

Chapter 15

Quantification in Telugu

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15.1 Introduction

Telugu is a Central Dravidian language spoken by some 70 million people, mostly from the South Indian state of Andhra Pradesh. Like other Dravidian languages it has a verb final (head final) typological profile, exhibiting significant pre-verbal word order freedom. (In our Romanized transcription, upper case T, D, L, R, N indicate the corresponding retroflex sounds, but proper names have their first letter capitalized regardless of whether they are retroflex or not. Also, ‘r’ in our usage is actually an alveolar tap everywhere except word-initially. Lastly, a colon indicates length after a vowel and gemination after a consonant. Abbreviations used in glosses are listed at the end of this article.) A brief typological profile of Telugu word order is presented below; for more background on Dravidian, see works by Andronov (1965), Caldwell (1856), Krishnamurti (1969), Purushottam (1996), and Subramanyam (1969).

SOV order

- (1) Ram pīl:ā-nī ču:s-e:-Rū
Ram.NOM girl-ACC see-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
‘Ram saw the girl.’

CP objects:

- (2) Sita Ram vāč:-e:-Rū ānī čēp:-īn-dī
Sita.NOM Ram.NOM come-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM that tell-PERF-3SG.FEM.FAM
‘Sita said that Ram came.’

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Postpositions:

- (3) Ram tǎlǔpǔ vĕnǎk:a:lǎ vĕtĭk-e:-Rŭ
 Ram.NOM door behind search-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram searched behind the door.’

Prenominal Genitives:

- (4) Ram Sĭta-jŏk:ǎ car-nĭ dŏngĭlĭnĉ-e:-Rŭ
 Ram.NOM Sĭta-GEN car-ACC steal-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram stole Sĭta’s car.’

Postverbal Auxiliaries:

- (5) Ram pĭl:ǎ-nĭ ču:Rǎ-gǎlǎ-Rŭ
 Ram.NOM girl-ACC see-can-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram can see the girl.’

This paper is divided into three main sections:

1. A definition and survey of three basic classes of (1,1) quantifiers.
2. An illustration of a variety of notable quantifier phenomena.
3. A brief account of classes of quantifiers other than the (1,1) type.

15.2 Three Basic Classes of (1,1) Quantifiers

(1,1) quantifiers can be classified as . . .

- generalized existential (intersective) quantifiers
- generalized universal (co-intersective) quantifiers
- proportional quantifiers

. . . each group of which consists of both D-quantifiers and A-quantifiers.

15.2.1 Generalized Existential (Intersective) Quantifiers

Table 15.1 A few generalized existential (intersective) quantifiers

Monomorphemic	Multimorphemic or Phrasal	
<i>D-Quantifiers</i>	<i>D-Quantifiers</i>	<i>A-Quantifiers</i>
‘a’ [ōkā]	Where <i>n</i> represents any cardinal number: <i>n</i> kāNTe: ēk:ūvā <i>n</i> than more ‘more than <i>n</i> ’	āp:ūrū-āp:ūrū then-then ‘sometimes’
‘some/several’ [kōntā-māndī] – CT.HUM.PL [kōn:ī] – CT.NONHUM.PL [kōntā] – MS	Where <i>x</i> represents any count noun: kōn ī x-lū e: some.CT x-PL only ‘few <i>x</i> s’	Where <i>n</i> represents any cardinal quantifier, including numbers and ‘some’, ‘many’, etc.: <i>n</i> sa:rī-lū <i>n</i> time-PL ‘ <i>n</i> times’
‘many/much’ [ča:la:], [bōLDū], [ēk:ūvā]	Where <i>n</i> represents any cardinal number: <i>n</i> e: <i>n</i> only ‘only <i>n</i> ’	ēp:ūrū: +[verbal negation] always (negation) ‘never [verb]’
‘too many/much’ [ēk:ūvā]	Where <i>n</i> represents any cardinal number: kāni:sāmū <i>n</i> at least <i>n</i>	
‘little (mass sense)’ [kōñčāmū] – MS	Where <i>n</i> represents any cardinal number: <i>n</i> kāNTe: ēk:ūvā ... +[verbal <i>n</i> than more ... negation] ‘[not more than]/[at most]’	
‘(too) few/little’ [tāk:ūvā] ‘how many’ [ēn:ī] ‘which’ [e:]		

Note the absence of monomorphemic existential *A-quantifiers*.

15.2.1.1 D-Quantifiers

The generalized existential D-quantifiers consist largely of cardinal quantifiers:

- (6) ne:nū bāl:ā-mi:dā Churchill-dī ōkā fōTo: ču:s-e-nū
1SG.NOM table-SUP Churchill-GEN a (but specifically one) picture see-PERF-1SG
‘I saw a/one picture of Churchill on the table.’

- (7) kōntā-māndī pī:ā-lū īNTī-lo: pa:Rū-tūna:-rū
 some-HUM child-PL.NOM house-LOC sing-PROG-3PL.HUM
 ‘Some children are singing in the house.’
- (8) kōntā-māndī a:Rā-va:L-Lū ūd:jo:gāmū ti:s-kūn:-na:-rū
 several-HUM female-one*-PL.NOM job.ACC take-REFL-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Several women took the job.’
- *Pronominal ‘one’ (+human) is not a cardinal number.

General Form of Existential Sentences

Existential sentences in Telugu have the following shape: restricting postpositional phrase + subject NP + ‘exist’ (inflected for polarity, tense, number, and animacy).

- (9) class-lo: īp:ūRū āīdū-gūrū a:Rā-va:L-Lū ūn-na:-rū
 class-LOC now five-HUM female-one-PL.NOM exist-PERF/IMPF-3PL.HUM
 ‘There are five women in the class now;
- po:-īnā sāmvaṣṣārāmū pādī-māndī ūn-na:-rū/ūND-e:-rū//ūND-e:-va:-rū
 go-REL.PERF year ten-HUM exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 last year there were ten (women in the class).’
- (10) īp:ūRū class-lo: a:Rā-va:L-Lū ēvārū:- le:-rū
 now class-LOCATE female-one-PL.NOM anyone-EMPH exist.NEG.IMPF-3PL.HUM
- ka:ni: po:-īnā sāmvaṣṣārāmū ča:la:-māndī ūN-De:va:-rū
 but go-REL.PERF year many-HUM exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘There are no women in the class now, but last year there were many.’
- (11) īNTī-lo: ēvār-o: ūn-na:-rū
 house-LOC anyone.NOM-some be-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘There is someone in the house.’
- (12) īNTī-lo: ēvārū ūn-na:-rū
 house-LOC who.NOM be-PERF-3IND.HUM
 ‘Who is in the house?’
- (13) īNTī-lo: ēvārū āj:-īna: ūn-na:-rū a:
 house-LOC anyone.NOM happen-whether be-PERF-3IND.HUM QP
 ‘Is there anyone in the house?’

- (14) ĩNTĭ-lo: ěvāru: le:-rũ
 house-LOC anyone.NOM exist.NEG-3IND.HUM
 ‘There isn’t anyone in the house.’

Existential Sentence Characteristics

Affirmative

The pronominal part of the singular affirmative existential sentence, (15) is built morphologically from the interrogative, (16):

- (15) ěvār-o: ũn-na:-rũ
 anyone.NOM-some be-PERF-3IND.HUM
 ‘There is someone.’

- (16) ěvārũ ũn-na:-rũ
 who.NOM be-PERF-3IND.HUM
 ‘Who is there?’

But the plural, lacking such a pronoun, merely has in common the verb ‘exist-PERF/IMPF-3.IND’ (in its proper inflected form).

- (17) a:Ră-va:L-Lũ ũn-na:-rũ
 female-one-PL.NOM be-PERF-3IND.HUM
 ‘There are women.’

Negative

The pronominal part of the singular negative existential sentence, (18), is built morphologically from the interrogative, (19):

- (18) āk:ăRă ěvārũ:- le:-rũ
 there anyone.NOM-EMPH exist.NEG-3IND.HUM
 ‘There is no one there.’

- (19) āk:ăRă ěvārũ ũn-na:-rũ
 there who.NOM be-PERF-3IND.HUM
 ‘Who is there?’

It is the vowel lengthening of ěvārũ: in (18) which crucially distinguishes it from ěvārũ in (19).

The plural negative existential sentence features an NPI determiner which also functions as an interrogative:

- (20) e: a:Ră-va:L-Lũ-: le:-rũ
 any female-one-PL.NOM-EMPH exist.NEG-3PL.HUM
 ‘There are no women.’
- (21) e: a:Ră-va:L-Lũ ũn-na:-rũ
 which female-one-PL.NOM exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Which women are there?’

It should be noted that negative existentials have a special negation form distinct from that in simple declarative sentences. Compare:

- (22) ĩNTĩ-lo: e: kũk:ă-lũ le:-vũ
 house-LOC any dog-PL.NOM exist.NEG-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘There aren’t any dogs in the house.’
- (23) ne:nũ ĩNTĩ-lo: e: kũk:ă-lă-nĩ ĉu:Ra-le:dũ
 1SG.NOM house-LOC any dog-PL-ACC see-NEG.PERF
 ‘I didn’t see any dogs in the house.’

Possession

The existence predicate in Telugu is also used to express possession, with an ADESSIVE postposition indicating the possessor:

- (24) ĩNTĩ-lo: Dăb:ũ ũn-dĩ
 house-LOC money.NOM exist.IMPV-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘There is money in the house.’
- (25) va:Rĩ-dăg:ĩră Dăb:ũ ũn-dĩ
 3SG.MASC.FAM-ADES money.NOM exist.IMPV-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘He has money.’

Pivot Position

- (26) class-lo: äĩdũ-gũrũ a:Ră-va:L-Lũ ũn-na:-rũ
 class-LOC five-HUM female-one-PL.NOM exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘There are five women in the class.’

- (27) *āḍḍū-gūrū a:Rā-va:L-Lū class-lo: ūn-na:-rū*
 five-HUM female-one-PL.NOM class-LOC exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Five women are in the class.’

(27) specifies the location of the QNP subject, (26) an existential claim about it. Universal quantifiers are excluded as pivots in English but permitted in Telugu:

- (28) *class-lo: āṇḍārū vīdja:rthū-lū-: ūn-na:-rū*
 class-LOC all.CT.HUM.PL student-PL.NOM-EMPH exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 *‘There are/exist all of the students in the class.’

- (29) *āṇḍārū vīdja:rthū-lū-: class-lo: ūn-na:-rū*
 all.CT.HUM.PL student-PL.NOM-EMPH class-LOC exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘All of the students are in the class.’

Similarly, proportional quantifiers are somewhat awkward in pivot position in English but permitted naturally in Telugu:

- (30) *class-lo: ča:la:-māṇḍī vīdja:rthū-lū ūn-na:-rū*
 class-LOC most.CT.HUM.PL student-PL.NOM exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘There are/exist most of the students in the class.’

- (31) *ča:la:-māṇḍī vīdja:rthū-lū class-lo: ūn-na:-rū*
 most.CT.HUM.PL student-PL.NOM class-LOC exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Most of the students are in the class.’

Numerals and Modified Numerals

- (32) *class-lo: āḍḍū-gūrū a:Rā-va:L-Lū ūn-na:-rū*
 class-LOC five-HUM female-one-PL.NOM exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘There are five women in the class.’

- (33) *āḍḍū-gūrū a:Rā-va:L-Lū class-lo: ūn-na:-rū*
 five-HUM female-one-PL.NOM class-LOC exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Five women are in the class.’

The numerical determiners may be modified:

Postpositional:

- (34) *āḍḍū-gūrū kāṅTe: ēk:ūvā/tāk:ūvā-māṇḍī a:Rā-va:L-Lū*
 five-HUM than more/fewer-HUM female-one-PL.NOM
 class-lo: ūn-na:-rū
 class-LOC exist-PERF/IMPF-3PL.HUM
 ‘More/fewer than five women are in the class.’

- (35) *āḍḍū-gūrū-kī-: pādī-māṇḍī-kī-: māḍ^hjā a:Rā-va:L-Lū*
 five-HUM-DAT-EMPH ten-HUM-DAT-EMPH between female-one-PL.NOM
 class-lo: *ūn-na:-rū*
 class-LOC exist-PERF/IMPF-3PL.HUM

‘Between five and ten women are in the class.’

- (36) *kāč:ītaṅ-ga:/kāni:sāmū/īñčūmīñčū-ga: āḍḍū-gūrū a:Rā-va:L-Lū*
 exact-ly/at least/approximate-ly five-HUM female-one-PL.NOM
 class-lo: *ūn-na:-rū*
 class-LOCATE exist-PERF/IMPF-3PL.HUM

‘Exactly/at least/approximately five women are in the class.’

The particle *e:* occurs postnominally:

- (37) *āḍḍū-gūrū a:Rā-va:L-Lū e:*
 five-HUM female-one-PL.NOM only/just
 class-lo: *ūn-na:-rū*
 class-LOC exist-PERF/IMPF-3PL.HUM

‘Only/just five women are in the class.’

- (38) *kōntā-māṇḍī a:Rā-va:L-Lū class-lo: ūn-na:-rū*
 Several/some-CT.PL.HUM female-one-PL.NOM class-LOC exist-PERF/IMPF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Several/some women are in the class.’

Monomorphemic *no*

Telugu does not have a monomorphemic ‘no’. Rather, the NPI ‘any’ co-occurs with verbal negation to denote ‘no’. Additionally, the vowel lengthening morpheme representing emphasis is required – appended to either the noun itself or the ACC morpheme (obligatory for animate beings) – in co-occurrence with ‘any’ [e:].

- (39) *e: a:Rā-va:L-Lū-: class-lo: le:-rū*
 any female-one-PL.NOM-EMPH class-LOC exist.NEG-3PL.HUM
 ‘No women are in the class.’

Value Judgment Quantifiers: ‘(Too) Many/Much’ and ‘(Too) Few/Little’

- ‘many/much’ [ča:la:]/[bōLDū]/[ėk:ūvā]:

(40) Ram ča:la:-māndī/bōLDū-māndī/ėk:ūvā-māndī
 Ram.NOM many-HUM
 māñčī vīdja:rthī-lā-nī interview čē:s-e:-Rū
 good student-PL-ACC interview do-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram interviewed many good students.’

