DRAVIDIAN CASE SYSTEM

23139

EDITORS
S. Agesthialingom
K. Kushalappa Gowda



ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
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FOR REVIEW.



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FOREWORD

We have pleasure in bringing out the deliberations of a three-day seminar held from 2nd March, 1974 to 4th March, 1974, at the CAS in Linguistics, in the book form. The Dravidian languages are the ones that have overt markers to show the casal relations between noun and verb phrases and are known to be 'Casal languages' in the traditional sense. The case feature has attracted the attention of the ancient grammarians of the important literary Dravidian languages like Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam. Some of the grammarians of these languages are said to have come under the influence of Sanskrit grammatical tradition and accordingly their treatment of cases resembles almost in toto the method of Sanskrit grammar. The later scholars also used to describe them in the traditional method, without going into any detail. Modern linguistics, in the late fifties of this century, has made its impact felt in all spheres of language study, opening up a new vista before the eyes of the new scholars. Fillmore and his followers made a thrust in the theory of case structure of languages and this influenced quite a good number of scholars in this part of the world also. Though every language is a case language according to modern theory, those that have the so-called case markers do not always agree in detail. When a linguist tries to study the case suffixes and the syntactic relation they show, it appears that there are one-many, or many-one relationships between the suffixes and the syntactic relationships.

It has been felt that there is a case for the detailed study of cases in all languages. This has to be done for all the families of languages, like Indo-European, Indo-Aryan, or Dravidian and so on.

The Centre of advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University has, ever since its inception, been engaged in specialising in the field of Dravidian Linguistics. It has 43 volumes to its credit and it has brought to light many books, collected papers, monographs and text books on Dravidian. It has been serving as a catering home for Dravidian scholars all over the world. Some of the young research scholars working in the Centre have described a number of unknown, or less known languages of the South Dravidian family scattered over the region of Nilgiri Hills. The publication of such works in the form of books would take some time and hence it has been the venture of this Centre to collect scholars in discussion forums, called seminars and later bring out the deliberations in book form. The important aspect of Dravidian languages viz., the case system, was an intrigueing problem to which the Centre focussed its attention. When the proposal of holding a Seminar on Dravidian Case System was placed before the Dravidian scholars, there has been a spontaneous response from all of them. The study of Dravidian Case System presented here, ranges from highly literary to non-literary and recently known tribal languages. language-wise; in the methodological and subject-wise dimension, it ranges from the latest theoretical discussions to the evaluation of treatment of cases by early grammarians of the literary languages, comparison of the system with that of Indo-Aryan languages, and mere discriptions of the system in non-literary or tribal languages and so on.

The Centre is thankful to the UGC for providing necessary grants for conducting the seminar and for th present publication of the papers presented therein. The authorities of the Annamalai University have given us thei whole-hearted support to make the Centre's ventures successful. The centre is highly thankful to them. Dr. G. Vijayavenugopal,

Reader in Tamil, Madurai University, out of his sheer love and affection towards his alma-mater, has helped us in seeing through the final proof before sending to the press. Dr. R. Balakrishnan, Senior Research Fellow of the Centre, spared no pains to lessen the burden of the editors in reading the proof pages. The authors of the papers exhibited a tremendous amount of patience in waiting for two long years for the publication. The delay being beyond our control, it is hoped that they will understand our position and appreciate our efforts.. M/s. Ravi Achagam have done their job well. To all these persons, we, the editors, express our sincere thanks and gratitude.

Annamalainagar
1st August, 1976.

S. Agesthialingom
K. Kushalappa Gowda

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THE SO-CALLED SOCIATIVE CASE IN TAMIL

S. Agesthialingom
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

Dravidian languages are considered as casal languages, as many or atleast a good portion of the semantic correlations between a noun and the verb in a sentence are expressed by various case suffixes. When we analyse the structures of various languages of the world this feature will be very clearly felt. It is well known that in the present day English many such correlations are expressed by various positions they occupy in a sentence whereas they are expressed in Latin, Greek etc., by various case suffixes. In many grammars of these languages we find many chapters on cases though this is not the case with regard to English.

The traditional grammars of Dravidian languages devote considerable number of pages on the treatment of cases in the respective languages. *Tolka:ppiyam*, the earliest extant grammar of Tamil as well as in Dravidian had devoted three chapters viz., *ve:rrumaiyiyal* (Chapter on cases), *ve:rrumai mayankiyal* (Chapter on one case sign used in the sense of another case) and *vilimarapu* (Vocative case) not to speak of many other sutras which deal with various morphophonemic changes that can be found only in the case of casal relations.

Sabdamani Darpana speaks about Kannada case system under the chapter *na:ma prakarana*. Malayalam grammar *Ke:rala pa:niniyam* which does not deviate much from the above works, had also devoted a considerable portion of it to deal

with Malayalam case system. This is also the case with various Telugu grammars.

It is well known that in Dravidian languages not only pure nouns are affixed with case suffixes, but derived nouns like verbal nouns and participial nouns as well, are glued with the same kind of suffixes. Examples like:

1. Ta. *na:n avanaip pa:rtte:n* I saw him
   Ma. *ñaːn avane kaṇṭu* ,,
   Ka. *naːnu avanannu noːḍide* ,,
   Te. *neːnu vaːṇṇi cuːsɛnu* ,,

2. Ta. *na:n avan vantataip pa:rtte:n* I saw him coming
   Ma. *ñaːn ayaːḷ vaṉṉadu kaṇṭu* ,,
   Ka. *naːnu avanu bandudannu noːḍide* ,,
   Te. *neːnu vaːḍu raːvaḍam cuːsɛnu* ,,

etc., show this property and this is well known to various native grammarians. Here *vantatu, vaṉṉadu* 'the action of coming' etc., are considered as verbal nouns. There are certain other areas as well in which it plays very prominent role and this has not been felt by many. Consider the following:

3. *naːn avanaip poːla oːṭuvɛːn*
   I will run like him

4. *naːn avanaip poːla unakkum taruvɛːn*
   I will give something to you like him

5. *maḻaiyaːl kuḻam niṟaintatu*
   The tank has become full because of the rain

In these sentences we find *avanaippoːla* 'like him' and *maḻaiyaːl* 'because of the rain' and they are considered as 'comparative' and 'causal' respectively. It is generally considered here that *poːla*, the comparative marker is added to *avan* 'he' even in

the deep level. But a careful analysis of the above sentences will show that the case markers (*-aip poːla*, *-aːl*) are not really suffixed (in the deep level) with the nouns but with the verbal nouns *oːɻuvatu* 'the action of running', *taruvatu* 'the action of giving' and *peytatu* 'the action of raining'. (3) and (5) are really drived from :

6. *naːn avan oːɻuval-ai-ppoːla oːɻuveːn*
I will run like he runs

7. *maɻai peytat-aːl kuɻam niɾaintatu*
Since it rained the tank became full

respectively.

Note that the suffixes *-ai* and *-aːl* are really added to the verbal nouns *oːɻuvatu* 'the action of running' as in *oːɻuvatu-aippoːla* and *peytatu* 'the action of raining' as in *peytatu-aippoːla* and the verbal nouns are deleted by a deletion transformation and as the result, the comparative marker is transformationally added to *avan* 'he' as in *avanaippoːla* 'like him'. This is also the case with (7) where the verbal noun *peytatu* is deleted and as a result *-aːl*, the causal marker is added to the noun *maɻai*. Note that *maɻai* is originally the subject (in 7) of the constituent sentence, but it is transformed into a causal noun in (5). This kind of examples can be multiplied and this phenomenon shows that in several cases the nouns which are considered as casal expressions are only derived forms. To illustrate the phenomenon further, sentences like

8. *naːn pustakattukkup paɳam koɻutteːn*
I gave money to the book

9. *naːn viːɻɻukkup paɳam koɻutteːn*
I gave money to the house

etc., can be cited and they are derived from something like

10. *naːn (naːn pustakam vaːŋkuvataɾkup) paɳam koɻutteːn*→
I I book to purchase money gave-I

11. *na:n* (*pustakam va:nkuvataṟku*) *paṇam koṭutte:n*→
I book to purchase money gave

12. *na:n* (*pustakam -ku*) *paṇam koṭutte:n*→
na:n pustakattukkup paṇam koṭutte:n (8)

Note that *pustakam* in (10) is OBJECT which is converted into DATIVE in (12) and this is also the case with other Dravidian languages.

Tolka:ppiyam (hereafter Tol.) speaks about eight cases in Tamil viz., nominative, accusative, instrumental and sociative (comitative) dative, ablative and comparative, genitive, locative and vocative and they are expressed by various suffixes like *ai*, *-oṭu*, *-ku*, *-iṉ*, *-atu* and *-kaṇ* and their variants. Of these eight, nominative does not have any suffix and even then it is rightly considered as a case.

Case is called *ve:ṟṟumai* in Tamil which literally means 'change', 'difference' etc. The Sanskrit grammarians termed case as *vibhakti* 'separation, distinction, modification' as being modification of the base stem-form. The traditional grammars have been using the term for long and unlike various other suffixes the case suffixes change the semantic relationship (only from the surface point of view) between the verb and the noun.

13. *ra:man aṭitta:n* means
Raman beat (someone)

and, when we have

14. *ra:manai aṭitta:n*
Someone beat Raman

the meaning is completely changed and it has to be put in another slot. But when we have

15. *ra:manum aṭitta:n*
Raman also beat

where the suffix *-um* is added to *ra:man* the semantic relationship between the noun (*ra:man*) and the verb (*aṭitta:n*) is not changed. Neither the meaning is changed (in a big way) nor isthe slot. Only an additional information is given by the suffix *-um*. This is also the case with the suffixes like *-a:* (interrogative) *-a:vatu* (at least) *-e:*, *-ta:n* (emphasis) etc.

Though Tol. had not said anything about sociative in cu:tram 74 (Tol. Col. Nacc.) he speaks of four kinds of sociative in the next cu:tram (75).

1. *ataṉo:ṭu mayaṅkal*
   One mixing with another
   e.g. *te:ṉoṭu pa:l kalantatu*
   Milk mixed with honey
2. *ataṉo:ṭiyainta oru viṉaik kiḷavi*
   One joining with another in doing one and the same action
   e.g. *ca:ttaṉoṭu koṟṟaṉ vanta:n*
   Korran came with Cattan
3. *ataṉo:ṭiyainta ve:ṟu viṉaik kiḷavi*
   One doing an action with another which is incapable to reciprocate
   e.g. *malaiyoṭu poruta ma:l ya:ṉai*
   The big elephant which fought with the mountain
4. *atano:ṭiyainta oppal oppurai*
   Stating some similarity
   e.g. *poṉṉoṭu irumpaṉaiyar niṉṉoṭu piṟare:*
   Comparing you with others is similar to the comparison of gold with iron

In modern Tamil we find that *-uṭaṇ/-o:ṭu* (*-kku kuṭa* in the author's dialect) is used in many senses. Consider the following:

16. a. *kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan ce:rnta:n*
Kannan joined with Raman

b. *pa:luṭan taṇṇi:r kalantatu*
The water mixed with milk

c. *kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan va:ta:ṭina:n*
Kannan argued with Raman

d. *amerikka:vuṭan ala:ska: iṇaintatu*
Alaska merged with America

e. *kaṇṇanuṭan ra:man pe:sina:n*
Raman spoke with Kannan

f. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:man viḷaiya:ṭina:n*
Raman played with Kannan

17. a. *kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan vanta:n*
Kannan came with Raman

b. *si:tai ra:manuṭan ka:ṭṭukkuṭ po:na:ḷ*
Sita went to the forest with Raman

c. *arasanuṭan amaiccar vanta:r*
The minister came with the king

18. a. *kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan paṭitta:n*
Kannan studied with Raman
(Kannan is a class mate of Raman)

b. *kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan ve:lai pa:rtta:n*
Kannan worked with Raman

c. *kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan pa:sa:na:n*
Kannan passed with Raman

19. a. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manum vanta:n*
Kannan and Raman came

b. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manaiyum pa:rtte:n*
I saw Raman with Kannan
(I saw Kannan & Raman)

c. *talavamo:ṭu mullaiyum paṟittu*
Having plucked talavam and jasmine

d. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manukkum koṭutte:n*
I gave something to Ran an with Kannan
(I gave both to Raman & Kannan)

20. a. *ra:man ci:taiyuṭan ka:ṭṭukkup po:na:n*
With Sita (having taken Sita with) Raman went to the forest

b. *kaṇṇan piḷḷaiyuṭan vanta:n*
Kannan came with the child

c. *kaṇṇan na:yuṭan vanta:n*
Kannan came with the dog

d. *kaṇṇan paṇattuṭan vanta:n*
Kannan came with money

e. *usha enṟa peyaruṭan vanta:ḷ*
She came with the name Usha

21. a. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manaip pa:rtte:n*
I saw Raman with Kannan
i.e. in the company of Kannan

b. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ivanaip pa:rkkamuṭiya:tu*
One cannot see him with Kannan

22. a. *kaṇṇan perumaiyuṭan pe:sina:n*
Kannan spoke with pride

b. *kaṇṇan ko:paṭṭuṭan pe:sina:n*
Kannan spoke with anger

etc.

There are certain verbs like *se:r, iṇai* 'join' *kala* 'mix' *oṉṟu* 'unite' etc., which always need two nouns and these verbs always take *-o:ṭu/-uṭan* or any other marker of comitative case as in (16). As transitive verbs always take objective case these verbs also take the so-called sociative case or the conjunction as in

23. *kaṇṇanum ra:manum* { *iṇainta:rkaḷ* / *ce:rnta:rkaḷ* / *o ṉrina:rkaḷ* }

Kannan and Raman joined

Sentences (16) and (23) differ only in that in the case of the latter it may not be possible to say whether Kannan has joined with Raman or vice versa as there is no indication in the above sentences whether the initiative has originated from Raman or from Kannan. The only information that we have is that they joined together. But this is not the case in (16), where it is clear that the initiative has come from Kannan etc., which are used as subjects.

Each sentence of (23) can be derived from source sentences like

24. *ra:mano:ṭu kaṇṇanum kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manum ce:rnta:rkaḷ*

Kannan joined with Raman and Raman joined with Kannan

where the initiative has come from both the persons. However, I do not propose to go into the details of this kind of source sentences for conjunction at present.

Mention has to be made that these verbs are also used in expressions like

25. *pa:lil taṇṇi:r kalantatu*

The water mixed with the milk

26. *pa:lil tanni:raik kalanta:n*

He mixed the milk with the water

where locative case is made use of. But this is not the case with the sentences like

27. *amerikka:yil ala:ska: iṇaintatu*

as the semantics of the noun are such that the latter cannot penetrate into the former. (25) can be considered as the transformed sentence of (16.a.)

There are certain verbs as in (16) which may need two nouns and these verbs take not only *-o:ṭu[-uṭan* etc., but other markers as well.

28. a. *avan ra:manuṭan pe:sina:n* He spoke with Raman
    b. *avan ra:maniṭam pe:sina:n* " "

29. a. *avan ra:manuṭan va:ta:ṭina:n* He argued with Raman
    b. *avan ra:maniṭam va:ta:ṭina:n* " "

30. a. *avan ra:manuṭan caṇṭai iṭṭa:n* He quarreled with Raman
    b. *avan ra:maniṭam caṇṭai iṭṭa:n* " "

etc., show this phenomenon. Fundamentally these verbs also behave like verbs like *ce:r* etc., and hence it is better to consider them together with the latter.

But other verbs like *va:* 'come', *po:* 'go' etc., do not require two nouns as they can occur with single nouns in sentences like

32. *ra:man vanta:n* Raman came
    kaṇṇa:n po:na:n Kannan went

though sentences like

33. *ra:manum kaṇṇanum vanta:rkaḷ*
    Raman and Kannan came

34. *kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan vanta:n*
    Kannan came with Raman

are also possible. It is well known that (33) is the outcome of the conjunction transformation of the two sentences[1]

35. *ra:man vanta:n* Raman came

and

36. *kaṇṇan vanta:n* Kannan came

But sentence (17) is gotten by a kind of embedding where we find the comitative case markers *-uṭan* etc. When we say (16) we mean (in some way) that when Raman came Kannan accompanied him. That is, Raman is the principal actor of the action of coming and Kannan only joined him.

This is one of the main properities of the comitative case and this is not the case with the conjunctive expressions like (33) and this has been rightly pointed out by Teng Shou-hsin (1970) and others like Jesperson. In this, (17) is equivalent to

37. *ra:man varumpo:tu kaṉṉan ra:manuṭan ce:rntu vanta:n*
When Raman came Kannan joined and came with him.

In the comitative we find a kind of principal and subordinate participation and somehow or other, the noun phrase representing the principal participant is introduced by the comitative marker *-uṭan*, *-o:ṭu* etc. While dealing with this, Jesperson notes that " 'and' (i.e. phrasal) and 'with' (i.e. comitative) mean nearly the same thing, the chief difference between them being that the former co-ordinates and the latter sub-ordinates". This chief difference has been all along felt by many native grammarians even from the days of Tol.[1]

Though in sentences like (17) *-uṭan* expresses accompaniment there is every reason to suspect whether this is not the case with all the sentences where we find the case marker *-uṭan*. There are many sentences like

38. *kaṉṉan ra:manuṭan uṇṭa:n*
Kannan ate with Raman

39. *kaṉṉan ra:manuṭan a:ṭina:n*
Kannan danced with Raman

where no accompaniment (in the strict sense of the word) is involved and what is said is that Kaṉṉan joined Raman in eating and dancing and both of them have taken part in eating and dancing and these actions took place in the same time and place. This shows then that comitative does not strictly denotes accompaniment. Sentences (38) and (39) really mean

40. *kaṉṉan uṇṇum po:tu kaṉṉanuṭan ce:rntu ra:man uṇṭa:n*
When Kannan ate Raman joined him and ate

41. *kaṉṉan a:ṭum po:tu kaṉṉanuṭan ce:rntu ra:man a:ṭina:n*
When Kannan danced Raman joined him and danced

where we find the verb *ce:r* 'join' which is set up in order to account for the meanings of (38) and (39) in a more natural way.

Another strong evidence in favour of the presence of the verb *ce:r* can be found in expressions like:

42. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ce:rntu aṭitta:n*
Kannan beat (someone) with Raman

43. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ce:rntu piṭitta:n*
Kannan caught (someone) with Raman

where we find the verb *ce:r* and they are acceptable and sentences without *ce:r* like

44. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu aṭitta:n*
kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu piṭitta:n

are less acceptable. This shows that verbs like *ce:r* must be posited at least in the case of verbs like *piṭi*, *aṭi* etc. If this is the case one can argue that this can be introduced by a transformational rule and this need not be considered as a general rule as sentences like (17) (44) etc., do not have *ce:rntu*. But there is every reason to believe that even in the case of (17) etc., *ce:rntu* is present and it is optionally deleted. Consider the following:

45. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ce:rntu vanta:n*
46. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ce:rntu pa:ṭina:n*
47. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ce:rntu aṭitta:n*
48. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ce:rntu piṭitta:n*

In all these sentences we find *ce:rntu* and they are perfectly normal, and also they mean what exactly sentences like (17) where we do not find *ce:r*. These can be considered as equivalent to (17) (38) (39) etc. The only way to account for this similarity is to set up *ce:rntu* in the deep structure and delete it optionally.

This can also be seen in languages like Malayalam where we always have the verb *ku:ṭi* 'joined' in sentences like

49. *ra:jan va:suvino:ṭu ku:ṭi vaṉṉu*
Rajan came with Vasu

50. *va:su ra:jano:ṭu ku:ṭi vaṉṉu*
Vasu came with Rajan

This can also be seen when we negativize the sentences (17) (38) (39) etc.

51. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu varavillai*

which means either 'Raman did not come' or 'Kannan did not come'. It means

52. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ce:rntu varavillai*
Kannan did not come with Raman

where we find again *ce:rntu*. Note (52) is the negative counterpart of (45). Here what is actually negativized is only *ce:rntu*.

It is evident now that though the sentences (17) (38) (39) etc., do not have verbs like *ce:rntu* in the surface structure they have to be posited in the deep structure which will look something like, (45), (46) and (47) etc.

In (37), (40), (41) etc., we find not only *ce:rntu*, but a temporal clause '*raman varumpo:tu*' 'when Raman came' as well and we will return to its justification later.

It is true that there are many cases where verbs like *ce:r* do not play any role in *-o:ṭu* expressions at all. Sentences like 18a, b, c. can be cited as examples. Examples like

kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu paṭitta:n (18.a)
Kannan studied with Raman

kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu pa:sa:na:n (18.c)
Kannan passed the exam., with Raman

53. *anta kaliya:ṇatto:ṭuta:n na:n pari:ṭcai eḻutine:n*
I wrote the exam., at the time of that marriage

etc., are very common in Tamil and in our view they are different from (17), (38) and (39). Of course (18.a) has two diffe-

rent readings and one is involved 'joining'. i.e., *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ce:rntu paṭitta:n* and the other *ra:man paṭikkumpo:tu kaṇṇan paṭitta:n* 'when Raman studied Kannan has also studied' Both of them studied in the same time; may be also at the same place and it gives the meaning that they were classmates. This meaning can be clearly seen in expressions like

54. *ra:mano:ṭuta:n kaṇṇan paṭitta:n; a:na:l avan va:ttiya:ra:ka irukki_ra:n, ivan kila:rkka:ka irukki_ra:n*

Kannan studied with Raman. But he is a teacher this man is a clerk

55. *kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭuta:n pa:sa:na:n; a:na:l avanukku u_tane ve:lai ki_ṭaittatu; ivanukku innum ve:lai ki_ṭaikkavillai*

Kannan passed with Raman, but he got the job immediately, Raman did not get any job.

It shows that *-o:ṭu* gives the meaning that the same kind of action (i. e. passing the examination and studying in a school) is performed in one and the same time and place only and the question of one joining the other does no arise at all. Sentences (18.a) and (18.c) are equivalent to

56. *ra:man paṭitta po:tu kaṇṇan (um) paṭitta:n*

Kannan studied when Raman studied

57. *ra:man pa:sa:napo:tu kaṇṇanum pa:sa:na:n*

When Raman passed Kannan (also) passed

and (56) and (57) can be considered as source sentences for (18.a) and (18.c.). Note that in these source sentences we do not find *ce:rntu* as in (45), (46) and (47) and this is one of the main differences between the deep structures of (18.a) etc. and (17.a) etc. However, they are similar in having the temporal clauses.

Sentence (17) can also mean something like what is found in (18) where verbs like *ce:r* do not play any role. It can mean simply that when Raman came Kannan (also) came, without any reference to Kannan's joining with Raman and this can be exemplified in sentences like

58. *kaṇṇano:ṭuta:n ra:man vanta:n; a:na:l reṇṭu pe:rum ce:rntu varavillai; taniya:katta:n vanta:rkaḷ*

Kannan came with Raman, but they did not come together, they came separately.

59. *enno:ṭuta:n avan trainil vanta:n, a:na:l avan taniya:katta:n vanta:n*

He came with me by train, but he came separately.

This is the same kind of meaning which we find in (18.a) etc., where the question of joining one with the other does not arise. The only relevent factor is that the action of the two occur in one and the same time and naturally the deep structures of (17) to this reading and (18) are one and the same.

ra:man varumpo:tu kaṇṇanum vanta:n

When Raman came Kannan also came

will be the logical deep structure for (17) for the second reading.

Though the question of joining does not arise here, the principality of action is still relevant and in this respect this is also different from the conjoining expressions.

Another important factor in the comitative expression is that in many cases it behaves not only as comitative but agent etc., as well. i.e. the comitative expression has a duel function, one as comitative and another either as agent or patient etc., of the predicate verb. Consider the following:

kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan vanta:n (17.a)

kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan uṇṭa:n (38)

These sentences mean that not only Kannan came but Raman also came Though *ra:man* is used only with *-uṭan* which is a comitative case marker it is inferred that Raman too came. And if we negativize the sentence we get

kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan varavillai (51)

Kannan did not come with Raman

60. *kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan uṇṇavillai*

Kannan did not eat with Raman

and these sentences really mean that Raman came and Raman ate but Kannan did not come with Raman and he did not eat with Raman. Even when we negativize (17.a) (38) etc., we get the meaning that Raman did the action of coming and eating respectively. This necessitates that the noun phrase with *-uṭan* is to be shown as agent also in the deep structure in order to account for the meaning it gives. This is the reason why we have set up a temporal clause in (37), (40) and (41) etc., in which the noun phrase *ra:man* is set up as the agent (subject) of verb *va:* 'come', *uṇ* 'eat' *a:ṭu* 'dance' etc. Unless it is set up as the agent (subject) it may not be possible to explicate the meaning. Examples like

61. *na:n kaṇṇanuṭan ra:manaiyum pa:rtte:n*

I saw Raman also with Kannan

62. *na:n kaṇṇanuṭan ra:manaiyum aḻaitte:n*

I invited Raman also with Kannan

63. *kaṇṇanuṭan ra:manukkum koḍutte:n*

I gave to Raman as well as to Kannan

64. *kaṇṇanuṭan ra:manukkum eḻutine:n*

I wrote to Raman as well as to Kannan

show that comitative complement indicates object as well as other cases. In sentences (61) and (62) we find accusative; in (63) and (64), the so-called dative and in this respect it behaves like conjunction which can come with all cases. Consider the following :

65. *ra:manum kaṇṇanum vanta:rkaḷ*

Raman and Kannan came

66. *ramanaiyum kaṇṇanaiyum pa:rtte:n*

I saw Raman and Kannan

67. *ra:manukkum kaṇṇanukkum koṭutte:n*

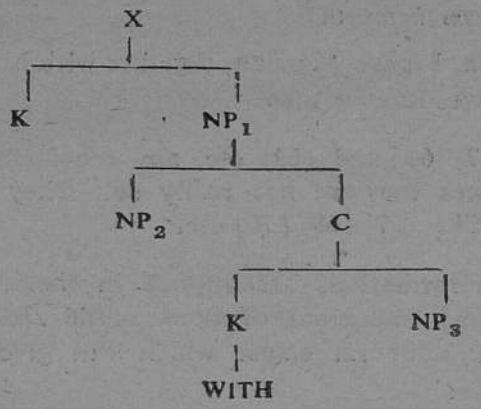
I gave to Raman and Kannan

where the conjunction is used with nominative, accusative, and dative. Though in (61) and (62) we do not find any accusative case marker *-ai* with Kannan, it functions as accusative as well.

Though *kaṇṇanuṭan* does not have any accusative case marker it is understood as one of the objects of the verb *pa:r* or *aḻai*, the other objects being *ra:manai* 'Raman (obj.).' This is also the case with the sentences (63) and (64) where we find both dative and comitative. All the nouns with *-uṭan* show two functions, one comitative, the other agentive, accusative etc., and in this respect it behaves differently from other cases.

This property has been already noticed by Buckingham (1973 : 115) in a slightly different way. He considered that comitative is a part or belonging to some other deep case. And he accordingly sets up the following deep structure (1973 : 114)

68.



where X, I believe, stands for any case like agentive, accusative etc. Comitative case cannot be taken as a part of another case as shown in the above deep structure and the deep structure must show in some way that it represents both in such a way that comitative is independent of the other and it cannot be considered as a part of another case. As shown already comitative is gotten in certain cases by deleting the verb like *ce:r* and in certain other cases from structures like (37) (69) and (70) which take care of the peculiar nature of comitative

ra:man varumpo:tu kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan ce:rntu vanta:n (37)
When Raman came with Raman, Kannan came

69. *na:n kaṇṇanaip pa:rkkum po:tu kaṇṇanuṭan ce:rntu ra:manaiyum pa:rtte:n*

When I saw Kannan together with him I saw Raman also

70. *na:n kaṇṇanaik ku:ppiṭum po:tu kaṇṇanuṭan ce:rtlu ra:manaiyum aḻaitte:n*

When I invited Kannan together with him I invited Raman also

71. *naːn kaṉṉanukkuk koṭukkum poːtu kaṉṉanuṭan ceːrttu raːmanukkum koṭutteːn*

When I gave Kannan, together with him,
I gave Raman also

Though (17) (61) and (62) etc. are considered generally as simple sentences they are not really so. They are derived from something like (37) (69) (70) etc.

Several tranformations are applied in the above structures and the most important of them is the *Deletion transformation* of the the temporal clause which will give something like

72. *kaṉṉanuṭan ceːrntu raːman vantaːn*

Raman came together with Kannan

73. *kaṉṉanuṭan ceːrttu raːmanaiṟ paːrtteːn*

I saw Raman together with Kannan

74. *kaṉṉanuṭan ceːrttu raːmanai aḻaitteːn*

I invited Raman together with Kannan

75. *kaṉṉanuṭan ceːrttu raːmanukuk koṭutteːn*

I gave to Raman together with Kannan

in which another transformation *Deletion of Comitative verb* is applied and as the result we get (17) (61) (62) etc.

As already pointed out, that there are many similarities between comitative and conjunction and this has been felt by many and that is why they are treated by some as one and the same grammatical category.

Both of them behave alike in many respects. Verbs like *ceːr, iṇai* etc., need either comitative NPs or conjunction NPs as in

ra:manuṭan kaṇṇan ce:rnta:n
ra:manum kaṇṇanum ce:rnta:rkaḷ

Raman and Kannan joined

and these verbs can be called either as comitative or conjunction verbs.

Both comitative and conjunction must have identical categories. But conjunction can be seen in all the categories, whereas, this is not the case with the comitative. Consider the following :

76. a. *kaṇṇanum ra:manum vanta:rkaḷ*
Kannan and Raman came

b. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manum vanta:n*
Not only Kannan but also Raman came

77. a. *kaṇṇanaivum ra:manaiyum pa:rtte:n*
I saw Kannan and Raman

b. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manaiyum pa:rtte:n*
I saw Kannan with Raman
(I saw Kannan as well as Raman)

78. a. *pensilo:ṭu penna:lum eḻutine:n*
I wrote not only with pencil but with pen as well

b. *penna:lum pensila:lum eḻutine:n*
I wrote with pen and pencil

79. a. *ra:manukkum kaṇṇanukkum koṭutte:n*
I gave to Raman and Kannan

b. *ramano:ṭu kaṇṇanukkum koṭutte:n*
I gave to Kannan with Raman

80. a. *kaṇṇan a:ṭavum pa:ṭavum ceyta:n*
Kannan danced and sang

b. *kaṇṇan a:ṭinato:ṭu pa:ṭavum ceyta:n*
Kannan not only danced but sang as well

It may be possible to add some more to the above list. However, there are certain cases where conjunction is possible but not comitative.

81. a. *kaṇṇan vi:ṭṭilum ka:ṭṭilum va:ḷnta:n*
Kannan lived in the house and in the jungle

b. **kaṇṇan vi:ṭṭo:ṭu ka:ṭṭilum va:ḷnta:n*
Kannan lived not only in the house but in the jungle as well

82. a. *kaṇṇan aṅkiruntum iṅkiruntum va:ṅkina:n*
Kannan bought (something) from there and here

b. **kaṇṇan aṅkiranto:ṭu iṅkiruntum va:ṅkina:n*
Kannan bought (thing) not only from there but from here as well

83. a. *kaṇṇan vi:ṭṭukkum ka:ṭṭukkum po:na:n*
Kannan went to the house and forest

b. *kaṇṇan vi:ṭṭo:ṭu ka:ṭṭukkum po:na:n*
Kannan went not only to the house but the jungle as well

etc., show that in certain cases it is possible to have conjunction whereas it is not possible to have the so-called comitative. But a deeper analysis will show that this is only a surface constraint and it has nothing to do with the deep structure. Sentence like

84. a. *kaṇṇan vantato:ṭu ra:manum vanta:n*

b. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manum vanta:n*

Not only Kannan but also Raman came

85. a. *kaṇṇanaiṭ paːrttato:ṭu ra:manaiyum paːrtteːn*

I saw not only Raman but I saw Kannan as well

b. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manaiyum paːrtteːn*

I saw not only Kannan but Raman as well

86. a. *kaṇṇanukkuk koṭuttato:ṭu ra:manukkum koṭutteːn*

I gave not only to Kannan but I gave to Raman as well

b. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:manukkum koṭutteːn*

I gave not only to Kannan but to Raman as well

show that a and b sentences are related and they mean one and the same thing and there is nothing wrong in deriving (b) sentences from (a) sentences where we find the verbal noun *vantatu* 'the action of coming', *paːrttatu* 'the action of seeing' and *koṭuttatu* 'the action of giving' with *-o:ṭu*. These sentences undergo the identical *VP deletion* by which the verbal nouns are deleted which paves way for the suffix *-o:ṭu* to be affixed with either the subject, object or the dative as the case may be.

This is followed by another transformation which deletes the original suffix if there is any, namely the accusative *-ai*, dative *-kku*, etc., and as the result we get the (b) sentences.

87. 1. *ra:man-ai pa:rttatu -o:ṭu kaṉṉanaiyum pa:rtte:n*

	1	-2	3	-4	5	6 →
	1	-2	ø	-4	5	6
2.	1	-2	ø	-4	5	6 →
	1	ø	ø	-4	5	6 →
3.	1	-4			5	6

This shows clearly that (a) sentences are related to (b) sentences and (b) sentences have the deep structure something like (a) sentences. It also shows that though (b) sentences look like simple sentences they are really derived from complex sentences and this phenomenon, is found in various other types of sentences also as has been shown already (See 3 and 4).

It is very interesting to note that sentences like (81.a - 83.b) can also have the same kind of deep structures (81.a - 83.a) though the transformations shown above are not operated. Consider the following :

88. *kaṉṉan vi:ṭṭil va:ḻntato:ṭu ka:ṭṭilum va:ḻnta:n*

Kannan lived not only in the house but lived in the jungle as well

89. *kaṉṉan aṅkiruntu va:ṅkinato:ṭu iṅkiruntum va:ṅkina:n*

Kannan bought not only from there but bought from here as well

90. *kaṉṉan vi:ṭṭukkuṉ po:nato:ṭu ka:ṭṭukkum po:na:n*

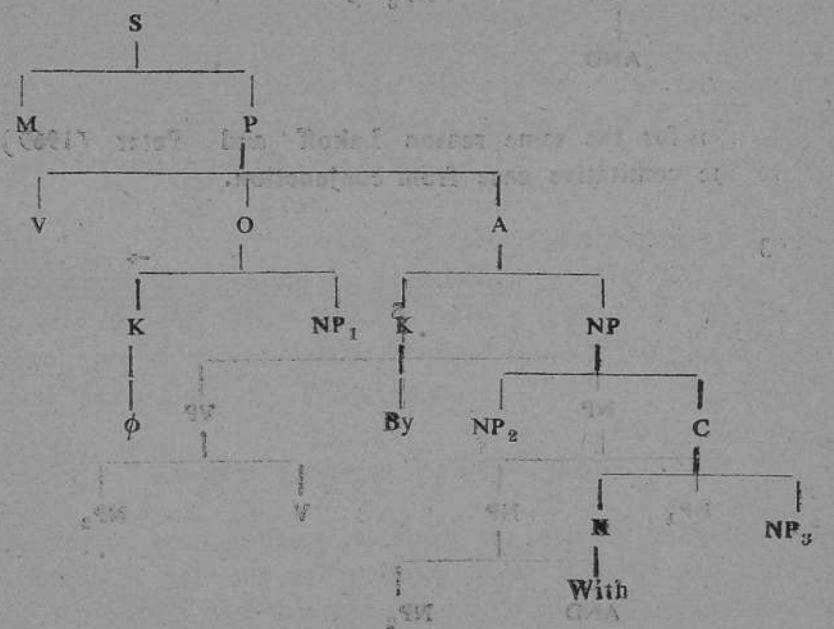
Kannan went not only to the house but went to the jungle as well

These senteneces are perfectly grammatical and are acceptable and they can be equated with (81.a - 83.a). They are different from them in that, these sentences do not

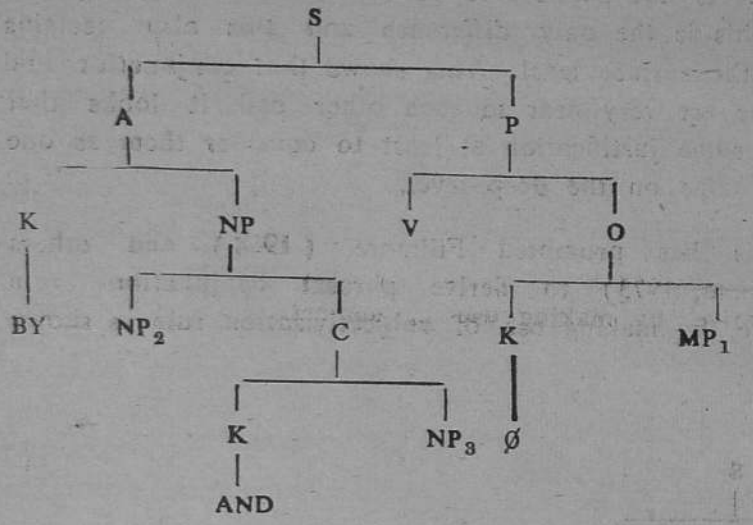
undergo the various transformations that (84-86) are capable of. i. e. it is not possible to derive sentences of type (81.b-83.b). This is the only difference and this also pertains only to the surface level. This shows that conjunction and comitative are very near to each other and it looks that there is some justification at least to consider them as one and the same on the deep level.

This has prompted Fillmore (1968) and others (Buckingham, 1973) to derive phrasal conjunction rom comitative, by making use of subjectivization rule, as shown below:

91. →

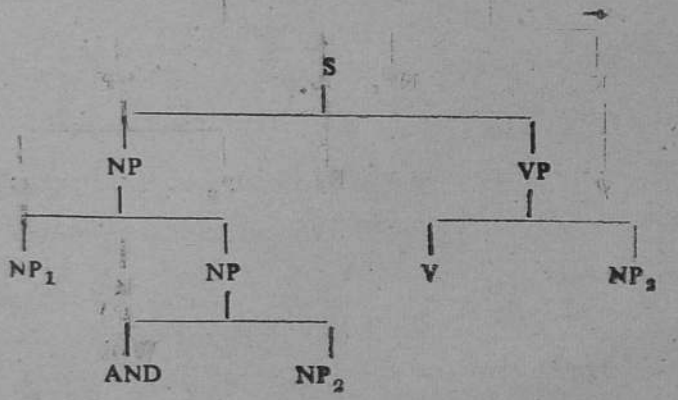


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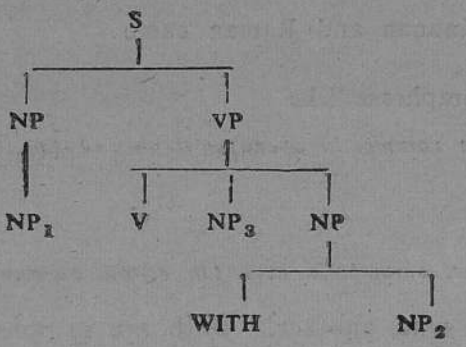


is for the same reason Lakoff and Peter (1969) de e he comitative case from conjunction.

93



94.



The only difference between Lakoff (and others) on the one hand and Fillmore (and others) on the other hand is that the former thinks that conjunction is the source for comitative, whereas, the latter thinks that the comitative is the source for conjunction. But both of them however, think both comitative and conjunctive are one and the same.

But there are certain other areas where the conjunction and the comitative behave differently. As has already been mentioned, the notion of principality of action is very clearly seen in the case of comitative, whereas, it has nothing to do in the case of coordination. When we say

kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan vanta:n (17.a)

Raman is the principal actor of the action 'coming' and Kannan is only the subordinate actor. Raman is the initiator of the action and this can be seen in many of the expressions with *-uṭan* (not in all) of the above type.

But the question of principality does not arise in the case of coordination. In the case of sentences like

kaṇṇanum ra:manum vanta:rkaḷ (33)

Kannan and Raman came

we cannot paraphrase like

ra:man varumpo:tu avanuṭan ce:rntu kaṇṇan vanta:n (37)

or

95. *kaṇṇan varumpo:tu avanuṭan ce:rntu ra:man vanta:n*

No one joins with another. Both are responsible and both of them equally share the responsibility. When we say negatives (96) we get

ra:manum kaṇṇanum varavillai (33)

Raman and Kannan did not come

It means both of them did not come. But this is not the case in the case of (17.a).

ra:manuṭan kaṇṇan varavillai (51)

gives

kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan ce:rntu varavillai (52)

which means Raman came, but Kannan did not come with Raman.

This is also the case with sentences like 18, 20 21, 22 etc.

96. *ra:man ci:taiyuṭan kaːṭṭukkup po:kavillai*

Raman did not go to the forest with Sita

97. *kaṇṇan paṇattuṭan varavillai*

Kannan did not come with money

98. *kaṇṇan raːmanuṭan paṭikkavillai*
Kannan did not study with Raman

99. *kaṇṇan raːmanuṭan veːlaipaːrkkavillai*
Kannan did not work with Raman

100. *taḷavamoːṭu mullaiyai paṟikkavillai*
I didn't pluck Jasmine with talavam

101. *avaruṭan ivaraip paːrkkavillai*
I did not see that man with this man

102. *kaṇṇan perumaiyuṭan peːsavillai*
Kannan did not speak with pride

etc., show that NPs did the action expressed in the sentence. What is negated is that when the action takes place it is without the NPs with *-uṭan*. In this respect there is a lot of difference between the comitative expressions and the conjunctive expressions; (33) is the result of the conjoined structure of

103. *raːman varavillai*
Raman did not come

and

104. *kaṇṇan varavillai*
Kannan did not come

whereas (51) has the deep structure of

raːman varumpoːtu avanuṭan ceːrntu kaṇṇan varavillai (52)
When Raman came Kannan did not come with him

105. *ra:man ka:ṭṭukkup po:kumpo:tu ci:taiyuṭan po:kavillai*

When Raman went to forest he did not take Sita with him

where only the matrix sentence is negativised. In (33) both are considered as matrix sentences whereas in (51) etc., only 'Kannan came' is considered as matrix sentence. As in the case of its positive counterpart (33) is considered as the result of conjunction whereas (52) is made by 'embedding'.

It is true that this kind of difference can not be found in the cases of all the sentences where we find *-uṭan*

kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan ce:rnta:n (16.a)

pa:luṭan taṇṇi:r kalantatu (16.b)

etc. When these sentences are negativised as

kaṇṇan ra:manuṭan ce:ravillai

Kannan did not join with Raman

pa:luṭan taṇṇi:r kalakkavillai

Water does not mix with milk

they do not mean 'Raman joined' and 'milk mixed' etc. In this respect they differ from sentences like (17) and yet we cannot say that they can be derived from the conjunction sentences like

106. *kaṇṇanum ra:manum ce:rnta:rkaḷ*

107. *pa:lum taṇṇi:rum kalantatu*

(16.a) and (16.b) etc., are different from (106) and (107). In the case of (16.a) we can say

kaṇṇanta:n ra:manuṭan ce:rnta:n; ra:man ce:ravillai

It is only Kannan joined with Raman and not Raman with Kannan

etc. But this is not possible in the case of (106) and (107). In this connection, sentences (28-30) also behave like other comitative.

108. *na:n avanuṭan pe:savillai; avanta:n ennuṭan pe:sina:n*

I did not speak with him, it is he who spoke with me

etc., shows that there is a clear-cut distinction between the comitative case and conjunction. While dealing with the notion of principality Buckingham (1973 : 119) rejects this, saying that this is relevant only in the surface level which is not convincing. On the basis of the verb 'help' he considers that in sentences like

109. Mary cooked the dinner with John

John would be considered principality and in

110. John helped Mary cooked the dinner

Mary would be marked for principality. Mention has to be made here that the very 'help' is not a suitable 'perform' verb and the issue should not be judged on the basis of the verb 'help'.

In this paper I have taken up only four types of comitative as exemplified in (16) (17) (18) and (19) and have shown the differences between, them, setting up various deep structures for them. It is true that (19) is different from the other three.

in many respects, though they among themselves exhibit certain differences. (19) is closer to conjunction than the other three and this can be seen even in the negative counterparts of (19). Consider the following :

111. *kaṇṇano:ṭu ram:anum varavillai*

Both Kannan and Raman did not come

112. *nan kaṇṇano:ṭu ra:maṇiyan pa:rkkavillai*

I did not see both Kannan and Raman

etc., show that the negation is made not only in the case of Raman but that of Kannan also. But this is not so in the case of (17) and (18). The comparison of (16) does not arise at all as the verbs in them behave differently. Though we find *-o:ṭu* is found in (19) it is highly doubtful whether it has to be treated as comitative at all. I am also highly doubtful about (16) in this respect. Note also that (19) cannot take *-kkukku:ṭa* when the others can be perfectly grammatical.

113. *kaṇṇan ra:manukkuk ku:ṭa ce:rnta:n*

Kannan joined with Raman

114. *kaṇṇan ra:manukkuk ku:ṭa vanta:n*

Kannan came with Raman

115. *kaṇṇan ra:manukkuk ku:ṭa paṭitta:n*

Kannan studied with Raman

Comitative, to sum up, is used in many senses and in this paper I have dealt with only four types (16) (17) and (18)& 19 and though comitative and conjunction have many similarities, they are different and have to be treated differently. This difference has been felt by many though a few have considered them one and the same.

Notes :

1. This has also been noticed by Tolka:ppiyam which says
oru vinai oṭuccol vyaṛṛiṉ valitte:

"The suffix *oṭu* (of the third case) is used with the word denoting the superior of two when both do the same action" (P.S.S. 1945 : 108).

It is true that all the commentators of Tol. interpret *vyaṛṛiṉ* as the superior of the two. By superior they mean superiority in the social status only and they do not consider it in any other sense like "principality", 'main responsibility' etc. Ilampuraṇar, the earliest commentator of Tol. gives the example

aracaṉoṭu vanta:r ce:vakar

The sentries came with the king

and says that *-oṭu* denotes superiority. Giving another example

na:yoṭu nampi vanta:n

The good man came with the dog

he argues that *na:y* 'dog' is superior in another sense. This is also the case with almost all other commentators.

The word *uyarpu* can be interpreted as "principality" when the sentry joins the king, king is to be considered as the principal actor. Sentences like

maṇa:kkano:ṭu a:siriyar vanta:r

The teacher came with the student

makaḷo:ṭu tantai vanta:r

The father came with the daughter

can be found in Tamil and in all these sentences we find *-o:ṭu* is added to the nouns which do not denote superiority in the real sense of the word. But they are added to the nouns denoting the principal act or of the action. Therefore *uyarpu* can be rightly interpreted as 'principality' rather than 'superiority' and the principal actor is the one who initiates the action and is responsible for the action and the other actor only joins with him. That is why the traditional grammarians often give the meaning of 'accompaniment' to the so-called comitative. One accompanies the other. One is the principal actor, and the other is subordinate.

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CONJUNCTION AND THE CONJUNCTIVE CASE

E. Annamalai
CIIL, MYSORE

It is an attractive proposition to derive the cases from other universal and logically viable categories such as predicate, conjunction etc. Lakoff and Peters (1966) have argued that the conjunctive preposition 'with' must be derived from an underlying phrasal conjunction. Thus (1b), according to them, must be derived from (1a) by a transformational rule called Conjunct Movement Rule.

1. (a) *John and Bill killed a man*

   (b) *John killed a man with Bill*

It is relevant here to point out that they have also shown in the above mentioned paper that phrasal conjunction is different from sentence conjunction and the conjunction in (1a) is of former type. In other words, (1a) is not synonymous with (2) below.

2. *John killed a man and Bill killed a man*

The argument for differentiating phrasal conjunction from sentence conjunction in English is that there are cases of conjoined Noun Phrases which cannot be derived from conjoined sentences through Conjunction Reduction transformation either

because the latter do not exist or because the meanings of the two are different. The same argument is valid for Tamil also and hence Tamil must also have two types of conjunction, sentence conjunction and phrasal conjunction.[1] Consider now the following pairs of sentences. The (b) sentences either do not exist or they are not paraphrases of the corresponding (a) sentences.

3. (a) *kumaarum mookanum naṉparkaḷ*[2]
Kumar and Mohan are friends.

(b) **kumaar naṉpan; mookan naṉpan*
Kumar is a friend and Mohan is a friend

4. (a) *kumaar tan paṇam muḻuvataiyum tan makanukkum makaḷukkum koṭuttaan*
Kumar gave all his money to his son and his daughter

(b) *kumaar tan paṇam muḻuvataiyum tan makanukku koṭuttaan; kumaar tan paṇam muḻuvataiyum tan makaḷukku koṭuttaan*
Kumar gave all his money to his son and
Kumar gave all his money to his daughter

(3b) is ungrammatical and so (3a) cannot be derived from it. In (4b) only one of the sentenses can be true and so it is not a paraphrase of (4a).

The adverb *onṟaaa* or *ceerntu* 'together' can occur with the noun phrases phrasally conjoined[3] but not with the noun phrases derived through conjunction reduction. Thus (5a) which is ambiguous, has the unique interpretation of phrasal conjunction when *onṟaaka* is added as in (5b).

5. (a) *kumaarum mookanum cinimaavukku poonaarkaḷ*
Kumar and Mohan went to a movie

(b) *kumaarum mookanum onṟaaka cinimaavukku poonaarkaḷ*
Kumar and Mohan went to a movie together

Note that the stative predicates which do not have phrasal conjunction as their subjects do not allow these adverbs.

6. (a) **kumaarukkum mookanukkum inda viṣayam onṟaaka teriyum*
Kumar and Mohan know this matter together

The phrasal conjunction and the construction with the conjunct prepositon in English share some semantic and syntactic properties. A generalisation in the language can be captured if one of these two structures is derived from the other. We shall see first whether there are common properties between them in Tamil, where instead of the conjunctive preposition the parallel conjunctive (also called sociative and comitative) case marker is used.

