

A CONCISE GRAMMAR OF

# Dravian

---

DEINIOL JONES

DANEL ZOANÈSC



# Table of Contents

---

## Tavla de contenoitei

<b>Preface to the third edition</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>Phonology and orthography</b>	<b>1</b>
Phonology	1
Vowels and diphthongs	2
Consonants	2
Prosody	5
Orthography	8
History	8
Graphemes	11
<b>Nominals</b>	<b>17</b>
Gender of nouns	17
Determination of gender by meaning	18
Determination of gender by form	20
Gender-changing strategies	27
Plural formation	31
Pluralisation in -ei	31
Pluralisation in -e	33
Pluralisation in -Ø	35
Plurals of compound words	35
<b>Determiners</b>	<b>37</b>

Articles	37
Definite article	37
Indefinite article	44
Omission of articles	46
Demonstrative determiners	48
Morphology	49
Syntax	50
<b>Pronouns</b>	<b>53</b>
Personal pronouns	54
Morphology	54
Syntax	58
Usage	66
Possessive pronouns	70
Pronominal use	71
Adjectival use	72
Demonstrative pronouns	73
Morphology	73
Usage	74
Interrogative and relative pronouns	76
Morphology	76
Use	77
Indefinite and negative pronouns	78
Somebody, something	79
Nobody, nothing	80
Whoever, whatever	80
Everybody, everything	81
Other, another	82
<b>Adjectives</b>	<b>85</b>
Morphology	85
Classes of declension	85
Syntax	89
Concord	89
Position of adjectives	90
Complements of adjectives	91
Adjectives with indefinites and negatives	92
<b>Adverbs and adverbials</b>	<b>93</b>
Formation	93

---

Adverbs with <i>de</i>	94
Adverbs with <i>-mènt</i>	95
Adverbs in <i>-onei</i>	95
Simple adverbs	96
Adverbs of place	97
Adverbs of time	98
Adverbs of measure and manner	100
<b>Comparison</b>	<b>103</b>
Comparison of equality	103
Comparison of inequality	104
Synthetic comparatives	107
Pleonastic <i>ne</i>	109
Superlatives	110
Relative superlative	110
Absolute superlative	111
Correlative comparison	112
<b>Numerals and quantifiers</b>	<b>115</b>
Cardinal numerals	115
Ordinal numerals	118
Collective numerals	121
Fractions	121
Use of numerals	122
Measurements	122
Dates	123
Time	124
Currency	125
Quantifiers	125
Quantifiers as direct objects	126
<b>Prepositions</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>Verbal inflection</b>	<b>129</b>
Overview	129
Categories of inflection	129
Conjugation classes	130
Conjugation	132
Present indicative	132
Present subjunctive	138

Imperfect	140
Preterite	141
Past subjunctive	143
Counterfactual conditional	144
Future and conditional	144
Other forms	146
<b>Verbal periphrasis</b>	<b>151</b>
Overview	151
Perfect tenses	151
Auxiliary selection	152
Participle agreement	153
Tense formation	154
Progressive tenses	155
Passive constructions	157
Causative constructions	158
<b>Use of the verb</b>	<b>161</b>
Interrogation	161
Polar questions	161
Non-polar questions	166
Indirect questions	169
Tense usage	170
The subjunctive	170
Conditional sentences	171
Reflexives and impersonal constructions	171
<b>Negation</b>	<b>172</b>
Bipartite negation	172
Other negative polarity items	173
Negative raising	175
Simple negation	176
Other negative constructions	177
San ‘without’	177
Nè ... nè ... ‘neither ... nor ...’	178
Gnasài ‘neither’	179
Ansa ‘but rather’	180
<b>Conjunctions</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>Word order</b>	<b>183</b>

<b>Appendix I - Irregular Verbs</b>	<b>185</b>
<b>Appendix II - Dialects and Sociolects</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>Appendix III - Historical Phonology</b>	<b>189</b>
<b>Appendix IV - Conventional Expressions</b>	<b>191</b>
<b>Appendix V - Examples of Style</b>	<b>193</b>





# Preface to the third edition

---

Antei-propòst ala  
tèrsa ediçun



# Introduction

---

L'introduceun



# I. Phonology and orthography

---

## Fonología e ortografía

### I.I. Phonology

In what follows, an approach based upon the phonological system of *Dravean de referènsa* has been adopted, privileging the normative variety of Sojane rather than that of other regional or social varieties. However, where it has been deemed of interest or relevance, reference to other varieties has been made.

The phoneme inventory of Dravian is fairly unremarkable for a Romance language, consisting as it does of seven vowel phonemes, six diphthongs and nineteen consonant phonemes. We shall discuss first the vowels and diphthongs, followed by the consonants. Finally, we shall discuss the prosodic features of the language.

## I.I.I. Vowels and diphthongs

The seven vowel phonemes of Dravian are shown in the following table:

	front	central	back
close	i		u
close mid	e		o
open mid	ɛ		ɔ
open		a	

Of the six contrastive diphthongs, four are falling diphthongs /aᵢ aᵤ ɛᵢ ɔᵢ/, while two are raising diphthongs /ᵢa ᵤa/. Of these six, /ɛᵢ/ is only encountered in tonic syllables.

The full seven-way contrast between monophthongs is only encountered in tonic syllables. In atonic syllables, a four-way contrast obtains: the back vowels merge into [u], while the front mid vowels merge as [e] (or, before a nasal, [æ]<sup>1</sup>). Atonic /a/ is regularly realised as [ə], which realisation also obtains in the nucleus of the diphthongs /aᵢ aᵤ ᵢa ᵤa/ in atonic syllables.

## I.I.2. Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Dravian are given in the following table. Where phonemes are arranged in pairs, the voiced phoneme is found to the right.

	labial	alveolar	post- alveolar	palatal	velar
<b>nasal</b>	m	n		ɲ	
<b>stop</b>	p b	t d			k g
<b>fricative</b>	f v	s z	ʃ		
<b>rhotic</b>		r			
<b>lateral</b>		l		ʎ	
<b>semi-vowels</b>	w			j	

From an articulatory point of view, there are a number of details about the realisation of Dravian consonants which cannot be fully conveyed by the table above.

The alveolar series are properly described as “denti-alveolar”: palatograms indicate that the most common articulation of the alveolar consonants is with the blade of the tongue against the alveolum rather than the tip, which rests against the back of the front teeth.

The voiceless plosive consonants are pronounced with a voice onset time of near-zero (ranging between 20 ms and 30 ms), and are pronounced as tenuis unaspirated consonants.

The voiced consonants are pronounced as fully voiced consonants: their voice onset time is negative and coincides with the onset of articulation.

The coronal fricatives /s z ʃ/ are accompanied by endolabial rounding, in which the corners of the mouth are drawn together slightly.

Consonant phonemes undergo a number of allophonic processes, dependent on their position in a word or syllable. The following are the most salient processes in DR:

- Auslaut /t/ is omitted after /l/ and /n/:

**dicènt** ‘saying’ /diʃɛnt/ [diʃɛŋ]

**adult** ‘adult’ /aʔdult/ [əʔduʔ]

- Coda /l/ and /n/ are realised as [ɫ] and [ŋ]:

**altro** ‘other’ /ʔaltro/ [ʔaɫtru]

**bontat** ‘goodness’ /bonʔtat/ [buŋʔtat]

- When following a velar consonant, /l/ is realised as [ʎ] (or [j] in basilectal speech), which in turn fronts the preceding velar to a palatal stop:

**clènç** ‘bug’ /ʔklɛŋʃ/ [ʔcʎɛŋʃ] [ʔcjɛŋʃ]

**sènglo** ‘single’ /ʔsɛŋɡlo/ [ʔsɛŋjʎu] [ʔsɛŋjju]

- When immediately preceding a tonic vowel, /z/ is realised as the affricate [dz]:

**folzàn** ‘soot’ /folʔzan/ [fuʔdzaŋ]

**zavlo** ‘demon’ /ʔzavlo/ [ʔdzavlu]

- Inlaut /ʃ ɲ ʎ/ are realised as geminates [ʃʃ ɲɲ ʎʎ] when immediately following a tonic vowel:

**camisça** ‘shirt’ /kaʔmiʃa/ [kəʔmiʃʃə]

**fègla** ‘daughter’ /ʔfɛʎa/ [ʔfɛʎʎə]

- The clusters /rs/ /ls/ and /ns/ undergo t-epenthesis, giving [rts] [ɫts] and [ŋts]:

**lensòl** ‘bedsheet’ /lenʔsəl/ [læŋʔtsəɫ]

**polsar** ‘to push’ /polʔsar/ [puʔtsar]



- In basilectal speech, the same phenomenon of t-epenthesis obtains in clusters of /rʃ/ /lʃ/ and /nʃ/, giving [rtʃ], [ltʃ] and [ɲtʃ]:  
**calça** ‘tights’ /'kalʃa/ ['kaltʃə]  
**camurç** ‘mountain goat’ /ka'murʃ/ [kə'murtʃ]
- In basilectal speech, auslaut /ʌ/ is frequently realised as [j] or even [ɟ]:  
**agl** ‘garlic’ /'aʌ/ ['aj] ['aj]  
**mègl** ‘better’ /'mɛʌ/ ['mɛj] ['mɛj]
- The cluster /mn/ is realised [m] in auslaut position:  
**rezèmn** ‘kingdom’ /re'zɛmn/ [re'dzɛm]  
**crèmn** ‘crime’ /'krɛmn/ ['krɛm]
- The rhotic /r/ is realised as a trill in anlaut and when intervocalic, but otherwise as a tap [ɾ]:  
**adura** ‘now’ /a'dura/ [ə'durə]  
**bòrsa** ‘bag’ /'bɔrsa/ ['bɔrtsə]  
**draçno** ‘raisin’ /'draʃno/ ['draʃnu]  
**rentrar** ‘to re-enter’ /ren'trar/ [ræŋ'trar]

### 1.1.3. Prosody

#### 1.1.3.1. Accent

Stress in Dravian is, *sensu stricto*, both lexical and irregular. In the first instance, the position of the accent can serve to distinguish one lexeme from another, as in **sfama** /'sfama/ ‘(he) feeds’ vs. **sfamà** /sfa'ma/ ‘(he) fed’, or **zocare** /zo'kare/ ‘player’ vs. **zocaré** /zoka're/ ‘you will play’. In the second case, the position of the accent within

the word is not entirely predictable from its phonological shape. However, some general trends can be discerned.

The most common pattern of stress is oxytonic, with the stress falling on the final syllable of the word. However, if the word ends in a vowel, paroxytonic stress is frequent. However, oxytonic stress in vowel-final words, and proparoxytonic stress are not unknown.

Traditionally, grammarians and academics have called the first pattern (oxytonic in consonant-final words, paroxytonic in vowel-final words) “regular stress” and deviations from this as “irregular” stress, which distinction is pertinent in the orthographical marking of the accent (see section 1.2.2.2 below).

#### 1.1.3.2. Intonation

Detailed studies of the intonation patterns of Dravian are, unfortunately, few. As anything more than a brief overview of the main patterns of intonation is outside the scope of this work, this must remain so.

Non-interrogative statements tend to have a general mid-falling pitch across the entire utterance. Commands, however tend to have a level mid pitch across the utterance:

1. **Jèu coit qu’antarài a leaç.**

[ˈjɛw ˈkɔit kəŋtəˈrai ə ˈlja]

*I think I’m going to bed.*

2. **Zai a leaç!**

[ˈdzaj əˈlja]

*Go to bed!*

Yes-no questions have a gently rising pitch across the utterance until the final stressed syllable. Should there be other syllables following the final stress, they generally have a falling intonation:

3. **Aje-tu mascat la toa çaina?**  
 [ˈajetu məsˈkat ləˈtɔə ↗ˈʃai ↘nə]  
*Have you eaten your dinner?*

A question involving a selection between two or more alternatives has a rising intonation on the first option and a falling intonation on the last option:

4. **Voldraje dela saja, del van u del visqué?**  
 [vuɫˈdraje deləˈ ↗sajə delˈ ↗van u delˈvisˈ ↘ke]  
*Would you like some beer, some wine, or some whisky?*

Questions involving interrogatives have a high pitch on the interrogative word, and a falling intonation on the rest of the phrase to the right:

5. **Qui jè cu colpar al' usç?**  
 [↗ˈki ↘ˈjɛ ku kuɫˈpar əˈluʃ]  
*Who's knocking at the door?*

Tag questions, which occur at the end of otherwise declarative utterances, have a sharp rise in pitch:

6. **Questa jè la praima saja toa, n'è rèn?**  
 [ˈkestə ˈjɛ ləˈpraimə ˈsajə ˈtɔə ↗ˈnɛ ˈrɛŋ]  
*This is your first beer, isn't it?*

## I.2. Orthography

### I.2.I. History

The written records of Dravian *qua* Dravian, rather than Late Latin epigraphic records, can be dated back to around 870 CE, shortly after the foundation of the Blatensko Principality. The text is a short bilingual treaty between the *župan* or Slavic nobleman of a castle district and the *dux* of Ansana. Most interestingly, perhaps, from the point of view of palaeography, both the Romance and Slavic portions of the text were written in the Glagolitic script, which had been introduced to the Blatensko Principality by Cyril and Methodius only a few years earlier.

What could have been an interesting scriptural tradition, however, was cut short by the Magyar conquest of the Principality in 901 CE, and written records of Dravian after this are scarce until the high Middle Ages. In those texts that do occur before the fifteenth century, however (primarily vernacular glosses to Latin texts and one splendid example of a Hungarian-Dravian wordlist), the script and conventions used were those of Latin, which was adapted to the non-classical sounds of Dravian in much the same way as it was to those of Hungarian.

The first major monument of Dravian literature dates to the first half of the fifteenth century, between 1420 and 1440. The *Codex Altipensis* is a manuscript containing a largely complete rendering of the New Testament, lacking only the Epistle to the Romans. It was translated from the Koine Greek by Tomas de Sojane, a Fransiscan student at the University of Prague and a follower of the reformer Jan Huss. Unfortunately, the *Hussite Testament* was suppressed after the expulsion of Hussite reformers from the Kingdom of Hungary,

but the orthography used in the text had diffused among de Sojane's Franciscan colleagues, who used it as the basis for a great deal of vernacular devotional literature, most notably a translation of the *Golden Legend*, which dates to approximately 1470.

It has often been commented that while the Ottoman occupation of the Crownlands of St Stephen was a disaster for the Hungarians, it marked a definite renaissance for Romance Dravian culture. During the period of Ottoman occupation of the the area between the Drava and Lake Pelsun there was a veritable explosion of urban culture, accompanied by the first flowering of Dravian vernacular literature. Interestingly, much of this literary output was written using the Arabic script, as introduced by the Ottomans. Regrettably, relatively few examples of Dravian *aljamiado* survive, having been destroyed in the wake of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 which ceded Dravia back to Habsburg control.

Attention was once again given to the orthography of Dravian in the early nineteenth century, with the foundation of *l'Acadêmeia de Soiane*, the precursor of the modern **Académea dela Dràvea**, in 1864 by a group of Dravian intellectuals. Riding on the coat-tails of the Dravian national awakening, the members of the Academy set themselves the task of providing Dravia with one of those necessary accoutrements of a modern nation-state: a standard language. Of course, standardisation was by no means easy: the matter of which orthographical tradition to base the standard upon was a particular point of dispute, with different factions advocating different bases.

That the orthography was in desperate need of reform was by no means in dispute. The traditional orthography used was archaising, and had failed to keep up with changes in the language's structure. For example, Middle Dravian had distinguished five sibilant and af-

fricative phonemes, /tʃ dʒ ʃ s z/, which by the early nineteenth century had collapsed to just three: /ʃ s z/. However, the traditional orthography persisted in maintaining the distinction between all five, with the sequence /ʃa/ having a possible ten differing orthographic representations: *ça, sça, cza, scza, cea, scea, cia, scia, xa* and *sza*.

The compiler of the first Dravian dictionary, Mare de Conanza, advocated an etymological orthography based on both the existing manuscripts and the conventions of Italian, while the writer Trazan Cecovaç (Trazan Šekovač in his own orthography) favoured a system modelled upon the Czech alphabet, a model which was simultaneously being emulated by the Croatian linguist Ljudevit Gaj. A small group even recommended adoption of the Cyrillic alphabet, citing the language's first written monument as precedent. Unsurprisingly, nobody advocated a system based on the orthography of Hungarian.

The system eventually devised was a compromise between the recommendations of de Conanza and Cecovaç, although was closer to the system advocated by de Conanza. De Conanza's etymologising was largely dispensed with in favour of Cecovaç's preference for a broadly phonemic orthography, however a context of Romantic nationalism which situated Dravia firmly within the Latin world led to a preference for graphemes traditional in other Romance languages over pure functionalism. Another guiding principle was the dispreference of graphemes used in Hungarian: while the most common representation of /tʃ/ before a back vowel in Middle Dravian had been *cz*, the reformers preferred *ç*, in order to highlight the difference from Hungarian *cs*. Similarly, while Middle Dravian wrote the palatal lateral /ʎ/ as either *ly* or *gl* with about equal frequency, it was the "non-Hungarian" grapheme **gl** which was selected for the reformed orthography.

This orthography survived with few changes until the Communist Revolution of 1946, which largely eliminated the system of diacritics which both denoted a word's etymology and indicated the quality of a number of vowels, rendering the orthography perhaps more streamlined but less able to distinguish a number of significant morphophonemic alternations.

Following the Civil War and the transition to democracy, the successor body to the Academy of Sojane- the Dravian Academy- advocated a wholesale return to the pre-Communist orthography. However, two generations had grown up unable to use it and the idea was largely abandoned, although the conservative newspaper *Quotidiana*, which has strong links to the Catholic church in Dravia, makes use of the old orthography (albeit somewhat haphazardly).

### 1.2.2. Graphemes

In the main, the current orthography used for Dravian is straightforward and broadly phonemic, the pronunciation of a word being relatively unambiguously predictable from its spelling. Any difficulties that arise are primarily due to the orthography's insistence on a phonemic rather than phonetic spelling, preferring to represent, say [ˈkɛŋ] 'fifth' by **quènt**, with a final **t**, given that the phoneme /t/ re-surfaces in such derived forms as [ˈkɛŋtə] **quènta** 'fifth (feminine)'. Strictly etymological spellings are rare, most notable being perhaps the spelling of the gerundive ending [ŋ] as **-nd**, reflecting its origin in Latin **-NDO**.

### 1.2.2.1. Consonants

The representation of most consonants is straightforward. The consonants /m n p t b d g f v r l s z/ are represented with the graphemes **m n p t b d f v r l r z**, presenting little difficulty, although it should be remembered that final **nd** represents /n/. The palatal phonemes / $\lambda$  ɲ/ are represented by means of the digraphs **gl** and **gn**. The former grapheme is somewhat ambiguous: at the beginning of a *lexical* word, **gl** generally represents /gl/, note however the clitic pronoun **gle**, which is / $\lambda$ e/. The phoneme /j/ is most frequently represented by **j**; however, note the sequences **ie** representing /je/ and **ea** representing /ja/ (or / $\tilde{a}$ /). The phoneme /w/ is marginal, represented by **o** in the sequence **oa** /wa/ or by **u** after **q** and otherwise.

The representation of /k/ and /ʃ/ is rather more complex, the result of an etymologising spelling. Before a front vowel, one of **e è i ei**, /k/ is represented by the digraph **qu**, and otherwise by **c**. In the same position, the graphemes **c** and **sc** represent /ʃ/. The graphemes **ç** and **sç**, found only before consonants or back vowels, always represent /ʃ/.

Note that the grapheme **h** is silent. It is only found in the present tense forms of the auxiliary verb **aver** ‘to have’.

### 1.2.2.2. Vowels

By and large, the representation of the vowel phonemes is similarly straightforward. The graphemes **i e a o u** represent the phonemes /i e a o u/. When the vowels are unpredictably stressed, this is indicated by either an acute or grave accent in the following man-



ner: **í é à ó ú**. The low mid vowels /ε ɔ/, which are always stressed, are indicated with a grave accent: **è ò**. The digraph **ei** is an alternative grapheme marking /i/; it should not be confused with the digraph **èi**, which marks the diphthong /εi/. the diphthong /ɔi/ is marked with one of two graphemes, either **òi** or **oi**. The representation of /au/ varies between two graphemes, either **au** (slightly more frequent) or **ao**. The raising diphthongs /ja ɥa/ are represented by the digraphs **ea** and **oa**, respectively.

A slight irregularity is to be noted in words ending in **-àn**. The grave accent here is superfluous, as the vowel of a final checked syllable would ordinarily be predictably stressed. In this case, the accent marks that in derived forms the vowel /a/ becomes the diphthong /ai/: thus the feminine form of the adjective **seràn** 'serene' is **seraina**, not \**serana*.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.2.2.3. *The alphabet*

The Dravian alphabet comprises twenty-seven letters. To the twenty-six familiar from the English alphabet, Dravian adds one more: **ç**, which is counted as a separate letter for collation purposes, rather than simply another species of **c**. Thus, in dictionaries and other alphabetically ordered lists, a word like **çaic** ‘peasant’ is sorted after **custro** ‘sacristan’.

The letters **w x y** do not occur in native words, only in unassimilated loanwords. Typically, they are pronounced /vʃi/.

The names of the letters are masculine in gender and invariable for number: thus **cadro jèç** ‘four Xes’, or **o zòta grand** ‘a large J’.

The acute accent is **l’acènt acoit**, while the grave accent is **l’acènt grav**. When spelling out a word including an accented letter, the adjective qualifies the name of the letter. Thus **fasçòl** ‘bean’ is spelled **jèf, à, jès, cé codat, ó grav, jèl**.

<b>a</b>	/ˈa/	à	<b>n</b>	/ˈjɛn/	jèn
<b>b</b>	/ˈbe/	bé	<b>o</b>	/ˈo/	ó
<b>c</b>	/ˈʃe/	cé	<b>p</b>	/ˈpe/	pé
<b>ç</b>	/ˈʃe ko ˈdat/	cé codat	<b>q</b>	/ˈkɔ/	cò
<b>d</b>	/ˈde/	dé	<b>r</b>	/ˈjar/	jar
<b>e</b>	/ˈe/	é	<b>s</b>	/ˈjɛs/	jès
<b>f</b>	/ˈjɛf/	jèf	<b>t</b>	/ˈte/	té
<b>g</b>	/ˈge/	gé	<b>u</b>	/ˈu/	ú
<b>h</b>	/ˈaka/	acca	<b>v</b>	/ˈve/	vé
<b>i</b>	/i/	í	<b>w</b>	/ˈdɔblo ˈve/	dòblo vé
<b>j</b>	/ˈzɔta/	zòta	<b>x</b>	/ˈjɛʃ/	jèç
<b>k</b>	/ˈka/	ca	<b>y</b>	/i ˈgrɛk/	i grèc
<b>l</b>	/ˈjɛl/	jèl	<b>z</b>	/ˈzɛta/	zèta
<b>m</b>	/ˈjɛm/	jèm			

1) Note that in a number of varieties, *pretonic* mid vowels merge with /a/ into [ə].

2) In the pre-Communist orthography, this would have been marked with a circumflex: **serân** - **seraina**.



## 2. Nominals

---

### Lei nomei

In common with most other Romance languages, the Dravian nominal distinguishes two genders, masculine and feminine; and two numbers, singular and plural. Beyond this bald statement the inflection of the Dravian nominal holds only a few surprises. In common with Romanian, Padanian and Italian, Dravian also possesses a small class of “ambigeneric” nouns, which change gender dependent on whether they are singular or plural.

In this chapter are discussed both the determination of gender and strategies used by speakers to modify gender reference, as well as the various manners in which the Dravian noun marks plural number.

#### 2.1. Gender of nouns

Dravian, like other Romance languages, exhibits consistently throughout its nominal morphology a system of *concord*, in which the gender and number of the head noun are also displayed in the adjectives, articles and determiners which qualify it and the pronouns which cross-refer to it. There are two genders exhibited by the noun:

masculine and feminine, and so the same genders are shown by the qualifying adjectives and pronouns:

7. **Quand lei** (*m.pl.*) **fèglei** (*m.pl.*) **jara zoinei** (*m.pl.*), **quèl** (*m.sg.*) **calgare** (*m.sg.*) **mazar** (*m.sg.*) **stentava proi ala** (*f.sg.*) **basalca** (*f.sg.*) **vedrana** (*f.sg.*).  
*When the boys were young, that Hungarian cobbler worked near the old church.*

In common with speakers of other Romance languages, speakers of Dravian perceive the masculine gender to be the least “marked”. As such, it is the masculine gender which is used when referring to groups made up of persons of mixed biological gender, or to persons of unknown or unspecified gender:

8. **Gl’omnei** (*m.pl.*) **e le dòmne** (*f.pl.*) **lei mai sformosei** (*m.pl.*) **entel’ Europa san lei mazarei** (*m.pl.*).  
*The most ugly men and women in Europe are the Hungarians.*
9. **Se arraipa alcoin dura, jèu vògl que toi lo face speçar.**  
*If anyone arrives early, I want you to make them (lit. him) wait.*

The gender of a given noun is generally transparent. There are two strategies available to speakers to determine the gender of a noun: determination by meaning and determination by form, both of which will be covered below.