ėk:ūvā ‘(too) many/much’ conveys both the sense of ‘many/much’ as well as ‘too many/much’, depending on the speaker’s intent:

(41) ėk:ūvā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū nāv:-e:-rū
 (too) many-HUM student-PL.NOM laugh-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘(Too) many students laughed.’

Regarding the following sentences, the reader should bear in mind the significant semantic difference between ‘few/little’ and ‘a few/a little’, the former constituting a value judgment, but the latter merely an existential quantity. (The symbol ś is a ‘sh’, but more alveolar than the familiar palatal).

(42) Ram tāk:ūvā-māndī a:Rā-va:L-Lā-nī ču:s-e:-Rū
 Ram.NOM few-HUM female-one-PL.NOM-ACC see-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram saw few women.’

(43) Ram tāk:ūvā sārūkū-lū kōn-kūn-na:-Rū
 Ram few-NONHUM thing-PL.ACC buy-REFL-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram bought few things.’

(44) tāk:ūvā vārṣāmū pāR-īn-dī
 little.NONHUM rain.NOM fall-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘Little rain fell.’ OR ‘It rained little.’

Analogous to ‘(too) many/much’ *ėk:ūvā*, *tāk:ūvā* conveys both the sense of ‘few/little’ as well as ‘too few/little’, depending on the speaker’s intent:

(45) tāk:ūvā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū nāv:-e:-rū
 (too) few-HUM student-PL.NOM laugh-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘(Too) few students laughed.’

- not enough = [tāgināntā-māndī. .(verb)-le:dū]:

(46) tāgināntā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū nāv:ā-le:dū
 to be enough-REL.PERF student-PL.NOM laugh-NEG.PERF
 ‘Not enough students laughed.’

Interrogatives

Telugu does have interrogative determiners (and yes, *pass* below is a borrowing):

(47) īNTī-kī ēntā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū vāč:-e:-rū
 house-LAT how much-HUM student-PL.NOM come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘How many students came to the house?’

(48) e: vīdja:rthū-lū pāṛīkṣā pass āj:-e:-rū
 which student-PL.NOM exam.ACC pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Which students passed the exam?’

Boolean Compounds

Telugu allows quantifiers to form prenominal boolean compounds:

(49) āīdū-gūrū kāNTe: ēk:ūvā-māndī n-ū
 five-HUM than more-HUM [sandhi]-and

pādī kāNTe: tāk:ūvā-māndī:- n-ū
 ten than few-HUM-EMPH [sandhi]-and

vīdja:rthū-lū īNTī-kī vāč:-e:-rū
 student-PL.NOM house-LAT come-PERF-3PL.HUM

‘More than five and fewer than ten students came to the house.’

(50) ne:nū pīlīc-īnā number kāNTe: n-ū
 1SG.NOM call-REL.PERF number than [sandhi]-and

gādī-lō pāT:-e: number kāNTe: n-ū
 room-LOC fit-REL.IMPF number than [sandhi]-and

ēk:ūvā-māndī:- vīdja:rthū-lū īNTī-kī vāč:-e:-rū
 more-HUM-EMPH student-PL.NOM house-LAT come-PERF-3PL.HUM

‘More students than I invited and more than the room could fit came to the house.’

(51) āīdū-gūrū o: pādī-māndī o: vīdja:rthū-lū vāč:-e:-rū
 five-HUM either ten-HUM or student-PL.NOM come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘(Either) five or ten students came.’

The boolean operation of negating the QNP can be achieved only through verbal negation:

(52) ĩNTĪ-kĭ pādĭ kãNTe: ěk:ũvã-mãndĭ vĭdja:rthũ-lũ ra:-le:dũ
 house-LAT ten than more-HUM student-PL.NOM come-NEG.PERF
 ‘Not more than ten students came to the house.’

(53) ĩNTĪ-kĭ kãni:sãmũ ĩd:ãrũ vĭdja:rthũ-lũ vãĉ:-e:-rũ ga:ni:
 house-LAT at least two.HUM student-PL.NOM come-PERF-3PL.HUM but

pādĭ kãNTe: ěk:ũvã-mãndĭ ra:-le:dũ
 ten than more-HUM come-NEG.PERF
 ‘At least two but not more than ten students came to the house.’

Numeral Classifiers and Container Expressions

Telugu doesn’t use numeral classifiers; as in English, container expressions or measure words convert mass terms to count ones. As in English, the Telugu container expressions below retain their literal meaning.

(54) rĕNDũ si:sa:-lũ pa:lũ
 two-NONHUM bottle-PL milk
 ‘two bottles of milk’

(55) ōkã Dãb:a: pa:lũ
 one.CARDADJ carton milk
 ‘a carton of milk’

(56) ĉa:la: Dãb:a:-lũ ũp:ũ
 many box-PL salt
 ‘many boxes of salt’

Measure Phrases

(57) ōkã kilo ũp:ũ
 A kilogram salt
 ‘a kilogram of salt’

(58) rĕNDũ kilo-lũ nĕj:ĩ
 two.NONHUM kilogram-PL butter
 ‘two kilograms of butter’

Units of Time and Distance

- (59) ne:nũ pãđĩ g^hãNTã-lũ nĩđ:ãrã-po:-e:-nũ
 1SG.NOM ten.NONHUM hour-PL.CASE? sleep-go-PERF-1SG
 ‘I slept for ten hours.’
- (60) ne:nũ e:Rũ ro:đũ-lã-lo: vãnãkã-kĩ vãs-ta:-nũ
 1SG.NOM seven.NONHUM day-PL-LOC back-LAT come-IMPF-1SG
 ‘I will return in seven days.’
- (61) va:rãmũ-lo: e:Rũ ro:đũ-lũ ũn-na:-jĩ
 week-LOC seven.NONHUM day-PL.NOM exist-PERF?-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘There are seven days in a week.’
- (62) Fontainebleau Paris-nĩñčĩ nãlãb^hãĩ kilometer-lũ
 Fontainebleau Paris-ABL forty kilometer-PL
 ‘Fontainebleau is forty kilometers from Paris.’
- (63) Ram Babu-kãNTe: mu:Rũ centimeter-lũ põRũgũ
 Ram.NOM Babu-than three.NONHUM centimeter-PL tall
 ‘Ram is three centimeters taller than Babu.’

15.2.1.2 A-Quantifiers

In Telugu, A-quantifiers denoting ‘*n* times’ are built with the productive form ‘numeral + times [sa:rĩ-lũ]’; no monomorphemic counterparts of ‘once, twice, thrice’ exist.

- (64) ne:nũ ãp:ũRũ-ãp:ũRũ school-kĩ nãRĩč-ĩ vẽL-ta:-nũ
 1SG.NOM then-then school-LAT walk go-IMPF-1SG
 ‘I sometimes walk to school.’
- (65) ne:nũ ěp:ũRu: school-kĩ nãRĩ-čĩ vẽL-Lã-nũ
 1SG.NOM ever school-LAT walk-? go-NEG.IMPF-1SG
 ‘I never walk to school.’
- (66) Ram Tashkent-nĩ rěNDũ sa:rĩ-lũ vãđĩlĩ vẽL-e:-Rũ
 Ram.NOM Tashkent-ACC two.NONHUM time-PL leave go-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram left Tashkent twice.’

- (67) Ram Tashkent-nĩ na:lũgũ sa:rĩ-lũ vāđĩlĩ vĕL-e:-Rũ
 Ram.NOM Tashkent-ACC four.NONHUM time-PL leave go-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram left Tashkent four times.’
- (68) Ram Tashkent-nĩ ča:la: sa:rĩ-lũ vāđĩlĩ vĕL-e:-Rũ
 Ram.NOM Tashkent-ACC many time-PL leave go-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram left Tashkent many times.’

15.2.2 Generalized Universal (Co-intersective) Quantifiers

Table 15.2 A few generalized universal (co-intersective) quantifiers

Monomorphemic		Multimorphemic or Phrasal	
<i>D-Quantifiers</i>	<i>A-Quantifiers</i>	<i>D-Quantifiers</i>	<i>A-Quantifiers</i>
‘all’ [āndārũ] – count, human [ān:i] – count, nonhuman [ānta:] – mass (the noun follows the quantifier)	‘always’ [ĕp:ũRu:]	Where <i>n</i> represents any cardinal number and <i>x</i> represents a plural count noun: <i>n</i> tāp:a āndārũ/ān:i <i>x</i> <i>n</i> except all.CT <i>x</i> ‘all but <i>n x</i> ’	prāti: sa:rĩ each/every time ‘each/every time’
‘each/every’ [prāti:] (the noun follows the quantifier)		Where <i>x</i> represents a plural count noun: ĩñčũmĩñčũ ān:i <i>x</i> nearly/almost all.CT.NONHUM <i>x</i> ‘nearly/almost all’	ĕp:ũRũ ...-ĩna: when [verb root]- whether ‘whenever [subject-verb]’
		‘every (single)’ [prāti: (ōkã)]	ĕk:āRã ...-ĩna: where [verb root]- whether ‘wherever [subject-verb]’
		Where <i>x</i> represents any noun: e: <i>x</i> āj:-ĩna: which <i>x</i> happen-whether ‘whichever/whatever <i>x</i> ’	ĕndũkũ ...-ĩna: why [verb root]- whether ‘whenever [subject-verb]’
			ĕla ...-ĩna: how [verb root]- whether ‘however [subject-verb]’

V stands for verb root.

15.2.2.1 D-Quantifiers

- (69) āndārũ kāvũ-lũ-: a:lo:čis-ta:-rũ
 all.HUM poet-PL.NOM-EMPH reflect-IMPV-3PL.HUM
 ‘All poets reflect.’

- (70) class-lo: prāti:(-ōkā) vīdja:rthī-:
class-LOC every(-one.CARDADJ) student-NOM-EMPH

kāvītā ra:s-e:-Rū
poem.ACC write-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM

‘Every (single) student in the class wrote a poem / some poetry.’

It seems that vowel lengthening is required on the last word of an NP following *prāti*: ‘every’, *īd:ārī-*: ‘both’, and *āndārū* ‘all’.

- (71) an:ī pīl:ū-lū nāl:ā-vī ka:vū
all.NONHUM cat-PL.NOM black-? NEG element.PL
‘Not all cats are black.’ / ‘All cats are not black’

- (72) class-lo: īd:ārū tāpa: āndārū vīdja:rthū-lū-:
class-LOC two.HUM except all.CT.PL.HUM student-PL-EMPH

pārīkṣā pass āj:-e:-rū
exam.ACC pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM

‘All but two students in the class passed the exam.’

- (73) prāti: mōgāva:Rū-: a:Rādī-: pīl:a:Rū-: vu:rū-nī vādīl-e:-rū
every man-CONJ woman-CONJ child-CONJ city-ACC leave-PERF-3PL.HUM
‘Every man, woman, and child left the city.’

15.2.2.2 A-Quantifiers

- (74) ne:nū ēp:ūRu: school-kī nāRīč-ī vēL-ta:-nū
1SG.NOM always school-LAT walk go-IMPF-1SG
‘I always walk to school.’

- (75) Ram ēp:ūrū gāD:āmū gi:s-kūn-īna:
Ram.NOM when beard scratch-REFL-whether

ko:s-kūN-Ta:-Rū
cut-REFL-IMPF-3SG.MASC.FAM

‘Ram cuts himself whenever he shaves.’

- (76) Ram gāD:āmū gi:s-kūn-ā
Ram beard scratch-REFL-REL.PERF

prāti: sa:rī ko:s-kūN-Ta:-Rū
every time cut-REFL-IMPF-3SG.MASC.FAM

‘Ram cuts himself every time he shaves.’

15.2.2.3 Formation of Universal Quantifiers from Interrogative or Indefinite Pronouns

- universal D-Quantifier

Where x represents any noun:

e: x āj:-īna:
 which x happen-whether
 ‘whichever/whatever x ’

- universal A-Quantifier

ēk:āRā [verb root]-īna:
 where [verb root]-whether
 ‘wherever [subject-verb]’

- (77) Ram ēk:āRā-kī vēL:-īna: pa:Rū-ta:Rū
 Ram.NOM where-LAT go-whether sing-3SG.MASC.IMPF
 Ram sings wherever he goes.

Analogous [adverb]-*ever* forms are also derived from ēp:ūrū (when), ēndūkū (why), and ēla: (how).

Telugu does not form monomorphemic universally quantified NPs or indefinite pronouns from interrogative pronouns, but it does use interrogative pronouns together with a future conditional verb to form discontinuous bimorphemic universal D-quantifiers understood as headless relatives, as in (78).

- (78) ēvārū → ēvārū āj:-īna:
 who → anyone happen-whether
 ‘whoever/anyone’

The only other instances of such headless relatives include e:mī (what) and e:dī (which).

The generalized template for forming headless relatives using any verb is defined in (79) and instantiated in (80).

- (79) ēvārū → ēvārū [verb root]-īna:
 who → anyone [verb]-whether
 ‘whoever [verb]’

- (80) ēvārū gēlč-īna: Dāb:ū sāmpa:īs-ta:Rū
 anyone.NOM win-whether money.ACC earn-3SG.MASC.IMPF
 Whoever wins earns money.

Analogous *-ever* forms are also derived from e:mī (what), ēp:ūrū (when), ēk:āRā (where), ēndūkū (why), and ēla: (how).