Firstly, the stative predicates, as mentioned above, do not take conjoined noun phrases for their subjects. They do not take the conjunctive case either. If one is derived from the other, one constraint will be sufficient to account for both.

6. (b) **kumaarukku mookanooṭu inta viṣayam teriyum*
Kumar knows this matter with Mohan

Secondly, the conjoined nouns and the conjunctive case noun and the nominative case noun (or any other case noun like the accusative that goes with it) cannot be coreferential.[4]

7. (a) **kumaarum taanum cinimaavukku poonaarkaḷ*
Kumar and himself went to a movie

(b) **kumaar tannooṭu cinimaavukku poonaan*
Kumar went to a movie with himself

There is a universal constraint on conjunction that two referentially identical nouns (or sentences) cannot be conjoined. This constraint explains the ungrammaticality of (7a). If (7b) is derived from (7a) by changing one conjoined noun into conjunctive case noun by adding the case marker *ooṭu* 'with'[5] the ungrammaticality of (7b) will be the automatic consequence of this constraint. Otherwise, a separate, ad hoc constraint will be necessary in the grammar to block (7b).

In English, Lakoff and Peters (1966) have shown that the sentences that have conjoined noun phrase and 'with'-phrase are symmetric. That is, the order of noun phrases in the conjunction and the attachment of 'with' to any one of the conjoined noun phrases do not change the meaning. Thus all the sentences in (8) are synonymous.

8. (a) *John and Bill left*

(b) *Bill and John left*

(c) *John left with Bill*

(d) *Bill left with John*

The synonymity of (8c) and (8d) will be explained by the universal fact that semantic interpretation is independent of the order of conjunction, if they are derived from sentences with conjoined noun phrase. But the Tamil situation is different. Sentences like (9a) and (9b) with the conjunctive case marker

added to different nouns are not synonymous in Tamil. There is a semantic difference, as noted by Tolkaappiyar himself (Col. S. 91), depending upon which noun *ooṭu* is added to.

9. (a) *kumaar mookannooṭu cinimaavukku poonaan*
Kumar went to a movie with Mohan

(b) *mookan kumaarooṭu cinimaavukku poonaan*
Mohan went to a movie with Kumar

In (9a) Mohan leads and Kumar accompanies[6]. But in (9b) it is in the reverse: Kumar leads and Mohan accompanies. This difference will be clear in the following examples with the predicate *ceer* 'join'.

10. (a) *kumaar varicaiyil niṉṟavarooṭu ceerntukoṇṭaan*
Kumar joined the man standing in the queue

(b) *kaṇṇaki cettuppoona koovalanooṭu ceerntaaḷ*
Kannaki joined Kovalan who was dead.

When *ooṭu* is added to the other noun in the above sentences, their assertions are quite different. The above sentences assert that the person referred to by the conjunctive noun is already at some place and the person referred to by the other noun join him afterwards. Thus these two nouns are not symmetrical.

The asymmetry can be seen in (11b) also which is unacceptable because it contradicts the speaker's belief of what ensues what. His belief is expressed in (10 a) where the death of truth ensues Gandhi's death.

11. (a) *kaantiyooṭu cattiyam cettuppooyviṭṭatu*
Truth died along with Gandhi

(b) **cattiyattooṭu kaanti cettuppooyviṭṭaar*
Gandhi died along with truth

There may be no symmetry when the predicate is a reciprocal verb. In (12a) below, Mohan may have been sitting quiet when Kumar was fighting with him and similarly in (12b) the truck may have been sitting idle when the car bumped into it.

12. (a) *kumaar mookunooṭu caṇṭaipooṭṭaan*

Kumar quarrelled with Mohan

(b) *kaar laariyooṭu mootiyatu*

The car dashed with the truck

When the phrasal conjunction is used in the above sentences the action takes place on the part of both the nouns and they are symmetric.

There is another meaning of *ooṭu* which is closely related to the asymmetry discussed in the above examples and which may be glossed as 'in addition to, besides'.

13. (a) *katai eḻutuvatooṭu kavitaiyum eḻutunkaḷ*

Write poems also in addition to writing stories

(b) *irukkiṟa kavalaiyooṭu itu veeṟaa* ?

Why this also in addition to the existing worries?

In this meaning the conjunctive case noun usually precedes the other noun in the surface and the other noun has *um* or some other morpheme meaning 'also'. Note that it will not be possible to have a phrasal conjunction base to the above. Even if we have a complex conjoined noun-phrases with *cey* 'do' at their predicate as in,

14. *katai eḻutavum kavitai eḻutavum ceyyunkaḷ*
Do the writing of stories and poems

the conjoined noun phrases are derived from sentence conjunction and are not phrasal conjunction. Moreover, they are not symmetric since (13a) means that the addressee already, writes stories and he is requested now to write poems and the relative clause is (13b) clearly shows that worries already exist and the new ones are added now.

There is yet another meaning of *ooṭu* which may be glossed as 'take along'. This is the meaning one gets in the following sentences. (This is how (15a) is normally interpreted since in the Tamil culture the wife plays a subordinate role).

15. (a) *kumaar tan manaiviyooṭu cinimaavukku poonaan*
Kumar went to the movie with his wife
i. e. Kumar took his wife along him to the movie

(b) *kumaar kaaykaṟi paiyooṭu cinimaavukku poonan*
Kumar went to the movie with the vegitable bag

(9a) given earlier may also have this interpretation and this will be the most predominant interpretation if the hearer knows that Mohan is a small boy. Note that in the above sentences *ooṭu* may be replaced without much semantic change with *kuuṭṭikkoṇṭu* (when the noun is animate) or *eṭuttukkoṇṭu* (when the noun is inanimate) which are the conjunctive participles of the verb 'take'. When they are added the nouns become their object. With these verbs as the main predicates one can get sentences with conjunctive case nouns which are coreferrential with the subjects. Thus it is impossible to have them as conjoined noun phrases.

16. *kumaar mookanai tannooṭu kuuṭṭikkoṇṭu poonaan*
Kumar took Mohan along with him to the movie

Coming to the relationship of the conjunctive case nouns in the above sentences and phrasal conjunction, it must be said (15a) has a corresponding sentence with conjoined noun phrases which are symmetric. But (15a) is not symmetric. There is no corresponding sentence with conjoined noun phrases for (15b). Therefore, it will not be possible to derive (15b) from phrasal conjunction. One might say that if the nouns in a phrasal conjunction do not belong to the same semantic class, the conjunct case attachment rule is obligatory. If he takes such a position, he must also establish a hierarchy of semantic classes' for case attachment that if one of the nouns is animate and the other inanimate the conjunctive case must be attached to the inanimate etc. But this clearly lacks any justification.

Moreover, there are also other kinds of conjunctive case nouns which do not have corresponding conjoined noun phrases.

17. (a) **kumaarum yaarum cinimaavukku pookamaaṭṭaarkaḷ*
Kumar and nobody will go to the movie

(b) *kumaar yaarooṭum cinimaavukku pookamaaṭṭaan*
Kumar will not go to the movie with anybody

These suggest that the conjunctive case noun is not derived from phrasal conjunction.

Another kind of problem in deriving the conjunctive case noun from the conjoined noun is posed by the choice of the deictically determined motion verb. In Tamil, when the motion is towards the speaker or the hearer or with the speaker the verb *vaa* 'come' used and not the verb *poo* 'go' (Annamalai, 1969.)

18. (a) *kumaar ennooṭu cinimaavukku vantaan*
Kumar came to the movie with me

But with the conjoined noun phrase the verb *poo* 'go' is used.

18. (b) *kumaarum naanum cinimaavukku poonoom*
Kumar and I went to the movie

If (18a) and (18b) are semantically identical and (14) is derived from (15) it will be difficult to account for the different choices of the motion verb in each case.

Finally, consider the following sentences. While (19a) (my attention was drawn to this example by Rangan) with phrasal conjunction is not a possible sequence because it is redundent (19b) with conjunctive case is a perfectly acceptable sequence.

19. (a) *mookan cinimaavukku poonaan; avanum kumaarum poonaarkaḷ*
Mohan went to the movie, he and Kumar went

(b) *mookan cinimaavukku poonaan; avanooṭu kumaarum poonaan*
Mohan went to the movie, Kumar also went with him

This clearly shows that the conjunctive case noun is not understood as subject in (19b) and hence is not derived from the phrasal conjunction in (19a) which is understood as subject.

The above discussion shows that the phrasal conjunction and the noun and the conjunctive case noun share on one hand certain semantic properties like their non-occurrence with stative predicate and their not being coreferential and do

not share on the other hand certain other semantic properties like symmetry, choice of deictic verb and same grammatical relation. There are syntactic correlates also to this ambivalent behaviour.

The noun plus conjunctive case noun does not behave like phrasal conjunction with reference to a condition on conjunction. When two sentences, where the event of the latter follows with a break after the event of the first is completed, are conjoined using *viṭṭu* in Tamil, the subjects of the two sentences must be coreferential. This condition obtains in (20a), which is ungrammatical because one of the nouns conjoined in the subject phrasal conjunct there is no coreferential. But the sentence (20b) is grammatical where we have noun plus conjunctive case noun instead of phrasal conjunction. This shows that (20b) cannot be derived from (20a). Moreover it shows that the conjunctive case nouns in (20b) are not part of the subjects of the conjoined sentences. If they are, the sentences cannot be conjoined because of the conditions mentioned above.

20. (a) **kumaarum mookanum paaṭiviṭṭu kumaarum raajanum paaṭinaarkaḷ*

Kumar and Mohan sang and then Kumar and Rajan sang

(b) *kumaar mookanooṭu paaṭiviṭṭu raajavooṭu paaṭinaan*

Kumar sang with Mohan and then sang with Rajan

In (21a) below, the quantifier *iraṇṭu peerum* 'both' in the following sentence is the anaphora of the phrasal conjunction *kumaarum mookanum* 'Kumar and Mohan' of the

preceding sentence. The anaphora obtains even the preceding sentence has *kumaar mookanooṭu* 'Kumar with Mohan' in place of the phrasal conjunction as in (21b). If the latter is derived from the former and the transformation rule for this derivation follows the rule that brings about the anaphora, then the serious problem of having an anaphora for an antecedent which is not a constituent (recall that in fn. 5 we pointed out that noun + conjunctive case noun is not a constituent) will not arise.

21. (a) *kumaarum mookanum mutalil cinimaavukku poonaarkaḷ; iraṇṭupeerum piṟaku ooṭṭalukku pooaarkaḷ*

Kumar and Mohan first went to the movie, then both went to the hotel

(b) *kumaar mookanooṭu mutalil cinimaavukku poonaan; iraṇṭupeerum piṟaku ooṭṭalukkn poonaarkaḷ*

Kumar first went to the movie with Mohan; then both went to the hotel

However, the reflexive pronominalisation takes place only when the antecedent is a phrasal conjunction but not when it is noun plus conjunctive case noun.

22. (a) *taankaḷ eḻutiya oru paaṭṭai kumaarum mookanum ceerntu paaṭinaarkaḷ*

Kumar and Mohan sang together a song which they had written

(b) **taankaḷ eḻutiya oru paaṭṭai kumaar mookanooṭu ceerntu paaṭinaan*

Kumar sang together with Mohan a song which they had written

Now the imposing question is what the ambivalent behaviour of the conjunction case noun with reference to its relation to the phrasal conjunction means. Perhaps, it means that the noun plus conjunctive case noun is a conjunction in certain respects and not in certain others (Lakoff, 1972: 183). That is, it is a conjunction to some degree (Ross, 1972: 326).

Notes:

1 I do not want to go here into the question raised by McCawley (1968 : 151) whether the conjoined noun phrases can be derived at all from sentence conjunction through conjunction reduction.

2. Such sentences with reciprocal meaning cannot be derived, as suggested by Gleitman (1965 : 281), from a set of conjoined sentences like (a) below through (b) and (c).

a. *kumaar mookanukku naṉpan; mookan kumarukku naṉpan*

Kumar is a friend of Mohan and Mohan is a friend of Kumar

b. **kumaarum mookanum mookanukkum kumaarukkum naṉparkaḷ*

Kumar and Mohan are friends of Mohan and Kumar

c. **kumaarum mookanum oruvarukkoruvar naṉparkaḷ*

Kumar and Mohan are friends to each other

The reason is that with a reciprocal predicate like *peeccu* 'talk' as in (d) the conjunctive case will have to be in the underlying st ucture as in (e). But, as shown by Lakoff and Peters, the conjunctive case is derived and cannot be in the underlying structure.

d. *kumaarum mookanum (oruvarooṭu oruvar) peecikkoṇṭiruntaarkaḷ*

Kumar and Mohan were talking with each other

e. *kumaar mookanooṭu peecikkoṇṭiruntaan; mookan kumaarooṭu peecikkoṇṭiruntaan*

Kumar was talking with Mohan and Mohan was talking with Kumar

This argument will not be valid, however, if the claim in this paper is correct.

3. Though the adverb is optional in general, it is obligatory in certain cases.

a. *kumaarum mookanum onṟaaka irukkiṟaarkaḷ*
Kumar and Mohan live together

b. *kumaarum mookanum onṟaaea paṭittavarkaḷ*
Kumar and Mohan were classmates (i.e. they studied together)

It is not necessary when there is conjunctive case noun with *ooṭu* in the above cases. But it is necessary in certain other cases.

c. *kumaar mookanooṭu ceerntu muṭviuceytaan*
Kumar decided with Mohan

4. There are some apparent counter examples to this like

a. *paṇam paṇattooṭu ceerum*
Money goes with money

b. *vaaḷooṭu vaaḷ mootiyatu*
The sword crossed with the sword

But here the two occurrences *paṇam* 'money' and *vaaḷ* 'sword' may not be coreferenitial (Note that the second occurrences of *paṇam* 'money' and *vaaḷ* 'sword' are not pronominalised) and hence these may not be taken as violating the universal constraint. Another apparent counter example is

c. *kumaar tannooṭu taanee peecikkoṇṭiruntaan*
Kumar was talking with himself

This may be accounted for by saying that the reflexive pronoun is the counterpart of *kumaar* (Lakoff, 1968).

5. The following processes are involved in changing a noun into a conjunctive case noun. The conjunctive morpheme *um*, which is a sister of the conjoined nouns, is deleted along with its immediately dominating node. The case morepheme, if any (as in the case of conjoined object nouns), is deleted from the noun to which the conjuctive case morpheme is added. Then the conjunctive case noun is moved out. (Though it

stays in the same place in the surface order, the constituent structure is changed and it no longer makes a constituent with the other conjoined noun). Note also that this rule does not apply when the predicate is not a verb.

6. There are a few more meanings of *oo̱tu* whose relationship with the meanings given above is not at all clear. They can be found in constructions like *aa̱rroo̱tu pooyi̱rru* 'went with the river', *ti̱tti̱yatoo̱tu ni̱rkavillai* 'did not stop with abusing', *nee̱rroo̱tu mu̱ti̱ntatu* 'was over by yesterday', *ve̱runkaiyoo̱tu vantaan* 'came empty handed', *koopattoo̱tu vantaan* 'came angrily'. But it is certain that they are not derivable from phrasal conjunction.

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A SYNTACTIC STUDY OF INSTRUMENTAL CASE IN TAMIL*

P. Sam Daniel
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

A common assumption of case grammarians is that cases are signalled by particular prepositions (John Lyons, 1969 : 294, Langendoen, 1969 : 113). In Tamil the case expressions are made by the inflexional elements and post-positions. It is a common phenomenon that no two grammarians have exactly the same array of cases in their inventories. Unless case grammarians can agree on what test can be used for distinguishing one case from another, so that each case grammarian will have basically the same inventory of cases in his universal grammar much of the discussion in the case model will later have to be revised. Because case grammarians are not in agreement as to which test should be used to determine cases, it is theoretically possible on the one hand to have only a single case in the

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deep structure of each sentence, or on the other hand to have an almost infinite number of cases (Nilsen, 1973 : 9). Fillmore explained that in English when a sentence contain an AGENT case, the preposition WITH marks instrumental; when there is NO AGENT case, the preposition BY marks instrumental. Different syntactic tests by which instrumental case in Tamil can be identified is considered in this paper.

1. Normally in Tamil the interrogative pronoun *eppaṭi* 'how' is used as a means to identify the manner and the connected instrumental cases. The above test fails to solve the problem when considering sentences such as :

1. *avan pe:na:va:l kaṭitam eḻutina:n* (Inst.)
   He wrote a letter with pen

2. *ta:yuṭan ce:yum no:ya:l cettatu* (Comitative)
   The child died with the mother in sickness

3. *mi:ra:vukku atika viruppam* (Extent)
   Meera is very much fond of

4. *avan taḻana:ra:l maram e:vina:n* (Manner)
   He climbed the tree by using the rope

The above examples could be considered within a simple super case MANNER. If we want to go deep into the study we have to adopt other tests or devices to differentiate one deep case from the other. *eppaṭi* 'how' can operate well only in the case of MANNER (4). For (1) to (3) other interrogative pronouns such as *etana:l* 'with what' instrumental (1), *eto:ṭu* 'along with whom' comitative (2), *evaḷavu* 'to what extent' extent (3), can be used. With the help of different interrogative pronouns one can identify instrumental

comitative, extent, manner, etc. to a certain extent. But this fails to give a perfect solution. So, some principled rules would have to be formed which would take care of particular postpositions, interrogative pronouns, nouns, etc., while considering different cases.

—a:l and *—koṇṭu* are the case markers used to denote the instrumental case in Tamil. These markers could be relativised with *eppaṭi*, *etana:l*, etc. Sentences (1) — (4) may have different deep structures when they are considered by semantic reasons.

2. George Lakoff (1968 : 23) compared the object of the verb USE, to the object of the preposition WITH and concluded that 'with' and 'use' share much co-occurrence constraints that they are actually derived from the same underlying base. In some languages prepositions and verbs have the same underlying structure. The verbs meaning 'use' and prepositions (or post-positions) meaning 'with' can be found in Russian, Thai, and Japanese (Nilsen, 1973 : 18). This generalisation is possible for other cases such as SOURCE, PATH and GOAL. Parallel to the instrumental sentence (5) we get (6) and (7).

5. *avan paṇatta:l ma:ṭu va:ṅkina:n*

He bought the cow with money

6. *avan paṇattai upayo:kittu ma:ṭu va:ṅkina:n*

He used the money to buy the cow

7. *avan ma:ṭu va:ṅka paṇattai upayo:kitta:n*

He made use of money to buy the cow

Many case grammarians of English decided that noun phrases have to be considered instrumental if and only if it could be the object of both WITH and USE and still carry the same meaning. Chomsky ('Deep structure, surface structure, and semantic Interpretation', 1969 : 43) says that USE is relatively empty of semantic content and USE and WITH sentences could theoretically have the same underlying base. In Tamil we can take *—a:l* and *upayo:kittu* as the corresponding terms. Both the verb *upayo:kittu* and the case marker *—a:l* are perfectly natural in sentences (5) to (7).

8. (a) *avan ma:ṭu va:ṅkina:n*

He bought the cow

(b) *avan paṇattai upayo:kitta:n*

He made use of the money

It could be taken that (8a) & (8b) are the underlying structures of (6) & (7). Even though (6) & (7) can be derived from (8a) & (8b), *—a:l* and *upayo:kittu* have basically the same selectional restrictions on their objects. (8a) & (8b) fail to give the same meaning of (6) and (7). In the meantime it can also be considered that there is perfect correspondence between the object of *—a:l* and the object of *upayo:kittu*, where, if we substitute *—a:l* with *upayo:kittu*, there is no meaning change in a simple sentence.

9. *avan cuttiyala:l cuvaril avainta:n*

He hit the wall with a hammer

10. *avan cuttiyal upayo:kittu cuvaril aṟainta:n*

He used the hammer to hit the wall

11. *? avan a:ṇiya:l cuvaril aṟainta:n*

He hit the wall (with the nail)

12. *? avan a:ṇiyai upayo:kittu cuvaril aṟainta:n*

He used the nail to hit the wall

There exists a heirarchy of instrumentality, such that the case marker in *a:ṇiya:l* in sentence (11) entails *cuttiyal upayo:kittu*. Without the use of *cuttiyal upayo:kittu* (or by using some other force) it is not possible to accept (11) and (12) where *a:ṇiya:l cuvaril aṟainta:n* is semantically unacceptable. It is also predicted that the instrument which is most direct cause of the action usually reaches the surface structure of the sentence.

Fillmore (1970 : 31-63) did not employ the USE-WITH correspondence as a test for instrumental. In Tamil *upayo:ki* and *—a:l* expressions both entail the feature 'cause'. But *upayo:ki* has an additional feature, that *—a:l* does not entail·

13. *avan pe:na:va:l kaṇṇai kuttina:n*

He pierced the eye with the pen

14. *avan pe:na: upayo:kittu kaṇṇai kuttina:n*

He used the pen to pierce the eye

The listener cannot clearly identify from (13) whether he did the action deliberately or not. But from (14) we can clearly understand that the action was intentional. Then it can be marked (+ intentional).

upayo:kittu—test fails if we consider *natural force* as instruments.

15. (a) *vi:ṭu maḷaiya:l iṭintatu*
The house was damaged by rain

(b) **vi:ṭu maḷai upayo:kittu iṭintatu*

16. (a) *maturai neruppa:l aḷintatu*
Madurai was destroyed by fire

(b) **maturai neruppai upayo:kittu aḷintatu*

Even though (15a) and (16a) take the instrumental marker *—a:l*, there is no instrumental relation possible in these sentences. It should be noted that in general natural forces are considered to be the *cause* for some action, even though they take the instrumental marker. But in the examples like (17) *upayo:kittu* can be substituted in the place of *—a:l*. This is perfectly acceptable. The reason is that they can be manipulated or controlled by human beings.

17. (a) *ra:man neruppa:l ka:ṭṭai eritta:n*
Rama burnt the forest by setting fire to it

(b) *ra:man neruppai upayo:kittu ka:ṭṭai eritta:n*
Rama made use of the fire to burn the forest

3. Even though more than one instance of a particular case occurs in a sentence, this can happen only through some processes as sentence conjunction or nominalization. In a simple sentence case grammarians believe that each deep case can be represented only once (Fillmore,1968 : 21). Application of this hypothesis is used to determine whether or not certain deep cases should be distinguished from each other. This has led Shroyer and Lambert to conclude that *force* and *instrumental* (tool) are actually two subtypes of a single case (Nilsen, 1973 : 24) For instance, (18) and (19),

18. *veyilina:l maramum ceṭiyum ularntu po:natu* (Force)
Because of hot sun the tree and the bush dried out

19. *marattai kattiya:l veṭṭina:n* (Instrumental—tool)
He cut the tree with knife

According to Lambert (1969 : 235), *force* and *material* are members of the same case. Because of that they cannot occur in the same single sentence :

20. (a) **balatta:l kalla:l eṟinta:n*
? balatta:l kalkoṇḍu eṟinta:n

(b) **iṭiya:l maratta:l cetta:n*

But grammatically perfect sentences like (21a) and (22a) are rarely found, where simple sentences take two instruments which violate the hypothesis that no two same cases can occur in a simple predication.

21. (a) *kavaḷikoṇṭu kalla:l kuruviyai aṭitte:n*

(b) **kavaḷiya:l kalla:l kuruviyai aṭitte:n*

22. (a) *civappu maikoṇṭu pe:na:va:l eḻutina:n*

(b) **civappu maia:l pe:na:va:l eḻutina:n*

In examples (21) and (22) one important point to note is that when two different case markers of the same case occur in a simple single sentence it is grammatically acceptable as in (21a) and (22a). But when a single case marker of the same case is substituted as in (21b) and (22b) the above

sentences become ungrammatical. So in Tamil the same case marker of a single case cannot occur twice in a simple sentence.

Also there is no logical support for the position that there can only be one instance of a particular case per simple predication. In the equational and linking sentences there is no casal relationship. For instance,

23. *vawa:l oru paṟakkum mirukam*
The bat is a flying mammal

24. *pe:na: eḻuta utavum oru karuvi*
Pen is an instrument to write

Stockwell treats the occurrence of a particular case twice in an equational sentence as 'ESSIVE' (Stockwell, 1968 : 32). He defines 'ESS (IVE) is the case employed for predicate nominals'. The concept of predicate nominal is a surface phenomenon. If essive is not a deep phenomenon there is a possibility of having more than one instance of a particular deep case in a simple sentence

Self-embedding happens in some cases such as locatives, temporal, etc. But this principle does not operate in the case of manner and instrumental constructions as follows:

25. *avan vi:ṭṭil kaṭṭilil paṭuttiruntа:n* (Locative)
He was lying in the house on a cot

26. *na:n nerṟu ma:lai aṇtu maṇikku vi:ṭṭukkup po:ne:n* (Temporal)
I went home yesterday at 5 O' clock in the evening

27. *avan paraparappuṭan metuva:ka o:ṭina:n* (Manner)

28. *kaṇṇan karumpukoṇṭu cakkaraiya:l ceyta pa:nam uṇṭa:n* (Instrumental)

Sometimes we find it difficult to understand whether it is surface or deep constraints that are blocking the co-appearance of two cases. Example (29) is instrumental, whereas (30) is comitative.

29. *ba:bu kattiya:l marattai veṭṭina:n*
Babu cut the tree with a knife

30. *ba:bu marattai so:muvo:ṭu veṭṭina:n*
Babu cut the tree with Somu

31. *? ba:bu kattiya:l marattai so:muvo:ṭu veṭṭina:n*
Babu with Somu cut the tree with a knife

(31) is less acceptable because of the fact that a surface constraint which is blocking the grammatical validity. This sentence not only means that 'Babu cut the tree along with Somu' but also that 'Babu intentionally or accidentally cut Somu along with the tree'. So the meaning is ambiguious. But (31) could be conveyed well in a superficialy dissimilar sentence (32) which is more acceptable.

32. *ba:bu so:muvo:ṭu ce:rntu kattiya:l marattai veṭṭina:n*
Babu along with Somu cut the tree with a knife

We sometimes come across sentences like (33) to (39) where it seems that two instances of a particular case may appear in a simple predication.

33. *avan no:yuṭan makanin maraṇatta:l cetta:n* (Two forces)
He died in his sickness with his son's death

34. *avaḷ ariciyuṭan uḷunta:l kaṅci camaitta:ḷ*
(Two materials)
She prepared rice gruel along with blackgram

35. *avanuṭan avan manaiviyum ve:lai ceykiṟa:ḷ* (Two agents)
His wife works with him

36. *vi:ran puliyai kattiyuṭan ve:la:l etirtta:n*
(Two instruments)
The hero fought the tiger with knife and spear

37. *aṟai kuppai ku:ḷatta:l niṟaintirukkiṟatu* (Two objects)
The room is filled with dust and dirt

38. *ta:yuṭan ce:yum nalam* (Two comitatives)
The child is well with mother

39. *ve:lanuṭan muniyanukku utai paṭṭatu* (Two experiencers)
Muniyan got beaten along with Velan

It is said that two members of the same case are even interdependent. One cannot exist without the existence of the other. 35), (38) and (39) can be paraphrased as (40), (41) and (42) respectively. But they give different meanings.

40. *avanuṭan ve:lai ceykiṟa:ḷ*
She is working with him

41. *ta:yuṭan nalam*
Well with the mother

42 *ve:lanuṭan utai paṭṭatu*

Along with Velan got beaten

4. There is a notion that sentence conjunction is possible only with the same deep cases. For instance,

43. *ra:man cuttiyal, va:ḷ, uḷi ivaikaḷa:l me:sai ceyta:n*

Rama made a table with hammar, saw and chisel

44. **ra:man cuttiyal, palakai, veḷiccam ivaikaḷa:l me:sai ceyta:n*

Stevens (1970:11) suggested that benefactive, instrumental, partative, comitative and objective can all be subsumed under one category associative, in that all these cases merely associate a particular goal with a particular action.

5. *Instrumental case* can be subdivided into four different cases tool, meterial, natural force and body part (Lambert, 1969: 126).

1. Tool :

45. *avan ko:ṭa:liya:l marattai veṭṭina:n*

He cut the tree with the axe

Tool instrument freely incorporates into verbs. When a person refers to the instrumental case he is usually refering to the tool instrument.

2. Material :

Material instruments are the materials from which something is made of. That is, material will be always part and parcel of the product. It has the feature (+ source) or (direction-from) (Lambert, 1969 : 382).

46. (a) *a:cci arisiya:l co:ṟu camaitta:ḷ*
Acci cooked with rice

(b) *a:cci arisi upayo:kittu co:ṟu camaitta:ḷ*
Acci used rice to cook

Another syntactic feature of material instrument relationship can be interpreted by using locative case markers. Consider example (47):

47. *a:cci arisiyile co:ṟu camaitta:ḷ*
Acci used rice to cook

In addition, the material-instrument case is associated only with creative verbs such as cook, do, draw, etc.

48. (a) *ra:mu kalla:l cilai ceyta:n* (Material)
Ramu made a sculpture out of stone

(b) *ra:mu kalla:l cilai uṭaitta:n* (Tool)
Ramu broke the sculpture by using stone

Sometimes tool-instrument and material-instrument can be conjoined even though they have different semantic features :

49. *ko:pa:l uḷiyum maramum upayo:kittu na:ṟka:liyai ceyta:n*
Gopal made a table using chisel and wood

3. Natural Force :

It is said that in order to the force to qualify instruments it must be understood that someone has to carry out the action, It would be possible for the natural force instruments to occur in sentences having *with* or *use* only in special cases where the context is supernatural, religious, etc., as in (50) where God who is controlling the flood.

50. *kaṭavuḷ veḷḷatta:l paṭṭiṇattai aḻitta:r*

The Lord destroyed the city by using flood

Veḷḷam in (50) can be taken as instrumental only in the case where it is controlled by something - here it is the Lord.

Another feature of natural force instrument is that the instrumental suffix cannot be substituted by *upayo:kittu* while the other three instruments, viz. tool, material and body part can take *upayo:kittu* in the place of *—a:l*,

51. (a) *avan ka:lara:va:l cetta:n*

He died of cholera

(b) **avan ka:lara: upayo:kittu cetta:n*

4. Body Part :

While considering body part also as instruments, some specific notions should be made for it. In this hierarchy, body parts will be considered primary instruments, tools will be considered secondary instruments, materials will be considered tertiary instruments (Nilsen, 1973 : 57).

52. (a) *avan kaṭitam civappumaikoṇṭu pe:na:va:l eḻutina:n*

(Two instruments)

He wrote a letter using red ink with a pen

(b) *avan pencila:l puruvattil mai eḻuttina:n*

(Instrument & Obj.)

He eye browed by using pencil

In (52a), *mai* can be taken as tertiary material instrument, *pe:na:* the secondary tool instrument, and the primary body part instrument is the 'hand or finger' (which was deleted from the surface structure of the simple sentence).

On the basis that instruments are possible only when there are (either expressed or implied) agents, (Gruber 1970: 180-184) suggested that both agents and instruments should be dominated by the same node and followed the rewrite rule.

$$\text{Agent} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{permissive agent} \\ \text{causative agent} \end{matrix} \right\} + \text{instrumental}$$

Case grammarians are of the view that the instrumental case is possible only if there is an agent (explicit or implicit) in the same predication, since it is the agent that must use the instrument to perform the action of the verb.

6. (i) There are instances where instruments are associated with passive forms. It can operate on agent, instrument, experiencer, natural force, body-part, etc.

53. (a) *avan takappana:l aṭi paṭṭa:n*
He got beaten by his father

By using the *upayo:kittu* - test we can distinguish clearly the passive constructions from the active instrumentals. Relativisation - test also fails to operate in passive sentences, whereas both the tests operate well in the case of instrumentals.

53. (b) * *avan takappanai upayo:kittu aṭipaṭṭa:n*
(c) * *avan aṭipaṭṭa takappan*

(ii) The same instrumental case marker functions as the causal marker. But here too the above tests that are applicable to active instrumental case will not give any satisfactory answer. For instance,

54. (a) *avan tiruṭiyata:l taṇṭikkappaṭṭa:n*
He was punished because of his stealing

(b) * *avan tiruṭiyatai upayo:kittu taṇṭikkappaṭṭa:n*

(c) * *avan taṇṭikkappaṭṭa tiruṭu*

From the above study, syntactic test in Tamil cannot be applied rigorously because they are all based on surface structures, and surface structures are controlled by both deep and surface constraints. Many postpositions which appear in the surface structure are actually sentences in the deep level. So syntactic tests are secondary, and they yield only an obscured view of the primary (semantic) facts. As a matter of fact the syntactic tests alone are inadequate to determine case grammars. They should be determined on the basis of both syntactic as well as semantic features.

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THE GENITIVE CASE IN TAMIL

S. V. Shanmugam

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

Introduction:

Among all the cases in any natural languages, the genitive is the only case which co-occur always with the noun in the surface level.

1. *pa:ratiya:riṉ pa:ṭalkaḷ*

   The poems of Bharati

2. *avaṉuṭaiya vi:ṭu*

   His house

It is fairly clear now that there is no genitive case in the deep structure and so it has to be derived from other sources.

Genitive behaves as a determiner and it does not allow further embedding of restrictive clauses (Smith, 1967 : 255).

Genitive Markers in Tamil :

Three suffixes, viz. *-atu*, *-uṭaiya* and *-a* can be recognized for the genitive case in the modern standard written Tamil from which all the illustrations are taken for this paper.

3. *kaṇṇaṉatu peruntaṉmai*

   The magnanimity of Kannan

4. *periya:ruaṭiya va:cakaṅkaḷ*

The words of Periyar

5. *ne:rraiya ku:ṭṭam*

Yesterday's meeting

In the modern Tamil, *-a* is restricted to the time nouns.[1] With other nouns, *atu* and *uṭaiya* are in free variation.

6. (a) *eṉatu makaṉ*

My son

(b) *eṉṉuṭaiya makaṉ*

My son

Zero allomorph can be recognized especially with the persona pronoun since the oblique forms can alone be used as the genitive case forms.

7. *eṉ makaṉ*

My son

8. *eṉ vi:ṭu*

My house

One of the features of the Modern Tamil is the employment of *-iṉ* as the genitive case more frequently.

9. *peṟṟo:riṉ kaṇka:ṇippu*

The supervision of the parents

10. *maṅkaḷattiṉ kaṇavar*

The husband of Mangalam

-iṉ is not used as an inflectional increment in Mod. Ta. *i.e.*, it does not occur before case suffixes. The examples like

na:ṭṭiṉai, 'country (acc.)' *kattiyiṉai* 'knife (acc.)', *marattiṉatu* 'of the tree' do not occur in Modern Tamil. However they are not ungrammatical; *-iṉ* can be considered as an increment and zero allomorphs can be posited for the genitive case. This is also confirmed when the derivational history of the genitive suffixes is studied.

-atu is the same as the neuter singular suffix occurring in the finite verb *vantatu* 'it came'. *uṭaiya* is the relative participle form of the verb, *uṭai* 'possess'. As for as the origin of *-a*, there are two possibilities: one is that it is the neuter plural suffix (e.g., *vantaṉ-a* 'they came' and this seems to be view of the most of the traditional grammarians of Tamil); the other is that it is a relative participle suffix (*vant-a* 'that which came'). It is now generally agreed that one of the sources of genitive is the relative clause (for instance, see Stockwell et al, 1973:697) and the latter is accepted in this paper. The zero allomorph should be explained as due to the optional deletion of the suffixes discussed above.

Deep Structure Relations :

There are many genitives which co-occur with the verbal derivatives (for the distinction between the verbal derivatives and verbal nouns, see Caldwell, 1956 : 542) and they can be paraphrased with verbal nouns when the genitives occur only with the other cases.

11. (a) *peṟṟo:riṉ kaṇka:ṇippu*[2]

    (b) *peṟṟo:r kaṇkaṇippatu*

    The supervision of the parents

12. (a) *ma:ṇavarkaḷiṉ po:ra:ṭṭam*

    (b) *ma:ṇavarkaḷ po:ra:ṭuvatu*

    The student's strike

13. (a) *na:ṭṭiṉ pa:tuka:ppu*

(b) *na:ṭṭai pa:tuka:ppatu.*
The protection of the country

14. (a) *ka:ntiyiṉ kolai*

(b) *ka:ntyiaik koṉṟatu*
The murder of Gandhi

15. (a) *a:ttirattiṉ viḷaivu*

(b) *a:ttirattiṉa:l viḷaivatu*
The result of the anger

16. (a) *kattiyiṉ veṭṭu*

(b) *kattiyiṉa:l veṭṭuvatu*
Knife's cut

17. (a) *ko:yiliṉ celavu*

(b) *ko:yilukku celavaḷippatu*
The expenditure of the temple

18. (a) *a:ciriyaratu varuma:nam*

(b) *a:ciriyarukku varuvatu*
The income of the teacher

19. (a) *paḷḷiyiṉ paṭippu*

(b) *paḷḷiyil paṭippatu*
School's education

20. (a) *kampeṉiyiṉ taya:rippu*

(b) *kampeṉiyil taya:rippatu*
The company's product

Note here all the examples of (a) have genitive and the co-occurring nouns are the verbal derivatives, while (b) examples have the different case markers and verbal nouns respectively. In all these examples, (b) forms can be the deep structure and so the genitive in (a) forms can be derived from the underlying cases. Here the genitives are derived from the nominative (11, 12) the accusative (13, 14) the instrumental (15, 16) the dative (17, 18) and the locative cases.

There are some examples of other nouns (i.e., not verbal derivatives) which can also be paraphrased with the verbal nouns and so the genitives co-occurring with those nouns should be derived from the cases occurring with the verbal nouns.

21. (a) *nu:liṉ a:ciriyar*

    (b) *nu:lai eḻutiyavar*

    The author of the book

22. (a) *pe:ra:ciriyaruṭaiya ma:ṇavarkaḷ*

    (b) *pe:ra:ciriyariṭam paṭittavarkaḷ*

    The students of the Professor

23. (a) *eṉṉuṭaiya vakupput to:ḻarkaḷ*

    (b) *eṉṉo:ṭu vakuppil paṭittavarkaḷ*

    My class-mates

24. (a) *vi:ra:ṇa eːriyiṉ niːr*

    (b) *vi:ra:ṇa eːriyiliruntu varuvatu*

    The water of vi:raṇam lake

Here, there seems to be the close semantic ralation between the verbal nouns and the corresponding other nouns (i. e., *eḻutiyavar* 'one who writes' Vs *a:ciriyar* 'author'; *paṭippavarkaḷ*

'those who study' Vs *ma:ṇavarkaḷ* 'students etc.) and so the genitives in (21a) to (24a) should be derived from the underlying cases found in (21b) to (24b) respectively.

One of the major meanings of the genitive is possessive which is further subdivided into two, (1) inalienable possessive and (2) alienable possessive.

This distinction is referred to by the term *taṟkiḻamai* (lit. one's own possession) and *piṟiṯiṉ kiḻamai* (other's possession) from the earliest times (for example, see Tolka:ppiyam-Sutra. 563).

25. *kuḻantaiyiṉ kai*

The hand of the child (inalienable)

26. *kuḻantaiyiṉ pommai*

The toy of the child (alienable)

Inalienable - possessives express concepts that are inherently relational. The relational nouns include mostly the nouns expressing kinships and social relations. Nouns expressing characteristics and nouns expressing parts (in part - whole expressions). It is true that these two possessives are derived from different deep structures and it is not clear that all the inalienable possessives should be derived from one and the same deep structure.

Fillmore (1967 : 66) seems to suggest that the inalienable possessives are derived from the dative case in the deep structure. However the differences between the various inalienable possessives (such as body parts and kinship terms) may be explained by the lexical features of the noun themselves (Ibid. 67).

kuḻantaiyiṉ kai 'the hand of the child' can be derived from *kuḻantaikku kai irukkiṟatu* 'the child has hands' (lit. to the child

(there) are hands) and *kuḻantaiyiṉ pommai* 'the toy of the child' from the locative sentence, *kuḻantaiyiṭam pommai irukkiṟatu* 'the toy is with the child'. But, it should be mentioned that the dative case in general expresses the close relationship or one's own possession while the locative expresses the temporary possession.

26. (a) *murukaṉukku nilam irukkiṟatu*
Murugan has got lands (i.e. landed property)

(b) *murukaṉiṭam nilam irukkiṟatu*
Murugan has lands (i.e. it may be not his own)

Here *nilam* 'land' is an alienable possessive but the dative and the locative express different meanings.

Inalienable possessives can not be referred independently as 'side', 'son', 'face' etc. So, they have to be referred to in terms of some other objects like 'side of something', 'son of some one', etc. So, the head noun should be obligatorily posited in the deep structure. That is the main reason for Chomsky (1972) to consider the inalienable possessives from the determiner in the deep structure.

As far as Tamil is concerned, there are some differences among the various inalienable possessives. To the kinship terms, the deletion of the head noun is less common and the kinship term alone may mean only the first or second person.

27. *appa: irukka:ṟa:*
Is (your) father in station ?

28. *amma: vantirukkiṟa:rkaḷ*
(My) mother has come [3]

In the case of the most of other inalienable possessives, the deletion of the head noun is more common and they can denote all the persons.

When the body nouns expressing parts are used, the head noun may be in the accusative or the genitive case in the surface level. Moreover the head noun may be used as predicate also.

29. (a) *aracaṉuṭaiya kaiyil aṭitta:ṉ*
(Some one) beat on the hand of king

(b) *aracaṉai kaiyil aṭitta:ṉ*
Some one beat the king on (his) hand

30. (a) *aracaṉatu kai*
King's hand

(b) *kai aracaṉatu*
The hand is king's

The noun denoting 'age' has the dative form in the surface level.

31. (a) *kuḻantaiyiṉ vayatu*
The age of the child

(b) *kuḻantaiyiṉ vayatu eṭṭu*
The child is eight years old

(c) *kuḻantaiykku vayatu eṭṭu*
The child is eight years old

(d) *eṭṭu vayatu kuḻantai*
The child of eight years old

If the phrase occurs with a complement, the dative form can also be used.

32. (a) *aracaṉukku kai ni:ḷam*
The hand (is) long to the king

(b) *aracaṉuṭaiya kai ni:ḷam*
The hand of the king (is) long

This can be made into an objectival phrase also: *ni:ḷa kai aracaṉ* 'the king (with) long hands'.

But the nouns denoting 'heights' and 'weights' do not allow the dative case in the surface level. So also, the adjectival phrase can not be formed from them.

33. (a) *murukaṉiṉ eṭai*
The weight of Murugan

(b) *murukaṉiṉ eṭai 40 kilo:*
Murugan weighs 40 kilo

(c) * *murukaṉukku eṭai 40 kilo:*

(d) * *40 kilo: eṭai murukaṉ*

The nouns expressing the colours do not allow only the dative.

34. (a) *pa:liṉ niṟam veḷḷai*
The colour of the milk (is) white

(b) *pa:l veḷḷai niṟam*
The milk is white (in) colour

(c) *veḷḷai niṟa pa:l*
White coloured milk

(d) * *pa:lukku veḷḷai niṟam*

The nouns of tastes can be used as a predicate and as an adjective and they can be paraphrased with a locative.

35. (a) *karumpiṉ iṉippu*

The sweetness of the sugar cane

(b) *karumpu iṉikkum*

The sugar cane (has) sweet taste

(c) *iṉippu karumpu*

Sweet sugar cane

(d) *karumpil iṉippu irukkiṟatu*

There is sweetness in the sugar cane

There are genitives which denote only possessive meaning. For example,

36. *ra:ja:viṉ vi:ṭu*

The house of Raja

37. *eṉ pe:ṉa:*

My pen etc.

express the idea that the head noun possesses the object. (It is true that there are other readings for these sentences and they are taken care of in the next para). These sentences can be paraphrased.

38. (a) *raja: vi:ṭṭai uṭaiyar*

Raja has got a house.

(b) *vi:ṭu rajaviṉatu*

The house is Raja's.

When compared to the inalienable possessives, the head noun is always the agentive and the co-occurring noun is accusative. However the possessive meaning is obtained by the verb *uṭai* 'possess'. But the expression *ra:ja:viṉ vi:ṭu* may have the other readings like the house that Raja constructed/ bought/lived etc. In the first two readings, the relationship between the head noun and the noun other is the same (i. e. accusative) and in the third reading, it is locative. Here the verb necessary for the correct semantic interpretation is deleted in all the cases. Examples of this type are commonly found.

39. (a) *kampaṉatu ra:ma:yaṇam*

Kampan's Ramayana

(b) *kampaṉ eḻutiya ra:ma:yaṇam*
> *kampaṉ ra:ma:yaṇam eḻutiṉa:ṉ*

40. (a) *ra:maṉuṭaiya va:ḷ*

Raman's sword

(b) *ra:man caṇṭaiyiṭṭa va:ḷ*
> *ra:maṉ va:ḷa:l caṇṭaiyiṭṭa:ṉ*

Rama fought with the sword

41. (a) *kaṇṇaṉuṭaiya paḷḷi*

The school of Kannan

(b) *kaṇṇaṉ paṭitta paḷḷi*
> *kaṇṇaṉ paḷḷiyil paṭitta:ṉ*

Kannan read in the school etc.

All these sentences have derived from the relative clause in which the verb is deleted Here the co-occurring nouns have different casal relation in the deep structure.

Notes:

1. There are a few examples like *muṉṉ:iya va:ḻvu* in Mod. Ta and this can mean 'the life of earlier period / place'. That is, it is common to place and time. However this type is less frequent now.

2. Some of the examples have more than one reading and they can be fitted with the other type of cases discussed here.

3. The term *ta:yma:rkaḷe* : 'Oh mothers' is used to address the ladies in general. This may be interpreted either as *eṉakku ta:y po:ṉṟavarkaḷe:* 'they who are like mothers to me' or as general honorific term denoting 'ladies'.

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REFLECTIONS ON TAMIL CASES

A. Kamatchinathan

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY.

The Tamil grammatical tradition which consummated in Tolkaappiyam (Circa 200 A. D.)[1], the most complete and authoritative description of Tamil language and literature that has come down to us from antiquity has all along accorded the case system a pre-eminent position in the gamut of Tamil grammar. This can be very well understood by a close study of Tolkaappiyam which details and describes Tamil Cases and their complete functions very minutely and elaborately both in the *Eḻuttu-atikaaram* (roughly phonemics) and the *Col-atikaaram* (Syntax or syntax-oriented morphemics) to the utmost satisfaction of modern Generative semanticians[2], The very basis of Sandhi[3], the formation of compounds[4] and the structural pattern of Tamil sentences are all built up on the distribution and function of cases. In short, the case system really plays a pivotal role in the Tamil Syntax.

Tamil grammars uniformally list eight cases.

veerṟumai taamee eeḻ eṉa moḻipa

(They) will say that cases are seven (Tol. 92)

viḷi koḷvataṉkaṉ viḷiyoṭu eṭṭee

(They are) eight with the vocative case (Tol. 93)

The eight cases are 1. nominative, 2. accusative, 3. instrumental-cum-comitative, 4. dative, 5. ablative, 6. genitive, 7. locative and 8. vocative.

avai taam

peyar, ai, oṭu, ku,

iṉ, atu, kaṇ, viḷi eṉṉum iirra -(Tol. 64)

(They are the suffixes or endings: 1. *peyar*, 2. *-ai*. 3. *-oṭu* 4. *-ku*, 5 *-iṉ*, 6. *-atu*, *-l aṇ* and 8. *viḷi*.