### 2.1.1. Determination of gender by meaning

In general, the gender of a noun referring to humans and more widely-known animals will correspond to the biological gender of the referent. This is, of course, the origin of the names for the two classes. In most cases we find a pairs of nouns, one for the masculine

and one for the feminine referent. For some of the most frequent of these noun pairs, the one is not derivable from the other morphologically, rather a suppletive term is used:

<b>tata</b>	→	<b>madro</b>
<i>father</i>	→	<i>mother</i>
<b>can</b>	→	<b>cagna</b>
<i>dog</i>	→	<i>bitch</i>
<b>vregnun</b>	→	<b>cònsa</b>
<i>stallion</i>	→	<i>mare</i>

In others, however, most usually the feminine term is derivable from the masculine:

<b>fègl</b>	→	<b>fègla</b>
<i>son</i>	→	<i>daughter</i>
<b>cat</b>	→	<b>catta</b>
<i>tomcat</i>	→	<i>female cat</i>

Frequently, those words which denote professions also have masculine/feminine pairs, but in a number of cases where a profession is considered to be typically “masculine”, such as the military, sports and traditional rural occupations such as blacksmithing only a masculine word is to be found. Similarly, those professions seen as typically “feminine”, such as nursing, midwifery and so on either have only a feminine word, or have the feminine word as the basic term, with the masculine being derived therefrom:

<b>quelnare</b>	→	<b>quelnadra</b>
<i>waiter</i>	→	<i>waitress</i>
<b>dràn</b>	→	<b>draina</b>
<i>nobleman</i>	→	<i>noblewoman</i>

<b>futbolman</b>	→	<b>futbolman moglar</b>
<i>footballer</i>	→	<i>female footballer</i>
<b>nodraiç</b>	→	<b>nodriçun</b>
<i>nurse</i>	→	<i>male nurse</i>

Personal names, of course, carry the same gender as their referents. With surnames, the situation is a little more complex. Surnames which historically derive from a noun phrase, such as **dela Salba** or **Farare** do not indicate the bearer's gender. Those which are derived from historical adjectives, be they patronymics, descriptive adjectives or derived from toponyms, change according to the bearer's gender:

<b>Zoan Nar</b>	→	<b>Zoana Nara</b>
<i>John Black</i>	→	<i>Joanna Black</i>
<b>dòn Sojanèsc</b>	→	<b>dòmna Sojanèsca</b>
<i>Mr Sojanèsc</i>	→	<i>Mrs Sojanèsca</i>

### 2.1.2. Determination of gender by form

Where the gender of a noun cannot be determined by its meaning, it can generally be determined by its ending. Recalling that the default, unmarked gender is masculine, it remains solely to identify those endings which mark feminine nouns. However, there are exceptions, where typically feminine endings are found on masculine nouns and vice versa.

#### 2.1.2.1. Nouns ending in **-a**

Nearly all nouns ending in unstressed **-a** are feminine in gender:



<b>la voina</b>	<i>war</i>
<b>la scòla</b>	<i>school</i>
<b>la calaina</b>	<i>gloom</i>
<b>la paila</b>	<i>jug</i>

However, there is a group of nouns, some native and some borrowed, which violate this pattern. Nouns borrowed in relatively recent times from Greek, which mainly end in either **-ta** or **-ma** are frequently masculine:

<b>el cínema</b>	<i>cinema</i>
<b>el sistema</b>	<i>system</i>
<b>el cometa</b>	<i>comet</i>
<b>el planeta</b>	<i>planet</i>

Certain nouns ending in **-a**, which denote inanimates and are regularly feminine in their literal sense, can also be used in a metaphorical or metonymic sense for humans, and thus can be masculine or feminine depending on the biological gender of the referent. Frequently, these are terms of approbation or pejorative in nature:

<b>el milisa</b>	<i>policeman</i>	←	<b>la milisa</b>	<i>militia</i>
<b>el pera</b>	<i>gullible person</i>	←	<b>la pera</b>	<i>pear</i>
<b>el cabra</b>	<i>homosexual</i>	←	<b>la cabra</b>	<i>goat</i>

Similarly, there is a group of nouns ending in **-a** which are derived from the third person of class I verbs. Like metonymic transfers, these can be masculine or feminine depending on the biological gender of the referent:

<b>el garda</b>	<i>guard</i>	←	<b>gardar</b>	<i>to guard</i>
<b>el spaja</b>	<i>spy</i>	←	<b>spajar</b>	<i>to spy</i>

Nouns of this type referring to inanimate tools or instrument are predominantly masculine in gender, while those referring to the product or process indicated by the verb are feminine:

<b>el stoita</b>	<i>off switch</i>	←	<b>stutar</b>	<i>to switch off</i>
<b>la tagla</b>	<i>slice</i>	←	<b>taglar</b>	<i>to slice</i>

#### 2.1.2.2. Nouns ending in **-un**

The suffix **-un** has two seemingly contradictory meanings. As well as being the termination of a number of basic nouns of either gender, the suffix also derives masculine nouns primarily of an augmentive or pejorative nature as well as feminine abstract nouns. Primarily, the feminine nouns take **-s-**, **-se-**, **-ce-** or **-ç-** before **-un**, although there are some exceptions either way:

<b>la stasun</b>	<i>shop</i>
<b>la revoluseun</b>	<i>revolution</i>
<b>el bulun</b>	<i>buffoon</i>
<b>el mentun</b>	<i>chin</i>

#### 2.1.2.3. Nouns ending in **-tat**

Almost all nouns ending in the suffix **-tat**, where not derived from the past participle of class I verbs, are feminine in gender, reflecting the Latin abstract termination **-TĀS**, **-TATEM**.

<b>la bontat</b>	<i>goodness</i>
<b>la societat</b>	<i>society</i>
<b>la fraternitat</b>	<i>brotherhood</i>
<b>la santat</b>	<i>health</i>

Note the following exceptions:

<b>el bragetat</b>	<i>underpants</i>
<b>el contat</b>	<i>county</i>

#### 2.1.2.4. Nouns ending in **-ur**

Those nouns ending in **-ur** which denote animals, humans or concrete objects are predominantly masculine in gender:

<b>el profesur</b>	<i>teacher</i>
<b>el zentur</b>	<i>parent</i>
<b>el tambur</b>	<i>drum</i>

However, abstract nouns and those denoting substances ending in **-ur** are generally feminine<sup>1</sup>:

<b>la colur</b>	<i>colour</i>
<b>la sudur</b>	<i>perspiration</i>
<b>la valur</b>	<i>value</i>
<b>la pulbur</b>	<i>powder</i>

#### 2.1.2.5. Nouns ending in paragogic **-o**

The bulk of nouns ending in **-o** are masculine, although there are a few significant exceptions, such as **uċtro** ‘wife’:

<b>el custro</b>	<i>sacristan</i>
<b>el draçno</b>	<i>raisin</i>
<b>la madro</b>	<i>mother</i>
<b>la senistro</b>	<i>left hand</i>

#### 2.1.2.6. *Nouns ending in a stressed vowel*

The class of nouns ending in a stressed vowel is almost entirely made up of loanwords, frequently from French, Romani or Turkish<sup>2</sup>. By and large, nouns of this class are masculine in gender, although those nouns referring to human beings of course can take the gender of their referent:

<b>el briqué</b>	<i>lighter</i>	←	Fr. <i>briquet</i>
<b>el tricó</b>	<i>t-shirt</i>	←	Fr. <i>tricot</i>
<b>el tualí</b>	<i>cigarette</i>	←	Rom. <i>tuvalí</i>
<b>el/la hindú</b>	<i>Hindu</i>		

#### 2.1.2.7. *Nouns ending in a consonant*

A majority of nouns ending in a consonant are masculine in gender, although feminine nouns are far from uncommon in this category:

<b>el mònt</b>	<i>mountain</i>
<b>el peaç</b>	<i>chest</i>
<b>el ragbiman</b>	<i>rugby player</i>
<b>el sàcar</b>	<i>sugar</i>
<b>la cetat</b>	<i>city</i>
<b>la fònt</b>	<i>fountain</i>
<b>la laç</b>	<i>milk</i>
<b>la man</b>	<i>hand</i>

#### 2.1.2.8. *Loanwords, acronyms and abbreviations*

Dravian accomodates loanwords into native gender categories in a variety of ways. Broadly speaking, loans from other Romance languages preserve the gender of the noun in the original language<sup>3</sup>; similarly loans from Latin retain their original gender in Dravian. Learned loans from Ancient Greek will preserve the gender class of the original language, with neuter Latin or Greek nouns being taken into the masculine gender:

<b>el colèt</b>	<i>collar</i>	←	It. <i>coletto</i> (m.)
<b>la tèsi</b>	<i>thesis</i>	←	Gk. <i>θεσίς</i> (f.)
<b>la clasa</b>	<i>class</i>	←	Fr. <i>classe</i> (f.)
<b>el musèu</b>	<i>museum</i>	←	L. <i>museum</i> (n.)

However, when nouns borrowed from Latin or Greek gain wider currency in lower registers, analogical pressure is generally strong enough to reassign gender based on existing Dravian morphological patterns. This is rarely reflected in the written standard:

<b>el drama</b>	<i>drama</i>	→	<b>la drama</b>
<b>el planeta</b>	<i>planet</i>	→	<b>la planeta</b>
<b>el problema</b>	<i>problem</i>	→	<b>la problema</b>

Nouns loaned from other languages, regardless of whether the source language has grammatical gender or not, will generally assimilate to Dravian morphological patterns: nouns ending in a consonant will take masculine gender, those ending in *-a* will take the feminine gender:

<b>la sminca</b>	<i>makeup</i>	←	G. <i>Schminke</i> (f.)
<b>la zèmea</b>	<i>bun</i>	←	H. <i>zsemlye</i>
<b>el tràfic</b>	<i>tobacconist's</i>	←	H. <i>trafik</i>
<b>el tènis</b>	<i>trainer</i>	←	Eng. <i>tennis</i>

The gender of acronyms is somewhat more problematic. Those which are transparent in Dravian take the same gender as their head noun:

<i>l'uneun europeana</i>	→	<b>la UE</b>	<i>EU</i>
<i>el sindroma d'imuno-deficièncea aquisa</i>	→	<b>el SIDA</b>	<i>AIDS</i>

Those which are not transparent in Dravian, however, tend towards the masculine gender.

<i>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</i>	→	<b>el NATO</b>	<i>NATO</i>
---	---	----------------	-------------

Similarly, abbreviations take the same gender as their unabbreviated form should this be a Dravian term, while taking the masculine gender if the unabbreviated form is not a Dravian word:

It could be said that metonymic use of brand names, trademarks and so on for objects is a species of abbreviation. In these cases, the noun takes the gender of the superordinate term. Thus, as **autó** 'car'

is feminine, so is **la Trabant**, similarly the masculine **eroplan** ‘aeroplane’ lends the same gender to **el Boeing 747**.

The same phenomenon can be seen in the use of feminine coreferents with masculine nouns when indicating a festival or ecclesiastical holiday: **la sant Zoan** ‘St. John’s Day’ is elliptical for **la festa del sant Zoan** ‘the feast of St. John.’

#### 2.1.2.9. *Compound words*

While compounding is not an especially frequent method of word derivation in Dravian, a number of native compound nouns do exist. These can be subdivided into five types: adjective-noun compounds, noun-noun compounds, adverb-noun compounds, noun-prepositional phrase compounds, verb-noun compounds.

{{{TBC}}}

#### 2.1.3. *Gender-changing strategies*

As a rule, speakers of Dravian feel it is inappropriate to use nouns of the “wrong” gender for referents which have biological gender. As such, they have recourse to a number of strategies to change the grammatical gender of the noun so that it agrees with the referent. As the masculine gender is considered to be the least marked of the two, the main direction of these gender changes are from masculine to feminine, although alternation from a feminine base-form to a masculine derived form is not unknown.

2.1.3.1. *Gender-changing suffixes*

Possibly the most common and productive method of changing a noun's gender is by means of suffixation, of which there are a number. The simplest suffix for deriving feminine nouns from masculine nouns is **-a**. Although it is no longer productive, it is remarkably common in deriving the names of female animals and several basic terms relating to humans:

<b>casaràn</b>	→	<b>casaraina</b>
<i>householder</i>	→	<i>housewife</i>
<b>fègl</b>	→	<b>fègla</b>
<i>son</i>	→	<i>daughter</i>
<b>camurç</b>	→	<b>camurça</b>
<i>billy goat</i>	→	<i>nanny goat</i>

For deriving feminine nouns denoting humans, the most common and productive suffix is **-isa**, a suffix which can be applied to most masculine simplexes. Before the Second World War, this suffix applied to nouns denoting professions or titles generally indicated not a female practitioner of the profession in question, rather the wife of a man engaged in the activity. Today, however, there is no such connotation- a **profesurisa** is a female teacher, not the wife of a male one.

<b>zar</b>	→	<b>zarisa</b>
<i>tsar</i>	→	<i>tsarina</i>
<b>zupan</b>	→	<b>zupanisa</b>
<i>mayor</i>	→	<i>mayoress</i>
<b>oçnaic</b>	→	<b>oçnaiquisa</b>
<i>male apprentice</i>	→	<i>female apprentice</i>



A large number of masculine nouns, particularly those which denote professions, are frequently derived from other nouns by means of a derivational suffix, such as **furnare** ‘baker’, from **furn** ‘oven’ and **-are**, a suffix which forms agent nouns. In these cases, there is generally a corresponding feminine form of the derivational morpheme. To derive a feminine noun from such masculine nouns, the masculine suffix is replaced by the corresponding feminine suffix.

Masculine agent nouns in **-are** and **-tur** have the corresponding feminine suffix **-dra**:

<b>obrare</b>	→	<b>obradra</b>
<i>worker</i>	→	<i>female worker</i>
<b>façare</b>	→	<b>façadra</b>
<i>shopkeeper</i>	→	<i>female shopkeeper</i>
<b>traductur</b>	→	<b>traductadra</b>
<i>translator</i>	→	<i>female translator</i>

A small number of words denoting professions and animals considered to be typically feminine have feminine nouns as their basic forms, with masculine forms being derived from the basic. The suffix used in these cases is universally **-un**:

<b>nodraiç</b>	→	<b>nodriçun</b>
<i>nurse</i>	→	<i>male nurse</i>
<b>vègla</b>	→	<b>veglun</b>
<i>midwife</i>	→	<i>male midwife</i>

2.1.3.2. *Suppletion*

In addition to gendered noun-pairs produced by derivation, Dravian also has a small, closed set of nouns where gender alternation is effected by means of suppletion. These nouns generally belong to the oldest strata of the language and indicate family members and domesticated animals:

<b>fradro</b>	→	<b>serur</b>
<i>brother</i>	→	<i>sister</i>
<b>can</b>	→	<b>cagna</b>
<i>dog</i>	→	<i>bitch</i>
<b>taur</b>	→	<b> Baca</b>
<i>bull</i>	→	<i>cow</i>

2.1.3.3. *Invariable forms*

There are a number of nouns with gendered referents which do not undergo any gender-changing strategy. Where a noun indicating a person is derived by means of a suffix which does not form part of a gendered pair, zero-derivation is used to indicate a corresponding feminine form. Thus, while for nouns such as **chelnare** ‘waiter’, the suffix **-are** can be replaced by the feminine equivalent **-adra** to produce **chelnadra** ‘waitress’; for nouns like **zurnalista** ‘journalist’, the suffix **-ista** has no feminine equivalent and so to indicate a feminine referent feminine concord is used:

<b>el zurnalista</b>	→	<b>la zurnalista</b>
<i>male journalist</i>	→	<i>female journalist</i>

In cases where the speaker feels it is necessary to make the gender of the referent entirely unambiguous, an improper compound with **fèmna** ‘woman’ can be used:

<b>o zurnalista</b>	→	<b>na zurnalista fèmna</b>
<i>a journalist</i>	→	<i>a woman journalist</i>

A distinct category is that of “less familiar” fauna, particularly those where speakers are not accustomed to making a gender distinction, such as insects, crustaceans, most birds, sea creatures, exotic mammals and so on. Thus **na balaina** ‘a whale’ is a feminine whether the actual animal in question is male or female. Where the speaker feels it is necessary to specify the gender, the adjectives **masclo** ‘male’ or **moglar** ‘female’ can be used:

<b>na balaina mascla</b>	→	<b>na balaina moglara</b>
<i>a male whale</i>	→	<i>a female whale</i>

## 2.2. Plural formation

There are three main patterns for the formation of plural nouns (and adjectives) in Dravian. The most common of these is the addition of the desinence **-ei** to the singular form, while the other two are the replacement of final **-a** with **-e** and the application of the null desinence **-∅** to the singular.

### 2.2.1. Pluralisation in **-ei**

The normal pattern of pluralisation for most words ending in a consonant or an unstressed vowel (excluding the feminine termination **-a**) is the addition of the desinence **-ei** to the singular form, which displaces any unstressed final vowel:

<b>valur</b>	→	<b>valurei</b>
<i>value</i>	→	<i>values</i>
<b>pomare</b>	→	<b>pomarei</b>
<i>orchard</i>	→	<i>orchards</i>
<b>tertuvro</b>	→	<b>turtuvrei</b>
<i>truffle</i>	→	<i>truffles</i>
<b>síмптоma</b>	→	<b>síptomei</b>
<i>symptom</i>	→	<i>symptoms</i>

Nouns ending in **-àn**, representing the reduction of an original **-ain**, restore the diphthong in the plural:

<b>viçàn</b>	→	<b>viçainei</b>
<i>neighbour</i>	→	<i>neighbours</i>
<b>maràn</b>	→	<b>marainei</b>
<i>sailor</i>	→	<i>sailors</i>

The majority of nouns ending in /k/ or /g/ change their final consonants to /ʃ/ and /z/ when plural **-ei** is added. While the change of /g/ to /z/ is reflected in the orthography, no change in spelling is necessary for nouns ending in /k/:

<b>pòrc</b>	→	<b>pòrcei</b>
<i>pig</i>	→	<i>pigs</i>
<b>fag</b>	→	<b>fazei</b>
<i>beech tree</i>	→	<i>beech trees</i>

Note however, that a not insignificant number of nouns do not exhibit final consonant metaphony in the plural:

<b>coac</b>	→	<b>coaquei</b>
<i>cook</i>	→	<i>cooks</i>

<b>sapuag</b>	→	<b>sapuagei</b>
<i>boot</i>	→	<i>boots</i>

Similarly, those nouns already ending in /ʃ/, denoted by **-ç-**, undergo an orthographic change when the plural desinence is added:

<b>voç</b>	→	<b>vocei</b>
<i>voice</i>	→	<i>voices</i>

Note also **òmnei**, the irregular plural of **oam** ‘man’.

### 2.2.2. Pluralisation in **-e**

Feminine words ending in unstressed **-a** form their plurals by the addition of the desinence **-e**, which displaces the final vowel:

<b>fègla</b>	→	<b>fègle</b>
<i>girl</i>	→	<i>girls</i>
<b>glàsena</b>	→	<b>glàsene</b>
<i>blueberry</i>	→	<i>blueberries</i>

Note that unlike plural **-ei**, the desinence **-e** does not trigger any kind of consonantal apophony. As such, those words ending in **-ca** take **-que** in the plural in order to preserve the stop pronunciation of the consonant:

<b>manca</b>	→	<b>manque</b>
<i>sleeve</i>	→	<i>sleeves</i>
<b>formaica</b>	→	<b>formaique</b>
<i>ant</i>	→	<i>ants</i>

In a further orthographical alternation, those words ending in **-ea** take **-ie** in the plural:

<b>sèmea</b>	→	<b>sèmie</b>
<i>monkey</i>	→	<i>monkeys</i>
<b>stúrea</b>	→	<b>stúrie</b>
<i>story</i>	→	<i>stories</i>

Similarly, those nouns ending in **-ça** take **-ce** in the plural:

<b>bèsça</b>	→	<b>bèsce</b>
<i>animal</i>	→	<i>animals</i>
<b>teraça</b>	→	<b>terace</b>
<i>terrace</i>	→	<i>terraces</i>

#### 2.2.2.1. *Ambigeneric nouns*

There is a handful of masculine nouns ending in a consonant which form their plurals with the desinence **-e**:

<b>braç</b>	→	<b>brace</b>
<i>arm</i>	→	<i>arms</i>
<b>zenògl</b>	→	<b>zenògle</b>
<i>knee</i>	→	<i>knees</i>

These nouns also exhibit feminine concord in the plural, taking feminine plural qualifiers:

#### 10. **Le daite del oam san sòrde, salb oin qu'è monzat.**

*The man's fingers are dirty, except one which is clean.*

Reflecting the origins of this category as a collective plural, Draveans are reluctant to use these forms with numerals above three. Therefore, a parallel regular plural formed with the desinence **-ei** is used in enumeration:

<b>daite</b>	→	<b>cènc daitei</b>
<i>fingers</i>	→	<i>five fingers</i>
<b>ove</b>	→	<b>dòzei ovei</b>
<i>eggs</i>	→	<i>twelve eggs</i>

### 2.2.3. Pluralisation in -Ø

The least common strategy of pluralisation is primarily restricted to those nouns ending in a stressed vowel or diphthong. These nouns exhibit no change in the plural:

<b>l'epescú</b>	→	<b>gl'epescú</b>
<i>the bishop</i>	→	<i>the bishops</i>
<b>el Papà</b>	→	<b>lei Papà</b>
<i>the Pope</i>	→	<i>the Popes</i>

In addition to a few nouns of native formation, nouns of this type are typically unassimilated loanwords from other languages, in particular Turkish or Romani:

<b>el tualí</b>	→	<b>lei tualí</b>
<i>the cigarette</i>	→	<i>the cigarettes</i>
<b>el gèi</b>	→	<b>lei gèi</b>
<i>the homosexual</i>	→	<i>the homosexuals</i>

### 2.2.4. Plurals of compound words

Most compound nouns form their plurals according to the rules given above in sections 2.2.1-2.2.3, with the proviso that compounds already ending in a plural desinence do not add any further endings:

<b>altavoç</b>	→	<b>altavocei</b>
<i>loudspeaker</i>	→	<i>loudspeakers</i>

<b>pasapòrt</b>	→	<b>pasapòrtei</b>
<i>passport</i>	→	<i>passports</i>
<b>l'abramne</b>	→	<b>le abramne</b>
<i>the tin-opener</i>	→	<i>the tin-openers</i>

---

- 1) In this, Dravian unexpectedly patterns with the Gallo-Roman languages, rather than the Eastern Romance languages. In belletristic and high-register works from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, abstract nouns in **-ur** were frequently used with masculine gender, on the pattern of Italian and Latin, e.g. Tranès's *El Colur degl còllei* 'The Colour of the Hills'.
- 2) The noun **epescú** 'bishop' is the only commonly-used native noun with a stressed final vowel.
- 3) Loanwords from French ending in *e caduc* generally restore this to the full etymological **-a**.



# 3. Determiners

---

## Lei determinantei

### 3.1. Articles

Dravian distinguishes two articles: the definite and the indefinite. The language's usage of these two is comparable to that of its sister Romance languages, and indeed to other 'Standard Average European' languages. In this section we shall examine both the morphology and the salient features of syntax of both in turn.

#### 3.1.1. Definite article

##### 3.1.1.1. Morphology

Articles in Dravian exhibit concord with the nouns they determine in both gender and number, as shown in the following table:

	masculine		feminine	
	plain	prevocalic	plain	prevocalic
singular	el	l'	la	l'
plural	lei	gl'		le

Note that both the masculine and feminine definite articles have specific allomorphs used when preceding a word beginning in a vowel. In older and dialectal texts, one can still find **lo** as the masculine singular definite article, a form which is particularly associated with the western dialects today and utilised by speakers of non-western dialects for comic effect. In *Dravean de referènsa*, the use of **lo** remains only in certain fixed expressions, particularly oaths:

**11. Per lo sagn del Sant Croiç!**

*By the sign of the Holy Cross!*

**12. Per lo nom del Donnòstro!**

*By the name of God!*

For a brief period during the 19th century, while the literary language was undergoing standardisation by academics and authors, there was something of a trend among those writers particularly influenced by Italian to use both **lo** and **el** in complementary distribution, in a similar fashion to Italian's usage of **lo** before consonant clusters with /s/ and **el** otherwise. While extremely common for several decades (and present in some of that century's greatest literary works, such as Mical Dacastèl's *Flurei de Zanare*), this trend has not persisted beyond the Great War.

The definite article also undergoes contraction with a number of preceding prepositions, principally **a** 'to', **de** 'from', **per** 'for', **en** 'in' and **cu** 'with', as shown in the following table:

	<b>a</b>	<b>de</b>	<b>per</b>	<b>en</b>	<b>cu</b>
<b>el</b>	al	del	pel	entel	cul
<b>la</b>	ala	dela	pela	entela	cula
<b>l'</b>	al'	del'	pel'	entel'	cul'

	<b>a</b>	<b>de</b>	<b>per</b>	<b>en</b>	<b>cu</b>
<b>lei</b>	agl	degl	pegl	entegl	cugl
<b>gl'</b>	agl'	degl'	pegl'	entegl'	cugl'
<b>le</b>	ale	dele	pele	entele	cule

Evidently, most of these contractions are only typographical in nature rather than phonetic. Note however that **en** 'in' has a completely different form when contracted with the article.

Contractions with **per** 'for' and **cu** 'with' are recessive in the spoken language, largely restricted to higher-register discourse.

Note that before any determined noun phrase, whether this is by a definite or indefinite article, or a demonstrative determiner, **ent** is preferred to **en**:

**13. Jèu l'hai ascònt ent na cafetàrea.**

*I've hidden it in a coffe-pot.*

3.1.1.2. Syntax

As mentioned above, the definite article agrees with the noun it determines in both number and gender. However, in conjunctive noun phrases, the article is frequently only used for the first noun, with subsequent nouns in the list being determined by the first article. This is particularly common when all of the nouns in the phrase are of the same gender:

**14. El padro e custro jara implicatei entel scandal.**

*The priest and sacristan were implicated in the scandal.*

**15. Lei fèglei e fègle zaja ala deisa scòla.**

*The boys and girls go to the same school.*

It should be noted, however, that where the nouns are of different genders, the article can only be elided if the first noun is masculine: masculine articles can determine feminine nouns, but the reverse is impermissible:

**16. Le fègle e lei fèglei antava ensèmblo al líceu.**

Not \**Le fègle e fèglei antava ensèmblo al líceu.*

*The girls and boys went to secondary school together.*

One of the primary functions of the definite article is to indicate that the determined noun is prominently individuated in the world of discourse and familiar to both the speaker and the interlocutor, either because it has already been mentioned or because context makes it clear to which noun is being referred.

