gilu** is used more frequently. ಅಡಿ ತೆರೆ Open the door! *adi tere*

ಅಡಿಗೆ **adige**. *n.* cooking.
ಅಡಿಗೆ ಮನೆ **adige mene**. *n.* cookhouse; a small hut, built beside one's house, where all the cooking takes place.

ಅಡಿಗೆಬಾಳೆ **adigeba:le**. *n.* plantain; a variety of banana used in cooking.

ಅಡು **adu**. *n.* the 'play' behaviour of elephants around waterholes; refers particularly to the digging of depressions in the mud with the feet and mud-bathing.

ಅಡು ಮಣ್ಣು **adu manṇu**. *See:* ಮಣ್ಣು *manṇu*.

ಅಡುಕು **aduku**. *v.intr.* fill up with sth. ಆ ಹೊಲ ಸೊರೆ ಬುರುಡೆ ಅಡುಕಿ ಓತು That field filled up with **sore buruḍe** plants *a: hola sore buruḍe aduki o:tu*

ಅಡುಮು **adumu**. *v.tr.* swim. ಕುನ್ನಾ, ನೀ ಒಬ್ಬನೆ ನೀರ ಅಡಮಿದೆಯ ಡಾ? Boy, are you going to swim alone? *kunna, ni: obbane ni:ra adumudeya dou?*

ಅಡುಮುರು ಹೋಗು **adumuru ho:gu**. *v.intr.* go swimming; splash around in the water; can be said of people, or animals such as elephants.

ಅಡುಮುರು ಹೋಗು **adumuru ho:gu**. *See:* ಅಡುಮು *adumu*.

ಅಡೆ **ade**. *v.tr.* insert. ಬಾಯೆಲಿ ಒಂದು ಮೊಟ್ಟೆ ಅಡೆಯಾಕು You need to put an egg into (its) mouth. *ba:yeli ondu moṭṭe aḍeya:ku*

ಅಡ್ಡ **adḍa**. *adj.* side(ways), horizontal; said of a structure that branches of the side of a vertical structure.
ಅಡ್ಡ ಕೊಂಬು **adḍa kombu**. lateral branches of a tree, that diverge from the central trunk.
ಅಡ್ಡ ಬೇರು **adḍa be:ru**. lateral roots that branch off a vertical taproot.

ಅಡ್ಡ ಕಟ್ಟು **adḍa kaṭṭu**. *v.* join, e.g. the branches of two trees together to cross

from one to the other; join hands together with so. else to block so. from passing.

ಅಡ್ಡ ಕೊಂಬು **adḍa kombu**. *See:* ಅಡ್ಡ *adḍa*; ಕೊಂಬು *kombu*.

ಅಡ್ಡ ಬಳಸು **adḍa baḷsu**. *v.* avoid; make a detour. ಆ ಹಕ್ಕಿ ಸುದ್ದಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿ ಹುಲಿ ಅಡ್ಡ ಬಳಸಿ ಒದೆ When that bird calls, even tigers will avoid (you). *a: hakki suddi koṭṭre huli adḍa baḷsi odde*

ಅಡ್ಡ ಬಾನು **adḍa ba:nu**. *n.* dawn; the twilight just before the sun rises. ಅಡ್ಡ ಬಾನು ಕಟ್ಟಿದೆ It's dawn. *adḍa ba:nu kaṭṭide*

ಅಡ್ಡ ಬಿಳು **adḍa biḷu**. *v.intr.* bow one's head in respect. ಅಡ್ಡ ಬಿದ್ದು ಕೈ ಮುಗಿದು ಉಟ್ಟು You bow down, put your hands together, and... *adḍa biddu kai mugidu uttu*

ಅಡ್ಡ ಬೇರು **adḍa be:ru**. *See:* ಅಡ್ಡ *adḍa*; ಬೇರು *be:ru*.

ಅಡ್ಡ ಮರ **adḍa mara**. *n.* roof beam running along the eaves of the roof of a dwelling or shelter, to which the bases of the **mu:ri kaḍḍi** are attached.

ಅಡ್ಡ ಸರ **adḍa sara**. *See:* ಸರ *sara*.

ಅಣಕಿಸು **aṇakisu**. *v.tr.* repeat so.'s words. ಅರಳಕ್ಕಿಯ ಮಾತ ಅಣಕಿಸದಕ ಉವ್ವೆ ಆಗಾದಿಲ್ಲ You can't repeat what the emerald dove says (to you). *araḷakkiya ma:ta aṇakisadaka uvve a:ga:dille*

ಅಣಬೆ **aṇabe**. *n.* the general term for a variety of edible and inedible mushrooms; only five mushrooms are said to be edible (all of the following except for the first and the bracket fungus).

ಉಚ್ಚಣಬೆ **uccaṇabe**. *n.* the blanket term for all inedible mushrooms.

ಎಣ್ಣೆ ಅಣಬೆ **enne aṇabe**. *n.* a kind of edible mushroom that grows singly; particularly in grasslands, clearings, abandoned fields.



ಕರವಾದಿ ಅಣಬೆ **karava:di aṇabe**. *n.* edible mushroom commonly found growing in dead **karava:di** trees.

ಕೋಳಿ ಅಣಬೆ **ko:li aṇabe**. *n.* edible mushroom growing on leaf litter in June/July; found in moist, densely forested areas in leaf litter.



ದೊಡ್ಡಣಬೆ **dodḍaṇabe**. *n.* large edible mushroom growing in groups, particularly in grasslands, clearings, abandoned fields or areas that have been burnt; commonly seen during the period of the **kakkaṭa** and **ubbe** rains, growing in the vicinity of termite nests. *See: ಮೊಟ್ಟೆ ಅಣಬೆ moṭṭe aṇabe.*

ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ ಅಣಬೆ **beṇḍe aṇabe**. *n.* edible mushroom commonly found growing on dead **beṇḍe** trees.

ಮರ ಅಣಬೆ **mara aṇabe**. *n.* hard, inedible bracket fungus that grows from the trunks of living or dead trees.



ಹಂದಿ ಆಬೆ **handi aṇabe**. *n.* large mushrooms that grow singly, and have a very smooth, coffee-coloured cap.

ಅಣಿಯೊ **aṇiyā**. *n.* son-in-law, sister's son.

ಅಣಿಯೊನ ಕುಟ್ಟು **aṇiyāna kuṭṭu**. *See: ಕುಟ್ಟಕ್ಕಿ kuṭṭakki.*

ಅಣಿಳೆ ಅಣಿ **aṇiḷe arre**. *n.* place name; a rock platform near **Si:ma:ṭi**, named after the numerous **araḷe** or **haṇiḷe** trees growing near it.

ಅಣೆ **aṇe**. *n.*

ನೆತ್ತಿ ಅಣೆ **netti aṇe**. forehead.

ಬೆಟ್ಟಣೆ **beṭṭaṇe**. accessible peak of a mountain, where it is possible to rest. *Variant: ಎಣೆ ene.*

ಅಣೆಗಡ್ಡಿ **aṇegaḍḍi**. *n.* a sharpened stake used to excise honeycomb from the remaining comb.

ಅಂಟು **aṇṭu**. *v.intr.* 1) stick. ಜೇನು ಮೆಣ ಕೈಕ ಅಂಟೊತ್ತು. The beeswax has stuck to my hands. *je:nu meṇa kaika aṇṭottu* ನನ್ನ ಬಟ್ಟೆಕ ಹುಲು, ಅಣೊತ್ತು. The grass has stuck to my clothes. *nanna baṭṭeka hullu aṇṭottu* 2) follow closely. ದೊಡ್ಡ ನಾಯಿ ಅಂಟು, ಅಂಟು ಜೊತೆಲಿ ಬಂದಾದೆ, ಬೇಗ ನೆಡೆ The tiger is following us, walk quickly! *dodḍa na:yi aṇṭru aṇṭru joteli banda:de, be:ga neḍe*

ಬೆನ್ನು ಅಂಟು **bennu aṇṭu**. follow closely. ಕಿರುಬ್ಬ ನನ್ನ ಬೆನ್ನು ಅಂಟು ಬಂದಾದೆ *kirubā nanna benna aṇṭru banda:de*

ಅಂಟು **aṅṭu**. *See:* ಅರ್ಪು ಅಂಟು *arpu aṅṭu*.
 ಅಂಟುವಾಳೆ **aṅṭuva:ḷa**. *n.* a plant of the **male**
 and **ka:nu** forests; flowers in August;
 the unripe fruits are used to wash
 clothes. *Sapindus laurifolius*.



ನಾಡು ಅಂಟುವಾಳೆ **na:ḍu aṅṭuva:ḷa**. a
 small tree found in the lowlands.
Sapindus emarginatus.

ಅಂಟೆ ಹುಳೆ **aṅṭe huḷa**. *n.* leech. *See:* ಅಟ್ಟಿ
 ಹುಳೆ 'aṅṭe huḷa'.

ಅಂಡಿ ಕೂತು **aṅḍi ku:tu**. *v.intr.* said of sth.
 settling on the bottom of a container,
 settle on the ground. *See:* ಅಂಡಿ ಹೋಗು
aṅḍi ho:gu.

ಅಂಡಿ ಹೋಗು **aṅḍi ho:gu**. *v.intr.* 1) spill;
 scatter; splatter. ರಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲ ಅಂಡಿ ಓತು
 The **ra:gi** grain has spilled. *ra:gi ella*
aṅḍi o:tu 2) settle, become compacted
 or compressed; said of soil. ಮಳೆ
 ಬಿದ್ದೊತ್ತು, ಮಣ್ಣು ಎಲ್ಲ ಅಂಡಿ ಓತು *maḷe*
biddo:tu, maṅṇu ella aṅḍi o:tu ಮಳೆ
 ಬಿದ್ದತ್ತು, ಮಣ್ಣು ಅಂಡೊತ್ತು It rained, and
 the soil has become compacted *maḷe*
biddattu, maṅṇu aṅḍottu Variant:
 ಅಂಡೋಗು *aṅḍo:gu*.

ಕಸ ಅಂಡಿ ಓಗು **kasa aṅḍi o:gu**. become
 dirty or messy. ಎಲ್ಲ ಕಸ ಅಂಡಿ ಓತು,
 ಗುಡ್ಡು ಬಾ The whole place is a mess,
 sweep it up! *ella kasa aṅḍi o:tu, guḍḍu*
ba:

ಅಂಡು **aṅḍu**. *n.* base or bottom of sth.