The theoretical basis of case study is not clear. If the case study is based on meanings the clubbing of both instrumental and comitative meanings into one case[8], and the Case-syncretism[9] are not necessary. If, on the contrary, the formal or structural and functional aspect forms the basis, the instrumental case marker *-aan* need not be covered by the garb of *-oṭu* the comitative case-marker[10] and the establishment of a separate case, namely vocative, which does not perform the general and usual syntactic function of cases may not be justified. There is no uniformity which Tamil Grammars have adopted in giving names to cases. Nominative case is given semantic name, *eḻuvaay* 'place wherefrom action starts' and also it is named after the form-class, namely noun which functions as nominative, *-peyar* 'noun'.[11] Vocative case is called after its meaning *viḷi* 'call'. Moreover all cases are serialized one by one and strongly called by the respective serial numbers. For example the accusative case is called second case and the ablative case is called fifth case.[12] Not only that, each case is called by the respective suffix also. For example the genitive case is called *'atu eṉ veerṟumai'* after its marker *-atu*.[13] Similarly the locative case is called *kaṇ eṉ veerṟumai* after its marker *-kaṇ*[14]. It may be mentioned here that in Tamil Grammar no other grammatical inflections are serialised and named after their serial numbers.[15]

Case relationships are usually expressed by the linguistic units which occur as suffixes. Therefore it is perfectly

appropriate to call the case-markers like *-oṭu* and *-ku* as *-iiṟu* meaning literally 'ending' which occur at the end of nouns, e. g., *paal -oṭu* 'milk -with' *kaṭ -ku* 'toddy -to'. One can even admit calling *viḷi* also as 'ending' because it may be taken as denoting the vocative suffix. But it is beyond one's comprehension why the noun which functions as nominative without overt case-marker is also called 'ending' by Tamil Grammars[16]. Not withstanding this, Tamil Grammars usually list the different case-markers by conveniently omitting not only the nominative case which has no overt marker but also the vocative case which has several markers.

ai, oṭu, ku, iṉ, atu kaṇ, eṉṉum
av aaṟu eṉpa veeṟṟumai urupee
(They) will say that case-markers are six namely *-ai, -oṭu, -ku, -iṉ, -atu,* and *-kaṇ* (Tol. 114)

Added to this is that nominal compound which involves nominative case is called non-casal while other compounds involving the cases from second to seventh are alone called casal-compounds.[17]

Predominantly cases signify the syntactic relationship that exists between nouns and verbal (including appellative) constructions. But that is not the case with the genitive and vocative. The vocative itself functions as a sentence while the genitive connects noun with noun.[18]

Genitive case is adjectival in character semantically signifying the possessor-possessee relationship. Moreover the appearance of the genitive case marker *-atu* can easily remind anyone of the neutral suffix *a - tu* and also tempt people to derive it from deep structure.

kai en-a-tu
hand-(*is*) mine-it

enatu kai
my hand

This interpretation is justified by the fact that the medieval grammars like Nannual classifying the genitive case markers into singular genitive and plural genitive markers call *-atu* as singular genitive case marker. In other words, the possessee is singular the marker is *-atu* and if the possessee is plural the genitive marker is *-a*.

aar-an orumaikku atu-v-um aatu-v-um
panmaikku a-vv-um urupu aam

Regarding the sixth case, *-atu* and *-aatu* are for singular while *-a* is for plural (Nan. 300)

Even though unambiguous literary evidences are not available to substantiate the content of above sutra this gives a clue to the origin and development of the genitive case marker[19]. Besides the above markers *-am*, *-aam* and *-m* are also used in Tamil as genitive case markers.

veep-am puu
neem's flower
aal-am palam
Banyan's fruit
maa-m palam
mango's fruit

kuḷatt-aam kare

tank bank

keṇatt-aam kare

well's side

There is also one more marker used as genitive case marker: *uṭaiya*. This is derived out of an appellative base *uṭai* '(to) possess'. This base is used for the pronominalizing transformation.

itu enn-uṭaiya puttakam

This is my book

itu en-uṭaiyatu

This (is) mine

This type of construction is ambiguous, e. g., *mutt-uṭai ari* 'pearl-have-stone (Cila. 3113)' may mean 'stone which has pearl' or 'pearl's stone'. But there are clear instances where this *-uṭai* functions not as the genitive case marker but as verbal stem. e. g., *yaam uṭai cilampu* 'we having anklet'. To know clearly whether or not the form *-uṭai* is used as genitive case marker, juncture can be utilized. If there is any word-juncture possible preceding the stem *uṭai*, it can be safely concluded that it is not a genitive case marker; otherwise it is a genitive case marker. For example in the construction *tam uṭaiya aḷi*, there can be no word juncture preceding *-uṭaiya*. Therefore here *-uṭaiya* is definitely functioning as a genitive case marker. This construction means 'themselves' merely. It all shows that the genitive case marker might have evolved from a deep structure sentence.

The locative case marker is *-kaṇ*. This is used as a word also meaning 'place'. But in certain places the case construction is nsed as a predicate construction as is the case with the genitive case-construction.

maram viiṭṭiṉ-kaṇ uḷḷatu

tree house-in is -it

maram viiṭṭiṉ-kaṇ-ṇ-atu

tree house-in-it

(The tree is in the house)

Case constructions do not maintain uniformity in the elliptical transformation. Certain case constructions tolerate ellipsis of predicates while others do not.

Comitative:

ammaa eṉṉooṭu irukkiṟaaḷ

mother with-me is-she

ammaa ennooṭu

mother with-me

Dative:

naaṉ viiṭṭu-kku pookiṟeeṉ

I to-house go-I

naaṉ viiṭṭukku

I to-house

Locative:

paṇam paiyil irukkum

money in-bag will-be

paṇam paiyil
money in-bag

Accusative :

naaṉ ciitaiyai kaṇteeṉ
I Sita-acc saw-I

* *naaṉ ciitaiyai*
I Sita-acc

Instrumental :

makkaḷ teertalaal aḻikiṟaarkaḷ
people by-election perish—they

* *makkaḷ teertalaal*
people by-election

In the case of relativising transformation also case constructions behave differently.

Nominative :

kaṇṇaṉ ciilaiyai tiruṭiṉaaṉ
Kannan saree-acc stole-he

cilaiyai tiruṭiya kaṇṇaṉ
(Kannan who stole saree)

Accusative :

kaṇṇaṉ tiruṭiya ciilai
Kannan stealing saree
(Saree which Kannan stole)

Comitative:

kaṇṇaṉ raataavoṭu vantaaṉ
Kannan with Radha came-he

**kaṇṇaṉ vanta raataa*
Kannan coming Radha

Instrumental:

kaṇṇaṉ kattiyaal veṭṭiṉaaṉ
Kannan by-knife cut-he

**kaṇṇaṉ veṭṭiya katti*
Kannan cutting knife
(Knife by which Kannan cut)

kaṇṇaṉ muukkaal aḻutaaṉ
Kannan by-nose wept

**kaṇṇaṉ aḻuta muukku*
Kannan weeping nose

raavaṇaṉ ciitaiyaal aḻintaaṉ
Raavanan by-Sita perished-he

**raavaṇaṉ aḻinta ciitai*
Raavanan perishing Sita

Dative:

kaṇṇaṉ uurukku pooṉaaṉ
Kannan to village went-he

kaṇṇaṉ pooṉa uur
Kannan going village
(Village to which Kannan went)

In passive constructions only nominative case undergoes relativising transformation, but not others.

kaṇṇaṉ paḻattai kattiyaal veṭṭiṉaṉ
Kannan fruit-acc by knife cut-he

paḻam kaṇṇaṉaal kattiyaal veṭṭappaṭṭatu
fruit by Kannan by-knife was-cut-it

kattiyaal veṭṭappaṭṭa paḻam
by-knife being-cut fruit
(fruit which was cut by knife)

**paḻam veṭṭappaṭṭa katti*
fruit being-cut knife

In passive transformations, only transitive verbs can be passivized. It is the passive transformation which distinguishes transitive verbs from other intransitive verbs.

kaṇṇaṉ raataavai tiruṭiṉaṉ
Kannaṉ Radha-acc stole-he

raataa kaṇṇaṉaal tiruṭappaṭṭaaḷ
Radha by Kannan was-stolen

But there are certain transitive verbs which cannot be passivized. They are *O* - '(to) resemble', *pool* ('to) resemble'

kaṇṇaṉ meekattai ottaaṉ
Kannan cloud-acc resembled-he

**meekam kaṇṇanaal okkappaṭṭatu*
cloud by Kannan was resembled -it

kaṇṇan meekattai poolvaaṉ
Kannan cloud-acc will resemble-he

* *meekaṃ kaṇṇaṉaal poolappaṭum*
cloud by-Kannan will-be-resembled.

Like the verbs *pool* and *o*, the verbs *añcu* '(to) fear' is also usually said to have the liability to undergo passive transformation. But there is an evidence in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* against this popular belief.

tiiyavai añcappaṭum (Tiru. 22)
evils will be-feared

Here it must be mentioned that English also has some transitive verbs which cannot be passivized. They are, 'resemble, seem, become, owe, have, possess, equal, weigh'[20].

Case makers may be marked or unmarked in case constructions. Suppose we have a genitive case construction in which the case marker is unmarked. Now we may like to mark the genitive case marker overtly. Here comes a difficulty. We cannot uniformly mark the genitive case marker in all places. The genitive case marker can be overtly marked only if the possessee is non-human; if it is human, on the contrary, it is the dative marker which must be marked in the construction.

paari- viiṭu	—→	*paari-y-aṭu viiṭu*
paari's house	—→	paari's house
paari- makaḷ	—→	*paari-y-aṭu makaḷ*
paari's daughter	—→	paari's daughter
		paari-kku makaḷ
		Paari-to daughter

This is what Tamil Grammars have, since long, been saying[21]. But it is doubtful whether the dative construction *paarikku makaḷ* can give the same meaning which, the genitive construction *paari makaḷ* 'paari(s) daughter' gives. The construction *paarikku makaḷ* really means 'to - Paari daughter'. Moreover there are also other compelling syntactic distributional differences which differentiate *paarikku makaḷ* from *paari makaḷ*.

paari makaḷ piṟantaaḷ means 'paari's daughter was born'. As against this, *paarikku makaḷ piṟantaaḷ* means 'to paari daughter was born'. In addition to this, in *paari makaḷ piṟantaaḷ*, *paari* and *makaḷ* are immediate constituents, whereas *paarikku makaḷ* are not ICs. Therefore *makaḷ paarikku piṟantaaḷ* is possible but * *makaḷ paari piṟantaaḷ* is ruled out. There is however, a chance to justify the native grammarian's interpretation if *paari makaḷ* is expanded as *paarikku uriya makaḷ* 'to - Paari belonging daughter', i. e., 'daughter' belonging to Paari'. If this interpretation is acceptable then the *Vice-versa* referred to in Tol. 582 may also be interpreted in the same way.[23]

aracaaṅka vari, 'Government tax' i.e., 'tax due to the government.' This is traditionally expanded as *aracaaṅkattukku vari*' 'To-govt. tax'. That is not proper expansion. It must be expanded as *aracaaṅkattukku uriya vari* 'to govt. belonging tax', i.e. tax due to the govt. Here, the dative construction can be expanded as a genitive construction also, i.g., *aracaaṅkatt-atu vari* 'Govt's tax'. *kaaṭṭu yaaṉai* 'Jungle elephant'. This is genitive construction according to Tol. This means *kaaṭṭ-atu yaaṉai* 'jungle's elephant'. Tol. says that this construction may be expanded with the locative case marker also. *Kaaṭṭiṉ-kaṇ yaaṉai* 'jungle-in elephant', i.e., 'elephant in jungle'. This locative case expansion is possible only if 'inhabitation,' the one of the several meanings of genitive case, is involved[24]. But here also it is doubtful

whether the locative case construction is equal to the genitive case construction both in meaning and IC relationship. *kaaṭṭatu yaaṉai* can be immediate constituents, but *kaaṭṭiṉ-kaṇ yaaṉai* cannot.

kaaṭṭatu yaaṉai vantatu
Jungle's elephant came-it.
**yaaṉai kaaṭṭatu vantatu*

kaaṭṭiṉ-kaṇ yaaṉai vaṉtatu
Jungle-in elephant came-it

Yaaṉai kaaṭṭin-kaṇ vantatu
'elephant jungle - in came -it'

If *kaaṭṭu yaaṉai* is expanded as *kaaṭṭatu yaaṉai* 'jungle's elephant' and *kaaṭṭiṉ-kaṇ vaaḻum yaaṉai* 'jungle-in living elephant' Tolkappiam is perfectly right in its equation of locative construction with the genitive construction.

What about the ralative chronology of Tamil cases?

Before individual case markers came into existence the syntactic positions of nouns might have alone determined the case functions as is the case with languages like Chinese.[25] Afterwards some nouns might have functioned as case markers but occurring as post-positions which could also occur as free forms. In course of time these nouns might have become case suffixes by losing their freedom of occurrence between potential pauses.[26]

In Latin the ablative case is called sixth case because it was identified by the Latin Grammarian Varrow after the five cases namely nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive

and dative were identified. The Latin instrumental case is called seventh case because it was separated by a grammarian called Quantillisan from the ablative case. [27] Likewise Tamil cases are not only serialized one by one but also called after their respective numbers too. For example the dative case is called as the fourth case and the genitive case as the sixth case. [28] As already said in Tamil Grammar no other grammatical inflections are serialized and named after their serial numbers.

Can we, therefore, on the analogy of the Latin cases, state that the serialization and numbering of Tamil cases also might have originally been motivated by the chronological evolution of Tamil cases? [29] This inference may be at least partly justified by the last and the eighth position being assigned to the vocative case. There are also other valid reasons to say that the vocative case might have been the latest case in the historical evolution of Tamil case system. While describing cases, Tolkaappiyam at first refers to only the first seven cases thereby excluding the vocative case which he refers to only later in a separate Sutra. [30] Vocative case markers are so numerous and much complex that they are separately treated fully in a separate chapter. [31] Unlike other cases vocative case is restrictive in its application, in that, pronouns for example, do not take the vocative case markers. [32] Vocative case does not fluctuate with any other case unlike other cases. Cases usually signify the syntactic relationship that exists between nouns and verbal elements. But that is not the case with the vocative. It itself functions as an utterance but not an IC of any other constituents. As regards the genitive case, barring the comitative case, only the genitive case, but not any other cases can be generated from deep structure. In view of these facts it may be assumed that the genitive and vocative cases might have evolved after all other cases.

With regard to the ablative, it may be suggested that the ablative case might be an off-shoot of the locative case because both the cases share one and the same marker *-in ~-il* and more than that, the ablative sense is predictable on the basis of the co-occurring verbs denoting movements, comparability etc.,[33] even though Tolkaappiyam and other Tamil grammars have preferred *-kaṇ* as the locative case marker.[34] The Sangam Tamil texts have predominantly used only *-in ~ -il* as the locative case marker. Since the marker *-in ~ -il* can function as the instrumental case marker[35] and there is also functional syncretism between the ablative and instrumental cases, the instrumental case might have branched off from the ablative case. Now the nominative, accusative, comitative and locative cases are left out for further investigation.

The comitative case suffix *oṭu~ɔoṭu* 'with' may be related to *uṭaṉ* as was suggested by Prof. Burrow.[36] It means *-oṭu* might have at first functioned as a free form but in the slot of post-position like *meel* 'on' *kiil* 'under'. Moreover, the comitative case is largely derived from two deep structures. Next, can we connect dative case and locative case? Structurally the dative marker *-ku* can be derived from the locative marker *-kaṇ*. This is justified by the synonymity between *aaṅku* 'there' and *aaṅkaṇ* 'that place'; *iiṅku* 'here' and *iiṅkaṇ* 'this place'. There is also functional syncretism between dative case and locative case.[37] It may therefore be assumed that the dative *-ku* might have developed out of the locative *-kaṇ*. Since *kaṇ* is a free form meaning 'location' which might have, in course of time, become a bound form, chronologically it must be posterior to the cases, nominative and accusative. In the Sangam Tamil texts nouns occur more in the oblique forms than in the nominative forms.

The chronological evolution of Tamil Cases may be presented in the following graph: [38]

State	1)	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	2)	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	7	
	3)	1	2	—	—	4	—	—	7	
	4)	1	2	—	—	4	5	—	7	
	5)	1	2	—	3b	4	5	—	7	
	6)	1	2	3a (Soc.)	3b (Inst.)	4	5	—	7	
	7)	1	2	3a	3b	4	5	6	7	
	8)	1	2	3a	3b	4	5	6	7	8

Notes:

1. The Dravidian sound law of palatalization (*c* - <**k* -) gives the clue to fix the date of Tolkaappiyam. Tolkaappiyam retains only palatalized forms. ex. *citar* '(to) split, separate', /-133 (*kithre* 'to split wood', Malt. 1295 DED); cital 'termite' 3 - 574 (*gedal*, etc., Ka. *kezal* id. To. 1296 DED); *cil* some 3 - 536 *cila* 'id' 2 - 168 (*kela*, Ka., Tu. 1308 DED); *cilaittal* '(to) sound, roar' 841. (*kela* Ka. 1308 DED); *ciṟu* - 'small' 2 - 79 (*kiru* Ka. 1326 DED); *ciṉam* 'anger' 3 - 241 (*kiniya* Te. 1332 DED) *ciirtti* 'fame' 2 - 312 (<*kiirtti* Skt) *cem* 'red' 3 - 206 (*kem* Tu. DED); *ceru* 'fight' 1 - 261 (*keral* Ka. 1631 DED); *cey* ('to) do' 2 - 82 (*key* Ka. 1628 DED); *cevi* 'ear' 3 - 271 (*kev* Tod. 1645 DED); *ceṟi* (to) thrust' etc., 2 - 31 (*kiru* Ka. 1648 DED); *ciṟai* 'bankment' 3 - 65 (*kere* Ka. 1648 DED) *ceeri* 'village etc.' 3 - 40 (*keeri* Ka. 1669 DED). Among the Indo - Aryan sources the latest work which quotes the pre - palatalized Tamil forms is the Mahabhasya of Patanjali. Keralah - Mahabhasya 4.1.175 (Keralaputra) Asokan Edicts (*cēra* - (man), ceralar etc). According to the usual view Patanjali

is dated to belong to C. 150 B. C. Here it must be mentioned that Skt. puranas connect Patanjali with Chidambaram, a village in Tamilnad. Like the Sanskrit scholars some Greek travellers have also quoted the Cheras which are as follows :

1. Megasthenes (305 - 295 B. C.) 'Karmoe'
2. Peripulus Maris Erythraei (? - 96 A.D.) 'Kerobothras'
3. Plini (? - 79 A. D.) 'Kelobothras'
4. Ptolemy (? - 163 A. D.) 'Keerobothros'

These foreign notices of the Cheras will safely place Tolkaappiyam in the end of 2nd century A. D.

(Burrow, T. 1968, Pp. 40, 41; Keith, A. B. p. 5; Ayyangar, S. K. 1946, Pp. 3 - 15; Kanakasabai V. 1956, p. 4.; Caldwell, R. 1956, p. 92).

2. The late Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai was the first Tamil Scholar to say that the Collatikaaram in Tolkaappiyam is dealing with syntax though the phrase col-atikaaram literally means word - chapter. (Vaiyapuri Pillai, 1956: 67.)

3. Tol. 1 - 112

4. Tol. 2 - 412

5. It is interesting to notice that the Latin cases accusatives, our accusative case arises from the mistranslation of the Greek aitiatike ptosis, the object case, referring to the recipient of some action caused to happen (*aitia* 'cause'). Varro, who was responsible for the Latin term, appears to have been misled by the other meaning of aitia, accusation or change'. (Robins, 1967:35).

6. Although Tolkaappiyam lists - *oṭu* only as comitative case marker, it has used - *ooṭu* also as comitative case marker with the difference that - *oṭu* occurs before consonants while - *ooṭu* occurs before vowels. (For details see Kamatchinathan, 1967:181).

7. Tamil grammars beginning with Tolkaappiyam usually give *-ku* as the dative case marker. The dative case morpheme has two allomorphs: *kku* ~ *- ku*. Distributionally *- kku* occurs after vowels and *- ku* occurs after consonants. ex. *aanai - kku* 'elephant - to'. *paaṭṭu - kku* : 'song-to' *kaṭu-ku* 'toddy-to' *maṭ - ku*, 'soil - to' *cor - ku* 'word - to' *maar - ku* 'deer - to'. By introducing a sandhi rule

$$\frac{n/l}{ṉ/ḷ} + \text{PP} \rightarrow \frac{r}{ṭ} + \text{P (P means any stop)}$$

-kku and *ku* - can be merged into one and only one allomorph *- kku* whose distribution is as follows :

aanai - kku	→	*aanaikku*
paaṭṭu - kku	→	*paaṭṭukku*
maan - kku	→	*maarku*
col - kku	→	*corku*
kaḷ - kku	→	*kaṭku*
maṇ - kku	→	*maṭku*

(Kumaraswamy Raja, 1969: 845)

Or to save Tamil Grammarians it may be stated that N+Dat→ N+K+KU. This may be acceptable for two reasons.

1. Traditional *- ku* is maintained.
2. *ku* <*-kaṇ* 'place' is justified.

8. *muunraavataṇ urupu aal, aaṇ, oṭu, ōṭu,*
karuvi, karuttaa, uṭaṇ nikaḻvu ataṇ, poruḷ (Nan. 297.)

(*- aal, - aaṇ, - oṭu* and *- ōṭu* are markers of third case denoting instrument, actor, simultaneous action).

9. Case - syncretism means using one case marker in the meaning of another case marker. Tolkaappiyam lists the following case - syncretisms in its collatikaaram.

	1	2	3 (*oṭu*)	3 (*aaṉ*)	4	5	6	7	8
1									
2				x	x	x		x	
3 (*oṭu*)					x				
(*aaṉ*)		x				x			
4		x	x			x	x	x	
5		x			x				
6					x			x	
7		x			x		x		
8									

10. It looks funny that Tolkaappiyam does not include *aaṉ* when it gives the marker of third case - *oṭu* although it refers to it elsewhere (Tol. 2 - 97, 108)

11. *eḻuvaay veeṟṟumai* 'nominative case' Tol. 548 *peyar veeṟṟumai* 'noun case' Veeracooliyam. 29

12. *accakkiḻavikku aintum iraṇṭum*
for fear - denoting word fifth and second (cases)'

13. Tol. 98.

14. Tol. 88.

15. 'Indian thought was fond, at least at one stage, of analysing any study under well-defined and serially numbered aspects. One knows the flair for numbering, for instance, of the saankhya philosophy. The Jains, perhaps had the same tendency and one wonders whether the serial numbering tendency of the various aspects of study in Phonology may not be the contribution of Jain grammarians like Avinayanar and others'. (Shanmugam, 1967: 1).

16. Tol. 2—64. Nan. 291, 295.

17. Nan. 152.

18. Robins, R. H. 1967, Nouns standing in different relations to the verb were designated by the term Kaarakas. The Kaarakas were classified by the different types of relation between the action or process, referred to by the verb and

the denotata of the nouns. 'Agents' and 'objects' were two of them; but the Kaarakas are not to be equated with cases, as normally understood; the Sanskrit genitive in its most general use is not considered to express a Kaaraka, because it relates nouns to nouns as its main, grammatical functions, not nouns to verbs. The exponents of Kaarakas included the case endings of case inflected words, but the same Kaarakas could be expressed in more than one formal structure'. (Robins, 1967: 146)

19. For more details see Sastri, P. S. S. 1930:114.

20. George Lakoff, 1970. 19, 156.

21. *atu en veerrumai uyartiṇai-t-tokaivayiṉ*

atu en urupu keṭa ku-karam varumee

'When a word in the genitive case is followed by an *uyartiṇai* (human) noun, the genitive case marker *-atu* is replaced by the dative case marker - *ku*. (Tol. 2-94.)

22. It is the Naanjilnaad Tamil Dialect which is the only Tamil dialect using the dative suffix in the meaning of genitive case. Agesthialingom, *avaṉ eṉekke makaṉ* 'He (is) my son' 1967.

23. *ku toka varuum koṭai etir kiḷavi*

a poruḷ aaṟaṟkum uriṭum aakum

'The word denoting the recipient of a gift which can afford to have the dative suffix - *ku* dropped may take the sixth (genitive) case-suffix also'. (Tol. 2-99.)

24. *aaṟaṉ maruṅkiṉ vaaḻcci-k-kiḻamaikku*

eeḻum aakum uṟai nilattaaṉa

'The seventh case also may be used instead of the sixth case with nouns denoting dwelling place when its relation to the noun which it qualifies is that of the land inhabitated and the inhabiter' (To. 2-98.)

25. Waterman, John T. 1963 : 35.

26. For example the locative marker *-kaṇ* 'place' is functioning both as free form and post-position in the Sangam Texts. *aṅkaṇ* 'that place' Naṟ. 70-7 *iṅkaṇ* 'this place'; Naṟ-. 70-7; *kaṇ* 'place' Naṟ 125-10; *eṉkaṇ* 'I-in 'Naṟ. 355-10; *viiṭṭiṉ-kaṇ* 'house in' modern Tamil. The same can be said of the genitive case marker *uṭaiya* also.

27. Robins, 1967: 50-53.

28. To . . 1.420; Tol. 2.98. In Sanskrit also cases are called by their respective serial numbers; Sastri. p. 109.

29. The situation is different in Sanskrit. The Sanskri. grammars discuss cases in two aspects, i.e, case meaning and case markers. It is said that the chronological order is maintained when the case-meanings are dealt with while it is not so when the case-markers are dealt with. For more details see Sastri, 1930, P. 109. Subramaniyam, 1973.

30. Tol. 2—62, 63.

31. Tol. 2. 118—154.

32. Tol. 2.137, 142, 143, etc.

33. Caldwell, 1956: 277, 278.

34. In *Naṟṟiṇai* one of the nine Sangam Tamil Texts, *kaṇ* is used only in 3 places as locative marker whereas *-iṉ*~*-il* are used in more than 500 places as locative case-markers.

Ref. A. Kamatchinathan, 1964.

35. Tol. 2. 92.

36. Burrow, 1968: 23.

37. Tol. 2. 110.

38. This is purely a hypothesis badly in need of actual data to substantiate. However it is worth attempting to explore the chronological order in which Tamil cases evolved in course of time.

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THE EXPRESSION OF PATH IN MALAYALAM

K. M. Prabhakara Variar
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

I

Among the case relationships, there seems to be a more or less closed set, the members of which appear to interrelate with one another rather systematically. The set consists of the following four cases: Location, Source, Path, and Direction. All these four cases signify certain relationships along the spatial parameter and therefore, could be conveniently labelled as 'spatial expressions'. In Malayalam the inclusiveness of these four casal relationships is reflected in the surface forms also. The locative case marker is *-il* and the other three casal formations are morphologically complex constructions, in that, for each, a specific secondary marker is added to the locative stem: *muṟi + (y) il + ṉiṉṉə* 'from the room' (source), *muṟi + (y) il + u:ʈe* 'through the room' (path), and *muṟi + (y) il + e:kkə* 'to the room' (direction). That all spatial expressions subsume the notion of location has already been noted by others (Bennett, 1972). A common feature of spatial expressions is that all of them can associate themselves with 'movement verbs' although the strength of associations vary among them. Location and movement verbs are weakly associated; source and direction are strongly linked with movement verbs; and path should necessarily have movement verbs for its realization. We shall be concerned in the following sections with the nature of 'path' and its specific manifestations in Malayalam.

2

There is no need to defend the independent status of 'path' as a distinct case since others have already accomplished it quite convincingly. Our task, therefore, would be to point out certain peculiar semantic and syntactic behaviours of the deep case 'path' with Malayalam exemplifications. As mentioned earlier, path typically takes movement verbs as its predicators:

1. *ka:la:ḷppaṭa marubhu:miyilu:ṭe munne:ṟikkoṇṭirikkunnu.*
   The infantry is advancing through the desert

2. *ra:jan vara:ṇṭayilu:ṭe ṇaṭannu*
   Rajan walked along the corridor

In the above sentences, *marubhu:mi* 'desert' and *vara:ṇṭa* 'corridor' show path relations with the respective verbs. However, the surface expression *-ilu:ṭe* does not always show a path relation in Malayalam. Consider the following sentences :

3. *ña:n janalilu:ṭe avaḷe kaṇṭu*
   I saw her through the window

4. *sukuma:ran fo:ṇilu:ṭe enno:ṭ samsa:riccu*
   Sukumaran spoke to me through the phone

5. *ña:n avaḷilu:ṭe a: rahasyam aṟiññu*
   I knew the secret through her

6. *paṟaññaḷu:ṭe prasiḍḍhappeṭuṭṭiya a: va:ṟṭṭa aḍḍe:ham ṉiṣe: ḍhiccu*
   He denied that news which got published through the newspapers

Apparently, none of the predicators in (3-6) refers to spatial dislocation. Some scholars have considered 'look' and 'see' as verbs of motion (Gruber, 1967). There are others who claim

that the notion of 'movement' should be divided into two as (1) concrete and (2) abstract. Concrete movement refers to the dislocation of a 'concrete object' towards a 'physically definable point'. Abstract movement can be defined as either 'change of possessorship' or 'change of condition' (Ikegami, 1973). In 'spatial expressions' we include only the concrete movement. How can we decide whether a verb belong to the class known as 'movement verbs', or not? If any of the objects represented by an NP in a proposition shows a dislocation as a direct result of the activity denoted by the verb, the verb thus explicitly expressed could be considered as having the semantic feature 'plus movement'. In the above, two conditions are specified for considering a verb as having the feature 'movement'. The object which suffers dislocation should have overt representation in the sentence through an NP ; and the dislocation should be causally related to the activity denoted by the verb. Let us examine sentences (3-6) to determine whether the concerned verbs qualify to be conceived as movement verbs. In (3) none of the three NPs —*ña:n* 'I', *janal* 'window' and *ava!* 'she' — suffers dislocation. In (4) also the same argument holds good. But in (5) we might suppose that *rahasyam* 'secret' has moved from a non-specified source to *ña:n* 'I'. But this spatial displacement is not caused by the activity indicated by the verb *ari-y*—'know' in the sentence. In (6) also, there is no displacement of objects. Let us examine another sentence the interpretation of which brings out our case more clearly.

7. John sent a packet to George through an errand boy.

Obviously, in the above proposition the 'packet' has moved from 'John' to 'George'. One might be tempted to claim that the dislocation of the object 'packet' is caused by the activity of John expressed by the verb 'send'. But a closer scrutiny would reveal that the movement of the packet is really due to the movement of the errand boy and not due

to John's activity. Since there is no mention of the errand boy's movement in the proposition, the sentence does not contain a movement verb. Therefore, the deep case relationship, that is manifested by the surface marker *-iluːṭe* in the above sentences (3-6), is what could be called 'mediation'. The two notions 'path' and 'mediation' are in complementation in respect to their co-occurrence privileges with the verbs. Path entails movement verb whereas mediation presupposes stative verbs.

3

Among spatial expressions, only path is typically inanimate. The others - location, source and direction - can often co-occur with animate nouns as shown below:

8. *aː praṣṭaːvana janaṁṅaḷil amparappə uṇṭaːkki* (location)
That statement created anxiety among people

9. *avanilaiaaə eːkkə onnum kiṭṭaːnilla* (source)
I have nothing to get from him

10. *paṭṭi aṭinte yajamaːnante aṭuṭṭeːkkə oːṭi* (direction)
The dog ran to its master

Sentence (10) may appear to be a case of inanimate noun co-occurring with direction. But the specification of a spatial location in Malayalam sentence along with a non-spatial noun seems to be a surface constraint. The English equivalent of the same sentence supports this assumption. With certain verbs the directional suffix can however be added to non-spatial nouns:

11. *ente śraḍḍha avaḷileːkkə tiriññu*
My attention turned towards her

Sentences of the following type may appear to be contradicting the postulated requirement:

12. *sva:miji janaṅṅaḷkkiṭayilu:ṭe kaiku:ppikkoṇṭə ṉaṭaṉṉu.*

Hands folded, Swamiji walked along the crowd.

Obviously 'Swamiji' in the above sentence cannot walk through the people. The sense conveyed by the above sentence is, therefore, as follows: 'Swamiji walked through the place where people thronged'.

4

Both path and source share a unique privilege. They can occupy the object slots in sentences.

13. *bassə pa:lam kaṭaṉṉu. (pa:laṯṯilu:ṭe)*

The bus crossed the bridge

14. *vima:ṉam oru maṇikkə bo:mbe viṭum (bo:mbeyilṉiṉṉə)*

The plane will leave Bombay at 1 O'clock

In the above, the verbs themselves contain the notion of the respective deep cases (path and source), and henee, the explicit expression of them by overt markers becomes redundant. In English a number of verbs allow path expressions being objectivized (Stratton, 1971:225). But in Malayalam very few verbs like *kaṭakkuka* 'cross' and *kaviyuka* 'overflow' allow objectivization of path. In the paper cited above the following sentence is given as an example of path occupying the surface object position:

15. Salmon swims the Columbia every spring

The sentence cannot be translated by using the Malayalam equivalent for 'swim' (*ṉi:ṉtuka*). The Malayalam sentence would require the explicit expression of the notion of 'crossing' as seen below:

16. *sa:lman ella: vasaṉtaṯṯilum koḷambiya:ṉədi niːṉṯikkaṭakkum.*

5

Path can occur more than once in a simple clause :

17. *vima:nam baṅkaḷu:r kocci vaḻi ti:ruvanan̪tapura̱t̪t̪e:kkə̆ paṟan̪n̪u.*

The plane flew to Trivandrum via Bangalore and Cochin

The earlier assumption of case grammarians that the same deep case cannot occur more than once in a simple predication (Fillmore, 1968) is being contested by many with counter-instances. Fillmore reiterates this one-instance-per-clause principle in a later paper (Fillmore, 1971:248) but seems to have some doubts in the principle when faced with conjoined phrases (Fillmore, 1972:13). It has already been demonstrated that instrument and path cases violate the above principle (Nilsen, 1973 and Stratton, 1971). Furthermore, the locative also appears as phrasal conjunction, the necessary condition being that the conjoined expression should denote a 'successive narrowing down' of location as illustrated by the following sentence :

18. *aya:l pu:n̪to:t̪t̪a̱t̪t̪il oru mara̱t̪t̪inte cuvat̪t̪il irikkukaya:n̪ə̆*

That man is sitting in the park under a tree

If we accept the distinction between phrasal and sentential conjunctions (see Smith, 1969 and Lakoff & Peters, 1969 for details), cases like Agent and Patient (probably others too) can occur more than once each in a simple clause. Such multiple occurrences of the same case can be analysed either as $[N_1+N_2]$ case or as $[N_1]$ case $+[N_2]$ case. If instrument, path and location can have multiple manifestations in a simple clause, on what grounds can we deny the same interpretation for other cases ?

6

In Malayalam path is expressed either by the complex case marker *-ilu:t̪e* (or, *-ilku:t̪i*) or, by the adverbial *vaḻiya:yi* (or, *vaḻi* in abbreviation):

19. (a) *ja:ṯha meyin ṟo:ḍilu:ṭe ṉi:ńńi*
(b) *ja:ṯha meyin ṟo:ḍilku:ṭi ṉi:ńńi*
(c) *ja:ṯha meyin ṟo:ḍ∂ vaḷiya:yi ṉi:ńńi*
(d) *ja:ṯha meyiṉ ṟo:ḍ∂ vaḷi ṉi:ńńi*

The procession moved along the main-road

The conjunction of path expressions within a simple sentence imposes certain restrictions. If more than one path expression are stringed together using the usual conjunctive particle *-um*, the total string will not necessarily give the meaning of successive points in a single route. The sentence below, thus,

20. *mukhyamaṉṯri kocciyilu:ṭe:yum baṅkaḷu:rilu:ṭe:yum ḍelhikk∂ po:yi*

would normally suggest that 'the chief minister took two routes to Delhi, one through Cochin, and the other through Bangalore'. The serial meaning can be brought forth only by converting the whole string into an appositive construction :

21. *mukhyamaṉṯri kocci baṅkaḷu:r vaḷi ḍelhikk∂ po:yi*

The Chief Minister went to Delhi via Cochin and Bangalore

7

Traditional grammars have not recognized 'path' as a distinct case in Malayalam. We have shown that path has specific realizations in the language and has to be included as a separate case in Malayalam.

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INSTRUMENTAL CASE IN MALAYALAM

K. Regu

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

0. INTRODUCTION

0. 1. The relationship which is usually designated by the term instrumentality seems to be a complex one.* Fillmore, in his often-referred paper states: "The Case notions comprise a set of universal, presumably innate concepts, which identify certain types of judgements human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them, judgements about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, and what got changed" (Fillmore, 1968:24).

From the above it should be clear that, for Fillmore deep cases are conceptual notions of 'some sort of dependencies'. The very claim that underlying casal relationships reflect non-linguistic notions of physical or logical dependencies makes it difficult to categorise them within the frame work of a universal grammar. Fillmore in the above paper defines the

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instrumental deep-case as, "the case of inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state defined by the verb" (p. 24). The definition does not speak about a simple conceptual relationship. For instance, causality is included in instrumentality. Can we not consider that these are distinct notions conceptually ?

0. 2. Apparently, what is generally considered as instrumentality, involves various relations which can be semantically differentiated, and perhaps some of them have distinct manifestations at the surface structures of some languages. This is the assumption which led us to examine the so-called instrumental constructions in Malayalam as the following paragraphs will show.

1. PURE INSTRUMENTALS

1. 1. Pure-instrumental is the case of an inanimate object which is used for accomplishing an act. This can be further divided into two: (1) the tool-action relationship and (2) the meterial (object)-action relationship.

1. 2. Tool-action Relationship:

In the tool-action relationship, the execution of an action is being carried out with the help of a tool. The sentences below exemplify this;

1. *ra:maṉ si:taye vaṭikoṇṭə (vaṭiya:l) aṭiccu*
   Rama beat Sita with a stick

2. *a:ša:ri uḷi koṇṭə (uḷiya:l) taṭi paṇitu*
   The carpenter worked on the wood with a chisel

3. *avaḷ pe:ṉa koṇṭə (pe:ṉaya:l) eḻuttə eḻuti*
   She wrote a letter with a pen

One of Fillmore's conditions for instrumentality as seen from the definition quoted above (0. 1), is that an instrument should be an inanimate one. This is applicable only to what we call here, pure-instrumentals. Another feature of the instrument is that it should be controllable or manipulatable also. In other words, items which cannot be manipulated or controlled by organisms cannot be brought under this group. For instance, compare the following examples (4) & (5).

4. *acchaṉ ra:maṉe vaṭi koṇṭə (vaṭiya:l) aṭiccu*
Father beat Rama with a stick

5. * *acchaṉ ra:maṉe maram koṇṭə (maratta:l) aṭiccu*

Here example (5) looks strange in normal circumstances. In such cases where superhuman or supernatural powers are mentioned as agents, the manipulatability condition will not be precise. In mythologies we may find examples like (6):

6. *de:va:suraṉma:ṟ mandara paṟvatatte koṇṭə (paṟvatatta:l) pa:la:ḻi kaṭaññu*
The Devas and the Asuras churned the Palazhi with the mountain Mandara

But even then, unless the conditions are satisfied, the utterences will reflect conceptual incongruency.

1. 3. Material (object) - action Relationship:

Consider the following examples:

7. *a:ša:ri taṭi koṇṭə (taṭiya:l) me:ša paṇitu*
The carpenter made the table with wood

8. *amma ari koṇṭə (ariya:l) palaha:ram uṇṭa:kki*
Mother prepared the snack with rice

9. *ra:maṉ ma:ṟbiḷ koṇṭə (ma:ṟbiḷa:l) p̱ratima niṟmiccu*
Rama made the statue with marble

The difference between the tool-action and material-(object)-action relation is that, in the latter, the concerned noun does not refer to the tool which is used for the execution of action, but refers to the material by which something is made. It is note-worthy that sentences, which contain material (object) - action relationship, can also accommodate tool-action relationship. In such cases the overt expression of the material (object) -action relationship will be in the locative case as shown in the following examples:

10. (a) *a:ša:ri maram koṇṭə (maratta:l) kase:ra paṇitu*
The carpenter made the chair with wood

(b) *a:ša:ri marattil uḷi koṇṭə (uḷiya:l) kase:ra paṇitu*
The carpenter made the chair in wood with a chisel

Another noteworthy feature of the material - (object) - action relationship is that it may lead to the formation of nominal compounds showing a material-product relationship. This will not be possible in tool-action relationship. Thus (10 a) generates the compound *marakkase:ra* 'wooden chair'.

2. CAUSALITY

Consider the following examples :

11. *kaṇṇaṉ kamalayekoṇṭə (kamalaya:l) na:ṇam keṭṭu*
Kannan felt ashamed, because of Kamala

12. *ve:lu ve:dana koṇṭə (ve:danaya:l) piṭaññu*
Velu wriggled with pain

13. *ša:nta santo:ṣam koṇṭə (santo:ṣatta:l) tuḷḷicaːṭi*
Santha gambolled with happiness

The noun phrases in the predicate parts of the above examples show the cause for respective actions. One of the characteristic features of the substantiative which carries causal relationship to the predicate is its 'non-concreteness'. In this respect, this shows a polaric contrast with the pure instrument which is always 'concrete'. But example (11) may give rise to some doubts as *Kamala* is obviously 'plus concrete'. The conceptual interpretation of the above sentence, however, will reveal that *Kamala* in this context refers to *Kamalayuṭe pṟavaṟtti* 'Kamala's activity'.

Therefore, wherever 'plus concrete' nouns appear in causal relationship with their predicates, such constructions are to be analysed as 'the activity of' in the deep structure. An optional transformation will delete the item representing the activity and the casal suffix alone is added to the nouns to produce the surface structure of the nature explicated above. The following substitutability test will bring out the differences between the 'pure instruments' and the 'causality'. In Malayalam causality can be expressed by the post-positional particles : *mu:lam/ka:raṇam/nimittam* 'because of' whereas pure-instrumentals cannot be[1]. Consequently the following sentences where instrumental relationships are expressed, become unacceptable:

1. (a) **ra:maṉ si:taye vaṭi mu:lam aṭiccu*

7. (a) **aš:a:ri kase:ra taṭi mu:lam paṇitu*

3. MEDIATION

The following examples allow a different type of semantie interpretation :

14. *ña:n ra:maṉe koṇṭə (ra:maṉa:l) a: ka:ryam sa:dhiccu*

I achieved the matter through Rama

15. *ša:radakkə malaya:ḷa siṉima: koṇṭə (siṉimaya:l) ne:ṭṭam uṇṭa:yi*

Sarada was benefited through Malayalam films

16. *avaḷ eḻuttu koṇṭə (eḻuttiṉa:l) vivaram aṟiyiccu*

She conveyed the matter through the letter

The surface instrumental expressions in the above examples show neither a pure instrumental nor a causal notion. *ra:maṉ* in (14) acts as mediation to 'my achievement'. Again, substitutability test brings out the contrasts between this interpretation and the previous two (viz. pure-instrument and causality). Sentences (14)-(16) can be expressed by using the suffix *-iluːṭe* 'through' whereas the previous two types cannot be. See below :

14. (a) *ña:n ra:maṉiluːṭe a: ka:ryam sa:dhiccu*
I achieved the matter through Raman

15. (a) *ša:radakkə malaya:ḷa siṉimayiluːṭe ne:ṭṭam uṇṭa:yi*
Sarada was benefited through Malayalam films

16. (a) *avaḷ eḻuttiluːṭe vivaram aṟiyiccu*
She conveyed the matter through the letter

(b) **ra:maṉ si:taye vaṭiyiluːṭe aṭiccu*

10. (b) **a:ša:ri marattilu:ṭe kase:ra paṇitu*

12. (a) **ve:lu ve:daṉayilu:ṭe piṭaññu*

The above usage *-ilu:ṭe* should not be mistaken with its usage in the sense of 'path' which expresses an entirely different notion. The predicate noun-phrases in the following sentences express only the notion of 'path'.

17. *avaḷ vaḻiyilu:ṭe naṭaṉṉu*

She walked through the path

18. *ti:vaṇṭi turaṅkattilu:ṭe po:yi*

The train passed through the tunnel

19. *veḷḷam kuḻalilu:ṭe oḻuki*

Water flowed through the pipe

The suffix *-ilu:ṭe* in the above sentences (17-19) cannot be substituted either by *-a:l* or *-(e)koṇṭə*. Normally nouns in the sense of 'path' occur only with movement verbs. (See Prabhakara Variar: "The Expression of 'Path' in Malayalam", *Dravidian Case System*, Annamalainagar, 1976).

Hence even in sentences like,

20. *avaṉ kaṇṇa:ṭiyilu:ṭe no:kkuṉṉu*

He looks through the spectacles or glass

the complementary noun signifies a mediational relation only.

4. CAPABILITY

Nouns appearing along with the verbs denoting ability like, *kaḻiy-*, *sa:dhikk-*, etc., take instrumental surface feature. But they do not indicate either of instrumentality, causality or mediation.

21. *ennekkoṇṭə (enna:l) atu ceyya:n kaḷiyum*
It is possible for me to do it

The underlying semantic sense conveyed by such expressions as 'capability constructions' of this type can be realized by the dative case markers also as seen below :

21. (a) *atə enikkə ceyya:n kaḷiyum*
It is possible for me to do it

In this case generally a modal is used in the place of verbs.

5. SYNTACTIC TESTS

5. 1. Case-marker Substitutability Test :

Although all the above four classes take the surface instrumental markers *-(e)koṇṭə/ -a:l*, there are some other specific markers which can project only one of the four semantic relationships. The following table illustrates this feature :

Relationship	Common markers	Specific markers
Cl. 1 Pure-Instrumental	*-a:l/ -(e)koṇṭə*	
Cl. 2 Causal	*-a:l/ -(e)koṇṭə*	*mu:lam/ka:raṇam* 'because of'
Cl. 3 Mediation	*-a:l/ -(e)koṇṭə*	*-ilu:ṭe* 'through'
Cl. 4 Capability	*-a:l/ -(e)koṇṭə*	Dative case marker *-kkə/ -nə*

5. 2. Use-with Test :

Both the notions, tool-action and material-action relationship, which are included in pure-instrument, can be expressed by the verb, *upayo:gikkuka* 'use' instead of the casal

markers, *-a:l* or *-(e)koɳṭə*. The formation of the complex structure is as follows:

1. (c) *ra:maɳ vaṭi upayo:giccu + ra:maɳ si:taye aṭiccu =>*
Rama used the stick Rama beat sita

ra:maɳ vaṭi upayo:giccə si:taye aṭiccu
Rama beat Sita by using a stick

This type of paraphrases are found impossible in regard to the other types, viz., causality, mediation and capability.

5. 3. Relativization Test:

Relativization test can be operated only in pure instruments :

1. (d) *ra:maɳ si:taye vaṭikoɳṭə aṭiccu =>*
ra:maɳ si:taye aṭicca vaṭi
The stick which was used for beating Sita

12. (b) *ve:lu ve:dana koɳṭə piṭaññu =>*
**ve:lu piṭañña ve:dana*

16. (b) *avaḷ eḷuttə koɳṭə vivaram aṟiyiccu =>*
**avaḷ vivaram aṟiyicca eḷuttə*[2]

21. (c) *atə ennekkoɳṭə ceyya:ə kaḷiyum =>*
? atu ceyya:ɳ kaḷiyunna ña:ɳ.[3]

. 4. Conjunction Test :

The principle that only the same cases will submit themelves to phrasal conjunctions, can also be used to test the alidity of the four specifications made earlier. In the following

sentences only the first two yield satisfactory results. Whenever two different casal relationships are involved the resulting conjunctions become unacceptable.

22. *a:ša:ri uḷiyum currikayum koṇṭə paṇilu*
The carpenter worked with chisel and hammer

23. *a:ša:ri taṭiyum a:ṇiyum koṇṭə paṇitu*
The carpenter worked with wood and nails

24. **a:ša:ri taṭiyum ko:pavum koṇṭə paṇilu*

25. **atə ra:maṉum ko:pavum koṇṭə ceyya:ṉ kaḷiññu*

6. SEMANTIC TESTS

The following table illustrates the semantic feature constraints for the four types of casal relationships discussed above :

	Animate	Concrete	manipulatable
Cl. 1 Pure Instrument	—	+	+
Cl. 2 Causal	±	—	—
Cl. 3 Mediation	±	±	±
Cl. 3 Capability	±	+	±

7. SOME RESIDUAL PROBLEMS

7. 1. Causal :

The sentence given below does not immediately suggest to have any one of the four relations we have been discussing so far:

26. *ka:ṭə maraṅṅaḷekkoṇṭə (maraṅṅaḷa:l) niṟaññirikkuṇṇu*
The forest is filled with trees

Since both the 'use-with test' and the 'relativization test' cannot produce any acceptable resultant structures as

26. (a) **ka:ṭə maraṅṅaḷ upayo:giccə niṟaññirikkuṇṇu*
(b) *? ka:ṭə niṟaññirikkuṇṇa maraṅṅaḷ*

It is clear that the sentence does not contain an instrumental relationship. The case-marker substitutability test also does not solve the problem :

26. (c) *? ka:ṭə maraṅṅaḷ mu:lam niṟaññirikkuṇṇu*
(d) * *ka:ṭə maraṅṅaḷilu:ṭe niṟaññirikkuṇṇu*
(e) * *ka:ṭə maraṅṅaḷkkə niṟaññirikkuṇṇu*

It is however possible to consider the particular semantic relationship as something very close to 'causality'. Causality can be shown by a noun which is not concrete (See table under 6). Nevertheless, *maraṅṅaḷ* in the above sentence can be interpreted as *maraṅṅaḷuṭe a:dhikyam* 'abundance of trees' in which case the semantic feature constraint will not speak against our assumption.

7. 2. Object.....? Instrument.....?

27. (a) *kuññə pantə kaḷikkuṇṇu*
The child plays the ball

(b) *kuññə pantə koṇṭə kaḷikkunnu*
The child plays with the ball

Does the first of the above sentencs (27.a) convey an instrumental meaning ? It is true that 'ball' in the sentence (27a) can be interpreted as an object with which 'the playing is done'.

The possibility of the same object occurring with the overt instrument marker within the same sentence frame creates some problems. However, the following sentence seems to be pinpointing the difference in the two constructions.

28. *kuññə ba:rrə koṇṭə pantə kaḷikkuṉṉu*
The child plays the ball with the bat

We are leaving such questions open for the present.

8. CONCLUSION

To sum up, the surface instrumental construction in Malayalam has been found to be representing various deeper semantic relationships. Some of these case relationships would probably have legitimate claims to be considerated as independent deep cases.

Notes:

1. George Lakoff (1968): "Instrumental adverbs and the Concept of Deep Structure", Foundations of Language, points out that instrumental may have a purposive action, in which event, it has parallels with *Use*.

   Eg. *ra:maṉ vaṭi upayo:giccu + ra:maṉ aṭiccu* =>
   ra:maṉ vaṭi upayo:giccaṭiccu =>
   ra:maṉ vaṭi koṇṭə aṭiccu

   Here, we can see some kind of co-occurrent relation with instrument and action. Even though we are able to derive the same from two separate sentences, where, one is always complement to the other; i. e , one is tool or material and the other is action *vaṭi upayo:giccu* '(somebody) used the stick' cannot give the specific meaning that it has been used for beating; just like that *ra:maṉe aṭiccu* '(somebody) beat Rama' cannot mean always 'beaten with stick'.