**17. María ha zòst levat n'autó noava. L'autó n'av que doi anei.**

*María has just bought a new car. The car is only two years old.*

**18. El president se desmedrà quèsta sera.**

*The president will resign this evening.*

As a rule, the definite article is used with all nouns which are used generically, whether they are singular or plural, count or mass, a rule which also covers the use of the definite article with abstract nouns:

**19. Çò ne learta rèn ale cratòre de votar peana qu'av seizo anei.**

*Children are not permitted to vote until they are sixteen years old.*

20. **El pèbro me fa sternutar.**  
*Pepper makes me sneeze.*
21. **C'è sàmpleç: le fèmne za ne pòs rèn condoiro.**  
*It's simple: women just can't drive.*
22. **Lei mèzgei coita que'l cagnar revean.**  
*Doctors believe that measles is coming back.*
23. **L'amur n'è nògla comparat ala loçòrea.**  
*Love is nothing compared to lust.*

However, note that a plural count noun or a mass noun will appear without a definite object when the object of a verb. In these cases, it is clear that the reference is not generic, but indefinite: the generic definite encompasses “all” instantiations of the referent in the discourse world, while indefinites encompass only a subset. Compare:

24. **L'empradro Leun comandà la destruçun degl jècunei.**  
*The emperor Leo commanded the destruction of icons.*
25. **El caldìr vedran sraiv jècunei.**  
*The old monk paints icons.*

In example 25 above, it is clear that the monk does not paint *all* icons, but only some, while in 24, Leo the Isaurian ordered the destruction of all icons. As such, those verbs whose objects cannot logically denote totalities or all-inclusive sets, such as verbs of eating or drinking, creation or use, have a strong tendency to govern indefinite noun phrases:

26. **Jèu ne me vèst que de bragetatei de pamuc. Man tean freisc.**  
*I only wear cotton underpants. They keep me fresh.*

**27. Mèi padre fumaja sigarète egipteane.**

*My father smokes Egyptian cigarettes.*

In contrast, those verbs whose objects do logically indicate totalities, such as verbs expressing preference, liking, fear or knowledge prefer to govern generic definite noun phrases:

**28. Jal preferèsç le autó zarmane.**

*He prefers German cars.*

**29. E l'enscriseun se leai «Noi temam le ape.»**

*And the inscription reads: "We fear bees."*

In this sense of serving to indicate a totality or all instances of a category, when used with expressions of time the definite article can express the meaning of something that occurs on every instance of the occasion:

**30. Jèu zai a leaç tard le sere.**

*I go to bed late in the evenings.*

While most instances of this usage occur with a plural noun, those which refer to days of the week typically use a singular. Compare:

**31. Nojaltrei zaim ala mercata la majèdma.**

*We go to the market on Wednesdays.*

**32. Nojaltrei zaim ala mercata majèdma.**

*We're going to the market on Wednesday.*

While already "inherently definite" as proper nouns, nouns indicating geographical locations and so on are frequently used with the definite article. However, towns, cities and villages are generally used without:

**33. La Dràvea jè o pai val beal.**

*Dravia is a very beautiful country.*

**34. Gula n'è rèn n'ostav, jala jè o fosat.**

*Gula isn't a town, it's a village.*

However, when preceded by a preposition, the definite article is not used, unless the place-name is masculine in gender:

**35. El calaic d'omicide en Dràvea s'azoasa ògna annata.**

*Murder rates in Dravia are lowering every year.*

**36. Nojaltrei volaram al Cànada traman.**

*We're flying to Canada the day after tomorrow.*

Similarly, the names of languages are generally accompanied by the definite article:

**37. Le cratòre pertraçaja el français e l'itaglan.**

*The children study French and Italian.*

Note however, the following language-related idioms, which omit the definite article:

**38. Jèu ne favlài rèn français.**

*I don't speak French.*

**39. Per mazar, «halász» vlaja dairo «peişcare».**

*In Hungarian, "halász" means "fisherman".*

Personal names, as proper nouns, generally lack the definite article. However, in cases where a speaker wishes to disambiguate, either between two individuals with the same name, or in order to draw a contrast, a personal name can be accompanied by the definite article:

**40. Jal jè'l Zoan e jal jè'l Jacum. Jai san zemèllei.**

*He's Zoan and he's Jacum. They're twins.*

**41. Quèla jè la Màrea del gimnàseu, abèn la Màrea del' universitat?**

*Is she the Màrea from school, or the Màrea from university?*

The Dravian definite article can also have a distributive sense, frequently expressing much the same meaning as the English preposition *per*:

**42. El mèzgo m'ha daiç de prèndro dòje pílule el zurn.**

*The doctor has told me to take two pills a day.*

**43. Nòi pacam cènc corone el cúdeç.**

*We pay five corona per book.*

### 3.1.2. Indefinite article

#### 3.1.2.1. Morphology

Unlike the definite article, the indefinite article in Dravian only exhibits singular forms. However, these forms exhibit concord for gender with the nouns they accompany:

	masculine		feminine	
	plain	prevocalic	plain	prevocalic
<b>singular</b>	o	n'	na	n'
<b>plural</b>	-	-	-	-



## 3.1.2.2. Syntax

Dravian uses the indefinite article to a far lesser degree than other Romance languages, even less so than English. Native speakers frequently note that over-use of the indefinite article is a clear marker of a non-native speaker. The primary function of the indefinite article is to introduce and particularise a previously unmentioned concrete noun:

**44. Na fèmna jè venoita de vederte.**

*A woman has come to see you.*

**45. Jèu hai catat na facènda que vènd de cúdecei anglaisei.**

*I've found a shop which sells English books.*

When acting as the predicate of a copular phrases, an indefinite noun generally lacks the indefinite article if it simply serves the function of identifying the subject. However, where the meaning indicated is “one out of a number”, the indefinite article is used:

**46. Zuan jè mèzgo.**

*John is a doctor.*

**47. Zuan jè o mèzgo.**

*John is one of the doctors.*

Like the definite article, the indefinite article exhibits concord with the determined noun. Likewise, in conjunctive phrases it can be safely omitted, with the first instance of the article determining all the subsequent nouns in the phrase, with the same caveat that a feminine article cannot determine a masculine noun:

**48. Jèu hai scontrat o fotbalman e ragbiman.**

*I've met a footballer and a rugby player.*

**49. N'oam e na fèmna san entratei ent na tavèrna.**

*A man and a woman went into a bar.*

A seeming exception to the rule that the indefinite article cannot be used with plural nouns is that it is used with duals. Where object naturally exist in a pair (such as scissors, shoes, trousers etc), the masculine definite article is used with them: **o savatei** 'a pair of shoes'. The article is always masculine, even if the noun is feminine: **o calce** 'a pair of tights'. This is because this particular usage is actually elliptical for **o parègl de...** 'a pair of...', the noun **parègl** being masculine.

### 3.1.3. Omission of articles

In a number of cases, the definite or indefinite articles are regularly omitted where they would otherwise be expected.

After negative constructions, such as **ne ... rèn** 'not', **ne ... zamài** 'never', **ne ... mai** 'again' (but *not* **ne ... que** 'only'), an indefinite article introducing a definite object is replaced by the preposition **de**:

**50. Jala ne screvrà rèn de breif.**

*She won't write a letter.*

**51. Madro maja ne spalava mai de çorab sanglo.**

*My mother doesn't wash single socks anymore.*

Similarly, nouns introduced by **nec** 'neither' omit their indefinite articles:

**52. Jal ne vlaje nec camisça nec cravata.**

*He wants neither a shirt nor a tie.*

Note that this omission only occurs where the indefinite article introduces the direct object of a negated transitive verb. It does not occur with the predicates of copular verbs:

**53. Jèu ne jara zamài n'idraulic, balac!**

*I was never a plumber, idiot!*

**54. L'uçtro maja n'è nec na putaina nec na cagna!**

*My wife is neither a whore nor a bitch!*

In noun phrases linked by a preposition, articles are generally omitted before the second noun, if that noun functions like an adjective modifying the first noun:

<b>o truvlo de vàn</b>	<i>a carafe of wine</i>
<b>o coltèl a pan</b>	<i>a bread knife</i>
<b>o biglet de tren</b>	<i>a train ticket</i>
<b>na çasça de cafè</b>	<i>a coffee cup</i>

Similarly, prepositional phrases modifying an adjective or participle also omit any article:

<b>copèrt de lot</b>	<i>covered with mud</i>
<b>emplait de vàn</b>	<i>filled with wine</i>

Note, however, that should the second noun itself be modified by an adjective or clause, a definite article reappears:

<b>copèrt del lot degl campei</b>	<i>covered with the mud of the fields</i>
<b>o mezòl del van français</b>	<i>a glass of French wine</i>

Common nouns in apposition to proper nouns also generally omit any article, again unless the noun in apposition is itself modified by an adjective or clause:

55. **Ana, fègla del prèstro, ne vlaja rèn maritar el traucare.**

*Ana, the priest's daughter, does not want to marry the ferryman.*

56. **E Clara, la fègla oraida del prèstro, maritara el zavlo deis!**

*And Clara, the priest's ugly daughter, would marry the devil himself!*

Predicate nouns are also generally found without an article, again unless the noun is modified by an adjective or clause, or if the article has an individuating sense:

57. **El sinod ha eleaç Damean Mascònt arquepescú de Sojane.**

*The synod has elected Damean Mascònt archbishop of Sojane.*

58. **Quand qu'avaja otenoit la licènsa soa, jal jè devenoit maistro.**

*When he had obtained his degree, he became a teacher.*

### 3.2. Demonstrative determiners

The demonstrative determiner in Dravian distinguishes three deixes: proximate, medial and distal, traditionally linked to the three persons of verbal inflection. The proximate **quèst** 'this' indicates objects close to the speaker, the medial **quès** 'that by you' indicates objects close to the interlocutor and the distal **quèl** 'that' indicates objects distant from both.

## 3.2.1. Morphology

The demonstrative determiners exhibit concord with the nouns they qualify in gender and number. The inflection of the demonstrative pronouns is shown in the following table:

	proximate		medial		distal	
	masc	fem	masc	fem	masc	fem
<b>sing</b>	quèst	quèsta	quès	quèssa	quèl	quèla
<b>plural</b>	questei	quèste	quessei	quèsse	quelei	quèle

Note that the feminine singular forms have apocopated forms **quèst'**, **quèss'** and **quèl'**, which are optionally used before words beginning in a vowel. In the spoken language, such forms are generally only found before words beginning in **a-**, thus we have **quèst' anglaisa** 'this Englishwoman', but more commonly **quèla etat** 'that age'.

The demonstrative determiners as presented in the table above are the normative forms used in standard *Dravean de referènsa*. In the western dialects a wholly different series of demonstratives is used, characterised by a lack of initial /k/, shown in the following table.

	proximate		medial		distal	
	masc	fem	masc	fem	masc	fem
<b>sing</b>	jast	jèsta	jas	jèssa	jal	jèla
<b>plural</b>	jastei	jèste	jassei	jèsse	jalei	jèle

In the standard language, this series is now defunct, but in older texts the two series were used together, with the ‘unaugmented’ forms being less emphatic, signalling on deixis and having little in the way of singulative force

### 3.2.2. Syntax

The primary function of the demonstrative determiners is deictic: they serve to indicate a deictic context for the head noun, singling it out in contrast to any other instantiations of the noun. In *Dravean de referènsa*, the demonstrative determiner patterns like the other determiners, occurring before the modified noun and agreeing with it in gender and number:

**59. Despòi quèl zurn, quèste vèrle ha enterat nocei pertòt el pomare.**

*Since that day, those squirrels have buried nuts all over the garden.*

A rather more emphatic demonstrative sense is indicated by appending the adverbial clitics **-quà** ‘here’, **-stà** ‘there by you’ and **-là** ‘there’ to the modified noun, which correspond in turn to the three deixes:

**60. Cèla ladraina s’è endesata. Nun, nun quèssa ladraina-stà, però quèla ladraina-là.**

*That toilet’s blocked. No, not that toilet by you, but that toilet over there.*

In basilectal and dialectal speech, the demonstratives pattern not with the determiners but with the adjectives, occurring after a definite noun:

- 61. La fenèstra quèsta jè sòrda.**  
*This window is dirty.*





# 4. Pronouns

---

## Lei pronomei

The category of pronouns covers a wide field of linguistic phenomena. In Dravian, we subdivide the category into personal pronouns, possessives, relatives, interrogatives, indefinites and quantifying pronouns. The unifying factor which draws all of these subcategories under one heading is their relationship to nouns: they indicate a referent which may have already been designated overtly in previous discourse (anaphoric use), or which may be deemed by the speaker to be inherently present in the world of discourse (deictic use). In both cases, the pronoun has the role of “standing in” for the fuller expression (Wanner, 1987).

In this chapter, we shall first examine the morphology and syntax of personal pronouns, given that these present perhaps the most complex picture. Then we shall examine possessive, demonstrative, relative, indefinite, interrogative and quantifying pronouns in turn.

## 4.I. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Dravian occur in all three persons and both numbers. Gender is distinguished only in pronouns of the third person, with the second and first persons possessing only epicene forms. In contrast to the inflection of other nominals, the personal pronouns (with the exception of the first and second persons plural) also inflect for case, distinguishing subject, direct object and indirect object forms. The maintenance of a distinction between direct and indirect object forms is one uncommon in Romance languages, shared only by those languages closest to Dravian: the Rhaeto-Romance varieties, Padanian, Romanian and Dalmatian.

Additionally, the majority of personal pronouns in Dravia exhibit at least two stress-conditioned allomorphs: one orthotonic and one (or two) clitic forms, the interchange between which is covered below in section SECTION.

### 4.I.I. Morphology

It is perhaps more convenient to divide our outline of the morphology of the personal pronoun into two sections. In the first, we examine the morphology of the first and second person pronouns, and in the second we turn to the pronouns of the third person.

#### 4.1.1.1. *First and second person pronouns*

The forms of the first and second person pronouns are outlined in the following table:

		1st person		2nd person	
		singular	plural	singular	plural
sub- ject	ortho- tonic	jèu	noi	toi	voi
	clitic	ja	no	tu	vo
direct object	ortho- tonic	man	noi	tan	voi
	clitic	me	no	te	vo
	pro- clitic	m'	-	t'	-
	enclitic	'm	-	't	-
in- direct object	ortho- tonic	mai	noi	tai	voi
	clitic	mi	noi	ti	voi
	pro- clitic	m'	-	t'	-
disjunctive		-	nojaltrei	-	vojaltrei
sociative		comaic	conusc	cotaic	covusc

The clitic oblique first and second person singular pronouns possess aphaeretic forms, **m' t'** and **'m 't**, which are used when preceding or following a word beginning or ending in a vowel, respectively, with the proclisis being favoured over enclisis:

**62. Perqué jèu ne t'am rèn?**

*Why don't I love you?*

**63. La stúrea de Sojane m'interesa.**

*The history of Sojane interests me.*

**64. Learta'm.**

*Forgive me.*

Note that in archaic and dialectal texts, the first and second persons plural also exhibit proclitic direct object forms **n'** and **v'**, both of which are absent from *Dravean de referènsa*.

**65. El tribunal v'ha vocat, Eminènsa.**

*The tribunal has summoned you, Eminence.*

The first person plural disjunctive form **nojaltrei**, in contrast to the unmarked **noi**, is highly marked for exclusivity, referring to the speaker and others, but not the interlocutor. This usage is recent, in older or more formal writing the pronoun is not necessarily exclusive of the interlocutor; instead it can simply emphasise the group identity of **noi**, as opposed to other groups of people. It is notably used in this way in the preamble to the Constitution of Dravia:

**66. O nojaltrei, el zant dela Dràvea, adoptam e proclamam la constituseun sequènt:**

*We, the people of Dravia, adopt and proclaim the following constitution:*

The sociative pronouns **comaic** 'with me', **cotaic** 'with you', **conusc** 'with us' and **covusc** 'with you' are largely restricted to higher register speech and writing: in everyday conversation they are more likely to be replaced by the analytic forms **cu mai**, **cu tai**, **cu noi** and **cu voi**.

**67. Saja mèi Dante, vean comaic e jèu jestrài to Vergil.**

*Be my Dante, come with me and I shall be your Virgil.*

4.1.1.2. *Third person pronouns*

The third person pronouns lack several categories which obtain in the paradigms of the first and second person pronouns, such as distinct disjunctive and sociative forms. However, the third person pronoun in turn possesses a form not found in the first or second persons: a proclitic indirect object form in the singular.

The forms of the third person pronouns are shown in the following table:

		masculine		feminine		reflex- ive
		singu- lar	plural	singular	plural	
sub- ject	ortho- tonic	jal	jai	jala	jale	-
	clitic	el	lei	ela	le	-
direct object	ortho- tonic	jal	jai	jala	jale	san
	clitic	lo	lei	la	le	se
	pro- clitic	l'	-	l'	-	s'
	en- clitic	ʔ	-	-	-	's
in- direct object	ortho- tonic	loi	lur	lèi	lur	sai
	clitic	gle	gle	gle	gle	-
	pro- clitic	gl'	gl'	gl'	gl'	-

Note the coincidence of the indirect object clitic forms, where all genders and numbers are conflated in the forms **gle** and the prevocalic **gl'**.

The adverbs **ai** ‘thither’ and **end** ‘thence’ also have pronominal function in Dravian, and are by convention grouped with the third person pronouns. *Sensu stricto*, however, the label “pronoun” inaccurate. Strictly, they could be termed “pro-phrases”, as they stand in for prepositional phrases constructed with **a** ‘to’ and **de** ‘from’, respectively.

Not only do they have usages close to their original meanings, such as **jal ai zaja** ‘he’s going there’, they can also replace or refer to any phrase constructed with the prepositions **a** and **de**, with the exception of phrases referring to humans:

**68. Vlaje-tu del pan? Jèi, jèu end vògl.**

*Do you want some bread? Yes, I want some.*

**69. Ovdèsç-el ale régole? Jèi, jal ai ovdèsç.**

*Does he obey the rules? Yes, he obeys them.*

#### 4.1.2. Syntax

##### 4.1.2.1. Concord

As a general principle, the selection of gendered pronouns will follow the grammatical gender of the referent, with the exception of animates. For example, **o punt** ‘a bridge’ will be referred to as **jal**, while **na façana** ‘a shop’ will be referred to as **jala**:

**70. Toi aje vèst la cafetàrea? Nun, jèu ne pòs rèn catarla.**

*Have you seen the cafetière? No, I can’t find it (lit. her).*

71. **La cabra zaja cu faind vedrana. Jèu me maçno de necarla.**

*The goat is getting old. I'm thinking of killing it (lit. her).*

Grammatically singular nouns which refer to more than one person or thing obligatorily take singular pronouns as appropriate:

72. **La squadra nòstra jara val fòrt la stasun pasata. Jala ha zocat bein.**

*Our team was very strong last season. They (lit. she) played well.*

73. **La milisa n'ha rèn catat l'omicida. Jala jè ancora cu aflàndelo.**

*The police haven't found the murderer. They (lit. she) are still looking for him.*

Plural third person pronouns also occur in gendered varieties, and the selection here generally follows the same principles as for the singular pronouns. Groups of feminine referents are referred to with **jale** and groups of masculine referents are referred to with **jai**:

74. **Vedré-tu lei çavutei stanoç? Nun, jai antarà al mètç san mai.**

*Are you seeing the boys tonight? No, they're going to the match without me.*

75. **Le ante tòje me spar. Jale roaga sèmpro quand que noi maritaram.**

*Your aunts scare me. They always ask when we're getting married.*

However, groups of mixed gender are always referred to using the masculine plural pronoun **jai**. Similarly, where an indefinite or arbitrary group of people is referred to, the masculine plural **jai** is used:

76. **Jov san zenturei tòi? Jai san zaitei al cínema.**

*Where are your parents? They've gone to the cinema.*

77. **Jov aje-tu lançat lei çorabei e la maja calcun? Jai san so'l leaç de mèi marait.**

*Where did you throw my socks and underpants? They're under my husband's bed.*

A handful of nouns referring to human animates do not occur in gendered pairs, and as such there may be a mismatch between the grammatical gender of the noun and the biological sex of its referent. In these cases, while gender concord will generally agree with the grammatical gender, the selection of a gendered pronoun will follow the sex of the referent:

78. **La victima jara nedaica e avaja na traintana d'annei. Jal foi necat ala quènta dela mataina.**

*The victim was dark-haired and in his thirties. He was killed at five o'clock this morning.*

#### 4.1.2.2. Co-ordination

When clauses containing the coreferential subject pronouns are co-ordinated using the conjunctions **e** 'and', **u** 'or' or **nec** 'nor', the pronoun may be omitted after the first instance:

79. **Jèu scopài el pamant e spalavài le fenèstre ògnei zurnei.**

*I sweep the floor and wash the windows every day.*

80. **Nojaltrei jeçtaram u romaneram a casa, jèu n'end sai rèn.**

*We'll go out or stay at home, I don't know.*

81. **Jal ne saja nec san end freca lei coglonei.**

*He neither knows nor gives a shit.*

Where both clauses contain verbs with the auxiliaries **jèstro** or **aver**, both the pronoun and the inflected auxiliary are omitted after the first instance.



**82. Però jèu ne san rèn vestait nec peçnat el capeil!***But I haven't got dressed or combed my hair!*

When a preposition governs two co-ordinated subject pronouns, the second of the two pronouns will occur in the subject case rather than the expected indirect object case:

**83. Jèntra tai e jèu, jèu coitava que jal jara balac.***Between you and me, I thought he was an idiot.***84. Jèu ne me sequèsc rèn san de tai e jal.***I can't cope without you and him.*

Co-ordinated subject pronouns (and nouns co-ordinated with subject pronouns) exhibit agreement according to their “logical” person. Thus, **jèu e toi** ‘you and I’<sup>1</sup> takes a first person plural verb, while **toi e jala** ‘you and her’ takes second person plural agreement:

**85. Çò cal que jèu e toi discutam l’avenèr.***You and I need to discuss the future.***86. Toi e quèla fèmna potaitei fairo çò que volaitei.***You and that woman can do what you like.*4.1.2.3. *Orthotonic and clitic pronouns*

Dravian is exceptional in modern Romance languages in having two series of pronouns: one tonic or fully stressed and one atonic, lacking stress. However, such dual series are not unknown in the older Romance languages; Old French in particular is notable for them. The reason for this is that Dravian is the only modern Romance languages in which the Tobler-Musafia law has operated since the end of the Middle Ages.

Once common to all Romance languages, it is this law which governs the selection of either tonic or atonic forms. It is not predicated

on the basis of meaning to any great degree, rather entirely on position: atonic forms cannot be used in clause-initial position. Rather, the fully tonic forms must be used:

**87. Man pezgà-el, el polisare.**

*He trapped me, the policeman.*

**88. Tan recòrde-tu de quèla putaina rutenaisa?**

*Do you remember that Ruthenian whore?*

By their nature, the atonic pronouns are unstressed and so cliticise to a fully stressed host, which is generally a verb. Both enclisis and proclisis are possible, although the two have differing rules of distribution.

Where an object pronoun is governed by an infinitival or imperative verb, it generally undergoes enclisis. Where an infinitival verb is itself governed by a finite verb, the pronoun has a tendency to undergo proclisis to the finite verb, particularly in more colloquial language:

**89. Jal coita qu'el govèrn masriquí vlaja necarlo.**

*He thinks the Mashriqi government wants to kill him.*

**90. Ovleta-lo zan!**

*Just forget it!*

**91. Perqué me vlaja maritar?**

*Why does he want to marry me?*

Atonic subject pronouns are most commonly found in enclisis, given that with most verbs of motion the typical word order is verb-subject:

**92. Arriparà-el ala sesçaina desègn.**

*He will arrive at six o'clock.*

Similarly, enclitic subject pronouns are found in cases of inversion, either in a yes-no question, or when the verb is preceded by a non-subject element:

- 93. El dravean favlaja-el bein, però l'anglais com na vaca mazara.**

*Dravian he speaks well, but English like a Hungarian cow.*

- 94. Fransisti-tu el dacó?**

*Did you break the pool cue?*

Proclisis only occurs with finite verbs, and is most commonly found with with object pronouns. It should be noted that in periphrastic verbal constructions with an auxiliary where the lexical verb is not found as an infinitive, the pronoun will cliticise to the auxiliary:

- 95. Toi me trogaré per o camail!**

*You're going to trade me in for a camel!*

- 96. Fradro mèi m'ha dat el cagnar: jèu ne pòs rèn jeçtar stanoc.**

*My brother's given me the measles: I can't go out tonight.*

Given that clitics in Dravian cannot generally cliticise to another clitic and that the prepositions are generally considered to be clitics, prepositions always govern tonic pronouns:

- 97. Nun, questei mòquesinei san per lèi. Lei broinei san per loi.**

*No, these loafers are for her. The brown ones are for him.*

- 98. A mai, mi gaoda la simna.**

*Me, I like sour cream.*

Unlike in other Romance languages which retain or have used a similar tonic/atonic distinction, both forms are unmarked for emphasis. The tonic pronouns do not carry any greater emphatic force

than the atonic pronouns. To provide emphasis, however, the tonic forms (both subject and object forms) can be introduced by the particle *o*:

**99. O toi sèi satula, o jèu n'hai bevoit qu'oin mezòl de vàn.**

*You are drunk, I have only drunk one glass of wine.*

**100. Jèu t'am o tan!**

*It's you I love!*

4.1.2.4. *Clitic ordering*

The canonical order for clitic object pronouns governed by finite verbs is shown in the following table:

Indirect Object	Direct Object	Adverbial Pronouns	
	me		
	te		
mi	se		
ti	lo		
si	la	end	
gle	lei	ai	VERB
noi	le		
voi	noi		
	voi		

In contrast to Italian or French, indirect object clitics *always* precede direct object clitics.