ತಪಲೆ ಅಂಡು **tapale aṅḍu**. the bottom of a
 plate or container.

ಅಣ್ಣ **aṅṅa**. *n.* 1) older brother. 2) wife's

sister's brother, if older than ego.
 3) respectful term of address for any
 older male within the sibling age-
 range. *See:* ತಾತ *ta:ta*.

ಅಣ್ಣ ತಮ್ಮನ ಗುಡ್ಡೆ **aṅṅa tammana guḍḍe**.
n. a pair of hills associated with two
 brothers who fought over a meal of
 yams; the larger of the hills is that of
 the older brother; the older brother,
 who had left the younger to cook the
 yams while he fetched some water to
 drink, returned and accused the latter
 of having eaten some yams in the
 former's absence; in fact, the yams
 had shrunk through cooking; the older
 brother cut open his brother's stomach
 to look inside, killing him in the
 process.

ಅಣ್ಣಿ **aṅṅi**. *n.* marshy area fed by small
 streams or rivers; may not be
 perennial; however, water can still be
 obtained in the dry season by digging
 the ground at the site of an **aṅṅi**.

ಅಣ್ಣು **aṅṅu**. *adj.*

ಅಣ್ಣು ಮುದುಕೊ old man. ಆರು ದಿನ
 ಇರಾವೊ ಮೂರು ದಿನಕ್ಕೆ ಅಣ್ಣು ಮುದುಕೊ
 ಆಗು ಉಟ್ಟೊ They aged six days in just
 three. *a:ru dina ira:vā mu:ru dinakke*
aṅṅu mudukā a:gu uṭṭā

ಅಣ್ಣೆ ಗಿಡ **aṅṅe giḍa**. *n.* a groundcover plant
 of the **na:ḍu** forest; the leaves are
 eaten.

ಅತ್ತಕ್ಕು **attakka**. *adv.* over there. ನಮ್ಮ ಮನೆ
 ಅತ್ತಕ್ಕು ಅದೆ Our house is over there.
namma mene attakka ade Variant:
 ಅತ್ತಾಗಿ *atta:gi*.

ಅತ್ತಲು ಕಜ್ಜಿ **attalu kajji**. *n.* chickenpox;
 treated with the leaves of **jara soppu**,
udurambe soppu.

ಅತ್ತಾಗಿ **atta:gi**. *See:* ಅತ್ತಕ್ಕು *attakka*.

ಅತ್ತಾಗಿತ್ತೆ **atta:gitta**. *adv.* here and there.

ಅತ್ತಿ ಮರ **atti mara**. *n.* found in **ka:nu** and **male** forests, sometimes in **na:ḍu** forest; the fruit are eaten, and are said to improve eyesight; fruit appear in August-September. *Ficus racemosa*.



ಅತ್ತಿಗೆ **attige**. *n.* 1) older brother's wife. 2) wife's older sister.

ಅತ್ತು **attu**. *v.intr.* burn quickly. ಫುಳ್ಳೆ ಸೆಸಿದಲೆ ಅತ್ತಿತದೆ If you add kindling (the log) burns faster. *phulle se:rsidale attitade* *Syn.* ಬೇಯು 'be:yu'.

ಕಿಚು ಅತ್ತು **kiccu attu**. burn, catch fire. ಕಿಚು ಅತ್ತರು ಮರ ಬೆಂದೊತ್ತು The fire burnt quickly and the wood was consumed. *kiccu atturu mara bendottu*

ಅತ್ತು **attu**. *v.intr.* cry. ದೇವದೊಂದು ಒಡ್ಡಾಕಿತ್ತಲ್ಲ, ಅತ್ತಾದೆ Someone must have hit him; he's crying. *de:vadondu oḍḍa:kittalla, atta:de*

ಅತ್ತು **attu**. *See:* ಹತ್ತು *hattu*.

ಅತ್ತೆ **atte**. *n.* 1) mother-in-law. 2) mother-in-law's sister. 3) parent-in-law's brother's wife. 4) father's sister.

ಅತ್ತೊಂಟೆ ಗಿಡ **attonṭe giḍa**. *See:* ಒಂಟೆ ಗಿಡ *oṅṭe giḍa*.

ಅದ **ada**. *n.* time, occasion. ಆ ಮರದ ಅಡೀಲೆ ಒನ್ನೂ ಅದ ಮತ್ತೆ ಎರಡು ಅದ ಮಳೆ ತಡೆತದೆ It shelters from the rain once or twice under that tree. *a: marada aḍi:li ondu ada matte eraḍu ada maḷe taḍetade*

ಅದಕ **adaka**. *conj.* that's why, usually a response to **e:taka**; also translatable as thus, therefore, because of that. *Variant:* ಅದಕಾಗಿ *adaka:gi*.

ಅದರು **adaru**. *n.* the immature fruit of

legumes such as **avare** and **togari**, or of the **kancuva:ḷa** tree; the stage when the flower has just been fertilised, and a tiny fruit is starting to form, while the petals of the flower are still attached.

ಮುದು ಅದರು **modu adaru**. a legume that has become too mature and tough to eat.

ಅದಿರಿಸು **adirisu**. *v.tr.* shake sth. *See:* ಅದಿರು *adiru*.

ಅದಿರು **adiru**. *v.intr.* shake, tremble. ಕುಂಬೈಯ ಎದ್ದು ಕುಣಿವಾಗ ಅದಿದೊ ಕೂಣುರು ಮಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ, When Kumbaïya got up to dance, the Ku:nuru forest shook. *kumbaïya eddu kuṇiva:ga adirido ku:nuru maleyalli*

ಅದು **adu**. *pron.* that; typically used to refer to inanimate objects and non-human entities. ಅದು ಏವ ಮರ? What tree is that? *adu e:va mara?* *See:* ಇದು *idu*.

ಅದುಗಾನದ **aduga:nada**. *adj.* said of an event, such as a religious festival, that is held with insufficient food for the god and guests. ದೇವನ ಇಟ್ಟು ಎತ್ತರು ಬಾಡೊ ಅದುಗಾನದ ಹಬ್ಬ ಮಾಡಿಕಿನಿ ನೀನು Bring some **ra:gi** balls for the god! There's not enough food for your festival. *de:vana iṭṭa etturu ba:ḍo aduga:nada habba ma:ḍikini ni:nu*

ಅದುಗಿಸು **adugisu**. *v.tr.* shake sth.

ಅದುಗು **adugu**. *v.intr.* sway; get blown about by wind. ಹದ್ದು ಬರೆ ಜೇನು ಅದುಗಿದದೆ The bees at Haddu Rock sway in the wind. *haddu bare je:nu adugidade*

ಅದೆತ್ತ **adetta**. *pron.* somewhere (in an unknown location). ದುಡ್ಡ ತಂದು ಅದೆತ್ತ ಮಡಗುರ್ದೆ I brought some money, and put it somewhere (not sure where). *dudḍa tandu adetta maḍagurde*

ಅದ್ದಾಲು **adda:lu**. *n.* cliff, a sheer drop.

ಅನಸೆ **anase mara**. *n.* found in **male ka:ḍu**; flowers during monsoons (Jun-Jul). *Glochidion zeylanicum*.



ಕಾನನಸೆ ಮರ **ka:nanase mara**. a plant of the **ka:nu** forest. *Glochidion velutinum*.



ನೀರನಸೆ ಮರ **ni:ranase mara**. a tree that grows close to water bodies; flowers in the monsoons (Jun-Jul); the leaves are used to make smoking torches for honey gathering.

ಅನಾಸರ **ana:sara**. *adj.* said of children who are sulky or disobedient.

ಅನಿ **ani**. *n.* drop of water, usually raindrop.

ಅನಿಷ್ಠ **anishṭa**. *n.* problem; trouble.

ಅನುಕೂಲ **anuku:la**. *n.* happiness, contentment. ನಿನ್ನ ಬಳಾಟಾದಲ್ಲಿ, ಅನುಕೂಲ ಕೊಡ್ತೆನಿ ಮಜನೆ I will make your fate a happy one, my child! *ninna baḷa:ṭa:dalli anuku:la koḍṭini majane*

ಅನುರಾದ **anura:da**. *n.* a rain that falls in November-December. *Etym:* <Skt. *anura:dha*.

ಅನುವಾಸ ಮಾಡು **anuva:sa ma:ḍu**. *v.* be independent; the state of being by oneself and minding one's own business, neither quarrelling with anyone, nor asking anyone for favours. ನಾನು ಒಂದು ಮರದ ತಾಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ, ಅನುವಾಸ ಮಾಡ್ತೀವಿನಿ ಕೊ I'm just sitting under a tree, minding my own business. *na:nu ondu marada ta:linalli anuva:sa ma:ḍdivini kō*

ಅಂಕೋಲೆ ಗಿಡ **anko:le giḍa**. *n.* a thorny plant of the **na:ḍu ka:ḍu**, whose branches are kept in the house along with those of the **sanko:le** and **oḍava:ra** plants, to ward off black magic.

ಅಂಗ ಸುಂಗಾರ **anga sunga:ra**. *n.* decoration on the body, ornamentation. ಎಲೊ ಅಂಗ ಸುಂಗಾರಕೆಲ್ಲ, ದೇವಾರೆಲೊ The gods are decorated with ornaments. *elo anga sunga:rakella de:va:relo* *Etym:* <Skt. *anga* 'limb' *shrunga:ra* 'ornament'.

ಅಂಗಟ್ಟಿ **angatti**. *adj.* open, without shelter. ಮಳೆ ಬಂದಲುವೆ ತಪ್ಪಿಸದಕ್ಕೆ ಅಗಾದಿಲ್ಲ, ಎಲ್ಲ ಅಂಗಟ್ಟಿ ಕೆಳಕೆ ಉವೆ ಮೇಲೆಕೆ ಉವೆ When it rains, you can't shelter anywhere; it's all open above and below. *maḷe bandaluvve tappisadakka a:ga:dille ella angatti keḷeka uvve*

me:leka uvve

ಅಂಗಡೆ angaḍa. 1) *adj.* treeless, barren. ನೀ ಇರ ಜಾಗ ಬ್ರ ಅಂಗಡಾಗಿ ಆಗೋಗಿದೆ The place where you're living has become completely deforested. *ni: ira ja:ga biri angaḍa:gi a:go:gide* 2) *n.* a clearing in the forest, or a patch of land devoid of trees. *Syn:* ಅರವಟ್ಟಿ 'aravaṭṭi'; *Syn:* ಬೈಲು 'bailu'; *Syn:* ಮಾಳ 'ma:la'.