Charles James Bailey (1970) : "The Instrumental Case" Working Paper-Hawaii No. 29, goes some more deeper and he correlates the 'cause' and 'instrument'. He quotes the same example of Lakoff 'Seymour cut the Salami with a knife' and interprests as follows :

Seymour *Caused* knife to cause the Salami to be sliced

2. Though it seems to be acceptable, the meaning is not same

3. ? denotes doubtful sentence. In most cases the Dative case can be relativized.

4. Structurally possible, but semantically it does not have the meaning as in (26).

References :

Bailey, 1970. 'The Instrumental Case' Working Papers - Hawaii. No. 2-9 and 2-8.

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PSEUDO-DATIVES IN MALAYALAM*

P. T. Abraham

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

1. In the present paper an attempt is being made to postulate that there is a class of verbs in Malayalam whose underlying (logical) subjects take dative case markers when they appear in the surface level. For the sake of convenience the term "Pseudo-Datives" is used to refer to such dative constructions. This phenomenon is found in almost all major Dravidian Languages, although, some differences in the details of such expressions may be found in individual languages.

2. This phenomenon has not escaped the notice of the traditional grammarians, although, none of them have convincingly explained this syntactic peculiarity. Gundert mentions that verbs of obtaining, verbs denoting incidents to the body as well as to the soul, and verbs of enduring, bearing, forbearing, etc., will occur without nominatives. (Gundert, 1962:189-190). George Mathen observes that for certain stative verbs, the subjects would not be expressed

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explicitly and he calls them 'impersonal nouns' (George Mathen, 1969:115). According to him, nouns being expressed as affected by feelings will take dative case markers and those being affected by body changes will take accusative case markers (ibid.). Rajaraja Varma points out that there are certain verbs which do not presuppose actors or agents. When such verbs are used, their subject positions will take dative nouns i.e. nouns with dative case markers (Rajaraja Varma, 1969:189). It is clear that none of the above observations solves the problem.

3. All the verbs denoting agentless activities do not behave in the same way as mentioned above. In the following sentences, the activities as represented by the verbs do not require agent - initiations. Yet, the subjects in all of them are expressed in the nominative.

1. *ñaan ṉaṭuṅṅi*

   I was shocked

2. *avaḷ amparaṉṉu*

   She was perplexed

3. *ayaaḷ peeṭiccu*

   He feared

4. *kuṭṭi mayaṅṅi*

   Child became unconscious

5. *ayaaḷ aaśvasiccu*

   He felt relieved

4. Now, the question arises, whether such nouns with dative case markers can be the surface manifestation of the logical (underlying) subjects. Nobody will hesitate to accept the nouns in sentences (1-5) as subjects. One of the reasons for treating them as subjects is probably their surface appearance in the nominative case. It can be noticed that all the verbs in the above sentences are having the features (+stative) and (-self-controllable).

5. Consider the following sentences :

6. *enikk ə kai ṉiiṟi*

I (dative) hand experienced pricking pain

I had a pricking sensation on my hand

7. *enikk ə kaal ə poḷḷi*

I (dative) leg experienced burning

My leg got burnt

8. *enikk ə ṉoṉtu*

I (dative) got pain

I was pained

9. *enikk ə daahiccu*

I was thirsty

10. *enikk ə toṇṭa kaaṟi*

I (dative) throat parched

My throat got parched

11. △ *enikk ə viḷampi*

(Someone) served me food

12. △ *enikk ∂ paṇiṯu*

(Someone) worked for me

13. △ *enikk ∂ taṉṉu*

(Someone) gave me

14. △ *avan ∂ koṭuttu*

(Someone) gave him

A comparison of the dative realizations in (6-10) and (11-14) will show that the underlying structures of the two sets differ significantly. This will be clear when we compare them with the following sets (15-19) and (20-23).

15. *enṟe ṉiiṟṟal*

My pricking pain

16. *enṟe poḷḷal*

My burning

17. *enṟe ṉomparam*

My pain

18. *enṟe daaham*

My thirst

19. *enṟe kaaṟal*

My itching sensation

20. *enṟe viḷampal*

My serving (food)

21. *enṟe paṇi*

My work

22. *enṟe tarav ∂*

My giving

23. *avanṟe koṭukkal*

His giving

It is clear that the genitive constructions, (15-19) are related to the corresponding dative constructions, (6-10). But the genitive constructions (20-23) are not related to the corresponding dative sentences (11-14). Instead, they are related to the nominative sentences (24-27) respectively.

24. *ñaan viḷampi*

I served

25. *ñaan paṇitu*

I worked

26. *ñaan tannu*

I gave

27. *avan koṭuttu*

He gave

This peculiar behaviour of the above constructions can be taken as a strong evidence for considering *enikk ∂* 'for me' in sentences (6-10) as surface manifestations of the underlying subject *ñaan* 'I'. Since constructions (11-14) are not related to (20-23) nor to (24-27), the dative forms in them should be considered as representing dative relationship even in the underlying structure.

6. The following pairs of sentences (28-31) testify the possibility of nominative and dative constructions occurring side by side without affecting any meaning change.

28. (a) *enikk ə viyaṟttu*
I (dative) sweated

(b) *ñaan viyaṟttu*
I sweated

29. (a) *enikk ə viṟaccu*
I (dative) shivered

(b) *ñaan viṟaccu*
I shivered

30. (a) *enikk ə vallaate visaṉṉu*
I (dative) badly felt hungry

(b) *ñaan vallaate uisaṉṉu* [2]
I badly felt hungry

31. (a) *enikk ə at ə iṣṭapeṭṭu*
I (dative) liked it

(b) *ñaan at ə iṣṭapeṭṭu*
I liked it

Here certain options in the choice of cases are found, but the choices have no semantic consequences. This enable us to say that occurrences of dative nouns as subjects cannot be a syntactic contravention in Malayalam.

7. Compare the following recurring constructions (32-35) and their corresponding source sentences (36-39).

32. *ñaan daahiccu valaññu*
I, having felt thirst, became tired

33. *ñaan nonṯu karaññu*
I having ached, cried

34. *avan poḷḷi mariccu*
He, having burnt, died

35. *avan veedaniccu piṯaccu*
He, having felt pain, wriggled

36. (a) *enikk ∂ daahiccu*
I (dative) experienced thirst

(b) *ñaan valaññu*
I became tired

37. (a) *enikk ∂ nonṯu*
I (dative) ached

(b) *ñaan karaññu*
I cried

38. (a) *avan poḷḷi*
He (dative) experienced burning

(b) *avan mariccu*
He died

39. (a) *avan ∂ veedaniccu*
He (dative) felt pain

(b) *avan piṯaccu*
He wriggled

The deletion of *enikk ∂* 'for me' and *avan ∂* 'for him' are found possible because the underlying subjects of sentences (36a) and (37a) as well as (38a) and (39a) are *ñaan* 'I' and *avan* 'he' respectively. If the underlying subject of (a) -sentences and (b) -sentences are not coreferential the

embedding and deletion are blocked. This speaks strongly in favour of our hypothesis. It is also interesting to note that the verb in (b) -sentences above (except *karaññu?*) are also having the features (+ stative) and (—self-controllable).

8. Consider the following pair :

40. (a) *enikk ∂ kaḷiññu*
I (dative) could (do)

(b) *ennaal kaḷiññu*
By me could (do)
It was possible for me (to do)

The sentences in the above pair are semantically identical. If the (b) -sentence really shows instrumental meaning we could expect the presence of an implicit agent in it. But it could be seen that such expressions as (41) and (42) are not possible.

41. **avan ennaal kaḷiññu* [3]
He by me could (do)

42. **avan enne koṇṭ ∂ kaḷiññu*
He by me could (do)

Hence, it should be concluded that in the sentence (40 b) the noun with instrumental case marker is the underlying subject. If so in the case of the synonymous construction with dative case marker also, the same conclusion has to be reached at.

9. In Tamil, a close relative of Malayalam, the following sentences (43-45) which are synonyms are found to be acceptable [4], albeit, dialectal variations.

43. *naan ceyya muṭiyaatu*

I cannot do it

44. *enakku ceyya muṭiyaatu*

I (dative) cannot do it

45. *ennaale ceyya muṭiyaatu*

I (instrumental) cannot do it

46. **ñaan ceyyaan kaḻiyilla*

I cannot do it

47. *enikkə ceyyaan kaḻiyilla*

I (dative) cannot do it

48. *ennaal ceyyaan kaḻiyilla*

I (instrumental) cannot do it

The existence of a construction like (43) in Tamil is a further evidence for the claim that *ñaan* 'I' must be the underlying subject of the sentences (47) and (48).

10. In sentence (49), two datives are used in a simple sentence which is rather unusual. (50) and (51) are parallel constructions.

49. *enikkə atinə kaḻiññu*

I (dative) it (dative) could (do)

50. *ennekoṇṭə atinə kaḻiññu*

By me it (dative) could (do)

51. *ennaal atinə kaḻiññu*

By me it (dative) could (do)

I could do it

Each case relationship occurs only once in a simple sentence (Fillmore 1968:21). The reason for the synonymity of sentences (49), (50) and (51) can be attributed to the Pseudo-dative construction *enikkə* 'for me' which must be the surface manifestation of the underlying subject *ñaan* 'I' as mentioned earlier.

11. When we suggest the deep structure for the Pseudo-dative constructions, we have to set up some hypothetical forms in order to decompose the verb [5]. For the following constructions (52-54), which are synonyms, we can set up a deep structure like (55).

52. *enikkə kai ṉiiṟuṉṉu* (same as 6)

1 had a pricking sensation on my hand

53. *enikkə kayil ṉiiṟṟal uṇṭə*

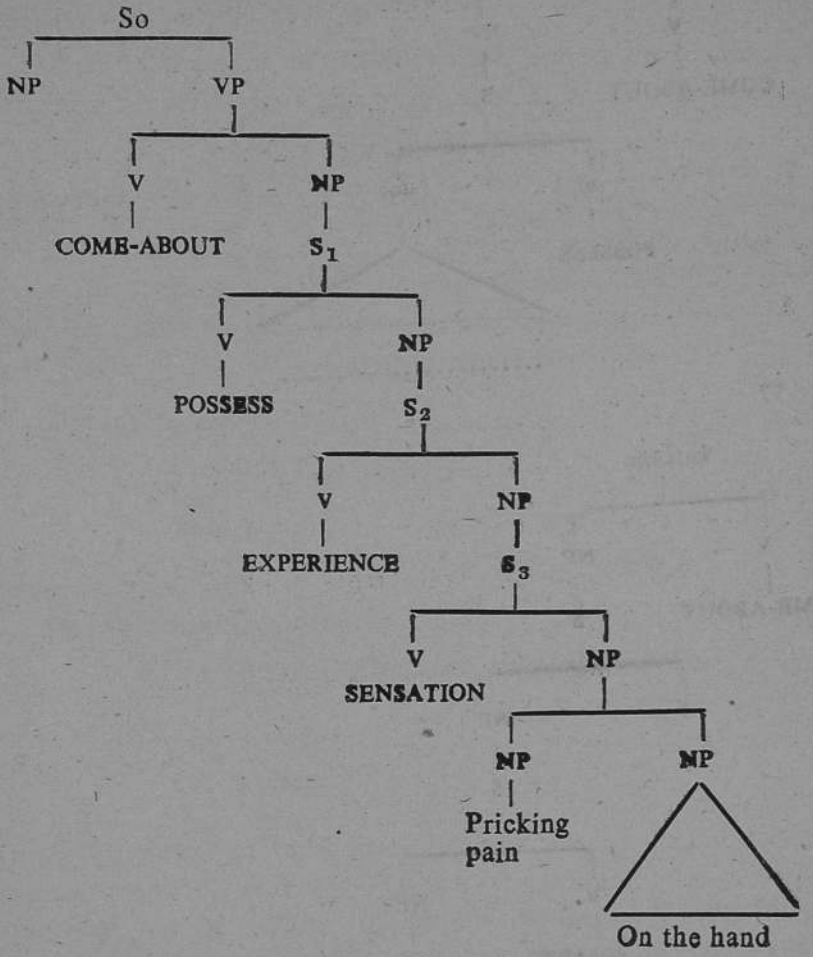
I have a pricking sensation on the hand

54. *ñaan kayil ṉiiṟṟal uḷḷavan*

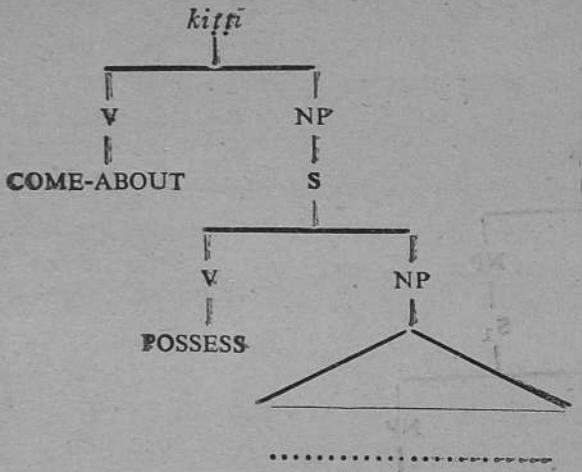
I am one who is having a pricking sensation on the hand.

All the verbs coming under the category (see appendix) can have parallel deep structure like (55). Similarly the verbs belonging to the category (2) and (3) can be decomposed as (56) and (57) respectively.

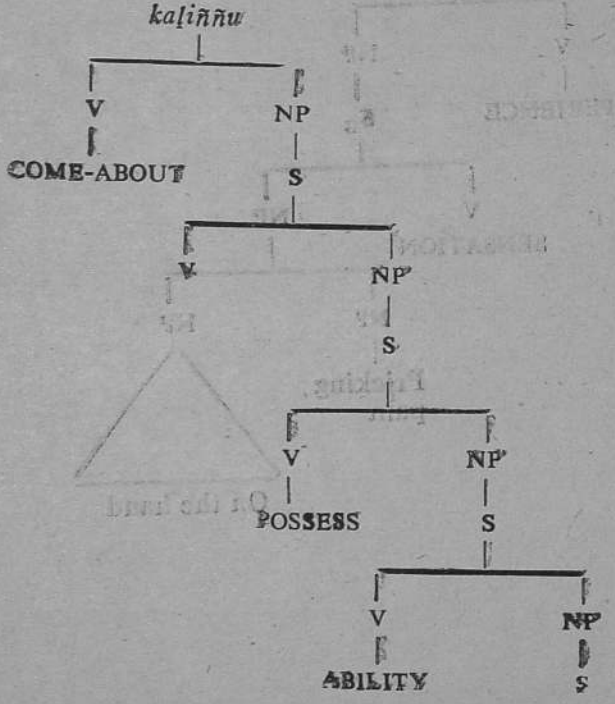
55.


So
NP
VP
V
NP
COME-ABOUT
S1
V
NP
POSSESS
S2
V
NP
EXPERIENCE
S3
V
NP
SENSATION
NP
NP
Pricking pain
On the hand

56.


kiṭṭi
V
NP
COME-ABOUT
S
V
NP
POSSESS

57.


kaḷiññu
V
NP
COME-ABOUT
S
V
NP
S
V
NP
POSSESS
S
V
NP
ABILITY
S

By appropriate transformational processes we can derive the required surface structures from the above mentioned deep structures.

12. The presence of POSSESSIVE among the 'semons' (semantic properties) of the verb may be one of the reasons for their subjects taking dative case markers.

13. Some (—self-controllable) verbs which are agentless can show non-stative activities. In such cases the two sets belong to semantically differentiated classes. Thus (58) and (59), the verbs in (a) - sentences are (+ stative) while the same verbs in the (b) - sentences are (—stative):

58. (a) *enikkə piṭiccu*
I (dative) liked

(b) *ñaan piṭiccu*
I held

59. (a) *enikkə coṟiññu*
I (dative) experienced itching sensation

(b) *ñaan coṟiññu*
I scratched

These two classes of verbs have different surface manifestation as seen above. This peculiar semantic nature of the verbs concerned can be another reason for the dative manifestation of semantic subjects. It is not very clear, however, what this semantic peculiarity is, although, some tentative suggestions are made in the earlier section.

14. Let us examine the possibility of an alternate proposal. In sentences (6-10), could we say *kay* 'hand',

kaal ə 'leg', etc, are underlying subjects? Such a proposal can be refuted with the following expressions

60. *enṟe kayyile ṉiiṟṟal*

The burning sensation on may hand

61. *enṟe kaalile poḷḷal*

The burning on my leg

Although there are expressions where location cannot be assigned, the above possibility is undoubtedly an indication that items being discussed are not deep level subjects.

15. In the following sentences, where some transitive verbs are exemplified, the objects slots are overtly filled up.

62. *enikk ə avane piṭiccu*

I (dative) liked him

63. *enikk ə avane boodhiccu*

I (dative) approved him

64. *enikk ə raṇṭ ə tattakaḷe kiṭṭi*

I (dative) got two parrots

16. The present study does not claim to have dealt with the problem exhaustively. There are many other constructions in Malayalam *uṇṭ ə* 'be' (existential), *vayya* 'cannot (do)', *mati* 'enough', *pookaam* 'can go', etc) where dative noun phrases are possible in the subject positions. An elaborate examination of all these constructions will be worth an attempt.

Notes :

1. *enṟe paṇi* 'my work' can be related to two different sources (a) and (b)

   (a) *ñaan paṇiyunnu→enṟe paṇi*

   I work My work

   (b) *enikk ə paṇi uṇṭə→*

   enikk ə uḷḷa paṇi→ *enṟe paṇi*

   I am one who is having work My work

   In our discussion we are referring to the relation shown in (a).

2. This usage is found in the dialects of Central and Southern Kerala.
3. See also S. Agesthialingom. 1973.
4. S. Agesthialingom 1967, p. 106
5. S. Agesthialingom (personal communication)

Appendix :

Category - I

iṣṭapeṭuka	like
eriyuka	experience hot taste
kaaṟuka	experience itching sensation (throat)
kaḻaykkuka	experience pain
kuḷiruka	feel chilly
kooccuka	freeze
cucḻucuḻukkuka	feel pain
coṟiyuka	to feel itching sensation
taṇukkuka	experience cool
taḻaruka	be fatigued
daahikkuka	experience thirst
ṉiiṟuka	experience burning sensation
ṉoovuka	experience pain

piṭikkuka	like
poḷḷuka	burn
boodhikkuka	approve
maravikkuka	be numbed
rasikkuka	enjoy
viśakkuka	experience hungry
veedanikkuka	pain

Category - II

kiṭṭuka	get
toonnuka	feel
narakkuka	become grey
naṣṭapeṭuka	lose
manassilākkuka	understand
labhikkuka	get

Category - III

okkuka	be able to
kaḻiyuka	be able to
paṟṟuka	be able to
saadhikkuka	be able to

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CASE SYSTEM OF KANNADA

William Madtha,
KARNATAK UNIVERSITY, DHARWAR

Case in Kannada may be analysed as *ka:raka* 'the deep case' and *vibhakti* 'the surface case'. The former may be adequately defined as the deep or underlying semantic ralationship of the noun phrase (NP), to the verb in a sentence. The latter, however, is the realization of the *ka:raka* in the surface structure signalled through overt-markers which may be suffixal or non-suffixal.

Ka:raka in Kannada :

The present study, which is by no means an exhaustive one, shows nine *ka:raka* relations in Kannada. They are named as the agentive, affective, effective, instrumental, ablative, dative, directive, sociative and locative.

Agentive : The agentive is defined as the actor relationship of NP with the verb. This means to say that the action denoted by the verb is dependent upon the NP for its accomplishmet.

1. *ši:la o:dutta:ḷe*

   Sheela reads

2. *si:la o:ḍutta:ḷe*

   Sita runs

In the above sentences the actions expressed by the verbs *o:dutta:le* 'reads' and *o:ḍutta:le* 'runs' are dependent upon the nouns *ši:la* and *si:ta* respectively. Hence they are in the agentive relation with the verbs in respective sentences.

Agentive is the most important *ka:raka* as there can be no deep sentence in Kannada without it. At the surface level it is expressed either in the *prathama*, if the sentence is active or in *triti:ya* if it is passive. [1]

3. *ra:ma ra:vaṇanannu kondanu*
   Rama killed Ravana

4. *ra:manninda ra:vaṇa kollalpaṭṭanu*
   Ravana was killed by Rama

The NP *ra:ma* is in the agentive case but expressed in the *prathama* in sentence (3) and in the *triti:ya* in sentence (4) since the former is in the active and the latter in the passive form.

Affective : The affective indicates an inanimate or animate object which is affected by the action identified by the verb. This case reflects through *dviti:ya vibhakti* at the surface level.

5. *kannaḍigaru tamiḷarannu pri:tisutta:re*
   The Kannadigas love the Tamilians

6. *tere:za ge:rannu tinnutta:le*
   Teresa eats a cashew-apple

In the sentences 5 and 6 the NP *tamiḷar(u)* and *ge:r(u)* are affected by the action pointed out by the verbs *pri:tisutta:re* 'love' and *tinnutta:le* 'eats' respectively. Hence these NPs are in affective relation with the verbs.

Effective : The effective indicates an object or being which is resulting from the action identified by the verb.

7. *kumba:ra maḍak-yannu ma:ḍutta:ne*

The potter makes a pot

In this sentence *maḍake* 'a pot' is an object which is resulted [2] from the action signalled by the verb *ma:ḍutta:ne* 'makes'.

The effective too like the affective is represented 'superficially' by the *dviti:ya vibhakti* as it is manifestly clear from the overt-marker *-annu*.

Instrumental : The instrumental is understood as the force or object by means of which the actor performs the action indicated by the verb. In actual sentence this case is realized as *triti:ya vibhakti*.

8. *kattiyinda ko:ḷiyannu kaḍide*

I cut the fowl with a knife

9. *magḍale:naḷu bhaktiyinda muktiyannu paḍedaḷu*

Magdalen obtained salvation because of (i. e. by means of) devotion

Ablative [3]: The ablative denotes the movement away from a fixed point which is identified by the verb.

10. *na:nu mangḷu:rinda viṭḷakke he:de*

From Mangalore I went to Vittal

In this sentence, *mangḷu:rinda* is in ablative case as the NP *mangḷu:r* (*u*) is in ablative relationship with the verb. The same *vibhakti* which expresses the instrumental, namely, the *triti:ya* manifests also the ablative at the surface level.

Dative : The dative indicates the recipient of the object of the action which is identified by the verb. *caturthi* is the appropriate *vibhakti* for it.

11. *aruḷappanu tannanne: sva:mige arpisidanu*

John offered himself to the Lord

In the above sentence *sva:mi* 'the Lord' is the receiver and thus is in the dative relationship with the verb.

Directive : The directive expresses the direction of the movement, in space or time, identified by the verb.

12. *ni:vellaru nanna manege banniri*

Please all of you come to my house

13. *na:lku ghaṇṭege banni*

Come at 4.00 O'clock

In sentence (12) the movement is directed in space, whereas in sentence (13) it is in the time dimension. At the surface level like the dative, the directive too is expressed through the *caturthi vibhakti*.

Sociative : The sociative expresses the association of someone in the fulfillment of the action which is identified by the verb.

14. *si:teyoḍane ra:ma ka:ḍige ho:da*

Rama went to the forest (accompanied) with Sita

15. *sva:mi: nammoḍaneye: iru*

O Lord, be with us always

The action of going in the sentence (14) and the action of living or being in the sentence (15) are not fulfilled singly but with the co-operative involvement of inseparable nature.

It may be noted here that a sentence like *ra:manu: si:teyu: ka:ḍige ho:daru* 'both Rama and Sita went to the forest' will be semantically quite apart from the sentence (14). This case is realized at the surface level as *pañcami* not, however, in the traditional grammatical connotation.

Locative : The locative denotes the locus of the action in space or time identified by the verb.

16. *mo:hana mayda:ninalli bidda*

Mohan fell in the play-ground

17. *avanu a:ḍuva samayadalli bidda*

He fell while he was playing

In sentence 16 *mayda:nu* is the locus in space-dimension for the happening of the action. In the next sentence, however, the NP *samaya* expresses the locus in time-dimension. As both NPs are denoting locus of the action they are in the locative relationship with the verb.

CONTROVERSIAL CASES

When we go through the grammatical literature of Kannada we find some cases such as vocative, genitive, purposive, causal and sensory which could not find any place in the list of cases mentioned above. Hence they are considered here separately.

Vocative : Ke:ši ra:ja: though mentions about vocative (see Narasimhachari, 1964 Sutra: 134 to 136) has not given it the honour of a case in his grammatical treatise *S'abda maṇi darpaṇa* (*Ibid.*, sutras 103 & 137). Unfortunately, in some school grammars (Pujar, 1949 : 15) and even in some of the recent standard grammatical works *Kannada Kaipiḍi*, 37 & 342., Nagarajaiah Hampa, 1972:212., Spencer, Harold, 1950:36.) vocative has been accepted implicitely or explicitly as a case. No reason

for the inclusion of this case has been given by them. There are a few scholars however, who don't accept this view. (Mulabagal, 1924; Kulakarani, 1967., Nayak, 1967; and Gowda, 1972).

I am of the opinion that vocative is neither a *ka:raka* nor a *vibhakti*, as it does not express any semantic relationship of NP with verb either at deep level or the surface level. Vocative is simply attention drawer+agentive. eg. *ra:man* = > *ra:mane*:

Genitive: Though the author of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* flatly refuses the genitive as a deep case, accepts it as surface one (Narasimhachar, 1694: S. 103, 143). Among the modern authors however there are two schools. Some (Mulabagal,1926) accept Ke:sira:ja:'s view and others (Pujar, 1949., Spencer, 1950., Mysore University, 1955 and Nagarajaiah, 1972) accept the genitive as a case without making any distinction of levels. Gowda accepts the genitive case because according to him, "it shows either the other casal relations, or has the relative (adjectival) participle as the basic sentence" (Gowda, 1972: 403-4). From this statement the following points can be derived:

(a) At the deep level there is no specific genitive relationship between NP and the verb. So, there is no genitive case.

(b) At the deep level genitive may be present as adjectival participle i. e., not as a case.

(c) Number of deep cases are represented (*Ibid.* 402), at the surface level through a marker, which perhaps is called genitive.

We can legitimately conclude from the above considertations that genitive is not a *ka:raka* but may be a *vibhakti*. Is it a *vibhakti*? Yes, if it represents one or more *ka:rakas*.

Let us observe the following sentences :

18. *idu nanna mane*
This is my house

19. *adu cinnada baḷe*
That is a golden bangle

20. *hanumanta de:vara bhaktaru innu: idda:re*
The devotees of Hanumanta are still there

21. *hu:vina to:ṭadalli nannavaḷu kuḷitidda:ḷe*
My lady is seated in the flower-garden

22. *kla:sina horage ho:gu*
Get out of the class !

23. *iṅgli:ṣu: bha:ratada bha:ṣe*
English too is a language of India

In the sentences 18 to 23 the underlined words are in the so called genitive. At the deep level however they are different:

18. (a) *idu na:nu kaṭṭida mane.* (Agentive)
This is the house which I have built

19. (a) *adu cinnadinda ma:ḍida baḷe* (Instrumental)
That is a bangle made out of gold

20. (a) *hanumanta de:varige innu: bhaktariddа:re* (Dative)
Devotees to God Hanumanta are still there

21. (a) *hu:vina to:ṭadalli nannavaḷu kuḷitidda:ḷe* (Adjectival)
My lady is seated in the flower-garden

22. (a) *kla:sindu* : *horaga ho:gu* (Ablative)
Get out from the class

23. (a) *iṅgli:ṣu* : *bha:ratadalliruva bha:ṣe* (Locative)
English too is a language which is in India

From the above sentences it is clear that the genitive represents several cases at the surface level. Hence we may conclude legitimately that the genitive is a surface case, though not a deep one. In other words the genitive is not a *ka:raka* but a *vibhakti* and in our list it is known only as *ṣaṣṭhi vibhakti* 'sixth surface case' and not as a genitive. In short, there is no genitive case but only a *ṣaṣṭhi vibhakti*.

Purposive : Some scholars distinguish the purposive from the dative.

24. *vilyamanu a:stige a:ru sa:vira ru:pa:yi koṭṭa*
William gave Rs. 6,000 for the property

Here *a:sti* 'property is not the receiver of the money. So it is not in the dative relation. "Hence the sentences of this type i. e., the sentences where the noun with dative marker is not the actual receiver of the thing transferred should be distinguished as the dative of purpose" argues Gowda (Gowda, 1972:349).

The semantic interpretation of the sentence 24 is as follows :

24. (a) *vilyamanu obbanige a:ru sa:vira ru:pa:yi koṭṭa*
William gave someone Rs. 6,000

vilyamunu avaninda a:stiyannu paḍedu koṇḍa
William obtained the property from him
=>*vilyamanu a:stige a:ru sa:vira ru:payi koṭṭa*

At the deep level there are two sentences and in both the concerned NP is in the affective case relation. Hence the purposive case has no existence at the deep level.

Causal : The causal was distinguished as a separate case for the first time by Gowda as far as Kannada grammar is concerned. (Gowda, 1972:339).

25. *ra:maninda nanage ha:ni a:ytu*
Because of Rama some damage has occured to me

Semantically this sentence may imply the following :

25. (a) *ra:ma nanage ha:ni ma:ḍida*
Rama did some damage to me

(b) *ra:ma nanage ha:ni ma:ḍisida*
Rama did damage to me by someone

This sentence may be taken as the result of the following two sentences :

i. *ra:ma nanage ha:ni ma:ḍalu obbanige he:ḷida*
Rama told someone to damage me

ii. *avanu nanage ha:ni ma:ḍida*
He did some damage to me
=> *ra:maninda nanage ha:ni a:ytu*

25. (c) i. *ra:ma kriṣṇana vayri*
Rama is an enemy of Krishna

ii. *ra:manige oḷḷeyadannu ma:ḍide*
I did some good to Rama

iii. *kriṣṇa nanage ha:ni ma:ḍida*
Krishna did some damage to me
=> *ra:maninda nanage ha:niya:ytu*

In the deep levels of sentence 25, the NP in question namely *ra:ma* is either in the agentive (25a, 25b.i, 25c.i) or in the dative (25c.ii). At the surface level we find the *triti:ya vibhakti*. Hence we may conclude that the causal is a pseudo case.

Sensory Case : Gowda has made an attempt to recognize sensory case as a separate one. He says that "The sociative, is distinct from what we may call, the sensory case, *kaṇṇim* 'through the eyes', *kiviyim* 'through the ears' etc., because these nouns occur with verbs of experience like *no:ḍu* 'see', *ke:ḷu* 'hear' etc..." (Gowda, 1972:342).

It is my feeling that we can include this case in the instrumental itself as functionally both are instruments though their nature is different. But we bother only about the function and not their intrinsic nature.

The conclusion is that the controversial cases are legitimately dispensed with from our list of cases.

Vibhakti in Kannada : As *vibhaktis* represent the *ka:rakas* at the surface level they are rightly called as surface cases. *Vibhaktis* are traditionally nomenclatured in Kannada as *prathama*, 'the first', *dviti:ya* 'the second', *triti:ya* 'the third', *caturthi* 'the fourth', *pañcami* 'the fifth', *ṣaṣṭhi* 'the sixth', and *saptami*, 'the seventh'.

Ke:sira:ja assigned primary representation to each of the *ka:rakas* by one *vibhakti*. *kartri* (agentive) by *prathama*; *karma* (affective and effective) by *dviti:ya*; *karaṇa* (instrumental) by *triti:ya*; *samprada:na* (dative and directive) by *caturthi*;

apa:da:na (ablative) by *pañcami* and *adhikaraṇa* (locative) by *saptami*. Genitive a non-*ka:raka* was represented by *ṣaṣṭhi*.

The following are the *vibhakti* markers assigned by Ke:sira:ja (Narasimhachar, 1974: S. 103).

1. *-m*
2. *-am*
3. *-im*
4. *-ke*
5. *-at*
6. *-ad*
7. *-oḷ*

Because of our re-consideration of the case in Kannada we have to re-organize the above list of case-markers. In modern Kannada there is no special case marker for the *prathama*[5]. For the purpose of structural pattern we may take -Ø as the *prathama vibhakti* marker. (Gai. 146: 28 & 29). The old Kannada *pañcami vibhakti* is homophonous with the *triti:ya* in modern Kannada. The suffix *oḍane* remains without being tagged to any *vibhakti* and the same is listed as *pañcami* filling the vacuum of the original *pañcami* (of Old Kannada) which is homophonous with the *triti:ya*.

Taking these factors into consideration we may present the *vibhaktis* and their markers as follows.

	Vibhakti	Marker
1.	prathama	-Ø
2.	dviti:ya	*-annu*
3.	triti:ya	*-inda*
4.	caturthi	*-akke, -kke, -ge, -ige*
5.	pañcami (cf. Dicta: Sociative)	*-oḍane*
6.	ṣaṣṭhi	*-a*
7.	saptami	*-alli*

Prathama Vibhakti : The *prathama vibhakti* reflects primarily the agentive case. It also indicates the affective as well as the effective ones in passive sentences.

26. *ba:gilu tereyalpaṭṭitu*

The door was opened

27. *i:maṇe a: baḍagiyinda ma:ḍalpaṭṭitu*

This stool was made by that carpenter

In the sentence 26 the NP *ba:gilu* 'the door' is in the affective *ka:raka* at the deep level. In the sentence (27) the NP *maṇe* 'the stool' is in the effective relationship with the verb. Both, however, are expressed in the *prathama vibhakti* in the actual sentences.

Dviti:ya Vibhakti : The *dviti:ya vibhakti* denotes the affective as well as the effective at the surface level except in a passive (cf. Dicta: *pratama vibhakti*) sentence. The overt-marker of the *dviti:ya* is optional after the non-human stems.

28. *kannaḍa adhyayanada mukhyastharu nannannu pri:tiyinda illige kaḷuhisidaru*

The Director of the Institute of Kannada studies lovingly sent me here

29. *na:nu i: vibha:ga (vannu) no:ḍalu a:turapaḍuttidde*

I was anxious to see this department

In the NP *nannannu* (*na:n(u)+annu*) is the compulsory item whereas in *vibha:ga* (*vannu*) it is optional. Here *u* is an empty unit.

Triti:ya Vibhakti : The *triti:ya vibhakti* expresses the instrumental and the ablative in the active and the agentive in the passive form of a sentence.

30. *du:mappa koḍaliyinda mara kaḍidanu*

Dumappa cut the tree with an axe

31. *koḍaliyinda noṇa bittu*

A fly fell from an axe

32. *go:vinda payyavarinda golgo:tha bareyalpaṭṭitu*

Golgotha was written by Govinda Pai

In the sentence (30), *koḍaliyinda* 'with an axe' is in the instrumental relation with a transitive verb. In the next sentence the NP *koḍaliyinda* is in the ablative relative with the verb expressing movement away from a fixed point. The NP *go:vinda payyavarinda* is basically *go:vinda payyavaru* and it is in the agentive case.

Caturthi Vibhakti : The *caturthi vibhakti* is marked with the following markers :

-akke, -ge, -age, -kke, -ige. Their occurrence is as follows:

-akke occurs after the non-human consonant ending numeral or pro-nominal stems.

nu:r + akke	*nu:rakke*
hundred + to	to hundred
ya:vud + akke	*ya:vudakke*
which + to	to which
ad + akke	*adakke*
that + to	to that

-age occurs after *na:n* 'I', *ni:n* 'you' (Sg.) and *ta:n* 'self' stems :

na:n + age	*nanage*
I + to	to me

ni:n+age	*ninage*
you+to	to you

-ge occurs after the front-vowel ending stems :

ca:pe+ge	*ca:pege*
a mat+to	to the mat
ko:ṭi+ge	*ko:ṭige*
a crore + to	to a crore

-kke occurs after the central vowel ending stems :

haṇa+kke	*haṇakke*
money+to	to the money
lakṣa+kke	*lakṣakke*
a lakh+to	to a lakh

-ige occurs elsewhere.

u:r+ige	*u:rige*
village+to	to the village
ku:s+ige	*ku:sige*
child+to	to the child

The *caturthi vibhakti* stands for the dative and the directive relations of a NP to the verb.

33. *nanna heṇḍati nanage oḷḷeya u:ṭa koḍutta:ḷe*
My wife gives me good meals

34. *me:ri na:ḷe suḷyakke ho:gutta:ḷe*
Tomorrow Mary goes to Sullia

In the sentence (33) the verb is transitive. Hence something is transferred to someone who is the recipient. So the NP representing him is in the dative. In the sentence that follows the verb is not transitive but of motion towards a place. Hence the representing NP is in directive case and not the dative one.

Pañcami Vibhakti : The *pañcami vibhakti* is marked by the suffix *-oḍane*. It marks the sociative relation at the surface level.

35. *si:te gaṇḍanoḍane sinemakke ho:daḷu*
Sita went to the picture with her husband

The NP *gaṇḍanoḍane* is in the sociative relation with the verb *ho:daḷu* 'went'.

Ṣaṣṭhi Vibhakti : The *ṣaṣṭhi vibhakti* represents the agentive, the instrumental, the dative and the ablative (See 22a).

Saptami vibhakti : The *saptami* represents the locative case.

36. *ka:ḍinalli ondu huli ide*
There is a tiger in the forest

In the above sentence *ka:ḍinalli* 'in the forest' is in the *saptami vibhakti* as the NP is in the locative. The function of the *saptami vibhakti* is sometimes performed by the forms such as *me:le* 'up', *horage* 'outside' etc., which are nonsuffixal. The following sentences may be taken as examples:

37. *appa i:ga horage ho:daru*
My father went out a short while ago

38. *amma oḷage idda:ḷe*
My mother is inside

39. *bekku me:jina me:le ide*

The cat is on the table

40. *na:yi me:jina kelage ide*

The dog is under the table

To sum up, we have noted that a single *ka:raka* could be represented in more than one *vibhakti* and vice-versa. In other words, the *ka:rakas* and the *vibhaktis* are not co-terminous. We have found atleast nine *ka:rakas* which are represented through seven *vibhaktis*. This one-many and many-one representation of cases of Kannada should be dealt in any complete Kannada grammar. It is my ardent hope that this paper will stir many a Kannada linguists to treat Kannada case as *a case*.

Notes :

1. The passive sentences however are considered artificial in modern Kannada. Instead, we find impersonal sentences such as : *i:suvarte lu:kanin̄da bareyala:ytu* which means, literally, gospel became a writing by Luke. In other words, this gospel was written by Luke. For various methods of translating the English passive cf. Herold Spencer, *A Kanarese Grammar*, pp. 281-2.

2. Note that in the sentences 5 and 6 *taniḷaru* and *ge:ru* are just affected in some way but have not come into being by the action indicated by the verbs. In the sentence 7, however, the case is different.

3. Modern scholars of Kannada like B. M. Shrikanthayya (1955) T. S. Venkannayya (1955) T. N. Srikantia (1939) A. N. Narasimhia (1941) and G. S. Gai (1946) do not admit the ablative case in Kannada. Their reasons are summarized by K. K. Gowda (1972) as follows :

   1) The specific suffix for ablative is not found in colloquial Kannada and instead, the instrumental is being used.

2) It is rarely found in Old Kannada literary texts and on many an instance the instrumental (*tṛtiːye*) replaces the ablative.

3. There is no independent suffix for the ablative, viz.:- *-attaninda*, is nothing but the word-*atta* 'that side' and 'a derivative suffix' + *inda* 'the case suffix for the instrumental (*tṛtiːye*).

4 The Kannada grammars were based on Skt., and so it became necessary for artificially creating the ablative. Even in some of the recent works the same arguments are found reiterated : e. g.:

a) Hampa Nagarajaiah, *Drāviḍa Bhāṣājijñāna* (Kannada) Mysore : D. V. K. Murthy, Krishnamurthipuram, (Revd Sec. Ed. 1972), pp. 204-6.

b) V. Shivananda, *Shabdnmaṇi Darpaṇa Vilas* (Kannada), Gadag : Vijaya Book Depot (1972), pp. 133-4.

Undoubtedly the above arguments are only 'superficial'. In Dr. Gowda's words, "these arguments are based only on the form or shape of the suffix and not on the function of the case. Because of its lacking an independent suffix... we can not simply deny the 'case function' as such..." (Gowda, 1972:370). Keːsiraːja, however accepts the ablative. cf. *Vṛtti* of suːtra No. 103. p. 108 and suːtra 126, p. 133.

4. Here only one possibility is shown. Other possibilities however, are not excluded.

5. Some school grammars posit an obligatory *-u* as the prathama vibhakti markːr. cf. M. P. Pujar, *op. cit.* p. 16; K. K. Rai, *op. cit.* p. 103; D. N. Mulabagal, *op. cit.*, p. 40 P. G. Kulakarani (1967) admits *-u* as the optional marker. After the consonantal ending stems such as *raːman*, *appan*, etc., the *-u* is euphonic and automatic; elsewhere it is a hyper correction e. g. *hasu-v-u*, *giḍa-v-u* etc , cf. *Kannaḍa kaypiḍi* p. 340.

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THE CASE GRAMMAR OF 'BECOMING' IN KANNADA

S. Rajaram
CIIL, MYSORE

0. 1. This paper discusses the central notion of 'becoming' expressed by the verb *a:gu* in Kannada. This has also the claim of isolating some sentences which are normally known as 'verbless sentences' [1] from the sentences of the particular kind consisting of a subject noun phrase and a predicate noun phrase. The theoretical framework used here is the Fillmorean case grammar. [2]

0. 2. Let us consider the following sentences

1. *basava u:rige na:yaka a:danu*
   Basava village-to the leader became
   Basava became the leader to the village

2. *li:la: sanghakke ka:ryadarši ni a:dalu*
   Leela association-to the secretary became
   Leela became the secretary to the association

3. *de:vara:j ars maisu:rige mukhyamantri a:daru*
   Devaraj Urs Mysore-to Chief minister became
   Devaraj Urs became the Chief minister to Mysore

0. 3. The verb *a:gu* in general, brings a change of state in the object in sentences (1-3). The resultant state is expressed by the predicate nominal like *na:yaka* 'leader', *ka:ryadaršini* 'secretary' etc.

0. 4. The descriptive studies of Kannada verbs attest a verb *a:gisu* 'cause to become' corresponding to the very *a:gu* 'become'. They show the difference between these two verbs by adding a causative suffix *-isu* to the latter. But the central sense of the verbs and their inherent capacity to take different 'arguments' under special conditions are totally ignored in these grammars. See the following sentences.

4. *basavanannu u:rige na:yaka a:gisidaru*
   Basava village-to leader made
   (They) made Basava the leader to the village

5. *li:laḷannu sanghakke ka:ryadaršini a:gisidaru*
   Leela association-to the secretary made
   (They) made Leela the secretary to the association

6. *de:vara:ja arsannu maisu:rige mukhyamantri a:gisidaru*
   Devaraja Urs Mysore - to chief minister made
   (They) made Devaraj Urs the Chief minister to Mysore

0.5. The difference is that the verb *a:gu* 'become' has no agentive whereas *a:gisu* 'cause to become' has an agentive. They are almost similar in requiring the number of arguments in the base structure. The basic concept requires an understanding of an object which is affected by the state identified by the verb. For example:

7. *li:la: ka:ryadaršini a:daḷu*
   Leela secretary became
   Leela became the secretary

8. *li:laḷannu ka:ryadaršini a:gisidaru*

(They) made Leela the secretary

1.1. With those two sentences, it is also further inherently known that the object's change of state is in response to 'the being or institution that experiences something or has something happen to it'[3]. See the sentences (2) and (5). The notion of Agent which is of typically animate nature is conceptually present in the sentence (5) even though it can be 'suppressed' in the surface structure. Notice sentence (9).

9. *sadasyaru li:laḷannu sanghakke*

members Leela association-to the

The members made Leela the secretary

ka:ryadaršini a:gisidaru

secretary made

to the association

1.2. But, the event described by the verb root *a:gu* does not involve any agent. In the absence of agentive role the objective is selected as subject in the surface structure. It can be now concluded, as far as the case roles are concerned, that the verb roots *a:gu* and *a:gisu* are related in the following ways.

i. The being who does it which is of course, not found in *a:gu*

ii. The being or institution that experiences something or has something happen to it i.e. dative.

iii. The object which undergoes the 'change of state'.

2.0. As we have seen already the case notions objective (O) and dative (D) are inherent to the verb roots *a:gu* and *a:gisu*. The identity of the particular case notion is even though known from

the context, it is always worth mentioning which of the cases can be covertly marked. It is rather imperative as far as the sentences with which we are concerned in this paper.

2.1. Dative, in particular, need not always be mentioned because it is evident from the verb roots *a:gu* and *a:gisu* that somebody has a relation with something as a *na:yaka* 'leader', *ka:ryadaršini* 'secretary' etc. Dative is the object with which O in the case of *a:gu* and AA in the case of *a:gisu* hold the relationship. It is inherently known in a way that the relationship is assumed as *na:yaka* 'leader' or *ka:ryadaršini* 'secretary' etc. in a given context by the predicate nominal (PN) which is obligatory. This is the reason why, the bative with which O and AA hold the relationship need not always be mentioned overtly. In otherwords, since a relationship is shown between D and PN, D is always known from PN even when it is not overtly marked. This relationship between D and PN might also be one of the reasons to lead us to posit an optional genitive transformation.

2. 2. It is also worth noticing that the verb root *a:gu* can be optionally deleted whereas *a:gisu* cannot be deleted. This is one of the chief characteristics of the verb root *a:gu*. This behaviour of being absent in the sentences with which we are concerned at present alone makes this verb root insignificant and often they are called 'verbless sentences'. But the existence of the verb root is inherently known from the PNs such as *na:yaka* 'leader' *ka:ryadaršini* 'secretary' etc. Likewise, this cannot be felt in the following sentences.

10. *avaru ma:dappa*
(He Madappa)
He is Madappa

11. *ivaḷu nañjamma*

(She Nanjamma)

She is Nanjamma

3. 0. Let us now see, in detail, the case frames and the lexical features of the verb roots *a:gu* and *a:gisu*. The particular array of cases provided by a sentence is called the 'case frame' of that sentence. For example, the sentence *basava u:rige na:yaka a:danu* 'Basava became the leader to the village 'represents the case frame (O+D—). The O and D show the positions of the case categories O(bjective) and D(ative) in the sentence. The blank'—' indicates the position of the particular verb which would be inserted into the frame.

3. 1. The array of cases which selects a given verb root is one of the features of that root. Hence, this feature is called 'frame feature' of that root. These frame features have the effect of imposing a classification of the verb in the language. The frame feature of the verb roots *a:gu* and *a:gisu* is

(AA + O + D —)

3. 2. The category 'AA' represents the Superordinate subject.[4] This is an embedded agent which selects the verb with (+ causative) feature in the deep structure. D is one of the deep case in this language and it is defined as 'the being or institution that experiences something or has something happen to it' (Fillmore 1968a). O in particular must not be confused with the notion of Direct object. The concept "conceivably should be limited to things which are affected by the action or state identified by the verb" (Fillmore, 1968a)

4.0. All the verbs in Kannada fall under the major binary division namely intransitive and transitive. The verb root *a:gu* falls under intransitive and it has the feature of (-causative). *a:gisu* is marked for (+causative). The features and the frame feature can be represented as given below :

Features	Frame feature
(+ causative)	
(— causative)	(AA+O+D—)

5. 0. Each case category consists of an NP and case marker. For instance, O is a case category which is composed of an NP and case marker *-annu*. In characterizing a given sentence it is always out of dispute that the selection of each case marker is relevant for the selection of subject. So the case marker will also tell us partly whether a given NP is subject or not. The NP which occurs as subject may be marked (+Nom). Now we may describe PN *a:gu* as a verb phrase which requires O as subject if it occurs alone with D. We may also describe PN *a:gisu* as a verb phrase which accepts AA as subject if it occurs with O and D. This can be precisely summarized that when there is no agentive the case category O will be chosen as subject. The agentive role will be assigned to an NP and the same will be chosen as subjecte when it occurs along with O and D. These subjects are always of animate nature.

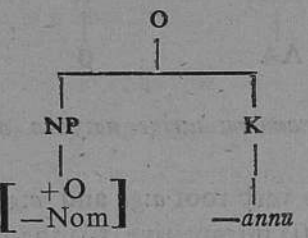
6. 0. It is accepted that the selection of the particular case as subject is mostly determined by the rea' zation of the case marker as ∅. Let us call this case marker 'kasus suffix' (abbreviated as 'K'). [5] It is a bound element suffixed to NP.

6. 1. The kasus suffix of an NP which is dominated by the case category O can be realized as

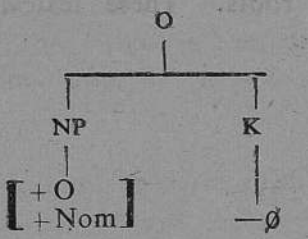
(i) *-annu*, if the NP is not the subject of the verb and as

(ii) ø if the NP is the subject of the verb.

6.2. Thus, the case category O may be marked for [—Nom] when it is not selected as the subject and [+Nom] when it is selected as the subject of the given sentence. This can be diagrammatically represented as follows.