**101. Bava maja mi l'ensegnà.**

*My grandmother taught it to me.*

**102. Jèu ti me zungrài stanoç.**

*I'll meet you tonight.*

**103. El capitan voi end veata!***The captain forbids you it.***104. El règl jara soiç quand l'armènt s'ai aprojà.***The river was dry when the herd approached it.*

Clitic object pronouns governing a non-finite verb, such as an imperative, an infinitive or a gerund, are ordered in almost a mirror sequence after the verb:

	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Adverbial Pronouns
	me		
	te		
	se	mi	
	lo	ti	
VERB	la	si	end
	lei	gle	ai
	le	noi	
	noi	voi	
	voi		

Orthographically, enclitic pronouns are typically written as one word with the non-finite verb. As clitics do not affect stress placement, a diacritic is frequently required to indicate the stressed syllable of the verbal stem:

**105. L'autó? Jèu me maçnava de vèndreloti.***The car? I was thinking of selling it to you.***106. Dàlogle!***Give it to him!***107. Dicèndem'end, el directur s'alsà dela càtreca.***Telling me about it, the director got up from his seat.*

As the examples above demonstrate, an infinitive ending in **-ro** becomes **-re** when enclitics are added. Similarly, the gerundive ending **-nd** will insert an epenthetic **-e-** before a clitic beginning with a consonant.

### 4.1.3. Usage

#### 4.1.3.1. *Forms of address*

In the current Dravian of Sojane at least, the second person pronouns **toi** and **voi** are distinguished only by the number of the referent: the former being used for a single addressee and the latter for multiple addressees. However, the actual linguistic situation outside the speech of the capital is far more heterogenous, see Appendix \$\$\$ on the dialects for further information.

Pre-Communist Dravian maintained, in common with most other European languages, a politeness distinction in its second person pronouns. The realisation of this distinction varied interdialectally; while all dialects reserved the singular **toi** for informal or intimate usage, the polite pronoun varied. In the southern dialects, those of Romagna, Drevascei and Danoja, the plural **voi** was used as a polite pronoun for singular addressees, accompanied by second person plural agreement on the verb. In the northern and western dialects, there were three pronouns marked for the gender and number of the addressee: **dumài** for masculine referents both singular and plural, **dumaja** for a singular feminine referent and **dumaje** for plural feminine referents. The prescriptivist standard formulated in the latter half of the nineteenth century allowed both forms, but preferred the use of **voi** as a polite pronoun, probably mirroring the usage of French.

Following the Communist revolution of 1946, all markers of differing status were officially abolished, from noble titles down to the simple honorific **dòn** ‘Mr.’ In addition, the usage of formal pronouns was discouraged. Officially **toi** and **voi** were simply used to mark number.

After the overthrow of Communism and the Civil War, there was something of a renaissance in the usage of the older formal pronouns, although not to the degree that was seen before their suppression, which has again somewhat faded. Currently, the formal pronoun **voi** is rarely used in speech, instead it is found in official writing: a tax demand will respectfully request that **voi pacatei**, but the taxman in person will insist that **toi paque**.

#### 4.1.3.2. *Reciprocal, reflexive and benefactive*

In cases where a transitive verb governs an direct object pronoun which is coreferential with the subject, a reflexive meaning is frequently intended:

#### **108. Sòra toa se zaja cu tovrând.**

*Your sister is getting herself upset.*

However, the sense can also be reciprocal when the referent is plural:

#### **109. Lei fèglei se luça.**

*The boys are fighting each other/fighting themselves.*

In cases where speakers find this ambiguity unacceptable, the phrase **l’oin al’ altro** each other can be used:

#### **110. Lei fèglei luça l’oin al’ altro.**

*The boys are fighting each other.*

Indirect object pronouns can be used not only to indicate the recipient or indirect object of a verb, but can also have a benefactive meaning:

**111. Claude-mi la fenèstra.**

*Close the window for me.*

Frequently this “benefactive” meaning does not imply an actual benefit to the referent, but rather can simply indicate that the referent is or should be especially concerned about the action. As such an antibenefactive meaning can also be frequent in these cases:

**112. El frizó mi s'è rompoit ancora na jata.**

*The fridge has broken down on me again.*

Related to this usage is the use of indirect object pronouns to indicate possession, particularly of body parts. In cases where English would express the object with a possessive determiner, Dravian uses an indirect object pronoun:

**113. La cadoita de quèla scala mi frangraje la gama!**

*The fall from that ladder would break my leg!*

**114. Le fègle si monzava le manei antei de cenar.**

*The girls washed their hands before eating dinner.*

4.1.3.3. *Neutral and pleonastic pronouns*

In addition to the personal pronouns covered in the foregoing sections, Dravian also possesses the neutral pronoun **çò**. Unlike the personal pronouns, **çò** does not have orthotonic and clitic variants (although it does possess the allomorph **c’/ç’** before vowels), nor does it inflect for case or number. Where the personal pronouns have a defining function, referring to people, things or abstract concepts, **çò**



rather refers to states, events, actions or general classes of phenomena<sup>2</sup>.

**115. Zuan ha renunçat al alcohol. Çò gle fairà bein.**

*Zuan has given up alcohol. It'll do him good.*

**116. Jal avaja n'aventòra cul sò partener de raquèt. Çò me façaja tant rajosa.**

*He was having an affair with his racquetball partner. That made me so angry.*

Note that **çò** allows a distinction to be made between general categories as opposed to specific instantiations of a category:

**117. C'è boana, la cafèa.**

*Coffee is good (in general).*

**118. Jala è boana, la cafèa.**

*The coffee is good (referring to a specific example of coffee).*

However, by far the most frequent use of **çò** is to serve as a pleonastic pronoun. As Dravian is mainly a non-pro-drop language, verbs require an overt subject even if there is no semantic provision for a subject<sup>3</sup>. This usage is found primarily with impersonal verbs, such as those indicating weather, necessity and so on:

**119. Çò drocava tota la serata.**

*It was pouring with rain all evening.*

**120. Çò cal que'l quelnare noav se semble a na sèmea.**

*It's necessary that the new waiter looks like a monkey.*

Similarly, **çò** can stand in for the predicator of a presentative predicate:

**121. C'è la María.***It's Maria.***122. C'è çuquèt, però jèu maçnài de lasçar mèi consòrt.***It's silly, but I'm thinking of leaving my partner.*

It should be noted that the pleonastic use of  $\text{çò}$  is limited to subject functions. The corresponding object forms are those of the masculine singular third person pronoun:

**123. Jèu lo sai.***I know. (not  $\text{Xjèu sai çò}$ )*

## 4.2. Possessive pronouns

In form, the possessive pronouns of Dravian are identical to the possessive adjectives. As such, it is convenient to treat both at the same time.

The forms of the possessives are shown in the following table. As they are functionally adjectives, they exhibit concord in gender and number with the possessee.

	1st sing	2nd plu	2nd sing	2nd plu	3rd sing/plu
<b>masc sing</b>	mèi	nòstro	to	vòstro	sò
<b>fem sing</b>	maja	nòstra	toa	vòstra	soa
<b>masc plural</b>	mai	nòstrei	tòi	vòstrei	sòi

	1st sing	2nd plu	2nd sing	2nd plu	3rd sing/plu
fem plural	maje	nòstre	tòje	vòstre	sòje

As can be seen from the table, the third person possessive conflates the gender and number of the possessor into one form, with *sò* standing for ‘his’, ‘her’, ‘its’ and ‘their’. Where speakers find it necessary to disambiguate, circumlocutions with the preposition *de* followed by the tonic indirect object forms of the personal pronouns:

**124. El polisare m’ha daiç que quèst sang n’è rèn el sò de loi, c’è el sò de lèi.**

*The policeman told me this blood isn’t his, it’s hers.*

4.2.I. Pronominal use

When used as pronouns, the possessives both agree in gender and number with their antecedents and take an accompanying article, either definite or indefinite.

**125. Jè quèst tricó el mèi u el to?**

*Is this vest mine or yours?*

**126. Cognuscei quèla studènta? Jèi, jala jè na nòstra.**

*Do you know that student? Yes, she’s one of ours.*

Where the antecedent is not overtly stated, the default agreement is masculine singular:

**127. El mèi jè mai grand que’l to.**

*Mine’s bigger than yours.*

#### 4.2.2. Adjectival use

When used adjectivally<sup>4</sup>, the possessed noun is also generally accompanied by a determiner:

**128. Quèste tòje cisme entamna de fetèr.**

*Those boots of yours are beginning to stink.*

**129. De recènt, o mèi amaic ha traslocat ala Slovàquea.**

*A friend of mine has recently moved to Slovakia.*

**130. Jèu san drèiro a zantar el to briqué.**

*I'm just stealing your cigarette lighter.*

However, there are two contexts in which a *singular* noun qualified by a possessive adjective does not co-occur with a determiner. In the first, a possessive adjective is not accompanied by the definite article when qualifying nouns referring to family members, friends, neighbours and other nouns referring to interpersonal relationships:

**131. Maja uçtro oza nòstra broita.**

*My wife hates our daughter in law.*

**132. Tòi viçainei ha zòst ensultat nòstro padro.**

*Your neighbours have just insulted our priest.*

**133. Sò amaic m'ha stralat na pradaiç.**

*His friend shot a partridge for me.*

A possessive adjective immediately following a preposition normally does not co-occur with a definite article:

**134. El soldat me polsà cu soa carabina.**

*The soldier prodded me with his rifle.*

**135. Jèntro maja casa e la soa, ai ha o sucac straiç.**

*Between my house and his there's a narrow alleyway.*

However, this rule is frequently disregarded in the cases of the two common prepositions **a** ‘to’ and **de** ‘of’:

**136. Noi lo prendram del to salare.**

*We’ll take it from your salary.*

**137. Necoin ne vlaja rèn maçnarse a toi peadei.**

*Nobody wants to think about your feet.*

### 4.3. Demonstrative pronouns

As mentioned above in section SECTION on the demonstrative determiners, standard *Dravean de referènsa* distinguishes three deixes: proximate, medial and distal, which are typically linked to the three persons of verbal conjugation.

#### 4.3.1. Morphology

In form, the demonstrative pronouns largely pattern after the demonstrative determiners<sup>5</sup>, but are distinct in possessing separate indirect object forms, primarily used following prepositions, which are parallel in form to the orthotonic third person indirect object pronouns. The morphology of the demonstrative pronouns is shown in the following table:

	proximate		medial		distal	
	masc	fem	masc	fem	masc	fem
<b>sing direct</b>	quèst	quèsta	quès	quèssa	quèl	quèla
<b>sing indirect</b>	questòi	questèi	quessòi	quessèi	quelòi	quelèi

	proximate		medial		distal	
	masc	fem	masc	fem	masc	fem
<b>plural direct</b>	questei	quèste	quessei	quesse	quelei	quèle
<b>plural indirect</b>	questur		quessur		quelur	

### 4.3.2. Usage

The demonstrative pronoun can be defined, somewhat tautologically, as a pronoun with demonstrative reference. Like the demonstrative determiner, the demonstrative pronoun indicates deictic reference:

**138. Nun, tata! Jèu vògl quèst!**

*No, daddy! I want this one!*

**139. Jèu ne me vèst rèn de quelòì.**

*I am not wearing that.*

As well as spatial deixis, the demonstrative pronouns can also refer to temporal or discourse deixis. In the latter case, the pronouns **quèst** and **quèl** frequently refer to already-mentioned referents with the sense of ‘the former’ and ‘the latter’:

**140. Dela Salba e Mascari san balaquei lei doi. Quèst craid entel progrès socialista e quèl ne craid negota.**

*Dela Salba and Mascari are both idiots. The former believes in socialist progress and the latter doesn't believe in anything.*

Unlike in Italian, Dravian speakers exhibit no dispreference for using the demonstrative pronouns with animate referents:

**141. Jèu ne favlarài rèn a quelòi. Jal sèmbla satul.***I'm not speaking to that man. He looks drunk.***4.3.2.1. Pronoun selection**

As we have seen in the foregoing sections, pronominal reference to an already-mentioned antecedent can be effected by one of three strategies: by a personal pronoun, by the neuter pronoun **çò**, or by a demonstrative pronoun. The choice of which pronoun to select in a given situation is a nuanced one, subject to both syntactic and semantic grounds.

As a general rule, the selection of **çò** or a demonstrative pronoun is more restricted than that of a personal pronoun. Where the antecedent is not a simple noun phrase, but one headed by a demonstrative determiner, an interrogative or an indefinite, a demonstrative pronoun is selected:

**142. Cala cògla ha-el emplecata? Quèssa.***Which bowl did he use? That one by you.*

Where the antecedent is a clause, an infinitive or a state, the neuter pronoun **çò** is selected:

**143. A tai ti goda dansar? Çò mi goda mult.***Do you like dancing? I like it very much.*

Additionally, **çò** is preferred when the antecedent does not refer to a concrete *identifiable* instantiation of the referent (that is, when one is referring to generalities rather than specifics):

**144. Jèu n'am rèn le cratòre. Çò me çaça.***I don't like children. They annoy me.*

Therefore, in other cases not covered by the guidelines above, a personal pronoun will be selected:

**145. Tai gaoda el president? Nun, jal me noja.**

*Do you like the president? No, he bores me.*

## 4.4. Interrogative and relative pronouns

As in other Romance languages (and indeed, in Western European languages generally), the interrogative and relative pronouns of Dravian largely coincide in form. For convenience, this section covers both interrogative and relative use simultaneously.

### 4.4.I. Morphology

The relative-interrogative pronoun is exceptional in that it distinguishes neither gender nor number but instead animacy, with one epicene form used for male and female animate referents and another denoting inanimate referents.

	<b>animate</b> 'who'	<b>inanimate</b> 'what, which'
<b>subject</b>	qui	
<b>direct object</b>	quen	qué
<b>unstressed direct object</b>		que
<b>indirect object</b>		còi



The inanimate form **qué** has only interrogative function. When used as a relative pronoun, it coincides in form with the unstressed relative particle **que** ‘that’, and is so subject to elision when preceding a vowel:

**146. Qué jè quèst? C’è el cúdeç qu’ Arsèn m’ha comprat.**

*What’s this? It’s the book which Arsèn bought for me.*

4.4.2. Use

The use of the relative-interrogative pronoun is fairly straightforward, with the only proviso that the indirect object **còi** obligatorily occurs as the complement of a preposition. Thus:

**147. A còi haje-tu dat el cúdeç?**

not

**X**Còi haje-tu dat el cúdeç?

*To whom did you give the book?*

When used as a relative, the direct object pronoun is always unstressed, while in contrast an interrogative pronoun is always stressed:

**148. Quen marità-el de final?**

*Whom did he end up marrying?*

**149. Jal marità quèla fèmna que scontrà al’ universitat.**

*He married that woman he met at university.*

Note that case is selected according to the pronoun’s role in its own clause, not according to the syntactic role of the antecedent. Thus, in the sentence below, while the antecedent is the subject of the main clause, the coreferential relative pronoun is the direct object of its own clause and so selects the direct object form:

**150. El zovnòt que jèu hai scontrat jar cognusç  
nòstra fègla.**

*The lad I met yesterday knows our daughter.*

In addition to the relative-interrogative pronoun, Dravian also makes use of a series of pro-form constructed with the relative-interrogative **qual** ‘which’, which exhibits concord for number in the same manner as a class II adjective. As an interrogative, it is primarily used as a quantifier before a noun:

**151. Qual camisça preferèsci?**

*Which shirt do you prefer?*

As a relative, it is generally accompanied by the definite article, means of specifying the gender and number of a referent, in contrast to the underspecification of the relative object forms.

As a relative, **el qual** is frequently found as the complement of a prepositional phrase. This construction is preferred in more formal language when the antecedent is inanimate, with the indirect object pronoun **còi** being restricted to animate antecedents. However, informal speech tends to use **còi** for both animates and inanimates.

**152. Lei documentei agl qualei referèsç el contract.**

*The documents to which the contract refers.*

**153. La fèsta a còi zai-ja stanoç jestrà fòrt bastalí.**

*The party I'm going to tonight is going to be really cool.*

## 4.5. Indefinite and negative pronouns

There is no particularly sharp distinction between indefinite and negative pronouns and the indefinite and negative quantifiers and adjectives, and to a degree it is difficult to discuss them separately.

For example, in a sentence like the one below, is **alcoin** ‘some’ an indefinite pronoun, or a nominalised indefinite adjective?

**154. Alcoinei ne craid rèn entel’ inevitabilitat dela revoluseun proletàrea.**

*Some don’t believe in the inevitability of the proletarian revolution.*

In this section, therefore, we shall simply outline some of the indisputably pronominal indefinite and negative forms, leaving quantificatory and adjectival usages to section SECTION. Note that like its sister Romance languages (and English), Dravian normally has a pair of pronouns in each category, one used for animates and the other for inanimates.

4.5.I.      **Somebody, something**

The indefinite pronouns are **alcoin** ‘someone’ and **alquèt** ‘something’:

**155. Alcoin ha zantat la maja bòrsa.**

*Somebody has stolen my wallet.*

**156. Alquèt carèsç.**

*Something’s missing.*

In the literary language both pronouns have plural forms **alcoinei** and **alquètei**. In the spoken language and most non-belletristic written registers, the plural of **alquèt** is avoided, with the circumlocution **alcoine cose** ‘some things’ preferred instead:

**157. Jal jè drèiro a finèr alcoine cose.**

*He’s just finishing some things off.*

In basilectal Dravian, the noun **cosa** ‘thing’ is frequently used in place of **alquèt**:

**158. Mèi fradro vlaja que jèu faça na cosa insoloita.**

*My brother wants me to do something unusual.*

## 4.5.2. Nobody, nothing

The animate negative pronoun is straightforward: **necoin** ‘nobody’. There are two inanimate pronouns: **nògla** and **negota** which differ in their emphasis. While **nògla** is the unmarked term, **negota** is a shade more emphatic. Note that all negative pronouns trigger negative concord:

**159. Necoin n’è venoit ala maja fèsta.**

*Nobody came to my party.*

**160. Jèu ne gl’hai daiç nògla.**

*I said nothing to him.*

**161. Negota ne carèsç significansa, mèi Watson.**

*Absolutely nothing lacks significance, my dear Watson.*

## 4.5.3. Whoever, whatever

Dravian lacks discrete pronominal forms indicating an elective indefinite along the lines of Italian *chiunque* or English *whoever, anyone*. Instead, like the French *n’importe qui*, a phrasal construction is used instead. In the case of Dravian, a syntagm consisting of a relative pronoun followed by a relative clause containing the third person present subjunctive of the verb **jèstro** ‘to be’ is used. Thus we have **qual que saja** ‘whatever/anything’ and **qui que saja** ‘whoever/anyone’. Note that the usage of these forms mirrors that of the relative pronouns in case selection etc.:

**162. Jal ne citava rèn d'o scrèt, jal ne favlaja que del qual que saja.**

*He didn't read from a script, he just talked about anything.*

**163. El Màreus jè o snob? Nun, jal baiv cu còi que saja.**

*Marius, a snob? No, he'll drink with anybody.*

Absolute use of *whoever* in English<sup>6</sup> corresponds however not to this construction, but rather to absolute use of the relative pronoun:

**164. Qui adunc me confessarà davant agl òmnei.**

*Whoever therefore acknowledges me before men.*

4.5.4. Everybody, everything

Like the negative pronouns, the universal pronoun has one straightforward animate form **ognoin** 'everyone, everybody', and two inanimate pronouns: **ògna** and **ognunca** 'everything'. Between the latter two, the distinction is not one of emphasis but of register. As **ògna** is easily confused with the feminine singular of the adjective **ògn** 'every', in most registers outside the most formal, **ognunca** is preferred.

**165. Nun daic negota a dna Covaç! Jala dirà a ognoin!**

*Don't say anything to Mrs Covaç! She'll tell everybody!*

**166. E'l cragl zantà ognunca degl rasçanei. Ognunca.**

*And the king took everything from the Serbs. Everything.*

**167. Ògna que fa l'oam jè com la pulb.**

*Everything that man does is as dust.*

In addition to the pronominal forms given above, substantival use of the adjectives **ògn** 'every' and **tot** 'all' is also common:

**168. Voldraja ògnei assezarse, per placer?**

*Would everybody please sit down?*

**169. Jèu capaja tot.**

*I understood everything.*

## 4.5.5. Other, another

In Middle Dravian and earlier, **altre** ‘the other’ was used pronominally, possessing also the indirect object form **altròi**, a usage today confined to only the most refined of belletristic registers.

**170. Jal n’ensegnà mai la cansun a altròi.**

*He never taught the song to anyone else.*

In modern *Dravean de referènsa*, the pronoun has been supplanted by substantive use of the adjective **altro** ‘other’:

**171. E jèu hai daiç al’ altro que’l sò paidas jara o balac.**

*And I said to the other one that his mate was an idiot.*

When used pronominally, it is notable that in most spoken registers of eastern Dravian (including the dialect of the capital), the substantivised adjective does not occur with the definite article, but rather the distal demonstrative **quèl** ‘that’:

**172. Quèl altro solaja zer al çardac proi ala gara.**

*The other one used to go to the café by the station.*

---

1) Note the order of elements here; while English prefers to place the second person pronoun first, Dravian prefers the opposite order.

2) **Çò** can be readily compared to French *ça* or Catalan *ho* in function.

3) The equivalent English phenomenon is normally known as ‘dummy it’.

- 4 ) That is, when directly qualifying a noun. The possessive adjectives of Dravian correspond to the possessive determiners in other languages.
- 5 ) The demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners have a common origin in the Vulgar Latin three-way demonstrative series *ĪSTE*, *ĪPSE*, *ĪLLE*. The 'unaugmented' non-emphatic forms **jast**, **jas**, **jal** derive directly from these VL forms. The standard demonstrative determiner and the demonstrative pronoun derive from the original demonstratives 'augmented' by the presentative particle *\*ECCU*, thought to derive from a pronominal form *\*ECCE EUM*.
- 6 ) Essentially those cases where *whoever* can be replaced with the construction *he who*.





# 5. Adjectives

---

## Gl'adjectivei

Both predicate and attributive adjectives in Dravian exhibit concord with the nouns they qualify. For the overwhelming majority of adjectives, this concord exhibits agreement in both number and gender, while a smaller subset have defective concord, exhibiting agreement in only number or no agreement at all.

As such, the major categories of inflection in which adjectives participate are gender and number agreement. An extremely small closed subset of adjectives also inflect for comparison, a topic covered in the next chapter. In this chapter we will discuss first the morphological categories inflected for by the majority of adjectives and then their syntax and usage.

### 5.I. Morphology

#### 5.I.I. Classes of declension

Adjectives can be conveniently divided into three classes according to the number of distinctions of agreement are exhibited in concord. Adjectives of the first and most numerous class, Class I, exhibit

concord in both number and gender. Adjectives of Class II exhibit concord in only number, while adjectives of Class III are invariable for both gender and number.

5.1.1.1. *Class I (four-form)*

Class I comprises the overwhelming majority of adjectives, and is also the class into which most loanwords are assimilated. They are distinguished by full concord with their head nouns, exhibiting agreement for both gender and number.

The citation form of the adjective is the masculine singular, which generally ends in a consonant or, more exceptionally, **-o**. The feminine singular is derived from the citation form by the addition of the feminine marker **-a**, which suppresses any stem-final vowel. Plurals are then formed regularly, with **-ei** for masculine nouns and **-e** for feminine nouns.

Note that the masculine plural morpheme **-ei** frequently triggers palatalisation of a final velar consonant, while the feminine **-e** never does. Therefore, a word ending in /k/ in the masculine singular would change this to /ʃ/ in the masculine plural, with no accompanying orthographic change, while in the feminine plural the consonant would retain its velar pronunciation but orthographically would change from **-c** to **-qu-**. The foregoing notwithstanding, there exist a few adjectives ending in **-c** which do not exhibit any alternation: thus the masculine plural of **stanc** ‘tired’ is **stanquei** /stanki/, not ~~✗~~*stancei* /stanʃi/.

Note in addition a small group of adjectives ending in **-àn**, in which the suffix becomes **-ain-** when inflected, such as the common adjective **petàn** ‘small’.

In the following table, the adjectives **bun** ‘good’, **larg** ‘wide’, **stúric** ‘historic’ and **petàn** ‘small’ are fully declined:

		<b>bun</b>	<b>larg</b>	<b>stúric</b>	<b>petàn</b>
<b>sin- gu- lar</b>	<b>mascu- line</b>	bun	larg	stúric	petàn
	<b>femi- nine</b>	buna	larga	stúrica	petaina
<b>plu- ral</b>	<b>mascu- line</b>	bunei	larzei	stúricei	petainei
	<b>femi- nine</b>	bune	large	stúrique	petaine

#### 5.1.1.2. *Class II (two-form)*

Class II comprises a relatively small, closed class of adjectives (approximately one tenth), which is largely unproductive, accepting few loanwords. The productive subset is largely made up of those adjectives in **-al**, either coined on native roots or reborrowed from Latin adjectives ending in **-ALIS**.

Adjectives of this class are deficient in gender agreement, exhibiting only two forms, which cover both masculine and feminine in the singular and plural.

The majority of adjectives in the singular end in a consonant and form their plurals by means of the suffix **-ei**, which triggers palatalisation of a final velar consonant. A far smaller subset com-

prises adjectives ending in **-a** in the singular, which changes to **-e** in the plural.