ಅಂಗತರಕಾನೆ angataraka:ne. *adv.* lying on one's back. ಅವ್ವ ಅಂಗತರಕಾನೆ ಕೆಡ್ವಪನೆ He is sleeping on his back. *avā angataraka:ne keḍḍa:vane*

ಅಂಗರಿಕೆ ಮರ angarike mara. *n.* found in **na:ḍu ka:ḍu**; flowers in dry season; dry leaves and branches can be used to make brooms or walls of small



shelters. *Dodonea viscosa.*

ಅಂಗೈ angai. *n.* palmar surface of hand, from fingertips to elbow joint.

ಅಂಗೈ ಅಗಲ angai agala. *idiom.* as big as one's hand; indicates small size; usually used with **ille** 'NEG' to indicate that very little of sth. exists. ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಡು ಅಂಗೈ ಅಗಲ ಇಲ್ಲೆ There's very little forest there [lit. The forest there isn't even as big as my hand] *alli ka:ḍu angai agala ille* ನಾ ಇರ ಜಾಗ ಅಂಗೈ ಅಗಲ ಕೊ The place where I live is really small. *na: ira ja:ga angai agala kō*

ಅಂಚು ancū. *n.* roof of a dwelling. *Variant:* anju.

ಅಂಚು ancū. *n.* the rim of a vessel, such as a pot.

ಅಂಜರ ಕಡ್ಡಿ anjara kaḍḍi. *n.* roof ribs. Thin, but sturdy, twigs lashed to the **muri kaḍḍi**, or rafters, on the outside of each roof surface, thereby providing a framework on which the thatch can be lain. The ribs are oriented perpendicular to the rafters, and parallel to the **bi:mana kaḍḍi**, or purlin beams. *See:* ಅಂಚು ancū.

ಅಂಜಿ anji. *n.* fear. *See:* ಅಂಜುಕೆ anju(ke).

ಅಂಜು anju. *v.intr.* be afraid, become frightened. ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಆನೆ ನಿಂತಿಯದೆ, ನಾ ಅಂಜಿವಿನಿ There's an elephant standing there, I'm afraid! *alli a:ne nintiyade, na: anjivini*

ಅಂಜುಕೆ anju(ke). *n.* fear. *See:* ಎದರ edara.

ಅಂಜುರು anjuru. *n.* fear. *See:* ಅಂಜುಕೆ anju(ke).

ಅಂತ anta. *dem.* such, like that. ಅಂತ ಪೆರಾಣಿ ಮನ್ನಸಿಗ ತೊಂದರಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಾದೆ Such an animal causes trouble for humans. *anta pera:ni mansaniga tondari koṭṭa:de*

ಅಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ antaradalli. *adv.* at that moment, at that time. ಅಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೊಸೆಕ ಅತ್ತೆ ಬಾರಿ ತೊಂದರಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಉಟ್ಟೆ At that time, the mother-in-law gave a lot of grief to the daughter-in-law. *antaradalli soseka atte ba:ri tondari koṭṭu uṭṭa*

ಅಂತರಾಗಂಗಿ antara:gange. *n.* dodder; a parasitic, leafless vine usually found in



na:ḍu forest, a smaller variety grows in **male** forest; grows on other plants. *Cuscuta* sp.

ಅಂತವರು antavaru. *n.* other people. ಆಕಡೆಲಿ ಅದೆ, ನಿಮ್ಮಂತವರು ಕೇಳಿ ಅದವ ಹೋಗಿ ನೋಡ ಬಹುದು It's over there; ask other people (about it) - you can go and see it. *a:kadeli ade nimmantavaru ke:li adava ho:gi no:da bahudu*

ಅಂದಾಜು anda:ju. *n.* guess, estimate. *Syn:* ಅಳ್ಕಿ 'alṭe'. *Etym:* <Urd. anda:z 'estimate'.

ಅಂದಾಲು anda:lu. *n.* wallless hut built on the ground, often next to a tree for support, consisting of a raised platform immediately under a sloping roof. The platform is used as a place for sleeping.

ಅಂದಿಸು andisu. *v.tr.* frighten. ಅವನಿಗ ಕರಡಿ ಅಂದಿಸಿಕಿತ್ತು A bear frightened him. *avaniga karaḍi andisikittu*

ಅಂದು andu. *adv.* used to refer to a day other than today. ಅವ ಅಂದು ಬಂದುರುದ She came on that day. *ava andu banduruda*

ಅಂದುಳ್ಳು anduḷḷa. *adj.* good, happy. ನೀನು ಅಂದುಳ್ಳುಗಾರ ದೇವಾರಲೊ You are a happy god, my lord! *ni:nu anduḷḷaga:ra de:va:relo*

ಅನ್ನಸರ್ಸ ansarsu. *v.tr.* divide, ration a resource equally. ಎರಡು ಪಾವಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅನ್ನಸರ್ಸು ಈ ಗಟಕ The two pa:vu (of grain) has to be divided equally for (our) sustenance. *eraḍu pa:vinalli ansarsa:ku i: gaṭaka*

ಅಪಪಟಿ apapaṭi. *See:* ಅಪಟಿ *apaṭi.*

ಅಪರಾಗಿ apara:gi. *adv.* lots; in a large quantity. ಅನ್ನವ ಅಪರಾಗಿ ಹಾಕ ಬೇಡ Don't give me too much rice. *annava apara:gi ha:ka be:da*

ಅಪಾಯ apa:ya. *n.* danger. ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಹೋಗ ಬೇಡ, ಅಪಾಯ ಅದೆ Don't go there, it's dangerous. *alli ho:ga be:da, apa:ya ade* *See:* ಮಿತ್ತೆ *mitta.*

ಅಪುರೂಪ apuru:pa. *adj.* rare, uncommon. ಹಕ್ಕಿ ಈಗ ಅಪುರೂಪದ ಕಡಮೆ Birds are rare

now, they are few. *hakki i:ga apuru:pada kaḍame*

=ಅಪ್ಪ =appa. *clit.* term of address; honorific clitic, for (usually more senior) male addressees.

ಅಪ್ಪಲಿಸು appalisu. *v.tr.* hit so. or sth. violently; also said of strong wind or waves buffeting an object. ಮಿಂಚು ಬಾರಿ ಅಪ್ಪಲಿಸಿದಾಡೆ The lightning is striking violently. *mincu ba:ri appalisida:de*

ಅಪ್ಪಾ appā. *n.* father. *See:* ಚಿಕ್ಕಪ್ಪ *cikkappā; ದೊಡ್ಡಪ್ಪ doḍḍappā.*

ಅಪ್ಪು appu. *v.tr.* hug so. ಣಿ ನನ್ನ ಅಪ್ಪನು Hug me! *ni: nanna appunu*

ಅಬೆ abe. *n.* heat. ಕಿಚ್ಚಿನ ಅಬೆ ಸುಟ್ಟಾಡೆ The fire is too hot. *kiccina abe suṭṭa:de*

ಅಬ್ಬಿ abbi. *n.* waterfall. *See:* ದುಮುಕಿ *dumuki.*

ಅಬ್ಬು abbu. *v.tr.* cover sth. ಬರೆ ಸಾಯ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿತ್ತು ಎನ್ನಲೆ ಸುಮ್ಮಾನೆ ಅಬ್ಬುರು ಒಳಿತಿ ಅದೆ ಅದು If rock ferns grow here, they cover everything. *bare sāya illi huṭṭittu endale summa:ne abburu oiti ade adu* ಕಲ್ಲು ಮೇಲೆ ಸೆಪೆ ಅಂಬು ಅಬ್ಬುರು ಓದಾಡೆ/ ಅಬ್ಬಿತ್ತು The seppe vine is growing all over the rock. *kallu me:le seppe ambu abburu o:da:de/ abbittu*

ಅಮಸೆ amase. *n.* a no-moon night.

ಅಂಬಲಿ ambali. *n.* a watery solution of a medicinal product, taken orally.

ಅಂಬಲಿ ರಾಗಿ ambali ra:gi. *n.* salty porridge made from **ra:gi** flour, given to sick people. *See:* ಗಂಜಿ *ganji; ಕುಲಿಸಲಕ್ಕಿ kulisalakki.*

ಅಮ್ಮಳ್ಳದ ಸೊರವಿಲು ಮರ ambalḷada

soravilu mara. *n.* a **soravilu** tree growing near the village of **keredimba**, which is home to around 20 **hejje:nu** colonies.

ಅಂಬಾಟಿ ಮರ amba:ṭe mara. *n.* a plant of

the **male** forest, with inedible spherical fruits. *Spondias pinnata*.



ಅಂಬು **ambu**. *n.* vine, both soft and woody.
 ಅಂಬು ಕಳ್ಳಾನ್ನ ಗಿಡ **ambu kallāna giḍa**.
See: ಕಳ್ಳಾನ್ನ ಗಿಡ kallāna giḍa.
 ಅಂಬು ತುಂಬೆ ಗಿಡ **ambu tumbe giḍa**. *See:*
 ಓಲೆ ಗಿಡ *o:le giḍa*.
 ಅಂಬು ತುರ್ಸಾ **ambu tursā**. *See: ತುರ್ಸಾ*
ಗಿಡ tursāna giḍa.
 ಅಂಬು ಬೂತಾಳೆ **ambu bu:ta:le**. *n.* a vine of
 the **na:ḍu ka:ḍu**; red flowers in the
 monsoons (June/July); eaten by
 elephants.
 ಅಂಬು ಬೆಲ್ಲ **ambu bella**. *See: ಗೆಣಸು* *genasu*.
 ಅಂಬೆ ಮರ **ambe mara**. *n.* a tree of the
ka:nu and **male** forests, sometimes in
 the **na:ḍu** forest; flowers in the early
 monsoon (June); the fruits are eaten by
 birds. *Canthium travancoricum*.
 ಅಮ್ಮ **amma**. *n.* paternal or maternal
 grandmother. *See: ಅಪ್ಪ* *appa*.
 -ಅಮ್ಮ **-amma**. *prop.n.* the suffix added to a
 woman's name when she reaches

around 30 years of age.