15.2.3 Proportional Quantifiers

Table 15.3 A few proportional quantifiers: exclusively multimorphemic or phrasal

<i>D-Quantifiers</i>	<i>A-Quantifiers</i>
D+N	
<p>pādī-lo: e:Rū ten-LOC seven 'seven [out of]/[in] ten'</p> <p>pādī-lo: e:Rū x-lū e: ten-LOC seven x-PL only 'just/only seven [out of]/[in] ten xs'</p> <p>sāri/kāc:itāmū-ga: pādī-lo: e:Rū correct/exact-ly ten-LOC seven 'exactly seven [out of]/[in] ten'</p> <p>kāni:sāmū pādī-lo: e:Rū at least ten-LOC seven 'at least seven [out of]/[in] ten'</p> <p>pādī-lo: e:Rū kāNte: ěk:ūvā ten-LOC seven than more 'more than seven [out of]/[in] ten'</p> <p>pādī-lo: ōkā ... -[verbal negation] ten-LOC one.CARDADJ ... -[verbal negation]</p>	<p>ča:la: sa:rī-lū [rest of VP] many time-PL [rest of VP] 'frequent y/often'</p> <p>kōn:ī sa:rī-lū [rest of VP] some time-PL [rest of VP] 'infrequently/seldom'</p> <p>ča:la: vārūkū/māTūkū [rest of VP] much ? [rest of VP] 'mostly [rest of VP]'</p> <p>sa:d^ha:rānāmū-ga: [rest of VP] usual-ly [rest of VP] 'usually [rest of VP]'</p> <p>ma:mūlū-ga: [rest of VP] usual-ly [rest of VP] 'generally [rest of VP]'</p> <p>[subject] āp:ūRū- [verb] ga:ni: ča:la: sa:rī- [verbal nega- āp:ūRū [verb] but many time- tion]/ka:dū [subject] then- [verb] but many time- [verbal nega- then- [verb] but many time- PL tion]/not 'occasionally [verb] but not often'</p>
D+of+N	
<p>ēnāb^hāi ša:tāmū (kāNte: (ěk:ūvā) ... eighty percent (than) (more) ... '(more than) 80% of ...'</p> <p>čīn:ā ša:tāmū ... (e:) small percentage ... (only) '(just) a small percentage of ...'</p> <p>ěntā ša:tāmū how much percentage ... 'What percentage of ...'</p> <p>īrāvāi-kī mūp:^hāi-kī mād^hjā ša:tāmū ... twenty-DAT thirty-DAT between percent ... 'between 20% and 30% of ...'</p> <p>mu:Rū-lo:rēNDū ōntū-lū (kāNte:) (tāk:ūvā) ... three-LOC two part-PL (than) (less) ... '(less than) two thirds of ...'</p>	

More examples of proportional D-quantifiers corresponding to the English D+of+N pattern: ‘all (of) ...’ [āndārū .../ān:ī .../... ānta:], ‘most/[a majority of]’ [ča:la:] (N.B. This is a makeshift translation, whose actual meaning is ‘many/[a lot]’),

pāḍi-lo: ōk:ā ōntū tāp:a: āndārū/ān:ī/ānta: ...
 ten-LOC one.CARDADJ part except all.±CT/PL/±HUM ...
 ‘all but a tenth of ...’

ēn:i-lo: ēn:ī ōntū-lū ...
 how many-LOC how many part-PL ...
 ‘What fraction of ...’

sāgāmū (kāNTe:) (ēk:ūvā/tāk:ūvā) ...
 half (than) (more/less) ...
 ‘(more/less than) half of [the]...’

sāri/kācītāmū-ga: sāgāmū ...
 correct/exact-ly half ...
 ‘exactly half of [the]...’

15.2.3.1 D-Quantifiers

Telugu appears not to distinguish D+N (proportional) and D+of+N (partitive):

D+N

(81) ča:la:-māndī kāvū-lū ta:gū-ta:-rū
 Many-HUM poet-PL.NOM drink-IMPf-3PL.HUM
 ‘Most poets drink.’

But this gets translated as ‘Many poets drink.’ as well, reflecting Telugu’s lack of a monomorphemic ‘most’ (or any other monomorphemic proportional determiner).

(82) pāḍi-lo: e:Rū-gūrū kāvū-lū ta:gū-ta:-rū
 ten-LOC seven-HUM poet-PL.NOM drink-IMPf-3PL.HUM
 ‘Seven out of ten poets drink.’

- (83) pādī-māndī-lo: ōkā vīdja:rthī kāNTe: ěk:ūvā-māndī-kī
 ten-HUM-LOC one.CARDADJ student- than more-HUM.PL-DAT

Dāb:ū vās-tūn-dī
 money.NOM come-IMPF-3SG.NONHUM

‘More than one student in ten will get some money.’

- (84) pādī-māndī-lo: ōkā gūrūvū-kī-:
 ten-HUM-LOC one.CARDADJ teacher-DAT-EMPH

a: prašnā-kī đžāva:bū tēli:-jā-dū
 that question-DAT answer.NOM to be known-NEG- IMPF.3SG

‘Not one teacher in ten knows the answer to that question.’

D+of+N

- (85) ārāvāī śa:tāmū american a:Rā-va:L-Lū la:vū-ga: ūN-Ta:-rū
 sixty percent American woman-PL.NOM fat-like exist-IMPF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Sixty percent of American women are overweight.’

- (86) āīdū-lo: ōkā ōntū kāNTe: tāk:ūvā american-lū nāv:-e:-rū
 five-LOC one.CARDADJ part than less American-PL.NOM laugh-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Less than a fifth of Americans laughed.’

15.2.3.2 A-Quantifiers

Activity Predicates

When the adverb occurs in positions other than the pragmatically unmarked ones in (87)–(90), it functions to contrast elements of the immediately preceding constituent.

- (87) a:Rā-va:L-Lū ěk:ūvā-ga: Reagan-mi:dā nāv:-e:-rū
 female-one-PL.NOM most-ly Reagan-SUP laugh-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Women mostly laughed at Reagan.’

- (88) sa:d^ha:rānāmū-ga: doṅgā-lū police-nīñčī pa:rī-po:-jīnā āp:ūRū
 usual-ly thief-PL.NOM police-ABL flee-go-?? when
 coffee-ko:sāmū a:g-ā-rū
 coffee-BEN stop-NEG-IMPF.3PL.HUM

‘Usually when outlaws flee the police, they don’t stop for coffee.’

- (89) Ram school-kĩ tărăčũ-ga: năRĩčĩ vĕL-ta:-Rũ
 Ram.NOM school-LAT frequent-ly walk go-IMPf-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram often walks to school.’
- (90) Ram museum-lă-kĩ a:dĩva:ra:-lũ
 Ram.NOM museum-PL-LAT Sunday-PL
 řrũdũ-ga: vĕL-ta:-Rũ
 seldom-ly go-IMPf-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram seldom/rarely goes to museums on Sundays.’

Stative Predicates

- (91) mōgă-va:L-Lũ ma:mũlũ-ga: a:Ră-va:L-Lă kăNte: pōRũgũ
 male-one-PL.NOM normal-ly female-one-PL.NOM than tall
 ‘Men are usually taller than women.’

15.3 Notable Quantifier Phenomena

Having offered the foregoing classification of quantifiers possibly descriptive of all natural languages, we now present a variety of quantifier phenomena which may also indicate universal tendencies.

15.3.1 Some NP Background

15.3.1.1 Definite NPs

Proper Nouns

Telugu proper nouns Telugu are essentially monomorphemic, but with a phonological constraint: NO CODA. So, ‘Prasad’ [prăsa:d] is generally realized as [prăsa:dũ], unless sandhi requires it to be resyllabified with an initial vowel in the following word, as in:

- (92) prăsa:d-ũ car kōn-ũk-kũn-na:-Rũ
 Prasad-NO CODA.NOM car buy-SANDHI-REFL-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Prasad bought (himself) a car.’
- (93) prăsa:d öč:-e:-Rũ
 Prasad.NOM come-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Prasad came.’

... where [pră.sa:d öč.çe:.Rũ] is resyllabified as [pră.sa:.döč_çe:.Rũ].

- (94) Prasad(-jök:ă) pīl:ă-lũ
 Prasad.GEN child-PL
 ‘Prasad’s children’

Adnominal Demonstratives

Telugu has two adnominal demonstratives, distinguishing proximal vs. distal, but not singular vs. plural:

- (95) i: stri:
 DEIC.PROX woman
 ‘this woman’
- (96) i: stri:-lũ
 DEIC.PROX woman-PL
 ‘these women’
- (97) a: pīl:ĩ
 DEIC.DIST cat
 ‘that cat’
- (98) a: pīl:ũ-lũ
 DEIC.DIST cat-PL
 ‘those cats’
- (99) a: vīdja:rthũ-lũ
 DEIC.DIST student-PL
 ‘those students’

15.3.1.2 Indefinitely Definite NPs

The Definitely Absent Article

Telugu does *not* have a definite article distinct from the adnominal demonstrative, as illustrated in the following variety of bare NPs. Even the null quantifier in such NPs doesn’t uniquely represent English’s definite article, but rather allows both the definite and indefinite (generic-noun) interpretations, where a boy is being identified generically, in contrast to either a girl or an older man, for instance:

- (100) **ăb:a:ĩ** būRăgă kōn-na:-Rũ
boy.NOM balloon.ACC buy-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘A *boy* bought a/the balloon.’

Where the subject has been previously mentioned:

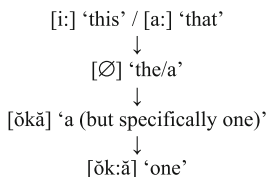
- (101) āb:a:ī **būRāgā** kōn-na:-Rū
 boy.NOM **balloon.ACC** buy-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘The boy bought *a/the balloon*.’
- (102) kūk:ā pīla:Rū-nī kārīč-īn-dī
 dog.NOM child-ACC bite-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘A/The dog bit a/the child.’
- (103) kūnde:lū tvārā-ga: pīl:ā-lū pēR-tūn-dī
 rabbit-SG hurry <noun>-ly child-PL put¹-IMPF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘A/The rabbit reproduces rapidly.’
- (104) māñčāmū ne:lā-nī gi:s-īn-dī
 bed.NOM floor-ACC scratch-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘A/The bed scratched (a/)the floor.’
- (105) kūk:ā-lū kārūs-ta:-jī
 dog-PL bite-IMPF-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘(The) Dogs (will) bite.’
- (106) ne:nū kūk:ā-lā-nī ām:-e:-se:-nū
 1SG dog-PL-ACC sell-PERF-EMPH-1SG
 ‘I sold (the) dogs.’
- (107) ān:āmū nēj:i-nī kārīgīs-tūn-dī
 rice.NOM butter.ACC melt-IMPF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘(The) Rice melts/will melt (the) butter.’

An Indefinite Article

Telugu’s equivalent of an overt indefinite article [ōkā] is derived from the cardinal number ‘one’ [ōkāTī]; however, as discussed in Section 15.3.2.2 ‘one’, although translated into English as ‘a(n)’, [ōkā] implies ‘one’ and precludes any other quantity. Rather, the examples illustrate that the indefinite article ‘a(n)’ familiar to English speakers is most faithfully represented by the null quantifier

¹ Incidentally, for species evolutionarily ‘lower’ than dogs, offspring are ‘put’ ([pēT:āRāmū] = ‘putting’), but for those equal or higher, offspring are ‘given birth to’ ([kān:āRāmū] = ‘giving birth to’).

(i.e. in bare NPs) in Telugu, since it, like the English indefinite article, makes no explicit quantitative claim about the NP, but rather makes a merely qualitative statement. So a ‘definiteness ordering’ for Telugu, in decreasing order of definiteness, would look like this:



... where a focus on the nature of the NP (i.e. the NP less the determiner) is exemplified by $[\emptyset]$ ‘the/a’ at the definite end (the top) of the order, with a shift in focus towards the quantity of the NP, exemplified by $[\text{õk:ã}]$ ‘one’, at the indefinite end (the bottom). The following sentence can mean ‘A student came’ (also ‘The student came.’) with a generic contrastive reference to a ‘student’ as opposed to a ‘teacher’, for instance, but not necessarily limiting the quantity of students that came.

- (108) $\text{vĩd}^j\text{a:rt}^h\text{ĩ}$ vãç:-e:-Rũ
 student.NOM come-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘A student came.’

The same sentence modified to include the overt indefinite article $[\text{õkã}]$ ‘a(n)’ restricts the quantity of students to one:

- (109) õkã $\text{vĩd}^j\text{a:rt}^h\text{ĩ}$ vãç:-e:-Rũ
 one.CARDADJ student.NOM come-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘A (specifically one) student came.’

15.3.2 *A Typological Perspective*

15.3.2.1 All

‘All’ assumes three forms, $[\text{ãndãrũ}/\text{ãn:i}/\text{ãnta:}]$, selecting for CT.PL.HUM, CT.PL.NONHUM, and MS nouns, respectively.

<all.CT.HUM.PL> $[\text{ãndãrũ}]$:

- (110) ãndãrũ pĩl:ã-lũ:- a:R-e:-rũ
 all.CT.HUM.PL child-PL.NOM-EMPH play-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘All the children played.’

The quantifier-NP word order may be reversed, with a slight shift in focus from the quantifier, in (110), to the NP (contrasting it with some other NP in the discourse), in (111). In (110), ‘all’ is being contrasted naturally with ‘some’, for instance; whereas in (111), ‘children’ is being contrasted with ‘adults’, for instance.

- (111) p̄l:ā-lū āndārū:- a:R-e:-rū
 child-PL.NOM all.CT.HUM.PL-EMPH play-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘All the children played.’

We note that adverbs cannot separate the quantifier ‘all’ from the noun ‘children’ in (111), suggesting that (111) does not instantiate Quantifier Float.

Nonhuman, animate creatures are treated grammatically the same as inanimate objects, as exemplified below, but differently from humans, as exemplified above:

<all.CT.NONHUM.PL> [ān:ī]:

- (112) ān:ī kūk:āl-ū a:R-e:-jī
 all.CT.NONHUM.PL dog-PL.NOM play-PERF-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘All the dogs played.’

- (113) ān:ī bāntū-lū dōrl-ē-jī
 all.CT.NONHUM.PL ball.PL.NOM roll-PERF-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘All the balls rolled.’

The quantifier-NP word order reversibility applies to <all.CT.NONHUM.PL> [ān:ī] as it does to <all.CT.HUM.PL> [āndārū]. (An incidental observation: although ‘milk’ in English is a mass noun, it behaves as a plural count noun in Telugu):

- (114) ān:ī pa:lū:- ōlkī-po:-ē-jī
 all.CT.NONHUM.PL milk.NOM-EMPH spill-go-PERF-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘All the milk has spilled.’

For the mass noun quantifier ‘all’ [ānta:], the reverse word order does not produce an acceptable sentence.

<all.MS> [ānta:]:

- (115) pānī ānta: āj:-po:-īn-dī
 work.NOM all.MS happen-go-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘All the work is completed.’
- (116) *āntā pānī:- āj:-po:-īn-dī
 all.MS work.NOM-EMPH happen-go-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘All the work is completed.’

15.3.2.3 Proportional Determiner

Telugu doesn't likely have a monomorphemic proportional determiner; rather, it simply uses 'many' and the discours context to convey 'most', for example.

- (122) ča:la:-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū ba:ga: čādūvū-kūN-Ta:-rū
 many-HUM student-PL.NOM well study-REFL-IMPF-3PL.HUM
 'Most/many students study well.'

