

Against Copy Control in Telugu
Madelyn Kissock
Concordia University, Montréal

1. Background and Goals

- Haddad (2007, 2009ab, 2010ab) makes the claim that Telugu shows Control in certain types of adjunct clauses.
- Forward, Backward, and Copy Control are all adduced for these clauses.
- Backward control – where the controller subject of the matrix clause is null instead of the adjunct subject – is relatively uncommon cross-linguistically. (Examples (1) and (2) below, repeated verbatim from Haddad (2009) exx. (26a) and (33), respectively.) (Note that the translation in (1) does not accurately reflect the position of the overt subject, which is in the adjunct clause.)

(1) [Δ_i [Kumaar-ki_i Sarita-miida koopam wacc-i] akkadi-nunci
Δ.NOM Kumar-DAT Sarita-on anger.NOM come-PART.CNP there-from
weLLIpoyinaa-Du]
left-3.M.S
'Having got angry at Sarita, Kumar left.'

- Copy Control – where both subjects are overt – is close to unattested cross-linguistically.

(2) [[Kumaar-ki_i aakali wees-i] atanu_i/Kumaar_i bhoojanamu tinnaa-Du]
Kumar.DAT hunger.NOM fall-PART.CNP he/Kumar.NOM dinner ate-3.m.s
'Kumar got hungry and he/Kumar ate dinner.'

- Haddad's analysis requires a copy theory of control, following Hornstein (1991 and subsequent).
- This paper examines Haddad's data, claims, and analysis and finds:
 - that a significant amount of (relevant) data is not included. Inclusion of this data changes the picture dramatically.
 - the analysis, taken as it is on only a subset of the data, still fails on at least two counts
 - the analysis has been based on a misunderstanding/misuse of the term 'grammatical'

- The paper concludes that, minimally, there is no evidence for Copy Control in Telugu. Further, it proposes that there is, in fact, no particular motivation for analyzing these clauses as Control structures in the first place.

2. Data Used vs. Relevant Data

A. Clause Schema

- Adjunct clauses may be embedded or appear sentence-initially. Various combinations of null/overt subjects and initial/embedded clauses result in ambiguities w/r/t subject identification (clausal or matrix).

- [matrix sub [Adsub...AdV] ...matrix V]

- [Adsub...AdV] matrix sub...matrix V]

(3) *Sridhar inṭiki velli annam tinnāḍu*
 Sridhar-nom house-dat go-abs food eat-past-3sm

‘Sridhar went home and ate some food.’ (subject may be matrix or adjunct)

(4) X_i *inṭiki velli Sridhar_i annam tinnāḍu*
 Adsub_i house-dat go-abs Sridhar-nom food eat-past-3sm

‘Having gone home, Sridhar ate some food.’

- Partial disambiguation by means of dative subjects. Overt subject is adjunct subject. Null matrix subject position still ambiguous between sentence-initial and post adjunct clause.

(5) *Sridharki_i jwaram vacci inṭiki vellāḍu*
 Sridhar-dat fever-nom come-abs house-dat go-past-3sm

‘Sridhar, having gotten a fever, went home.’

- Overt subject is matrix subject. (Matrix and adjunct subjects both in dative give same ambiguities as two nominative subjects.)

(6) [X_i *ḍabbu icci*] *Sridharki_i kōpam vaccindi*
 Adsub money give-abs Sridhar-dat anger-nom come-past-3sf/n

Sridharki_i [X_i *ḍabbu icci*] *kōpam vaccindi*
 Sridhar-dat Adsub money give-abs anger-nom come-pas-3sf/n

‘Having given the money, Sridhar got angry.’