=ಅಮ್ಮಿ =**ammi**. *clit.* term of address used
 for one's wife. ಬಮ್ಮಿ! Come, wife!
bammi

ಅರಕೆ **arake**. *n.* a favour asked of a deity; it
 is customary to offer some food at a
 shrine when asking for a favour;
 commonly, farmers ask a deity to keep
 wild animals away from their fields.
See: ಆನೆ ಉಳಿ ಕುಂಬೇಶ್ವರ a:ne guḷi
kumbe:shvara.

ಅರಗಾಲ **araga:la**. *n.* drought; a time of
 scarcity. *Syn: ಬರಗಾಲ 'baraga:la'.*

ಅರಗು **aragu**. *v.intr.* lie down, and by
 extension, die. ಅವ್ವ ಸುಕವಾಗಿಯೆ
 ಅರಗೋನೊ He died following a happy
 life. *avā sukava:giye arago:nā*

ಅರಗೆ ಮರ **arage mara**. *n.* a woody vine of
 the **male** and **ka:nu** forests. *Gnetum*
ula.

ಅರಡೆಯಕ್ಕಿ **araḍeyakki**. *n.* the Rufous
 Treepie. *Dendrocitta vagabunda*.



ಅರಣೆ **arane**. *n.* lizard.

ಕಲ್ಲರಣೆ **kallarane**. a kind of skink, found in rocky areas. *Variant:* ಕಲ್ಲು ಅರಣೆ **kallu arane**.



ಮಣ್ಣರಣೆ **manṇarane**. a kind of lizard.

ಅರನೆಲ್ಲಿ ಮರ **aranelli mara**. *See:* ನೆಲ್ಲಿ **neli**.

ಅರಮನೆ **aramene**. *n.* palace of a king.

ಅರಳಕ್ಕಿ **aralakki**. *n.* Emerald Dove; its name is a reference to its habit of feeding on the seeds of the castor plant; the bird is associated with the god **Aralaiyā**, who sends the bird around the forest to collect castor seeds with which to make hair oil; the bird collects the seeds in its crop, and regurgitates them in front of **Aralaiyā**. *Chalcophaps indica*. *See:* ಅರಳು ಗಿಡ **aralu giḍa**.

ಅರಳಿ ಮರ **arali mara**. *n.* the pipal tree, mainly found in the **na:ḍu** forest; **roṭṭi** is baked in these leaves, and given to children who can't speak properly. *Ficus religiosa*.

ಅರಳು **aralu**. *n.* diamond, or any other shiny white stone used in jewellery.

ಅರಳು ಗಿಡ **aralu giḍa**. castor plant; grows in **male** and **na:ḍu ka:ḍu**, especially in burnt areas; cultivated next to fields. The seeds are placed in hot water to extract the oil. The oil is used as hair-oil, or rubbed into the scalp for headache, or into joints for arthritic pains. *Ricinus communis*.



ಕಾನರಳು ಮರ **ka:naralu mara**. a tree of the **ka:nu** forest; small white flowers during monsoons. *Evodia lunu-ankenda*. *Syn:* ನೆರೆ ಮರ 'nere mara'.

ಕೊಟ್ಟರಳು ಗಿಡ **koṭṭaralu giḍa**. one or two plants of the **na:ḍu** forest; used as a hedge plant. *Jatropha curcas*, *J. gossypifolia*?



ಅರಳು ಮನೆ **aralu mane**. *n.* a game played by moving tamarind seeds across a wooden board with two rows of indentations.

ಅರಳು ಮರಳು **aralu maralu**. *adv.* over and over again.

ಅರಳೆ ಮರ **araḷe mara**. *n.* a tree of the **male** forest; the dried fruits are powdered and used as medicine. *Terminalia chebula*. See: ಹಣಿಳೆ ಮರ *haṇiḷe mara*.



ಅರಳೆಯ್ಯಯ **aralaḷiyā**. *n.* lit. Grandfather Castor; a god associated with the Emerald Dove. See: ಅರಳಕ್ಕಿ *aralakki*.

ಅರವಟ್ಟಿ **aravaṭṭi**. *n.* treeless, barren. ನೀ ಇರ ಜಾಗ ಅರವಟ್ಟಿ ಆಗೊತ್ತು The place where you're living has become deforested. *ni: ira ja:ga biri aravaṭṭi a:gottu* Syn: ಅಂಗಡ 'angada'.

ಅರವಿ **aravi**. *n.* earthen pot with a narrow opening, used for keeping water cool. See: ಮಡಕೆ *maḍake*.

ಅರಿ **ari**. *n.* procession of a ceremonial chariot around a temple. See: ತೇರು *te:ru*.

ಅರಿ **ari**. *v.intr.* 1) flow; said of water. ಬೊರೆಲಿ ನೀರು ಅರ್ದುರು ಹೋದಾಡೆ The water is flowing down the slope. *boreli ni:ru arduru ho:da:de*

2) slither; said of animals whose bodies are pressed close to the ground, such as snakes, lizards, millipedes and snails. See: ಅರ್ದುರು ಹೋಗು *arduru o:gu*.

ಅರಿ **ari**. *v.tr.* cut sth. ಈ ಕತ್ತಿ ಮರಕ ಅರಿಯಾರ್ದು The machete can't cut wood. *i: katti maraka ariya:rdu*

ಅರುಗಾನ **aruga:na**. *n.* plate, traditionally made from leaves.

ಅರುಗು **arugu**. *n.* the side of a landscape feature or a structure which cannot be directly observed from where the speaker is currently situated. ರೇಣುಕಮ್ಮ ಮನೆಯ ಅರುಗಿನಲ್ಲಿ, ಕೆಲ್ಸ ಮಾಡ್ವವಳೆ Renukamma is working on the other side of the house. *re:ṇukamma meneya aruginalli kelsa ma:ḍavale*

ಅರ್ಕಲು **arkalu**. *adj.* psychological stress, tension. ಆಸ್ಪತ್ರೆಕ ಹೋದಲೆ ಬಾರಿ ಅರ್ಕಲು Going to the hospital causes a lot of stress! *a:spatreka ho:dale ba:ri arkalu*

ಅರ್ತು **artu**. *v.tr.* crush sth. ; grind sth. ಆರೆ ಮೇಲೆ ಅರ್ತುಟ್ಟು ಬೆರ್ಸು Grind it on a grinding stone and pour it out. *a:re me:le artuṭṭu bersu*

ಅರ್ಧ **arda**. *adj.* half.

ಅರ್ಧನಾರಿಪುರ **ardana:ripura**. *n.* a village of the **kutare** forest at the south-eastern border of the BRT Tiger Reserve; close to the Tamil Nadu border.

ಅರ್ದುರು ಹೋಗು **arduru ho:gu**. *v.intr.* slither. ಹಾವು ಬೂಮಿ ಮೇಲೆ ಅರ್ದುರು ಹೋದಾಡೆ The snake crawls on the ground. *ha:vu bu:mi me:le arduru ho:da:de*

ಅರ್ಪತ್ತು **arpattu**. *n.* satiety; having had one's fill of sth. ಕೋಳಿ ಅರ್ಪತ್ತಿತ? Did you have enough chicken? *ko:ḷi arpattuitta*

ಅರ್ಪು ಅಂಟು **arpu aṇṭu**. *adj.* said of a stingy person. ಬಾರಿ ಅರ್ಪು ಅಂಟು ಅವ್ವ, ದೊಡ್ಡ ಕೊಡದಿಲ್ಲೆ, He's a very stingy person, he won't give you any money! *ba:ri arpu aṇṭu avā, doḍḍa koḍadille*

ಅಣಕು **arraku**. *n.* the side of a matchbox, on which the matchstick is struck.

ಅಣಬಾಳು **arraba:lu**. *n.* a small drum held by a strap around the waist, that is hit with both hands.

ಅಣ್ಣ **arre**. *n.* a bare rock platform; such a place has many uses, including washing and drying clothes, drying grain, sharpening, machetes, etc.

ಹುಟ್ಟುಣ್ಣ **hutṭarre**. large in situ rock platform; **huṭṭu** 'birth' refers to the fact that the **arre** is too big to be moved, and is situated in the place where it was created.

ಅಣ್ಣ ಅಣ್ಣ **arre aṇṇe**. *n.* assorted succulents such as *Kalanchoe* or other plants with fleshy leaves, which grow on rocky substrates; one of the species of **arre aṇṇe**, with yellow leaves, is eaten (leaves). *Bryophyllum* spp.; *Kalanchoe* spp.; *Commelina ensifolia*; *Cyanotis* sp.; *Habenaria longicornu*.

ಅಣ್ಣ ಗೋಣಿ ಗಿಡ **arre go:ni giḍa**. *See*: ಗೋಣಿ *go:ni*.

ಅರ್ಬೆ ತುಂಬೆ **arre tumbe**. *See*: ತುಂಬೆ ಗಿಡ *tumbe giḍa*.

ಅಣ್ಣ ಸಾಯಣ **arre sa:yā**. *See*: ಸಾಯಣ 'sa:yā'.

ಅಣ್ಣ ಸೆಣಬಣ್ಣ **arre seṇabbā**. *See*: ಸೆಣಬಣ್ಣ *seṇabbā*.

ಅಣ್ಣಕಡವಿನ ದೊಡ್ಡಿ **arrekaḍavina doḍḍi**. *n.* a village of the **kutare** forest, near the village of **ha:vina mu:le**.

ಅಣ್ಣಬತ್ತಿ ಕಾಡು **arrebatti ka:ḍu**. *See*: ಕಾಡು *ka:ḍu*; ಅಣ್ಣ 'arre'.

ಅರ್ವತ್ತು **arvattu**. *num.* sixty.

ಅರ್ಸಿನ ಬಣ್ಣ **arsina baṇṇa**. *n.* the colour yellow.

ಅರ್ಸಿನಕ್ಕಿ **arsinakki**. *n.* Yellow-browed Bulbul. *Acritillas indica*.

ಅಲಿಬಿ ಆಡು **alibi a:ḍu**. *See*: ಅಲಿಬು *alibu*.

ಅಲಿಬು **alibu**. *v.intr.* fighting, used in the context of animals, usually dogs fighting over food. ಎರಡು ನಾಯಿ ಸೇರು ಅಲಿಬಿ ಆಡುವೆ The two dogs are fighting. *eraḍe na:yī se:rru alibi a:ḍdave*

Variant: ಅಲಿಬಿ ಆಡು *alibi a:ḍu*.