15.3.2.4 Value Judgment Quantifiers: '(Too) Many/Much' and '(Too) Few/Little'

Telugu has three monomorphemic value judgment quantifiers translating 'many/much' (all using the HUM suffix [-māndī] for nouns referring to humans): [ča:la:] is used standardly; [bo:LDū] is used in casual speech; and [ėk:ūvā], while denoting 'many/much', also closely abuts the sense of 'too many/much'.

- (123) va:Rū ča:la:-māndī vīdja:rthī-lā-nī kālīs-e:-Rū
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM many-HUM student-PL-ACC meet-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 -OR-
- (124) a. va:Rū bo:LDū-māndī vīdja:rthī-lā-nī kālīs-e:-Rū
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM many-HUM student-PL-ACC meet-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 -OR-
- b. va:Rū ěk:ūvā-māndī vīdja:rthī-lā-nī kālīs-e:-Rū
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM many-HUM student-PL-ACC meet-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 'He met many students.'
 -OR-
- c. va:Rū ča:la: sārūkū-lū kōn-na:-Rū
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM many-NONHUM thing-PL-ACC buy-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 -OR-
- d. va:Rū bo:LDū sārūkū-lū kōn-na:-Rū
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM many-NONHUM thing-PL-ACC buy-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 -OR-
- e. va:Rū ěk:ūvā sārūkū-lū kōn-na:-Rū
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM many-NONHUM thing-PL-ACC buy-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 'He bought many things.'
- (125) a. va:Rū ča:la: bi:jāmū kōn-na:-Rū
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM much-NONHUM rice-SG-ACC buy-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 -OR-

- b. va:Rũ bo:LDũ bi:j:ãmũ kõn-na:-Rũ
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM much-NONHUM rice-SG.ACC Buy-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 -OR-
 c. va:Rũ êk:ũvã bi:j:ãmũ kõn-na:-Rũ
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM much-NONHUM rice-SG.ACC Buy-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘He bought much (i.e. a lot of) rice.’

For added emphasis (on non-human nouns), [bo:LDũ-ãn:i] (‘many, many’ [CT]) and [bo:LDũ-ãntã] (‘much, much’ [MS]) are used. [êk:ũvã] also denotes ‘too many/much’:

- (126) êk:ũvã-mãndĩ Vĩdja:rthũ-lũ vãç:-e:-rũ
 too many-HUM student-PL.NOM come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Too many students came.’
- (127) va:Rũ êk:ũvã bõm:ã-lũ kõn-kũn-na:-Rũ
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM too many.NONHUM doll-PL.ACC buy-REFL-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘He bought too many dolls.’
- (128) êk:ũvã vãrşãmũ pãR-ĩn-dĩ
 too much.NONHUM rain.NOM fall-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘Too much rain fell.’ OR ‘It rained too much.’

Telugu has one monomorphemic value judgment quantifier translating ‘few/little’: [tãk:ũvã], which uses the HUM suffix [-mãndĩ] for nouns referring to humans. Analogous to ‘(too) many/much’ [êk:ũvã], [tãk:ũvã] also conveys the sense of ‘too few/little’.

- (129) tãk:ũvã-mãndĩ vĩdja:rthũ-lũ pass ãj:-e:-rũ
 (too) few-CT.PL.HUM student-PL.NOM pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘(Too) few students passed.’
- (130) ne:nũ tãk:ũvã pãkşũ-lã-nĩ çu:s-ẽ-nũ
 1SG.NOM (too) few.NONHUM bird-PL-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw (too) few birds.’
- (131) ne:nũ tãk:ũvã bi:j:ãmũ-nĩ kõn-na:-nũ
 1SG.NOM (too) little.NONHUM rice-ACC buy-PERF-1SG
 ‘I bought (too) little rice.’

Phrasally, Telugu routinely employs the construction ‘some... only’ [kōntā-māndī/kōn:ī/kōntā... e:] to convey the value judgment sense of ‘few/little’, and ‘a little... only’ [kōñčāmū... e:] for ‘little (mass sense)’.

- (132) a. kōntā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū e: vāč:-e:-rū
 some-CT.PL.HUM Student-PL.NOM only come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Few students came.’ Via ‘Only some students came.’
- b. kōn:ī car-lū e: k^hāri:dū
 some-CT.PL.NONHUM car-PL.NOM only expensive
 ‘Few cars are expensive.’ via ‘Only some cars are expensive.’
- c. kōntā se:pū e: ūn-dī
 some-MS time.MS.NOM only exist.IMPF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘There is little time.’ Lit: ‘Only some time is there.’

15.3.2.5 No

Telugu lacks a monomorphemic ‘no’, for which it relies on the combination of the monomorphemic NPI [e:] ‘any’ (preceding the NP) along with a licenser – an interrogative phrase or a decreasing expression, including decreasing NPs, decreasing adverbial phrases (e.g. ‘ever’, ‘hardly’, etc.), and verbal negation.

interrogative phrase:

- (133) nūv:ū e: pākṣī-nī āj:-īna: ču:s-e:-vū a:
 2SG.NOM which bird-ACC become-whether see-PERF-2SG.FAM QP
 ‘Did you see any birds?’

verbal negation:

- (134) ne:nū e: pākṣī-nī āj:-īna: ču:Rā-le:dū
 1SG.NOM any bird-ACC become-whether see-NEG.PERF
 ‘I saw no birds./I didn’t see any birds.’

- (135) ne:nū e: pākṣī-nī: ču:Rā-le:dū
 1SG.NOM Any bird-ACC-EMPH see-NEG.PERF
 ‘I saw no birds./I didn’t see any birds.’

decreasing expression:

- (136) ne:nū kāṣṭā pāR-te:
 1SG.NOM difficulty fall-IMPF.COND

- (137) e: pākṣū-lā-nī āj:-īna: ču:s-e:-nū
 any bird-PL-ACC happen-whether see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw hardly any birds.’

15.3.2.6 Universal D-Quantifiers: each/every, all (the)

Telugu has two words interpreted as universal D-quantifiers, corresponding to ‘each/every’ [prāti:] and ‘all’ [āndārū/ān:i/ānta:]. ‘Each/every’ obviously selects CT nouns. The word for ‘all’ agrees with the noun in the [CT.HUM] features (obviously selecting for PL if [CT]).

- (138) ne:nũ prāti: pākṣi-nĩ ču:s-ě-nũ
 1SG.NOM every bird-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw each/every bird.’

- (139) ne:nũ ān:i pākṣū-lā-nĩ ču:s-ě-nũ
 1SG.NOM all.CT.NONHUM bird-PL-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw all (the) birds.’

15.3.2.7 Relative Complexity of A-Quantifiers vs. D-Quantifiers

There appear to be no monomorphemic A-quantifiers, all are syntactically complex, sometimes built on nominal patterns as in English ‘five times’ (see later). Some are formed with the adverbial suffix *-ga* from a frequency adjective:

- | | | |
|---------------|--|-----------------|
| tārāčũ-ga: | | ārũdũ-ga: |
| ‘frequent-ly’ | | ‘occasional-ly’ |

15.3.2.8 Feature Selection of D-Quantifiers

In Telugu, D-quantifiers select for some combination (but not necessarily all) of the features <CT/MS, HUM/NONHUM, SG/PL> in the nouns they modify.

Generalized Existential (Intersective) Quantifiers

Refer to Section 15.3.2.2 ‘one’ for a detailed discussion of the three following examples.

- (140) ne:nũ ōk:ā pākṣi-nĩ ču:s-ě-nũ
 1SG.NOM one.CARDADJ bird-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw one bird.’ [Carries emphasis on ‘one’.]

- (141) ne:nũ ōkā pākṣi-nĩ ču:s-ě-nũ
 1SG.NOM one.CARDADJ bird-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw a bird.’ [Lacks any particular emphasis, but specifies ‘one’ of the object.]

- (142) ne:nũ Ø pākṣi-nĩ ču:s-ě-nũ
 1SG.NOM a bird-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw a bird.’ [implies one bird, but the focus is on the object, not the quantity.]

‘Some’ (denoting ‘several’ as well) assumes three forms, selecting for CT.PL.HUM, CT.PL.NONHUM, and MS nouns, respectively. It is noteworthy that [kõntã-mãndĩ], which selects for CT.PL.HUM nouns, is built from the <some.MS> morpheme [kõntã].

- (143) ne:nũ kõntã-mãndĩ vīdja:rthĩ-lã-nĩ ču:s-ě-nũ
 1SG.NOM some/several-CT.PL.HUM student-PL-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw some/several students.’

- (144) ne:nũ kõn:ĩ pākṣũ-lã-nĩ ču:s-ě-nũ
 1SG.NOM some/several.CT.PL.NONHUM bird-PL-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw some/several birds.’

- (145) ne:nũ kõntã nēj:ĩ kõn-na:-nũ
 1SG.NOM some.MS butter.ACC buy-PERF-1SG
 ‘I bought some butter.’

‘many/much’ [ča:la:] can modify any noun (as can ‘many/much’ [bo:LDũ] and ‘many/much’ [ėk:ũvã], which are discussed in Section 15.3.2.4 ‘Value Judgment Quantifiers: (too) many/much and (too) few/little’:

- (146) ča:la:-mãndĩ vīdja:rthũ-lũ pass āj:-e:-rũ
 many-HUM student-PL.NOM pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Many students passed.’

- (147) va:Rũ ča:la: bõm:ã-lũ kõn-kũn-na:-Rũ
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM many.NONHUM doll-PL.ACC buy-REFL-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘He bought many dolls.’

- (148) ča:la: vārṣãmũ pãR-ĩn-dĩ
 much.NONHUM rain.NOM fall-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘Much rain fell.’ OR ‘It rained a lot.’

As with ‘many/much’ [ča:la:]/[bõLDũ]/[ėk:ũvã], ‘(too) few/little’ [tãk:ũvã] can modify any noun:

- (149) tãk:ũvã-mãndĩ vīdja:rthũ-lũ pass āj:-e:-rũ
 (too) few-HUM student-PL.NOM pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘(Too) few students passed.’

(150) va:Rũ tāk:ũvā bõm:ã-lũ kõn-kũn-na:-Rũ
 3SG.MASC.FAM.NOM (too) few.NONHUM doll-PL.ACC buy-REFL-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘He bought (too) few dolls.’

(151) tāk:ũvā vāršãmũ pãR-ĩn-dĩ
 (too) little.NONHUM rain.NOM fall-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘(Too) little rain fell.’ OR ‘It rained (too) little.’

‘a little (mass denotation)’ [kõñčãmũ] can modify only mass nouns:

(152) kõiñčãmũ vāršãmũ pãR-ĩn-dĩ
 a little.MS rain.NOM fall-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘A little rain fell.’ OR ‘It rained a little.’

(153) *kõiñčãmũ-mãndĩ vĩdja:rthũ-lũ (e:) vãč:-e:-rũ
 a little.MS-HUM student-PL.NOM (only) come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Few students came.’

(154) *kõiñčãmũ vĩdja:rthũ-lũ (e:) vãč:-e:-rũ
 a little.MS student-PL.NOM (only) come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Few students came.’

(155) *kõiñčãmũ bõm:ã-lũ (e:) kõi-na:-rũ
 a little.MS doll-PL.ACC (only) buy-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘He bought few dolls.’

(Modified) numerals select for CT nouns and determine their number. .

(156) ne:nũ ãĩdũ-gũrũ vĩdja:rthĩ-lã-nĩ ču:s-ẽ-nũ
 1SG.NOM five.CT.PL-HUM student-PL-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw five students.’

(157) ne:nũ ãĩdũ pãkšũ-lã-nĩ ču:s-ẽ-nũ
 1SG.NOM five.CT.PL.NONHUM bird-PL-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw five birds.’

(158) ne:nũ ãĩdũ kãNTe: ẽk:ũvã pãkšũ-lã-nĩ ču:s-ẽ-nũ
 1SG.NOM five.CT.PL.NONHUM than more bird-PL-ACC see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw more than five birds.’

‘no’ [e:] appears not to select for any features:

- (167) ne:nũ e: v̄dja:rthĩ-nĩ-: ču:Rã-le:dũ
 1SG.NOM any student-ACC-EMPH see-NEG.PERF
 ‘I saw no student./I didn’t see any student.’
- (168) ne:nũ e: v̄dja:rthĩ-lã-nĩ-: ču:Rã-le:dũ
 1SG.NOM any student-PL-ACC-EMPH see-NEG.PERF
 ‘I saw no students./I didn’t see any students.’
- (169) ne:nũ e: pãkṣĩ-nĩ-: ču:Rã-le:dũ
 1SG.NOM any bird-ACC-EMPH see-NEG.PERF
 ‘I saw no bird./I didn’t see any bird.’
- (170) ne:nũ e: pãkṣũ-lã-nĩ-: ču:Rã-le:dũ
 1SG.NOM any bird-PL-ACC-EMPH see-NEG.PERF
 ‘I saw no birds./I didn’t see any birds.’
- (171) ne:n(ũ) e: bi:jãmũ-: kōnã-le:dũ
 1SG.NOM any rice.ACC-EMPH buy-NEG.PERF
 ‘I bought no rice./I didn’t buy any rice.’

Interestingly, the Telugu word for ‘water’, [ni:L-Lũ], is considered a CT.PL noun.

- (172) ĩk:ãRã nĩL-Lũ ba:-ga: ũn-na:-jĩ
 here water-PL good-ly exist-PERF-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘The water here is good.’

Generalized Universal (Co-intersective) Quantifiers

The feature selection properties of ‘all’ are described in Section 15.3.2.1 ‘all’. ‘each’ [čẽrĩ-õkã] and ‘every’ [prãti:] select for CT.SG nouns, without distinguishing between HUM and NONHUM:

<each.CT.SG>, humans:

- (173) prãti: pĩl:ã:Rũ a:R-e:-Rũ
 every.CT.SG child.NOM play-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Every child played.’
- (174) *prãti: pĩl:ã-lũ a:R-e:-rũ
 every.CT.SG child-PL.NOM play-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Every children played.’

<every.CT.SG>, animate non-humans:

- (175) prāti: kūk:ā a:R-īn-dī
 every.CT.SG dog.NOM play-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘Every dog played.’

<every.CT.SG>, inanimate objects:

- (176) prāti: būRāgā pe:lī-pō-īn-dī
 every.CT.SG balloon.NOM burst-go-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘Every balloon popped.’