B. Target Clause Types

- Haddad identifies the object of his study as Conjunctive Participle (CNP) clauses. He notes that “CNP clauses are non-finite clauses with no (overt) complementizer... normally considered IPs rather than CPs (Jayaseelan 2004)...subject in CNP clauses is case-marked, and the verb shows no inflection for tense or agreement.” (2009a:75)
- Haddad lists CNP clauses in Telugu as consisting of two types – an absolutive form (stem plus *-i*, *ceppi* ‘having said’) and a present participle (stem plus *-tū*, *ceptū* ‘while saying, saying’) – citing Krishnamurti & Gwynn (1985). In fact, Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1985) cite *four* Conjunctive Participles (plus their negative forms), including the Conditional (stem plus *-tē*, *ceptē* ‘If X said’) and the Concessive (stem plus *-inā*, *ceppinā* ‘although X said’).¹
- Haddad discusses his regrouping of participles, motivating it by the (typical) presence/absence of disjoint subjects. The remaining CNP clauses from Krishnamurti & Gwynn, he groups with a broad selection of items – adjectives, some (but not all) participles with complementizers, etc. – labelling them ‘INF clauses.’
- He summarizes by stating that ‘one relevant feature of CNP clauses [in Telugu-mjk] is that their subject has to be coreferential with the matrix subject. That is, a sentence with a CNP clause is a control construction.’ (p. 76) Since he just took the liberty of redefining them so that they would meet this criterion, this is not surprising...

C. ‘Same Subject’ Notion

- The distinction Haddad makes between adjunct clauses is a spurious one. All of the these adjunct clauses allow disjoint subjects, though such subjects appear with greater or lesser frequency depending upon the type of participle.²
- Haddad actually notes in a footnote that CNP clauses (undefined but one assumes his own grouping) *do* allow disjoint subjects but that he has analysed those cases as involving two unaccusative predicates with null (little *pro*) expletives in subject position. The paper containing the above-mentioned analysis (Haddad 2009b) begins by noting that ‘In the Indian Subcontinent, they [CNP clauses–mjk] are a defining characteristic that South Asian languages inherited from Sanskrit (Dwarikesh 1971, Masica 2005).’
- Haddad’s analysis of these (unwanted) disjoint subjects rests on several crucial points:
 - both matrix and adjunct clauses must have unaccusative predicates.
 - the default/unmarked position for locatives with unaccusatives is sentence-initial (a claim made with no supporting evidence or references)

¹There is, in fact, at least one more of these – the positive and negative forms of the present progressive participle *-tunnā*, e.g., *ceptunnā* ‘saying’.

²In addition to the judgements of my informants, I supply supporting data from a variety of sources on Telugu in Appendix A.

– the DP(theme) remains low in both clauses

- Assuming the above, it follows that:

– We will not find disjoint subjects unless the two predicates are unaccusative. Oops...

waNNi koTTi eem laabham? (KG:189)
him-acc beat-abs what-nom gain/use-nom/acc
lit: ‘having beaten him, what use?’

– We will not find cases where the theme is higher than the locative *and* subjects are disjoint. Oops...

mii waaDu kalejiloo ceeri en naaLL
you-pl-poss son-nom college-loc arrive what day-pl-nom/acc
ayindi. (LL:139)
pass/happen-past3sg.f/n

‘How long has it been since your son entered college?’ (LL’s translation)

- Haddad states further that control in these structures is both *obligatory* (used here to mean that no disjoint subjects are allowed) and *exhaustive*, with no split antecedents, no possibility of discourse antecedent for the CNP subject, and no co-reference between the CNP subject and any other DP apart from the matrix subject. My informants, on the other hand, give opposite grammaticality judgements from those listed by Haddad.³
- Haddad’s argument against a *pro* analysis is based on a claim that if the null subjects were *pros*, lexical NP’s should be able to be substituted for them. He gives the following two examples (his 32ab) to show that this is not the case:

(7) *[Kumaar_i/atanu_i [Kumaaar-ki_i/atani-ki_i aakali wees-i] Saandwic tinnaa-Du]
Kumar/he-nom Kumar/he-dat hunger be felt-abs sandwich eat-past
‘Kumar/he Kumar/he having gotten hungry, ate a sandwich.’

(8) *[Kumaar_i/atanu_i [Kumaar-ki_i/atani-ki_i jwaram wacc-i] mandulu waaDaa-Du]
Kumar/he-nom Kumar/he-dat fever come-abs medicine took-past
‘Kumar/he Kumar/he having gotten a fever, took medicine.’