In the following table, the adjectives **veird** ‘green’ and **socialista** ‘socialist’ are given fully declined:

		<b>veird</b>	<b>socialist</b>
<b>singular</b>	<b>masculine</b>	veird	socialista
	<b>feminine</b>		
<b>plural</b>	<b>masculine</b>	veirdei	socialiste
	<b>feminine</b>		

### 5.1.1.3. Class III (*invariable*)

The third and smallest class comprises those adjectives which are invariable for both gender and number, possessing only one form. Adjectives of this class consist exclusively of loanwords of a certain phonetic shape.

While most loaned adjectives are assimilated into the four-form class, those which have a final stressed or high vowel fall into the invariable class (along with some very recent loans from English, such as **gèi** ‘gay’).

In colloquial and slang varieties of Dravian, this class is rather larger due to the influx of Romani adjectives, which have regular final stress. Interestingly, it is generally the feminine singular form of Romani adjectives that are borrowed, such as **bastalí** ‘cool’ (from Romani *baxtalo* ‘happy, lucky’).

## 5.2. Syntax

### 5.2.1. Concord

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, adjectives participate in the pervasive phenomenon of concord, agreeing in both gender and number (as they are able) with the nouns they qualify, both as predicates and when in apposition:

**173. Na fègla rajosa critava a sò pranó sparait.**

*An angry girl was shouting at her frightened boyfriend.*

**174. La vèrta jè spada.**

*The squirrel is shy.*

Adjectives qualifying grammatically plural words describing a single object (*pluralia tantum*) exhibit concord with the grammatical number of the noun:

**175. Vèst-te sèmpro de trusei monzatei!**

*Always wear clean underwear!*

Adjectives qualifying more than one noun will appear in the plural, while an adjective qualifying several nouns of differing genders will appear in the masculine plural:

**176. El recèt sai de tomate e fave freisque.**

*The recipe calls for fresh tomatoes and beans.*

**177. Òmnei e fèmmne rajosei ha zantat le plase a Conènza.**

*Angry men and women have taken to the streets in Conènza.*

### 5.2.2. Position of adjectives

While the most usual position of an adjective is following the noun it modifies, adjectives can and do appear both pre- and post-nominally. Aside from quantifying and demonstrative adjectives, which almost universally appear pre-nominally, the selection of pre- or post-nominal position is largely dependent on semantic rather than syntactic or morphological considerations.

Postnominal adjectives are semantically autonomous, in that they present new or unexpected information about the referent, marking it off as distinct from other instantiations of that class of referents. In contrast, prenominal adjectives do not present new information about the referent, rather they make explicit an expected or otherwise inherent property of the referent. In the example below, **la naiv** ‘snow’ is usually expected to be white, and therefore the adjective **alba** ‘white’ precedes the noun. However, snow is not normally expected to be yellow, so the adjective **galbaina** ‘yellow’ follows the noun as it sets off this particular instantiation of snow from all others:

**178. Nun zoaca qu’entel’ alba naiv; la naiv galbaina  
jè grenzastra.**

*Only play in the white snow; yellow snow is icky.*

As a result of this semantic conditioning of position, a number of common adjectives have undergone what could be termed a semantic split, with differing connotations when used before or after the noun. Most commonly, when preceding the noun, the adjective has somewhat bleached semantics, indicating a figurative rather than literal meaning.

For example, when following a noun, the adjective **vedran** ‘old’ simply describes the age of the referent; while in prenominal posi-

tion it acts almost as a temporal quantifier, having connotations of previousness, or long acquaintance:

**179. Quèst è mèi vedran amaic: sò vedran directur fòi na mazara vedrana.**

*This is my old (longstanding) friend: his old (previous) manager was an old (elderly) Hungarian lady.*

Similarly, when in prenominal position the adjective **pòbro** 'poor' indicates wretchedness, while in postnominal position it indicates monetary poverty:

**180. La pòbra tosata è fègla d'o blondac pòbro.**

*The unfortunate girl is the daughter of a poor drunkard.*

There is a small subset of basic adjectives, mainly referring to disposition, size and appearance whose unmarked position is before the noun: **bun** 'good', **rai** 'bad', **mal** 'bad', **petàn** 'small', **grand** 'large', **deis** 'same', **altro** 'other', **adver** 'true' and **fals** 'false'.

A proviso to all of the above is that adjectives which themselves are qualified by an adverb, or take a complement, always occur in postnominal position. This preference for rightwards-displacement of 'heavy' constituents also has coordinated adjectives occurring postnominally:

**181. Na dòmna val pòbra.**

*A very unfortunate lady.*

**182. N'uçtro buna e advera.**

*A good and true wife.*

### 5.2.3. Complements of adjectives

Non-finite adjective complements are most commonly introduced by the preposition **de**:

**183. El tata jè dòrn de sòi fèglei.**

*The father is proud of his sons.*

**184. Per nojaltrei, la lènga padanaisa n'è rèn defail d'entelairo.**

*For us, the Padanian language is not difficult to understand.*

Finite complements are of course introduced with the complementiser **que**:

**185. El prèstro jè mult felaiç que'l tosat ha retenzat lei plantei envès lòi.**

*The priest is very happy that the boy dropped the charges against him.*

#### 5.2.4. Adjectives with indefinites and negatives

When qualifying an indefinite or negative pronoun, adjectives are introduced by the preposition **de**:

**186. Jèu ne vògl rèn vestegar nògla de violènt.**

*I don't want to watch anything violent.*

**187. Qui jara al telefon? Necoin d'important.**

*Who was on the telephone? Nobody important.*

**188. Jèu vògl cenar d'alquèt d'interessant.**

*I want something interesting for dinner.*



# 6. Adverbs and adverbials

---

## Gl'advèrbei

Adverbs and adverbials (subsumed in traditional Dravian grammars under the single class of **advèrbei**) are those element which qualify verbs, adjectives, predicates or even whole clauses. It will be seen that they do not form a wholly distinct class, rather they overlap with prepositional phrases, noun phrases, adverbial clauses and so on. In this chapter we deal with the formation of adverbs from adjectives and nouns, as well as listing some of the language's more common underived adverbs. Adverbial clauses will be discussed below in section SECTION, while comparison of adverbs will be discussed in chapter CHAPTER below. The position of adverbials in sentences will be discussed in section SECTION.

### 6.I. Formation

Adverbs and adverbials occur in two broad categories: derived and underived, or productive and non-productive.

Underived adverbs form a basic stratum of lexical items which do not necessarily correspond to words in another class (although a certain degree of overlap with prepositions can be seen). Historically of diverse formation, they exclude most adverbs of manner, instead comprising those of time or location, such as **jancoài** ‘today’ or **costà** ‘there by you’. Unlike derived adverbs, underived adverbs do not generally participate in comparison.

As suggested by their name, derived adverbs comprise those adverbs which are regularly derived from another part of speech. While a number of basic adjectives can be used as adverbials without exhibiting any overt derivational process, two main strategies of derivation are encountered: those derived with the preposition **de**, and those derived by means of the suffix **-mènt**.

### 6.I.I. Adverbs with *de*

Possibly the most common method of deriving adverbials, the construction with **de** lends itself to both adjectives and nouns. In both cases, the citation form of the original lexeme is used: for nouns this is the singular, while for adjectives the masculine singular.

**189. El soldat crènt luçava d'oam còntro'l nemaic.**

*The wounded soldier struggled manfully against the enemy.*

**190. Jèu l'hai vèst de recènt.**

*I saw him recently.*

**191. Na facènda apèrta de noav.**

*A newly opened shop.*

**192. Jèu m'end recòrd de distint.**

*I remember it distinctly.*

### 6.1.2. Adverbs with *-mènt*

Only slightly less common than derivation with **de** is derivation by means of the suffix **-mènt**. Unlike adverbs derived with **de**, the suffix **-mènt** is only productive with adjectives.

In normative *Dravean de referènsa*, this suffix is applied to the feminine singular of an adjective. Historically, formations of this sort are strictly speaking compounds, and so retain two stressed syllables. As such, any orthographic accents are retained on the adjectival stem: **àntic** ‘old-fashioned, outdated’ → **ànticamènt** ‘in an outdated manner’.

In Class II and Class III adjectives, which have no distinct feminine form, standard Dravian prescribes the addition of the suffix to the epicene singular form. Thus from **felaiç** ‘happy’ we have **felaiçmènt** ‘happily’. However, in spoken Dravian of all but the most formal registers, one is more likely to encounter a paragogic **-a-** between the adjective and the suffix: **felaiç** → **felaiçamènt** ‘happily’. An exception to this is with adjectives ending in **-l**, such as **radical** ‘radical’ → **radicalmènt** ‘radically’.

#### 193. **Bendaiçamènt, noi ne scontram rèñ el polisare.**

*Luckily, we didn't meet the police.*

### 6.1.3. Adverbs in *-onei*

The suffix **-onei** derives adverbs chiefly from nouns and verbs, only exceptionally from adjectives. While the suffix is marginally productive, it is rather uncommon due to its restricted semantic field: adverbs formed with this suffix almost exclusively describe bodily positions and actions:

<b>zenògl</b>	→	<b>zenoglonèi</b>
<i>knee</i>	→	<i>kneeling</i>
<b>gola</b>	→	<b>golonei</b>
<i>mouth</i>	→	<i>face down</i>
<b>jègna</b>	→	<b>jegnonei</b>
<i>crotch</i>	→	<i>astride</i>
<b>taçtar</b>	→	<b>taçtonei</b>
<i>touch</i>	→	<i>by touch</i>

Adverbs of this formation are always introduced by the preposition **a**:

**194. Jala me suplicava a zenoglonèi.**

*She was begging me on her knees.*

**195. El ladrun abrài la pòrta a taçtonei.**

*The thief opened the door by touch.*

## 6.2. Simple adverbs

Simple adverbs are those which show no derivational processes from other parts of speech. While the unmarked form of an adjective can frequently have adverbial function (although this is dispreferred outside of colloquial speech), such adverbial use is traditionally excluded from the category of simple adverbs. Rather, simple adverbs are independent lexical items, typically adverbs of time, place and measure; in contrast to adverbs of manner, which are typically derived.

In the following subsections, we list some of the more significant underived adverbs, dividing them into adverbs of place, time and

measure. Among these adverbs are included interrogative and demonstrative adverbs.

### 6.2.1. Adverbs of place

The principal adverbs of place are as follows:

**quà** ‘here’

**costà** ‘here by you’

**colà** ‘over there’

**quènç** ‘hereabouts’

**quènd** ‘thereabouts’

**jó** ‘where’

**ond** ‘where, whither’

**alcó** ‘somewhere’

**pertòt** ‘everywhere’

**naglur** ‘nowhere’

**altró** ‘somewhere else’

**sòs** ‘up’

**zòs** ‘down’

**sovra** ‘above’

**ensom** ‘on top’

**sut** ‘under, below’

**davant** ‘in front’

**dèdro** ‘behind’

**après** ‘beside, by’

**radènt** ‘alongside’

**alat** ‘at the side’

**vaja** ‘away’

**veçan** ‘nearby’

**pròi** ‘nearby, close’

**davènd** ‘far’

**lontan** ‘distant, afar’

**dèn** ‘inside’

**foare** ‘outside’

**avoltra** ‘beyond’

Adverbs of place can distinguish finer shades of meaning by the addition of prepositions. Motion towards is normally expressed by the preposition **en**, while definite position is indicated by **de**. Less specific position is denoted by the preposition **per**:

**196. La dòmna fozài en foare screstand.**

*The woman ran outside screaming.*

**197. La ploima floça en sòs.**

*The feather is floating upwards.*

**198. La stàtua de Tepast Sclav stava de quà.**

*The statue of Tepast Sclav stood right here.*

**199. Taç! La trelusa vedrana jè per veçan.**

*Be quiet, the mad old woman is somewhere nearby.*

Similarly, greater precision or finer distinctions of meaning can be obtained by combining adverbs:

**200. Jèu craid qu'o fozait s'ascònd foare veçan.**

*I believe a fugitive is hiding close outside.*

Compound adverbs formed from a preposition followed by an adjective or noun also broadly fall in the same category. Adjectives generally take the preposition **a**, while nouns take **en**:

**201. De solitoit, çò penzola a mant.**

*Normally, it hangs to the left.*

**202. Ç'av na magla petaina en fund.**

*There's a small mark on the bottom.*

### 6.2.2. Adverbs of time

The principal adverbs of time are as follows:

**quand** 'when'

**adura** 'now'

**adeisa** 'right now'

**amò** 'still, yet'

**pòi** 'then, afterwards'

**tuncei** 'then, at that time'

**alura** 'then'

**ancura** 'still, yet'

**darca** 'anew, one more time'

**sèmpro** 'always, forever'

**zòi** 'always'

**adoina** 'always'

**sovènd** 'often'

**despeis** 'often'

**endaiç** 'suddenly'

**ajat** 'quickly'

**vevaiç** 'quickly'

**prèst** 'soon, at once'

**tòst** 'soon'

**tardei** 'late'

**entant** 'meanwhile'

**antei** 'before'

**enant** 'beforehand'

**pòsça** 'afterwards'

**despòi** 'since'

**ontant** 'occasionally'

**unca** 'never'

**zamài** 'not ever'

**jancoài** 'today'

**jar** 'yesterday'

**nostèrsa** 'day before yesterday'

**crai** 'tomorrow'

**deman** 'tomorrow'

**traman** 'day after tomorrow'

**stanoaç** 'tonight'

**stasera** 'this evening'

### 6.3. Adverbs of measure and manner

The remaining frequent simple adverbs are those dealing with measure, manner, quantity, quality and opinion.

**bèn** ‘well’

**mal** ‘badly’

**mègl** ‘better’

**peai** ‘worse’

**ensèmblo** ‘together’

**gazènd** ‘willingly, gladly’

**envait** ‘unwillingly’

**com** ‘how, like’

**encom** ‘like’

**asài** ‘thus’

**cosài** ‘thus’

**alcom** ‘somehow’

**apena** ‘hardly, barely’

**zòst** ‘just’

**revera** ‘truly, indeed’

**secòra** ‘surely, certainly’

**alcamaica** ‘rather’

**plutòst** ‘fairly, somewhat’

**za** ‘yes’

**nun** ‘no’

**scèi** ‘yes’

**potèstro** ‘maybe’

**quisài** ‘perhaps’

**nomài** ‘only’

**asài** ‘also’

**nesài** ‘not even’

**alman** ‘at least’

**quasei** ‘almost’

**perfan** ‘even’

**ansa** ‘instead’

**envaiç** ‘instead’

**adunc** ‘therefore’



**senun** ‘otherwise’

**quant** ‘how much, how many’

**perqué** ‘why’



# 7. Comparison

---

## La comparasun

In more traditional grammars, comparison is generally treated along with the morphosyntax of the adjective or the adverb. However, in common with most other languages, in Dravian these are not the only categories which participate in comparative constructions. Both the comparand and the standard of comparison may be a noun, an adjective, an adverbial, a prepositional or a full verbal clause. As such, we devote a separate chapter to the phenomenon of comparison as a whole.

### 7.1. Comparison of equality

Comparisons of equality are primarily formed with the construction **tant comparand de quant standard**:

**203. Jal è tant moit de quant na scopa.**

*He's as stupid as a broom.*

**204. Lusògn jè tant lontan de quant Emona.**

*Lusògn is as far away as Emona.*

**205. Jèu sai tant de quant toi.**

*I know as much as you know.*

When the comparand is a noun, **tant** exhibits concord in both gender and number:

**206. Jal baiv tanta saja de quant vàn.**

*He drinks as much wine as beer.*

**207. El cònt de Caçòla dormaja cu tantei òmnei de quant fèmne.**

*The count of Caçòla slept with as many men as he did women.*

Considered less correct by the Acadèmea, **de quant** is not infrequently replaced in colloquial speech by **com** ‘like’, particularly when the first term is an adjective and the second a noun:

**208. Jal mi semblava tant felaiç com o turc ent quèla tavèrna.**

*He seemed to me to be as happy as larry in that pub.*

Note in the foregoing examples that, in distinction to English, Dravian avoids repeating a verb in a standard of comparison where it can be inferred from the comparand. However, where the standard of comparison is a verb, it is obviously not omitted:

**209. Jèu dòrm tant de quant stentài.**

*I sleep as much as I work.*

## 7.2. Comparison of inequality

Comparison of inequality expresses two grades: those of superiority and inferiority. Like the comparison of equality, both are regularly expressed by an analytic structure involving degree adverbs preceding the comparand.

The comparative of superiority is normally introduced by the adverb **mai**. However, in negative constructions, the adverb **plu** is preferred:

**210. Jèu aflài alquèt mai jestàn que quèst.**

*I'm looking for something cheaper than this one.*

**211. Quèste braque san mai straiçe que le altre.**

*These trousers are tighter than the others.*

**212. Çò n'è rèn plu defail d'aprender el dravean que'l français.**

*It's no more difficult to learn Dravian than it is to learn French.*

The comparative of inferiority is generally introduced by **man** 'less' or, less commonly, by **plu paoc**. Unlike the distinction between **mai** and **plu** found in the comparative of superiority, the selection of degree adverb is not conditioned grammatically, but rather according to register, with **plu paoc** being more colloquial:

**213. Jal m'interesa man adura qu'enant cènc annei.**

*It interests me less now than five years ago.*

**214. La fègla mai zòvna jè man oraida que la fègla mai vedrana.**

*The younger daughter is less ugly than the older daughter.*

**215. Jèu pacaja plu paoc que toi, çavut!**

*I paid less than you did, mate!*

The standard of comparison in both cases is introduced by either **que**<sup>1</sup> or **de**, the selection of which being conditioned by the grammatical function of the standard. Of the two, the selection of **de** is more restricted than that of **que**, which is the unmarked form used in most comparisons:

**216. L'Itàlea mi place mai que la Dràvea.**

*I like Italy more than Dravia.*

**217. Solanèsc cur mai vevaiç que Covaç.**

*Solanèsc runs more quickly than Covaç.*

**218. L'oam jè mai vedran que sòa uçtro.**

*The man is older than his wife.*

**De** is required when the standard of comparison is a numeral:

**219. Jal ha visitat mai de cènc contrate diferèntei.**

*He's visited more than five different counties.*

**220. Jèu n'end ai rèn vèst plu de vaint.**

*I didn't see more than twenty of them.*

Where the second term is a subordinate clause introduced by **que**, the standard itself is introduced by **de**:

**221. C'è man important que toi finèsci l'esàmen de que toi ai scelèsci.**

*It is less important that you finish the exam than [it is] that you do well in it.*

Given Dravian's dispreference for repeating the verb of the comparand in the standard of comparison, at first glance a sentence such as that in 222 below is potentially ambiguous, in that it is not clear whether Loic is the subject or the object of the unstated verb **amar** 'to love' in the second term: that is, is the sense "Marta loves Jacum more than Loic loves Jacum" or "Marta loves Jacum more than she loves Loic"?

**222. Marta am Jacum mai que Loic.**

*Marta loves Jacum more than Loic.*

Dravian speakers resolve this ambiguity by selecting **de** where the standard acts as the object, and **que** when it has subject function, as shown below:

**223. Marta am Jacum mai de Loic.**

*Marta loves Jacum more than she does Loic.*

**224. Marta am Jacum mai que Loic.**

*Marta loves Jacum more than Loic does.*

In those cases where the standard of comparison is a finite clause (not a subordinate clause), it can be introduced by **de quel que** rather than **que**:

**225. Marc jè mai intellezènt que jèu ne m'end recòrd.**

*Marc is more intelligent than I remember.*

**226. Marc jè mai intellezènt de quel que jèu m'end recòrd**

*Marc is more intelligent than I remember.*

### 7.2.1. Synthetic comparatives

A small closed set of adjectives have additional synthetic comparative forms, which can be used in comparisons of superiority:

<b>mai bun</b>	<i>good</i>	→	<b>mèlgro</b>	<i>better</i>
<b>mai rai</b>	<i>bad</i>	→	<b>pèiro</b>	<i>worse</i>
<b>mai grand</b>	<i>big</i>	→	<b>mairo</b>	<i>bigger</i>
<b>mai petàn</b>	<i>small</i>	→	<b>mèngro</b>	<i>smaller</i>

None of these is used entirely to the exclusion of the regular analytic comparatives formed with **mai** or **plu**, indeed in some cases they are preferred. The forms given above are only found with

predicate use (note that all the comparative forms are invariable for number and gender):

**227. El v`an j`e m`elgro que l`aqua.**

*Wine is better than water.*

**228. Lei mai peadei san mairo que lei v`ostrei.**

*My feet are bigger than yours.*

For attributive use, there is a different set of synthetic forms<sup>2</sup>, which inflect like regular class II adjectives:

<b>mai bun</b>	<i>good</i>	→	<b>meglur</b>	<i>better</i>
<b>mai rai</b>	<i>bad</i>	→	<b>pezur</b>	<i>worse</i>
<b>mai grand</b>	<i>big</i>	→	<b>mazur</b>	<i>bigger</i>
<b>mai pet`an</b>	<i>small</i>	→	<b>menur</b>	<i>smaller</i>

**229. Jal recep`oi de soloit la part menur.**

*He usually got the smaller part.*

**230. Jara l`oam meglur.**

*He was the better man.*

In addition to the four synthetic comparative adjectives given above, the two most common simple adverbs also have synthetic comparatives:

<b>b`en</b>	<i>well</i>	→	<b>m`egl</b>	<i>better</i>
<b>mal</b>	<i>badly</i>	→	<b>pei</b>	<i>worse</i>

In contrast to the synthetic comparative adjectives, which can be acceptably replaced by their analytic equivalents, the use of the syn-



thetic comparative adverbs is obligatory, with forms like *\*mai bèn* or *\*mai mal* being ungrammatical:

**231. Jal favlaja mègl el dravean del mazar.**

*He speaks Dravian better than he does Hungarian.*

7.2.2. Pleonastic *ne*

Where the second term of a comparison of inequality is a finite verb phrase, a semantically empty negative particle **ne** is obligatory before the verb in the standard of comparison:

**232. El mèi jè mai grand que toi ne l'imaginaje.**

*Mine is bigger than you imagine.*

**233. Jèu hai vèst mai fèmne noide que jal n'end ha sognat.**

*I've seen more naked women than he could dream of.*

Note that this pleonastic occurrence of **ne** does not occur when either the verb of the main clause or that of the standard is negative:

**234. Çò ne jara rènn mai fail que jèu l'abòì imaginat.**

*It wasn't easier than I had thought.*

**235. Jèu preferèsc mai morèr que toi ne'm ame rènn.**

*I would rather die than you not love me.*

Additionally, pleonastic **ne** does not occur when the standard of comparison is introduced by **de quel que**:

**236. Jara mai interesant de quel que semblava.**

*It was more interesting than it seemed.*

## 7.3. Superlatives

### 7.3.1. Relative superlative

The relative superlative is formed analytically, in a similar manner to the comparative of superiority, by prefixing a determiner to the comparative adjective. In standard *Dravean de referènsa*, the definite article is used, with the standard of comparison introduced by the preposition **de**:

**237. Marc jè el mai grand.**

*Mark is the biggest.*

**238. Jaroslav 3<sup>s</sup> jara el mai trelus degl conaizei draveanei.**

*Jaroslav III was the maddest of the princes of Dravia.*

**239. Zoan jè el man interesant degl toi amaicei.**

*John is the least interesting of your friends.*

As with the comparative of superiority, **el mai** is replaced by **el plu** following a negative:

**240. Maraina n'è rèn la plu oraida entel fosat.**

*Marina isn't the ugliest in the village.*

Note that in attributive use, in contrast to French and Romansh, the definite article is not used before the comparative adjective. As such, the relative superlative is distinct from the comparative of superiority only in predicate use:

**241. Que vènca l'oam meglur.**

*May the better/best man win.*

In older and dialectal Dravian, however, the attributive superlative is preceded by the demonstrative determiner **jèl**:

**242. Noi n'encontraram al zurn jèl mai long del' an.**

*We will meet on the longest day of the year.*

Although this construction is now obsolete in *Dravean de referènsa*, it can still be found in certain set phrases, such as **dar el pugn jèl meglur** 'to give one's best'.

**7.3.2. Absolute superlative**

The absolutive superlative in Dravian can be formed by one of four ways, two analytic and two synthetic.

The first and probably most common method of forming superlatives is by the addition of an intensifying adverb, such as **fòrt, val, bèn, dreïç** and so on:

**243. Jèu jara bèn zveidra de to tata.**

*I was extremely annoyed with your father.*

**244. Çò ne jara rèn fòrt interesant.**

*It wasn't very interesting.*

Related in origin is the more common of the two synthetic options: the intensifying prefix **tra-**:

**245. La crevata jè trasudata.**

*The mattress is thoroughly damp.*

Least common in most spoken registers, but increasing in frequency as one ascends the scale of formality, is the intensive suffix **-ísem** which, when qualifying a noun, inflects like a regular class I adjective:

**246. N'educaseun universitàrea je utailísem.**

*A university education is extremely useful.*

Note that the superlative suffix does not trigger any kind of consonantal allomorphy: words ending in **-c** change this to **-qu-** before the superlative suffix:

**247. Le rovine antiquiseme dela Grècea.**

*The very ancient ruins of Greece.*

Finally, and quintessentially Dravian in nature, an absolute superlative can be formed by reduplicating the adjective (or adverb), the second occurrence occurring in the citation form and preceded by the preposition **de**:

**248. La maja sògra jè folanca de folanc.**

*My mother-in-law is very greedy.*

**249. Jal condoiç vevaiç de vevaiç.**

*He drives very quickly.*

This construction can also be encountered with the intensifying prefix **tra-** on the second occurrence of the adjective:

**250. Quèst pugl jè socat de trasocat!**

*This chicken is as dry as anything!*

## 7.4. Correlative comparison

Correlative comparatives, those which in English are expressed by constructions such as ‘the more ..., the more ...’ or ‘the less ... the less ...’, are in Dravian expressed by the constructions **quant mai ...**, **tant mai ...** and **quant man ...**, **tant man ...**:

**251. Quant mai jal stentava, tant mai dormaja.**

*The more he worked, the more he slept.*

**252. Quant mai jèu logràì, tant man m'end fraic.***The more I earn, the less I give a shit.*

Note that **tant** is frequently omitted in colloquial speech:

**253. Quant mai annei que jèu m'ai loac, mai el fosat me plaç.***The more years I live there, the more I like the village.*

- 
- 1) In older Dravian, one encounters a third element introducing the standard of comparison: **qua/ca**, which form also obtained in comparisons of equality. This was the original unmarked form, deriving from Latin QUĀM. The use of **de**, **que** and **de quant**, originally used only for greater precision, only ousted the original particle entirely during the 18th century.
- 2) Here we see one of the few instances where Dravian has preserved the Vulgar Latin direct and indirect cases. The predicate forms descend from the old direct case forms MĚLIOR PĚIOR etc, while the attributive forms descend from the oblique cases MELIÖRE- PEIÖRE-.