Proportional Quantifiers

Proportional quantifiers select for features based on the nature of the quantifier. For those quantifiers which, in English, assume the form <determiner+NP_{indef.pl.}>, the Telugu counterparts select for CT nouns whose grammatical number naturally depends on the quantifier (since such quantifiers are built from cardinal numbers). Ones that correspond to English pattern <D+NP_{indef.pl.}>:

- (177) pādī-māndī-lo: ōkā pīl:a:Rū a:R-e:-Rū
 ten.CT.PL-HUM-LOC one.CARDADJ child.NOM play-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘One out of ten children played.’
- (178) pādī-māndī-lo: e:Rū-gūrū pīl:ā-lū a:R-e:-rū
 ten.CT.PL-HUM-LOC seven.CT.PL-HUM child-PL.NOM play-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Seven out of ten children played.’
- (179) pādī-lo: e:Rū kūk:ā-lū a:R-ē-jī
 ten.CT.PL.NONHUM-LOC seven.CT.PL.NONHUM dog-PL.NOM play-PERF-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘Seven out of ten dogs played.’
- (180) pādī-lo: e:Rū bōm:ā-lū
 ten.CT.PL.NONHUM-LOC seven.CT.PL.NONHUM doll-PL.NOM
 mēriśī-po:-tūN-T/tu: ūn-na:-jī
 shine-go-PROG-GER exist-PERF-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘Seven out of ten dolls were shining.’

For those quantifiers which, in English translation, assume the form <determiner+of+NP_{indef.pl.}>, the choice of noun is restricted to either CT.PL or MS nouns (as in English), but is otherwise independent of the quantifier.

English <D+of+NP_{indef.pl.}>:

- (181) a. count: ɛnǎb^hǎĩ śa:tǎmũ pĩl:ǎ-lũ nǎvũ-ta:-rũ
 eighty percent child-PL.NOM laugh-IMPf-3PL.HUM
 ‘Eighty percent of children laugh.’
- b. mass: ɛnǎb^hǎĩ śa:tǎmũ něj:i la:vũ ɕe:s-tũn-dĩ
 eighty percent butter-NOM fat make-IMPf-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘Eighty percent of butter fattens.’
- (182) a. count: mu:Rũ-lo: rěNDũ ǒntũ-lǎ pĩl:ǎ-lũ e:Rũs-ta:-rũ
 three.NONHUM-LOC Two.NONHUM part-PL child-PL.NOM cry-IMPf-3PL.HUM
 ‘Two thirds of children cry.’
- b. mass: mu:Rũ-lo: rěNDũ ǒntũ-lǎ pre:mǎ ǎdrũṣTǎmũ
 three.NONHUM-LOC Two.NONHUM part-PL love-NOM luck.NOM
 ‘Two thirds of love is good fortune.’
- (183) a. count: ɕa:la:-mǎndĩ pĩl:ǎ-lũ TV ɕu:s-ta:-rũ
 many-HUM child-PL.NOM TV watch-IMPf-3PL.HUM
 ‘A majority of children watch TV.’
- b. mass: ɕa:la: pi:ɕũ mɛt:ǎ-gǎ ũN-Tũn-dĩ
 much.NONHUM fiber.NOM hard-ly exist-IMPf-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘A majority of cotton is soft.’

15.3.3 Decreasing NPs

15.3.3.1 Determiners Which Build Decreasing NPs

Telugu can build decreasing NPs, but not with Determiners alone, as negation on the verb is required to ‘complete’ the downward entailment.

Intersective

- (184) e: vĩdja:rthũ-lũ-: ĩNTĩ-kĩ Ra:-le:dũ
 any student-PL.NOM-EMPH house-LAT come-NEG.PERF
 ‘No students came to the house.’

*Attempting to use the affirmative construction produces an ill-formed sentence.

- (185) *e: vĩdja:rthũ-lũ-: ĩNTĩ-kĩ vǎɕ:-e:-rũ
 any student-PL.NOM-EMPH house-LAT come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 **‘Any students came to the house.’

- (186) *āḍḍū-gūrū kāNṬe: tāk:ūvā-māṇḍī vīdja:rthū-lū vāc:-e:-rū*
 five-HUM than less-HUM student-PL.NOM come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Fewer than five students came.’

Co-Intersective

- (187) *āṇḍārū pīl:ā-lū ēk:ūvā e:R-āvā-rū*
 all.HUM child-PL.NOM too much cry-NEG-IMPF.3PL.HUM
 ‘Not all children cry a lot.’

Proportional

- (188) *na:lūg-o: ōṅṭū kāNṬe: tāk:ūvā-māṇḍī vīdja:rthū-lū*
 four-ORD part than less-HUM student-PL.NOM

pāṛīkṣā pass āj:-e:-rū
 Exam pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM

‘Less than a quarter of the students passed the exam.’

- (189) *pāḍī-māṇḍī-lo: e:Rū-gūrū kāNṬe: ēk:ūvā vīdja:rthū-lū*
 ten-HUM-LOC seven-HUM than more student-PL.NOM

Plāyers kā:lč-ā-rū
 Players.ACC smoke-NEG-IMPF.3PL.HUM

‘Not more than seven out of ten students smoke Players.’

15.3.3.2 NPI-Licensing

Decreasing NPs license NPIs, as do verbal negation and the interrogative construction. However, a decreasing NP such as ‘Neither Ram nor Babu...’ is not translated as such into Telugu; rather, it is translated as a combination of the increasing NP ‘Either Ram or Babu...’ and verbal negation (which licenses the NPI in the Telugu sentence). The increasing NP and verbal negation thus jointly convey the decreasing NP ‘Neither Ram nor Babu...’ (which, in the English sentence, independently licenses the NPI).

- (190) a. *Ram u: Babu u: lā-lo: ēvārū: ēp:ūRu: Moscow-kī vēL:ā-le:dū*
 Ram.NOM and Babu.NOM and PL-LOC anyone.NOM-EMPH ever MOSCOW-LAT go-NEG.PERF
 ‘Neither Ram nor Babu has ever been to Moscow.’

- b. *Ram o: Babu o: ēp:ūRu: Moscow-kī vēL:ā-le:dū*
 Ram.NOM or Babu.NOM or ever MOSCOW-LAT go-NEG.PERF
 ‘Either Ram or Babu has never been to Moscow.’

(Incidentally, the pre-verbal position gets the focus: either the city name or ‘ever’ can occur there, accordingly.) Predictably, the same increasing NP used in the *affirmative* construction fails to license the NPI (be it ‘ever’ [ɛ̃p:ũRu:] or <ever happen-whether> [ɛ̃p:ũRũ äj-ĩna:] – see below – and even with PL subject-verb agreement), producing an ill-formed sentence:

- (191) *Ram ga:ni: Babu ga:ni: ɛ̃p:ũRu: Moscow-kĩ vĕL:-e:-Rũ
 Ram.NOM either Babu.NOM either ever MOSCOW-LAT go-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 *‘Either Ram or Babu has ever been to Moscow.’

The interrogative construction does license the NPI, albeit with a modified version of ‘ever’, <ever happen-whether> [ɛ̃p:ũRũ äj-ĩna:], used in both interrogative and decreasing NP constructions, as in (197).

- (192) Ram ga:ni: Babu ga:ni:
 Ram.NOM either Babu.NOM either

 ɛ̃p:ũRũ äj-ĩna: Moscow-kĩ vĕL:-e:-rũ-a:
 ever happen-whether MOSCOW-LAT go-PERF-3PL.HUM-QP
 ‘Has either Ram or Babu ever been to Moscow?’

Another example of an English decreasing NP, this time co-occurring with the NPI ‘any’, illustrates again the Telugu <increasing NP + verbal negation> combination:

- (193) ĩd:ãrũ kãNte: ɛ̃k:ũvã-mãndĩ vĭdja:rthũ-lũ
 two.HUM than more-HUM student-PL.NOM

 kđT:ũ-lo: e: pãkşũ-lã-nĩ ɕu:Rã-le:dũ
 store-LOC any bird-PL-ACC see-NEG.PERF
 ‘Not more than two students saw any birds in the store.’

The <two.HUM than more-HUM> quantifier forms a constituent in Telugu, mirroring the English construction, although the verbal negation element occurs outside the quantifier (sentence-finally), in contrast with English.

Additionally, [e:] without the vowel lengthening on the direct object facilitates wide scope negation (over the entire clause), whereas [e:] with vowel lengthening on the direct object facilitates narrow scope negation (over just the direct object NP).

- (194) *īd:ārū* *kāNTe:* *ēk:ūvā-māndī* *vidja:rthū-lū*
 two.HUM than more-HUM student-PL.NOM
kōT:ū-lo: *e:* *pākṣū-lā-nī:* *ču:Rā-le:dū*
 store-LOC any bird-PL-ACC-EMPH see-NEG.PERF
 ‘More than two students saw no birds in the store.’

Once again, the increasing NP in the *affirmative* construction fails to license the NPI:

- (195) **īd:ārū* *kāNTe:* *ēk:ūvā-māndī* *vidja:rthū-lū*
 two.HUM than more-HUM student-PL.NOM
kōT:ū-lo: *e:* *pākṣū-lā-nī:* *ču:s-e:-rū*
 store-LOC any bird-PL-ACC-EMPH see-PERF-3PL.HUM
 *‘More than two students saw any birds in the store.’

However, a *decreasing* expression in the affirmative construction does license the NPI, albeit with a modified version of ‘any’, used in both interrogative (not instantiated here) and decreasing expression constructions: <any (NP) happen-whether> [*e:* (NP) *āj-īna:*].

Decreasing NP Licensing the NPI ‘any’ in the Affirmative Construction:

- (196) *īd:ārū* *kāNTe:* *tāk:ūvā-māndī* *vidja:rthū-lū*
 two.HUM than few-HUM student-PL.NOM
kōT:ū-lo: *e:* *pākṣū-lā-nī* *āj-īna:* *ču:s-e:-rū*
 store-LOC any bird-PL.ACC happen-whether see-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Fewer than two students saw any birds in the store.’

Decreasing NP Licensing the NPI ‘ever’ in the Affirmative Construction:

- (197) *īk:āRā* *ūn-nā* *vidja:rthī-lā-lo:* *sāgāmū* *kāNTe:* *tāk:ūvā-māndī*
 here be-REL.PERF student-PL-LOC half than less-HUM
ēp:ūRū *āj-īna:* *Pinsk-kī* *vēL:-e:-rū*
 when happen-whether Pinsk-LAT go-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Less than half the students here have ever been to Pinsk.’

15.3.4 Boolean Compounds of Determiners

15.3.4.1 D-Quantifiers

- (198) vāč:-e: sāmvaṭsārāmū kāni:sāmū ḱd:ārū vīdja:rthū-lā-kī
 come-REL.IMPF Year at least two.HUM student-PL-DAT

Dāb:ū vās-tūn-dī ga:ni:
 money.NOM come-IMPf-3SG.NONHUM but

pādī kāNTe: ek:ūvā-māndī-kī ra:-dū
 ten than more-HUM-DAT come-NEG.3SG.NONHUM

‘At least two *but not* more than ten students will get money next year.’

Attempting to form a boolean compound of an increasing determiner with a decreasing one produces an ill-formed sentence, because the increasing determiner e.g. ‘at least two’ [kāni:sāmū ḱd:ārū] selects for affirmative verbs, whereas the decreasing determiner e.g. ‘not more than ten’ requires a verbal negation.

- (199) *vāč:-e: sāmvaṭsārāmū kāni:sāmū ḱd:ārū-kī ga:ni:
 come-REL.IMPF year at least two.HUM-DAT but

pādī kāNTe: ek:ūvā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lā-kī ka:dū
 ten than more-HUM student-PL-DAT not

scholarship vās-tūn-dī/ra:-dū
 scholarship.NOM come-IMPf-3SG.NONHUM/come-NEG.IMPf.3SG.NONHUM

‘At least two *but not* more than ten students will get scholarships next year.’

- (200) mādhja:nāmū-lū ča:la:-māndī kāvū-lū nīd:ārā-po:-ta:-rū ga:ni:
 afternoon-PL many-HUM poet-PL sleep-go-IMPf-3PL.HUM but

āndārū:- ka:dū
 all.CT.HUM-EMPH not

‘Many *but not* all poets sleep in the afternoon.’

Not surprisingly, as illustrated below, the boolean compound consisting of two disjuncts with the same monotonicity value poses no problem, since a single verb of the appropriate polarity (negative in this case) serves both disjuncts.

- (201) prāti: vīdja:rthī ga:ni: prāti: gūrūvū ga:ni: īNTī-kī ra:-le:dū
 every student.NOM DISJ every teacher.NOM DISJ house-LAT come-NEG.PERF
 ‘Neither every student nor every teacher came to the house.’

15.3.4.2 A-Quantifiers

Conjoined A-quantifiers also enforce the same monotonicity value on their conjuncts.

- (202) Ram kăni:sămũ rĕNDũ sa:rĩ-lũ Hyderabad-kĩ
 Ram.NOM at least two.NONHUM time-PL Hyderabad-LAT
 vĕL:-e:-Rũ ga:ni: ärdũ kăNTe: ěk:ũvã sa:rĩ-lũ ka:dũ
 go-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM but five than more time-PL NEG element.SG
 ‘Ram has gone to Hyderabad at least twice but not more than five times.’
- (203) *Ram kăni:sămũ rĕNDũ sa:rĩ-lũ ga:ni:
 Ram.NOM at least two.NONHUM time-PL but
 ärdũ kăNTe: ěk:ũvã sa:rĩ-lũ ka:dũ Hyderabad-kĩ vĕL:-e:-Rũ
 five than more time-PL NEG element.SG Hyderabad-LAT go-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram has gone to Hyderabad at least twice but not more than five times.’
- (204) ke:ndri:jã en:ĩkã-lũ-lo: Madhuri Congress party-kĩ tãrãčũ-ga:
 Central election-PL-LOC Madhuri.NOM Congress party-DAT frequent-ly
 vote ve:s-ĩn-dĩ ga:ni: prãti: sa:rĩ ka:dũ
 vote cast-PERF-3SG.FEM.FAM but every time not
 ‘In the national elections, Madhuri has frequently but not always voted for the Congress party.’