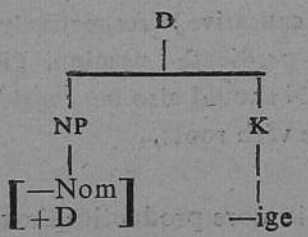


e.g. *basavanannu u:rige na:yaka a:gisidaru*



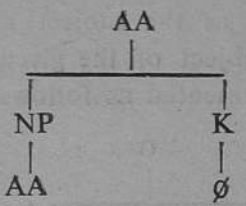
e.g. *basava u:rige na:yaka a:danu*

6.3. An NP dominated by the case category D is followed by the kasus suffix *-ige* 'to'. D cannot be selected as subject and hence it is marked for (—Nom)



e.g. *basava u:rige na:yaka a:danu*

6.4. Since the case category AA occurs as the subject of the sentence the kasus suffix is realized always as — ø like other case categories.



e.g. *janaru basavananmu u:rige na:yaka a:gisidaru*

7.0. In the lexicon the verb root *a:gu* and *a:gisu* will be marked with features such as (i) intransitive (ii) the frame feature of the verb root, and (iii) the causative feature ('+' or '—') which we assigned to the verb roots. These lexical features can be represented as below :

Intransitive :

AA + O + D

a:gu 'become' (±causative)

7.1. These are the lexical features normally attested to the verb roots in lexicon. But the verbs *a:gu* and *a:gisu* with their feature (—causative) and (+ causative) respectively, are that which obligatorily attest a predicate nominal (PN) unlike other verb roots. Hence, PN should also be considered as one of the lexical features of these verb roots.

8. 0. *a:gu* in Kannda is more productive though it is not mostly found in the surface structures. See the following sentences:

12. *basava na:yaka*

Basava leader

Basava is a leader

13. *li:la: ka:ryadaršini*

Leela secretary

Leela is a secretary

14. *de:vara:j ars mukhyamantri*

Devaraj Urs Chief minister

Devaraj Urs is a Chief minister

8.1. Sentences of this type are generally called 'verbless sentences'

8.2. The verb root *a:gu* is intransitive (V - I). It is differentiated from *a:gisu*, as we have seen earlier, by marking (—causative).

Since there is no agentive in the sentences (1) - (3) O is selected as subject. The subject agrees with VP in PNG and IN shows its relation with D. Now the verb *a:gu* can be shown with its features as below:

	O	D	PN	
1.	*basava*	*u:rige*	*na:yaka*	*a:danu*
	Basava	village-to the	leader	became

Basava became the leader to the village

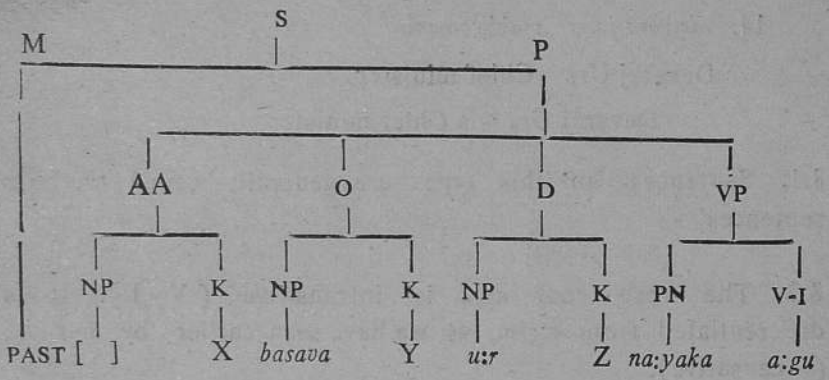
	O	D	PN	
	li:la:	*sanghakke*	*ka:ryadaršini*	*a:daḷu*
	Leela	association-to the	secretary	became

Leela became the secretary to the association

O	D	PN	
de:vara:j ars	*maisu:rige*	*mukhyamantri*	*a:daru*
Devaraj Urs	Mysore-to	Chief minister	became

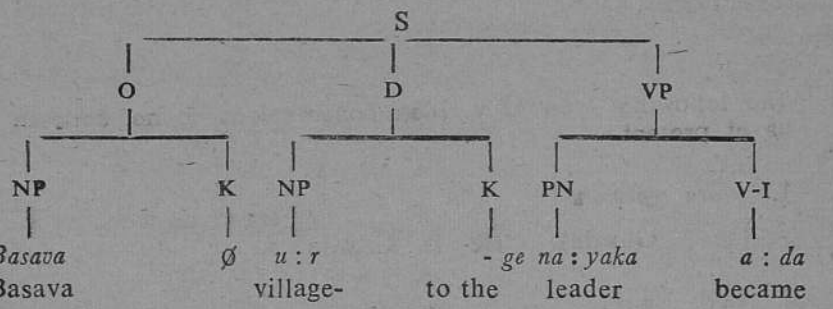
Devaraj Urs became the Chief minister to Mysore

8.3. The following is the base representation which yields the surface structure representations. (4) - (6), (1), - (3) and (12) - (14)



8. 4 AA is a superordinate subject which always selects the verb with (+ causative) feature. It is expressed in Kannada by adding the suffix *-isu* with intransitive or transitive verb roots. The case category AA has not been filled with any noun. This can be filled with nouns such as *janaru* 'people', *sadasyaru* 'members' etc. When this subject selection rule is applied the lexical feature (+causative) is marked to the root. The kasus rule realizes the suffix AA as -Ø. It also realizes the suffix of D—*ige* 'to'. It assumes the objective suffix as *-annu* because the NP *(basava* 'Basava') is not the subject of verb. Then the modality constituent will be incorporated into VP. Finally, the agreement rule creates PNG marker in accordance with the subject of the sentence. After the application of these transformational rules we would get senences. (4) - (6).

8. 5. The subject selection rule, then, is operated on the deep structure to choose O as subject. Then the lexical feature (—causative) is assigned to the verb root *a:gu*. The kasus rule realizes the suffix of O as —ø because the NP is subject of the verb root. The kasus rule also realizes the Y of the dative *-ige* 'to'. Then the modality constituent is incorporated into VP. When it takes place, the verb root *a:gu* will be realized as *a:d-* the alternant of the same. Finally, the agreement rule creates PNG marker into VP in accordance with the subject of the sentence. After the application of the above mentioned rules we would get the following surface structure.



8.6. We can also derive a sentence from the base representation which closely resembles the sentence (1). See the following sentence.

15.

O	G	PN	
basava	*u:rina*	*na:yaka*	*a:danu*
Basava	village-of the	leader	became

Basava became the leader of the village

8.7. Sentence (15) is equally acceptable in the similar situation where the sentence (1) is used. At present, the author has no syntactic evidence to show the paraphrase relation that exists

between them. But it is quite evident that this paraphrase relation leads us to posit an optional genitive transformation which may however be a matter of the surface structure.[6]

8. 8. To sum up: the verb 'becoming' in Kannada is the area for serious investigation and the present study is not exhaustive. The absence of agentive in the sentence (1) - (3) is significant and it is to be considered as one of its chief characteristics.

Notes:

1. The following type of verbless constructions do not concern us at present.

   1. *avaru gavḍaru*
      (he Gowda) He is Gowda

   2. *adu mara*
      (that three) That is a tree

   3. *avaḷu keṭṭavaḷu*
      (she bad) She is bad

2. This is particulary based on his paper 'Lexical Entries for verbs' appeared in Working Papers in Linguistics No. 2. CISRC. The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

3. ''.....Dative for the person or institution that experiences the loss. In general the case concept Dative refers to the being or institution that experiences something or has something happen to it''. (Fillmore, 1968, 'Lexical Entries for verbs')

4. The Superordinate Agentive (AA) is admittedly an *ad hoc* device which is used here to refer the noun phrase which occurs as the subject of any verb with the feature (+causative). It seems possible that such sentences are the result of some sort of embedding..... ' Abdulky, 1960.

5. "The kasus suffix, by itself is a meaningless element attached to a noun. It may change as the declension of the noun changes. A postposition, on the otherhand, is an element that has a meaning (such as *madhya* 'between' and that is not affected by the class of the noun it is attached to" (Baeyer, 1970). On the model of Sanskrit kasus suffixes, the case markers of Kanada are also treated in the traditional grammars as bound elements and separated from the postpositions calling them *vibhaktis*'. This analogy creates the nominative case suffix *-m* as in Sanskrit which further leads many linguists to posit a nominative case marker in Kannada. "The nominative case morpheme is -A after vowels and Ø (zero) after consonants :

mara 'tree' ; nom. *marā*, as in

mara + *ide* There's a tree

ca:k/u 'knife' : nom. *ca:k-Ø-*

ca:ku, as in *ca:k ide*

There's a knife

huḍ(u)ga '*boy*' : nom. *huḍ(u)ga* in

huḍuga + *ide* 'there's a boy'

(Bright 1958)

Hiremath posits the euphonic *u* as the nominative case (Hiremath, 1961).

6. As in other Dravidian Languages, the validity of the genitive case in the deep structure in Kannada is also seriously questioned. The traditional Kannada grammarians recognise six '*ka:rakas*' on the basis of their relationship with the verb. The *kavira:jama:rga* of *Nṛpatunga* does not give more emphasis on the genitive case. It seems to have excluded the genitive from the *Ka:rakas*. *Ke:šira:ja*, in the *vritti* for the sutra 103, also clearly mentions that the genitive does not have any

ka:raka function. But, both *Nṛpatunga* and *Ke:šir:aja* clearly attest *ṣaṣṭhi* (genitive) also as one of the cases in the *lakṣya padya* and in the sutra 143 respectively and hold the opinon that *ṣaṣṭhi* has also an indirect relationship with the verb.

(Gowda, 1972) has also rightly observed that, "the genitive does not show the direct relation between the nouns and the verbs as the other cases do. But indirectly it does so as in the deep level it shows either the other casal relations or has the relative (adjectival) participle as the basic sentence. Hence it has to be included along with other cases, though *KR* himself, in this *vritti*, for the sutra 103, of SMD, says the *ṣaṣṭhi* [genitive] does not have any *ka:raka* function. Under this sutra, he lists only six *ka:rakas*, but, in the sutra 143 however *ṣaṣṭhi* is included along with the other cases". The term "direct relation" in (Gowda, 1972) is quite ambiguous. Gowda, himself accepted that genitive is indirectly expressed sometimes by some other case category. This sufficiently makes us suspect the deep structure validity of the genitive.

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Colophon :

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CASE RELATIONS AND THEIR REALIZATIONS (IN ENGLISH AND TELUGU)

V. Prakasam

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

1. 0. Syntax deals with syntactic (-semantic) relations that obtain among different parts of a sentence. On the other hand morphology deals with the realizations of those relations in the form of what are usually called grammatical morphemes. The concept of case is the bridge-head between syntactic relations and morphological realizations. Hence the long tradition of case-oriented grammatical theory of Pa:ini in India and the recent proposal of 'Case Grammar' of Fillmore (1968). The same approach is implicit to a good extent in the theory of Systemic Grammar (Halliday, 1970 and 1973) and also in the verb-pattern approach of Hornby etal (1963). The crux of these approaches is the recognition of the syntactically vital relationship the verbal element has with the nominal elements of the same sentence.

1. 1. The main tenets of different case theories (relevent for our paper) proposed by Fillmore and his European predecessors may be summarised in the following statements : (1) case relations are semantically relevant syntactic relationships, (2) they involve the verbal element and the cooccurring nominal elements of a sentence, (3) whether overt or covert they are empirically discoverable and verifiable, (4) they form a specific finite set (closed system); (5) they are of universal

significance; (6) the irregular case uses found in some languages require as their explanation a statement of the idiosyncratic grammatical requirements of specific lexical items and (7) some semantic differences are accounted for independently of assigning 'meanings' to cases, either by recognising meaning differencees in different underlying sentences. Keeping all these in view the base structure is conceived to be a structure in which case relationships are primitive terms of the linguistic (syntactic) theory and such concepts as subject and object are regarded as proper only to the surface structure of some languages. The sentence in its base structure is said to consist of a verb and one or more noun phrases, each associated with the verb in a particular case relationship. We need not discuss in detail these points as they have been sufficiently discussed in recent literature. It is important to note that Fillmore's approach is mainly 'nonlocalist' (Anderson, 1971 : 10.). One of the crucial claims of Fillmore is that that base structure where the case relations are specified i.e. the semantic (deep) structure can be directly transformed into surface forms of sentences by the relevant transformation rules. This precludes the possibilities of having an intermediary level between the empirically discoverable semantic deep structure and the observationally accessible surface structure. In other words Fillmorean approach proposes only two structures - semantic and syntactic - before going on to phonological component. This is not the stand he takes in his later writings through.

1. 2. The localist view of Anderson, different from Fillmorean non-localist approach, may be found in the following passages :

> "One of the things I want to argue for most strongly..... is that a more abstract view of case- taking this term to refer to grammatical relations contracted by nouns which express the nature of their 'participation' in the 'process' or 'state'

represented in the sentence (or noun phrase) .....and which are represented superficially in various fashions including inflectionally and by pre-and post positions — enables us to avoid some at least of the difficulties encountered by earlier studies *and yet to maintain an* essentially localist stand point (emphasis mine)".

In anticipation we may note that our approach tends towards being localist, at least as an ideal.

1. 3. It has been said that Pa:ṇini's grammar proposes three steps before we come on to phonological component. The first is a set of semantic representations; the second where the deep case relations (*ka:raka*) are specified in the deep structure; and the third where morphological categories (*vibhakti*) realise the *ka:raka* relations is the surface structure (Kiparsky and Stall, 1969 : 84). For example the feature of *Sa:dhaka:tama* (the most effective means) of the semantic level is expressed by the *karaṇa ka:raka* on the deep (semantically motivated) syntactic structure which in turn is realized by *tritiya* (the third case category) in the surface (phonologically-oriented) syntactic structure. To put it in a different form :

Semantic	Deep structure	Surface structure
sa:dhaka:tama	*karaṇa*	*triti:ya*
a:dha:ru	*adhikaraṇa*	*saptami*

The term *ka:raka* was used by Pa:ṇini to mean 'the capacity' in which a thing participates in the accomplishment of action. This capacity is indicated in the *ka:raka* relations that could be established between the nouns and the verb of a sentence which are expressed by the case affixes (*ka:raka vibhaktis*). But this kind of three step analysis is not attributed to Pa:ṇini by all his interpreters :

> "We have not made a distinction between deep structure and semantic relationships in our discussion and it appears from a study of Pa:ṇini that such a distinction may not be expedient".
>
> (Ananthanarayana, 1970 : 26)

Setting apart this difference in 'levels', we can say that Pa:ṇiniyans agree that Pa:ṇini was aware of the distinction between deep structure and surface structure of sentences as evidenced by difference in the terminology he makes i. e. *ka:raka* for the deep or underlying relation of a noun or as noun phrase to verb and *'vibhakti'* for the represntation of *ka:raka* in surface structure (Ibid : 15). Obviously Pa:ṇini realized the lack of one-to-one correspondence between the *ka:raka* and the *vibhakti* and also the paraphrasal relationship between active and passive sentences :

active = *kaṭam karoti* (He makes the mat)

passive = *kaṭaḥ kriyate* (The mat is made)

1. 3. 1. It is important to note that in the mapping of rules that relate each pair of successive levels, Pa:ṇini throughout makes use of the device of introducing a 'preferred' or 'basic' replacement to which can be stated subsequent more detailed rules that enumerate the exceptions and corrections (Kiparsky and Stall, 1969 : 84). This is anticipatory of 'unmarked-marked distinctions of Praguean linguists and of Halliday. It is said that the unmarked choice is the normal choice to be 'preferred' unless there is a 'good-reason' not to do so (Halliday, 1970 : 352). To sum up the main point relevant for the discussion to follow we are not certain whether to claim a three step (pre-phonological) or two-step analysis as Pa:ṇiniyan.

1. 4. The main thesis of the paper is concerned with two sets of case-markers :

i. *with* (English) = *to:* (Telugu)

ii. *to* (English) = *ku/ki* (Telugu)

In anticipation of our own view point about the particular *ka:raka* relations and their realizations in the form of stated case markers we may refer to the position of Walmsley in this regard[1]. He also prefers a comprehensive deep case categorization for different semantic nuances being expressed by the same case marker. What he proposes seems to strengthen the axiom that mutually exclusive prepositional phrases shall be deemed to belong to the same case (494). In his paper Walmsley tends to consider comitative, replacive and instrumental as some kind of 'allo-cases' (499).

1. 4. 1. We concern ourselves here with comitative and instrumental.

Consider the following :

1. *She walked to the funeral with her brother*
2. *The woman killed her husband with an accomplice*
3. *He went to the interview with-out her.*
4. *She solved the problem with her sister.*
5. *Robert organised the party with Henry.*
6. *She walked to the funeral with her walking stick.*
7. *The woman killed her husband with a knife.*
8. *He went to the interview without the interview letter.*
9. *She solved the problem with the new instrument.*
10. *Robert organised the party with his bonus-money.*

The examples show that (1-5) are instances of comitative case and (6-10) of instrumental case. A close examination

will show that they are not far from being one and the same (see below). The second important proposal of Walmsley is that paraphrases with such verbs as *use, assist, accompany, help* are really topicalizations (i. e. thematizations) of the case relation directing attention to the instrument used, the person accompanying etc., by bringing them further forward in the sentence that they would otherwise be a stand which is really the reverse of Lakoff (1968 : 506, Buckingham, 1973 : 111-122).

2. 0. Let us look at another set of examples-both English and Telugu :

11. E. *She went to the theatre* **with** *her boy-friend*
T. *a:me thiye:ṭaruku tana priyuḍi***to:** *veḷḷindi*

12. E. *She went to the theatre* **with** *a pass*
T. *a:me thiye:ṭaruku pa:su***to:** *veḷḷindi*

13. E. *She killed her husband* **with** *a gun*
T. *a:me tana moguṇṇi tupa:ki***to:** *campindi*

14. E. *She wrote the letter* **with** *her pen*
T. *a:me a: uttaram tana pe:na:***to:** *(v) rasindi*

15. E. *She shivered* **with** *cold*
T. *a:me cali***to:** *voṇikindi.*

16. E. *She was living* **with** *her parents*
T. *a:me tana tallitaṇḍrula***to:** *uṇṭuṇṇindi*

17. E. *She threw it at him* **with** *an angry look*
T. *a:me ko:pammohan***to:** *da:nni atanimi:diki ve:sindi*

18. E. *She covered it* **with** *sand*
T. *a:me da:nni isaka***to:** *kappindi*

19. E. *She spent her weekend* **with** *her sister's husband*
T. *a:me tana a:divara:nni tana akka moguḍi***to:** *gaḍipiṇdi*

20. E. *She goes on arguing* **with** *somebody or the other*
T. *a:me everito: okar***to:** *va:distu:ne: uṇṭundi*

21. E. *She always fights* **with** *her husband for every silly thing*
T. *a:me tana mogiḍi***to:** *prati cinnaviṣaaya:niki tagula:ḍtundi*

22. E. *She was silent* **with** *shyness*
T. *a:me siggu***to:** *u:rukundi*

23. E. *She welcomed him in* **with** *a smile*
T. *a:me atanni cirunavvu***to:** *lo:palkki a:hva:ninčindi*

24. E. *Be patient* **with** *them*
T. *va:ḷḷa***to:** *o:rpuga: uṇḍu*

25. E. *He picked up a quarrel* **with** *his friend*
T. *atanu tana sne:hituḍi***to:** *tagavu teccukonna:ḍu*

26. E. *I agree* **with** *you*
T. *ne:nu mi:***to:** *e:ki:bhavistunna:nu*

27. E. *I saw him* **with** *you*
T. *ne:nu attanni mi:***to:** *ču:čæ:*

28. E. **with** *that, he flared up*
T. *da:n***to:** *atanu reccipo:ya:ḍu*

The English sentences we have given are mostly from Hornby et al (1963) and Palmer (1938). We have chosen only those '*with-sentences*' which can be translationally equated with Telugu'.....*to: sentences*'.

2.1. A close examination of the eighteen sets of Telugu and English sentences (11-28) given above reveal one striking thing in common : the nominals related to the verb *with* (Eng.)-*to*: (Tel.) are 'the most effective means' of completing the action or 'the most essential elements after the subject' for the 'Process' expressed by the verb to take place. The detailed distinction of 'comitative' or 'instrumental' relation is the 'total' meaning we read into the nominals, inferring our information from the meaning of the lexical items and taking into consideration contrasts like (±animate) and (±human). For example in sentence (11) we don't know whether 'she' took the boy friend to the theatre or 'the boyfriend' took her there; but one thing is pretty certain from the sentence: the boy-friend is 'effectively involved' in going to the theatre with the subject—'she'. The meaning of 'comitative', is read by us taking into consideration the fact that 'boy friend' is (+human). The same is the case with sentence (1) where 'her brother' is effectively involved in 'her walking to the funeral' either by 'assisting' her in walking or by 'accompanying' her—in fact the sentence is that way ambiguous in specific detail. Sentences (6), (13) and (14) 'her walking stick', 'a gun' and 'her pen' are 'the most effective means' involved in the fulfilment of the actions stated by the concerned verbs. Hence our contention that sentences (1-28) are instances of only one '*ka:raka*' (the deep syntactic category of relationship)—the *karaṇa ka:raka*.

2.11. It may be useful to say that 'comitative' and 'instrumental' relationships may be distinguished at the semantic level (as per Staal and Kiparsky's interpretation of Pa:ṇini). And it may not be the case that every time 'instrumental' relationship is represented as *karaṇa ka:raka* and instead may be given *kartru ka:raka* as in :

29. *The poison killed him*

30. *He was killed by poison*

Which *ka:raka* to be chosen for the concerned participant in the action depends on the *vivakṣa* of the speaker, i.e. the intention of the speaker (Subrahmanyam, 1976 : in this volume). In fact our approach more or less tries to subscribe to the stand - point that unless clearly warranted we need not ascribe one 'surface marker' (*vibhakti*) as realizing consistently different *ka:rakas*, where the distinctive relationship can be ascribed to the nouns of the noun phrases rather than to the 'markers' (Walmsley, 1971:498). We are not now going into the problems of 'transformational possibilities' of the different *ka:rakas* —they may after all be ascribed to the lexical features of the noun themselves. We will take it up later on. Here we may also benefit from the concept of hierarchy of markedness in case (Rama Rao, 1976).

2.2 Let us now look at another set of sentences this time showing the use of *to* (Eng.) and *-ku/-ki* (Tel.):

31. E. *He goes* **to** *the temple every day*
    T. *atanu guḍiki ro:ju: veḷta:ḍu*

32. E. *He gave it* **to** *his wife*
    T. *atanu da:ṙni tana peḷḷa:niki iccæ:ḍu*

33. E. *That seems* **to** *me rather curious*
    T. *adi na:ku vintaga: to:sto:ndi*

34. E. *He agreed* **to** *abide by the rules*
    T. *atanu ru:lsu pa:ṭiñcaḍa:niki oppukonna:ḍu*

35. E. *This is true* **to** *life*
    T. *idi ji:vita:niki daggaraga: undi*

36. E. *He is used* **to** *it*
T. *atanu da:ni***ki** *alava:ṭu baḍḍa:ḍu*

37. E. *It is a quarter* **to** *six*
T. *a:ru***ku** *pa:vu takkuva*

These seven pairs of sentences illustrate what are usually called 'dative' (32) and 'directional' (31) case relations and also certain other relations. (33) may be listed under 'dative' but not others. (35) and (36) may be bracketed together under one relational category. (37) may be considered temporal - directional. (34) is a different category again, involving an instance of 'nominalization'. All these constructions, after a 'generalizing' close view, may however be considered instances of one category, expressing some kind of 'recipient' relationship and at the receiving end we may find a person, a place or a thing. The inferential difference between the various recipient categories may be considered allocasal (Walmsley, 1971:496).

3.0 At this stage it will be useful to bring in the counter-argument that deep-case relationship cannot be established by strictly following the surface-case realization. The counter-argument is fortified by the consideration of transformational possibilities. Consider tne following:

38. *a:me tanačellili***to**: *vaḍlu dančindi*
She pounded the rice **with** her sister

39. *a:me jwaran***to**: *vaḍlu dančindi*
She pounded the rice **with** fever

40. *a:me ro:kali***to**: *vaḍlu dančindi*
She pounded the rice **with** pestle

These three sets of sentences do not have same transformational possibilities :

* 38TA) *a:me vaḍlu dančina* **cellelu**

* 39TA) *a:me vaḍlu dančina* **jwaram**

40TA) *a:me vaḍlu dančina* **ro:kali**

The fact only (40TA) is acceptable is likely to be mentioned as an evidence to show that in (38-40) '*–to:* nominals' do not express same *ka:raka* relationship. This transformational testing may be answered if we take lexical features as conditional for trans formations to operate. Only 'inanimate' nominal of 'effective means' relation seems to undergo the nominalization mentioned above. The fact (38) and (39) do not undergo the operation may not be good enough for one to say '*jwaranto:*' and '*tana cellilito:*' have the same meaning. That they have some thing in common might be evidenced by:

38. (b) *a:me tana čellilito: vaḍlu dančindi ka:baṭṭi merikalu*

40. (b) *a:me ro:kalito:vaḍlu dančindi kabaṭṭi merikalu migila:yi*

'The rice was not pounded well because.....'s is the meaning of the added words in the sentences. The '*to:*s nominals' are here interpreted as the cause of the ineffective pounding which in a way, testifies to the role the nominal plays.

We have in this paper presented a case for an approach

(1) Where we have an intermediary level between semantic and surface structures and

(2) Where 'a comprehensive deep-case' with several allocasal semantic interpretations is postulated.

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THE DATIVE CASE IN TOLU

K. Kushalappa Gowda
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

0.1. The dative eludes a clear definition. It had been defined in various ways by the traditional as well as modern grammarians. The Indian traditional grammarians consider it as a case which identifies the receiver, when something is transferred to some one. This implies that a sentence that has a dative noun must have the nouns indicating the giver, a thing that is transferred, a receiver of the transferred thing and a transitive verb. The traditional grammarians resorted to list the different meanings with which the dative marker would occur, whenever the requirements stated above were not met with (Gowda, 1972 : 351). There also have been attempts to differentiate the 'directional' and 'purposive' from the main dative, though, all have the nouns carrying the same markers. Thus, 'He gave a book to some one' is distinguished against 'He went to Madras' and 'He gave Rupees ten for that book' is distinguished against both of them.

0. 2. Dwight Whitney (Whitney, 1962 : 95) has defined the dative as the case of 'indirect object, or that toward, or, in the direction of, or, in order to, or, for which anything is or, is done either intransitively or to a direct object' (quoted in Gonda, 1962 : Lingua, 150). Cleary, this definition is based on the surface distribution of the case markers. Gonda, in his article on Vedic dative, considers the dative as the case of

'object in view'. Dissatisfied with these statements, Fillmore (1968:9) comments : '.....And recent attempts to capture single comprehensive 'meanings' of the cases have suffered from vagueness and circularity expected of any attempt to find semantic characterisations of surface-structure phenomenon'. Recently, he has attempted to deny a separate identity to dative and include such surface phenomenon dative and a few others under one cover term 'goal' (Fillmore, 1971 : 251). In his paper 'Some Problems for Case Grammar', the goal case is shown as the one which refers to (i) 'later state' of a thing including spatial, temporal and event references; (ii) the receiver, when something is transferred, and (iii) the end-result. It is not clear from these specifications, where to include the noun with the case marker, when it does not indicate the direct receiver of a thing transferred. In Tulu, or in any other Dravidian languages like Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil, there are expressions which can be literally translated in English as : 'I gave Rupees ten *to this book*'. Obviously, the book is not the receiver of Rs. ten. To identify the goal, for the Rs. ten, one has to move circularly and ultimately trace two underlying sentences : (i) I gave Rupees ten to the book-seller and (ii) the book-seller gave me the book. Hence, it appears that 'vagueness and circularity' still prevails at least, in so far as the dative (goal) is concerned. There is no reason to include the nouns specifying the end-results in goal case. In 'case languages'[1] such nouns always take the accusative marker—as, any transitive verb must have an object in a sentence. The end-result of an action identified by a verb may be the same for both accusative case and the dative case. In Tulu and Kannada, it is possible to say :

Ka. *na:nu u:ṭa ma:ḍide* Tu. *e:nī oṇasī ma:ḷṭe*
I ate a meal
(Lit : I, the meal did) -id-

Ka. *na:nu u:ṭakke ma:ḍide* Tu. *e:nī oṇasīgī ma:ḷṭɛ*

I prepared a meal

(Lit ; I, for meal, did) -id-

In both instances, *u:ṭa* (Ka.) or, *oṇasī* (Tu.), is the end-result of *ma:ḍide* or *ma:ḷṭɛ* 'I did', respectively. Because of this contrast, it becomes difficult to accept the criterion of taking the end-result of a verb as the goal case.

0.3. Here, an attempt is made to examine the dative case of Tulu, the one of the well-known Dravidian languages. Since we are not far ahead towards the goal, through a well-defined path, the old term 'dative', is used in the following pages. Whichever be the name, the material difference is not much. If Fillmore tried to encompass the superficial differences under one cover term 'goal', Whitney also did the same under the term 'dative'. The dative marker occurs with various nouns in different surface constructions in Tulu, as in other Dravidian languages. These surface manifestations underlie different semantic notions and an attempt will be made here to examine them.

1. *-ku*, *-gu*, *-kī* and *-gī* are the dative markers in Tulu, which occur in phonologically conditioned environments. It has been common practice to identify the case of any noun with any one of these markers as dative. The literary Dravidian languages like Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil possess grammatical treatises describing their ancient forms. Tulu, being a non-literary language does not possess written records [2]. The only first grammar of the Tulu language is that of Brigel, published by the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore in the 19th century. In other Dravidian languages, for example,

Kannada, the grammarians have talked about various grammatical categories, in which 'case' is one. In considering this, the grammarians note the principal case and then list the various meanings in which a particular case would be used. This tradition was not familiar to the missionary grammarian, Brigel, and as such, we do not get any mention of different case uses in his work. If we examine closely, it may not be possible to over - simplify and take any noun with any one of the above markers as the one in dative case. The surface expression may contain a noun with the so called dative marker, while it may not have anything in common with the semantic notion identified as dative (or, goal).

2. Let us consider the following sentences of Tulu :

1. *ba:regī u:ndu koru*

   Give a prop to the banana tree

2. *u:rugu pa:tero koriye*

   Some one gave a promise to the village

3. *magakī duḍḍu koriye*

   Some one gave money to (his) son

4. *nikkī pustako korpe*

   I give (a) book to you

5. *a:ɣagī mo:so koriye*

   Some one gave a slip (deceit) to him

   i.e. some one cheated him

The frame of the sentences appear perfectly alright for that of dative, with the case markers, and a transitive verb

meaning 'give'. If we take the dative as the case of 'animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb' (Fillmore, 1968:24), it may not be possible to accept (1) as dative, (in spite of the fact that all other conditions are met), because the NP *ba:re* 'banana tree', lacks the +animate feature (either figuratively, or, literally). It is also not possible to take the NP *ba:re* as an object, as there is already an object- *u:ndu* 'prop' and two same cases cannot occur in a simple sentence.[3] The next alternative is to treat the NP *u:ndu* 'prop', 'support', as an instrument. In that case we must be able to explain the verb *koru* 'give' for which the case frame is: (—O+D+A), (Fillmore, 1968:27). With the treating of *u:ndu*, as an instrument, we have to interpret the sentence as 'I made the banana tree to stand erect, by giving the support' and treat (1) as the sentence resulting from an underlying structure, which has an object and an instrument. The +animate feature seems necessary for the NP in dative case, because if we expand the sentences with a verb meaning 'receive, accept, take', against the verb *koru* 'give', (1) becomes unacceptable.

e.g., 1. *ba:regī u:ndu koriye*

I gave a support to the banana tree

1. (a) **ba:re u:ndu dettoṇīṇḍī*

The Banana tree took the support

But in (2), (3) and (4), this expansion is acceptable :

2. *u:rugu pa:tero koriye*

Some one gave a promise to the village

2. (a) *u:ru pa:tero dettoṇīṇḍī*

The village accepted the promise

3. *magakī duḍḍu koriye*

Some one gave money to (his) son

3. (a) *mage duḍḍu dettoṇḍe*

The son accepted the money

4. *nikkī pustako korpe*

I give a book to you

4. (a) *i: pustako dettoṇu*

You accept the book

u:ru 'village' is inanimate, but the sentence becomes acceptable, since, here, it means the inhabitants of the village. But (5) is not acceptable in this version and as such, it is to be taken as having different case relation in deep structure. The objects in (2), (3) and (4) have +concrete and +countable features. But the object in (5), does not have any of the two features as we can say,

oñji pa:tero

one word/promise

raḍḍī pa:tero

two words/promise

and so on, but not :

* *oñji mo:so*

* one deception

* *raḍḍī mo:so*

* two deceptions et c.

In special situations the NPs with + animate feature can also be the objects occurring in dative case frame, as, e.g., *a:yana magakī enna magaḷenī kortɛ* 'I have given my daughter (in marriage) to his son'. Though it may not be absolutely necessary for the objects to have +concrete feature as in (2), or, + animatedness in all (i.e. 1, 2 and 4), the minimally required feature seems to be +countability, which applies to *pa:tero* in (2). The NP *mo:so* 'deceit' lacks this feature, as we have seen above and hence, it cannot fit into the frame (—O+D+A) of the verb *koru* 'give'. *a:ye* 'he', is the sufferer of the action and in Tulu as well as other Dravidian languages, such nouns take accusative markers[4]. It is not possible to have the accusative markers in the NP *a:ye* because then the two NPs will have the same case marker which is not possible in a simple sentence Since *a:ye* is the NP that takes the accusative marker, the verb *koriye* 'he gave', cannot occur with it, because :

5. (b) * *a:yani mo:so koriye*
* Him someone deceived

is an unacceptable sentence. Therefore, we may surmise that the underlying sentence must be carrying a verb other than the one meaning 'give', which probably is *ma:ḷte* 'he did'. Thus, the underlying form of (5) would be something like.

5. (c) *a:yanī mo:so ma:ḷte*
Some one cheated him

Evidently (5) is the result of the transformations on the underlying sentence (5c) where *a:yanī→ī a:yagī* and *ma:ḷte→koriye.*

3. The sentence (6) and (7) have the same verbs but have NPs with different case markers.

6. *de:sogu eḍḍɛ ma:ḷterī*
They have done good to the country

7. *de:sonu eḍḍɛ ma:ḷterī*
They made the country good

Even though, the dative marker occurs in the NP *de:so* 'country' the verb *koriye* 'he gave' does not occur in the sentence, whereas, it occurs in (5). The sentences (6) and (7) are not paraphrases of each other. *eḍḍe* 'the state of being good' is a non-countable object NP, and perhaps due to this feature, the verb *koru* 'give' which refers to the transferring of something, has not occurred in this.

4. There are some sentences where the NPs referring to objects which get transformed into a new state by the action identified by the verb, occur with accusative markers only in their surface structure. These are in contrast with (6) and (7) e. g.,

8. *partinī nu:lu ma:ḷpu*

The cotton-thread you do
You spin the cotton

but not

8. (a) **partigī nu :lu ma:ḷpu*

To (or for) the cotton - thread you do
You spin to the cotton

9. *maronu o:ḍo ma:ḷpu*

The tree, the canoe you do
You make the wood a canoe

but not

9. (a) **maroku o:ḍo ma:ḷpu*

You make a canoe to this wood

5. The verb *koru* 'give' as we have seen above, occurs in dative sentences. But it does not occur with the NP, that refers to a place, even though it has a dative marker. Thus, (10) becomes unacceptable:

10. **ra:me ka:ḍīgī koriye*
Rama to the forest he gave

The verb *koriye* 'some one gave', therefore, can be taken as an aid to determine the 'dativeness' of the NP and on the basis of this *ka:ḍīgī* 'to the forest', is not an NP in dative case, even though it has the marker *-gī*. Such place-nouns can take only the movement verbs like 'go' and 'come'. The sentence (11) is, an acceptable one:

11. *ra:me ka:ḍīgī po:ye*
Rama went to the forest

Because of this distinction between (10) and (11), the case has to be distinguished as the one other than the dative. But the occurrence of the verb *po:ye* 'he went', is conditioned by the occurrence of the place noun *ka:ḍī* 'forest'. Similarly, the verbs meaning 'go' and 'come' cannot occur with an animate noun that has a dative marker, e.g.,

12. **subbayyagī po:te*
Someone went to Subbayya

is unacceptable. Thus, the verbs, 'go' and 'come' on the one hand and 'give' on the other, seem to be under a sort of complementary distribution. This fact, as well as the definition given by Fillmore, for the goal case as the one that identifies the later state of a thing (spatial reference), or, that given by Whitney ('in the direction of')- makes me to take it as 'dative' even though, elsewhere, I was inclined to call the place-noun with any one of the dative markers (with the verbs like 'go', or 'come' in a sentence) as dative of direction (Gowda, 1972:349).

6. The dative marker occurs with an animate noun in the surface that has a subject, an object and a static verb:

13. *i: pettagī pe:rī uṇḍu*
To this cow, milk is
This cow has milk

The NPs *petta* 'cow' and *pe:rī* 'milk' are in possessor and possessed relation. The verb *uṇḍu* 'is/present' does not have the characteristics of either object displacement (like 'give') or, agent displacement (like 'come/go'). Therefore, this cannot be included in the dative, or, even the directional case. Thus, the underlying form of the sentence (13) is probably :

13. (a) *i: petta pe:rī(nī) ippunavu*
This cow the milk that has
This is the cow that has milk

The object *pe:rī(nī)* => subject *pe:rī* and the subject *petta* => dative noun *pettagī*, when (13a) is transformed into (13).

6.1. There are some other sentences which have possessed-possessor relation between the subject and the object but, the NPs that occur as subjects cannot have the dative marker as in (13). The only case marker that occurs in them is locative when the static verb occurs as a sentence-closing element.

14. *sa:reṭī sa:rege uṇḍu*
There are coconuts in the coconut tree

15. *ba:noṭu da:rage uṇḍu*
There are stars in the sky

It is possible to relativize these sentences like (13). Thus, we may have :

13. (b) *pe:rī ippuna petta*
The cow that has milk

14. (a) *sa:rege ippuna sa:re*
The coconut tree that has coconuts

15. (a) *da:rage ippuna ba:no*
The sky that has stars

When we shift the objects (*pe:rī* 'milk', *sa:rege* 'coconut' and *da:rage* 'stars') into the position of subjects (*petta* 'cow', *sa:re* 'coconut tree' and *ba:no* 'sky') of (13b), (14a) and (15a), the subject NPs take dative markers as:

13. (c) *pettagī ippuna pe:rī*
The milk that the cow has

14. (b) *sa:regī ippuna sa:rege*
The coconut that the coconut tree has

15. (b) *ba:nogu ippuna da:rage*
The stars that the sky has

However, the dative markers do not occur in the NPs *sa:re* (14) and *ba:no* (15), if the verb *uṇḍu* 'is/present' occurs as the sentence-closing element.

14. (c) **sa:regī sa:rege uṇḍu*
To the coconut tree, the coconuts are present

15. (c) **ba:nogu da:rage uṇḍu*
To the sky, the stars are present

The distinction between the sentences (13) on one hand and (14) and (15) on the other, lies perhaps, in the + animate feature of the NP, *petta* 'cow' in (13) and —animate in *sa:re* 'coconut tree' (14) and *ba:no* 'sky' (15).

6.2. This explanation seems, however, inadequate since inanimate nouns also can occur with the dative marker as it is also possible to say :

16. *maroku be:rī uṇḍu*
To the tree, roots are
The tree has roots

Clearly *maro* 'tree' has —animate feature. It is difficult to explain this at present and rough guess would be that the marker *-ku* in (16), has not resulted due to the transformation as in the case of (13), but indicates directionality as :

16. (a) *maroku beːrī baṭṭīlīṇḍī*

The roots have come to the tree

7. The expressions referring to the things (to be) exchanged for a price, present some problems:

17. *bajjeyigī eḍḍe kirayo uṇḍu*

There is a good price for the arecanuts

bajjeyi 'arecanut' is not in benefactive relation in the above sentence, even though, the NP *bajjeyigī* is translatable as 'for the arecanuts', because the receiver of the benefit *kirayo* 'price' is not *bajjeyi*.[3]

The one interpretation possible is, to treat both *bajjeyi* and *kirayo* as objects and consequently, the sentence as a complex one. That is, *bajjeyi* 'arecanuts' is received by some one and *kirayo* 'price' is received by some one else. In other words, the source of *bajjeyi* 'arecanut' is the receiver of *kirayo* 'price' and the source of *kirayo* 'price' is the receiver of *bajjeyi* 'arecanuts'.

Since the 'exchange verbs' involve two agents and two objects, the above inference is plausible. The verb denoting 'exchanges' then, must be taken as the one underlying the pairs of verbs which describe simultaneous actions of giving of something by some one and receiving of the (same) thing by some one else.

8. There are many sentences that have nouns with dative markers and they can be explained as basically showing different casal relations. The following are a few of them:

The sentences (18) and (19) state the comparison between two persons and between a person and an object, respectively:

18. *i: a:ɳagī a: poɳɳu mallɛ*

That girl is big to this boy
The girl is bigger than the boy

19. *eṅkī i: aṅgi mallɛ*

This shirt is big to me

The comparison such as in (18), is made with reference to 'match-making' in matrimony. Even though the noun *a:ɳī* 'boy' and *poɳɳu* 'girl' have equal status (of pertinent grammatical features, such as +animate) semantically, *poɳɳu* 'girl' is an object of possession and this is signalled by the dative marker [6]. In non-possessive comparison the dative marker will not occur and we will have a sentence:

18. (a) *i: a:ɳaḍtī a: poɳɳu mallɛ*

That girl is bigger than this boy

In sentence (19), the noun *aṅgi* 'shirt', is an object in possessive relation, with noun *eṅkī* 'to me'. Therefore, the comparative marker does not occur in the surface sentence:

19. (a) **i: aṅgi ennaḍtī mallɛ*

This shirt is bigger than me

Even with human nouns as well as non-human nouns when the relation is not definitely the possessive one, the comparative marker alone can occur and not the dative as can be seen in the following sentence pairs marked acceptable and unacceptable :

20. *megye aɳɳaḍtī mallɛ*

The younger brother is bigger than the elder brother

20. (a) **aṇṇagī megye malle*
The younger brother is big to the elder brother

21. *i: eruku a: nugo malle*
That yoke is big to this bull

21. (a) *i: *eruḍī a: nugo malle*
That yoke is bigger than this bull

9. The notion of purpose is also indicated by the dative:

22. *pu:jegī pu: koyyoḍu*
Must pluck flowers for worship

23. *sa:legī paṇavu koriye*
He gave money to school

The NPs with dative markers viz: *pu:je-gs* 'for the purpose of worshipping' (22), *sa:le-gī*, to school' (23) are not direct receivers of *pu:* 'flower' *paṇavu* 'money'. Neither of the NPs is the one which is affected by the action of the verb, whether the verb meaning 'give' occurs in the sentence or not. In other words, the NPs *pu:je* 'worship' and *sa:le* 'school' are not the ones in dative case relation even though, they have these markers. Such sentences as (22) and (23) are derived from complex sentences— the details of their deep structure and the transfromational mechanism have to be worked out. It is evident that *pu:je* 'worship' is an object and *pu:* 'flower' is another object in (22). Similarly *sa:le* and *paṇavu* in (23). The sentences can be paraphrased as *pu:je ma:lpiyara pu:nu koyyoḍu* 'for the purpose of doing the worship, (some one) should pluck the flowers' (22); *sa:lenī kaṭṭiyara/ eḍḍe ma:lpiyara paṇavu(nu) x-gī koriye* 'for the purpose of building / improving the school, (some one) gave money (to some one)' (23).

10. The dative marker occurs in NPs that have numeral qualifiers. The dative marker can occur optionally with noun or with the numeral.

24. *oñji dinoku na:lī rupa:yi sambaḷo korpe*

I give Rupees four as wages to a day (per day)

25. *dino oñjegī na:lī rupa:yi sambaḷo korpe* -id-

Like the sentences (22) and (23), the sentences (24) and (25) also must be interpreted as each derived from two underlying sentences. Consequently the interpretation for (24), would be: 'somebody works for a day, for which some one else gives Rupees four (to him)'. The NP *oñji dino*, or *dino oñji* 'one day' is neither a receiver, direct or indirect, nor an object in the underlying sentence as those of (22) and (23). *oñji dino* or, *dino oñji* has to be taken as an NP with locative-time reference and it takes the dative marker due to what may be plainly called contraction of the underlying phrase: *oñji dino kelaso ma:ḷpuneyki* 'to the work done in a day'. The instances of this kind (i.e., contraction of the phrases and shift of the dative case markers to locative - time nouns), are taken here as dative adverbials.

This much for the dative of Tulu. There may be many more types yet to be examined. The traditional structuralists (e.g., Brigel, 1872, and Shankar Bhat, 1967) have noted only case morphemes and their allomorphs without going into the various relations with which they occur. There is a wide scope for the case study of Tulu and what is done here is, only a bare outline of one case and its interpretation.

Notes :

1. Any language is a case language whether it has markers to denote these semantic notions or not. The traditional term 'case language' is used only to differentiate the languages that have case markers in their surface expressions, from those that have different devices as post-positions, or, order of the words in a sentence etc.

2. There are a number of folk songs in the Tulu language,. These songs are transmitted orally from generation to generation. The songs are sung by the labourers during the agricultural operations; by the devil dancers during the festivals commemorating the local deities. The missionaries started translating the Bible in Tulu language using Kannada script. Recently, literary activities in Tulu are going ahead with full vigour, using Kannada script for writing poems and dramas so on, though the Kannada script lacks some symbols to represent a few of the Tulu vowel sounds.

3. The expression of 'path' can occur in unlimited number in a sentence "as long as these are understood as indicating successive stretches of same path" (Fillmore, 1971:259). Similarly it is possible to have two or more locative expressions in a sentence.

4. In Kannada, the construction similar to that of (5) occurs sporadically. But, in Tamil and Telugu, the sentences do not occur with dative marker at all, e. g.,

   (Ka.) *avanige mo.sa koṭṭa* Some one cheated him
   (Ka) *avanannu mo:sa ma:diḍa* ,,
   (Te.) *va:ṇṇi mo:sœam ce:sæ:ḍu* ,,
   (Ta) *avanai e:maṟṟina:n* ,,

   The Telugu information was given to me by my collegue Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyam.

5. Fillmore (1971:261) in his paper "Some Problems of Case Grammar" says that benefactive sentences involve three notions: the one who does something the Agent; his action or offerings, the Object and the "direction" or receiver of that action or offering, the Goal ... in other words, with Agent, Object and animate Goal, with the deed performed for somebody's benefit being expressed as the sentence embedded in the Object case.

6. In reverse form the girl may be the possessor and in such instances, the dative marker will occur with *poṇṇu* and the sentence would be like: *a: poṇṇagī i: aṇī eḷyε* 'To that girl this boy is small .

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KA:RAKAS AND CASE MARKERS

P. S. Subrahmanyam
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

0. The function of case markers in any language (whether they are suffixes, postpositions or prepositions) is to signal the kinds of relationship that hold between the noun phrases to which they are attached and the verb of the particular sentence in which they occur.[1] The genitive case marker is an exception to the above statement since it expresses the relationship that holds between two different nouns. It is, however, possible that a construction of the type N_1-Genitive + N_2 is derived from a full sentence in which N_1 has a case marker other than the genitive (either nominative or accusative) e. g. *jagataḥ sraṣṭa:* 'the creator of the world' ← *saḥ jagat sṛjati* 'he creates the world'.

An attempt is made in the present paper to explain the *ka:raka* theory which was formulated by the *munitraya*, i.e. the great Sanskrit grammarian Pa:ṇini, his critic Vararuci and his commentator Patanjali. General remarks on the chief differences between the case system of Sanskrit on the one hand and the case systems of the four literary Dravidian languages, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannaḍa and Telugu on the other will be made in § 7 below.

1. According to Patanjali, a *ka:raka* means a person or an object which does something or which participates in carrying out an action in some way or other (*karoti:ti ka:rakam*). In other

words a *ka:raka* is the deep or underlying relationship that holds between a noun and a verb. Each *ka:raka* normally represents a single semantic concept but in a few cases which are well defined a *ka:raka* may represent more than one semantic concept (See § 6). Pa:ṇini sets up the following six *ka:rakas* for Sanskrit and gives them in the order in which they are given below.

1. *apa:da:na* (that from which movement takes place, 1.4. 24-31; main case - 5th), 2. *saṃprada:na* (the person or object intended by the agent when he does something, 1.4. 32-41; main case - 4th). 3. *karaṇa* (that which is most useful for carrying out an action, 1.4. 42-44; main case - 3rd), 4. *adhikaraṇa* (the locus of an action, 1.4. 45-48; main case - 7th), 5. *karman* (that which is most desired by the agent in carrying out an action, 1.4. 49; also that which is unwanted 1.4. 50, also 1.4. 53; main case-2nd), 6. *kartṛ* (that which is independent 1.4. 54 and also the instigator 1.4. 55; main case - 3rd).