# 8. Numerals and quantifiers

---

## Lei numeralei e quantificadrei

### 8.I. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals from one to ten are given below:

1	<b>oin</b>	6	<b>sèi</b>
2	<b>doi</b>	7	<b>sèt</b>
3	<b>trèi</b>	8	<b>oaç</b>
4	<b>quatro</b>	9	<b>noav</b>
5	<b>cènc</b>	10	<b>deç</b>

Note that **oin**, **doi** and **trèi** all exhibit concord in gender, with the appropriate feminine forms being **oina**, **doa** and **traja**. These forms are not used in enumeration, but rather only when qualifying feminine nouns, or plural ambigeneric nouns (section SECTION):

**254. Doa manei e traja daite.***Two hands and three fingers.*

Cardinal numerals from 11-20:

11	<b>ònzei</b>	16	<b>seizei</b>
12	<b>dòzei</b>	17	<b>deacesèt</b>
13	<b>trèzei</b>	18	<b>deaçoaç</b>
14	<b>catòzei</b>	19	<b>deacenoav</b>
15	<b>quènzei</b>	20	<b>vèint</b>

The numerals **deacesèt** and **deacenoav** are, in most registers, pronounced /dʲa'sɛt/ and /dʲaʃ'nɤav/, *deaçnoav* being a common misspelling for the latter.

Cardinal numerals from 21-30:

21	<b>vèint-oin</b>	26	<b>vèinte-sèi</b>
22	<b>vèinte-doi</b>	27	<b>vèinte-sèt</b>
23	<b>vèinte-trèi</b>	28	<b>vèint-oaç</b>
24	<b>vèinte-quatro</b>	29	<b>vèinte-noav</b>
25	<b>vèinte-cènc</b>	30	<b>trènta</b>

Note that before units not beginning in a vowel or glide, **vèint** has the allomorph **vèinte**. This form is not encountered outside enumeration: **vèint dòmne** “twenty women”, not *\*vèinte dòmne*.

The rest of the decades to 90:

40	<b>quarènta</b>	70	<b>setènta</b>
50	<b>cinquènta</b>	80	<b>ocènta</b>
60	<b>sescènta</b>	90	<b>novènta</b>



Normally not reflected in the orthography, in most casual speech the final vowel of the decades is elided when preceding a word beginning with a vowel:

**255. Jèu hai trènta annei.**

*/'jɛu 'ai 'trɛnt 'ani/*

*I'm thirty years old.*

The numeral for 100, **cènt**, is masculine and invariable:

200	<b>doi cènt</b>	600	<b>sèi cènt</b>
300	<b>trèi cènt</b>	700	<b>sèt cènt</b>
400	<b>quadro cènt</b>	800	<b>oaç cènt</b>
500	<b>cènc cènt</b>	900	<b>noav cènt</b>

Note that while decades and units are typically written with a hyphen, thus **trènta-cènc** ‘thirty-five’ and **novènta-noav** ‘ninety-nine’, numerals above this lack a hyphen: **oaç cènt sescènta-trèi** ‘eight hundred and sixty-three’. Note also that Dravian does not connect hundreds and decades with a conjunction.

The numeral for 1000 **mèl** is invariable in the singular, but the plural **mègla** is treated as a feminine singular noun:

1 000	<b>mèl</b>	6 000	<b>sèi mègla</b>
2 000	<b>doa mègla</b>	7 000	<b>sèt mègla</b>
3 000	<b>traja mègla</b>	8 000	<b>oaç mègla</b>
4 000	<b>quadro mègla</b>	9 000	<b>noav mègla</b>
5 000	<b>cènc mègla</b>	10 000	<b>deaç mègla</b>

Numbers beyond **noav cènt novènta-noav mègla**, **noav cènt novènta-noav** ‘999 999’ correspond to the long scale, in common with usage across most of continental Europe. Thus we have:

1 000 000	<b>miglun</b> ‘milion’
1 000 000 000	<b>miglard</b> ‘miliard/thousand million’
1 000 000 000 000	<b>biglun</b> ‘billion/trillion’

In numerals written as figures, thousands are separated by a space, not a dot or comma. The **vírgula** ‘comma’ serves as a decimal separator:

1,5	<b>oin vírgula cènc</b>
2 342,7	<b>doa mègla trèi cènc cinquènta-doi vírgola sèt</b>

The cardinal numerals, when used as nouns, are masculine in gender, albeit invariable for number:

**256. Quale tagle teani? Noi avam o quarènta, però n'avam necoinei quarènta-doi.**

*Which sizes do you have? We've got a forty, but we don't have any forty-twos.*

## 8.2. Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numerals from one to ten are given below:

1st	<b>prèm</b>	6th	<b>sesçàn</b>
2nd	<b>secund</b>	7th	<b>setàn</b>
3rd	<b>tèrs</b>	8th	<b>oçàn</b>
4th	<b>quart</b>	9th	<b>novàn</b>
5th	<b>quènt</b>	10th	<b>deçàn</b>

The ordinal **prèm** ‘first’ irregularly becomes **praim-** when inflected for number and gender, thus **la praima dòmna** ‘the first lady’.

The ordinals from **secund** ‘second’ to **quènt** ‘fifth’ are regular Class I adjectives. Above **quènt**, ordinal numerals have the suffix **-àn**, which becomes **-ain-** when inflected: **la deçaina rezaina** ‘the tenth queen’.

The ordinal numerals from 11-20:

11th	<b>onzàn</b>	16th	<b>seizàn</b>
12th	<b>dozàn</b>	17th	<b>deacesètàn</b>
13th	<b>trezàn</b>	18th	<b>deaçòçàn</b>
14th	<b>catorzàn</b>	19th	<b>deacenovàn</b>
15th	<b>quenzàn</b>	20th	<b>ventàn</b>

The ordinal numerals for the units between the decades are formed in a similar way to the cardinals, with the cardinal form of the decade followed by the ordinal of the unit. Note however that while the first five ordinal numerals have suppletive forms when used alone, when used as the units of a decade they take the regular termination **-àn**:

21st	<b>vèint-unàn</b>	26th	<b>vèinte-seçàn</b>
22nd	<b>vèinte-dojàn</b>	27th	<b>vèinte-setàn</b>
23rd	<b>vèinte-trajàn</b>	28th	<b>vèint-oçàn</b>
24th	<b>vèinte-quatrà</b>	29th	<b>vèinte-novàn</b>
25th	<b>vèinte-cencàn</b>	30th	<b>trentàn</b>

The decades, hundreds and thousands:

40th	<b>quarentàn</b>	90th	<b>noventàn</b>
50th	<b>cinquantàn</b>	100th	<b>centàn</b>
60th	<b>sescentàn</b>	200th	<b>doi centàn</b>
70th	<b>setentàn</b>	1000th	<b>meglàn</b>
80th	<b>ocentàn</b>	2000th	<b>doi meglàn</b>

When qualifying nouns, the ordinals from first to tenth generally precede the noun, while those above tenth follow it:

**257. Devram prèndro el tèrs cal al mant.**

*We need to take the third road on the left.*

**258. Benvenotei ala Fèrea Annual de Música dozàn.**

*Welcome to the twelfth Annual Festival of Music.*

An exception to this is ordinals denoting the Nth monarch, pope or patriarch of the same name, where the ordinal always follows the proper noun:

**259. Jancoài apresam del empradro Costantan setàn.**

*Today we learnt about Emperor Constantine VII.*

Ordinal numerals above **deçàn** ‘tenth’ are in general only to be found in more elevated registers. In most colloquial speech and writing, one finds either the cardinal numeral used as an ordinal, or a circumlocution involving **quèl de X**, where X represents a cardinal:

**260. Avocadrei ènd fa mensun entel capítol quènzei.**

*Avocadrei mentions it in the fifteenth chapter.*

**261. Sèi el sequènt? Nun, jèu san quèl de vèinte.**

*Are you next? No, I’m twentieth.*

When written in figures, the ordinal numerals ending in **-àn** are abbreviated by a superscript **n** or **na**, indicating masculine and feminine forms respectively. The five suppletive forms have their own abbreviations:

1 <sup>m</sup> , 1 <sup>ma</sup>	<b>prèm</b>	6 <sup>n</sup> , 6 <sup>na</sup>	<b>sesçàn</b>
2 <sup>d</sup> , 2 <sup>da</sup>	<b>secund</b>	7 <sup>n</sup> , 7 <sup>na</sup>	<b>setàn</b>
3 <sup>s</sup> , 3 <sup>sa</sup>	<b>tèrs</b>	8 <sup>n</sup> , 8 <sup>na</sup>	<b>oçàn</b>
4 <sup>t</sup> , 4 <sup>ta</sup>	<b>quart</b>	9 <sup>n</sup> , 9 <sup>na</sup>	<b>novàn</b>
5 <sup>t</sup> , 5 <sup>ta</sup>	<b>quènt</b>	10 <sup>n</sup> , 10 <sup>na</sup>	<b>deçàn</b>

### 8.3. Collective numerals

Dravian possesses a group of nouns indicating groups consisting of a certain number of referents, which may also be used to indicate inexact figures.

The commonest of these are **parègl** ‘pair, couple’, **deçaina** ‘group of ten’, **dozaina** ‘dozen’, **ventaina** ‘group of twenty’, **centenare** ‘group of a hundred’. These function as nouns, not quantifiers:

262. **Na ventaina de studèntei scelirà l’esàmen.**

*Twenty or so students will pass the exam.*

263. **Jèu prendràì na dozaina.**

*I’ll take a dozen.*

Also in this group fall the jocular number **meglènta** ‘umpteen’ and its derivative **meglentina** ‘group of however many’:

264. **Toi teani zan na meglentina de camisce.**

*You’ve got loads of shirts already.*

265. **Jèu t’hai zan daiç na meglentina de jate.**

*I’ve already told you umpteen times.*

### 8.4. Fractions

Aside from the irregular form **meitat** ‘half’, fractions are given using the masculine forms of the ordinal numerals: **o tèrs** ‘a third’, **o quart** ‘a quarter’. Similarly, we have **sèt deçainei** ‘seven tenths’ or **doi cinquentinei** ‘two fiftieths’.

Note however, that in compound words **meitat** ‘half’ is replaced by the form **mai-**, as in **na mai-ura** ‘a half-hour’ or **mai-trimèstro** ‘half-term’.

Percentages in Dravian are masculine singular noun phrases, which are always accompanied by an determiner. The definite article is most common, with the indefinite article indicating a more approximate sense:

**266. El vèinte-cènc pro cènt d'atantei ne paca rèn el calaic.**

*Twenty-five percent of inhabitants don't pay their rates.*

**267. Jal s'è augmentat d'o setènta pro cènt.**

*It has increased by some seventy percent.*

## 8.5. Use of numerals

### 8.5.1. Measurements

Measurements can be introduced in one of two ways. The first is by a predicate adjective such as **lòng** 'long' or **alt** 'tall, high', and the measurement as an adjectival complement introduced by the preposition **de**:

**268. Çò jè lòng de quènzei centimetrei.**

*It is fifteen centimetres long.*

**269. La Lerosa jè alta de 682 metrei.**

*Mount Lerosa is 682 metres high.*

The second is by means of a transitive verb such as **pesar** 'to weigh', **mesurar** 'to measure' or **fairo** 'to make' with the measurement as a normal quantified noun phrase. When the verb is semantically empty (as with **fairo**), the degree measured, such as height, depth etc., can be specified with an appropriate noun introduced by **de**:

**270. Jala paisa 67 quiló.***She weighs 67 kilos.***271. La tava fa cènc metrei de lòng.***The rope is five metres long.***8.5.2. Dates**

Aside from the first day of a month, cardinal numerals rather than ordinals are used to specify the date. Note that the date is always preceded by **el**:

**272. Qual jè la data jancoài? El praim de mars.***What date is it today? The first of March.***273. Quand jè el to naversare? El sèt d'oçuvro.***When is your birthday? The seventh of October.*

In contrast, however, centuries are enumerated with the ordinal numerals:

**274. Jal domnava entel tèrs sègl p.C.***He ruled in the third century AD.***275. Camarat Vasilenko entel vèinte-quatràn sègl.***Comrade Vasilenko in the Twenty-Fourth Century.*

Centuries are conventionally written in Roman numerals:

**276. L'economía prusa entel XVIII sègl.***The Prussian economy in the 18th Century.*

Years in Dravian are always given in full, without the abbreviation found in English:

**277. Jèu san nat en mèl noav cènt oicènta-trèi.***I was born in nineteen eighty-three.*

### 8.5.3. Time

Like most European languages, Dravian makes use of both the 12-hour and 24-hour clock. The latter is mainly used in official contexts, such as announcements, timetables and so on. In reading 24-hour time aloud, the hours and minutes are simply given as cardinals, agreeing where appropriate with the noun **ura** ‘hour’:

**278. El tren prósim partirà a trèzei ure cinquèta.**

*The next train will depart at 13:50.*

**279. La rauva s’è traç a traja ure vèinte.**

*The theft took place at 03:20.*

However, far more common in colloquial usage is the 12-hour clock. Uniquely among European languages, Dravian enumerates hours using the ordinals, not the cardinals:

**280. C’è qual ura? C’è la quènta.**

*What time is it? It’s five (o’clock).*

*Lit: Which hour is it? It is the fifth.*

Minutes and fractions of the hour, are given with **e** ‘and’ if the time occurs after the named hour, or **man** ‘less’ if it occurs before the hour:

**281. Arriparà ala quarta e meitat.**

*He’ll arrive at half past four.*

**282. Jèu’t spèç despòì la sesçaina man quart!**

*I’ve been waiting for you since quarter to six!*

Optionally, the time may be followed by the adverbial **de sègn**, which corresponds in function to the English ‘o’clock’. However, unlike the English, **de sègn** can occur with fractions of an hour as well as full hours. Thus, while *Xhalf past five o’clock* is not acceptable in English, **la quènta de sègn e meitat** is fully acceptable in Dravian.



To indicate which part of the day, adverbial phrases such as **dela mataina** ‘in the morning’, **de merài** ‘noon’, **dela somerài** ‘in the afternoon’, **dela sera** ‘in the evening’ and **dela noaç** ‘at night’ are used.

#### 8.5.4. Currency

The currency used in Dravia at the time of writing is the **corona**, abbreviated as **C** and subdivided into one hundred **feira**. Prices above C1,00 are always quoted with **corona**, while **feira** is optional:

**283. Quèst ne val rèn deaç corone quarènta.**

*This isn't worth C10,40.*

**284. Jèu logràì doa mègla corone la loina.**

*I earn C2000 per month.*

**285. Tata! Jèu vògl trènta feire!**

*Dad! I want C0,30!*

Foreign currencies are quoted in the same way:

**286. Oin dolar american cinquènta val quatro corone draveane vèinte-sèi.**

*\$1.50 is worth C4,26.*

## 8.6. Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Dravian do not *sensu stricto* form a discrete part of speech category. Like numerals, they function much like determiners which express the quantity or amount of a referent. While the cardinal numerals express a definite amount, quantifiers express a more indefinite amount.

As a rule, quantifiers are only rarely single lexemes, like **tot** ‘all’ or **ògn** ‘every’, more commonly they are phrases comprising an adjective, adverb or noun followed by the preposition **de**, such as **sagl de** ‘enough’, or **la minortat de** ‘the minority of’:

**287. La majortat de polítiquei san corrutei.**

*The majority of politicians are corrupt.*

**288. Jèu hai mascat sagl de tòrta jancoài.**

*I’ve eaten enough cake today.*

**289. Jal ha vèst ògna cetat dela Dràvea.**

*He’s seen every city in Dravia.*

### 8.6.I. Quantifiers as direct objects

When a bare quantifier is used as a direct object, the partitive pronoun **ènd** is used before the verb. Note that quantifiers which take the preposition **de** omit this:

**290. Jèu ènd capaja tot!**

*I used to understand all of it!*

**291. Nojaltrei ènd avam audait sagl.**

*We’ve heard enough.*

Numerals used as direct objects also trigger the same pattern:

**292. Jèu ènd prendràì deaç.**

*I’ll take ten.*

# 9. Prepositions

---

Le preposiçuneî



# 10. Verbal inflection

---

## L'infleçun del vèrb

### 10.1. Overview

The Dravian verb has inherited from Vulgar Latin a system of eight synthetic tenses: the present indicative and subjunctive, the imperfect, the preterite, the past subjunctive, the future, the conditional and the counterfactual conditional. Strictly speaking, these eight are not pure “tenses”, but rather paradigms combining tense, mood and aspect.

In addition to the eight “tenses”, the verb also possesses three non-finite forms: the infinitive, the present participle and the past participle, as well as imperatives in the second person of the present tense.

#### 10.1.1. Categories of inflection

Breaking down the eight “tenses” into their individual components, it can be seen that the Dravian verb inflects for the following categories:

- › **Person:** first, second and third.
- › **Number:** singular and plural.
- › **Mood:** indicative, subjunctive, imperative and conditional.
- › **Aspect:** imperfective and perfective.
- › **Tense:** present, past and future.

While person and number marking is largely regular, present in all eight tenses, it should be noted that mood/aspect/tense marking is somewhat defective in that not all combinations of mood, aspect and tense obtain. Thus, the present tense combines only with the indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods; lacking the conditional mood and any kind of marking for aspect. Similarly, in the past tense both the imperfective and perfective aspects obtain, while the imperative and conditional moods are wanting.

### 10.1.2. Conjugation classes

The citation form of a Dravian verb is the infinitive, which ends in one of **-ar**, **-er**, **-ro** or **-èr**. On this basis, verbal inflection is traditionally divided into four conjugations, reflecting the form of the infinitive. This analysis, informed by the four conjugation classes of Latin, has been recognised as being inadequate in describing the modern language (Padanei, 1998).

Based on actual inflectional patterns, it is apparent that the inflected forms of verbs with infinitives in **-er** and **-ro** largely coincide. As such, we follow more recent scholarship in dividing the inflection of the Dravian verb into three conjugation patterns: conjugation I, which comprises verbs with infinitives in **-ar**; conjugation II, which composed of those verbs with infinitives in **-er** and **-ro**; and finally conjugation III, which comprises verbs with infinitives in **-èr**. It will be noted throughout the paradigms that the forms conjugations II

and III generally coincide outside the so-called “perfect” tenses: the preterite, the past subjunctive and the counterfactual conditional.

Additionally, conjugations I and III each possess a subclass characterised by an augment before the personal desinence in the present indicative and subjunctive, **-aj-** being particular to conjugation I and **-èsc-** to conjugation III: we refer to these subclasses as conjugations Ib and IIIb, respectively.

Standing outside these three regular conjugations are the small, closed set of irregular verbs, such as **jèstro** ‘to be’ or **fairo** ‘to do’. These verbs, numbering eleven in the present indicative, possess defective forms in one or more tense, or are characterised by suppletive roots for the so-called “perfect” tenses:

In general, the conjugated forms of a Dravian verb are formed by applying desinences indicating person, tense, aspect, mood and so on, to an inflectible stem. For most Dravian verbs, regular or irregular, there are a maximum of three inflectible stems. The first is the imperfect stem, which in most verbs characterises the present, imperfect and preterite tenses. This is formed by removing the infinitive termination **-ar**, **-er**, **-ro** or **-èr**. Thus the imperfect stems of **rumpro** ‘to break’, **domnar** ‘to rule’ and **colpèr** ‘to hit’ are **rump-**, **domn-** and **colp-**, respectively.

It should be noted that in the case of verbs with infinitives in **-ro**, however, a not insignificant proportion use a distinct inflectible stem for the perfect tenses. This perfect stem is rarely synchronically predictable from the infinitive, but all have in common the absence of the thematic vowel. For example, the inflectible stem of **vèvro** ‘to live’ is **vaiv-** in most tenses, but **vèsc-** in the so-called “perfect” tenses.

Finally, the third inflectible stem, used for the future and first conditional tenses, coincides with the infinitive itself, with any final paragogic vowel deleted and the tonic accent shifting from the root. Thus while the future stem of **cantar** ‘to sing’ is **cantar-**, the future stem of **cògro** ‘to cook’ is **cogr-**.

## 10.2. Conjugation

In this section we shall present the inflectional forms of the regular verb for each tense in turn, remarking on any difficulties of inflection as they arise. Paradigms for the irregular verbs will be given in Appendix \$\$\$ where they differ from the regular forms.

### 10.2.1. Present indicative

The person endings of the regular verb in the present indicative are outlined in the following table, exemplified by the verbs **portar** ‘to carry’, **cantar** ‘to sing’, **correr** ‘to run’, **dormèr** ‘to sleep’ and **finèr** ‘to finish’.

It will be observed that person marking is to a degree defective. In the first conjugation, the third person marker is the same in both the singular and the plural, while in the second and third conjugations the first person singular coincides with the third person plural.

	Ia	Ib	II	III	IIIb
<b>1sg</b>	pòrt	cantài	cur	dòrm	finèsc
<b>2sg</b>	pòrte	cantaje	curri	dòrmi	finèsci
<b>3sg</b>	pòrta	cantaja	cur	dòrm	finèsc



	Ia	Ib	II	III	IIIb
1pl	portam	cantam	corram	dormam	finam
2pl	portatei	cantatei	corraitei	dormaitei	finaitei
3pl	pòrta	cantaja	cur	dòrm	finèsc

Certain forms are marked by a null desinence  $-\emptyset$ , as in the 1sg of first conjugation verbs, and the 1sg, 3sg and 3pl or second and third conjugation verbs. Those verbs ending in a cluster comprised of *muta cum liquida*, as in the verbs **suvlar** ‘to whistle’ and **abrèr** ‘to open’ acquire a paragogic  $-o$  (in the first person) or  $-e$  (in the third), preventing an impermissible auslaut cluster. Thus **jèu suvlo** ‘I whistle’ or **jal abre** ‘he opens’, and not  $*jèu suvl$ ,  $*jal abr$ . Recall that the sequence  $-gl-$  represents  $/\lambda/$ , not  $/gl/$ , and so no paragoge occurs. Thus **jèu magl** ‘I stain’, not  $*jèu maglo$ .

As noted in section \$\$\$ above, the orthographical representation of certain consonants is determined by the following vowel, in that  $/s/$  is represented by **ç** when not followed by **e** or **i**, while  $/k/$  is represented by **qu** when followed by **e** or **i**. As a result, the spelling of a verb’s stem can vary dependent on the following desinence. The verb **cògro** ‘to cook’ has the present indicative paradigm **jèu coac**, **toi coaqui**, **jal coac**, with  $-c-$  changing to  $-qu-$  before the 2sg desinence  $-i$ , in order to preserve the final  $/k/$  of the root. Similarly, in **tacer** ‘to be silent’ we have **jèu taç**, **toi taci**, **jal taç**, with the  $-c-$  of the root becoming  $-ç-$  when not followed by **i** or **e**, in order to preserve the  $/s/$  sound.

Note also in the paradigm of **corrèr** ‘to run’ above the reduction of  $-rr-$  to  $-r-$  when word-final. This purely graphical change is common to all verbs with orthographic double consonants in final posi-

tion. Thus from **quellar** ‘to wiggle’, we similarly find **jèu quel**, rather than \*jèu quell.

#### 10.2.1.1. Rhizotonic apophony

It will be noted that in the unaugmented classes of all conjugations that in four out of six forms are rhizotonic, that is the tonic accent falls upon the root<sup>1</sup>, while in the other two it falls upon the desinence<sup>2</sup>. As a result of soundchanges from Latin, this shifting of the tonic accent gives rise to a number of stress-conditioned apophonic variations, a phenomenon which is frequently described as the most challenging aspect of Dravian grammar for foreign learners.

A particular complication of rhizotonic apophony in Dravian (as opposed to, say, the equivalent phenomenon in Spanish) is that the outcomes vary according to whether the syllable is checked or unchecked. In addition, from a synchronic point of view it is impossible to determine without recourse to the word’s etymology whether the rhizotonic stem of a verb like **levar** ‘to buy’ is *leav-* or *laiv-*, due to open and close vowels falling together in unstressed syllables<sup>3</sup>.

In the following table are given the stressed allomorphs of the alternating stem vowels. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the rhizotonic allomorphs of the mid vowels are predictable only by reference to the word’s etymology.

	Unchecked	Checked	Etymological Vowel
<b>i</b>	ai	è	ī
<b>e</b>	ai	i	Ē, Ĩ

	Unchecked	Checked	Etymological Vowel
e	ea	è	Ĕ
o	oa o	ò u	ŏ ō, ŭ
u	oi	ù	ū

It should be mentioned that by and large the conditions of apophony are sensitive to the shape of the Latin word, not the modern Dravian. Thus, while the vowel of **moav** ‘moves’ is checked in modern Dravian, in the Latin etymon *MŌVET* the syllable was unchecked.