As in the example above, conjoining adverbial quantifiers of opposite monotonicity results in an ill-formed sentence:

- (205) *ke:ndri:jã en:ĩkã-lũ-lo: Madhuri Congress party-kĩ tãrãčũ-ga: ka:ni:
 Central elections- PL-LOC Madhuri.NOM CONGRESS PARTY frequent-ly but
 prãti: sa:rĩ ka:dũ vote ěe:s-ĩn-dĩ
 every time not vote do-PERF-3SG.FEM.FAM
 ‘In national elections Madhuri has frequently but not always voted for the Congress Party’

15.3.5 Exception Phrases

Considering the head-final typology of Telugu, it appears that exception phrases form a constituent with ‘every’ [prãti:] in:

- (206) Ram tāp:a: prāti: vīdja:rthī
 Ram except every student.NOM
 class-kī pēndāra:Le: vāč:-e:-Rū
 class-LAT Early come-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Every student but Ram came to class early.’

In the case of decreasing determiners which select negated verbs, the exception phrase-determiner constituent co-occurs with, but does not include, the verbal negation morpheme (which, in combination with the Telugu determiner ‘any’ [e:] represents the English determiner ‘no’):

- (207) Ram tāp:a: e: vīdja:rthī:-
 Ram except any student.NOM-EMPH
 īl:ū a:lāsājāmū-ga: vādālā-le:dū
 house.ACC late-ly leave-NEG.PERF
 ‘No student but Ram left the house late.’

15.3.6 *Only*

For expressions involving ‘only’, [e:] follows the rest of the NP:

- (208) Ram-kī e: Dāb:ū vāč:-īn-dī
 Ram-DAT only money.NOM come-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘Only Ram got money.’

Although (213) is grammatical, speakers prefer to insert a HUM cardinal identifier immediately following HUM nouns:

- (209) Ram ōkāRī-kī-e: Dāb:ū vāč:-īn-dī
 Ram one.CARDPRO.HUM-DAT-only money.NOM come-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘Only Ram got money.’
- (210) vīdja:rthū-lū e: īNTī-kī vāč:-e:-rū
 student-PL.NOM only house.LAT come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Only students came to the house.’
- (210) is even more natural with contrastive ‘however’:
- (211) vīdja:rthū-lū ma:trāmū e: īNTī-kī vāč:-e:-rū
 student-PL.NOM however only house.LAT come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Only students came to the house.’

15.3.7 Partitives: *D + of + NP_{def. pl.}*

15.3.7.1 Cardinal

- (212) vīdja:rthī-lā-lo: īd:ārū e: pārīkṣā pass āj:-e:-rū
 student-PL-LOC two.HUM.NOM only exam.ACC pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Just two of the students passed the exam.’
- (213) a:/na:/Ram-jōk:ā vīdja:rthī-lā-lo: īd:ārū e:
 those/1SG.GEN/Ram-GEN student-PL-LOC two.HUM.NOM only
 pārīkṣā pass āj:-e:-rū
 exam.ACC pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Just two of those/my/Ram’s students passed the exam.’

15.3.7.2 Interrogative

In the example below the determiner is an interrogative pronoun:

- (214) Ø/a: vīdja:rthī-lā-lo: ēvārū pārīkṣā pass āj:-e:-rū
 the/those student-PL-LOC who.NOM exam pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Which of the/those students passed the exam?’

15.3.7.3 Universal

- (215) āndārū vīdja:rthū-lū-: pass āj:-e:-Rū
 all.CT.HUM student-PL.NOM-EMPH pass become-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘All [vs. some] of the students passed.’
- (216) ??āndārū vīdja:rthū-lū pass āv:ā-le:dū
 all.CT.HUM student-PL.NOM pass become-NEG.PERF
 ‘Not all of the students passed.’

Postposing the quantifier *āndārū* ‘all’ above renders the example more natural:

- (217) vīdja:rthū-lū āndārū-: pass āv:ā-le:dū
 student-PL.NOM all.CT.HUM-EMPH pass become-NEG.PERF
 ‘Not all of the students passed.’ [i.e. They all **failed**.]

We have seen that ‘each’, ‘both’, and ‘all’ trigger emphatic vowel lengthening of the NP-final word, forcing the NP outside the scope of negation:

- (218) āndārū vīdja:rthū-lū-: pass āv:ā-le:dū
 all.CT.HUM student-PL.NOM pass become-NEG.PERF
 ‘All of the students didn’t pass.’ [i.e. They all **failed**.]

15.3.7.4 Proportional

The examples below show that partitives in Telugu are syntactically complex.

- (219) *īd:ārū vīdja:rthū-lū-: nāv:-e:-rū*
 two.HUM student-PL.NOM-EMPH laugh-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Both of the students laughed.’
- (220) *īd:ārū-lo: e: vīdja:rthī-: nāv:ā-le:dū*
 two.HUM-LOC any student.NOM-EMPH laugh-NEG.PERF
 ‘Neither of the students passed.’
- (221) *ēnāb^hāī śa:tāmū kāNTe: ēk:ūvā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū nāv:-e:-rū*
 80 percent Than more-HUM student-PL.NOM laugh-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘More than eighty percent of the students laughed.’
- (222) *a:rū-lo: āīdū ōntū-lā kāNTe: ēk:ūvā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū*
 Six-LOC five part-PL.GEN than more-HUM student-PL.NOM
nāv:-e:-rū
 laugh-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘More than five sixths of the students laughed.’
- (223) *ča:la:-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū nāv:-e:-rū*
 Most student-PL.NOM laugh-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Most of the students laughed.’

15.3.8 Quantificational NPIs Under the Scope of a Decreasing Operator

15.3.8.1 D-Quantifier ‘any’

- (224) a. *na:-dāg:īrā e: ārTīpāL-Lū-: le:-vū*
 1SG.GEN-ADES any banana-PL.NOM-EMPH exist.NEG-
 3PL.NONHUM
 -OR-
- b. *na:-dāg:īrā ārTīpāL-Lū e:mi: le:-vū*
 1SG.GEN-ADES banana-PL.NOM any.NONHUM exist.NEG-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘I don’t have any bananas.’

15.3.8.2 Variable Interpretation of A-Quantifiers

The A-quantifier [əp:ũRu:] is variably interpreted as ‘always’ under the scope of an increasing expression, and as ‘ever’ under the scope of a decreasing one:

- (225) a. ātānũ əp:ũRu: pōd:ũn:ā vās-ta:-Rũ
 3SG.MASC.FAM1.NOM always morning come-IMPF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘He always arrives in the morning.’
- b. ātānũ əp:ũRu: pōd:ũn:ā ra:-R-ũ
 3SG.MASC.FAM1.NOM ever morning come-3SG.MASC.FAM-NEG.IMPF
 ‘He never arrives in the morning.’/‘He doesn’t ever arrive in the morning.’

15.3.9 Predicate Quantifiers

- (226) vīdja:rthũ-lũ ěk:ũvā-ga: ũn-na:-rũ
 student-PL.NOM many-ly exist-IMPF-3PL.HUM
 ‘The students were many.’

The above sentence is marginal at best, and the attempt to use a cardinal numeral as a predicate results in a mere lexical rearrangement of a standard existential sentence:

- (227) vīdja:rthũ-lũ mũg:ũrũ ũn-na:-rũ
 student-PL.NOM three.HUM exist-IMPF-3PL.HUM
 ‘There were three students.’ BUT NOT ‘The students were/numbered three.’

15.3.10 DP Quantifiers

Telugu does present DP quantifiers, as instantiated below:

- (228) a. tie-lũ čāvākā-ga: ũn-na:-jĩ āñĩ
 tie-PL.NOM cheap-ly exist-PERF-3PL.NONHUM that
 ‘The ties were inexpensive, so...’
- b. mu:Rũ/ kōn:ĩ/ ča:la:/ ān:i: kōn-na:-nũ
 three/several/many/all buy-PERF-1SG
 ... I bought three/several/many/all.’

In English bare *each* is awkward (*each one* is better) in the above context, in Telugu it requires a GEN case marker:

- c. *prāti:-dī kōn-na:-nū*
 each-GEN buy-PERF-1SG
 ... I bought each of them.'

15.3.11 Distribution

15.3.11.1 Grammatical Categories

In Telugu, QNPs do occur in all major grammatical functions:

Subject

- (229) *mūg:ūrū gūrūvū-lū Ram-nī kōT:ū-lo: ču:s-e:-rū*
 three.HUM teacher-PL.NOM Ram-ACC store-LOC see-PERF-3PL.HUM
 'Three teachers saw Ram in the store.'

Object

- (230) a. *Ram pāriḱṣā-lo: mu:Rū prāšnā-lū e: čādīv-e:-Rū*
 Ram.NOM exam-LOC three question-PL.ACC only read-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 'Ram read just three questions on the exam.'
- b. *ne:nū ḍk:āTī tāp:a: ān:ī prāšnā-lū:-*
 1SG.NOM one.CARDPRO.NONHUM except all.CT.NONHUM question-PL.ACC-EMPH
čādīv-e:-nū
 read-PERF-1SG
 'I read all but one question/all but one of the questions.'
- c. ***Sita na:lūgū-lo: mu:Rū oṅtū-lā prāšnā-lū čādīv-īn-dī***
Sita four-LOC Three part-PL.GEN question-PL.ACC read-PERF-3SG.FEM.FAM
 'Sita read three quarters of the questions.'
- d. *Ram kōn:tā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lā-kī ūt:ārāmū pāmp-e:-Rū*
 Ram.NOM several-HUM student-PL-DAT letter.ACC send-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 'Ram sent a letter to several students.'
- e. *Ram Āndārū vīdja:rthū-lā-kī ūt:ārāmū pāmp-e:-Rū*
 Ram.NOM all.CT.HUM student-PL-DAT letter.ACC send-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 'Ram sent a letter to all the students.'
- f. *Ram sāgāmū-māndī da:ka: Vīdja:rthū-lū-kī*
 Ram.NOM several-HUM about student-PL-DAT
ūt:ārāmū pāmp-e:-Rū
 letter.ACC send-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 'Ram sent a letter to about half the students.'

Object of Postposition

- (231) āb:a:ī mūg:ūrū Sne:hītū-lā-to: a:Rū-kūn-na:-Rū
 boy.NOM three friend-PL-with play-REFL-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘The boy played with three friends.’

Possessor

- (232) a. īd:ārū vīdja:rthū-lā doctor-lū vāč:-e:-rū
 two.HUM student-PL.GEN doctor-PL.NOM come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Two students’ doctors came.’
- b. prāti: vīdja:rthī(-jōk:ā) doctor vāč:-e:-rū
 every student.GEN doctor.NOM come-PERF-3SG.MASC.FRM
 ‘Every student’s doctor came.’
- c. Ram ča:la:-māndī vīdja:rthī-lā doctor-lā-nī
 Ram.NOM most student-PL.GEN doctor-PL-ACC
 ču:s-e:-Rū
 see-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram saw most of the students’ doctors.’

15.3.11.2 Special Positions for QNPs vs. Definite NPs?

Telugu does not reserve any special positions for QNPs vs. Definite NPs.

- (233) prāti: vīdja:rthī prāti: prāšnā-kī: ḍāva:bū ra:s-e:-rū
 every student.NOM every question-DAT-EMPH answer write-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Every student answered every question.’
- (234) prāti: vīdja:rthī:- prāti: prāšnā-kī ḍāva:bū ra:jā-le:dū
 every student.NOM-EMPH every question-DAT answer write-NEG.PERF
 ‘Not every student answered every question.’

15.3.11.3 Multiple-Argument Binding by QNPs: Scope Ambiguities?

Multiple arguments of a predicate can, indeed, be bound simultaneously by multiple QNPs, yielding scope ambiguities.

- (235) ēvār-o: ōkā editor prāti: ūt:ārāmū
 anyone.NOM-some one.CARDADJ editor.NOM every letter.ACC
 čādīv-e:-Rū
 read-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Some editor read every letter.’/ ‘For every letter some editor read it’

- (236) mŭg:ŭrŭ instructor-lŭ wŏndă Păřķšă-lă-nŭ čăđŭv-e:-rŭ
 three.HUM instructor-PL.NOM 100 exam-PL-ACC read-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Three instructors read 100 exams.’

Forced and Restricted Readings

In English, the adverbials ‘between them’ and ‘in total’ force group/collective readings. . .

- (237) mŭg:ŭrŭ gŭrŭvŭ-lŭ kăłŭšŭ
 three.CT.HUM teacher-PL.NOM together
 wŏndă păřķšă-lă-nŭ čăđŭv-e:-rŭ
 100 exam-PL-ACC read-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Three instructors read 100 exams between them/in total.’
 [just group/collective reading]

. . . and ones like *apiece* and (binominal) *each* that force distributive subject wide scope (SWS) readings:

- (238) mŭg:ŭrŭ guruvŭ-lŭ ōk-ōk:ăL:ŭ
 three.CT.HUM teachers-PL.NOM one-one.CARDPRO.HUM.PL.NOM
 wŏndă păřķšă-lă-nŭ grade če:s-e:-rŭ
 100 exam-PL-ACC grade do-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Three instructors graded 100 exams apiece/each.’

Scope ambiguities may result when multiple arguments of a given predicate are bound simultaneously by QNPs:

- (239) pŕăti: vŭđja:rthŭ sĕlăvŭ-lă-lo:
 each student.NOM vacation-PL-LOC
 ōk:ă pŭstăkămŭ čăđŭv-e:-Rŭ
 one.CARDADJ book.ACC read-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Each student read one book over the vacation. (Scope ambiguous)’

Modified numerals in object position tend to force object narrow scope (ONS):

- (240) pŕăti: vŭđja:rthŭ sĕlăvŭ-lă-lo:
 each student.NOM vacation-PL-LOC
 kăni:sămŭ ōk:ă pŭstăkămŭ čăđŭv-e:-Rŭ
 at least one.CARDADJ book.ACC read-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Each student read at least one book over the vacation.’
 (Just ONS reading)

Decreasing object DPs are usually interpreted just in situ (ONS):

- (241) e: politicianũ-: kōT:ũ-lo: prāti: ba:lā-nī mūd:ũ pēT:ũ-ko:-le:dũ
 any politician.NOM-EMPH store-LOC every baby-ACC kiss put-REFL-NEG.PERF
 ‘No politician kissed every baby in the store.’ (Just SWS)

In this case only the subject (with wide scope) shows vowel lengthening, the object does not, even though it would in neutral contexts. Note, too, that in (262), with both subject and object having vowel lengthening, we just get the SWS reading.