ಅಲಿಬು **alibu**. *v.tr.* rinse, by moving clothes around by hand in water. ಅವ ಬಟ್ಟೆಯ ಅಲಿಬಿದವಳೆ She is rinsing the clothes. *ava baṭṭeya alubidavaḷe*

ಅಲ್ಲ **alla**. *See*: ಇಲ್ಲ *ille*.

ಅಲ್ಲಿ **alli**. *adv.* there.

ಅಲ್ಲ **alle**. *See*: ಇಲ್ಲ *ille*.

ಅಳಗೆ **aḷage**. *n.* large earthen pot.

ಅಳಿ **aḷi**. *v.tr.* harvest honey (can be any type of honey). ಅವ ಮರದ ಪೊಟ್ಟಿಲಿ ಜೇನ ಅಳೆ She got some honey out of the tree hollow. *ava marada potreli je:na aḷta*

ಅಳಿ **aḷe**. *v.tr.* measure out and give. ಐದು ಕೊಳಾಗ ಅವರೆ ಅಳೆನ She measured out five kolaga of **avare**. *aidu koḷa:ga avare aḷena* ಆಗ ಜೇನು ಅಳೆದು ಎಲೆ ಮೇಲೆ ಮಾಡು Then you divide up the honey, and put it on some leaves. *a:ga je:nu aḷedu ele me:le ma:ḍu*

ಅಳುಕ್ಕು **aḷku**. *v.intr.* crouch down, as if to hide from so. ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಜನ ಎಟ್ಟುಕಿ ನೋಡುಮದು, ಪುನ ಅಳುಕ್ಕುಮದು You should get up and check how many people there are, and then crouch down again. *eshṭo jana eṭṭiki no:ḍumadu, puna aḷkumadu*

ಅಳೆ **aḷte**. *n.* size or measure of sth.

ಅಳೆ ಮಾಡು **aḷte ma:ḍu**. make a guess. *Syn*: ಅಂದಾಜು 'anda:ju'.

ಅಳು **aḷla**. *n.* stream. *Variant*: ಹಳು *halḷa*.

ಅಳು **aḷla**. *n.* steep slope or cliff, as seen from above. *See*: ಬೊರೆ *bore*. *Variant*: ಬೆಟ್ಟ ಅಳು *betṭa aḷla*.

ಅಳು ಉತ್ತರಣೆ ಗಿಡ **aḷla uttarane giḍa**. *See*: ಉತ್ತರಣೆ ಗಿಡ *uttarane giḍa*.

ಅಳು ಕೋಮುಳ್ಳಿ ಗಿಡ **aḷla ko:mulli giḍa**. *See*: ಕೊಮುಳ್ಳಿ ಗಿಡ *ko:mulli giḍa*.

ಅಳು ಕೋಲಿ **aḷla ko:li**. *See*: ಕೋಲಿ *ko:li*.

ಅಳು ತುಂಬೆ ಗಿಡ **aḷla tumbe giḍa**. *See*: ತುಂಬೆ ಗಿಡ *tumbe giḍa*.

ಅಳು ಪಟಿಕಿ ಗಿಡ **aḷla paṭiki giḍa**. *See*: ಪಟಿಕಿ ಗಿಡ *paṭiki giḍa*.

ಅಳು ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಗಿಡ **aḷla mallige giḍa**. *See*: ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ *mallige*.

ಅಳು ಸಾಯಣ **aḷla sa:yā**. *See*: ಸಾಯಣ *sa:yā*.

ಅಳು ಸಿಗುರಿ **alla siguri**. See: ಸಿಗುರಿ *siguri*.

ಅಳುಗಾಡು **allaga:du**. See: ಕಾಡು *ka:du*.

ಅಳುಗು **allugã**. *n.* squirrel.

ಸಣ್ಣ ಅಳುಗು **sanna allugã**.
threestriped palm squirrel; the animal is said have to to have helped the God Ra:ma build a stone bridge to Lanka on his journey there to find his wife Si:ta; Ra:ma blessed the squirrel by stroking it with his fingers, leaving three stripes on its back. *Funambulus palmarum*.



ಅಳ್ಳೆ **alle**. *n.* armpit.

ಅವ **ava**. *pron.* she.

ಅವಕಾಸ **avaka:sa**. *n.* chance, opportunity to do sth.

ಅವರು **avaru**. *pron.* they; poss. a form borrowed from Kannada. *Syn:* ಅವೆ 'ave'.

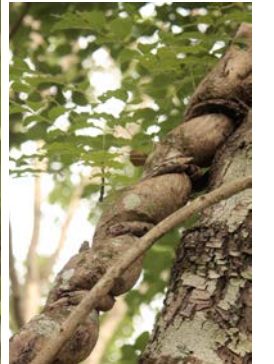
ಅವರೆ ಅಂಬು **avare ambu**. *n.* the edible lablab bean; the fruit is cooked and eaten; ; also a number of other leguminous plants, not all of which produce edible fruit. *Lablab purpureus*.



ಉಚು ಕತ್ತಿ ಅವರೆ ಅಂಬು **uccu katti avare ambu**. *n.* a leguminous vine of the **na:du** and **male** forests, with inedible beans.



ಒಲೆ ಅವರೆ ಅಂಬು **ole avare ambu**. *n.* a vine of the **na:du** and **male** forests; the leaves are eaten by goats.



ಕತ್ತಿ ಅವರೆ ಅಂಬು **katti avare ambu**. *n.* a

leguminous vine with large leaves.



ನೆಲ್ಲದ ಅವರೆ ಅಂಬು **nellada avare ambu.**
n. a leguminous vine with flat, edible
beans.



ಮಲೆ ಅವರೆ ಅಂಬು **male avare ambu.** *n.* a
leguminous vine that grows in the
male forest.



ಅವ್ವೆ **avā.** *pron.* he.

ಅವೆ **ave.** *pron.* they; can be used for
human and non-human entities. *See:*
ಅವರು *avaru.*

ಅವ್ವ **avva.** *n.* mother. *See:* ಚಿಕ್ಕವ್ವ *cikkavva;*
ದೊಡ್ಡವ್ವ *doḍḍavva.* *Variant:* ಅವೆ
avve.

=ಅವ್ವ **=avva.** *clit.* term of address;
honorific for (usually more senior)
female addressees.

ಅಷ್ಟರಲ್ಲಿ **ashṭaralli.** *adv.* within that time.
ಅಷ್ಟರಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಜನ ಕೆಲಸ ನೆಡತಾದೆ ಅಶ್ಟೆ
Within that time, our people work,
that's all. *ashṭaralli namma jana*
kelasa nedeta:ide ashṭe

ಅಷ್ಟಾಗಲ **ashṭa:gala.** *adv.* that much, a lot;
usually accompanied by a manual
gesture to indicate the relevant
dimension. ಆಗ ಸಂದೆ ಗಟ್ಟಿ ಕೂತು
ಅಷ್ಟಾಗಲ ಅಗೆದು Then you need to sit
and dig a lot until evening. *a:ga sande*
gaṭṭa ku:tu ashṭa:gala aggedu *See:*
ಇಷ್ಟಾಗಲ *ishṭa:gala;* ಅಷ್ಟು *ashṭu;* ಅಗಲ
agala.

ಅಷ್ಟು **ashṭu.** *adv.* 1) that much, so; usually
indicates a significant to large
dimension or amount of sth., and is
often accompanied by a manual
gesture to indicate size or amount.

ಅಶ್ಟೊಂದು **ashṭondu.** *adv.* that much.
ಅವನಿಗೆ ಅಶ್ಟೊಂದು ಕೋಪ ಬಂದುಡ್ತು He
became so angry! *avaniga ashṭondu*
ko:pa bandudtu 2) even; usually in

conjunction with **ille** ‘NEG’ to mean “not even”. ತೊಳೆ ಅಷ್ಟು ಇಲ್ಲೆ, ಮಾಡ ಅಷ್ಟು ಇಲ್ಲೆ, ಐದ್ದು ಗೆಣಸ ತಿಂದಾಕಿನೆ. Without even washing it or anthing, the boy ate the yam. *toḷe ashṭu ille, ma:ḍa ashṭu ille, aidā geṇasa tinda:kinā*

ಅಷ್ಟೆ **ashṭe**. *disc.* “That’s it! That’s all!” similar in meaning to **ishṭe**, but more typically used to highlight a concept or utterance in contrast to another; can also be used as an interjection to agree with the previous utterance of an interlocutor. ನಾಯಿ ಎನ್ನಾದುವೆ ಮನಸನೆ, ಈ ಆನೆ ಎನ್ನಾದುವೆ ಮನಸನೆ, ನಾವು ಅಂಜುಮದು, ಅಷ್ಟೆ Dogs used to be people, and elephants used to be people, (the difference is) we’re afraid (of the latter), that’s all! *na:yī enna:duvve manasane, i: a:ne enna:duvve mansa:ne, na:vu anjumadu, ashṭe* See: ಇಷ್ಟೆ *ishṭe*.

ಅಷ್ಟೊಂದು **ashṭondu**. See: ಅಷ್ಟು *ashṭu*.

ಅಸಗೊ **asagā**. *n.* 1) dhobi, laundryman. 2) a kind of bird.

ಅಸರಾವು **asara:vu**. See: ಹಾವು *ha:vu*.

ಅಸರು **asaru**. *adj.* the colour green.

ಅಸರುಗಾಲ **asaruga:la**. *n.* lit. ‘the green time’; the monsoon season, when all the deciduous trees are covered in leaves.

ಅಸಿ **asi**. *adj.* 1) fresh, poss. raw in the context of meat. ಒಂದು ಫರ್ಲಾಂಗ್ ದೂರ ಅಸಿ ಮಾಂಸದ ಗಮಲ ಬರ್ತಿತ್ತು. You could smell fresh meat from a furlong away.

ondu farla:ng du:ra asi ma:msada gamala bartittu See: ಅಸುಕಲು *asukalu*. 2) alive, green; said of tree branches. ಆ ಮರದ ಕೊಂಬು ಇನ್ನು ಅಸಿ ಅದೆ That branch is still alive. *a: marada kombu innu asi ade*

ಅಸಿಲು **asilu**. *n.* crops, greenery. ಬಗುತ ಬರ್ಲ ಬಿತ್ತಿದೆ, ಅಸಿಲ ಬೆಳೆದು ಉಟ್ಟಿ Your devotee has sown the dry earth, and harvested the crop. *baguta barla bittide asila beḷedu utṭe* *Etym:* poss. <Kan. hasiru ‘green’.