Similarly, due in part to their origins in consonant clusters, the “palatal” sounds /ʃ ɲ ʎ/ always check the preceding vowel. Thus we have **jèu tègn** ‘I hold’ but **jal tean** ‘he holds’ from Latin *TĚNEŌ* and *TĚNET*, respectively.

Note that those conjugation II verbs with infinitives in **-ro** are already rhizotonic in their infinitival form. In the infinitive, the checked allomorph always obtains, and so in the inflected forms one must often derive the unchecked and atonic forms. For a verb like **cògro** ‘to cook’, the infinitive exhibits rhizotonic **-ò-** in a checked syllable while the second singular **coaqui** exhibits **-oa-** in an unchecked syllable. Finally, in an unstressed syllable we find **cocam**, the vowels /ɔ/ and /o/ having fallen together in unstressed syllables.

10.2.1.2. *Consonantal allomorphy*

In the present indicative, two main processes of consonant allomorphy are to be noted, both absent from conjugation I and both restricted only to a subset of these verbs.

The first pattern of allomorphy is characterised by the presence of a stem-final velar consonant in the first singular and third plural forms, but a “palatal” consonant in all other forms. This pattern of allomorphy is relatively common, exemplified as it is by the desinences of all conjugation IIIb verbs.

However, in the verbs of conjugation II, the pattern is in fact rather uncommon, restricted as it is to those verbs in conjugation II with infinitives in **-ro** whose final stem consonant was in Latin either **C** or **G**, such as **vèncro** ‘to win’, from Latin **VINCĒRE**. Frequently, the synchronic Dravian forms are not predictable from the infinitive, this being particularly the case where the Latin etymon has stem-final **-G-**. Thus, the paradigm of a verb like **frèiro** ‘to fry’, from Latin **FRĪGĒRE** looks rather different to that of a verb like **vèncro**:

	<b>vèncro</b>	<b>frèiro</b>
<b>1sg</b>	vènc	fraig
<b>2sg</b>	vènci	frai
<b>3sg</b>	vènç	frai
<b>1pl</b>	vençam	frezam
<b>2pl</b>	vençaitei	frezaitai
<b>3pl</b>	vènc	fraig

As such, during the history of Dravian, a number of verbs originally exhibiting this allomorphy have been levelled in favour of one stem form or another. Most frequently, a new stem has been created on the basis of the arrhizotonic stem used in the first and second plural<sup>4</sup>.

The paradigms of the handful of unaugmented verbs which do exhibit allomorphy are given in Appendix \$\$\$ alongside those of the irregular verbs. In the case of verbs like **soiro**, with its present stem **soz-**, a good dictionary will provide the inflectible stem where this is not predictable from the infinitive.

The second species of consonantal allomorphy is again restricted to a subset of conjugation II verbs with infinitives in **-er**, and unaugmented conjugation III verbs. In both cases only those verbs whose final stem consonant is **-l-** or **-n-** are affected. In these verbs, the final consonant undergoes palatalisation to **-gl-** and **-gn-** in the first singular and third plural, as exemplified by the verbs **venèr** 'to come' and **valer** 'to be worth', shown in the following table.

	<b>venèr</b>	<b>valer</b>
<b>1sg</b>	vègn	vagl
<b>2sg</b>	veani	vali
<b>3sg</b>	vean	val
<b>1pl</b>	venam	valam
<b>2pl</b>	venaitei	valaitei
<b>3pl</b>	vègn	vagl

It will be recalled from section 9.2.1.1 above that the consonants /ɲ ʎ/ always trigger the checked allomorph of the stressed vowel apophony.

### 10.2.2. Present subjunctive

Like the present indicative, the present subjunctive is formed on the imperfect stem. In common with the present indicative, the present subjunctive also possesses augmented verbs in the first and third conjugations, as well as processes of rhizotonic apophony and consonant allomorphy. The personal desinences are exemplified in the following table by the same set of verbs used for the present indicative:

	<b>Ia</b>	<b>Ib</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IIIb</b>
<b>1sg</b>	pòrt	cantài	curra	dòrma	finèsca
<b>2sg</b>	pòrti	cantài	curre	dòrme	finèschi
<b>3sg</b>	pòrt	cantài	curra	dòrma	finèsca
<b>1pl</b>	portam	cantam	corram	dormam	finam
<b>2pl</b>	portaitei	cantaitei	corraitei	dormatei	finatei
<b>3pl</b>	pòrt	cantài	curra	dòrma	finèsca

It will be noted that rhizotonic apophony takes place in the same forms as it does in the present indicative: the first, second and third singular and the third plural. Similarly, note that in all three conjugations the desinences of the first and third singular coincide with those of the third plural.

10.2.2.1. *Consonantal allomorphy*

In contrast to the present indicative, the original consonantal allomorphy of the present subjunctive has largely been eliminated by analogy, with the indicative stem being used for all persons of the subjunctive regardless of whether the regular reflex would exhibit any kind of allomorphy. For example, while the regular reflex of *iōCES*, the second singular subjunctive of *iōCĀRE* ‘to play’ would be *Xzoaci*, the form encountered is rather **zoaqui**, with the final velar consonant preserved by analogy with the indicative **zoque** ‘you play’.

Analogical extension of the indicative stem to the subjunctive does, however, lead to one main example of consonantal allomorphy. Those verbs of the second and third conjugations which exhibit either **-gl-** or **-gn-** in the first singular and third plural of the indicative display this throughout the subjunctive paradigm, as exemplified again by **venèr** and **valer** in the following table:

	<b>venèr</b>	<b>valer</b>
<b>1sg</b>	vègna	vagla
<b>2sg</b>	vègne	vagle
<b>3sg</b>	vègna	vagla
<b>1pl</b>	vegnam	vaglam
<b>2pl</b>	vegnatei	vaglatei
<b>3pl</b>	vègna	vagla

## 10.2.3. Imperfect

Like the present indicative and subjunctive, the imperfect is also formed on the imperfect stem. The imperfect tense is probably the most regular of the Dravian synthetic tenses, exhibiting little in the way of allomorphy. All imperfect desinences are stressed and as a result stem allomorphy is absent from the paradigm, as are the two augments. Indeed, the only irregularities in the imperfect are the result of suppletion in a handful of the most common verbs; which paradigms will be discussed in Appendix \$\$\$.

In the following table, the personal desinences of the imperfect are exemplified by the verbs **portar** ‘to carry’, **correr** ‘to run’ and **dormèr** ‘to sleep’:

	I	II	III
<b>1sg</b>	portava	corraja	dormaja
<b>2sg</b>	portave	corraje	dormaje
<b>3sg</b>	portava	corraja	dormaja
<b>1pl</b>	portuam	corream	dormeam
<b>2pl</b>	portuatei	correatei	dormeatei
<b>3pl</b>	portava	corraja	dormaja

Note that in all three conjugations the desinences of the first and third singular coincide once again with those of the third plural. Note that the desinences of the second and third conjugations can trigger spelling changes, as discussed in section 9.2.1.1. Thus, from **tacer** ‘to be silent’ we have first singular **jèu taçaja** but first plural **noi taceam**, with an alternation between **ç** and **c** in order to preserve the final /s/ of the root. Similarly, verbs with stem-final velar conso-



nants, such as **cògro**, exhibit an alternation between **c** and **qu** to preserve the final /k/: **jèu cocaja** but **noi coqueam**.

Again, it is apparent that the desinences of the second and third conjugations stand in opposition to those of the first conjugation. It is worth mentioning here that in a number of non-standard varieties, including not only the rural dialects of the southern provinces but also much basilectal speech of Sojane, the desinences of the first and second plural in the second and third conjugations have been replaced by those of the first conjugation. As such, it is not uncommon to encounter forms such as **noi dormuam** in place of standard **noi dormeam**.

Similarly, it is noteworthy that in the speech of Dravea's second city, Cembrana, the desinences of the first singular in all conjugations has been rendered distinct from the third person by apocope of the final vowel. Thus, for standard **jèu portava** 'I was carrying', a speaker from Cembrana would say **jèu portav**. This is one of the most salient characteristics of Cembranais, and is often imitated by speakers of other varieties.

#### 10.2.4. Preterite

In the first and third conjugations, the preterite is regularly built upon the imperfect stem. However, verbs of the second conjugation with infinitives in **-ro** generally exhibit a separate perfect stem used for the perfect tenses, including the preterite. As a rule, the precise form of these perfect stems cannot be wholly predicted synchronically from the form of the infinitive. However, they do all share a number of common features in contrast to the "weak" perfects of the first and third conjugations:

- › They are rhizotonic, with the accent falling upon the stem in the first and third singular, while weak perfects are arhizotonic throughout the paradigm.
- › They have their own set of personal desinences, distinct from those used in the first and third conjugations, and weak verbs of the second conjugations.
- › A slight majority of strong perfect stems end in /s/ or /ʃ/, as in **dècei** ‘I said’ or **scrèsei** ‘I wrote’.
- › In general, those verbs with irregular past participles are those which also possess distinct perfect stems.

In the following table, the personal desinences of the preterite are exemplified by four verbs: **portar** ‘to carry’, **correr** ‘to run’, **scrèvro** ‘to write’ and **dormèr** ‘to sleep’:

	I	IIa	IIb	III
<b>1sg</b>	portài	corròi	scrèsei	dormài
<b>2sg</b>	portasti	corròsti	scrisisti	dormèsti
<b>3sg</b>	portà	corrò	scrès	dormài
<b>1pl</b>	portaim	corroim	scrisam	dormam
<b>2pl</b>	portastei	corròstei	scrisistei	dormèstei
<b>3pl</b>	portar	corròr	scriser	dormèr

Note that the second singular and plural are homophonous, distinguished only orthographically.

The rhizotonic forms of the strong second conjugation preterites undergo rhizotonic apophony in the same way as rhizotonic stems in the present indicative and subjunctive: see the table in section 9.2.1.1 for the appropriate alternations.

The distinction between third singular and third plural in the modern standard language is recessive. While remaining somewhat stigmatised by the Académie, the third plural desinences are almost entirely replaced by those of the third singular in all registers save the most elevated.

### 10.2.5. Past subjunctive

The past (or “imperfect”) subjunctive, like the preterite, can be formed on one of two roots. Verbs of conjugations I and III, as well as those verbs of conjugation II with weak preterites, form the past subjunctive with the imperfect root. Verbs of the second conjugation with strong preterites make use of the distinct perfect root.

In the following table, the personal desinences of the past subjunctive are exemplified by the verbs **portar** ‘to carry’, **corrèr** ‘to run’, **scrèvro** ‘to write’ and **dormèr** ‘to sleep’:

	I	IIa	IIb	III
<b>1sg</b>	portas	corris	scrisis	dormès
<b>2sg</b>	portasi	corrisi	scrisisi	dormèsi
<b>3sg</b>	portas	corris	scrisis	dormès
<b>1pl</b>	portàsem	corrísem	scrisísem	dormèsem
<b>2pl</b>	portastei	corristei	scrisistei	dormèstei
<b>3pl</b>	portas	corris	scrisis	dormès

## 10.2.6. Counterfactual conditional

The counterfactual conditional (commonly known as the “second conditional”) is the final paradigm to make use of the perfective stem.

In the following table, the personal desinences of the counterfactual conditional are exemplified by the verbs: **portar** ‘to carry’, **correr** ‘to run’, **scrèvro** ‘to write’ and **dormèr** ‘to sleep’:

	I	IIa	IIb	III
<b>1sg</b>	portara	correra	scrisera	dormèra
<b>2sg</b>	portare	correre	scrisere	dormère
<b>3sg</b>	portara	correra	scrisera	dormèra
<b>1pl</b>	portaram	correram	scriseram	dormiram
<b>2pl</b>	portaratei	correratei	scriseratei	dormiratei
<b>3pl</b>	portara	correra	scrisera	dormèra

## 10.2.7. Future and conditional

Historically speaking, the future and conditional tenses are formed upon the verb’s infinitive, as seen in the cognate forms of other Romance languages. In verbs of classes I and II, this presents few difficulties.

As will be noted, throughout both paradigms the stress falls upon the desinence rather than the original infinitive ending. As such, in class III, the surface realisation of the atonic infinitive stem differs from that of the orthotonic stem in that the original thematic vowel **i** is restored, rather than the **è** seen in the independent infinitive.

Thus, while the infinitive of **dormèr** shows stressed open è, in the future and conditional tenses the unstressed stem **dormir-** shows the etymologically original **i**.

In the following table, the personal desinences of the future tense is exemplified by the verbs **portar** ‘to carry’, **correr** ‘to run’, **scrèvro** ‘to write’ and **dormèr** ‘to sleep’:

	I	IIa	IIb	III
<b>1sg</b>	portarài	correrài	scrivrài	dormirài
<b>2sg</b>	portaré	correré	scrivré	dormiré
<b>3sg</b>	portarà	correrà	scrivrà	dormirà
<b>1pl</b>	portaram	correram	scrivram	dormiram
<b>2pl</b>	portaraitei	correraitei	scrivraitei	dormiraitei
<b>3pl</b>	portarà	correrà	scrivrà	dormirà

Likewise, the same verbs exemplify the desinences of the conditional in the following table:

	I	IIa	IIb	III
<b>1sg</b>	portaraja	correraja	scrivraja	dormiraja
<b>2sg</b>	portaraje	correraje	scrivraje	dormiraje
<b>3sg</b>	portaraja	correraje	scrivraje	dormiraje
<b>1pl</b>	portaram	correram	scrivram	dormiram
<b>2pl</b>	portaraitei	correraitei	scrivraitei	dormiraitei
<b>3pl</b>	portaraja	correraja	scrivraja	dormiraja

A peculiarity of verbs of class IIa whose stems end in a stop (excluding **g**) is that the thematic vowel of the infinitive undergoes syncope in the future and conditional tenses<sup>5</sup>. The resultant cluster then undergoes a process of lenition, giving the following outcomes:

p...r	→	br
t...r	→	dr
qu...r	→	gr
b...r	→	vr
d...r	→	zr

Thus the third person future of **saper** ‘to know’ is not \**saprà* but **sabrà**, and that of **veder** ‘to see’ is **vezrà**. Note that this phenomenon of lenition does not occur in those verbs ending in a final consonant cluster: the third person conditional of **responder** ‘to reply’ is **respondraje**, not \**responzraje*.

Note also that in class IIb the stressed stem vowel *è* of the infinitive becomes **i**. The infinitives of all verbs of class IIb are rhizotonic, and when the infinitive is used as the stem for the future and conditional tenses the stem vowel exhibits the atonic allomorph.

## 10.2.8. Other forms

### 10.2.8.1. Verbal adjectives

The Dravian verb distinguishes three verbal adjectives: the present participle, the past participle and the gerund. The formation of the first and last of these is unremarkable, both being derived regu-

larly from the unaugmented inflectible stem used for the present and imperfect tenses. In the following table the inflections are exemplified by the verbs **portar** 'to carry', **correr** 'to run' and **dormèr** 'to sleep':

	I	II	III
<b>present part.</b>	portant	corrènt	dormènt
<b>gerund</b>	portand	corrènd	dormènd

The present participle and the gerund both decline like regular two-form adjectives, being marked for number but not gender.

The formation of the past participle is only somewhat more difficult. For classes I and II, the paradigms are regular, whereby the endings **-at** and **-ait** are applied to the inflectible stem. In class II, however, we encounter a split between weak and strong forms, much as in the formation of the perfect stem. The weak ending **-oit** obtains for most verbs of class IIa, although by no means all. As a general rule, those verbs which exhibit a strong perfect stem will also have a strong (that is, irregular rhizotonic) past participle. However, there are a handful of otherwise regular verbs of class IIa which exhibit a strong past participle. For example, the verb **abrer** 'to open' has the past participle **apèrt** 'opened' but is fully regular in its other forms. In the following table, the forms of the past participle is exemplified by the verbs **portar** 'to carry', **tacer** 'to be silent', **scrèvro** 'to write' and **dormèr** 'to sleep':

	I	IIa	IIb	III
<b>past participle</b>	portat	taçoit	scrès	dormait

Note that both weak and strong past participles both inflect like regular four-form adjectives:

**293. La lènga scrèsa e lei dialètei favlatei.**

*The written language and the spoken dialects.*

10.2.8.2. Imperatives

The positive imperative is properly a mood of the present tense, and is broadly speaking wholly regular, with the same remarks applying to the allomorphy of the present tense being relevant to the imperative. In the following table the desinences of the imperative are exemplified by the verbs **portar** ‘to carry’, **cantar** ‘to sing’, **correr** ‘to run’, **dormèr** ‘to sleep’ and **finèr** ‘to finish’.

	Ia	Ib	II	III	IIIb
2sg	pòrta	cantà	cur	dòrm	finèç
2pl	portat	cantat	corrait	dormait	finait

In addition to the second person imperative, Dravian also makes use of third and first person imperatives, which are formally identical to the corresponding forms of the present subjunctive. Typically, these forms are preceded by the conjunction **que**, albeit only sporadically in the first person plural:

**294. Que vègna el zurn!**

*May the day come!*

**295. Corram, çavutei!**

*Let's run, lads!*



Those dialects which use third person circumlocutions as formal second person pronouns also make use of the third person singular of the present subjunctive as a polite imperative:

**296. Qu'entre, dòn.**

*Come in, sir.*

The negative imperative is formally identical to the positive imperative, preceded by the particle **nun**, which in the first and third person displace the conjunction **que**:

**297. Nun planzait, fègle.**

*Don't cry, girls.*

**298. Doncèla, nun tanga el carn antei de comprarlo.**

*Miss, don't touch the meat before buying it.*

Like other negative clauses, the negative imperative can be reinforced by connegative particles such as **bèsça** or **dostà**, the latter being particularly forceful:

**299. Nun rumpait nògla, nè nun invitat dostà  
gl'amaiquei vòstrei.**

*Don't break anything, and DON'T invite your friends over.*

Frequently found with both positive and negative imperatives are the illocutionary particles **mo** and **zan**. The particle **mo** has a benefactive sense, implying that the order given should benefit the interlocutor in some way, while the particle **zan** lends a more emphatic connotation, generally indicating impatience on behalf of the speaker.

Syntactically, they differ in that **mo** precedes the imperative verb (and any negative particle, but not the conjunction **que**) while **zan** follows it:

**300. Mo masca el martarò! Màscalo zan!**

*Eat up your sauce! Eat it, already!*

- 
- 1 ) That is, all persons except the first and second persons plural.
  - 2 ) It is precisely these same parts in the augmented subclasses that lack the augment. Witness 1sg **cantài** but 1pl **cantam**.
  - 3 ) Typically, a good dictionary will indicate which option is correct. For example, the Dizeunare del'Acàdemea gives *lɛvar*, indicating that the vowel is etymologically short and the correct form of the stressed stem is **leav-**.
  - 4 ) For example, the verb **soiro** 'to dry' in Old Dravian was conjugated much like **frèiro**, with a paradigm *jèu sog, toi soi, jal soi, noi sozam*. On the basis of the first plural form **sozam** a new present stem **soz-** has been extracted, giving the modern paradigm **jèu soz** 'I dry', **toi sozi** 'you dry', **jal soz** 'he dries', **noi sozam** 'we dry'.
  - 5 ) While restricted in the modern language to those verbs with stems ending in a stop, in older stages of the language, the phenomenon was far more widespread. Remnants of this are to be seen in such forms as **voldrà** beside regularised **volerà** and so on.

# II. Verbal periphrasis

---

## Perífrasi del vèrb

### II.1. Overview

In addition to the eight synthetic tenses described in the previous chapter, Dravian also makes use of verbal periphrases to indicate a further range of temporal, aspectual and modal combinations. These periphrases make use of a small set of auxiliary verbs and the non-finite forms of the lexical verb: the participles, gerund and infinitive.

Verbal periphrasis can be broadly divided into four groups: the so-called “perfect” tenses (which, strictly speaking, mark retrospective aspect); the progressive tenses; passive constructions and finally causative constructions. In this chapter, we shall examine each group in turn.

### II.2. Perfect tenses

Dravian distinguishes three compound perfect tenses: the perfect, the pluperfect, and the past anterior. Additionally, there are also the

perfect subjunctive and the pluperfect subjunctive. The perfect tenses are formed an auxiliary verb; either **jèstro** ‘to be’ or **aver** ‘to have’, which marks person, mood and tense, and the past participle of the lexical verb.

### II.2.I. Auxiliary selection

All transitive verbs select **aver** ‘to have’ as their auxiliary:

**301. Jèu hai scrès o breif a mèi sògro.**

*I have written a letter to my father-in-law.*

**302. Nojaltrei aboim mascat quand arripasti tu.**

*We had eaten when you arrived.*

For intransitive and reflexive verbs, the selection of **jèstro** or **aver** is conditioned primarily by semantic considerations. Those verbs which express a state, condition, or quality such as the verb **jèstro** itself, or **costar** ‘to cost’, as well as those verbs indicating a change of state or arrival in a state (including most verbs of motion, like **zèr** ‘to go’ or **revenèr** ‘to return’, or verbs like **morèr** ‘to die’) all select **jèstro** as their auxiliary:

**303. Çò jè costat trai corone.**

*It costed three crowns.*

**304. Jal jè soit un fègl val rai.**

*He has been a very naughty boy.*

**305. El tèmp jè meglurat.**

*The weather has improved.*

**306. Jal jè revenoit a casa.**

*He’s gone home.*

Those intransitive and reflexive verbs which denote activity however, select **aver** as their auxiliary:

**307. Jèu m'hai sudat tant jancoài!***I have sweated so much today!***308. Lei pastrainei ha volat al mestài.***The birds have flown south.*

Included in this category are impersonal verbs which describe the weather:

**309. Çò ha plovoit jancoài.***It has rained today.*

## II.2.2. Participle agreement

Those verbs which select **jèstro** as their auxiliary also obligatorily exhibit agreement in gender and number between the verb's subject and the participle:

**310. Gl'òmnei san lasçatei, però le dòmne san romaste.***The men left, but the women stayed.*

Those verbs selecting **aver** as their auxiliary exhibit participle agreement with the *object* of the verb in several circumstances. When the direct object *precedes* the verb in the same clause, the participle agrees with the object:

**311. Madro toa? Jèu l'hai zòst vèsta***Your mother? I've just seen her.*

Additionally, the participle will *optionally* agree with the object of a verb in those cases where the subject is in the third person<sup>1</sup>:

**312. Zuan ha leacei lei cúdecei.***John has read the books.***313. La madro ha certata fègla soa.***The mother has scolded her daughter.*

### II.2.3. Tense formation

The perfect tense is formed with the present indicative of the auxiliary and the past participle. In the dialects of the Trapasun, this form has largely ousted the synthetic preterite.

**314. Jèu san soita en Cataja.**

*I've been to China.*

**315. Jal m'ha telefonat nostèrsa.**

*He phoned me the day before yesterday.*

The pluperfect is formed with the imperfect of the auxiliary and the past participle.

**316. Nojaltrei favluam a na dòmna què n'avam  
scontrat zamai.**

*We were speaking to a woman whom we had never met  
before.*

The past anterior is formed with the preterite of the auxiliary and the past participle. This is the most restricted of the compound tenses, and is generally only found in clauses qualified by an adverbial clause containing a verb in the preterite. In the modern language, it has mainly been replaced by the pluperfect.

**317. Jala abò zòst descloisa la pòrta quand jèu la  
colpài.**

*She had just unlocked the door when I knocked.*

The perfect subjunctive is formed with the present subjunctive of the auxiliary and the past participle.

**318. Jèu taim que jai saja zaitei.**

*I fear they've gone.*

The pluperfect subjunctive is formed with the past subjunctive of the auxiliary and the past participle. This form is only encountered

in subclauses qualifying a main clause with a verb in one of the past tenses.

**319. Man batò, bènque me fois desculpat!**

*He hit me, even though I apologised!*

### II.3. Progressive tenses

Dravian distinguishes three different types of construction normally described as “progressive”. The first involves the auxiliary verb **jèstro** ‘to be’ or **zèr** ‘to go’ accompanied by the preposition **cu** ‘with’ and the gerund; the other two make use of either the verb **soler** ‘to be accustomed’ or the phrase **jèstro drèiro a** and the infinitive.

The most basic construction is formed with either the present or the imperfect of **jèstro** followed by **cu** and the gerund. This construction is progressive in nature and has the connotation that the action is contemporaneous with the deictic centre of the utterance (the “now” of the phrase)<sup>2</sup>:

**320. Qué fa quèl can? Jè cu mascand la tòrta nòstra!**

*What’s that dog doing? It’s eating our cake!*

**321. Jèu jara cu radèndeme quand toi entrasti.**

*I was shaving when you came in.*

Note that in addition to indicating contemporaneity, the progressive construction with **jèstro** can also indicate that the situation is temporary, or unexpected:

**322. D’atual, Marc jè cu locand de noav dò zenturei sòi.**

*At the moment, Marc is living with his parents again.*

**Jèstro** can be replaced as auxiliary by **zèr** 'to go' to form a construction which denotes the idea of a cumulative progression, or actual motion:

**323. La fègla de Zoana zaja cu faind de mai en mai grasa.**

*Zoana's daughter is getting fatter and fatter.*

**324. Noi zaim cu recolezènd donasunei.**

*We're going around collecting donations.*

In the colloquial language, both these constructions are frequently replaced by a construction involving the phrase **jèstro drèiro a** followed by the infinitive, particularly when the emphasis is on the contemporaneity of the action:

**325. Noi eram drèiro a cenar quand feglaç to gontà pertòt la maisa.**

*We were in the middle of eating dinner when your bloody son vomited all over the table.*

All of the progressive constructions above do not permit the use of certain verbs. Those indicating mental states involving knowledge or emotion are never used in the progressive:

**326. Jèu t'am.** Not ~~X~~*jèu san cu amande-te.*

*I love you.*

Similarly, verbs which indicate a state rather than an activity are rarely encountered in the progressive:

**327. San vestaja d'o costum fusc.**

*He was wearing a black suit.<sup>3</sup>*

The verb **soler** 'to be accustomed' accompanied by the infinitive indicates a habitual occurrence. While normally the imperfect tense is used for habitual actions in the past, the **soler** and infinitive con-



struction emphasises the habitual nature of the action, and is not limited to past time reference.