- This fortuitous choice, essentially the same example repeated twice, is the embedded adjunct structure where the matrix and adjunct subjects will be directly adjacent. Hardly surprising that speakers reject repeating subjects in this way. When the adjunct clause is initial and the two subjects are separated, speakers accept two pronouns or an R-expression and a pronoun trivially.

³All of the native speakers who gave me judgements are from E. Godavari district (coastal dialect) with one exception – a Telangana speaker from the Deccan. While there are numerous differences between dialects, there were no differences in the judgements of these sorts of sentences based on coastal/Telangana. Haddad does not indicate anywhere (that I can find) what dialects his informants speak so it is difficult to assess the judgements.

- Awkwardly for Haddad, the main claim of his paper rests on allowing two overt subjects...
- To summarize this section:
 - Haddad has redefined CNP clauses to fit a certain profile – no disjoint subjects, therefore control structures. This new grouping is not based on presence/absence of overt complementizer (which is what the standard CNP class is based upon).
 - The redefined set still do not match the profile – there *are* disjoint subjects.
 - Evidence that the redefined CNP clauses are control structures is not substantiated by the data.
 - Evidence against a *pro* analysis is not substantiated by the data.

3. Evaluating the Analysis

A. The Claim in Detail

- Haddad claims that a special type of control, Copy Control, is also present in these adjunct clause cases. Copy Control has been proposed for Assamese (Haddad 2007) for San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec and possibly for Tongan (see Polinsky and Potsdam 2006).
- The conditions under which Copy Control can occur in Telugu, according to Haddad, are:
 1. CNP clause must be sentence-initial
 2. CNP subject is an r-expression (non-pronominal)
 3. matrix subject may be an exact copy only if the ‘CNP subject does not exceed one or two words.’ (p. 86)
 4. referential properties of the matrix and adjunct subjects must fully coincide. Examples of violation are (9) and (10) (Haddad’s (43) and (45)) below. (Telugu and translation Haddad’s). (These two sentences received perfect marks from my informants.)
 - (9) *[[Kumaar-ki_i aakali wees-i] atani_i amma atani-ki_i annam peTTin-di]
 Kumar-dat hunger be felt-abs his mother him-dat food give-past
 ‘Kumar having got hungry, his mother gave him food.’
 - (10) *[[Sarita unnu Kumaar sinimaa cuustuu] Kumaar Sarita-ki
 Sarita-nom and Kumaar-nom movie watch-dur Kumar-nom Sarita-dat
 paapkaarn peTTaa-Du]
 popcorn give-past
 ‘Kumar gave Sarita popcorn while they were watching a movie.’

B. Copies are not Copies

- Haddad follows Hornstein (1999 and subsequent) in assuming a copy theory of control – implementing the copy theory of movement to provide an alternative to the traditional PRO analysis. Following Nunes (2001), Haddad copies the adjunct subject and merges it with the matrix tree (sideways movement). Further copying and merging moves the NP up to Spec,IP, in Haddad’s terms, of the matrix tree.
- One of the tenets of Minimalism is that LI’s are fully inflected in the Numeration/Array.
- Copy theory and chain formation rest on *identity*. (And Haddad states repeatedly that identity is a criterion for copy control.)
- How can *Kumar* be copied to get *Kumarki* (and vice versa)?
- Difficult to see how the overt morphology can change, minimally.
- Haddad (2010a, fn 6) appeals to Bejar and Massam (1999) for a solution to this problem, quoting them as saying that “the Case subscript is left behind when DP moves out of one Case-checking configuration into a higher one” (B&M 1999:74)
- However, Bejar & Massam (1999) go on to note that the above will not account for quirky case e.g., Icelandic. For those purposes, they propose an additional constraint that *Inherent Case* (the ‘marked’ case) *always trumps Structural Case*.⁴
- Note that, in addition to simple clauses with dative subjects, Haddad must be able to get:

Adjunct subject	Matrix subject
Nominative	Nominative
Nominative	Dative
Dative	Nominative
Dative	Dative

- According to Haddad, the ‘transition’ between old and new case occurs at the merge of the copy of the subject into the matrix tree, e.g., dative-marked adjunct subject ‘becomes’ nominative upon landing in Spec,vP of the matrix tree. Since Haddad notes that “When an element moves into a new case position, the old case is stranded and the new case is realized,” this is going to create a number of difficulties.
- Following Haddad (new case trumps old case), we see that simple clauses will never be able to have dative subjects, contrary to fact, since the ‘new’ case, nominative, would be realised instead of the old dative case.