ಅಸುಕಲು **asukalu**. *adj.* raw, uncooked. ಕಾಳು ಆಗಲೆ ಹಾಕಿತ್ತು, ಇನ್ನು ಅಸುಕಲು I put in the lentils (to boil) a long time ago, they’re still raw! *ka:lu a:gale ha:kittu, innu asukalu* *Syn:* ಅಸುಕ್ಕು ‘*asku*’.

ಅಸುವಗಂದ **asuvaganda**. *n.* a small, herbaceous plant of the **na:ḍu** forest.



ಅಸುಕ್ಕು **asku**. *adj.* raw, uncooked. *Syn:* ಅಸುಕಲು ‘*asukalu*’.

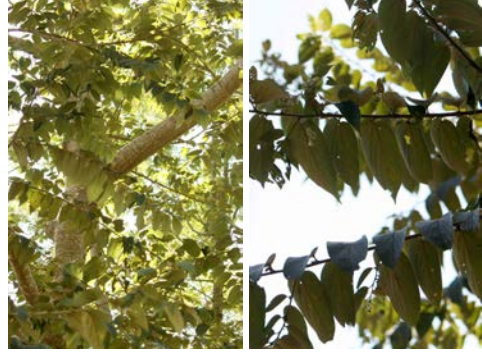
ಆ - a:

- ಆ** **a:** *dem.* that. ಆ ಮರದ ಎಲೆ ಕಿತ್ತುರು ಬಾ Pluck me some leaves from that tree. *a: marada ele kitturu ba*
- ಆಕು** **a:ku.** *v.tr.* put ; place. *See:* ಮಡಗು *maḍagu.*
- ಆಗ** **a:ga.** 1) *adv.* then, indicating a time that is not the present. ಕಾಡಿನ ನಾಡಿಗೆ ಬಾಳು ಉಡು, ಆಗ ನಾವು ಬರ್ತಿವಿ. Once you've moved the forest to the lowlands, then we'll come (to live there). *ka:ḍina na:ḍiga ba:lsu udu, a:ga na:vũ bartivĩ* 2) *conj.* then; frequently used as a discourse marker in a narration, to indicate a sequence of new events. ಆಗ ಕುಂಬಪ್ಪನ ಕರ್ಮ, “ಹಾ, ಸರಿ, ನೀನು ಮಡಕೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿ ಮಾಡು!” ಆಗ ಮಡಕೆ ತಂದು ಸವನಿಗೆ ಕೊಡಾದು Then (Savana) called Kumbappa, (and said) “Fine, you shall offer me an earthen pot!” Then (Kumbappa) took a pot and gave it to Savana. *a:ga kumbappana kardu, “hã sari, ni:ni maḍake biṭṭi ma:du!” a:ga maḍake tandu savaṇaniga koḍa:du*
- ಆಗತ್ತೆ** **a:gatte.** *adv.* right then, at that time; formed by combining **a:ga** and **-tte**. ಅಣ್ಣನ ಗುಡ್ಡಲಿ ಆಗತ್ತೆ ಸೆಂಬ ಮಡಗಿತ್ತೆ. At the time, there was a water pot on the elder brother's hill, it is said. *aṇṇa:na guḍḍeli a:gatte semba maḍagittette* *Variant:* ಆಗತ್ತೆ *a:gatta.*
- ಆಗಲೆ** **a:gale.** *adv.* right at that moment.
- ಆಗಲೆ** **a:gala.** *adv.* of that time; pertaining to the past.
- ಆಗಾಗ** **a:ga:ga.** *adv.* sometimes; every now and then.
- ಆಗು** **a:gu.** *v.intr.* 1) happen, befall. ಏನ ಆತು What happened? *e:na a:tu* 2) become, turn into sth. ಸಿವನ ಸಾಪ್ ಹಾಕಿದ ಮರ ಆತು They were cursed by Shiva, and turned into trees. *sivana sa:p ha:kida mara a:tu* ಆಸೆಕೆ ಮರವೇ ಆಗೋನ In that way, they became trees. *a:seka*

marave: a:go:na

ಆಗು ಮರ **a:gu mara.** *See:* ಆಗುರಿ ಮರ *a:guri mara.*

ಆಗುರಿ ಮರ **a:guri mara.** *n.* a tree found in all forest types, but infrequently in **na:ḍu ka:ḍu**; the bark is ground up, and the extract drunk in case of diarrhoea (including bloody diarrhoea). *Trema orientalis.* *Variant:* ಆಗು ಮರ *a:gu mara.*



ಆಗುಳಿಸು **a:guḷisu.** *v.intr.* yawn. ಐದೂ ಆಗುಳಿಸಿದೆ The boy yawned. *aidã a:guḷiside*

ಆಗುಳುಕೆ **a:guḷuke.** *n.* a yawn. ಆಗುಳುಕೆ ಬಂದಾದೆ, ಕೆಡೆಯಾಕು I'm yawning, I should sleep. *a:guḷuke banda:de, kedeya:ku*

ಆಗೂಡು **a:gu:ḍu.** *v.tr.* form a group; get together. ರಾಕಾಸೆಸನ ಕೊಲ ಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಉಟ್ಟು ಎಲ್ಲ ನಾವೆಲ್ಲ ಒಗೊಟ್ಟು ಆಗೂಡೋ ಎಂದು ಉಟ್ಟು ಒಗೊಟ್ಟು ಅದರು They said, “We must kill the ogre, we must get together!” and they formed a group. *ra:ka:sesana kola be:ku endu uttu ella na:vella oggoṭṭa a:gu:ḍo endu uttu oggoṭṭa adaru*

ಆಗೋಗು **a:go:gu.** *v.intr.* disappear; leave suddenly without notifying anyone. ಸೇರಾಗೋಣೆ, ಎಳಾಗೋಣೆ You left without meeting me, or saying anything! *se:ra:go:ṇe, e:la:go:ṇe*

ಆಟ **a:ʈa**. *n.* a game, play behaviour. ಮಕ್ಕಳಿಗೆ ಬಾರಿ ಆಟ The children are playing a lot! *makkaliga ba:ri a:ʈa*

ಆಟ ನೋಟ **a:ʈa no:ʈa**. *n.* festivity, celebration. *See: ಕುಪುಟ kupuṭi.*

ಆಟ ನೋಟ **a:ʈa no:ʈa**. *See: ಆಟ a:ʈa.*

ಆಟಾಡು **a:ʈa:du**. *v.intr.* 1) play, e.g. a game. *See: ಆಟ a:ʈa; ಪುಪುಟ kupuṭi.* 2) not take a task seriously, fool around. **ಆಗವೆ ಆಟಾಡದಿಲ್ಲೆ, ನೋಡು ಕಾದು ಅಗ್ಗಿಯಾಕು** You can't just fool around like that, you have to look and dig patiently (for yams). *a:geve a:ʈa:ḍadille no:ḍu ka:du aggeya:ku*

ಆಡ **a:ḍa**. *adj.* true, honest. **ಆಡ ಮಾತೆ** honest words *a:ḍa ma:ta*

ಆಡಿಸು **a:ḍisu**. *v.tr.* 1) wag, said of a dog's tail. **ನಾಯಿ ಬಾಲವೆ ಆಡಿಸಿದಾದೆ** The dog is wagging its tail. *na:yi ba:lava a:ḍisida:de* 2) rock; make sth. swing, e.g. a cradle. **ಗೀಜಿಗನಕ್ಕಿ ಜೋಗುಳೆ ಆಡಿಸಿದೆ, ಗೂಡು ಹಾಕು ಉಟ್ಟು** The weaverbird makes its nest, and rocks it. *gi:jiganakki jo:gule a:ḍisidde, gu:ḍu ha:ku uṭṭu*

ಆಡು **a:ḍu**. *n.* goat; although a bit of a rarity in the past, many Solega families now rear goats, as they can be purchased using government loans; it is normally up to the women of a household to graze goats; goats are sacrificed for numerous festivals and important events, such as **ma:ri habba**, girls' coming-of-age celebrations and funerals. *Capra aegagrus.*

ಆಡು **a:ḍu**. *v.tr.* 1) breathe, usually in conjunction with **usuru**. **ಉಸುರ ಆಡು usura a:ḍu**. *v.* breathe. **ಕೆನ್ನಾಯಿಗ ಕಡವೆ ತಿಂದಾಕಿ ಏಕೆ ಬೊರಿ ಆಗೊತ್ತು, ಉಸುರ ಆಡಾಗೆ ಆಗಾದಿಲ್ಲೆ**, The wild dogs are stuffed full from eating the sambhar, they can't even breathe. *kenna:yiga kaḍave tinda:ki e:ka bori a:gottu, usura a:ḍage a:ga:dille*

2) *v.intr.* said of the wind moving things around. **ಗಾಳಿ ಬೀಸೊತ್ತಿಗ ಬಟ್ಟೆ**

ಆಡಾದೆ When the wind blows, the clothes flap around. *ga:li bi:sottiga baṭṭe a:ḍda:de*

ಆಡು ಸೋಗೆ **a:ḍu so:ge**. *n.* a bushy plant with glossy, lanceolate leaves; the leaves are boiled in water and the decoction drunk, as a remedy for asthma, breathlessness or other respiratory maladies. *Justicia adhatoda*, formerly *Adathoda vasica*.

ಆಣಿ **a:ṇi**. *n.* an old unit of currency; one anna, equivalent to 1/16 of a rupee.

ಆಣೆ ಜಡ್ಡೆ **a:ṇe jaḍḍe**. *intj.* a phrase used to scold someone for being dirty, unwashed, covered in grime. *Variant: ಆ ಜಡೆ a: jaḍe.*

ಆಣೆ ಹುಳು **a:ṇe huḷu**. *n.* wax moth; appears on honeycomb around the time that the **sele** flowers bloom, and spoils the honey.

ಆತರ್ಸಿ **a:tarsi**. *adv.* suddenly; usually said of waking up.

ಆದಾಡು **a:da:ḍu**. *v.intr.* move indecisively in the face of oncoming traffic or danger. **ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಬಸು ಬಂದಾದೆ, ಆದಾಡೆ ಬೇಡ** There's bus approaching, stop being indecisive. *alli basu banda:de, a:da:ḍa be:ḍa*

ಆದಾರ **a:da:ra**. *n.* diet, sustenance.