Pa:ṇini gave the *ka:rakas* in the order indicated for a very significant reason although it was not noted by any of the scholars that have dealt with the *ka:raka* theory. We must note that he followed the normal Indian order in describing the use of the cases other than the nominative (2.3. 1-45) and in giving the case suffixes (4.1. 2). The reason is this. When there is a possibility of two *ka:rakas* applying in a particular instance, Pa:ṇini wanted to give preference to the *ka:ra:ka* that is defined later. The two metarules *a:kaḍa:ra:d e:ka: samjña:* 1.4. 1. (from this sutra upto the sutra 2.2. 38, each thing will have only one technical term, that which comes last and/or that which would have no other opportunity) and *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ ka:ryaṃ* 1.4. 2. (When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order given takes effect) make this point clear. Patanjali elaborated this point with examples in his commentary on the former *su:tra*. Let us look at the following three examples:

dhanuṣa: vidhyati

He shoots with the bow

dhanur vidhyati

The bow shoots

stha:li pacati

The vessel cooks

The word *dhanur* 'bow' can get the *apa:da:na ka:raka* because the arrow goes off from it, it can get the *karaṇa ka:raka* because it is the instrument for hitting (something) and it can get the *kartṛ ka:raka* if we consider it to be independent. Since *karaṇa* is given later, it takes precedence over *apa:da:na* which is given first and since between *karaṇa* and *kartṛ*, *kartṛ* is given later it takes precedence over *karaṇa*. Note, however, that both *karaṇa* and *kartṛ* can be used because all *ka:rakas* take place according to the intention of the speaker (*vivakṣa:taḥ ka:raka:ṇi bhavanti*). Similarly *stha:li*: 'vessel' normally gets the *adhikaraṇa* but when it is considered to be independent by the speaker it can take the *kartṛ ka:raka* because it is the latter of the two su:tras. The su:tra 1.4.1. (along with 1.4.2.) stipulates that the term which is given later in *Aṣta:dhya:yi:* alone applies when there is scope for the application of more than two terms in that part of the grammar from 1.4.1 to 2.2.38.[2]

2. Case lables are assigned to the various *ka:rakas* by Pa:ṇini in the sutras 2.3.1. to. 3.73 (the whole of the 3rd pa:da of the 2nd adhya:ya).[3] The su:tra 2.3.1 (*anabhihite*) is a very important one here. It stipulates that case lables other than the nominative are to be assigned to a noun only when the particular *ka:raka* is not referred to or indicated otherwise. According to the *va:rttika*, *tiṅkṛttaddhitasama:saiḥ parisaṃkhya:naṃ* the *ka:raka* may be referred to by the verb suffix (*tiṅ*), a verbal noun (*kṛt*), a secondary

derivative (*taddhita*) or a compound (*sama:sa*). For example, in both *kaṭam karoti* 'he makes a mat' and *kaṭaḥ kṛiyate* 'the mat is being made', *kaṭa* 'mat' receives the *karman* because it is the most desired by the *kartṛ*. In the first sentence it took the second case since *karman* is not intended by the verb suffix. In the second sentence, and also in *kaṭaḥ kṛtaḥ* 'the mat is made', however, the passive suffix in the verb intends the *karman* and therefore *kaṭa* takes only the first case but not the second. This process closely resembles the concept of ordering of transformational rules in transformational grammar. The transformation that converts *ka:rakas* into cases takes place only after the application of the transformations like passivization, compounding, etc.

In a similar way the presence of the causative suffix in the verb makes the *he:tu* (instigator) to take the first case and *kartṛ* to take the third case (according to *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛti:ya:* 2.3. 18) or the second case (in the case of particular types of verbs (see 1.4. 52). The following sentence is an example:

ha:rayati bha:ram bhṛtyaṃ|bhṛtyena

He makes the servant carry the load

Ta. *avaṉ ve:laikka:ranai pa:ram tu:kkac ceykiṟa:ṉ.*

Ma. *avan ve:lakka:ranekkoṇḍu bha:ram cumappiccu.*

Te. *va:ḍu paniva:ḍi cEEta baruvu mo:yistunna:ḍu.*

Ka. *avanu kelasadavaninda hore horisutta:ne.*

The causative suffix intends the causer and therefore it takes the first case and the agent takes the instrumental of the accusative case.

3. *ka:rakas* are the deep structure relationships between a verb and the several nouns of a sentence and cases are their surface manifestations. For each *ka:raka* there is a corresponding case

which may be called the main case for that *ka:raka*, for example, the fifth case is the main case for *apa:da:na*. There is, however, no one-to-one relationship between *ka:rakas* and cases since one and the same case suffix can express two or more different *ka:rakas*.

devadattena kṛtaṃ

done by Devadatta (3rd case representing the *kartṛ*)

asina:cchinatti

he cuts with a knife (3rd case representing the *karaṇa*)

In the following examples *saṃprada:na* is expressed by the fourth case in the first sentence but by the second case in the second sentence (see under 1.4.37-38).

devadatta:ya krudhyati

He is angry with Devadatta

devadattaṃ abhikrudhyati „ „ „

Pa:ṇini formulated the *ka:raka* theory to state the meanings of case suffixes in a systematic way since his method is to assign each suffix to one or more particular semantic concepts.

4. The problem of two or more case suffixes representing the same type of relationship noted also by the first Tamil grammarian Tolka:ppiyar. He deals with the problem in a separate chapter entitled *ve:ṟṟumai-mayaṅkiyal* "interchange of cases" in his grammar. He gives su:tras to account for cases like the following:

ya:ṉaiyaik ko:ṭṭiṉkaṭ kuṟaitta:ṉ
ya:ṉaiyatu ko:ṭṭaik kuṟaitta:ṉ

He cut off the tusk of the elephant.

paḷiyiṉ/paḷiyai añcum

He is afraid of calumny.

ka:ṭṭinkaṇ
ka:ṭṭatu } *ya:ṉai*

The elephant in or of the forest.

5. In his grammar, Pa:ṇini first defines each *ka:raka* in terms of the semantic concept for which it stands as, for example, *dhruvamapa:ye,pa:da:nam* 1.4.24 (When movement takes place, that from which something else moves away is *apa:da:na*). Then he gives under that *ka:raka* special concepts (that stand for the nouns at the surface level) which take the main case of that *ka:raka* in the Sanskrit language. For example, according to 1.4.25, the cause of fear is *apa:da:na* with the verbs that mean 'to fear' or 'to protect', e.g. *cora:t bibheti/tra:yate* 'he is afraid of/protects (somebody) from the thief' and according to 1.4.29, the teacher will be *apa:da:na* in the case of religious teaching, e.g. *upa:dhya:yad adhi:te* 'he learns from the teacher'. If we apply the *ka:raka* theory to languages other than Sanskrit such specific instances may not come under *apa:da:na* but they will come under some other *ka:raka*. For example, in Tamil and Telugu the cause of fear takes the dative and the teacher takes a type of locative:

Ta. *avaṉ tiruṭaṉukkup payappaṭukiṟa:ṉ*
Ma. *avan kaḷḷane / kaḷḷanu bhayappeḍunnu*
Te. *va:ḍu doṅgaki bhayapaḍutunna:ḍu*
Ka. *avanu kaḷḷanige hedarutta:ne.*

He is afraid of the thief

(Note : According to Tolkaappiyam, *Collatika:ram*, *Su:tra* 98, the cause of fear takes the fifth or the second case : *paliyin / paliyai añcum* 'he is afraid of calumny'.)

Ta. *avan a:ciriyariṭam kaṟkiṟa:n*

Ma. *avan adl ya:pakanilninnu paṭhikkunnu*

Te. *va:ḍu guruvudaggi.a caduvukoṇṭunna:ḍ̆u*

Ka. *avanu gurugaḷa hattira kaliyutta:ne*

He is learning from the teacher

On the basis of the above evidence, we have to conclude that the general definitions that are given by Pa:ṇini for the various *ka:rakas* are universal and they hold good for all the languages while the specific definitions restricted to cases of particular verbs belong only to the Sanskrit language. It must be mentioned here that Patanjali goes one step further than Pa:ṇini and extends the sense of the general definitions of *ka:rakas* to include the metaphorical meaning also. Thus, according to Patanjali, it is not necessary to say that the cause of fear is *apa:da:na* as Pa:ṇini did because when we say 'he is afraid of the thief' what we mean is that 'he (mentally) moves away from the thief' and it is similar to a sentence like 'he goes from the village'.[4] In the opinion of Patanjali the rules 1.4.25-31 are all redundant since all the specific semantic concepts given in them come under the rubric *apa:da:na* once it is taken in a wider sense.

6. It has been mentioned earlier that in a few cases two *ka:rakas* represent one and the same semantic concept in Pa:ṇini. In fact, there are only four instances where Pa:ṇini enjoined two different *ka:rakas* for one and the same semantic concept. In the first, according to the *su:tra* 1.4.38, if *krudh* 'to be angry' and *druh* 'to injure' occur with prepositions the person with whom one is angry gets the *karman* instead of the *sampradа:na*, *devadatta:ya krudhayate* but *devadattam abhikrudhyati* 'He is angry

with Devadatta'. In the second according to 1.4.43, the most effective instrument in the case of the verb *div* 'to play dice' optionally gets *karman* instead of *karaṇa*, *akṣa:n/akṣaiḥ di:vyati* 'he plays (with) dice' and according to 1.4.44, the most effective instrument in the case of the verb *parikri:* 'to employ on stipulated wages' optionally gets *saṃpra:dana* instead of *karaṇa*, *šata:ya / šatena parikri:taḥ* 'he was employed for a hundred'. In the third, that which is the locus gets *karman* instead of *adhikaraṇa* in the case of a few verbs (see sutras 1.4.46-48) *gra:mam adhitiṣṭhati* 'he occupies the village'. In the fourth, that which is *kartṛ* in the non-causative sentence becomes *karman* in the corresponding causative sentences in the case of verbs that refer to 'motion', 'knowing', 'eating', etc. (see 1.4.52) and this happens optionally with the verbs *hṛ* 'to carry' and *kṛ* 'to do' (1.4.53). In most of these cases a *ka:raka* other than *karman* is replaced by *karman* and it must be made clear here, that it is not due to any confusion in the mind of Pa:ṇini between *ka:rakas* and cases as has been supposed by some scholars. If Pa:ṇini had said that in such cases the above *ka:rakas* get the second case but not the *karma ka:raka*, he could not have derived the passive sentences like *devadatto, bhikrudhyate, gramodhiṣṭhiyate* in which *devadatta* and *gra:ma* which are in the nominative are *karman*.

7. Finally, we shall briefly note the differences between the Sanskrit case system and the the Dravidian case system. Sanskrit uses the second case with nouns that denote time or distance when full duration is intended.

ma:sam/krošam adhi:te

He studies for one month/for a distance of a *ko:š*

In Dravidian such nouns are only in the nominative:

Ta. *avan oru ma:tam paṭitta:n̲.*

Ma. *avan oru ma:sam paṭhiccu.*

Te. *vaːḍu oka nela cadivEːḍu*

Ka. *avanu ondu tingaḷu oːdida.*

He studied for one month

But Sanskrit uses the third case (with nouns denoting time or distance) when the accomplishment of the desired object is to be expressed, *ahnaː/kroːšena anuvaːko, dhiːtaḥ*, he learnt the *anuvaːka* in a day/by covering the distance of a *koːš*. In such cases the Dravidian languages commonly use the seventh case but Telugu uses the fourth case also.

Ta. *avaṉukku paːṭam iraṇṭu naːḷil vantatu.*

Ma. *avan raṇḍu divasam koṇḍu/divasattil paːṭham paṭhiccu.*

Ka. *avanige paːṭha eraḍu dinadadalli banditu.*

Te. *vaːḍiki paːṭham reṇḍu roːjulaki/rojulaloo occindi.*

He learnt the lesson in two days

In Sanskrit the verbs that denote movement are transitive but the object of such verbs may be either in the second or the fourth case (if the movement is mental the object will only be in the second case, *gatyarthakarmaṇi dvitīyaːcaturthyau ceːṣṭaːyaːm anadhavanī* 2.3.12), *graːmam/graːmaːya gacchati*. In Dravidian such verbs are intransitive and therefore the noun indicating goal is in the dative. Also in Sanskrit the word meaning 'way' takes the second case, *adhvaːnaṃ gacchati* 'he goes by the way' but in Dravidian it takes the seventh case, e.g.

Ta. *vaḻiyil poːkiṟaːṉ.*

Ma. *vaḻiyilkuːṭi poːkunnu.*

Ka. *daːriyalli hoːguttaːne.*

Te. *toːvani/daːrini poːtunnaːḍu.*

The third case in Sanskrit as well as in many Dravidian languages is used to express the 'cause' also (hetau 2 3 23)· *kanyaya: šokaḥ* '(one) gets worried because of a daughter',

Ta. *makaḷa:l tuṉpam,*
Ma. *makaḷa:l duḥkham,*
Ka. *magaḷinda duḥkha.*

But in Telugu the postposition *valla* (Old *valanan*) rather than the third case is used for 'cause', e.g. *ku:turuvalla dukkham.*[5]

Sanskrit uses the seventh case with a noun the action of which indicates the time of another action, *goṣu duhyama:na:su gattaḥ* 'he went when the cows were being milked'.[6] In Dravidian the seventh case is not used so but the corresponding clause in those languages either contains an infinitive or the non-past adjective followed by the word meaning 'then'.

Ta. *pa:l kaṟakkumpo:tu avaṉ po:ṉa:ṉ*
Ma. *pa:l kaṟannukoṇṭirunnappo:ḷ avan po:yi*
Ka. *ha:lu.* { *kareyuva hottige* / *kareyuttiruva:ga* } *avanu ho:da.*
Te. *pa:lu* { *pitike:ṭappuḍu* / *pitukutu: uṇḍaga:* } *va:ḍu veḷḷe:ḍu*

Although the sixth case of Sanskrit usually represents the relationship between two nouns like the sixth case of Dravidian the former in some cases is used to represent a *ka:raka* and in this respect it differs from the sixth case of Dravidian, e.g. *sarpiṣo ja:ni:te* (*jño' vidarthasya karaṇe* 2.3.51) 'he engages in sacrifice with honey' (the genitive in this represents *karaṇa*). *ma:tur adhyeti* (*adhi:garthadayeša:ṃ karmaṇi* 2.3.52) 'he remembers the mother, (the genitive' in this represents *karman*).

puruṣamṛgaś candramasaḥ/candramase (caturthyarthe bahulam chandasi 2.3.62) 'a male deer, to the moon, (the genitive in the Vedic language optionally represents *saṃpradaːna* as in the above example).)

In Sanskrit the sixth case is used for *kartṛ* and *karman* when the concerned noun is in I C relation with some types of verbal noun (*kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* 2.3. 65). But when both *kartṛ* and *karman* are present in a sentence, then the sixth case is used only for the *karman* and the *kartṛ* takes the instrumental (*ubhayapraːptau karmaṇi* 2.3.66) e.g. bhavataḥ śaːyikaː 'your lying down'

[Ta. *niː paṭuttukkoṇṭiruppatu*
Ma. *niː kiṭakkunnadu/niṉṟe kiṭattal*
Ka. *niːnu malagikoḷḷuvudu;*
Te. *nuvvu paḍukoovaḍam*]
jagataḥ sraṣṭaː
[Ta. *ulakattaip paṭaittavaṉ*
Ma. *prapañcatte sṛṣṭiccavan*
Ka. *jagattannu sṛṣṭisidavanu*
Te. *jagattuni sṛṣṭincinavaːḍu*]
The creator of the world

As indicated by the above examples, this is not normally possible in the Dravidian languages athough Old Telugu (*niː ceːsina pani* instead of *niːvu ceːsina pani* 'the work that you did)' and Old Kannaḍa (*ninna maːḍida kelasa* instead of *niːnu maːḍida kelasa* 'the work that you did') contain such constructions which most probably are due to the influence of Sanskrit.[7]

Notes :

1. During the discussion that followed the presentation of this paper in the Seminar, Professor P. B. Pandit suggested that the term *ka:raka* may be rendered into English as "operator". I fully agree with him that the terms "*ka:raka*" and "operator" are equivalent since their etymologies are quite similar: *karoti:ti ka:rakaṃ* "that which does (something) is a *ka:raka*" and an "operator" is "that which operates i.e., takes part in an action". I, however, prefer to use the term *ka:raka* rather than "operator" since the former reminds everybody the fact that the *ka:raka* theory is one of the great contributions of the Sanskrit grammarians to general linguistics.

   It is interesting to note that W.D. Whitney used the term "ideal case relation" as the equivalent of *ka:raka* as opposed to "case-form" (J. F. Staal 1972:166).

   I express my thanks to my colleagues, Dr.K. Kushalappa Gowda, who provided the Kannada examples, Thiru SP. Thinnappan, who provided the Tamil examples and to Miss L. Vimala, who provided the Malaya:ḷam examples.

2. The following Telugu sentences serve to illustrate the point:

   1. *i: ginni so:laḍu biyyam uḍukutundi.*
      This vessel cooks the rice of a *so:la* measure
   2. *nuvvu e: ginnilo: annam oṇḍe:vu ?*
      In which vessel did you cook rice ?
   3. *nuvvu e: ginnito: annam oṇḍe:vu ?*
      With which vessel did you cook rice ?

   In sentence (1) *ginni* is *kartṛ*, in sentences (2) and (3) it is *adhikaraṇa* but it is manifested by the seventh case suffix *-lo:* in the former while it is manifested by the third case suffix *-to:* in the latter. All the sentences are possible because what *ka:raka* has to be used depends upon the will of the speaker as pointed out by Patanjali.

3. In Sanskrit the case suffixes are used, apart from their use as representatives of *ka:rakas*, also to indicate the relationship of a noun to other nouns, which are enumerated in the grammar. A case suffix that is used so is called *upapada vibhakti* in contrast to *ka:raka vibhakti*. The following are the examples :

The second case is used in association with *karmapravacani:yas* (*karmapravacani:yayukte dviti:ya:* 2.3.8), e. g. *ša:kalyasya samhita:m anu pra:varṣat* "it rained after reciting the *saṃhita* of ša:kalya".

The third case is used in association with the word *saha* 'along with', *sahayukte pradha:ne* 2.3.19), e.g. *putreṇa saha:gataḥ pita:* "the father came along with the son" (*saha* may optionally be deleted).

The fourth case is used in association with *namaḥ*, svasti, etc. (*namaḥsvastisva:ha:svadha:lam vašaḍ yoga:cca* 2.3.16), e.g. *namo devebhyaḥ* "salutation to gods."

The sixth and the seventh cases are used in association with the words *sva:mi:*, 'lord', etc. (*svami:švara:dhipatida:ya:dasa:kṣipratibhu:prasu:taišca* 2.3.39), e.g. *gava:ṃ/goṣu sva:mi:* 'lord of cows'.

4. See *Maha:bha:ṣya* under 1.4. 25. *ayam yogaḥ šakyo'vaktum ihai ta:vat -vṛkebhyo bibheti dasyubhyo bibheti:ti. ya eṣa manuṣyaḥ prekṣa:pu:rvaka:ri: bhavati. sa pašyati-yadi ma:ṃ ˈvṛka:hpašyanti dhruvo me mṛtyuriti. sa buddhyā saṃprapya nivartate, tatra "dhruvamapa:ye' pa:da:naṃ" ityeva siddham.* This statement can be omitted. In cases like "he is afraid of wolves or thieves", a man with forethought thinks. "if wolves see me, my death is certain". He reaches the wolves by his mind and goes away from them. Therefore the fifth case in such cases is ordained by 1. 4. 24 itself)

5. In Sanskrit as well as in many Dravidian languages, the "instrumental" and the "sociative" senses are expressed by one and the same suffix. However, there are ways to make the distinction apparent at the surface level as the use of *saha* 'along' (optionally) in the sociative sense in Sanskrit. Similarly, in Telugu, in the sociative, *to:* may optionally take *kalisi* or *ku:ḍi* (Old) 'having joined' or it may be replaced by *to:pa:ṭu* e.g. *ne:nu va:ḍito:/va:ḍilo:pa:ṭu/ va:ḍito: kalsi veḷḷe:nu* 'I went along with him'. But Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda, Koḍagu and Kannada among the Dravidian languages have different suffixes for the two senses. The concerned suffixes in these languages are given in the following table.

	Instrumental	Sociative
Tamil	*-a:l/-a:ṉ, -koṇṭu*	*-o:ṭu/-oṭu/-uṭaṉ/ku:ḍa mutal*
Malayalam	*-a:l, koṇṭu*	*-o:ṭu/-oṭu/-uṭaṉ*
Kota	*-a:l, -a:r*	*-o:r*
Toda	*-a:l, -a:r, -iṭ*	*-poḍy*
Koḍagu	*koṇḍī/kayñja*	*jotëli, pakka, ku:ḍa*
Kannaḍa	*-iṃ, -in, -inda,*	*-oḍane*

(See S.V. Shanmugam, 1971 for details)

There is ample reason to think that originally the sociative and the instrumental cases had different suffixes in Dravidian.

6. *yasya ca bha:vena bha:valakṣaṇam* 2.3.37. When disregard is meant, the sixth case or the seventh case may be used (*ṣaṣṭhi*:ca:na:dare 2.3.38) *rudati/rudataḥ pra:vra:ji:t* "he renounced disregarding someone who was weeping".

In Sanskrit that part of the body, which, because of its deformity, indicates the defect in the whole body takes the third case (*yena:ngavika:raḥ* 2.3.20)., e.g. *akṣṇa: ka:ṇaḥ* 'lit, blind by the eye". Such a usage is not found in Dravidian; the equivalents, of the above Sanskrit phrase will be,

Ta. *avaṉukku kaṇ kuruṭu*

Ma. *avan ∂ kaṇṇ ∂ kuruṭ ∂ a:ṇ ∂*

Ka. *avanige kaṇṇu kuruḍu*

Te. *va:ḍiki kannu guḍḍi*

(All the above literally mean, "to him, the eye is blind").

7. Incidentally, it is interesting to observe the technique used by P*a:ṇ*ini in the following two sutras.

Kriya:rthopapadasya ca karmaṇi stha:ninaḥ 2.3.14. "The fourth case is used for the *karman* of the verb which is suppressed (*stha:nin*) and which has in construction (*upapada*) therewith another verb which denotes an action performed for the sake of the further action". *puṣpebhyo vrajati* 'he goes

for flowers,". The above sentence is assumed to be derived by Pa:ṇini from an underlying sentence, like *puṣpa:ṇi a:hartum vrajati* 'he goes to bring flowers'; the verb *a:hṛ-* 'to bring' is(optionally) deleted and its object *puṣpa-* takes the fourth case instead of the second case when the deletion takes place.

tumar:tha:c ca bha:vavacana:t 2.3.15 "The fourth case is used after an abstract verbal noun when it has the force of the suffix *-tum* (i. e. infinitive of purpose), e.g. *ya:ga:ya vrajati* 'he goes to offer a sacrifice'. Here *ya:ga:ya* may be substituted by the corresponding infinitive of purpose, *yaṣṭum* 'to sacrifice'.

These instances along with a host of others make it abundantly clear that Pa:ṇini recognized the facts that two different sentences may convey the same meaning and that languages often employ the process of deletion of a particular item, which however, does not alter the meaning of the whole sentence.

APPENDIX :

The section of *Aṣṭa:dhya:yi:* that deals with the *ka:rakas* is given below. The meaning of each *su:tra* as given in the *Ka:ṣika:* and illustrations are also added.

1.4. 23. *ka:rake*

In a *ka:raka* (this is the *adhika:ra su:tra* and the word *ka:raka* is read into the following su:tras)

apa:da:na ka:raka

1.4. 24. *dhruvam apa:ye'pa:da:nam.*

(A fixed point from which departure takes place is *apa:da:nam— gra:ma:d a:gacchati* 'he comes from the village').

1.4. 25. *bhi:tra:rtha:na:m bhayahetuḥ*

(In the case of verbs meaning 'fear' and 'protection from danger', the source of fear is *apa:da:na— caurebhyo bibheti* 'he is afraid of thieves', *caurebhyas tra:yate* 'he protects (someone) from the thieves'.)

1.4.26. *para:je:r asoḍhaḥ.*

(In the case of the verb *para:ji* 'to be tired or weary of', that which becomes unbearable is *apa:da:na—adhyayana:t para:jayate* 'he finds study unbearable').

1.4.27. *va:raṇa:rtha:na:m i:psitaḥ.*

(In the case of verbs having the sense of 'preventing', the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is *apa:da:na—yavebhyo ga:ṃ va:rayati* 'he wards off the cow from the barley').

1.4.28. *antardhau yena:darśanam icchati.*

(When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid is *apa:da:na— upa:dhya:yad antardhatte* 'he hides himself from the teacher).

1.4.29. *a:khya:topayoge.*

(In the case of religious teaching, the teacher is *apa:da:na—upa:dhya:yad adhi:te* 'he learns from the teacher').

1.4.30. *janikartuḥ prakṛtiḥ.*

The prime cause of the agent of the verb *jan* 'to be born' is *apa:da:na— brahmaṇaḥ praja:ḥ praja:yante* 'People are created by Brahma'.)

1.4.31. *bhuvaḥ prabhavaḥ.*

(The source of the agent of the verb *bhu:* 'to become' is *apa:da:na: himavato gaṇga: prabhavati* 'Ganga has its source in the Himalayas'.)

Saṃprada:na ka:raka:

1.4.32. *Karmaṇa: yam abhipraiti sa saṃprada:naṃ*

(The person or thing that is intended by the agent through the object is *saṃbrada:na—upa:dhya:ya:ya ga:ṃ dada:ti* 'he gives a cow to the teacher')

(*Varttika: kriya:grahaṇam api kartavyam.* The verb also must be taken into consideration in addition to the object: *yuddha:ya sannahyate* 'he prepares for the battle').

1.4.33. *rucyartha:na:ṃ priːyama:ṇaḥ.*

(In the case of the verbs having the sense 'to like', the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied is *saṃpradana— devadatta:ya rocate modakaḥ* 'D. likes the sweetmeat'.)

1.4. 34. *šla:ghahnuṅstha:šapa:ṃ jñipsyama:naḥ.*

(In the case of the verbs *šlagh* 'to praise', *hnu* 'to take away', *stha:* 'to stand' and *šap* 'to course', the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by these actions is *saṃprada:na— devadatta:ya šla:ghate* 'he praises D', *hnute* 'he hides (something) from D.', *tiṣṭhate* 'she offers herself to D.', *šapate* 'he reviles D.').

1.4. 35. *dha:rer uttamarṇaḥ.*

(In the case of the verb *dha:ri* 'to owe', the creditor is *saṃprada:na— devadatta:ya šatam dha:rayati* 'he owes a hundred to D.')

1.4. 36. *spṛher i:psitaḥ.*

(In the case of the verb *spṛh* 'to desire', the thing desired is *saṃprada:na—puṣpebhyaḥ spṛhayati* 'he desires flowers'.)

1.4. 37. *krudhadruherṣya:su:ya:rtha:na:ṃ yaṃ prati kopaḥ.*

(In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* 'to be angry' *druh* 'to injure', *i:rṣya:* 'to envy' and *asu:ya:* 'to find fault with' the person against whom the feeling of anger is directed is *saṃprada:na—devadatta:ya krudhyati* 'he is angry with D.', *druhyati* the bears malice to D.', *i:rṣyati* 'he is jealous of D.', *asu:yati* 'he finds fault with D.')

1.4. 38. *krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayoh karma.*

(When the verbs *krudh* and *druh* take an *upasarga* (prefix), the person against whom the feeling of anger is directed is *karma— devadattam abhikrudhyati/abhidruhyati* 'he is angry with/bears malice to D.')

1.4. 39. *ra:dhi:kṣyor yasya viprašnaḥ.*

(In the case of the verbs *ra:dh* 'to propitiate' and *i:kṣ* 'to look to', the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is *saṃprada:na—devadattaya ra:dhyati/i:kṣate gargaḥ* 'G. reflects upon the good or bad fortune of D.'.)

1.4. 40. *pratya:ṅbhya:ṃ š ruvaḥ pu:rvasya karta:.*

(In the case of the verb *šru* which, along with the prefixes *prati* and *a:* means 'to promise', the person who is the agent of the verb 'to request', which normally precedes it, is *saṃprada:na— devadatta:ya ga:ṃ pratišṛṇoti / a:šṛṇoti* 'he promises a cow to D.')

1.4. 41. *anupratigṛṇāśca.*

(In the case of the verb *gṛ*, which with the prefix *anu* or *prati* means 'to encourage by repeating', the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is *saṃpradaːna*: *hotre'nvgṛṇaːti* 'the *adhvaryu* priest encourages the *hotṛ* priest, who invokes first'.)

Karaṇakaːraka

1.4. 42. *saːdhakatamaṃ karaṇaṃ*

(That which is the most effective instrument in the accomplishment of an action is *karaṇa*— *daːtreṇa lunaːti* 'he cuts with a sickle').

1.4. 43. *divaḥ karma ca*

(That which is the most effective instrument in the accomplishment of the action of *div* 'to play dice' is *karaṇa* as well as *karman*— *akṣaːṇ/akṣair diːvyati* 'he plays (with) the dice.')

1.4. 44. *parikrayaṇe saṃpradaːnaṃ anyatarsyāṃ*

(In the case of the verb *parikriː* 'to employ on stipulated wages (for a limited period)' 'that which is the most effective instrument is optionally *saṃpradaːna* (i.e, *karaṇa* as well as *saṃpradaːn*— *ašataya/šatena parikriːtaḥ* 'the person who was employed for a hundred'.)

adhikaraṇa kaːraka

1.4. 45. *aːdhaːro'dhikaraṇaṃ.*

(The locus of an action is *adhikaraṇa*— *kaṭe aːste* 'he is seated on the mat'.)

1.4. 46. *adhiśiːṅsthaːsāṃ karma.*

(That which is the locus of the verbs *śiː* 'to lie down', *sthaː* 'to stand' and *aːs* 'to sit', when they take the prefix *adhi* is *karman*— *graːmaṃ adhiśete/adhitiṣṭhate/adhyaːste* 'he lies down in/occupies/sits in the village'.)

1.4. 47. *abhinivišaś ca*

(That which is the locus of the verb *abhiniviš* 'to enter' is also karman— *graːmaṃ abhinivišate* 'he resorts to the village'.)

1.4. 48. *upaːnvadhyaːṅvasaḥ*

(The which is the locus of the verb *vas* 'to dwell', when it is preceded by one of the prefixes *upa*, *anu*, *adhi* and *aː* is *karman*— *graːmaṃ upavasati senaː* 'the army occupies (i.e. dwells in) the village').

Karma ka:raka

1.4. 49. *kartur i:psitatamaṃ karma*

(That which is most desired or intended by the agent through an act is *karman*: *kaṭam karoti* 'he makes a mat'.)

1.4. 50. *tatha:yuktaṃ ca:ni:psitaṃ.*

(That which is not most desired or intended by the agent but which still is connected with the action like that which is most desired or intended is also *karman—viṣaṃ bhakṣayati* 'he eat poison:' *gra:maṃ gocchan co:ra:n pašyati. ahiṃ laṅghayati* while going to a village, he sees thieves and jumps over a snake').

1.4. 51. *akathitaṃ ca*

(That *ka:raka* which is not considered to be one of the above *ka:rakas* is also *karman— baliṃ ya:cate vasudha:m* 'he asked B. (for) earth', *ma:ṇavakaṃ dharmam bru:te* 'he teaches the student *dharma* ('proper conduct'); *gra:mam aja:m nayati* 'he leads the sheep to the village'.[8] *(va:rttika— akarmakadha:tubhir yoge dešah ka:lo bha:vo gantavyo' dhva:ca karma saṃjñaka iti va:cyaṃ* "when associated with an intransitive verb, the nouns denoting a place, time, condition and length of road to be gone over are considered to be *karman— kuru:n svapiti* 'he sleeps in the land of the Kurus; *ma:sam a:ste* 'he stays for a month; *godohaṃ a:ste* 'he is engaged in milking a cow; *krošam a:ste* 'he goes over one *kroša* (two miles).

1.4. 52. *gatibuddhi pratyavasa:na:rtha šabdakarma:karmaka:ṇa:m aṇi karta: sa ṇau.*

(Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion', 'knowledge or information', 'eating', and of verbs that have some literary work for their object and of intransitive verbs, that which

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[8]. The following *š loka* in *Siddha:nta Kaumudi*: lists the verbs that take the *akathita karman* 'indirect object'.

duh dya:c pac daṇḍ rudhi pracchi ci bru: ša:su ji math muṣa:ṃ

karmayuk sya:d akathitaṃ tatha: sya:n ni: hṛ kṛṣ vaha: .

The verbs are *duh* 'to milk', *ya:c* 'to beg', *pac* 'to cook' *daṇḍ* 'to punish, fine', *rudh* 'to obstruct or confine', *pracch* 'to asks, *ci* 'to collect'. *bru*: 'to tell', *ša:s* 'to instruct', *ji* 'to win (at a prize or wager)', *manth* 'to churn', *muṣ* 'to steal', and the four verbs *ni*:, *hṛ*, *kṛṣ* and *vah* all meaning 'to take or carry'. The synonyms of these verbs also take the 'indirect object'.

is the agent in their non-causative state will become *karman* in their causative state (i.e. when he verb takes the causative suffix (*ṇi*) *i* — *šatru:n agamıyat svargaṃ* 'he made the enemies reach heaven', *bodhıyatı ma:ṇıvakaṃ dharmaṃ* 'he teaches the boy *Dharma* (proper conduct), *bhojıyatı ma:ṇavakaṃ odanaṃ* 'he makes the boy eat (food)', *adıya:pıyati ma:ṇavakaṃ ve:dam* 'he teaches *Vedas* to the boy', *asıyıti devadattaḥ* 'he makes D. to sit'.[9]

1.4. 53. *hṛkror anyatarasya:ṃ*

(The agent of the verbs *hṛ* 'to take' and *kṛ* 'to make' optionally become *karman*/when the verb takes the causative suffix (*ṇi*): *ha:raḥati bha:raṃ ma:ṇavakaṃ*/*ma:ṇavakena* 'he makes the servant to take the load; '*ka:rayati kaṭaṃ devadattaṃ*/*devadattena* 'he causes D. to make the mat).'

Kartṛka:raka

1.4. 54. *svatantraḥ karta:*

(Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is *kartṛ*— *devadattaḥ pacati* 'D. cooks', *stha:li: pacati* 'the vessel cooks'.)

1.4. 55. *tatprayojako hetuš ca*

(That which is the causer of the *kartṛ* is *hetu* as well as *kartṛ*— *ka:rayati* 'he causes (somebody) to do (something)

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[9] Some minor *Va:rtikas* giving exceptions are omitted here.

MARKEDNESS IN CASES

C. Ramarao
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The insightful discovery of markedness theory is generally associated with Prague school linguists, particularly with Trubetzkoy. In a correlative pair of phonemes, the one that has a correlative mark is called marked phoneme and the other unmarked phoneme. This theory has further been developed by Chomsky and Halle in their phonological theory. Roman Jakobson (1939) has extended this notion to grammatical categories and to semantics. Greenberg (1966) has provided some kind of discovery procedures to find out the unmarked and marked categories in various levels of language.

It is the aim of this paper to discover the unmarked and marked categories in cases based on certain syntactic tests. There are various problems which have to be mentioned before attempting to do that. The main clue to discover these categories in phonology is neutralization between members of correlative pair in certain contexts. Unfortunately this method cannot help us in relation to cases. First of all it is not easy to define what case is. The various categories like agentive, experiencer, instrumental, object, goal, location and source etc. are used in recent literature. More traditional categories are, nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, comitative, ablative and locative etc. Recently, (1972) Starosta has argued for intermediate case categories between deep cases and surface

realizations, which correspond to traditional cases, mentioned above. In this paper, I will mainly concern myself with these intermediate categories though I monkey around some of the semantic categories. Another problem about cases is limiting the number of cases. Since I deal only with certain categories, it does not concern me much.

Another notable attempt is the notion of allocases, which was suggested by Fillmore (1971), and entertained by Starosta (1972), Walmsely (1973) and Prakasam (1976) etc. If this theory is valid, probably it would be a language specific phenomenon as in the case of other allos. Many of these proposals try to group instrumental and comitative as allocases of one case. Not many Dravidian languages seem to support this hypothesis. Many of them group instrumental and ablative (source) together and comitative is separated. Telugu seems to have an exceptional behaviour in this respect. Whether there exists a case for allocases or not has little consequence for my attempt because it is possible to regard one of the allocases as basic in a caseme.

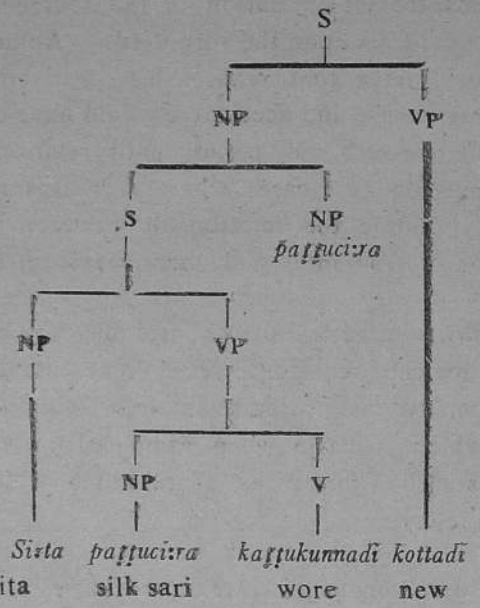
As is pointed out, the neutralization test cannot be used in cases. Among Greenberg's various tests zero expression of the unmarked and faculative expression of the marked can be used to some degree. In addition to this the Dravidian type relative clauses (I will call them nominalizations here) also give us clues to find the unmarked and marked relationship.

I recognise two types of relationships between cases, which I loosely call (1) Syntagmatic oppositions and (2) Paradigmatic oppositions. By syntagmatic opposition I mean the kind of opposition between two cases in a sentence where both of them appear to be required or at least assumed

in the full semantic interpretation of the sentence, of course which primarily depends upon the verb used. Ablative (source) and dative (goal) have that relationship in a sentence with a motion verb. Nominative and accusative would have that relationship with a transitive verb. By paradigmatic relationship I mean the relation between two cases where this assumption is not required. For example the relationship between instrumental and ablative or instrumental and locative, is of this type.

The opposition between two cases may not be correlative in the phonological sense: one case may stand in direct opposition to many cases. For example nominative would be such a case, which is basic when campared to various other cases. There is also a hierarchy of relations which will be touched upon later.

In Dravidian languages a relative clause is formed by changing the verb of the embedded sentences into a relative verbal participle which functions like an attribute to the matrix NP. The identical NP in the embedded S is deleted ogether with its case morpheme. Even after the deletion of he case morpheme, the relationship of head NP to the verb is semantically derivable. There are certain conditions on this process. Certain case relations do not allow this process.



By relative participle rule the verb changes to participle, and the identical NP deletion rule deletes the object NP in the embedded 'S'. The derived sentence is *sīta kaṭṭukunna paṭṭu cīra kottadi* 'The sari is worn by sita (or which Sita wears) is new'.

This relativization process is one of the clues I want to utilize to show unmarked and marked categories in cases. I mainly present the evidence from Telugu; the other Dravidian languages, though they differ in details would largely agree in this process.

SYNTAGMATIC OPPOSITION

Nominative - Accusative

Nominative in Dravidian may have several semantic relations like agent, experiencer, object and probably a few

others. In a sentence with transitive verb the nominative represents agent and the accusative represents affected or the result or range of the action. It is evident in many languages that nominative is the least marked case. An accusative case cannot occur without the nominative case, but the other way is not true. There are certain verbs (intransitive) which only require nominative but no verbs which only require accusative. In Dravidian there are certain cases where accusative requires case marking. There are various patterns in this marking. Telugu, Tamil and Kannada require accusative marking for human nouns and for some nonhuman animate nouns also in certain cases. In other instances it is mostly optional.

Since nominative is the case which gets less marking, we can say that it is unmarked when campared to accusative.

Accusative - Dative

If the verb belongs to a class that requires a direct object and indirect object the former is marked for accusative and the later is marked for dative. The accusative stands here for object case and dative for the receiver. Again one can have an accusative case without dative but the other way is not possible. Compared to dative, accusative gets case marking in fewer instances. It is true that in Dravidian languages animate objects need case marking and dative nouns are always animate nouns, which makes it less marked than dative. In no case a dative can be omitted in a sentence in Dravidian languages.

1. *ma: a:wida***ki** *rendu ci:ralu konna:nu*
   I bought two saries for my wife

In nominalization process also we can observe this marked behaviour of Dative. Compare the following phrases.

2. *ne:nu iccina amma:yi*

The girl whom I gave

3. *ne:nu ci:ra iccina amma:yi*

The girl to whom I gave a sari

In (2) there are two choices of interpretation namely direct and indirect objects, only direct object interpretation is the one which strikes immediately. In the absence of any other clues in a sentence, when there is a choice between direct and indirect object interpretations, the direct object interpretation has precedence over indirect object interpretation. This shows the unmarked behaviour of accusative and marked behaviour of dative.

Dative-Ablative.

With motion verbs the point of origin is marked ablative and the destination is marked by dative. Probably there are no verbs that require only one of them for the complete interpretation of a sentence. However, there are certain clues to designate ablative as a marked case and dative as an unmarked case. In Telugu *-nunci* is the ablative marker and *-ku/-ki* is the dative marker. There are certain instances where dative can be omitted but no cases where ablative marker is omitted. Dative marker can be omitted in Telugu, and Tamil and probably in other Dravidian languages, when the destination is a proper noun that refers to a place.

4. *ne:nu madras weḷtunna:nu*

I Madras going

The above sentence always means that 'I am going to Madras' but never from Madras. For later interpretation we need ablative case marking obligatorily. This phenomenon seems to

be wide spread in languages. In Hindi we have the same type. Miss Mukherjee (1972) observes while writing on Luo case system that goal in Luo never has marker except when it is paired with *cakre* 'from'. If in a sentence both source and goal occur the marker for source is obligatorily kept whereas for goal it is optional. But out of the two if one has to be deleted it is the marker for goal which is deleted and not the one for source.

5. (i) *a biro di cakre ḍeli nyaka patiala*
I will go from Delhi to Patiala

(ii) *a biro di patiala kaa ḍeli*
I will go Patiala from Delhi

She also notes 'from the above instance one can infer that Luo between the source and goal, goal is more unmarked than source. This phenomenon also corresponds to the Universal or semi-universal tendency in languages'.

Similar feature can be observed in English in a sentence like 'I am going home' but always 'I am coming-from home'. In nominalization process also, this behaviour is reflected.

6. Te. *neːnu waccinā uːru*
Ta. *naːn vanda uːru*

The above phrase in both the languages and probably in many other Dravidian languages means only 'The town I come to' but never 'The town I come from'. The same is true in Bengali.

The ablative interpretation is allowed only when the verb in the underlying sentence is a transitive one and if the object is present in the derived nominal.

7. *me:mu ni:ḷḷu tacce: ba:wi*

The well from which we bring water

8. *ne:nu paṇḷu teccina to:ṭa*

The orchard from which I brought fruits

In the underlying sentence of these phrases the ablative case marker *-nunci* is used. But notice, in these sentences the noun with the ablative case marker is also location for the object of the verb. Further analysis may prove that these sentences really involve locative case. These may involve even coordination process. Whatever may be the ultimate analysis, it suffices here to note that the use of ablative in (7) & (8) differs from that of intransitive verbs with simple motion. The verb 'to bring' may have to be analysed as 'take and come'. It is interesting to note that there is no single lexical item to represent 'take and go' in English, and Telugu. Tamil uses *koṇṭuva:* even for the verb to bring which further supports this analysis.

Accusative - Instrumental.

Any verb that requires instrumental case also requires accusative, but the converse is not true. By this evidence we may say that accusative is unmarked and instrumental is marked. Accusative may represent affected or effected. Instrumental may represent real instrument or the source matter of the effected. The nominalization process also provides further evidence for marking relationship. Accusative takes precedence over instrumental when there is a choice for both the interpretations

9. (a) *ne:nu tinna spu:nu*

(b) *ne:nu upma: tinna spu:nu*

(9 b) means 'the spoon which I ate upma'. In (9 a) there are theoretically two possible interpretations but in actuality it only means 'the spoon which I ate'. The same phenomenon can be seen in Bengali also.

10. (a) *a:ma:r sandes khawar comac*

The spoon with which I ate 'Sandesh'

(b) *a:ma:r khawar comac*

The spoon I ate.

Also notice the effected – source relationship.

11. (a) *ne:nu bommalu ce:sina ka:yitam*

The paper from { which / with } I made dolls

(b) *ne:nu ce:sina ka:yitam*

The paper I made.

In the underlying sentence of (11a) effected has no case marking, but the source material has instrumental case marking. But (11b) with the absence of effected, allows only one interpretation where the head noun takes on the function of effected.

Whatever may be the underlying 'deep' relations, the intermediate case relations seem to play an important role.

PARADIGMATIC OPPOSITIONS

Instrumental-Comitative.

There are a good number of languages which express instrumental and comitative with the same morpheme. Telugu, and English belong to this category. Parji and Konda are some more Dravidian languages, which group these two. But

other Dravidian languages like Tamil, Pengo, Kui seem to use separate markers for comitative from instrumental.

Since no verb requires obligatorily both these categories, I call this opposition paradigmatic. Since in some languages, these two are expressed by the same morpheme it is quite reasonable to expect one of them to have more primary quality than the other.

In Telugu both of them are expressed by the same morpheme *to*: 'with'. In Tamil, for instrumental *-a:l* is used, and for comitative *-o:ḍu* is used. In Pengo *taṅ* is used for instrumental and ablative but for comitative *hoke*, a post-position is used. There are also post positions for instrumental. In Kui *ɾai* for instrumental and *ke* for comitative are used. In Kannada *inda* is used for instrumental and *ku:ḍe* is used for comitative. I do not want to give these forms from all the languages. These can be found in Shanmugam (1970). The above information shows that there are Dravidian languages which group these two cases and some which don't. Telugu represents mixing group and Tamil represents separating group, as can be seen in the following sentences.

12. (a) Ta. *na:n payyanai taṭiya:l aṭitte:n*
Te. *nenu pilla:ɳɳi karattoː koṭṭæ:nu*
I beat the boy with a stick

(b) Ta. *na:n oruporɳɳo:ɾu 'picture' ku po:ne:n*
Te. *ne:nu oka amma:yito: sinima:ku poyya:nu*
I went to a picture with a girl

In both Telugu and Tamil nominalization is possible only with instrumental but not with comitative, which shows evidence for unmarked behaviour of instrumental and marked behaviour

of comitative. For example notice the following derived nominals.

13. Ta. *na:n payyanai aṭicce taṭi*
Te. *ne:nu pillaṇṇi koṭṭina karra*
The stick with which I beat the boy

*14. Ta. *na:n 'picture'ku po:na poṇṇu*
Te. *nenu sinima:ku po:yina amma:yi*
The girl with whom I went to a movie

There are also other evidences to show the marked character of comitative.

In Telugu though *-to:* is used for both of these cases, in comitative meaning it may take an additional morpheme like *ku:ḍa*, *-pa:ṭu*, *-kalisi*, but no such additional morpheme can be used with instrumental. The last noted morpheme *kalisi* is a perfective participle derived from the verb *kaliyu* 'to meet'. This *kalisi* can also be used in other contexts to mean 'together', as in the following case.

15. *me:mu iddaram kalisi sinima:ku weḷta:m*
Both of us will go to the movie together

16. *amerika, raṣya: kalisi cayna: mi:da kuṭra pannutunna:rru*
America and Russia, together are conniving against China

17. *amerika: raṣya: to: kalisi cayna: mi:da kuṭra pannutunnadi*
America is conniving against China with Russia

(16) and (17) seem to contrast in meaning. In (16) both America and Russia are equal partners. In (17) America is the first country to have thought about it and joined with Russia

which also found to have the same intention. I am not quite sure of this semantic contrast. The syntactic contrast is quite clear expressed by plural agreement in (16) and singular agreement in (17). The differential treatment of these two sentences is a different matter. But, because of the use of *kalisi*, they may have to be derived from coordination of two structures. One of the uses of perfective participle is coordination (Ramarao, 1970).

Lakoff and Peters (1966) have similar analysis for some uses of 'with' in his 'Phrasal conjunction and symmetric predicates'. It might apply for Telugu use also.

If this is possible for many languages, we need not consider comitative as a separate case or we might still need it in intermediary derivation. Leaving it for future observations, it is sufficient here to point out that comitative has a markep behaviour in comparison with instrumental.

The use of extra morpheme for comitative can also be seen in some other languages. *saha* is used along with instrumental case in Sanskrit. 'Along' is used with *with* in English. All these uses betray the marked character of comitative.

Instrumental-Ablative

There are no verbs which require both of these cases in a sentence. There are languages which use single morpheme for both of these cases. Hindi uses *se* for both.

18. *haath* **se** *nikaalo*
    Remove it with hand

19. *me madrass* **se** *aarahaahuu*
    I am coming from Madras

Among Dravidian languages Pengo (*-ta*), Konda (*-d-anḍ*), Kui (*-ṛai*) and Kannada (*-inda*) use the same morpheme for instrumental and ablative. This shows that the combination of instrumental and ablative is not uncommon. We have already seen the unmarked behaviour of instrumental allowing nominalization and marked behaviour of ablative is not allowing nominalizations separately. The same observation holds true when they are considered in opposition. Though I have not checked with Pengo, Konda, Kui and Kannada, I predict that nominalization is possible only in instrumental meaning but not in ablative meaning.

Ablative-Locative

There are no verbs which require different ablative and locative noun phrases within single clause. There are some languages which use the same marker for both of these cases. For example we have the following sentences recorded in Parji.

20. *i polu***bti** *mẽdad*

He stays in the village

21. *od mer***ti** *urked*

He fell from the tree

In Telugu, the sentences like 21 are expressed by locative + ablative markers.

22. *waḍu ceṭṭu mi:da*[1] *nunci*[2] *kinda paḍḍa:ḍu*

He fell down from[2] on[1] the tree

23. *puṭṭa lo:*[1] *nunci*[2] *pa:mu tongi cu:stunnadi*

The snake is peeping from[2] in[1] (side) the ant-hill

They are so commonly used, in some dialects of Telugu, they are fused into single forms like *mi:nci* 'from on' *lo:nci* 'from in'.