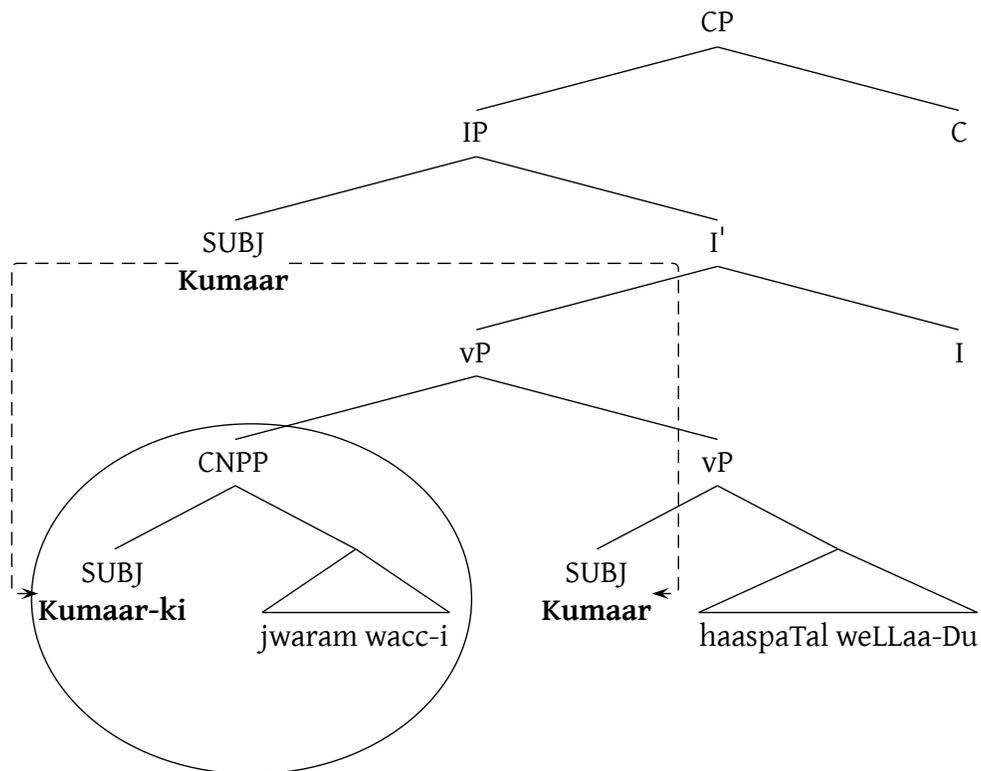
⁴Haddad also mentions Merchant (2006) in support of his ‘case-changing’ scenario, however Merchant, like Bejar & Massam, notes that Icelandic-type quirky case persists over structural case and that it is an instance of ‘Paninian elsewhere conditioning,’ where the more marked outranks the less marked.

- Similarly, in some sense, nominative adjunct subjects will never be able to ‘transform’ to dative matrix subjects. Haddad merges all subject copies from the adjunct into Spec,vP – crucially, the point where the copy is transformed into nominative case. Consequently, it’s ‘turtles all the way down’ as far as the matrix copies go. (Rather tellingly, Haddad never uses combinations of adjunct nominative and matrix dative in his examples...)
- Even if Haddad were to actually follow Bejar & Massam, a dative adjunct subject would never be able to appear as a nominative matrix subject since *inherent case always trumps structural case*.