ಆದಿರೆ ಕೋಡೆ **a:dire ko:ḍe**. *See: ಕೋಡೆ ko:ḍe.*

ಆದಿರೆ ಮಳೆ **a:dire maḷe**. *n.* fourth named rain of the year, a heavy rain that falls in late June; can be accompanied by strong winds; the **o:luge** tree starts blooming during this time; many plant species, especially **ma:vu** 'mango' and **ne:ri** are laden with fruit during the **a:dire** and **kakkaṭā** rains. **ಓ ಆದಿರೆ ಗಾಳಿ ಎತ್ತೆ ಉಟ್ಟುತ್ತು**, Oh! The a:dire wind has risen up! *o a:dire ga:li ettu uṭṭattu* *See: ಕೋಡೆ ko:ḍe. Etym: <Skt. a:ridra.*

ಆದುಮು **a:dumu**. *v.tr.* choose sth. **ಸೂರ್ಡೆ ಗೆಣಸ ದಪ್ಪ ದಪ್ಪ ಒಂದು ಆದುಮದು** Pick a large piece from the pile of yams. *su:rda geṇasa dappa dappa ondu a:dumadu*

ಆನೆ **a:na**. *n.* the act of bees collecting water (not nectar or pollen) to make honey. ಜೇನು ಆನೆ ಎತ್ತಿದೆ The bees are foraging for water. *je:nu a:na ettide*

ಆನೆ **a:ne**. *n.* Indian elephant; an animal simultaneously revered as a deity, and avoided for its potentially dangerous behaviour; different categories of elephant are recognised by the Solega, depending on age, sex, physical condition and tusk shape; a prayer ceremony to the elephant god (who is a forest being, and distinct from the Hindu god Ganesha) is held every year in Dec-Jan. *Elephas maximus*.

ಆನೆ ದೇವರು **a:ne de:varu**. *n.* the elephant god. *See: ಆನೆ ದೇವರು ಪೂಜೆ a:ne de:varu pu:je.*

ಆನೆ ಅಡು **a:ne aḍu**. *n.* place name; the area around **aṇe** reservoir, associated with the mud-bathing behaviour of elephants.

ಆನೆ ಏರದ ಬೆಟ್ಟ **a:ne e:rada beṭṭa**. *n.* place name; a hill near Bellaji Coffee Estate, said to be so steep that elephants can't climb it.

ಆನೆ ಕಲ್ಲು ಮಳೆ **a:ne kallu maḷe**. *n.* rain accompanied by hailstones; said to increase **avare** and **togari** crop yields; the hailstones are collected, and the water is used to cure earache.

ಆನೆ ಗುಳಿ ಕುಂಬೇಶ್ವರ **a:ne guḷi kumbe:shvara**. *n.* a male deity who is invoked when asking for an **arake** (favour) to keep elephants away from one's fields.

ಆನೆ ದೇವರು **a:ne de:varu**. *See: ಆನೆ a:ne.*

ಆನೆ ದೇವರು ಪೂಜೆ **a:ne de:varu pu:je**. *n.* prayers offered to the elephant god to ensure the safety of one's family and crops in the coming year (December-January).

ಆನೆ ಬರೆ **a:ne bare**. *n.* place name; a rock near the village of **Hosapo:ḍu** (close to the BRT), home to around 10 **hejje:nu** colonies.

ಆನೆ ಸುಂಡಿಲೆ **a:ne suṇḍile**. *idiom.* heavy rain; the flow of water out of an elephant's trunk is used as a metaphor for a downpour. ಇಂದು ಮಳೆ ಆನೆ ಸುಂಡಿಲೆ It's raining like water from an elephant's trunk today! *indu maḷe a:ne suṇḍile*

ಆನೆಗಂಪಾಲು ಮಳೆ **a:negampa:lu maḷe**. *n.* heavy, windy rains that fall in November and December. The name indicates that it is cold enough to make elephants shiver.

ಆನೆಬಾಳೆ **a:neba:ḷe**. *n.* a variety of banana, with medium-sized to long fruit, and pale yellow skin.

ಆನೆವಳಿ ಕೆರೆ **a:nevaḷi kere**. *n.* place name; a reservoir near **si:maṭi** where it is said elephants can always be found.

ಆಪಟಿ **a:paṭi**. *adv.* **a:papaṭi**. that much; usually said of a large quantity of sth.

ಆಪಪಟಿ about that much.

ಆಮೆ **a:me**. *n.* tortoise.

ಆಂಸ **a:msa**. *n.* fertility of the soil.

ಆಯಿಸ **a:yisa**. *n.* long life. ಐಸ ತೆಂದಂತ ಜಲಮಲ್ಲಾಲೊ We are not born to live long. *a:yisa tendanta jalumalla:lo* *Etym:* poss. <Skt. a:yus 'long life'.

ಆಯೆ **a:ye**. *v.tr.* collect objects that are widely dispersed. ಕಂಚಳ ಬೀಜ ಆದನು Collect the **kancaḷa** seeds! *kancaḷa bi:ja a:dunu*

ಸೆತ್ತೆ ಆಯೆ **sette a:ye**. carry out weeding.

ಆರೆ **a:ra**. *n.* garland of flowers. *Etym:* <Hin. ha:ra 'garland'.

ಆರೆಕೆ **a:rake**. *n.* a vow, resolution or offering made to a god to offset a current crisis; animal sacrifices can be made to **ma:ramma** and **siddappa:ji de:varu**; an offering of money or the promise of shaving one's head can be made to **ke:tappa** and **jaḍeyappa**. ನನಗೆ ಕಾಯಲು ಆದಾಗ ನಾನು ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಆರೆಕೆ ಮಾಡ್ತಿದ್ದೆಂ When I was sick, I made a vow to god. *nanaga ka:yalu a:da:ga na:nu de:variga a:rake ma:ḍruddē*

ಆರೆಂಬ **a:ramba**. *n.* agriculture, cultivation,

harvest.

ಆರಂಬ ಮಾಡು **a:ramba ma:ḍu**. *v.tr.* farm; cultivate land.

ಆರಿ ಹೋಗು **a:ri ho:gu**. *v.intr.* cool down; said of food that has been left out.

ಆರು **a:ru**. *v.intr.* 1) fly. ಆನೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಟೈಮಿನಲ್ಲಿ, ಕುರುಳಿ ಹಕ್ಕಿ ಪರ್ವನ್ನ ಆರಿ ಕಿತ್ತು As the elephant was walking along, the quail suddenly flew up. *a:ne ho:ga ṭaiminalli kuruḷi hakki parrenna a:ri kittu* 2) jump on sth. ; pounce on sth. ಒಡ್ಡಿ ಇದ್ದಲೆ ಕರಡಿ ಆರು ಉಡ್ಡದೆ A bear attacked me when I was in the boulder field. *oḍḍi iddale karaḍi a:ru uḍḍade*

ಆರು **a:ru**. *num.* six.

ಆರುವೆಷ್ಟ **a:ruvve**. *pron.* anybody, nobody; used in conjunction with **ille** 'NEG'. ಮನೆಲಿ ಆರುವೆಷ್ಟ ಇಲೆ, Nobody's home. *meneli a:ruvve ille*

ಆರೆ **a:re**. *n.* flat stone on which spices are ground (with the help of another cylindrical stone that is rolled over the former).

ಆರೆ ಕೊಲ **a:re kola**. *n.* iron rod. ಆರೆ ಕೊಲ ತಟ್ಟಾಕು ಇನ್ನು Now you need to forge an iron rod. *a:re kola taṭṭa:ku innu*

ಆರೆಕ್ಕ **a:rekka**. *n.* child rearing. ಆ ಹೆಂಗಿಸು ಕೂಸಿಗ ಬಂಡಾಗಿ ಆರೆಕ್ಕ ಮಾಡ್ತದೆ That woman is raising her child well. *a:hengisu ku:siga baṇḍa:gi a:rekka ma:drude*

ಆರೆಗೊ **a:regā**. *n.* common flying squirrel. *Petaurista petaurista*.

ಆರೊ **a:ro**. *pron.* someone, somebody (unknown). *Variant: ದಾರೊ da:ro*.

ಆರ್ತಿಗೆ **a:rtige**. *n.* offering of incense, fire etc. to a god. ಆರ್ತಿಗೆ ಕೆಂಡ ತುಂಬು ಉಟ್ಟು, ದೂಪ ಹಾಕು ಉಟ್ಟು Having filled up the **keṇḍa** for the offering, and having lit incense... *a:rtigeka keṇḍa tumbu uṭṭu, du:pa ha:ku uṭṭu*

ಆಱುಕ್ಕು **a:rrukku**. *n.* 1) a fright. ನನಗ ಜೀವ ಆಱುಕ್ಕು ಎಂದೊತ್ತು I got a fright. *nanaga ji:va a:rrukku endottu* 2) to be emotionally hurt or insulted by so.

ಆಱಿ **a:rre**. *n.* upper part of forelimb of

human or animal, including scapula, humerus, and associated muscle (except pectorals) down to the elbow.

ಆಱಿ ಮೂಳೆ **a:rre mu:ḷe**. bone of the upper forelimb; humerus.

ಆಱಿ ಗೆಣ್ಣು **a:rre geṇṇu**. elbow of the forelimb of an animal, i.e. the articulation of the humerus with the radius/ulna.

ಆಱಿ ಬಟ್ಟಲು **a:rre baṭṭalu**. scapula, shoulderblade; can be used for humans or animals.

ಆಱಿ ಗೆಣ್ಣು **a:rre geṇṇu**. *See: ಆಱಿ a:rre*.

ಆಱಿ ಮೂಳೆ **a:rre mu:ḷe**. *See: ಆಱಿ a:rre*.

ಆರ್ಸು **a:rsu**. *v.intr.* rest. ಒಂದು ಗಳಿಗೆ ಆರ್ಸುಮದು You should rest for a while. *ondu gaḷige a:rsumadu*

ಆರ್ಸು **a:rsu**. *v.tr.* cut, usually said of fruit and vegetables.