- (242) prāti: politicianũ-: kōT:ũ-lo:
 every politician.NOM-EMPH store-LOC
 e: ba:lā-nī-: mūd:ũ pēT:ũ-ko:-le:dũ
 any baby-ACC-EMPH kiss put-REFL-NEG.PERF
 ‘Every politician kissed no baby in the store.’ (Just SWS)

Without the emphatic vowel lengthening on the subject it gets narrow scope:

- (243) prāti: politician kōT:ũ-lo:
 every politician.NOM store-LOC
 e: ba:lā-nī-: mūd:ũ pēT:ũ-ko:-le:dũ
 any baby-ACC-EMPH kiss put-REFL-NEG.PERF
 ‘Every politician kissed no baby in the store.’ (Just SNS)

- (244) ōk:ā vīdja:rthī e: pāṛīkṣā-lo: e: pṛāśnā-kī: ḍāva:bū ra:jā-le:dũ
 one.CARDADJ student.NOM only exam-LOC any question-DAT-EMPH answer write-NEG.PERF
 ‘Just one student answered no question on the exam.’ (Just SWS)

- (245) ōk:āRū tāp:a: āndārū vīdja:rthū-lū pāṛīkṣā-lo:
 one-CARDPRO.HUM except all.CT.HUM student-PL.NOM exam-LOC
 kāñśāmū ōk:ā pṛāśnā-kī ḍāva:bū ra:s-e:-rū
 at least one.CARDADJ question-DAT answer write-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘All but one student answered at least one question on the exam.’ (Just SWS)

In Telugu, as in English (*each* vs *every*), lexical choice of quantifier, even among semantically similar ones, may affect the permissible scope readings:

- (246) *ēvār-o:* *ōkā* *vīdja:rthī*
 anyone.NOM-some one.CARDADJ student.NOM
ān:ī *pūstāka:-lū(-nī)* *čāḍiv-e:-Rū*
 all.CT.NONHUM book-PL.ACC read-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Some student [individually] read all the books.’ (just SWS)

- (247) *ēvār-o:* *ōkā* *vīdja:rthī* *prāti: pūstākamū(-nī)* *čāḍiv-e:-Rū*
 anyone.NOM-some one.CARDADJ student.NOM every book.ACC read-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Some student read every book.’ (OWS as well as SWS)

In English, *all (the)* differs from *every* and even more so *each* in allowing various sorts of collective interpretations, whereas *every* and *each* are distributive in interpretation. So *all the N* occurs naturally with collective predicates, whereas *every/each+N* do not. Similarly *āṅḍārū* ‘all’ is distinguished from *prāti*:

- (248) *āṅḍārū* *vīdja:rthū-lū* *nīn:ā* *ra:trī*
 all.CT.HUM.PL student-PL.NOM Yesterday night
īNTī-lo: *kālūs-kūn-na:-rū*
 house-LOC meet-REFL-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘All the students gathered/met in the house last night.’

- (249) **prāti:* *gūrūvū* *nīn:ā* *ra:trī*
 each/every teacher-SG.NOM yesterday night
īNTī-lo: *kālūs-kūn-na:-Rū*
 house-LOC meet-REFL-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 *‘Each/every teacher gathered/met in the house last night.’

For the following sentence, in Telugu as in English, the collective/group level interpretation of <one picture, many students> is interpreted preferentially, over the questionable distributive interpretation of <as many pictures as students>.

- (250) *bāl:ā-mi:dā* *āṅḍārī* *vīdja:rthī-lā* *foTo* *ūn-dī*
 table-SUP all.CT.HUM student-PL.GEN photo.NOM exist.IMPV-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘A picture of all the students was on the table.’ (Scope ambiguous)

By contrast, the quantifier ‘each’ forces a distributive interpretation.

- (251) *bāl:ā-mi:dā* *prāti:* *vīdja:rthī* *foTo* *ūn-dī*
 table-SUP each student.GEN photo.NOM exist.IMPV-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘A picture of each student was on the table.’ [As many pictures as students]

The scope ambiguity asymmetry illustrated earlier for the declaratives (*‘Some editor read all/every letter’*) extends to *wh*-questions as well. The quantifiers ‘most’ and ‘all’ force certain readings, whereas others yield scope ambiguity. In the example below, the SWS reading is forced, since the quantifier ‘most’ renders the OWS reading undefined (usually there is no unique majority).

- (252) e: vīdja:rthī ěk:ūvā prāśnā-lā-kī dḷāva:bū ra:s-e:-Rū
 Which student.NOM more question-PL-DAT answer write-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Which student answered the most questions?’

The SWS reading is also forced in the example below with ‘all’.

- (253) e: vīdja:rthī ān:i prāśnā-lū-kī
 which student.NOM all.CT.NONHUM question-PL-DAT

 dḷāva:bū ič:-e:-Rū
 answer give-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Which student answered all the questions?’

Factors which influence the scope reading: (1) choice of determiner, (2) word order and (3) reduplication.

Since *wh*-phrases usually occur immediately pre-verbally in Telugu (similar to many head-final languages), the less usual but perfectly grammatical fronting of the subject [e:vīdja:rthī] ‘which student’ to the sentence-initial position likely accounts for the exclusivity of the SWS reading.

- (254) e: vīdja:rthī prāti:-ōkā prāśnā-kī
 which student.NOM each-one.CARDADJ question-DAT

 dḷāva:bū ič:-e:-Rū
 Answer give-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Which student answered each question?’ (SWS only)

Below, the sentence-initial position of the object forces the OWS interpretation:

- (255) prāti:-ōkā prāśnā-kī e: vīdja:rthī
 each-one.CARDADJ question-DAT which student.NOM

 dḷāva:bū ič:-e:-Rū
 Answer give-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Which student answered each question?’ (OWS only)

Below, the OWS reading, one particular question answered in common by each student, is slightly more likely. . .

- (256) *prāti: vīdja:rthī e: prāśnā-kī ḍāva:bū iḥ:-e:-Rū*
 each student.NOM which question-DAT answer give-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Which question did each student answer?’ (OWS more likely)

The SWS reading, each student answers independently of the rest (although not ruling out overlap – even complete overlap – of questions) is achieved more naturally by the reduplication in the following sentence:

- (257) a. *prāti: vīdja:rthī e:-e: prāśnā-kī ḍāva:bū iḥ:-e:-Rū*
 each student.NOM which-which question-DAT answer give-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Which question did each student answer?’ (SWS only)

- b. *prāti:-ōkā vīdja:rthī e: prāśnā-kī*
 each-one.CARDADJ student.NOM which question-DAT

ḍāva:bū iḥ:-e:-Rū
 Answer give-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM

‘Which question did each student answer?’ (Both SWS and OWS)

- c. *āndārū vīdja:rthū-lū e: prāśnā-kī*
 all.CT.HUM student-PL.NOM which question-DAT

ḍāva:bū iḥ:-e:-rū
 Answer give-PERF-3PL.HUM

‘Which question did all the students answer?’ (Just OWS, as in English)

Self-Embedding of QNPs

Are the choices of Determiners on the whole NP and on the embedded NP fairly independent, or are the expressions scope ambiguous?

In Telugu as in English, ambiguity results from self-embedding of QNPs:

- (258) *prāti: senator-jōk:ā sne:hītūRū*
 every senator.GEN friend
 ‘a friend of every senator’

- (259) *prāti: senator-jōk:ā ēvār-o: sne:hītūRū*
 every senator-GEN anyone.NOM-some friend
 ‘some friend of every senator’

For the following cases, ‘two friends...’ and ‘every friend...’, the distributive readings (each senator’s set of friends is considered independently) are more likely than the collective interpretations (each friend in question is common to all the senators).

(260) praṭi: senator-jōk:ā ḍ:ārū sne:hītū-lū
 every senator-GEN two.HUM friend-PL
 ‘two friends of every senator’

(261) praṭi: senator-jōk:ā praṭi: sne:hītūRū
 every senator-GEN every friend
 ‘every friend of every senator’

Ambiguity Between Nominal and Verbal Quantifiers

In Telugu as in English, both the subject and temporal wide scope readings are available:

(262) ḍ:ārū āb:a:ī-lū mu:Rū sa:rī-lū pa:R-e:-rū
 two.HUM boy-PL.NOM three time-PL sing-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Two boys sang three times.’

15.3.12 Distributive Numerals

In Telugu, the bound morpheme [-e:sī] ‘(distributive) each’ can be appended to numerals to convey the distributive meaning upon the subject:

(263) va:L:ū rēNDū-e:sī pēT:ē-lū mo:s-ta:-rū
 3PL.NOM two.NONHUM-DISTR suitcase-PL.ACC carry-IMP-3PL.HUM
 ‘They carry two suitcases each.’

(264) ātānū Brundisium Tarentum Sipontum-lā-lo:
 3SG.MASC Brundisium Tarentum Sipontum-PL-LOC
 ḍkāTī-e:sī legion(-nī) station če:s-e:-rū
 one.CARDPRO.NONHUM-DISTR legion.ACC station do-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘He stationed one legion each at Brundisium, Tarentum, and Sipontum.’

(265) vīdja:rthū-lū ḍ:ārū-e:sī kju:-lo: nūñč-ūn-na:-rū
 student-PL.NOM two.HUM-DISTR queue-LOC stand up-exist-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘The students lined up two by two.’

- (266) Ram-ů Suneel-ů
 Ram.NOM-and Suneel.NOM-and
 mu:Rů-e:sĩ pěT:ě-lă-nĩ mo:s-e:-rũ
 three-each.NONHUM-DISTR suitcase-PL.ACC carry-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Ram and Suneel /Two men carried three suitcases each.’

15.3.13 Mass vs. Count Quantifiers Without Classifiers

15.3.13.1 D-Quantifiers Combining with Count but Not Mass Nouns

Cardinal Numbers

- (267) a. pďď-măndĩ ăb:a:ĩ-lũ
 ten-HUM boy-PL
 ‘10 boys’
 b. pďď kũk:ă-lũ
 ten.NONHUM dog-PL
 ‘10 dogs’
 c. pďď ĩL-Lũ
 ten.NONHUM house-PL
 ‘10 houses’

It is assumed below that the type reading of quantized (plural) mass nouns is not being considered; hence the ungrammaticality of a count D-quantifier applied to a mass noun:

- d. *pďď pi:čũ
 ten.NONHUM cotton
 *‘10 cotton’

Existential Quantifier ‘Some’

- (268) kőntă-măndĩ vďdja:rthũ-lũ
 some-CT.HUM student-PL
 ‘some students’

We note that once you remove the [-măndĩ] for NONHUM nouns, [kőntă] combines with just mass nouns.

- (269) a. kőntă pi:čũ
 some.MS.NONHUM cotton
 ‘some cotton’

- b. kōn:i/*kōntā kūk:ā-lū
 some.CT.NONHUM dog-PL
 ‘some dogs’

Universal Quantifier ‘All’

- (270) a. āndārū vīdja:rthū-lū
 all.CT.HUM student-PL
 ‘all ((of) the) students’
- b. ān:i kūk:ā-lū
 all.CT.NONHUM dog-PL
 ‘all ((of) the) dogs’
- c. ān:i ĩL-Lū
 all.CT.NONHUM house-PL
 ‘all ((of) the) houses’
- d. *ān:i pi:cū
 all.CT.NONHUM Cotton
 ‘all ((of) the) cotton’

Interrogative ‘How Many’

- (271) ěntā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū
 how much-CT.HUM student-PL
 ‘how many students’

Again, once you remove the [-māndī] for NONHUM nouns, [ěntā] combines with just mass nouns.

- (272) a. ěntā pi:cū
 how much.MS.NONHUM cotton
 ‘how much cotton’
- b. ěn:i/*ěntā kūk:ā-lū
 how many.CT.NONHUM dog-PL
 ‘how many dogs’

Proportional Quantifiers

- (273) a. pādī śa:tāmū U.S. a:Rā-va:L-Lū
 10 percent U.S. woman-PL
 ‘ten percent of U.S. women’

- b. pādī śa:tāmū kūk:ā-lū
 10 percent dog-PL
 ‘ten percent of dogs’
- c. pādī śa:tāmū bōm:ā-lū
 10 percent doll-PL
 ‘ten percent of dolls’
- d. *pādī śa:tāmū baṅga:rāmū
 10 percent gold
 ‘*ten percent of gold’

15.3.13.2 D-Quantifiers Combining with Both Count and Mass Nouns

The D-quantifiers below require the HUM particle *-māndī* for human nouns.

- (274) a. ča:la:-māndī āb:ājī-lū
 a lot of-HUM boy-PL
 ‘a lot of boys’
- b. ča:la: kūk:ā-lū
 a lot of.NONHUM dog-PL
 ‘a lot of dogs’
- c. ča:la: k^hīTīki:-lū
 a lot of.NONHUM window-PL
 ‘a lot of windows’
- d. ča:la: pi:čū
 a lot of.NONHUM cotton
 ‘a lot of cotton’

Note: ‘few’ differs fundamentally from ‘a few’ (cf. ‘I have (a) little doubt that...’), the latter of which shares the Telugu translation for ‘some’ [kōntā-māndī/kōn:ī/kōntā], instantiated in Section 15.3.2.4 *Value Judgment Quantifiers*: ‘(too) many/much’ and ‘(too) few/little’.

- (275) a. tāk:ūvā-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū
 few-HUM student-PL
 ‘few students’
- b. tāk:ūvā kūk:ā-lū
 few.NONHUM dog-PL
 ‘few dogs’

- c. tāk:ūvā car-lū
few.NONHUM car-PL
'few cars'
- d. tāk:ūvā nēj:i
little.NONHUM butter
'little butter'

(276) sārī-po:-e:-māndī vīdja:rthū-lū ra:-le:dū
correct-go-REL.IMPF-HUM student-PL.NOM come-NEG.PERF
'Not enough students came.'

(277) kāṣṭā pāR-te: e: vīdja:rthū-lū āj:-īna: vāc:-e:-rū
difficulty fall-IMPF.COND any student-PL.NOM happen-whether come-PERF-3PL.HUM
'Hardly any students came.'

(278) kāṣṭā pāR-te: e: nēj:i āj:-īna: dōrk-īn-dī
difficulty fall-IMPF.COND any butter-NOM happen-whether be found-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
'Hardly any butter was found.'