C. Derivational Process

- Haddad’s analysis requires three different types of derivations.
- All derivations have in common:
 - copying the adjunct subject and merging it into the matrix vP.
 - copying the Spec,vP matrix subject into Spec,IP.
- Derivations then differ in the ways described below:

- For an embedded adjunct, forward or backward control
 1. the adjunct clause merges with vP (after sideways movement of its subject).
 2. matrix subject copy merges in Spec,IP
 3. Two chains are formed, each having the higher matrix subject copy (which c-commands each lower copy) as its head.
 4. Forward control is obtained by deleting the lower copies of the two chains.
 5. Backward control is obtained by deleting the lower copy of the matrix chain and then the higher copy of the remaining chain.

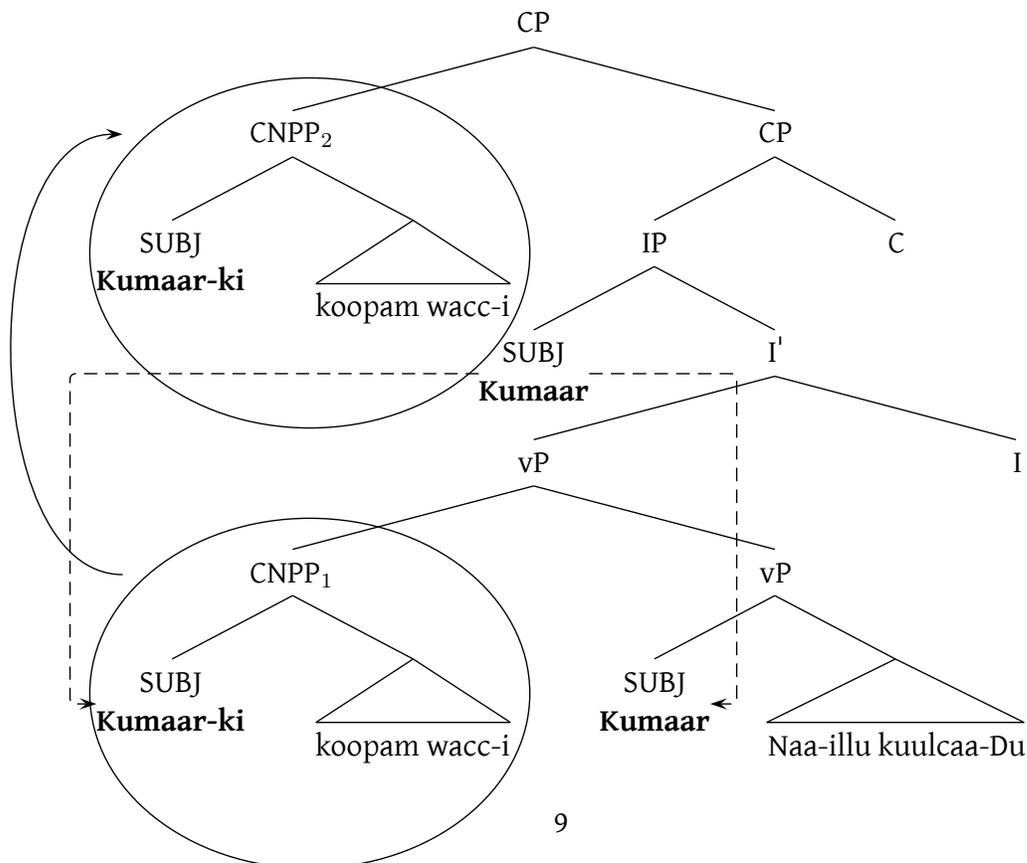


- For sentence-initial adjuncts, Haddad makes use of claims that members of a chain must be identified by their structural relationships in addition to their featural properties. Further, he adopts a proposal by Nunes that ‘the phonological component blindly scans the structure to carry out deletion instructed by Chain Reduction’ (Nunes 2004:54).

1. adjunct subject copies and merges into matrix vP
2. adjunct clause itself merges with matrix vP
3. adjunct copies and merges into CP
4. in chain reduction to delete lower copy of the CNP subject (in chain with matrix subject in Spec,IP), H proposes that the system kind of inadvertently deletes *all* copies that fit that structural/content description, therefore deleting the higher CNP copy subject, as well.
5. the lower CNP clause copy is deleted in its entirety under identity with the head of the chain in CP.
6. end result is Forward Control

- Backward Control is obtained when:

1. the lower copy of the chain Spec,IP-Spec,vP is deleted
2. the upper copy of the chain Spec,IP-subjCNP is deleted
3. the entire lower CNP copy is deleted.