In the above sentences the starting point of the action is also location of the subject (agent or object). This provides us a clue to posit the verb to be in the underlying structures of the above sentences, which requires a locative case. Existential verbs in languages need locative case. If this analysis is possible, we can state that ablative and locative always have different sources.

We have seen earlier that nominalization is not possible with ablative. That this is possible with locative can be seen in the following examples.

24. (a) *konḍa* **mi:da** *ko:ti undi*

There is monkey **on** the hill

(b) *ko:ti unna konḍa*

The hill on which there is a monkey

25. (a) *ne:nu ceruwulo: munigæ:nu*

I had a dip in the tank

(b) *ne:nu munigina ceruwu*

The tank in which I had a dip

Accusative-Locative

Though I do not rule out the possibility of a single morpheme expressing both the relations I know of no language which has this phenomenon. There is no verb which requires both of these cases obligatorily. There are noun phrases which can take either of these cases. When there exists such a

possibility, in nominalizations, the accusative interpretation gets precedence over locative, when there are no other clues to disambiguate.

Contrast these following phrases.

26. *ne:nu konna ṣa:pu*

The shop I bought

27. *ne:nu nayleks ci:ra konna ṣa:pu*

The shop in which I bought a nilex sari

The source sentences for (26) and (27) are (28) and (29).

28. *ne:nu oka ṣa:pu konna:nu*

I bought a shop

29. *ne:nu oka ṣa:pu lo: nayleks ci:ra konna:nu*

I bought a nilex sari in a shop

The above interpretational choice gives us a clue to rocognize the accusative as unmarked in comparison with locative.

So far I have considered the unmarked and marked relations of certain traditional cases in two dimensions, namely syntagmatic and paradigmatic. There may be other possibilities, which I have not explored. For example, I have not considered the opposition between instrumental and locative or comitative and locative. I do not know whether any language combines these cases into one expression or whether any verb obligatorily requires any of these combinations or whether any noun phrase can take any of these combinations with a single verb. Therefore, the oppositions between these cases (if they can be called oppositions) can be called disjunctive, in the Praguian sense.

Now I would like to consider this unmarked and marked relations of certain semantic categories generally considered to belong to the same cases.

Locative

There are various spatial relations which are expressed by different morphological shapes. For example an object can exist in relation to other object, either 'on' or 'under', or 'beside'. It can also occur within the hollow part af another object. Sanskrit grammarians captured these notions by the terms *a:dha:ra*, 'the base', *a:dheya* that which is based upon". In physical relations, the *a:dha:ra* type location is most unmarked and the others are marked. We have syntactic support for this designation. For example notice the following source sentences and derived nominals.

30. *ne:nu ballami:da kalam pettæ:nu*

I kept the pen on the table

→*ne:nu kalam pettina balla*

The table on which I kept the pen.

31. *si:ta pettelo: nagalu da:cukunnadi*

Sita kept her ornaments in a trunk.

→*si:ta nagalu da:cukunna pette*

The trunk in which Sita kept her ornaments

32. *ne:nu balla* { *kinda* / *pakkana* / *venaka* } *kalam pettæ:nu*

I put the pen { under / beside / behind } the table

→**ne:nu kalam pettina balla*

33. *si:ta pe̱tte* { *kinda* / *pakkana* / *venaka* } *nagalu da:cukunnadi*

Sita kept her ornaments { under / beside / behind } the trunk

→**si:ta nagalu da:cukunna pe̱tte*

In the above examples the derivations of (32) and (33) are not possible in the intended sense, which shows the marked behaviour of non-*a:dha:ra* type spatial relations.

Similar behaviour can be seen in the locative of time

34. *1954 lo: visa:la:ndhra e:rpaḍindi*

'Visalandhra' was formed in 1954.

→*visa:la:ndhra e:rpaḍina sammatsaram*

The year in which Visalandhra was formed

Even here 'before', or 'after' do not allow nominalizations in the locative of time, though it is not illustrated.

Dative

Traditional grammarians have distinguished several uses of Dative. Some of them are place, time, direction (indirect object) and purpose. There is a single marker for all of these in many Dravidian languages. There is also a separate marker for purposive in Telugu. We have seen the nominalization possibilities in indirect object and dative of place phrases. Ablative seems to be the most marked case, at least in Dravidian. It would be interesting to explore the markedness behaviour within the various uses of Dative. Intuitively, time seems to be more marked than place, for

obviouse reasons. Place can be perceived directly, but time has to be perceived only conceptually. The invisibility of time makes it semantically more complex. It is quite natural to expect it to reflect in the syntax of a language. Dative of motion involves direction and is used only with motion verbs. Dative of time unlike the dative of place dose not seem to involve ablative obligatorily. Notice the following sentence. When the ablative is used along with the dative of time, it always means duration rather than simply motion in time. Observe the following sentences.

35. *ne:nu madras***nunci** *cidambaram wacca:nu*

I came from Madras to Chidambaram

36. *ne:nu sa:yantra:ni***ki** *wasta:nu*

I will come by the evening

37. *atanu podduti***nunci** *sayantram***waraku** *ta:guta:du*

He drinks from the morning till the evening

38. *sabha podduti nunci sa:yantra:ni***ki** *wa:yida: padindi*

The meeting is postponed from the morning to evening

39. *raylu e:du ganțala***ku** *wastundi*

The train will arrive at 7 O'Clock

In (35) the dative of place has no morphological expression. In (36) it means 'by particular time' and it doesn't admit an ablative marker.

In (37) ablative marker means only duration but not direction, one can interpret (38) as involving ablative and dative of motion (in time). But even there it is not much of motion but replacement. Nominalization is possible only for (36) as—

40. *ne:nu wacce: ṭayam*

The time I arrive by

For the rest of the sentences, it would result in ungrammatical phrases.

*41. *atanu podduṭinunci ta:gina ṭayam*

The time from which he drank.

*42. *sabha podduṭinunci wa:yida: paḍina ṭaym*

The time to which the meeting is postponed from morning.

It is possible to derive a nominal from (39) like *raylu wacce: ṭaym* 'The time at which the train arrives.'

From the above examples one gets suspicious of the existence of the dative of time. Alternatively we might say that there does not exist the ablative of time. It might also be true that the classification of ablative and dative does not occur in relation to time. In the cases where nominalization is possible, they look like more of locative than directional (from or to). Since the nominalization is not possible with the paired dative of time, we may take it as the reflection of marked behaviour of dative of time.

There is also dative of purpose in Dravidian languages which is expressed by the same form as the dative of place. Whether purposive should be separated from other dative uses or not is a different question. That purposive has a marked behaviour can be seen by nominalization test.

43. *ne:nu sna:na:niki weḷtunna:nu*

I am going for bath

*→ *ne:nu weḷḷe: sna:nam*

But purposive may be treated as involving an embedding, in which case it may not be a seperate case.

The above discussion seggests that unmarked and marked behaviour can be found in case categories and some of their semantic aspects. Dravidian nominalization (Relativization) mechanism can be used as an effective tool to discover these categories. I also implicitly tried to show the relevance of intermediate case categories for syntactic derivations. How these notions can be utilized in simplifying the grammar is an important aspect to investigate.

CASE SYSTEM AND METATHESIS IN SANKETI TAMIL

H. S. Ananthanarayana
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY, HYDERABAD

The morphology of case in Sanketi Tamil[1] is examined here. While several innovations characterize Sanketi because of its isolation from the other Tamil dialects, the analysis of the case system points out the important role that metathesis plays in Sanketi in preserving phonological elements that otherwise might be lost.

By case are distinguished nouns (including pronouns and numerals) from verbs. Nouns in Sanketi are marked for the three grammatical categories, gender, number, and case. Gender distinction is made only in the adjectival stems and the pronouns (e. g. *kuruḍū* 'blind man', *kuruḍi* 'blind woman'; *avū* 'he', *ave* 'she', *adu* 'it'). There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. Some stems are however found only in the singular, e. g. *sā:* 'cooked rice', *tayru* 'curds'. The singular is the unmarked form and the plural has two morphemes, *-maːr* and *-kaḷ*. The former is found only with stems denoting kinship and the latter with other stems. The morpheme denoting 'number' is added to the stem before the case marker which closes the construction.

There are seven case forms, viz., nominative, accusative instrumental, dative, genitive, locative, and vocative[2]. The nominative singular which is the unmarked form is formally equivalent to the stem in most of the types. The plrual is obtained by adding the plural morpheme to the stem. The accusative is distinguished from the nominative in that it has an overt marker. The stem in the accusative is derived by adding sometimes a formative suffix, as in *-m* stems in the singular and *-u* stems and *-y* stems in the plural. To this accusative form are added a set of postpositions to give instrumental, dative, and other case forms.[3] Since the accusative form is the base for deriving other case forms, it may be called the oblique stem.

The nominative form functions as the subject and the accusative as the object of the surface sentence. They represent accordingly the agent and the target relations of the deep structure. The other case forms indicate such relations as 'the means for achieving the target', 'the beneficiary', 'locus of the action', and others. Since there is no separate ablative form in Sanketi, its functions are generally expressed by the instrumental. The different uses of these case forms and their semantic representations are however not discussed further here.

Stems may be classified into those ending in a vowel and those ending in a consonant. They may be also distinguished by the alternants of the plural morpheme they select for the nominative and the oblique forms. Classification may be made further by their selecting or not selecting the formative suffix, and if it is the former then by the variants of the formative suffix. There is only one class of stems which are monosyllabic; the rest are disyllabic.

Stems ending in a vowel

i) *-i* stems: *ili* 'mouse', *puli* 'tiger', *covi* 'ear', *məri* 'young one', *nəri* 'fox', *po:ri* 'bull', *po:ti* 'grand daughter', *ko:ti* 'monkey', *kəṇṇi* 'rope', *pəlli* 'wall-lizard', *kikki* 'basket', *po:li* 'vagabond', *ko:ḷi* 'hen'. *kaḷḷi* 'female thief', *pa:ti* 'garden bed', *pa:di* 'half', *giṇi* 'parrot', *netti* 'forehead', etc.

ii) *-u* stems: *cu:ru* 'wall', *pu:vu* 'flower', *to:ḷu* 'shoulder', *ko:lu* 'stick', *poṇṇu* 'daughter', *u:ru* 'village', *muḷḷu* thorn', *pullu* 'grass', *gu:ḍu* 'nest', *ka:lu* 'leg', *mi:nu* fish', *pe:nu*,' 'louse', *virlu*, 'finger', *kəṇṇu* 'eye', *kaṇḍu* 'calf', *pəllu* 'tooth', *pə:ru* 'name', *kəllu* 'stone', *pa:ṭu* 'song', *ma:ru* 'a measure', *ka:ḷu* 'grain', etc.

Stems ending in a consonant

iii) *-m* stems: *maram* 'tree', *kuḍam* 'pot', *paḷam* 'fruit', *paḷḷam* 'ditch', *nogam* 'yoke', *moram* 'winnow', *to:ṭam* 'garden', *ha:m* 'house', *soṇṭam* 'waist', *ci:lam* 'bag', *puṇam* 'corpse', *tepṗam* 'raft', *pavaḷam* 'red coral' *pa:lam* 'bridge', *vellam* 'jaggery', etc.

iv) *-n* stems: *pya:ran* 'grandson', *ma:vayyan* 'maternal uncle, *bha:vayyan* 'sister's husband', *tammayyan* 'elder brother', *ajjayyan* 'grand father', *maccanan* 'husband's younger brother', *cikkappan* 'father's younger brother', *doḍḍappan* 'father's elder brother', etc.

v) *-y* stems (monosyllabic): *na:y* 'dog', *va:y* 'mouth', *ka:y* 'unripe fruit', *pa:y* 'mat', *śa:y* 'ink', *nəy* 'ghee', *kəy* 'hand', *poy* 'lie', *məy* 'collirium', etc.

vi) *-y* stems (disyllabic): *puḷḷay* 'son', *pu:nay* 'cat', *pha:ray* 'crobar', *talay* 'head', *ci:ray* 'saree', *toḍay* 'thigh', *a:may*, 'tortoise', *a:nay* 'elephant', *mu:lay* 'corner', *kulay* 'bunch', *viray* 'seed', *attay* 'father's sister', *moḷay* 'nail', *aḍḍikay* 'closely fitting necklace', *kuppay* 'heap', *ko:ṭay* 'fort', *cuḷay* 'pulp as of jack-fruit', *mu:ṭay* 'sack', etc.

vii) *-r* stems: *to:pna:r* 'father', *ta:ya:r* 'mother', *ma:mna:r* 'father-in-law', *ma:miya:r* 'mother-in-law', *na:tna:r* 'sister-in-law', *ba:dhya:r* 'family priest', etc.

Reasons for the choice of underlying forms in the above stem classes

The plural marker in the nominative shows sometimes one phonological shape, *-ha* as in *ka:lha* 'feet' *ko:lha* 'sticks'. and sometimes a different one, *-hya* as in *po:rhya* 'bulls', *talhya* 'heads'. The presence of the segment *-y* in the latter set can not be accounted by the underlying form we have set up of the plural morpheme *-kal*. It is therefore considered here as belonging to the stem and accordingly distinction could be made among vowel stems as stems ending in *-u* and stems ending in *-i*. The disyllabic *-y* stems behave like *-i* stems in this respect. It can be explained now that the stem final, *-y* of disyllabic *-y* stems *-i* which is the source of this *-y* of *-i* stems in the plural form, moved to a position after *-h* of the plural morpheme by the process known as metathesis. Among these stems, the difference found in the nominative and the accusative singular forms provide the basis for distinguishing further between two separate stem classes, viz., *-ay* stems and *-i* stems. The phonetic representation of the *-u* stems in the nominative singular is two-fold. If the radical vowel of the stem is a back vowel then the stem final vowel will be *-u*, otherwise it will be *-i*. Since this distinction, which is found only in the nominative singular form, is completely predictable in terms of the radical vowel, these stems are considered as belonging to only one type in the underlying representation, i. e. *-u* stems.

Though the nominative plural formation could be used as a criterion for differentiation among the vowel stems, the accusative plural forms of all the vowel stems are identically

formed, e. g. *po:rhiḷa*, *ka:lhiḷa* and *ko:lhiḷa*. The segment *-i* in the last two forms can not be explained by the underlying representation of the stem we have set up. Evidently, this is an instance of analogy whereby the *-u* stems shaped their accusative formation on the pattern of *-i* stems. In the synchronic analysis of these forms, it becomes therefore necessary to posit a formative suffix only in the plural formation to satisfactorily account for this anomaly.

Among the consonant stems, a distinction is made between *-m* stems on the one hand and *-n* stems on the other on the basis of the difference noted in the nominative singular formation, *maru* versus *pya:ṛū*, as well as the accusative singular formation. A formative suffix is found in the accusative of the *-m* stems while no such suffix is found in the accusative of *-n* stems. The *-r* stems are distinguished by selecting the plural morpheme *-ma:r* while other stems select the morpheme *-kaḷ*. The monosyllabic *-y* stems are distinguished from the disyllabic *-y* stems in the nominative, both singular and plural, and in the accusative singular formation. Because of a phonological constraint that no word in Sanketi should end in a consonant, the *-y* stems are described as forming their nominative singular by the addition of the segment *-i*. They therefore behave like vowel stems in the plural formation. Since the plural is formed on the stem by the addition of the plural morpheme, the plural forms of *-y* stems are like the plural forms of *-u* stems in the nominative as well as in the accusative.

The oblique stem marker

There are two oblique markers: *-t-* in the singular of *-m* stems, and *-y-* in the plural of *-u* stems and monosyllabic *-y* stems.

Case markers (including postpositions)

Nominative (Nom.) ø	Accusative (Acc.) *-a*
Instrumental (Inst.) *ənnu*	Dative (Dat.) *-kku*
Genitive (Gen.) *-tte*	Locative (Loc.) *-lle*
Vocative (Voc.) *-e:*	

Morphophonemic Rules

Among the following rules necessary to generate all the case forms of the various stems, only some may be ordered with regard to each other; others are unordered. Taming different paradigms into account, we may recognize seven sets of ordered rules. There are two low-level phonetic rule. $a \rightarrow \bar{a}$ and $u \rightarrow \bar{u}$.

(+ denotes morpheme boundary and # word boundary).

Ordered rules

1. $C_{(-\text{voice})} \rightarrow C_{(+\text{voice})} \; / C_{(+\text{voice})} + —$
2. $N \rightarrow \tilde{n} / — + g$
3. $V \rightarrow ø \; / — C + V \; \#$
4. $k \rightarrow h / \left\{ \begin{matrix} v \\ y \end{matrix} \right\} + — V$

   $V \rightarrow ø$ (rule 3 above)
5. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ y \end{matrix} \right\} + h \rightarrow h \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ y \end{matrix} \right\}$
6. $V \rightarrow ø / — + \left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ h \end{matrix} \right\}$

7. $y \rightarrow i/\mathrm{C} - \mathrm{C}$
   $k \rightarrow h$ (rule 4 above)
   $i + h \rightarrow hi$ (rule 5 above)

8. $i \rightarrow y \; / - a$
   $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow \emptyset$ (rule 6 above)

9. $\emptyset \rightarrow y/i - + a$

10. $iya \rightarrow i:/ - \#$

11. $\emptyset \rightarrow i/\mathrm{CV}y - \#$

12. $y \rightarrow yy/\mathrm{V} - i \#$

13. $a \rightarrow \emptyset/\mathrm{CC} - + \mathrm{CC}$

14. $\left.\begin{matrix} l \\ r \end{matrix}\right\} + t(t) \rightarrow \underline{d}/ - e \#$
   $k \rightarrow h$ (rule 4 above)
   $y + h \rightarrow hy$ (rule 5 above)
   $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow \emptyset$ (rule 6 above)

15. $\mathrm{CC} \rightarrow \mathrm{C} / \left.\begin{matrix} \mathrm{C}_2 \\ \mathrm{V}: \end{matrix}\right\} + - \mathrm{V} \#$

16. $\mathrm{C} \rightarrow \emptyset/ - \#$

Unordered rules

17. $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow \emptyset/\mathrm{V}: + -$

18. $t \rightarrow \emptyset/ - a + tte \#$

19. $r \rightarrow \emptyset/ - + m$

20. $am \rightarrow u/ - \#$

21. $am \rightarrow \emptyset/ - + t$

22. $an \rightarrow \tilde{u}/ - \#$

23. $aya \rightarrow e:/ - \#$

Phonetic rules

24. $a \rightarrow \bar{a} / _ + CCV\#$

25. $u \rightarrow \bar{u} / _ + (k)\, k _ \#$

There are three *-n* stems where a long vowel precedes the final consonant, viz., *atta:n* 'father's sister's son', *vaḷḷa:n* 'a cultivator', *parya:n* 'a Harijan'. They require two additional rules:

26. $V{:}n \rightarrow \bar{v}{:} / _ \#$

27. $n \rightarrow \emptyset / _ + \begin{cases} k \\ a{:} \end{cases}$

Rule 27 does not apply to *attà:n* which behaves like any other *-n* stem in this respect. This rule will be also required for the pronominal stems.

There is one word *pəśśa:* 'child' which may be included in this class except that in the accusative singular it is different and needs a rule of the following type:

28. $ss \rightarrow ṣṭ / _ a{:} + a \#$

There is a class of adjectival stems with a final *-n*. The plural forms of these are made differently from those of other *-n* stems. e. g. *mu:gan* 'dumb person', *tuṇṭan* 'mischievous person', *kuṇṭan* 'lame person', *kivuḍan* 'deaf person', *kuḷḷan* 'short person', *kuruḍan* 'blind person', *huccan* 'mad person', *dhaḍḍan* 'dull person', etc.

The nominative plural is obtained here simply by dropping the final consonant. The plural morpheme *-kaḷ* is not added. The accusative plural however adds a morpheme of the shape *-a:ḷ*. It may be noted here that historically

the nominative plurals of these forms were made by a different morpheme *-ar*. This distinction is retained in the synchronic analysis.

As in any other language, pronouns differ in certain respects from the nouns. Additional rules will be therefore required to account for the correct output of the case forms from the pronominal stems.

The pronouns are: *na:n* 'I', *ni:n* 'you', *avan* 'he', *avaḷ* 'she', *adu* 'it'.

29. $V{:}n \rightarrow Vn / —+$

30. $a \rightarrow e / —ḷ\ \#$

31. $a \rightarrow a{:} / h —ḷ$

32. $ad \rightarrow av / —u + k$

33. $ad \rightarrow att / —u + a$

34. $\left.\begin{matrix} na{:}n \\ ni{:}n \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow \left.\begin{matrix} enn \\ unn \end{matrix}\right\} / — + a$

(Besides these rules, the formative *-y-* is required also in the nominative plural of the *-u* stem *adu* 'it')

Simple Derivations :

1. *maram* 'tree'

Nom. sg. *maru* (rule 20)

pl. *maram + kaḷ*

maram + gaḷ (rule 1)

maraṅ + gaḷ (rule 2)

maraṅga (rule 16)

Acc. sg. *maram* + *t* + *a*
mar + *t* + *a* (rule 21)
marta

pl. *maram* + *kaḷ* + *a*
maram + *gaḷ* + *a* (rule 2)
maraṁ + *gḷ* + *a* (rule 3)
maraṁgḷa

Inst. sg. *marta* + *ənnu*
martənnu (rule 6)

pl. *maraṁgḷa* + *ənnu*
maraṁgḷənnu

Dat. sg. *marta* + *kku*
martī + *kku* (rule 24)
martīkkī (rule 25)

pl. *maraṁgḷa* + *kku*
maraṁgḷī + *kku*
maraṁgḷīkkī

Gen. sg. *marta* + *tte*
mara + *tte* (rule 18)
marītte

pl. *maraṁgḷa* + *tte*
maraṁgḷ + *tte* (rule 13)
maraṁgḍe (rule 14)

Loc. sg. *marta* + *lle*
martīlle

pl. *maraṁgḷa* + *lle*
maraṁgḷīlle

Voc. sg. *maram + e:*
marm + e: (rule 3)
marme:[4]

pl. *maram + kaḷ + e:*
maram + gaḷ + e:
maraṅ + gaḷ + e:
maraṅ + gḷ + e:
maraṅgḷe:

2. *pya:ran* 'grandson'

Nom. sg. *pya:rũ* (rule 22)

pl. *pya:ran + kaḷ*
pya:raṅga

Acc. sg. *pya:ran + a*
pya:rn + a (rule 3)
pya:rna

pl. *pya:ran + kaḷ + a*
pya:raṅgḷa etc.

3. *to:pna:r* 'father'

Nom. sg. *to:pna:* (rule 16)

pl. *to:pna:r + ma:r*
to:pna: + ma:r (rule 19)
to:pna:ma (rule 16)

Acc. sg. *to:pna:r + a*
to:pna:ra

pl. *to:pna:r + ma:r + a*
to:pna:ma:ra etc.

4. *na:y* 'dog'

Nom. sg. *na:yi* (rule 11)

pl. *na:y + kaḷ*
na:y + haḷ (rule 4)
na:yha

Acc. sg. *na:y + a*
na:ya

pl. *na:y + y + kaḷ + a*
na:y + y + haḷ + a
na:y + y + hḷ + a
na:y + hyḷ + a (rule 5)
na:y + hiḷ + a (rule 7) etc.

5. *kəy* 'hand'

Nom. sg. *kəyi* (rule 11)
kəyyi (rule 12)

6. *talay* 'head'

Nom. sg. *tala* (rule 20)

pl. *talay + kaḷ*
talay + haḷ
tala + hyaḷ
tal + hyaḷ (rule 6)
talhya

Acc. sg. *talay + a*
tale: (rule 23)

pl. *talay + kaḷ + a*
talay + haḷ + a
talay + hḷ + a

tala + hyḷ + a
tala + hiḷ + a (rule 7)
tal + hiḷ + a (rule 6)
talhiḷa etc.

7. *puli* 'tiger'

Nom. sg. *puli*

pl. *puli + kaḷ*
puli + haḷ
pul + hiaḷ (rule 15)
pul + hyaḷ (rule 8)
pulhya

Acc. sg. *puli + a*
puliy + a (rule 9)
puli: (rule 10)

pl. *puli + kaḷ + a*
pulhiḷa

Inst. sg. *puli: + ɜɳɳu*
puli:ɳɳu (rule 17)

Dat. sg. *puli: + kku*
puli: + ku (rule 15)
puli:kī (rule 25)

Gen. sg. *puli: + tte*
puli:n + tte[5]
puli:n + te (rule 15)
puli:nde (rule 1)

Loc. sg. *puli: + lle*
puli:le

8. *ko:lu* 'stick'

Nom. sg. *ko:lu*

pl. *ko:lu* + *kaḷ*
ko:lha

Acc. sg. *ko:lu* + *a*
ko:la (rule 6)

pl. *ko:lu* + *kaḷ* + *a*
ko:lu + *y* + *kaḷ* + *a*
ko:lu + *y* + *haḷ* + *a*
ko:lu + *y* + *haḷ* + *a*
ko:lu + *hyḷ* + *a*
ko:l + *hyḷ* + *a*
ko:lhiḷa

etc.

9. *ka:lu* 'foot'

Nom. sg. *ka:lī* (*u* → *ī* /—# when the radical vowel is not a back vowel).

pl. *ka:lu* + *kaḷ*
ka:lha

Acc. sg. *ka:lu* + *a*
ka:la

pl. *ka:lu* + *y* + *kaḷ* + *a*
ka:lhiḷa

etc.

10. *vaḷḷa:n* 'a cultivator'

Nom. sg. *vaḷḷī:*

pl. *vaḷḷa:n + kaḷ*
vaḷḷa: + kaḷ (rule 27)
vaḷḷa:ka (rule 16) etc.

11. *pəśśa:* 'child'

Nom. sg. *pəśśa:*

pl. *pəśśa: + kaḷ*
pəśśa: + ka

Acc. sg. *pəśśa: + a*
pəśḷa (rule 28)
etc.

12. *mu:gan* 'dumb person'

Nom. sg. *mu:gũ* (rule 22)

pl. *mu:gan + Ø*
mu:ga

Acc. sg. *mu:gan + a*
mu:gna

pl. *mu:gan + a:ḷ + a*
mu:ga + a:ḷ + a (rule 27)
mu:ga:ḷa
etc.

13. *na:n* 'I'

Nom. sg. *nã:* (rule 26)

pl. *na:n + kaḷ*
na:n + gaḷ
na:ṅ + gaḷ
naṅ + gaḷ (rule 29)
naṅga

Acc. sg. *na:n + a*
enn + a (rule 34)
enna

pl. *na:n + kaḷ + a*
en + kaḷ + a
eṅgḷa

etc.

14. *avan* 'he'
Nom. sg. *avū* (rule 22)

pl. *avan + kaḷ*
ava + kaḷ (rule 27)
ava + kaḷ
av + haḷ
avha

Acc. sg. *avan + a*
avna

pl. *avan + kaḷ + a*
ava + kaḷ + a
ava + haḷ + a
ava + ha:ḷ + a (rule)
avha:ḷa

15. *avaḷ* 'she'
Nom. sg. *aveḷ* (rule 30)
ave

16. *adu* 'it'
Nom. sg. *adu*
adī

pl. *adu + kaḷ*
avu + kaḷ (rule 32)
avu + y + kaḷ
avu + hyaḷ
av + hyaḷ
avhya

Acc. sg. *adu + a*
attu + a (rule 33)
atta

Some remarks on the formulated morphophonemic rules :

Some of the rules formulated here are more general and will be required also in other parts of the grammar. Among them we may mention the spirantization of the intervocalic *k* (e. g. Classical Tamil *pukai* > Sanketi *puha* 'smoke', Cl. Ta. *to:kai* > Sa. *co:ha*; Cl. Ta. *po:kire:n* > Sa. *pohaṇi* 'I go'); the nasal and the following stop to be homorganic, the stop between the homorganic nasal and a vowel to be voiced across morpheme boundary, the realization of *i* before *a* as *y*, syllabic representation of *y* between consonants and metathesis of the sequence *ih* and *yh* to *hi* and *hy* (also probably in the verb system, Cl. Ta. *tu:ṅkikoḷ* > Sa. *tuṅkyo* 'sleep'). Some rules are common to other Dravidian languages. The second vowel being the representation for both the vowels of a sequence, geminate reduction after another consonant, and the cerebralization of a dental in combination with a lateral are such rules. Sanketi shares with other Tamil dialects the development of nasalized vowels from vowel-nasal sequences and the loss of consonants at word boundary.

Typologically, it may be of interest to note that some of the rules are also shared in the grammar of other languages in the shapes we have formulated here. The realization of *i* as *y* before

a is a Sanskrit Sandhi rule. The development of an intervocalic *k* into a spirant *h*, I understand, is noticed in Bengali spoken in Bangla Desh. The Sanskrit sequence *aya* develops to *e:* in Prakrits (e. g. Skt. *ka:rayati* > Pkt. *ka:re:di*). Similarly, a dental in combination with an *r* develops to a retroflex (e. g. Skt. *kaivarta* > Pkt. *kevaṭṭa*; Skt. *garta* > Pkt. *gaḍḍa*), and final consonants are dropped in Prakrits (Skt. *vidyut* > Pkt. *vijju:*). The vowel-nasal sequence will result in a nasalized vowel in many languages.

Conclusion :

Unlike other modern Tamil dialects where the plurality is expressed generally by such additional words meaning 'all added to the singular form, in Sanketi the plural is generally expressed by the suffix *-kaḷ* added to the singular form. It has retained all the major stem types, oblique marker, case suffixes, and also the plural marker *-ma:r* besides the more common suffix *-kaḷ*. Of the case suffixes, only the instrumental suffix is different from that obtaining in the other dialects.

The Central Dravidian languages are generally distinguished from the South Dravidian languages, beside other things, by the process referred to as metathesis. To my knowledge metathesis is not reported for any other Tamil dialect. In Sanketi, this process has introduced *h* in initial position in instances such as *hā:* 'house' (Cl. Ta. *akam*), *ha:lu* 'wide' (Cl. Ta. *akalam*), *ha:mḍya* 'wife' (Cl. Ta. *akamuṭaiya:*). The present analysis of the case system has shown another instance of the use of metathesis. It also operates in the morphology of verb system. Though the process is found in the Central Dravidian languages, the Sanketi rule of the shape *i/y* + *h* —> *hi/hy* is not noted there. I venture to state that metathesis is in Sanketi a conservative process which I think is amply illustrated in the analysis. Because of this process, a phonological element is

preserved from getting lost. It does not appear to be a sporadic process. It has rather spread to also those paradigms in which this phonological element was not there earlier. Because of this process, it has been possible now to set up underlying forms which are close to historical forms. Even in the absence of material from other dialects, it will be possible to internally reconstruct earlier forms, since the phonological segments are preserved due to metathesis. Due to workings of other processes, the syllabic structure of Sanketi would have probably become complex and would introduce by morphological juxtapositios sequences which are phonotactically inadmissible. The workins of metathesis has helped here to remove such effects. Since metathesis is not found in the other Tamil dialects, we may assume an early separation of Sanketi from the Common Tamil. Alternatively, it might help us decide the area in which this dialect was spoken vis-a-vis other Tamil Dialects. Finally the paper has also provided, I think, some relevant information of typological interest on metathesis*.

Notes :

1. Sanketi Tamil is spoken chiefly in Mysore, Hassan, Shimoga, and Kadur Districts of the State of Karnataka. The speakers are all bilinguals in Kannada and belong to Saiva Brahmin Community

2. Sociative is not treated as a case form in Sanketi since morphologically it is very different from other case forms. Syntactically, the sociative function is however expressed by a noun phrase with a noun in the locative as its head and another noun or pronoun in the genitive as its attribute.

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3. The Vocative is however formed on the underlying form of the stem by the addition of the vocative suffix, instead of on the oblique stem, in *-m* stems.

4. Length is phonemic in nonfinal position. Finally, the long vowel is not of the same duration as of long vowels in other positions.

5. A special rule is required to generate the genitive singular form from the stems which are characterized by the semantic feature (+animate). The environment here is neither phonological nor morphological. The rule may be formed as:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow n / \mathbf{V} - + tte \ \#$$

APPENDIX

Some Paradigms :

1. *netti* 'forehead'

	Sg.	Pl.
N.	*netti*	*netthya*
A.	*netti:*	*netthiḷa*
I.	*netti:ṇṇu*	*netthiḷəṇṇu*
D.	*netti:kı*	*netthiḷīkkī*
G.	*netti:le*	*netthiḍe*
L.	*nettiːle*	*netthiḷīlle*

2. *cu:ru* 'wall'

N.	*cu:ru*	*cuːrha*
A.	*cu:ra*	*cu:rhiḷa*
I.	*cuːrəṇṇu*	*cu:rhiḷəṇṇu*
D.	*cu:rīkkī*	*cu:rhiḷīkkī*
G.	*cu:rīlle*	*cu:rhiḍe*
L.	*cu:rīlle*	*cu:rhiḷīlle*

3. *nogam* 'yoke'

N.	*nogu*	*nogaṅga*
A.	*nogta*	*nogaṅgḷa*
I.	*nogtəṇṇu*	*nogaṅgḷəṇṇu*
D.	*nogīkkī*	*nogaṅgḷīkkī*
G.	*nogītte*	*nogaṅgḍe*
L.	*nogtīlle*	*nogaṅgḷīlle*

4. *pu:nay* 'cat'

N.	*pu:na*	*pu:nhya*
A.	*pu:ne:*	*puːnhiḷa*
I.	*pu:neːṇṇu*	*puːnhiḷəṇṇu*
D.	*pu:ne:kī*	*pu:nhiḷīkkī*
G:	*pu:ne:nde*	*puːnhiḍe*
L.	*pu:ne:le*	*pu:nhiḷīlle*

5. *kəy* 'hand'

N.	*kəyyi*	*kəyha*
A.	*kəyya*	*kəyhiḷa*
I.	*kəyyəṉṉu*	*kəyhiḷəṉṉu*
D.	*kəyyīkkī*	*kəyhiḷīkkī*
G.	*kəyyītte*	*kəyhīḍe*
L.	*kəyyīlle*	*kəyhiḷīlle*

6. *kuṇṭan* 'lame person'

N.	*kuṇṭū*	*kuṇṭa*
A.	*kuṇṭna*	*kuṇṭa:ḷa*
I.	*kuṇṭnəṉṉu*	*kuṇṭa:ḷəṉṉu*
D.	*kuṇṭneikkī*	*kuṇṭa:ḷīkkī*
G.	*kuṇṭīnde*	*kuṇta:ḍe*
L.	*kuṇṭnīlle*	*kuṇṭa:ḷīlle*

7. *niːn* 'you'

N.	*nīː*	*niṅga*
A.	*unna*	*uṅgḷa*
I.	*unnəṉṉu*	*uṅgḷəṉṉu*
D.	*uṅgī*	*uṅgḷīkkī*
G.	*unde*	*uṅgḍe*
L.	*unnīlle*	*uṅgḷīlle*

8. *avan* 'he'

N.	*avū*	*avha*
A.	*avna*	*avha:ḷa*
I.	*avnəṉṉu*	*avha:ḷəṉṉu*
D.	*avnīkkī*	*avha:ḷīkkī*
G.	*avīnde*	*avha:ḍe*
L.	*avnīlle*	*avha:ḷīlle*

TAMIL CASE SYSTEM IN ITS DIALECTS

G. Srinivasa Varma
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

Tamil is rich in its dialects not only in number but also in its varieties like, regional, social, caste, etc. Each bialect is important in its own way because it is the living form of the language. Dialects in general, retain some of the archaic forms of the language, which may not be found in the contemporary language. Some dialects have lexical items, and morphemes which are not attested so far in the Literary language. So, the study of dialects enriches our knowledge about the language as a whole.

Here an attempt is made to study the case system in different dialects of Tamil, spoken in the mainland.

Traditionally speaking, Tamil language recognises eight cases. But a few dialects of Tamil (Kanyakumari dialect and South Arcot dialect) show an addition of two or three cases. These additional cases have been analysed in the Literary Tamil (henceforth referred to as L.T.) as a part of one or the other cases within the recognized eight cases. In general the dialects give a picture where the case markers underwent any one or all the following changes,

(i) shape change due to phonological changes.

(ii) change in their order of occurrence.

Structural interference from the neighbouring language or innovation or parallel development in one of the dialects of Tamil viz. Kanyakumari Regional dialect is found. And in three regional and caste dialects - pronouns have different oblique forms before certain case markers similar to Telugu for instance, but not due to Telugu interference.

The Tamil dialects which are taken for study here, ten in number may be classified into three groups on the basis of the case markers - both in their shape and function.

Group-I: Kanyakumari regional dialect consisting of two caste dialects : Vellala dialect and Nanjil Nadu Christian Nadar dialect.

Group-II: Central dialect - covering three regions, namely, South Arcot, Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli districts, otherwise known as Chola-country consisting of caste dialect only.

The rest of the five dialects form one group due to their accidental similarity. They are either geographically contiguous or spoken by the same caste. So, they never form one regional or social dialect.

1. Nominative :

All the dialects here taken for study share the same phenomena of nominative having no marker or having zero as the case marker. Whether this should be treated as a case or not, is yet to be decided, because of its peculiarity. Noun form has the potentiality of occurring as subject in a sentence, then it has the nominal function without any change in its shape.

2. Accusative/Objective :

Accusative has uniformly *-e* (L. T *-ai* > *-e*)' as the suffixal morpheme, which is obligatory with human nouns and pronouns while optional with neuter nouns. This state of affairs is noticed in Tolkappiyar's time too.

Dialects of the group II. viz. Tiruchi, Thanjavur and South Arcot (Padayachi) dialects have *-e* that has the dative function. This form is an alternant to the dative morpheme *-kku*.

When this *-e* occurs in the dative sense the verb *po:* 'to go' *va:* 'to come' and their various finite forms occur as predicate. If *pa:r* 'to see' or some other verbs occur then it gives either accusative or locative sense.

1. *ni: u:ṭṭ-e va:yen*

   You come to my house

2. *na:n u:ṭṭ-e po:ren*

   I go home

3. *na:n kolli-y-e po:ren*

   I go to the field

4. *na:n ka:ṭṭ-e po:ren*

   I go to the forest etc.

These sentences may be compared with the following sentences.

5. *na:n keḻakke po:ren ni: me:rkke po:*

   I go towards the East — You go towards the West

In the South Arcot Fishermen dialect of Tamil the same with *pa:* gives the meaning 'towards'.

6. *aven meːle paː poːraːn*

He goes towards the shore

Here *-e paː* should be segmented as the case marker. But in this dialect not only the verb *poː*, *vaː* but other verbs also can occur in the sentences having nouns with the above case markers.

7. *niː meːle paː taːvu*

You row towards the shore

8. *vale tekke paː vaːnkiyalle keṭantutu*

The net was towards the South (of the boat) in between the waves.

3. Instrumental :

-aːle is the predominant suffix for instrumental case, while the Kanyakumari regional dialect has *-evacci*, *-ekoṇḍu*, *-ekoṇḍuvacci*, *-yiṭṭu* as the additional (alternative) forms along with *-aːle*.

1. L. T. *-aːl* > *-aːle*
2. L. T. *-vaiṭṭu* > *-vacci*, verbal participle form of the verb *vai* 'to place'
3. L. T. *-koṇṭu* > *-koṇḍu*, post position *koṇṭu* may be derived from the verb *koḷ* 'receive, size'
4. L. T. *-iṭṭu* > *yittu*, from the verb *iṭu* 'to place'

The final vowel *-e* in *-aːle* should be treated as a release vowel which is different from the general releasing vowel(>*u*). This *-e* has nothing to do with accusative morpheme *-e*. Dr. S.V. Shanmugam is of the opinion that this *-e* is part of clitic.

a:le occurs with all nouns.

e.g.	*enn-a:le*	by me
	katti-y-a:le	by the knife
	a:ṭṭ-a:le	by the goat

But the post positions/case markers in the K. K. Dt. are added to nouns where the noun is already declined in the accusative.

e.g.

Christian Nadar Dialect :

1.	*enn-a:le*	by me
2.	*enn-a-koṇḍu*	by me
3.	*enn-e-vacci*	by me
4.	*enn-e-koṇḍu vacci*	by me
5.	*puliya:le*	by the tiger

Vellala Dialect:

1.	*katti-y-iṭṭu*	by the knife
2.	*katti-vacci*	by the knife
3.	*katti-koṇḍu*	by the knife

In the examples, 2, 3 & 4 *-a/-e* denotes accusative, to which the post positions *koṇḍu*, *vacci*, or *koṇḍuvacci* have been added.

Kanyakumari Hindu Nadar Dialect :

1.	*at-a:le/at-un-a:le*	by it
2.	*katti-e-vacci*	by the knife
3.	*ka:l-e-koṇṭu*	by the leg

-evacci also occurs in the locative sense, where it is described as structural borrowing from Malayalam which is geographically contiguous to Kanyakumari District.

4. Dative:

The most common dative case suffix is *-kku* with its phonologically predictable allomorphs. As already cited in the paper *-e* also occurs in restricted places. (cf. 2 Accusatives, dialects of the group II). This dative case morpheme along with the I and II person singular pronouns underwent some shape change—

(i) metathesis, (ii) loss of phonemes in Brahmin dialects and Kollimalai and Sa:liyar dialects of non-Brahmin.

L.T.	I sg.	*ena-kku*	to me
	pl.	*eṅkaḷu-kku*	to us
	II sg.	*una-kku*	to you
	pl.	*uṅkaḷu-kku*	to you

Brahmin Dialect :

I sg.	*ne:kku*	*ena-kku*	(metathesis)
II sg.	*no:-kku*	*una-kku*	,,

In Kollimalai dialect

I sg.	*e:-Ø-kku*	(loss of nasal and compensatory lengthening
II sg.	*u:-Ø-kku*	
of.	*en-e > enne*	me
	eṅkaḷ-a:-le	by us (excl.)

In Sa:liyar dialect of Ramnad District also the forms are :

I sg.	*e:kku*	to me
II sg.	*u:kku*	to you

These non-Brahmin dialects which have *e:-*, *o:-* alternants before dative shouldbe treated as oblique forms of the respective pronouns. The present shape may be (i) due to the loss of nasal or (ii) metathesis and then the nasal is dropped.

(i) I sg. *na:n* *e:-* occurs before dative

II sg. *ni:* *u:-* ,,

(ii) *na:n ena-* > *nea-* > *ne:* > *e:*

ni *una-* > *nae* > *no:* > **o:**

In *una:* > *u:* the dropping of nasal with the following vowel takes place. Then the preceding vowel is compensatorily lengthened.

5. Sociative :

The most common form is *o:ʈu*, (L.T. *o:ʈe*) in all the dialects Here too the final *-e* should be treated as clitic and not as release vowel. This form freely varies with the post-position *ku:ʈe* (L.T. *ku:ʈa* adverbial form of the verb *ku:ʈu* 'join with' which occurs after pronouns and human nouns.

The Kanyakumari regional dialect has the following forms:

1.	*o:ʈa*	I sg. 1.	*enn-o:ʈa*	with me
2.	*ku:ʈa*	2.	*e:n ku:ʈa*	with me
3.	*o:ʈaku:ʈa*	3.	*enno:ʈa ku:ʈa*	with me
4.	*akkaku:ʈa*	4.	*enakka ku:ʈa*	with me

The form *-akka* in *enakka ku:ʈa* may be the dative form *-akku* or Dative-cum-Genitive form *-akka*.

6. Genitive :

Genitive case/possessive case in the dialects has five sets of markers.

(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)
o:ṭe *uṭaiya*	*o:ṭe*	*uṭaya/nuṭaya*	*kka/ukka/ akka/Ø*	*o:ṭa* *a*

Most of the dialects in the groups, i, ii, iii and v have *o:ṭe* or its variants as the genitive which may be identified as the relative participle form of the verb *uṭai* 'possess' (L. T. *uṭaiya* > Coll. *o:ṭe*). The Kollimalai dialect has *-u* which occurs with I and II sg. only.

eg. *e-n-u* > *ennu* my
u-n-u > *unnu* your (sg.)
komkan-o:ṭe > *kongano:ṭe* Kongan's

Here the segmentation of *-u* as case marker needs new interpretation. Is it the euphonic *u* or the shortened form of *ennutu* by deletion of *-tu*?

In the Mysore dialect of Tamil alone the forms *uṭaya* and *nuṭaya* along with Ø occur. The forms are similar to those in L. T.

eg. *akka:* Elder sister's
akka: -nuṭaya < *akka:vinuṭaya* of the elder sister's

Here again the Kanyakumari regional dialect stands distinctively from others by its form *-kka, -akka* and Ø.

eg. *en-akka* my
nam-akka our
avan-ukka his
vale-kka of the net
pallu-Ø of the tooth
palli:ru toothgum

When we compare the dative forms and the genitive forms of this dialect, the genitive forms have *-a* finally while the dative (forms) have *-u*. Is this *-a* genitive? If so, what is the meaning of *-akk*, *-ukk-* and *-kk-*?

East Tanjore Padayachi dialect of Tamil has two forms *-oṭa* and *-a*; wherever *-oṭa* occurs, its occurrence is optional, but the nouns which take *-a*; must have the marker.

eg. *aṇṇan-o:ṭa* in *aṇṇano:ṭa caṭṭa*
elder brother's shirt

or

aṇṇan-Ø as in *aṇṇan caṭṭa*

-a occurs with nouns like *paṇṇa* farm, *cantai* 'market', *keṭai* 'pound,' and *kaṭai* 'shop'.

paṇṇaya kolla	the garden of the estate
cantaiya to:ppu	market groove
keṭaiya ma:ṭu	bull of the pound
kaṭaiya ca:ma:m	things of the shop

This is the only dialect that seems to retain the *-a* of L. T.

Dr. S. V. Shanmugam speaks about an *-a* as genitive case marker, which was originally functioning as inflectional increment during Tolkappiar's time, after the nouns *verin* and *porum*. (Shanmugam, 1971:271).

porunakkaṭumai	
iṉṟaiya pe:ccu	'to day's talk where genitive *-a* occurs with time noun'.

7. Locative:

Locative case has uniformly *-le* and *-kiṭṭe* as markers. Tiruchi and Kollimalai dialects have *-ṉṭe/-aṇṭe* form additionally.

Madurai Nadar dialect has *-e* as one of the locative marker in expressions like *me:kk-e* 'in the west'

(L. T. *il* > *le*, L. T. *kiṭṭ* > *kiṭṭe*,

L. T: *aṇṭai* > *aṇṭe* / *ṇṭe*)

eg.	*ra:ja: - kiṭṭe*	with Raja
	keṇatt - le	in the well
	avan - kiṭṭe	with him
	u:ru - le	in the village

Kollimalai Dialect :

-aṇṭe occurs after human nouns and it is in free variation with ~ *-kiṭṭe*

u-n-aṇṭe	with you
a-van-aṇṭe	with him
komkan-aṇṭe	with Kongan
u:r-le	in the village

Tiruchi:

ya:r-kiṭṭe	with whom
ya:r-ṇṭe	with whom

The Madras dialect has *kayle* corresponding to the form *kiṭṭe*.

eg.	*avan enkayle conna:n*	He told me

Locative of motion or Ablative :

Ablative case formation is a complicated process. Usually case markers are added to the oblique form of the noun. But the ablative marker is added to the so called oblique which is originally declined in the locative case. Most common form is

iruntu of its variants which occur with locative. The verbal participle of *iru* 'be' occurs as ablative of motion.

(i)	(ii)	(iii)
-leruntu	*-leruntu*	*-leruntu*
-kiṭṭeruntu	*-kiṭṭeruntu*	*-kiṭṭe:runtu*
-runtu	-	*aṇṭeruntu*

8. Vocative :

This case got very poor treatment when compared to other cases. It is being generalised in many ways such as (i) the final vowel is lengthened, (ii) the final nasal is dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened etc. Vocative case needs elaborate analysis and one should be cautious in doing the generalisation.

The following are the new cases apart from the eight already mentioned.

(i) Purposive Case :

The most common is *-a:ka* which is co-occurrent with dative *-kku*. Other forms are *ko:cram* in S.A. Dt., *-iṉṉi/-ṉi* in Kanyakumari District.

eg.	*avanukka:ka*	for him
	kaḷḷukka:ka	for the toddy
K.K. Dt.	*connatu-kku*	for telling
	ve:ṇam-iṉṉi/ve:ṇamṉi	wantenly
S.A. Dt.	*enakka:ke*	for me
	enakko:cram	for me

(ii) Comparative Case:

Comparative as a case has come into existence even long before. The marker *viṭe* occurs after the accusative form of the noun. But in K. K. Dt. dialect *-le* and *-o:ṭe* also denote comparative sense.

eg. *avan enneviṭa mu:ttaven*
He is elder than me

K.K.Dt. *aven-le iven periyaven* (*ivan avanil periyan.*)
This man is elder than him
iven avan-o:ṭe cinnavan (*ivan avanai viṭa cinnavan*)
This man is shorter than him

(iii) Causal Case:

Causal as a case occurs in K.K.Dt. only. This analysis seems to be farfetched. Those examples are not pure nouns but formed from verbs.

eg.	*koṭuttatu-n-a:le*	because of giving
	connatu-n-a:le	because of telling

(iv) Descriptive Case:

This case too is formed by the form *patti* (*paṟṟi*) which occurs after the accusative.