ಆರ್ಸು **a:rsu**. *v.tr.* make sth. fly away; splash liquid onto sth. or so. ಬಸು ಬಂದತ್ತು, ನನ್ನ ಮೇಲೆ ಬದಿ ಆರ್ಸಿ ಕಿತ್ತು The bus came past, and splashed mud on me. *basu bandattu, nanna me:le badi a:rsi kittu*

ಆಲದ ಮರ **a:lada mara**. *n.* banyan tree; found in **male** and **na:ḍu** forests; the fruits are eaten by birds (including peacocks, **kuggilu**, **keshte**, **go:jilakki** and junglefowl). *Ficus benghalensis*.



ಆಲರು **a:laru**. *n.* clan to which the **maṇega:rā** belongs; the clan flower is the **a:lu malle**.

ಆಲುನ್ನಿ ಗಿಡ **a:lunni giḍa**. *n.* a small plant found mainly in **male** and **ka:nu** forests; flowers year-round; the milky

sap is applied to the skin after moles have been removed; occurs in **doḍḍa** 'big' and **saṅṅa** 'small' forms.



ಆಲುಪ್ಪೆ ಮರ **a:luppe mara**.
 ದೊಡ್ಡ ಆಲುಪ್ಪೆ ಮರ **doḍḍa a:luppe mara**. *n.* a tree of the **na:ḍu** forest.
Wrightia tinctoria. *Syn:* ಬೆಪ್ಪಾಲೆ ಮರ
 'beppa:le mara'. *See:* ಆಲೆ **a:le**.



ಆಲುಮಲೆ **a:lumale**. *adj.* born from milk; one that bathes in milk. ಆಲುಮಲೆ ದೇವರು the god who is bathed in milk (**savaṅṅa**)
a:lumale de:varu

ಆಲೆ **a:le**.

ಆಲೆ ಅಂಬು **a:le ambu**. *n.* a vine that grows in **male** and **na:ḍu** forests; the root is consumed as a remedy for stomach problems; the leaves are edible, and the flowers are sweet-tasting.
Tylophora indica.



ಆಲೆ ಮರ **a:le mara**. *n.* a tree of the **ka:nu** forest, possible related to the

figs (Moraceae); fruits in the monsoons; the latex from crushed leaves is placed on abscesses.

ಕೆಂಬಾಲೆ ಮರ **komba:le mara**. *n.* a tree of the **na:ḍu** and **male** forests; flowers in June/July; added to milk to make curd; the wood is used to make a **ra:gi** dough stirrer. *Wrightia tomentosa*.



ಜೀವದಾಲೆ ಮರ **ji:vada:le mara**. *n.* a tree of the **na:ḍu** forest; flowers in the dry season. *Erythroxylon monogynum*.



ಬೆಪ್ಪಾಲೆ ಮರ **beppa:le mara**. *n.* a tree of the **na:ḍu** forest; the inner bark is placed in a container of milk to make curd. *Wrightia antidysenterica*. *Syn:* ಅಲುಪ್ಪೆ ಮರ 'a:luppe mara'.



ಆಲೆ **a:le**.

ಕಿವಿಪಿ ಆಲೆ **kīvi a:le**. *n.* earlobe.

ಆಲೆಸ ಮುರಿ **a:lesa muri**. *v.* stretch, as in when getting out of bed.

ಆಳ **a:ḷa**. 1) *adj.* deep. 2) *n.* unit of length, equivalent to the height of an average human.

ಆಳಗರ್ಸಿ **a:ḷagarsi**. *n.* a rain that falls in December.

ಆಳದ ಮರ **a:ḷada mara**. *n.* a tree of the **ka:nu** forest; large edible fruit appear in June-July. *Ficus* sp.

ಆಳವಿಕೆ **a:ḷavike**. *n.* ability to do as one desires, free will. ನನ್ನ ಮನೆ ನನ್ನ ಆಳವಿಕೆ It's my home; I'll do as I please. *nanna mene nanna a:ḷavike*

ಆಳಿಕೆ **a:ḷike**. *n.* era, period, tenure; also refers to the reign of a monarch or dynasty. ಸೋಲಾರ ಆಳಿಕೆಲಿ ನಮ ಜನ

ಕಾಡಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಉತುಪತಿ ಆತೊ Our people came into being during the era of the **so:laru** people. *so:la:ra a:likeli namma jana ka:ḍinalli utupati a:to*

ಆಳು **a:lu**. *n.* person. ಹತ್ತು ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತು ಆಳುಗ ಬರ್ತದೆ ಇಲ್ಲಿಗೆ Ten or twenty people are coming here to eat. *hattu ippattu a:luga bartade illiga* ಆಳು ಗಾಳು ಬಂದಾವರೆ They're coming. *a:lu ga:lu banda:vare* Variant: ಹಾಳು *ha:lu*.

ಆಳು **a:lu**. *v.intr.* do as one pleases. ನಮ್ಮಾಳಿಕ ನಾವಾಳಬೊದು We people are free to do as we wish. *namma:lika na:va:labodu*

ಆವರಿಕೆ ಗಿಡ **a:varike giḍa**. *n.* a small tree of the **male** and **na:ḍu** forests. *Cassia auriculata*.



ಆವಾವು **a:va:vu**. *pron.* some people. ಆವಾವರ ಮನೆಲಿ ಟೀವೀ ಅದೆ Some people have a TV in their home. *a:va:vara meneli TVade*

ಆಸಪತ್ರೆ **a:sapatre**. *n.* hospital or smaller clinic/health centre. *Etym:* <Kan. a:sapatre <Eng. hospital.

ಆಸಾಕ **a:sa:ka**. *adv.* that much; a large quantity of sth. ನಾಕು ಗುಳಿ ಅಗ್ಗಿದಾಗ ಆಸಾಕ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿದೊ You find that much (yam) after digging four holes. *na:ku guḷi aggeda:ga a:sa:ka sikkidde* See: ಆಸೆಕ *a:seka*.

ಆಸಾಡಿ ಅಂಬು **a:sa:ḍi ambu**. See: ಸಿಪುರೆ ಅಂಬು *sipure ambu*.

ಆಸಾಡಿ ಬೇರು **a:sa:ḍi be:ru**. *n.* the root of the **sipuri** plant; it is eaten as a remedy for

beestings; the juice is drunk as a vermifuge. *Asparagus* sp. See: ಸಿಪುರೆ ಅಂಬು *sipure ambu*.

ಆಸು **a:su**. *adv.* that much, by a small amount. ಜೇನು ಎಲೆ ಮೇಲೆ ಮಡಾಗಿ ಆಸು ದೂರಾಕ ಎತ್ತುರೋಗು Put the honey on some leaves, and take it some distance away. *je:nu ele me:le maḍa:giki a:su du:ra:ka etturo:gu* See: ಈಸು *i:su*.

ಒಂದು ಆಸು **ondu a:su**. *n.* a bit; a small amount.

ಆಸು **a:su**. 1) *v.tr.* lay, spread sth. like a cloth or bag on a flat surface, such as the ground. ಜೇನಿಗ ಎಲೆ ಕಿತ್ತುರು ಆಸು ಉಟ್ಟು Having brought leaves for (holding) the honey, and lain them flat (on the ground)... *je:niga ele kitturu a:su uṭṭu* 2) *v.intr.* spread out. ಹಸರೆಗಲ್ಲಲ್ಲಿ ಲೊ ಆಸಿದರೊ ಕೆಂಜೊಡೆಗಾಳಿ Sitting on hasare rock, his red dreadlocks spread out. *hasaregallallo a:sidaro kenjoḍega:la*

ಆಸುಕ್ಕೆ ಆಸು **a:sukke a:su**. prepare bed for sleeping by laying down a bedsheet. ಆಸುಕ್ಕೆ ಆಸು ಉಟ್ಟು ಮಲಗುರಾರು They made their beds, and went to sleep. *a:sukke a:su uṭṭu malagura:ru*

ಆಸುಕ್ಕೆ **a:sukke**. *n.* bedsheet, often an old **si:re** 'sa:ri' or **si:la** 'hessian bag' laid on the ground.

ಆಸುದಾದ **a:sudda:da**. *adj.* usually a reference to young people. ಆ ಗುರುಗಾರುಗ ಹೋಗೊತ್ತಿಗ ಆಸುದಾದ ಐದಾನುವೆಷೆ ಬಂದು ಉಟ್ಟೊ When the elders were going, a young child also came along. *a: guruga:ruga ho:gottiga a:sudda:da aida:nuvve bandu uṭṭā*

ಆಸೆ ಈಸೆ **a:se i:se**. *adv.* here and there.

ಆಸೆಕ **a:seka**. *adv.* 1) over there, elsewhere; refers to a place other than the one currently being talked about. ಆ ಹೊಲ ಬುಟ್ಟಾಕಿ ಬಂದು ಉಟ್ಟೊಲ್ಲ ಆಸೆಕ ಅದು ಎಳಾವುಗಾಡು When (one) abandons one's field and goes away, then it is (called) an **eḷavuga:ḍu** *a: hola*

buṭṭa:ki bandu uṭṭōlla a:seka adu eḷa:vuga:ḍu 2) thus, in that way. ಅಸೆಕೆ ಮರವೆ ಆಗೋನ In that way, they became trees. *a:seka marave a:go:na* See: ಹಾಗೆ *ha:ge*; ಹೀಗೆ *hi:ge*.

ಅಸೊತ್ತಿಗೆ *a:sottiga*. *adv.* then ; at that time. ಅಸೊತ್ತಿಗೆ ಅವರೆ ಕಾಯಿ ಬಂತು At that time, the avare fruit appeared. *a:sottiga avare ka:yi bantu*

ಅಂ - ã

ಅಂಜನೆಯನ ಗಾಳಿ *ãjanaīyana ga:ḷi*. *n.* strong winds that can blow trees over; lit. Hanuman's wind.

ಅಂಜು *ãju*. *n.*

ರಾಗಿ ಅಂಜು *ra:gi ãju*. *n.* inflorescence of the *ra:gi* plant, before any grain has formed. *Syn:* ಒಡೆ 'oḍe'.

ಅಂತೆ ಹುಳು *ãte huḷu*. *n.* cockroach.

ಅಂಸೆ *ãse*. *n.* desire, greed. ದೇವ ಸೋಲಿಗೆ ಜಾತಿಕ ಉವ್ವೆ ಅತಿ ಅಂಸೆವೆ ಬರ ಇಲ್ಲೆ No individual of the Solega tribe is greedy. *de:va so:lega ja:tika uvve ati ãseve bara ille*