4. The adjunct clause merges at CP (an ‘edge’).
- The step of phonological word formation is what saves the derivation from crashing. When the final spell-out is done (after the adjunct has merged at CP), the linearization process cannot detect any other copies of the subject because they are embedded in the phonological word, therefore there is no violation of the LCA.

E. Overgeneration

- If we now re-examine the adjunct initial, Forward/Backward derivations, we see that the analysis that saves the Copy Control derivation will prove fatal to the adjunct initial, forward/backward cases.
- Applying the same spell-out procedure to these cases, we see that the spelled out domain of the matrix clause will prevent deletion of the higher adjunct copy and there will be no way to get the Forward Control cases. (Specifically, there will be no way to delete the higher adjunct copy because Chain Reduction applies only to the spelled-out domain (at PF) and the higher copy is not within that domain.)

F. Proliferating Syntactic Representations

- When discussing the typology of control, Polinsky and Potsdam (2006), present essentially a set of logical outcomes based on the copy theory of control and chain reduction. They do not propose significant differences in control itself, but rather note some ‘surface’ options.
- Haddad has proposed three entirely different derivations for control structures in Telugu. The inputs for each derivation must be significantly different to result in such different outputs, and we predict that different numerations and structural relationships will result in different interpretations. These issues are never addressed.

4. Understanding the Nature of ‘Grammaticality’

- Finally, it seems there is little point in pursuing the particulars of the Copy Control analysis when, in fact, the grammaticality of such sentences has been seriously misrepresented.
- Haddad apparently failed to understand that ‘grammatical’ must be understood as ‘grammatical on the intended reading.’ A sentence like ‘John read the book.’ is grammatical *but not if the intended reading is ‘Sally ate her apple.’*
- Speakers/informants of a pro-drop language, such as Spanish, will report that a sentence *with* an overt pronoun is ‘grammatical’ because they are responding to ‘Can you say that sentence in Spanish?’ If our analysis stopped there, we would never understand that overt pronouns can only be emphatic/focussed, and that the input to the overt pronoun sentence is crucially different from the input to the pro-drop sentence.

- Native speakers uniformly reject the ‘copy control’ sentences, saying that ‘you only need one of those subjects.’ (If, however, the subjects bear emphatic clitics, an entirely different reaction is produced – much the same as in the Spanish overt pronoun case.) Telugu is just like English in this respect.
- Haddad’s informants clearly behave like everyone else, as evidenced by the many disclaimers he adds to his papers.

- “It is important to note that sentences (33)-(36) were judged by my Telugu consultants as redundant, but not unacceptable. According to them, pronouncing only one of the subjects is sufficient.” (2009a:84)
- “It is worth noting that while the sentences in (4) through (6) were judged as acceptable by all the Telugu native speakers I consulted, Ganga Bhavani Manthini and K.V. Subbarao only found the ones in (4) with both the emphatic markers and exact copies as acceptable; they considered the structures in (5) and (6) as degraded or ungrammatical.” (2010a:110, fn.7) Significantly, K.V. Subbarao is a linguist...
- “It is worth mentioning that there is speaker variation with respect to Copy Control structures like (27a-b). My observation is that they are found more acceptable by younger native speakers of Telugu; these are speakers in their 20’s or early 30’s. Sentence (27c), on the other hand, has been judged as grammatical by all the native speakers I consulted.” Sentence (27c) is repeated below.

[Kumaar=ee tappu cees-i] kumaar=ee eeḍawatam
 [Kumar.Nom=Emph mistake do-CNP] Kumar.Nom=Emph crying
 modalupettaa-ḍu
 started-3.M.Sg

‘Kumar started crying although he has made a mistake.’

- Sentence (27c), with emphatic/focus clitics on both DP’s, has a completely different interpretation. It is parallel to saying ‘John wants *John* to go’, contradicting a previous statement such as ‘John wants Bill to go.’ It thus means: ‘*Kumar* started crying even though *Kumar* (not Sridhar or whoever) made a mistake.’ It is ungrammatical on the reading given by Haddad, as are all the ‘copy control’ sentences.