15.3.13.3 D-Quantifiers Combining with Just Mass Nouns

Although [kōñčāmū] 'little' combines with just mass nouns, its apparent antonym, namely [ča:la:], doesn't exhibit the same restriction, as illustrated earlier.

- (279) a. *kōñčāmū vīdja:rthū-lū
little.MS student-PL
'few students'
- b. *kōñčāmū kūk:ā-lū
little.MS dog-PL
'few dogs'
- c. *kōñčāmū car-lū
little.MS car-PL
'little cars' (i.e. little quantity of cars)
- d. kōñčāmū nēj:i
little.MS butter
'little butter'

The exclusively postnominal mass D-quantifier *ānta*: 'all' can, optionally, be loosely applied to HUM nouns (but not NONHUM animals) when conveying a collective sense, it does not exhibit the word-order flexibility of the HUM-dedicated *āndāṛū* 'all'. And the <all.MS> gloss suggests an inherently mass character

for *ǎnta*: and reflects the mass interpretation of <CT.HUM.PL> nouns – obviating a needlessly intricate, if not implausible, gloss for *ǎnta*: which would account for both its <CT.HUM.PL> and <MS> applications.

- (280) a. *vǐdja:rthǔ-lǔ ǎnta*:
 student-PL all.MS
 -BUT NOT-
- b. **ǎnta: vǐdja:rthǔ-lǔ*
 all.MS student-PL
 ‘all ((of) the) students’
- (281) a. *ǎndǎrǔ vǐdja:rthǔ-lǔ*
 all.CT.HUM.PL student-PL
 ‘all ((of) the) students’ [standard – focus on ‘students’]
- b. *vǐdja:rthǔ-lǔ ǎndǎrǔ-*
 student-PL all.CT.HUM.PL-EMPH
 ‘all ((of) the) students’ [focus on ‘all’]
- (282) a. **kǔk:ǎ-lǔ ǎnta*:
 dog-PL all.MS
 ‘all ((of) the) dogs’
- b. **bǒm:ǎ-Lu ǎnta*:
 doll-PL all.MS
 ‘all ((of) the) dolls’
- c. *pi:čǔ ǎnta*:
 cotton all.MS
 ‘all ((of) the) cotton’
- (283) a. **kǒntǎ car-lǔ*
 some-MS car-PL
 ‘some cars’
- b. *kǒntǎ pi:čǔ*
 some-MS cotton
 ‘some cotton’
- (284) a. **ǎntǎ car-lǔ*
 how much-MS car-PL
 ‘how many cars’
- b. *ǎntǎ pi:čǔ*
 how much-MS Cotton
 ‘how much cotton’

15.3.14 The ‘Indexing’ Function of the Universal Quantifier

- (285) prāti: sāvātsārāmū dḥānāmū Toyota-lū ěk:ūvā kōN-Tūna:-rū
 every year people.NOM Toyota-PL.ACC more buy-PROG-3PL.HUM
 ‘More people buy Toyotas every year.’
- (286) prāti čūk:ā vārṣāmū-kī ōkā pūv:ū pērūgū-tūn-dī
 every drop rain-DAT/GEN one.CARDADJ flower.NOM grow-IMPV-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘For every drop of rain a flower grows.’
- (287) me:mū plant čē:s-īnā prāti: vīt:ānāmū
 3PL.INCL.NOM plant do-REL.PERF every seed.NOM
 ōkā pēd:ā čēT:ū āj:-po:-īn-dī
 a big tree.PRED NOM become-go-PERF-3SG.NONHUM
 ‘Every seed we planted grew into a big tree.’

15.3.15 Rate Phrases

- (288) ne:nū ro:dḥū-kī īrāvāī kilometer-lū pārīgēT:ū-tūna:-nū
 1SG.NOM day-DAT twenty kilometer-PL run-PROG-1SG
 ‘I run twenty kilometers a day.’
- (289) Ram ro:dḥū-kī rēNDū sa:rī-lū mūk^hāmū kāRūgū-kūN-Ta:-Rū
 Ram day-DAT Two time-PL face wash-REFL-IMPV-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram washes his face twice a day.’
- (290) Ram ro:dḥū: mūk^hāmū kāRūgū-kūN-Ta:-Rū
 Ram daily face wash-REFL-IMPV-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Ram washes his face everyday.’

15.4 Other Classes of Quantifiers

15.4.1 Type (2) Quantifiers

- (291) ve:re:-ve:re: vīdja:rthī-lā-kī
 different-different student-PL-DAT
 ve:re:-ve:re: pūstāka:-lū nāč:ū-ta:-jī
 different-different book-PL.NOM to be pleasing-IMPV-3PL.NONHUM
 ‘Different students like different books.’
 (There is incomplete, or no, overlap between the books that any two people respectively like).

- (292) ve:re: vĭdja:rthĭ-kĭ
 different student-PL-DAT
- ve:re: pŭstĕka:-lŭ nĕĉ:ŭ-ta:-jĭ
 different book-PL.NOM to be pleasing-IMP-3PL.NONHUM
- ‘Different students like different books.’ (Students other than some particular group, with the property that they like books other than those of some particular group).

Where ‘Ram and Babu’ and ‘the same’ are not independent:

- (293) a. Ram-ŭ Babu-ŭ ōkĕ-e: prĕšnĕ-lŭ ĀRĭg-e:-rŭ
 Ram.NOM-and Babu.NOM-and one.CARDADJ-only question-PL ask-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Ram and Babu asked the same questions.’
 (Ram asked the same questions as those which Babu asked).
- b. Ram-ŭ Babu-ŭ a: prĕšnĕ-lŭ-e: ĀRĭg-e:-rŭ
 Ram.NOM-and Babu.NOM-and those question-PL-only ask-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Ram and Babu asked the same questions.’
 (They both asked the same questions as those referenced elsewhere).
- (294) a. Ram-tĕp:a: (ĭŋka:) ěvĕru:- Madhuri-to:-tĕp:a:
 Ram-except (still) anyone.NOM-EMPH Madhuri-INSTR-except
- (ĭŋka:) ěvĕrŭ-to:Tĭ-: ma:Tĕla:Rĕ-le:dŭ
 (still) anyone-INSTR-EMPH talk-NEG.PERF
- ‘No one but Ram talked to anyone but Madhuri.’
 (All the non-Rams talked exclusively to Madhuri. It’s implied that Ram certainly talked to people, but we don’t know with whom).
- b. Ram-tĕp:a: (ĭŋka:) ěvĕru:- Madhuri-to:-tĕp:a:
 Ram-except (still) anyone.NOM-EMPH Madhuri-INSTR-except
- (ĭŋka:) ěvĕrŭ-to:Tĭ āj:-ĭna: ma:Tĕla:Rĕ-le:dŭ
 (still) anyone-INSTR happen-whether talk-NEG.PERF
- ‘No one but Ram talked to anyone but Madhuri.’
 (Only Ram has the property that he indiscriminately talked to anyone but Madhuri (i.e. he excluded only Madhuri)).
- (295) e: vĭdja:rthŭ-lŭ e: prĕšnĕ-lŭ-kĭ đĕĕva:bŭ ĭĉ:-e:-rŭ
 which student-PL.NOM which question-PL-DAT answer give-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Which students answered which questions?’

- (296) āndārū vīdja:rthū-lū ōkā-e: praśnā-lū-kī ḍāva:bū
 all.CT.HUM student-PL.NOM one.CARDADJ-only question-PL-DAT answer
 ra:s-e:-rū
 write-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘All the students answered the same questions.’
- (297) prāti: vīdja:rthī ve:re: praśnā-kī ḍāva:bū
 each student.NOM different question-DAT answer
 ra:s-e:-Rū
 write-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM
 ‘Each student answered a different question.’
- (298) ve:re:-ve:re: vīdja:rthū-lū ve:re:-ve:re:
 (mutually) different student-PL.NOM (mutually) different
 praśnā-lū-kī ḍāva:bū ra:s-e:-rū
 questions-PL-DAT answer write-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Different students answered different questions.’
- (299) Ram-ū Babu-ū pāk:ā-pāk:ā u:rū-lā-lo:
 Ram.NOM-and Babu.NOM-and next-next village-PL-LOC
 ũN-Ta:-rū
 be present-IMPF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Ram and Babu live in neighboring villages.’
- (300) va:L:ū ōkā e: ũrū-lo:
 3PL.NOM one.CARDADJ only town-LOC
 ve:re:-ve:re: ũL:-lā-lo: ũN-Ta:-rū
 (mutually) different house-PL-LOC be present-IMPF-3PL.HUM
 ‘They live in different houses in the same town.’
- (301) āndārū vīdja:rthū-lū ōkā e: rāṅgū ḍōk:a:
 all.CT.HUM student-PL.NOM one.CARDADJ only color shirt.ACC
 ve:s-kūn-na:-rū
 put-REFL-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘All the students wore the same color shirt.’
- (302) Ram Madhuri-to:Tī ma:Tāla:R-e:-Rū ga:ni:
 Ram.NOM Madhuri-with talk-PERF-3SG.MASC.FAM but
 ṅkā ēvāru:- ṅkā ēvāri-to:Tī:- ma:Tāla:Rā-le:dū
 still anyone.NOM-EMPH still anyone-with-EMPH talk-NEG.PERF
 ‘Ram talked to Madhuri but no one else talked to anyone else.’

- (303) foTo-lũ ve:re:-ve:re: gädũ-lã-lo: ga:ni:
 photo-PL.NOM (mutually) different room-PL-LOC or
- ökä e: gädĩ-lo: ve:re:-ve:re: go:Rã-lã-mi:dã ga:ni:
 one.CARDADJ only room-LOC (mutually) different wall-PL-SUP or
 pět:-a:lĩ
 put-should
- ‘The photos should be put in separate rooms or on opposite walls of the same room.’

15.4.2 Type ((1,1),1) Quantifiers

15.4.2.1 Comparative D-Quantifiers

- (304) gũrũvũ-lũ kãNTe: vřdja:rthũ-lũ ěk:ũvã ĩNTĩ-kĩ vãč:-e:-rũ
 teacher-PL.NOM than student-PL.NOM more house-LAT come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘More students than teachers came to the house.’
- (305) gũrũvũ-lũ ěntã-mãndĩ vãč:-e:-Rũ o:
 teacher-PL.NOM how many-HUM come-PERF-3PL.HUM COMP
- kãni:sãm äntã-mãndĩ vřdja:rthũ-lũ ĩNTĩ-kĩ vãč:-e:-Rũ
 at least that many-HUM student-PL.NOM house-LAT come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘At least as many students as teachers came to the house.’
- (306) na:-kũ gũrũvũ-lũ kãNTe: vřdja:rthũ-lũ ěk:ũvã tãlũsũ
 1SG-DAT teacher-PL.NOM than student-PL.NOM more known
 ‘I know more students than teachers.’
- (307) ne:nũ gũrũvũ-lũ kãNTe: vřdja:rthũ-lũ-to:Tĩ ěk:ũvã
 1SG.NOM teacher-PL.NOM than student-PL.INSTR more
- pãní ěe:s-e:-nũ
 work do-PERF-1SG
- ‘I have worked with more students than teachers.’
- (308) gũrũvũ-lũ äntã-mãndĩ vřdja:rthĩ-lã vi:
 teacher-PL.GEN that many-HUM student-PL.GEN and
- sãĩkĩL-Lũ döngãlĩmpã pãD-Da:-jĩ
 cycle-PL.NOM steal fall-PERF-3PL.NONHUM
- ‘Just as many students’ as teachers’ bicycles were stolen.’

15.4.2.2 Combinations with Conjunctions

- (309) prāti: mōgāva:Rū-: a:Rādī-: pīl:āva:Rū-:
 Every male person.NOM-EMPH female person.NOM-EMPH child.NOM-EMPH
 nāv:-e:-rū
 laugh-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘Every man, woman, and child laughed.’
- (310) ēvār-o: mōgāva:Rū o: a:Rādī o: pīl:āva:Rū o:
 anyone.NOM-some male person.NOM or female person.NOM or child.NOM or
 a:dīva:rāmū pani če:s-ta:-rū
 Sunday work do-IMP-3PL.HUM
 ‘Some man, woman, or child works on Sunday.’
- (311) e: mōgāva:Rū-: a:Rādī-: pīl:a:Rū-:
 any male person.NOM-EMPH female person.NOM-EMPH child.NOM-EMPH
 a:dīva:rāmū pani če:j:ā-rū
 Sunday work do.NEG-IMP-3PL.HUM
 ‘No man, woman, or child works on Sunday.’

15.4.3 Type (1,(1,1)) Quantifiers

- (312) ěk:ūvā vīdja:rthū-lū pārikṣā-lū-ko:sāmū čādūvū-ko:-Rāmū kāNTe:
 more student-PL.NOM exam-PL-BEN read-REFL-INF than
 īNTī-kī vāč:-e:-rū
 house-LAT come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘More students came to the house than studied for their exams.’
- (313) e: vīdja:rthū-lū a:lās^jāmū-ga: vādīl-e:-rū o:
 which student-PL.NOM late-ly leave-PERF-3PL.HUM COMP
 va:L:ū e: pēndāra:Le: vāč:-e:-rū
 3PL.NOM only early come-PERF-3PL.HUM
 ‘The same students came early as left late.’

Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ADES	Adessive

BEN	Benefactive
CARDADJ	Cardinal adjectival quantifier
CARDPRO	Cardinal pronominal quantifier
COMP	Comparative reference particle
COND	Conditional
CT	Count
DAT	Dative
EMPH	Emphatic particle
EXCL	Exclusive
FAM	Familiar
FEM	Feminine
FRM	Formal
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
GER	Gerund
HUM	Human
IMPF	Imperfective
INCL	Inclusive
IND	Indeterminate: The verb-agreement here is homophonous with the endings for <u>all</u> of the following subjects: 2.SG.FRM, 2.PL.FAM/FRM, 3.MASC/FEM.SG.FORMAL, and 3.PL.FAM/FRM. The word for ‘who’ can be considered 3rd person, but does <u>not</u> specify gender, number, or social level of addressee – hence the term ‘indeterminate’.
INF	Infinitive
INSTR	Instrumental
LAT	Lative
LOC	Locative
MASC	Masculine
MS	Mass
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative
NONHUM	Non-human
ORD	Ordinal
PASS	Passive
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PROG	Progressive (present)
QP	Question particle
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
SUP	Superessive
TEMP	Temporal

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