**328. Jèu sògl zèr ala palèstra la damènca.**

*I usually go to the gym on Sundays.*

**329. Quand logram la lotería, noi soldram mascar dò Fratelli ògne zurn.**

*When we win the lottery, we'll be eating at Fratelli's every day.*

## II.4. Passive constructions

The passive in Dravian is formed with one of two auxiliaries: either **jèstro** 'to be' or **fèr** 'to become'; followed by a past participle agreeing in gender and number with the grammatical subject of the verb.

The stative auxiliary **jèstro** is used when the verb indicates a resultant state. The dynamic auxiliary **fèr**, however, is used to indicate an incipient or ongoing state, or a change in state.

**330. Lei cúdecei fai distribuaitèi entrà lei studentèi.**

*The books get distributed among the students.*

**331. Lei cúdecei san distribuaitèi entrà lei studentèi.**

*The books are distributed among the students.*

The agent or instrument of a passive construction is introduced by the preposition **de** 'of'. While this usage is that prescribed by the Académiea, most speakers feel it more appropriate to introduce an inanimate agent or instrument with the preposition **cu** 'with'.

**332. El ra foja necat dela rezaina.**

*The king was killed by the queen.*

**333. Jal foja necat cu o coltèl.**

*He was killed by a knife.*

In the modern colloquial language, third person passive constructions are generally avoided in favour of “middle” constructions using reflexive verbs:

**334. San vènd gaglèlei entel’ apoteca.**

*Suppositories are sold at the pharmacy.*

## II.5. Causative constructions

The causative construction is used with two verbs in Dravian: **fairo** ‘to do’ and **lasçar** ‘to allow’, both of which immediately precede the lexical verb. The surface instantiation of the original arguments of the lexical verb vary dependent on whether it is intransitive or transitive.

With intransitive verbs, the original subject of the verb becomes the direct object of the causative verb: full noun phrases will stand immediately to the right of the lexical verb, while an original pronominal subject will be cliticised to the left of the causative verb.

**335. Çò me fa dormèr.**

*It makes me sleep.*

**336. Noi lasçaram vèvro lei vedranei.**

*We’ll let the old ones live.*

Note that reflexive verbs pattern like intransitive verbs, losing their reflexive pronoun:

**337. El cèf noav l’ha faç rader.**

*The new boss made him shave.*

With transitive verbs, it is the original object which becomes the direct object of the causative construction. The original subject is demoted to an indirect object. Full noun phrases are introduced by the preposition **a**, while original pronominal subjects are found in their indirect object forms, cliticised to the left of the causative verb.

**338. Jèu ti lasçài mascar la tòrta!**

*I let you eat the cake!*

**339. El profesur faiç rescrèvro la tèsi a Francèsc.**

*The teacher made Francèsc re-write the paper.*

This causative construction is limited solely to constructions with **fairo** 'to do' and **lasçar** 'to allow'. Verbs with similar semantics (such as **leartar** 'to permit' or **ordenar** 'to order') follow one of two patterns.

One set of verbs introduces an infinitival complement with the preposition **de**. The original subject of the verb is demoted to an indirect object; either an indirect object pronoun or a prepositional phrase introduced by **a**:

**340. La matura learta agl studenti d'entrar l'universitat.**

*The Leaving Certificate permits students to enter university.*

**341. Jèu gl'ai ordenat de lasçar sènglo el can.**

*I ordered him to leave the dog alone.*

Note that as the logical subject of the infinitive is instantiated in this construction as an indirect object, it cannot be directly passivised:

**342. XJal jara ordenat de lasçar sènglo el can.**

*He was ordered to leave the dog alone.*

A second set of verbs introduces an infinitival complement with the preposition **a**. The logical subject of the infinitive verb becomes the direct object of the finite verb:

**343. Padro mèi forsà mèi cognat a desculpàrse.**

*My father forced my brother-in-law to apologise.*

Unlike those verbs which introduce an infinitival complement with **de**, the logical subject of a verb introduced with **a** can be directly passivised:

**344. Jal foja forsàt a desculpàrse de padro mèi.**

*He was forced to apologise by my father.*

- 
- 1) This feature is in decline, absent from most colloquial varieties of the language and retaining vigour only in the western dialects. During the Middle Ages, participle agreement with the object of a verb conjugated with reflexes of *HABÈRE* was common to most of Dravian's closest relatives but is presently restricted to only Friulian and the western dialects of Dravian.
  - 2) The construction can be compared in meaning (although not form) to the Spanish *estar haciendo* or Italian *stare facendo* constructions.
  - 3) Note that to the Dravian mind, "wearing" something is not an activity. The verb is reflexive and indicates a state.

# 12. Use of the verb

---

## L'emplecatòra del vèrb

### 12.1. Interrogation

Interrogative structures in Dravian can be broadly divided into two types: polar questions, those expecting an answer of either “yes” or “no”; and non-polar questions, those which request a specific piece of information, generally introduced by an overt interrogative pronoun, determiner or adverb.

#### 12.1.1. Polar questions

There are three structures which speakers make use of to form polar questions: simple intonation, inversion and what is typically referred to in the literature as “pseudo-clefting”.

##### 12.1.1.1. *Intonation*

The simplest method of forming polar questions is by means of a particular intonation. Overtly, a question of this type does not differ

from a declarative statement in word-order. Rather, the interrogative sense is conveyed by modifying the unmarked intonation contour of the utterance. As described above in section 1.1.3.2, declarative statements generally have a level pitch across the statement, which falls towards the end. Interrogative utterances however are characterised by a gentle rising pitch across the utterance until the final stressed syllable, whereupon it falls sharply.

This strategy for forming polar questions is probably the least frequently used outside of spoken, colloquial contexts.

#### 12.1.1.2. *Inversion*

More common as a strategy for forming polar questions is verb inversion, which moves the verb leftwards towards the beginning of the utterance. This process is straightforward in cases where only the verb's subject is overtly stated:

#### **345. *Toi capèsci.* → *Capèsci-tu?***

*You understand.* → *Do you understand?*

However, when the verb also has an overt object (or where a predicate is introduced by a copular verb), the situation is more complex. Dravian exhibits a strong aversion to discontinuous predicates, meaning that another argument cannot intervene between a verb and its object. As such, movement of a verb to the beginning of an utterance also entails the movement of its object. However, due to Dravian's concomitant strong preference for an overt subject being instantiated adjacent to the verb, a simple constituent order of verb-object-subject is similarly dispreferred.

In order to satisfy both preferences, a verb which has been moved to the beginning of an utterance with its object obligatorily ex-

presses the subject with an atonic enclitic pronoun. Where the subject is a full lexical word, it can then occur either to the right or the left of the predicate:

**346. L'oam comprava la feragla.**

*The man was buying scrap metal.*

**Comprava-el la feragla l'oam?**

**L'oam, comprava-el la feragla?**

*Was the man buying scrap metal?*

In cases where the subject of the original utterance was a tonic pronoun, the Academy proscribes the use of both a tonic and an atonic pronoun, omitting the former. However, in spontaneous usage, it is perhaps more common to find both pronouns:

**347. Toi visitaré el doam.**

*You will visit the cathedral.*

**Visitaré-tu el doam?**

**Visitaré-tu el doam toi?**

*Will you visit the cathedral?*

The same structure is observed with negative questions, although note that the negative particle **ne** becomes **nun** when occurring in initial position:

**348. Toi ne sèi rèn el tesare.**

*You aren't the carpenter.*

**Nun sèi-tu rèn el tesare?**

*Aren't you the carpenter?*

**349. Jai ne san rèn stragnei.**

*They aren't strange.*

**Nun san-lei rèn stragnei jai?**

*Aren't they strange?*

Where the inverted verb phrase is periphrastic, involving an auxiliary or pseudo-auxiliary verb, the entire verb phrase is fronted:

**350. El profesur lasça adormèrse en clasa a Zoan.**

*The teacher lets Zoan go to sleep in class.*

**Lasça-el adormèrse en clasa a Zoan el profesur?**

*Does the teacher let Zoan go to sleep in class?*

**351. El prèstro t'ha batat.**

*The priest baptised you.*

**Tan ha-el batat el prèstro?**

*Did the priest baptise you?*

12.1.1.3. *Pseudo-clefting*

Probably the most common strategy in colloquial language is that normally referred to as “pseudo-clefting”. The surface instantiation of this is similar to that of inversion, albeit with a preposed complementiser **que**:

**352. Que carèsci-tu nèscei denare?**

*Do you need some money?*

**353. Qu'è-ela albanaisa?**

*Is she Albanian?*

This strategy is only available for positive polar questions, being ungrammatical with negation:

**354. Nun hai-eu rèn rasun?**

Not **X***Que n'hai-eu rèn rasun?*

*Am I not right?*



12.1.1.4. *Tag questions*

A strategy largely limited to spoken varieties, polar questions can be reinforced by a following tag question. These vary considerably by dialect, with **n'è rèn** and **stò** being most commonly used in the dialect of Sojane. Tag questions do not co-occur with inversion or pseudo-clefting.

**355. Quèst jè la stoba corecta, stò?**

*This is the right room, isn't it?*

**356. Jèu gust de fasçòlei, n'è rèn?**

*I can taste beans, can't I?*

**357. Toi veani quà sovènt, stò?**

*You come here often, don't you?*

The two are found with roughly equal frequency, although it should be noted that **n'è rèn** does not obtain after a negative question:

**358. Toi ne l'ha rèn scontrat, stò?**

Not *XToi ne l'ha rèn scontrat, n'è rèn?*

*You haven't met him, have you?*

12.1.1.5. *Responses*

In contrast to most other Romance languages (save only French), but in common with its neighbouring language Hungarian, Dravian uses a three-term system to express affirmation or negation.

A negative response to a polar question is simply indicated with **nun** 'no':

**359. Sèi-tu mazar? Nun.**

*Are you Hungarian? No.*

**360. Nun favlatei-vo rèn anglais? Nun.**

*Don't you speak English? No.*

To express “yes”, however, Dravian makes use of two terms: **za** and **scèi**. The former is used to respond to a question phrased in the affirmative, while the latter is used to respond to questions phrased in the negative:

**361. Man ame-tu? Za, jèu t'am.**

*Do you love me? Yes, I love you.*

**362. Nun ti plaç rèn el líceu? Scèi, jal mi plaç.**

*Don't you like school? Yes, I do.*

**12.1.2. Non-polar questions**

Non-polar questions, those which attempt to elicit specific information, are typified by including an overt “question word”; that is, an interrogative adverb, adjective or pronoun, or a phrase containing such. A fairly comprehensive list of interrogative words used in Dravian is given below:

**qui?** ‘who?’

**quen?** ‘whom?’ (direct object)

**còi?** ‘whom?’ (indirect object)

**qué?** ‘what?’

**qual?** ‘which?’

**com?** ‘how?’

**quand?** ‘when?’

**jó?** ‘where?’

**a ond?** ‘to where?’

**d'ond?** ‘from where?’

**perqué?** ‘why?’

**quant?** ‘how much, how many?’

12.1.2.1. *Word order*

Word order in non-polar questions is dominated by the phenomenon of *wh*-fronting, whereby an interrogative element obligatorily moves from its position elsewhere in a clause to take the initial position. This process has a several of consequent effects on word order, due to a number of adjacency constraints in Dravian:

- that the verb cannot be separated from its object;
- that the verb must occur adjacent to the interrogative;
- that where an overt subject is obligatory, it must occur adjacent to the verb.

Taking these constraints into account, the basic word order of a non-polar question can be schematised like so: **Q V(s) O S**, where *Q* indicates the interrogative word or phrase, *V* the verb, *s* a subject pronoun enclitic, *O* the object and *S* the subject.

Of course, this surface instantiation may be different, particularly if the interrogative functions as a core argument of the verb. Where the interrogative is also the subject of the verb, there is no surface change from the unmarked declarative order:

**363. Qui ha mascat tute le cruste?**

*Who ate all the pies?*

Where the interrogative functions as the object of the verb, the order **Q<sub>(obj)</sub> V S** obtains:

**364. Quen arestaja el polisare?**

*Whom is the policeman arresting?*

**365. Que mascave-tu?**

*What were you eating?*

It is in those cases where the interrogative functions as a non-core argument or an adjunct that the order **Q V(s) O S** occurs:

**366. Quand ha-el mordoit el postare?**

*When did dog bite the postman?*

**367. Jó ascondrà-ela lei cadavrei Zoana?**

*Where will Zoana hide the bodies?*

Subject pronominal enclitics are obligatory where the subject and the verb are not adjacent:

**368. Perqué ha-el batoit Arsan Geràsım?**

*Why did Gerasim thump Arsan?*

Note that object clitics occur in their expected preverbal position:

**369. Jó t'ha-el taçtat el oam?**

*Where did the man touch you?*

**370. Com t'hai-eu veçmat?**

*How have I hurt you?*

12.1.2.2. *Pied piping*

Where an interrogative element forms part of a larger phrase, such as when an interrogative adjective or determiner qualifies a noun, or where an interrogative pronoun is governed by a preposition, the entire constituent is fronted:

**371. Qual oam mascaja lei cartuèlei croidei?**

*What kind of man eats raw potatoes?*

**372. A còi adresarài-eu quèst breif?**

*To whom shall I adress this letter?*

**373. Com vevaiç poati-tu arripar ala gara?**

*How quickly can you get to the station?*

An exception to this phenomenon is found with adjectives of degree when used with **com**. While adverbs follow the regular pattern, fronting of an entire adjectival constituent is optional, even dispreferred with copular phrases. The construction here is anomalous in that **com** functions as an interrogative pro-adjective, with the qualified adjective expressed as an adjectival complement (see section SECTION):

**374. Com ha-el fait gras?**

*How fat has he become?*

**375. Com jara vedrana la victima?**

*How old was the victim?*

12.1.2.3. *Lack of wh-fronting*

As a rule, questions involving multiple interrogatives do not exhibit wh-fronting:

**376. Toi he dat qué a còi?**

*You gave what to whom?*

**377. Quand hai-eu vèst qué?**

*When did I see what?*

Similarly, in basilectal speech, wh-fronting is often omitted:

**378. Toi he maritat quen?**

*You married who now?*

12.1.3. *Indirect questions*

12.1.3.1. *Use of subjunctive*

12.1.3.2. *With **si** 'if'*

12.1.3.3. *With QU-words*

12.1.3.4. *Deliberative questions*

12.2. Tense usage

12.3. The subjunctive

## 12.4. Conditional sentences

## 12.5. Reflexives and impersonal constructions

# 13. Negation

---

## La negaçun

Dravian makes use of two strategies of negation. Finite verbs use a bipartite negative construction, with a negative particle **ne** and a variety of negative polarity items, while non-finite verbs and other parts of speech make use of the negative particle **nun** alone.

### 13.1. Bipartite negation

Like French, Occitan and Padanian, the finite verb in Dravian is negated by a bipartite negative construction. Straightforward negation precedes the verb with the particle **ne** and follows it with the connegative **rèn**. Note that **ne** has the allomorph **n'** when preceding a vowel:

**379. Jèu ne dormaja rènn.**

*I wasn't sleeping.*

**380. Jala n'alentaja rènn el pòbro can.**

*She doesn't stroke the poor dog.*

The negative **ne** always precedes any pronominal proclitics, while **rènn** always immediately follows the verb:



**381. Jèu ne gle lei darài rèn.***I'm not going to give them to him.*

Note in that complex periphrastic verb constructions, it is always the auxiliary verb which is negated, not the lexical verb:

**382. Voi ne'l faràm rèn deçtar.***You won't wake him.***383. Jal ne fai rèn pacat peana'l fàn dela loina.***He doesn't get paid until the end of the month.***384. Noi n'avam rèn mascat de caisí despòi la voina.***We haven't eaten apricots since the war.*

The particle **rèn** is the least marked of the finite negators. Greater illocutionary force can be supplied by a couple of other particles, the most common and least marked dialectally of which is **bèsça**:

**385. Jèu ne l'hai bèsça vèst!***I have NOT seen him!*

Described in section SECTION above, recall that indefinite direct objects following **rèn** or **bèsça** replace the article with the preposition **de**:

**386. El fant ne vlaja rèn de soçèt.***The baby doesn't want a dummy.*

## 13.1.1. Other negative polarity items

As well as the negative adverbs **rèn** and **bèsça** 'not', the following seven negative polarity items also follow the same pattern: **nògla** 'nothing', **negota** 'nothing at all', **necoin** 'nobody, no-one', **naglur** 'nowhere', **mai** 'any more', **unca** 'never', **zamài** 'not ever':

- 387. Noi ne levaim nògla.**  
*We didn't buy anything.*
- 388. L'uzina ne contrataja necoin.**  
*The factory isn't hiring anyone.*
- 389. Jal ne zaja naglur.**  
*He's not going anywhere.*
- 390. Jal n'ha zamài scontrat toa madro.**  
*He has never met your mother.*
- 391. Jèu ne vògl mai mascar.**  
*I don't want to eat anymore.*

Note that in all the examples above, the negative items function as objects or adjuncts of the main verb. When functioning as the subject of a verb, the particle **ne** is still used:

- 392. Necoin ne vlaja veder lei tòi trusei, Carlòt!**  
*Nobody wants to see your underpants, Carlòt!*

Similarly, when a negative polarity item is displaced from its normal post-verbal position for emphasis, **ne** still occurs before the verb:

- 393. Unca jèu ne fai ensultat de maja vaida!**  
*Never have I been so insulted in my life!*

As well as negative items, a similar construction is also used with adverbs meaning 'only' or 'just'. Where the verb has an object, the construction **ne ... que** is used, while objectless verbs use the construction **ne ... nomài**:

- 394. Toi ne devaja que destacar la pòrta futoita!**  
*You only had to blow the bloody door off!*
- 395. Çò n'è nògla, jèu ne tarpezài nomài.**  
*It's nothing, I just tripped.*

## 13.1.2. Negative raising

In the majority of cases where a verb takes another verb as a complement, there is a distinct difference in meaning according to whether it is the main verb or the embedded verb that is negated. Compare:

- 396. El ra ha decidait que ne't necarà rèn.**  
*The king has decided that he won't kill you.*
- 397. El ra n'ha rèn decidait que tan necarà.**  
*The king has not decided that he'll kill you.*
- 398. Tan promet que ne stava rèn per mascarlaro.**  
*I promise you that I wasn't about to eat it.*
- 399. Jèu ne't promet rèn que stava per mascarlaro.**  
*I'm not promising you that was about to eat it.*

However, there is a small group of verbs, generally those of cognition, semblance or volition<sup>1</sup>, where there is little difference in meaning whether the main verb or the embedded verb is negated. Generally, Dravian prefers to negate the main verb rather than the embedded verb, although both strategies are permissible. Note that with these verbs, where the main verb is negated, the embedded verb is found in the subjunctive (see further section SECTION):

- 400. Jèu ne vògl rèn que toi te veçmài.**  
*I don't want you to get hurt.*
- 401. Jèu vògl que toi ne't veçmaja rèn.**  
*I want you to not get hurt.*
- 402. Çò sèmbla que Zoan n'è rèn soldat felaiç.**  
*It seems that Zoan isn't a happy soldier.*
- 403. Çò ne sèmbla rèn que Zoan saja soldat felaiç.**  
*It doesn't seem that Zoan is a happy soldier.*

## 13.2. Simple negation

The bipartite negative construction outlined in the foregoing section is restricted in *Dravean de referènsa* to finite verbs. Non-finite verbal forms, such as infinitives and participles, are negated by means of the particle **nun**, which occurs before the negated word:

**404. Jèstro u nun jèstro, cò jè la quesçun.**

*To be or not to be, that is the question.*

**405. Jèu'm sènt nun amat, nun voloit.**

*I feel unloved, unwanted.*

**406. Auça'l fàn nun ardènt.**

*Grab the non-burning end.*

The same particle is also used to negate verbs in the imperative mood:

**407. Ama to veçàn, e nun zanta sò uçtro.**

*Love thy neighbour, and don't steal his wife.*

**408. Nun planz, fancèla.**

*Don't cry, little girl.*

Of course, the particle **nun** can also occur with the negative polarity items described in section SECTION:

**409. C'è mèlgro a nun aver amat necoin.**

*It's better to have not loved anybody.*

**410. O film nun vèst zamài.**

*A never-seen film.*

In addition to negating verbal forms, **nun** is also used to negate other parts of speech:

**411. Jal corraja, nun vevaiç ansa lèntamènt.***He was running, not quickly but slowly.***412. Lei nun-obrarei ne poat dar nògla ala societat.***Non-workers cannot contribute anything to society.*

### 13.3. Other negative constructions

In addition to the bipartite and simple negative constructions considered above, Dravian makes use of a further few constructions with negative meaning.

#### 13.3.1. *San* ‘without’

The preposition **san** ‘without’, when governing words with an indefinite sense, is unusual in selecting negative polarity items. Thus to translate ‘without anything’, the negative pronouns **nògla** or **negota** ‘nothing’ are used:

**413. Jal jè revenoit san negota.***He came back without anything.***414. Jèu ne vògl rèn zer ala fèsta san necoin cu mai!***I don’t want to go to the party without someone with me!*

As well as a preposition, **san** can also be used as a conjunction introducing a negative subordinate clause. Where the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as that of the matrix clause, the verb is found in the infinitive, with **san** replacing the negative particle **nun** and any polarity items in the negative as appropriate:

**415. Jèu pasava doa zurnate entrage san fumar.***I went two whole days without smoking.*

**416. Jal partài la casa san veder necoin.***He left the house without seeing anyone.*

Where the subjects of the subordinate and matrix clauses differ, **san** introduces a relative clause with **que**, with the verb negated and in the subjunctive mood (see further section SECTION for use of the subjunctive):

**417. Noi arripaim a Sojane san que maja uçtro ne deicis nõgla.***We arrived in Sojane without my wife saying anything.***418. Jèu vògl finèr la leçun san que necoin ne favlài.***I want to finish the lesson without anyone talking!*

## 13.3.2. Nè ... nè ... ‘neither ... nor ...’

The negative copulative conjunction in Dravian is **nè**, which replaces **e** ‘and’ or **u** ‘or’ following a negated element:

**419. Toi ne m’he rèn vèst nè telefonat quèla zurnata.***You didn’t see me or phone me that day.***420. Jèu ne cognusç rèn Tomas nè soa sòra.***I don’t know Tomas or his sister.*

Note that where two finite verbs are conjoined, **nè** replaces the negative particle **ne**:

**421. Jal ne masca nè baiv negota.***He doesn’t eat or drink anything.*

Like **u** ‘or’ and **e** ‘and’, **nè** can occur before both negated elements, creating a construction similar to *neither ... nor* construction in English. Where the two conjoined elements are complements of the verb, the verb is preceded by the negative particle **ne**:

**422. Jèu ne vògl nè la toa compasçun nè la toa merçaid.**

*I want neither your compassion nor your pity.*

However, where **nè** conjoins two finite verbs, **nè** replaces the negative particle **ne** in both cases and, when both verbs take the same negative polarity item, it only occurs with the second verb:

**423. Jèu nè'm razràì nè'm taglarài rèn el capeil.**

*I'll neither shave nor cut my hair.*

13.3.3. *Gnasài* 'neither'

**Gnasài** functions in a manner similar to other negative polarity items, and indeed its use overlaps somewhat with that of **nè**. It is probably best thought of as a form of **asài** 'also' which collocates solely with negative statements:

**424. Jal ne t'ha rèn capait? Jèu gnasài.**

*He didn't understand you? I didn't either.*

**425. El zuç n'è rèn ancora arripat, nè gl'avocadrei gnasài.**

*The judge hasn't arrived yet, and the lawyers haven't either.*

Note in the last example above the negative conjunction **nè** is preferred to **e** 'and' to link the two phrases.

When used as an adjunct to a finite verb, **gnasài** can replace **rèn** as a connegative:

**426. Noi ne devam gnasài ovlitar lei cadoitei.**

*We mustn't forget the fallen either.*

**427. Jai n'ha rèn aplaudait, però n'ha gnasài fesclat.**

*They didn't applaud, but they didn't boo either.*

13.3.4. *Ansa* ‘but rather’

The adversative conjunction **ansa** ‘but’ is regularly used instead of the normal **però** when following a negative expression:

**428. Jal ne mascava rèn d’oive, ansa de maile.**

*He wasn’t eating grapes, but apples.*

Note that use of **ansa** is restricted to cases where the phrase introduced by the conjunction is directly opposed to the negative expression: the meaning here is “not X, but Y instead”. Note the difference between the following two examples:

**429. Toi ne m’he rèn telefonat, ansa sèi venoit a vederme.**

*You didn’t telephone me, but came to see me instead.*

**430. Toi ne m’he rèn telefonat, però çò ne’m çaça rèn.**

*You didn’t telephone me, but I don’t mind.*

---

1 ) These are those which generally correspond to the raising verbs of English.



# 14. Conjunctions

---

Lei conjunzeunei



# 15. Word order

---

Órden degl vèrbei



# Appendix I

---

## Irregular Verbs



# Appendix II

---

## Dialects and Sociolects





# Appendix III

---

## Historical Phonology



# Appendix IV

---

## Conventional Expressions



# Appendix V

---

## Examples of Style