- Haddad’s acknowledgement and acceptance of the actual grammaticality status of the copy control sentences would, of course, mean that there is no Copy Control – an outcome he is clearly anxious to avoid.

5. Conclusions

- There is no evidence of Copy Control in adjuncts in Telugu.

- When all of the data is included, the evidence for any sort of control structures in these adjunct clauses is not strong. Disjoint subjects, nominative case marking on adjunct subjects (and dative case marking of psych adjuncts), substitution of lexical DP's, and the fact that pro-drop is possible in Telugu all point toward a *pro* analysis over a PRO/control analysis. This is discussed in detail in a separate paper (Kissock, 2011 forthcoming).
- That some languages of South Asia have certain properties does not entail that all the languages have those properties.
- Less-studied, genetically unrelated languages frequently suffer two problems: 1) the facts are 'shoehorned' into matching a well-studied phenomenon, regardless of how well they fit that phenomenon; and 2) the 'exotic' nature of the language makes it a tempting place to 'discover' exciting new phenomena. Both of these problems are present in the copy control claims.

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Appendix A Disjoint Subjects

- *Okaritoo okaru maaTLaaDi padi samvatsaraalu ayindi.*
It is 10 years since they spoke to one another. (KG 381)
- *āyana rākuṇḍā mīru rāru.*
You won't come without his coming. (K 112)
- *pilavakuṇḍā enduku vastānu*
Why do I come without being invited?(K 112)
- *navvutu: ma:tla:dita: a:meku ko:pam vastundi.*
She will get angry if you talk with a smile. (V 224)
- *atanu caccipōtunnā evarū atani paṭṭincukōvaḍam lēdu.**
bienqu'il soit en train de mourir, personne ne s'occupe de lui.(BB 286)
(Although he is dying, no one is paying any attention to him.)
- *ceṭṭu mīda paḍi kāru virigipōyindi.*
parce qu'un arbre était tombé dessus, la voiture a été broyée
A tree having fallen (on it), the car was smashed to little pieces. (BB 275)
- *vāḍu baṭṭalu tecci, renḍu ganṭalu ayindi.*
deux heures ont passé depuis qu'il a apporté les vêtements.
Two hours passed after he gave the clothes. (BB 275)
- *mii waaDu kalejiloo ceeri en naaLL ayndi.* (L 139)
How long has it been since your son entered college?
- *ii midde kaTTI, padi samvatsaraal awt unnadi* (L 139)
It's been 10 years since he built the house.

- *reepu maa aadawaaLLatoo guuda vacci, kaavalsina vastuvulu tiisukuntaam.* (L 256)
Tomorrow I'll come with my wife and buy what we need.
(Lit: Tomorrow, having come with my wife, too, we will pick up the things we need. mjk)
- *wakkalu namilee koddi, ruc ekkuw awtundi.* (L 246)
As you keep chewing betel nut, its flavor gets stronger. (wakka - betel nut piece, emphatic ptc on 'chew')
- *tvaragaa bhon ceesi raNDi.* (S 205)
Having made dinner quickly, please come.
- *Miiru raatri raNDi, saavakaashangaa maaTLaaDukundaam.* (S 205)
After you arrive tonight, we shall talk at leisure.
- *neenu tondaragaa vacci inTiki veLLinaa maa aaviDa metstsadu.* (V 209)
Even if I arrive quickly and go home, my wife will not appreciate.
- *Ravi aDigi telusukonnaTlu vaaLLu aDagaru.* (V 327)
They will not ask and learn as Ravi does.
- *aame vastuunee neenu bayaludeeraanu.* (V 292)
As soon as she arrived, I started out (with emph. ptc).
- *atanu snānam cēsi wāram rōjulu ayindi.* (R 1)
A week has passed since he took a bath.

*An example of the present progressive participle.

Key: S=Sastri; BB=Bossé et Bossé; KG=Krishnamurti & Gwynn; K=Krishnamurti (1961);V=Viswanatham; L=Lisker; R=Ramarao