Eg.	*aveneppatti*	about him
	ra:maneppatti	about Rama

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THE CASE SYSTEM IN JAFFNA TAMIL

(A PHONOLOGICAL STUDY)

S. Thananjayarajasingham
UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON

In this paper, a phonological analysis of the case system in colloquial Jaffna Tamil is presented within the framework of prosodic phonology.

THE JAFFNA TAMILS

The Jaffna District which forms the peninsula in North Ceylon is inhabited mainly by Tamils who form about 95.7 percent of the total population. The total population of the Jaffna District is 613,230 out of which 586,970 are Ceylon Tamils, 10,950 Indian Tamils, 8080, Ceylon Moors and 520 Indian Moors.[1] All these communities are native speakers of Tamil.

Geograhically, the Jaffna peninsula lies very close to South India, being separated from it by a narrow stretch of sea, the Palk Strait which is only twenty two miles wide. This proximity enabled Jaffna to become one of the earliest parts of Ceylon to receive settlers from India[2] and also to have continual contact with the subcontinent. Nevertheless, the Jaffna Tamil have over the centuries become a distinct people and have developed a dialect which in many respects differs from the South Indian dialects of Tamil.

A. The Grammatical Analysis of the Case System

The grammatical analysis outlined in the next few paragraphs serves as a background for the phonological statements which follow.

On syntactic criteria, a six term system comprising nominative, accusative, instrumental, sociative, genitive and locative could be established for the nominals in Jaffna Tamil. Taking semantic criteria into consideration, an additional term, namely, ablative, could be enfolded within the case system.

In Tamil, the uninflected form of the nominal functions as the nominative case form.

e. g. *reyil varukutu*

The train is coming

avan poo̲raan

He is going

In Jaffna Tamil, a sub-system consisting of two terms, namely, animate (+human) and inanimate (—human) has to be set up for the ablative and locative cases. The distinction between the ablative and locative can only be made through semantic criteria. The locative animate and inanimate suffixes *-iṯṯe* and *-ile* occur with the post position *-iru̲ṇṭu* to express the ablative animate and inanimate forms. The locative animate and inanimate suffixes *-iṯṯe* and *-ile*[3] are mutually contrastive in fuction.

e. g.	*avan-iṯṯe-iru̲ṇṭu*	he (Abl.)
	raa-v-ile-y-iru̲ṇṭu	night (Abl.)
	* *avan-ille-y-iru̲ṇṭu*	

* *raa-v-iṭṭe-y-iruṉlu*

avan-iṭṭe he (Loc.)

raa-v-ile night (Loc.)

* *avan-ile*

* *raa-v-iṭṭe*

Sometimes when a person is referred to metaphorically as a dog, etc., the animate (-human) nominal for dog takes the animate (+human) suffix *-iṭṭe*. In such instances, the nominal for dog has to be recategorized as animate (+human).

e. g. *aṉta naay-iṭṭe oṉṭum ille*

That dog (of a person) has nothing

The locative animate suffix *-iṭṭe* can occur in some places where *-iṭṭe-y-iruṉlu* can occur.

e. g. *avan-iṭṭe vaaṅku*

Buy from him

avan-iṭṭe-y-iruṉtu vaaṅku

Buy from him

avan-iṭṭe irukku

He has

but not * *avan-iṭṭe-y-iruṉtu irukku*

The declensional peradigm for the animate (+human) nominal *tanañcayan* 'proper name (mas.)' and the inanimate nominal *maa* 'flour' are as follows:

Nominative	*tanañcayan*	*maa*
Accusative	*tanañcayan-e*	*maa-v-e*

Instrumental	*tanañcayan-aale*	*maa-v-aale*
Sociative	*tanañcayan-ooṭe*	*maa-v-ooṭe*
Dative	*tanañcayan-ukku*	*maa-v-ukku*
Ablative	*tanañcayan-iṭṭeyiruṉtu*	*maa-v-ileyiruṉtu*
Genitive	*tanañcayan-inṭe*	*maa-v-inṭe*
Locative	*tanañcayan-iṭṭe*	*maa-v-ile*

The accusative case suffix is sometimes followed by a post position *-paṭṭi*.

e. g. *kaṉtayyan-e-p-paṭṭi-c-collu*

Tell about Kaṉtayyan

Sometimes the adverb of place *-meele* occurs with both animate and inanimate nominals to express the locative.

e. g. *avan-meele kuṭṭam ille*

There is no guilt in him

meece-meele irukkv

(Something) is on the table

B. The Phonological Analysis of the Case System

TYPES OF STEM STRUCTURE

On the basis of the dichotomy of open or closed stem final syllables, stems can be classified as C-final and non-C final. Taking into account certain prosodic features of interrelations between stems and suffixes, C-final stems can be further classified as (a) constant C-final and (b) variable C-final stems. In some stems, only a simple C occurs as

the final element throughout the formal scatter. Apart from this type of constant element, a second type showing various types of alternation of forms ending in V or C or $\bar{C}$ or NC is identified in the C-final stems of some nominals.

The stem final syllables of non C-final stems are either Y-prosdic or W-prosodic or O-prosodic.[4]

The place of occurrence of Case Suffixes in Structures

The nominal stem in Jaffna Tamil takes gender, number, case suffixes and certain particles (*-ee, -oo, -um* and *-taan*). The stem can either take all of them or one of them. If it takes more than one there is a certain ordering of items other than *-ee* or *-oo* or *-um* or *-taan* which is necessarily final. All others can be medial or final as the case be. Thus the order in which the suffixes and particles occur within the nominal can be expressed as follows:

STEM (+ Gender) (+ Plural) (+ Case) (+ Particle)

Case suffix Structures

The case suffixes are given formulaic expression in the next few paragraphs.

Accusative Case Suffix *-e*

This V- initial suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-E^{Y}$. Phonetically it implies a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

Instrumental Case Suffix *-aale*

This vocalic initial disyllabic suffix may be given the formulaic expression $-\bar{A}^{O}{}_{a}\,EL^{Y}$. The suffix initial consists

of a long unrounded vowel in the open region. The medial consonantal element is a short alveolar lateral. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

Sociative Case Suffix *-oo̲t̲e*

The structure of this disyllabic suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-E^{\overline{\ }W}\ {}^{r}AE^{Y}$. The suffix initial consists of a long back rounded vowel during the articulation of which the tongue is raised almost to the half-close position. The medial consonantal element is a short retroflex flap. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

Dative Case Suffix *-ukku*

The Structure of this disyllabic suffix can be expressed in phonological formulae as $-I^{W\ V\overline{\ }}\ PI^{W}$. The suffix initial consists of a short back rounded vowel. The medial consonantal element is a long tense velar plosive articultaion. The suffix final is a short back rounded vowel.

Genitive Case Suffix *-in̲t̲e*

This disyllabic suffix may be given the formulaic expression $-I^{Y}\ {}^{a}N\ {}^{a}PE^{Y}$. The suffix initial is a short front unrounded vowel. The medial -NP- consonantal elements consists of a short alveolar nasal and a plosive. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

(+hum.) Locative Case Suffix *-it̲t̲e*

The structure of this disyllabic suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-l^{y}\ {}^{r\overline{\ }}PE^{Y}$. Phonetically the

suffix initial is a short front close unrounded vowel. The medial consonantal element is a long tense retroflex plosive articulation. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

(+hum.) Locative Case Suffix *-ile*

This may be given the formulaic expression $-I^{Y}\ a\ LE^{Y}$. The suffix initial is a short front close unrounded vowel. The medial consonantal element is a short alveolar lateral. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

(+hum.) Ablative Case suffix *-iṭṭeyiruṉtu*

This compound suffix consists of the animate locative suffix *-iṭṭe* and the post position *-iruṉtu*. As the animate locative suffix *iṭṭe* has already been expressed phonologically, only the structure of the post position *-iruṉtu* will be given phonological expression. The structure of this vocalic initial trisyllabic post position may be expressed phonologically as $-I^{Y}\ r_{LI}\ ^{W}d_{N}\ d_{PI}{}^{W}$. The initial element consists of a short front close unrounded vowel. The second syllable consists of a short alveolar flap articulation followed by a short back close vowel. The final syllable consists of a short dental nasal and a voiced dental plosive followed by a short back close vowel.

The internal junction[5] between the Y-prosodic case suffix *-iṭṭe* and the non-C initial position *-iruṉtu* is characterised by Y-prosody (For details of Y- posody see the section of Junctional Prosodies). $-E^{Y} + I^{Y}- \rightarrow E^{y}\ Y\ I^{Y}-$

e. g. *tanañcayan-iṯṯe-y-iruṉtu* Tananjayan (pr. n. abl.)

(—hum.) Ablative Case suffix *-ileyiruṉtu*

This compound suffix consists of the inanimate locative case suffix *-ile* and the post position. *-iruṉtu* both of which have been separately expressed phonologically in this section. What remains now is to account for the internal junction between these two suffixes. The internal junction between the Y-prosodic suffix *-ile* and the non-C initial post position *-iruṉtu* is characterized by Y-prosody.

$$-E^{Y}+I-^{Y}\rightarrow E^{Y}\ Y\ I-^{Y}$$

e. g. *kuuppan-ile-y-iruṉtu* coupon (abl.)

Junctional Prosodic Systems :

The junctional prosodic systems that are to be set up to account for the interrelations between nominal stems and case suffixes are now taken into consideration.

Three junctional prosodic systems are set up to account for the interrelations between nominal stems and case suffixes.

The first of these three systems is a two-term one with with Y or W as the terms constituting its system. Phonetically, a Y-prosodic junction characterized by frontness of articulation and lip spreading and W-prosodic junction by backness of articulation.

The junctional prosodic system of gemination comprises two terms, namely, the prosody of gemination (symbolised as *g*) and its absence (symbolised as *ḡ*). In general terms, the phonetic implications of these two terms are as follows :

g- prosody is characterized by a long, tense, voiceless articulation which, in most instances, is a plosive.

$\mathcal{E}$- prosody is characterized by a lax voiced articulation.

The junctional prosodic system symbolised as ≠ comprises one term and carries the implication of non-relevance of Y, W, g and $\mathcal{E}$.

Nominal Stem + Case Suffix Junction :

The interrelations between nominal stems and the non-C initial case suffixes can be classified as

$$\left.\begin{matrix}\text{Non-C final}\\ \text{C final}\end{matrix}\right\} + \text{Non-C initial}$$

In the language under survey, all the case auffixes are non-C initial ones. These non-C initial suffixes could be economically handled together when making phonological statements. If in any instance a separate treatment for the interrelations between stems of the native and marginal[6] classes is called for, it shall be done so in the course of the analysis. For this reason, the dative case is treated separately.

Examples for each suffix illustrating the phonologicla statements made here will be given in tables. In order to emphasize the similarities of features of junction, one example, wherever possible, is repeated. As a measure of economy, only one or two examples will be cited and the abbreviation etc., indicates that a particular junctional feature is applicable to all other nominals belonging to the class specified in the relevant phonological rule.

(1) Non-C final + Non-C initial

(a) The internal junction between nominal stems that are Y-prosodic and these non-C initial suffixes is characterized by Y-prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} I^{Y} \\ E^{Y} \end{matrix} \right\} + V- \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} I^{Y} \\ E^{Y} \end{matrix} \right\} \; Y \; V-$$

Accusative

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
eli-y-e	VCV^{Y}	Y	$-E^{Y}$	rat
aṉṉe-y-e	$VV\bar{C}^{Y}$	,,	,,	elder brother
	etc.			

Instrumental

eli-y-aale	VCV^{Y}	Y	$-\bar{A}^{O\,a}LE^{Y}$	rat
aṉṉe-y-aale	$V\bar{C}V^{Y}$	,,	,,	elder brother
	etc.			

Sociative

eli-y-ooṭe	VCV^{Y}	Y	$-\bar{E}^{W\,r}XE^{Y}$	rat
meṯṯe-y-ooge	$CV\bar{C}V^{Y}$	,,	,,	quilt
	etc.			

Ablative (+ hum.)

aṉṉe-y-iṯṯeyiruṉṯu	$V\bar{C}V^{Y}$	Y	$-I^{Y\,r}\bar{P}E^{Y}YI^{Y\,f}LI^{Wd}N^{d}PI^{W}$	elder brother
kaṉcali-y-iṯṯeyiruṉṯu	$CVNCVCV^{Y}$	,,	,,	worthless woman
	etc.			

Ablative (—hum.)

cli-y-ileyiruṇtu	VCV	Y	—I^{Y} a LE^{Y} I^{Y} f LI^{W} d N d PI^{W}	rat
kuure-y-ileyiruṇtu	C̄VCV^{Y}	Y	,,	roof

etc.

Genitive

eli-y-inṯe	VCV^{Y}	Y	I^{Y} a N PE^{Y}	rat
peene-y-inṯe	C̄VCV	,,	,,	pen

etc.

Locative (+hum.)

aṇṇe-y-iṯṯe	V̄CV	Y	—I^{Y} r P̄E^{Y}	elder brother
manuci-y-iṯṯe	CVCVCV^{Y}	,,	,,	woman

etc.

Locative (—hum.)

eli-y-ile	VCV	Y	—I^{Y-} LE^{Y-}	rat
veele-y-ile	C̄VCV	,,	,,	work

etc.

Table 1.

(b) If the nominal stems are W - prosodic or O - prosodic the internal junction is characterized by W - prosody.

$$-\left\{\begin{matrix} I^{W} \\ E^{W} \\ A^{O} \end{matrix}\right\} + V \rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix} I^{W} \\ E^{W} \\ A^{O} \end{matrix}\right\} \quad W \quad V-$$

Accusative

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
puu-v-e	$C\bar{V}^{W}$	w	$-E^{Y}$	flower
manoo-v-e	$CVC\bar{V}^{W}$	,,	,,	Manoo
anjaa-v-e	$VNC\bar{V}^{O}$	,,	,,	Cauldron

etc.

Instrumental

puu-v-aale	$C\bar{V}^{W}$	W	$-\bar{A}^{o}\ a\ LE^{Y}$	flower
kokkoo-v-aale	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}^{W}$	,,	,,	Cocoa
cinimaa-v-aale	$CVCVC\bar{V}^{O}$	,,	,,	Cinema

etc

Sociative

puu-v-oote	$C\bar{V}^{W}$	W	$-\bar{E}^{W}\ r\ XE^{y}$	flower
riccoo-v-oote	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}^{W}$	,,	,,	rickshaw
appaa-v-oote	$V\bar{C}\bar{V}^{O}$	,,	,,	father

etc.

Ablative (+hum)

iicu-v-iṭṭeyiruṉtu	V̄CV^W W -I^Y r̄PE^Y I^Y fLI W d N^d PI^W		Licu
caaṉṭoo-v-iṭṭeyiruṉtu	CVNCV̄^W	,, ,,	a man of Physical strenth
liilaa-v-iṭṭeyiruṉtu	C̄VCV^O	,, ,,	Liila

etc.

Ablative (—hum.)

puu-v-ileyiruṉtu	C̄V^W W -I^Y a LE^Y I^Y f LI W d N^d PI^W		flower
ṭippoo-v-ileyiruṉtu	C̄V̄CV^W	,, ,, ,,	depot
kanaa-v-ileyiruṉtu	C̄VCV^O	,, ,, ,,	dream

Genitive

puu-v-iṉṭe	C̄V^W W -I^Y a N^a PE^Y		flower
noo-v-iṉṭe	,, ,,	,,	pain
kooṭṭa-v-iṉṭe	C̄V̄CV^O ,,	,,	quota

etc.

Locative (+hum.)

iicu-v-iṭṭe	V̄CV^W W -I^Y r̄PE^Y		Iicu
manoo-v-iṭṭe	C̄VCV^W ,,	,,	manoo
appaa-v-iṭṭe	V̄C̄V^O ,,	,,	father

etc.

Locative (—hum.)

puu-v-ile	$CV^{\overline{W}}$ W -I^{Y} a LE^{Y}		flower
fayinamoo-v-lie	$CVCVCVCV^{\overline{W}}$	,,	dynamo
raamaa-v-ile	$CVCV^{\overline{O}}$ W	,,	drama

etc.

Table 2.

(c) The internal junction between C variable W-prosodic stems and these vocalic initial case suffixes is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{Bmatrix} \; I^{W} + V- \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{Bmatrix} \; \gamma^{W} \; V-$$

Thus *kaṇṭu* + *e*→ *kaṇṭe*. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Accusative

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kaṇṭ-e	$CVNCV^{W}$	-γ^{W}	-E^{Y}	calf
kall-e	$CV\bar{C}V^{W}$	,,	,,	stone
kaac-e	$C\bar{V}CV^{W}$	,,	,,	money

etc.

Instrumental

kaṇṭ-aale	CVNCV^{W} —χ^{W} —$\bar{A}^{O}$ ^{a}LE^{Y}	Calf
paṭṭ-aale	CV$\bar{C}$V^{W} ,, ,,	ten
koṭṭ-aale	C$\bar{V}$CV^{W} ,, ,,	peel of fruit

etc.

Sociative

kaṇṭ-ooṭe	CVNCV^{W} -χ^{W} -$\bar{E}^{W}$ ^{r}XE^{Y}	calf
coṭṭ-ooṭe	CV$\bar{C}$V^{W} ,, ,,	wealth
kaaṭṭ-ooṭe	CV$\bar{C}$V^{W} ,, ,,	wind

etc.

Ablative (—hum.)

kaṇṭ-ileyiruṇṭu	CVNCV^{W} -χ^{W} -I^{Y} ^{a}LE^{Y} YI^{y} ^{f}LI^{w} ^{d}N^{d}PI^{W}	calf
caṭṭ-ileyiruṇṭu	CV$\bar{C}$V^{W} ,, ,, ,,	vitamin
miḷak-ileyiruṇṭu	CVCVCV^{W} ,, ,, ,,	pepper

etc.

Genitive

kaṇṭ-iṇe	CVNCV^{W} -I^{Y} ^{a}N^{a}PEY	calf
caakk-iṇe	C$\bar{V}\bar{C}$V^{W} ,, ,,	sack
muṭuk-iṇe	CVCVCV^{W} ,, ,,	back

etc.

Locative (—hum.)

kaṇṭ-ile	CVNCV^{W}	-I$^{W\ Y\ a\ Y}$	LE	calf
kott-ile	CVCV^{W}	,,	,,	a measure
cokuc-ile	CVCVCV^{W}	,,	,,	comfort

Table 3.

It should be noted here that none of the W - prosodic nominal stems of the animate (+hum.) category lose their final vocalic element when in junction with vocalic initial suffixes (see pp. 282-283). Only the junction between stems of the inanimate category with syllabic structure other than (C) (V) CV and these vocalic initial suffixes is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

(2) C final + Non-C initial

(a) The internal junction between C final stems that (1) do not end either in a plosive or an affricate or a bilabial or velar nasal (2) are not of the syllabic structure (C)VC and these suffixes is ≠ prosodic.

Accusative

Reg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
teen-e	CV^{-a}N	≠	-E^{Y}	honey
paal-e	CV^{-a}L	,,	,,	milk
meeyar-e	CVCV^{f}L	,,	,,	mayor
pavuṇ-e	CVCV^{r}N	,,	,,	gold
teeḷ-e	CV^{-r}L	,,	,,	scorpion
nees-e	CV^{-a}F	,,	,,	nurse

etc.

Instrumental

teen-aale	$C\bar{V}\ {}^{a}N \mp \bar{A}^{o}\ {}^{a}LE^{Y}$	honey
paaṉ-aale	$C\bar{V}\ {}^{a}N$,, ,,	bread
kaal-aale	$C\bar{V}\ {}^{a}L$,, ,,	leg
meeḷ-aale	$C\bar{V}{}^{r}L$,, ,,	daughter
civar-aale	$CVCV{}^{f}L$,, ,,	wall
ṟees-aale	$C\bar{V}\ {}^{a}F$,, ,,	race

etc.

Sociative

teen-ooṭe	$C\bar{V}\ {}^{a}N \mp \bar{E}^{w}\ {}^{r}XE^{Y}$	honey
uur-ooṭu	$\bar{V}\ {}^{f}L$,, ,,	village

etc.

Ablative (+hum.)

meen-iṭṭeyiruṉṭu	$C\bar{V}{}^{a}N \neq -I^{Y}\ {}^{r}\bar{P}E^{Y}\ YI^{Y}\ {}^{f}LI^{w}\ {}^{d}N^{d}PI^{w}$	son
picukkaal-iṭṭeyiruṉṭu	$CVCV\bar{C}V\ {}^{a}L \mp$,, ,,	fiscal

etc.

Ablative (—hum.)

teen-ileyiruṉṭu	$C\bar{V}{}^{a}N \mp -I^{Y}\ {}^{a}LE^{Y}\ YI^{Y}{}^{f}LI^{w}\ {}^{d}N^{d}PI^{w}$	honey
vayar-ileyiruṉṭu	$CVCV{}^{f}L$,, ,,	wire

etc.

Genitive

teen-inṯe	$C\bar{V}^{a}N$	≠	$-I^{Y}{}_{a}N{}_{a}PE^{Y}$	honey
kaar-inṯe	$C\bar{V}^{f}L$	,,	,,	car

etc.

Locative (+hum.)

meen-iṯṯe	$C\bar{V}^{a}N$	≠	$-I^{Y}{}_{r}PE^{Y}$	son
aaḷ-iṯṯe	$\bar{V}^{r}L$	,,	,,	person

etc.

Locative (—hum.)

teen-ile	$CV^{a}N$	≠	$I^{Y}{}_{a}L^{Y}{}_{a}LE^{Y}$	honey
aar-ile	$CVCV^{f}L$	,,	,,	tyre

etc.

(b) The internal junction between inanimate stems of the syllabic structure CVC and these case suffixes is characterized by the short stem final element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody). CVC + V- → $C\bar{V}C$-. Thus *ṟim* + *e* → *rimme*. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Accusative

Rdg. Tpn.	St. Jtn. S.	Gloss
pamm-e	$CV^{b}N$ g $-E^{Y}$	pump
pinn-e	$CV^{a}N$,, ,,	pin

maṇṇ-e	$CV^{r}N$	,,	,,	sand
cekk-e	$CV^{v}P$	,,	,,	Cheque
pass-e	$CV^{a}F$	,,	,,	bus
kayy-e	$CV^{p}Z$	,,	,,	hand
mill-e	$CV^{a}L$	,,	,,	mill

etc.

Instrumental

pamm-aale	$CV^{b}N$	g	$-\bar{A}^{O}\ a_{LE}{}^{Y}$	pump
ṟipp-aale	$CV^{b}P$	,,	,,	trip

etc.

Sociative

pamm-ooṭe	$CV^{b}N$	g	$-\bar{E}^{W}\ r_{XE}{}^{Y}$	pump
tinn-aale	$CV^{a}N$	,,	,,	tin

etc.

Ablative (—hum.)

pamm-ileyiruṇṭu	$CV^{b}N$	g	$-I^{Y}\ a_{LE}{}^{Y}{}_{YI}{}^{Y}\ f_{LI}{}^{W}\ d_{N}{}^{d}{}_{PI}{}^{W}$	pump
ponn-ileyiruṇṭu	$CV^{a}N$	,,	,,	gold

etc.

Genitive

pamm-inte	$CV^{b}N$	g	$-I^{Y}\ {}^{a}N\ {}^{a}PE^{Y}$	pump
pell-inte	$CV^{a}L$	,,	,,	bell

etc.

Locative (—hum.)

pamm-ile	$CV^{b}N$	g	$-I^{Y}\ {}^{a}LE^{Y}$	pump
mayy-ile	$CV^{p}Z$	,,	,,	ink

etc.

Table 5.

(c) The internal junction between animate oblique pronominal stems of the syllabic structure (C)VN and all the vocalic initial case suffixes other than those beginning with a short front close unrounded vowel is characterized by the short stem final nasal being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

$$(C)V\ N^{b/a} + V\text{-} \rightarrow (C)V\ \overline{N}^{b/a}\ V\text{-}$$

Thus *en* + *e* → *enne*. The examples given below should be inter preted with this in mind.

Accusative

Rdg. Tpn	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
unn-e	$V^{a}N$	g	$-E^{y}$	you
tann-e	$CV^{a}N$	,,	,,	he

etc.

Instrumental

unn-aale	$V^{a}N$	g	$-A^{-O}{}_{a}LE^{Y}$	You
tann-aale	$CV^{a}N$	,,	,,	he

etc.

Sociative

unn-oote	$V^{a}N$	g	$-E^{-W}{}_{r}XE^{Y}$	you
tann-oote	$CV^{a}N$	,,	,,	he

etc.

Table 6.

(d) The internal junction between animate oblique pronominal stems of the syllabic structure (C)VN and case suffixes beginning with a short front close unrounded vowel is characterized by (1) the short stem final nasal being realized as a long tense one and (2) the initial short front close vocalic element of the suffix being realized as a short back vowel in the open range.

$$(C)V\ \overset{b/a}{N} + \overset{Y}{I}- \rightarrow (C)V\ \overset{b/a}{N}\ \overset{O}{A}-$$

Ablative (+hum.)

Rdg.	Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
enn-itteyiruntu	$V^{a}N$ g+I $-^{Y}\rightarrow$ g+A^{O}_{-} $-I^{Y}\ {}_{r}PE^{Y}\ YI^{Y}\ {}_{f}LI^{W}\ {}_{d}N^{d}PI^{W}$				I
tann-itteyiruntu	$CV^{a}N$	,,	,,	,,	he

etc.

Locative (+hum.)

enn-itte	V^aN	$g+I^Y \rightarrow g+A^O$	$-I^Y$	$r\bar{P}E^Y$	I
tann-itte	CV^aN	,,	,,		he

etc.

Table 7

(e) The internal junction between animate pronominal oblique stems with an alveolar nasal as their stem final and the vocalic initial genitive suffix is characterized as follows :

$$(C)V^aN + I^Y \; {}^aN{}^aPE^Y \qquad (C)V^aN\gamma^Y \; {}^aN \; {}^aPE^Y$$

Genitive

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss.
en-inte	V^aN	$-I^Y \; {}^aN$	$-I^Y \; {}^aN{}^aPE^Y$	
tan-inte	CV^aN	,,	,,	

etc.

Table 8

(f) The internal junction between stems (irrespective of their syllabic structure) of the marginal class ending either in a short plosive or an affricate or a velar nasal and the vocalic initial suffixes under consideration is characterized by the stem final short C element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

$$\left\{\begin{matrix} b \mid a \mid r \mid v \\ -P \\ -Q \\ {}^{v}_{-}N \end{matrix}\right\} + V- \rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix} b \mid a \mid r \mid v \\ -P \\ -Q \\ {}^{v}_{-}N \end{matrix}\right\} V-$$

For the purpose of illustration examples will be cited only for the accusative case.

Accusative

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
keekk-e	$C\bar{V}^{v}P$	g	$-E^{Y}$	cake
ceecc-e	$C\bar{V}Q$	,,	,,	church
ṭaṅṅ-e	$C\bar{V}^{v}N$	,,	,,	tank
mekkaanikk-e	$CV\bar{C}VCVC$	,,	,,	mechanic
layiṭṭ-e	$CVCV^{a}P$	,,	,,	light
ṯiyuupp-e	$CVC\bar{V}^{b}P$	,,	,,	tube
cuvicc-e	CVCVQ	,,	,,	switch
pooṭiṅṅ-e	$CVCV^{v}N$	,,	,,	boarding
cikareṭṭ-e	$CVCVCV^{a}P$	,,	,,	cigarette
rekkooṭṭ-e	$CVC\bar{V}^{r}P$	,,	,,	record
mayikk-e	$CVCV^{v}P$	,,	,,	microphone
		etc.		

Table 9

The Dative Case

The junction between nominal stems and the disyllabic vocalic initial dative case suffix is characterized as follows:

(a) When the stem is Y-prosodic, the internal junction is characterized by the loss of the suffix initial vocalic element.

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} -I^{Y} \\ -E^{Y} \end{matrix} \right\} + I^{W}\, V\bar{P}I^{W} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} I^{Y} \\ E^{Y} \end{matrix} \right\} \gamma^{W}\, V\bar{P}I^{W}$$

Thus *kaṟi* + *ukku* → *kaṟikku*. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
veṟi-ukku	$CVCV^{Y}$	γ^{W}	$-I^{W}\, V\bar{P}I^{W}$	intoxication
male-ukku	,,	,,	,,	mountain
caalini-ukku	$C\bar{V}CVCV^{Y}$	,,	,,	Caalini
kucuni-ukku	$CVCVCV^{Y}$	,,	,,	kitchen
caṅkaane-ukku	$CVNC\bar{V}CV^{Y}$	,,	,,	cankaane
		etc.		

Table 10.

(b) When the stem is either W or O-prosodic the internal junction is characterized by W-prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} -I^{W} \\ -E^{W} \\ -\bar{O} \\ -A \end{matrix} \right\} + I^{W} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} -I^{W} \\ -E^{W} \\ -\bar{O} \\ -A \end{matrix} \right\} W \qquad I^{W}$$

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
skr̲u-v-ukku	$CCCV^{W}$	W	$-I^{W}\ v\bar{P}I$	screw
puu-v-ukku	$C\bar{V}^{W}$	,,	,,	flower
noo-v-ukku	,,	,,	,,	pain
coomu-v-ukku	$C\bar{V}CV^{W}$	,,	,,	coomu
pur̲aa-v-ukku	$CVC\bar{V}^{O}$	,,	,,	pigeon
mallikaa-v-ukku	$CV\bar{C}VC\bar{V}^{O}$	,,	,,	Mallikaa
		etc.		

Table 11

(c) The internal junction between C variable W-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the short stem final vocalic element.

$$-I^{W} + -I^{W} \rightarrow -\not{I}^{W}\ I^{W}$$

This *ciippu* + *ukku* → *ciippukku*. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kapp-ukku	$CV\bar{C}(V^{W})$	$-\not{I}^{W}$	$-I^{W}\ v\bar{P}I^{W}$	pillar
tump-ukku	$CVNC(V^{W})$	,,	,,	fibre
vayac-ukku	$CVCVC(V^{W})$	,,	,,	age
		etc.		

Table 12

(d) The internal junction between C final stems that (1) do not end either in a plosive or an affricate or a bilabial or a velar nasal (2) are not of the syllabic structure (C)VC and this suffix is characterized by ≠ prosody.

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
naaḷ-ukku	$C\bar{V}^{r}L$	≠	$-I^{W}\ v\bar{P}I^{W}$	day
tool-ukku	$C\bar{V}^{a}L$	,,	,,	leather
peer-ukku	$C\bar{V}^{f}L$	,,	,,	name
polis-ukku	$CVCV^{a}F$	,,	,,	Police
kaṭan-ukku	$CVCV^{a}N$	,,	,,	debt
puuṇ-ukku	$C\bar{V}^{r}N$	,,	,,	knob
		etc.		

Table 13

(e) The internal junction between inanimate stems of the syllabic structure CVC and this suffix is characterized by the short stem final element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

$$CV \begin{Bmatrix} b/a/r \\ \bar{N} \\ a \\ F \end{Bmatrix} \overset{W}{+I-} \rightarrow CV \begin{Bmatrix} b/a/r \\ \bar{N} \\ a- \\ F \end{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} W \\ I- \end{matrix}$$

Thus *pin* + *ukku* → *pinnukku* 'pin (dat.)'. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
rimm-ukku	$CV^{b}N$	g	$-I^{W}\ v\bar{P}I^{W}$	rim
ṭonn-ukku	$CV^{a}N$	,,	,,	ton
puṇṇ-ukku	$CV^{r}N$	,,	,,	wound
pass-ukku	$CV^{a}F$	,,	,,	bus
		etc.		

Table 14

(f) The internal junction between animate oblique pronominal stems of the syllabic structure (C) VN and this suffix is characterized by the suffix initial short back rounded vowel being realized as a short back vowel in the open range.

$$(C)VN + I^{W}\ v\bar{P}I^{W} \rightarrow \quad (C)VNA^{O}v\bar{P}I^{W}$$

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
en-ukku	$V^{a}N$	$I^{W}_{-}\ A^{O}_{-}$	$-I^{W}\ v\bar{P}I^{W}$	I
un-ukku	$V^{b}N$	,,	,,	you
tan-ukku	$CV^{a}N$	,,	,,	he
		etc.		

Table 15

(g) The internal junction between stems (irrespective of their syllabic structure) of the marginal class ending in either an alveolar or retroflex or bilabial plosive or on affricate or a velar nasal and this dative suffix is characterized by the stem final C element being realized as a long tense one (as $\bar{C}$)

$$\left\{\begin{matrix}{}^{a/r/p}\\ -P\\ -Q\\ {}^{v}\!-\!N\end{matrix}\right\} + I^{W}\,{}^{v}\bar{P}I^{W} \rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}{}^{a/r/p}\\ -\bar{P}\\ -\bar{Q}\\ {}^{v}\!-\!\bar{N}\end{matrix}\right\} I^{W}\,{}^{v}\bar{P}I^{W}$$

Thus *vaaṭ+ukku→vaaṭṭukku* 'ward (dat.)'. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
rooṭṭ-ukku	$C\bar{V}{}^{r}P$	g	$-I^{W}\,{}^{v}\bar{P}I^{W}$	road
ṭayiṭṭ-ukku	$CVCV{}^{a}P$	,,	,,	light
yoocepp-ukku	$C\bar{V}CV{}^{b}P$	,,	,,	Yoocep
vaacc-ukku	$C\bar{V}Q$	,,	,,	watch
mooccaṅṅ-ukku	$C\bar{V}\bar{C}{}^{v}N$	,,	,,	jaws harp
		etc.		

Table 16

(h) The internal junction between stems of the marginal class ending in a short velar plosive and this suffix is characterized by the stem final short velar plosive and the suffix initial short back rounded vowel being realized as a long tense velar plosive articulation and a short front close unrounded vowel respectively.

$${}^{v}\!-\!P + I^{W}\,{}^{v}\bar{P}I^{W} \rightarrow {}^{v}\bar{P}I^{Y}\,{}^{v}\bar{P}I^{W}$$

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
cekk-ukku	$CV^{V}P$	$^{V}\text{-}P + I^{W}\text{—} \rightarrow {}^{V}\bar{P}I^{Y}\text{—}$	$\text{-}I^{W}\,{}^{V}\bar{P}I^{W}$	cheque
keekk-ukku	$C\bar{V}^{V}P$	,,	,,	cake
mekkaanikk-ukku	$CV\bar{C}VCV^{V}P$	,,	,,	mechanic
ṭominikk-ukku	$CVCVCV^{V}P$	,,	,,	ṭominik
		etc.		

Table 17

Notes

1. The data is taken from: *Statistical Pocket Book of Ceylon* Department of Census and Statistics, Colombo, 1970.

2. For some controversial points of view, see Tambiah's criticism of K. Indrapala (1966) in his paper on "The Genesis of the Tamil Kingdom" Proceedings of the Second International Conference - Seminar of Tamil Studies. Madras. 1971. Vol. I. pp. 300—1 and footnote 13.

3. In a few instances, the locative (-hum) case suffix is taken by animate nominals and in those instances it has to be recategorized as (+ hum.).

   egg. *aaḷ — ile keeṭṭu - pooccu*

   The person has become weak in health

   avaṅkaḷ ... ile aar vaaraan

   Which of those men is coming?

4. A Y—prosodic stem implies frontness of articulation and lip spreading and W—prosodic stem backness of articulation. An O— prosodic stem implies non—relevance to Y— or —W— prosodic stem, i. e., absence of either frontness or backness.

5. Junction is a phonological abstraction which is held to account for certain phonological features which can be stated neither as characterestic of the stem nor any of the suffixes in nominal form. The junction between stem and suffix and those between two suffixes are instances of junction within word—boundaries. Such a type of junction is described as internal junction.

6. The term 'native' is used to indicate words that are of Dravidian origin. The term 'marginal' is used to indicate words that are non-Dravidian such as Portuguese, English, etc. These (marginal) words are historically known to be loans.

The Phonetic Statements

All the phonetic statements made in this paper are based on the pronunciation of the writer who may be considered as a representative speaker of contemporary Jaffna Tamil.

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REALIZATIONS OF CASE - MARKERS IN CURRENT COLLOQUIAL MALAYALAM

S. Velayudhan

CALICUT UNIVERSITY

0. There is some variation in the treatment of Malayalam case system in the traditional grammatical treatises and modern descriptive analyses of Malayalam. This is to be noticed in the listing of the various cases, their nomenclature and to a certain extent in the markers listed under each case. The present paper seeks to examine the Malayalam case markers in relation to their surface realizations in colloquial speech. It will be seen that there is a case for looking at the case system afresh from the points of formal speech and writing and informal speech. There are instances in which structural meaning is signalled not entirely based on case markers, but on the total context. This is the case where markers with the same phonetic form represent more than one case.

1. With regard to the first case, nominative, there is no special problem as it does not have separate markers. But this unmarkedness is syntactically significant and its status as a case need not be a matter of debate. It finds a place in traditional listing but not in all modern descriptive studies.

2. The second case, accusative, has the basic marker *-e* in formal speech and writing. But it occurs in free variation with

-a in informal speech. Though it is customary to say that the occurrence of this case marker is optional with inanimate nouns, there are contexts where it is obligatory far even such nouns to have this marker. Compare the following sentences:

1. *raaman siita-y-e kaṇḍu*
   Rama saw Sita

2. (a) *raaman sinima kaṇḍu*
   Raman saw a film

   (b) **raaman sinima-y-e kaṇḍu*

3. *aa sinima-y-e endinu paḻikkunnu*
   Why blame that film ?

3. In traditional listing the third case is instrumental, which expresses the idea of agency and instrumentality with *-aal* as its marker. Closely linked with this is the case referred to as sociative. There is sound reason to treat the two as separate cases on the basis of their syntactic behaviour. While instrumental alone can occur in passive constructions, sociative with its marker *-ooḍu* can be paraphrased with the conjunctive *-um*. The main use of instrumental is in passive type constructions which sound very odd in informal speech, though it is increasingly used in formal speech and writing.

4. (a) *indira-y-aal nayikkppeḍunna kaaṅgres*
   Congress led by Indira

   (b) *indira nayikkunna kaaṅgres*

5. (a) *petrooḻaal ooḍikkappeḍunna vaahanam*
   Vehicle driven by petrol

   (b) *petrooḻ koṇḍu ooḍunna/ooḍikkappeḍunna vaahanam*

(4a) and (5a) sound stilted and pedantic in ordinary speech though they are acceptable in other styles, i. e., formal speech and writing. Sentences like,

6. (a) *ennaal saadhyaw alla*

Not possible by me

(b) *aaḷ-aal endu sahaayavum ceyyaam*

Shall render all help by person
(not possibly with money)

may still be acceptable in colloquial style though - *koṇḍu* type constructions as

6. (c) *en-n-e kkoṇḍu...*

(d) *aaḷ-e kkoṇḍu...* seem to be the preferred ones.

Modern descriptive studies of Malayalam dialects have not treated instrumental as a distinct case.

The sociative case with the marker *-ooḍu* is increasingly being taken as the third case, instrumental being dropped altogether. The marker becomes *-uḍe*, *-ḍe* (in very rapid speech) and *-uḍekuuḍe* in colloquial speech as in

7. (a) *avar-ooḍu paraññu* ...told them
(b) *avar-uḍe paraññu* ,,
(c) *avar-ḍe paraññu* ,,
(d) *avar-uḍekuuḍe paraññu* ,,

Compare,

8. (a) *avan avar-ooḍu ceernnu* He joined them
(b) *avan avar-uḍekuuḍe ceernnu* ,,

The instrumental *-aal* passive as in text book/ classroom type concocted sentences such as,

9. *raavaṇan raman-aal kollappeṭṭu*
   Ravana was killed by Rama

10. *kaḷḷan pooliisukaaran-aal piḍikkapeṭṭu*
    The thief was caught by the policeman

look much better in their elided forms as in,

9. (a) *raavaṇan kollappeṭṭu*
   Ravana was killed

10. (a) *kaḷḷan piḍikkappeṭṭu*
    The thief was caught

The instrumental *-aal* may become *-il* if the passvie subject is an inanimate noun as in,

11. *kaar apakaḍattil añcupeer kollappeṭṭu*
    Five were killed in the car accident

12. *bhuukambattil kollappeṭṭavar.....*
    Those killed in each quake...

But this variation between *-aal* and *-il* is not consistent and there are instances where the two could express slightly different meanings and the choice seems to be restricted by the kind of verb that follows the construction.

13. (a) *paṭṭiṇi-y-aal viṣamiccu*
    Was in misery because of starvation

    (b) *paṭṭini-y-il viṣamiccu*
    Suffered in starvation or (I) felt sorry because of (his) starvation.

4. The fourth case, dative, has two basic markers, *-kku, -u*, with a number of variants depending on the final consonant of the nouns.

14. *avar-kku kiṭṭi*
They got

15. *avan-u kiṭṭi*
He got

This case has retained its markers without change in all styles of speech and writing.

5. The fifth case, ablative, has *-ilniṉṉu* as the basic marker with variants in colloquial speech, such as *-iṉṉu, -iiṉṉu, -aṉṉu* and *-ṉṉu*. It also has another marker *-kaaḷ* used to show comparison

16 (a) *ñaan viiṭ-ṭ-ilniṉṉu varuṉṉu* I am coming from home

(b) *.....viiṭ-ṭ-iiṉṉu.....* ,,

(c) *.....viiṭ-ṭ-iṉṉu.....* ,,

(d) *ñaan aviḍaṉṉu varuṉṉu*
I am coming from there

(e) *kiiḻee-ṉṉu varuṉṉu*
Coming from below

When used to show comparision the usually citad marker *-kaaḷ(um)* cannot be added plain stems. They have to be made *-e* ending to add this marker.

17. (a) *avaḷ avan-e-kaaḷ koḻaam* She is better than him

(b) *avaḷ avan-e-kaaḷum koḻaam* ,,

In some dialects there is another marker *-kaaṭṭi* (*lum*) expressing the same meaning. The comparative sense is also expressed by adding *-ilum* to the stem.

18. *at-ilum koḷḷaavuṉṉalu itaa*
This is better than that

6. The sixth case, genitive, has *-uḍe*, *-ḍe* as basic markers with variants mostly with a change of the final vowel into *-a*.

19. (a) *avaḷuḍe pustakam* Her book
(b) *avaḷḍe pustakam* ,,
(c) *avaḷda pustakam* ,,
(d) *avan-ṟe pustakam* ,,
(e) *avan-ṟa pustakam* ,,

Very often the marker drops the consonant and retains the vowel only.

20. (a) *avar-a pustakam*
Their book
(b) *avaḷ-a pustakam*
Her book
-uḍe sometimes changes into *-iiḍe*, *-iire* or *iira*.

21. (a) *jaanaki-y-uḍe pustakam* Janaki's book
(b) *jaanaki-iḍe.....* ,,
(c) *jaanaki-ire.....* ,,
(d) *jaanaki-ira.....* ,,

Using *-inṟe* where *-uḍe* or its variants are to be used is common in north Kerala. Though this is attested in the south also it is restricted to certain sections only.

22. *jaanaki-inṟe pustakam*

Janaki's book

23. *amm-eenṟe haaryam*

Matter relating to mother

24. *kuṭṭi-inṟe karaccil*

Child's cry

7. The seventh case, locative, has *-i(l)* and *-ka(l)* as the basic markers. But other devices are also made use of to signal the locative sense

25. *viiṭṭi (l) pooyi*

Went home

26. *paḍi-kkal ṉilkkuṉṉu*

Stands on (near) the entrance

Also compare,

27. (a) *viiṭṭi (l) pooy*
(b) *viiṭṭi (nu) pooyi*
(c) *kooṭṭayatt-inu pooyi*
(d) *tirumala-ykkku pooyi*
(e) *tiruvanaṉtapurattu pooyi*
(f) *kooḷikkooṭṭu pooyi*

8. The eighth case, vocative, is sometimes not reckoned along with the other cases though unlike the first case, it has vocative markers.

CASE SYSTEM IN STANDARD COLLOQUIAL KANNADA

M. Chidananda Murthy

BANGALORE UNIVERSITY

1.1. By standard colloquial Kannada I mean the language spoken by the educated people of the Bangalore-Mysore region of Karnataka. Since my idiolect is a fairly good representative of that dialect, I have depended upon my own speech for data, and I have checked up with other's speech occasionally to make sure of the data.

1.2. The paper consists of three parts: the first part is devoted to a short discussion of the number of cases; second to the case suffixes and post-positions; the last to the case-shifts.

2.1. The number of cases, according to the traditional grammars, is seven or eight. Caldwell is of the opinion that the number of cases in Dravidian is almost 'indefinite'. He is right in one way, and the list of cases which I propose for modern Kannada supports his statement.

The traditional cases - accusative, instrumental, dative, genitive and locative-have clear case-markers. The nominative with zero-suffix could be added to the list. The problem of ablative in Kannada is a much discussed matter, and almost all scholars have concluded that Kannda lacks ablative. They

base their conclusion on the fact that it has no special case-marker and is expressed through the instrumental suffix *-inda*. In the traditional list of cases, the instrumental (*tṛtiya*, 'the third') case comes first, and the ablative (*pancami* 'the fifth) case then follows. Because the instrumental occurs earlier in numerical order, it is really difficult to prove that *-inda* is orginally an instrumental suffix. On the other hand *-inda* is most probably a reflex of the P. Dr. ablative suffix * *intu*, and hence *-inda* was originally the ablative suffix in Kannada, and the instrumental came to be expressed through the ablative*. In modern Kannada, as in its earlier stages, the instrumental can also be expressed through the locative. It must be stressed here that the instrumental expressed through the locative is more natural in modern Kannada. Ablative is always expressed only through the suffix *-inda*. Thus it is possible to argue that there is ablative in Kannada with its case-marker *-inda* and that it differs from the instrumental in its syntactic behaviour. There seems to be a strong case for another case which, for convenience sake, we could call illative (or uptotive) which is expressed through case-markers *-tanaka* and *-varege*. While ablative suggests a movement away from a point, illative suggests a movement directed towards or upto a point.

1. (a) *avan kereyinda hōda*

He went away from the tank (Abl.)

(b) *avan kere:tanaka hōda* (he went upto the tank (Ill.)

or

avan kerē:varege hōda ,,

* After completing this paper, I was glad to know that Sediyapu Krishnabhatta had come to a similar conclusion in one of his articles on the ablative in *Prabuddha Karnataka* (26. 2, PP. 11 -26)

2. 2. One objection that could be raised against taking *-tanaka* and *-varege* as case-markers is that they are added to relative participles also.

2. (a) *na:n baro:tanaka ka:yi* wait till I come

(b) *na:n baro:varege ka:yi* do

It is possible to argue that the underlying forms of *kere:tanaka* and *kere:varege* are * *kere baro:tanaka* and * *kere baro:varege*; so that the literal meaning of (1.b) could be * *avan kere baro:tanaka ho:da*; he went till the tank came (to him). But it is not easy to argue similarly in the case of first personal pronouns (*na:nu* & *na:vu*) 'I' & 'we' and in the case of words like *alli* 'there'. It is difficult to show that the underlying form of *alliyavarege* 'up to there' is * *alli baruvavarege*

-tanaka and *-varege* are always added to non-past relative participles and never to past participles. This fact has some semantic significance for the simple reason that these markere added to nouns always suggests a movement directed towards or upto a point. The same markers added to participles naturally suggest a movement, whose direction in time-depth must be either in the present or in the future. It is for this reason that I take *-tanaka* and *-varege* as case - markers originally.

Another supporting factor for the above argument is that in the case of past participles, the marker *me:le* is added to signify anything that takes place between the time of action in the past and the future:

3. *avan ho:dme:le na:n bande*

I came after he left

Since *me:le* is clearly a locative marker, the post-position *-tanaka* and *-varege* also should be taken as case-markers.

2. 3. The problem of the sociative case in Dravidian is discussed by Caldwell and others including S. V. Shanmugam and modern Kannada expresses the sociative through suffixes and postpositions like *-oḍane, -kūḍa* and *-jote*. Like many other Dravidian languages, modern Kannada has separate markers for comparative (*-inta, -inna*) and purposive (*-o:suga -o:skara, -a:gi*).

3. I. Accusative:

The accusative case suffixes are *-an(nu), an(na), -nan(na) -na, -n,* and ϕ

(i) *-annu* is the most common accusative suffix in the literary language and its usage is restricted mostly to the 'formal' style of colloquial usage. All the other suffixes are derived from this.

(ii) *-anna* is the most common in the colloquial standard and is added to all nominal bases. In *-a* ending masculine words, it alternates with *-nanna*, where *-n-* is the remnant of the old gender-number marker.

huḍuganna/huḍugnanna	boy (Acc.)
kaḷḷanna/kaḷnanna	thief (Acc.)

-anna also alternates with *-an, -na,* and *-n,* the last two being preceded by a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

maguvan/magu:na/magu:n	child	(Acc.)
katteyan/kate:na/katte:n	ass	(Acc.)
maravan/mara:na/mara:n	tree	(Acc.)

Many times, *-an* becomes *-a*, losing its final consonant.

makkaḷan / makkaḷa

children

4. (a) *makkaḷan kari*

call the children

(b) *makkaḷa kari*

call the children

In such instances, the word which follows distinguishes the accusative from the genitive. If the following word is a verb, it is accusative; if a noun, it is genitive.

makkaḷa kari

call the children

makkaḷa pustaka

children's book

(iii) Accusative suffix could be zero, except in rational *-a* ending singular nominatives. When the suffix is zero, there is likelihood of a slight lengthening of the final vowel.

marakaḍi / mara kaḍi:

cut the tree

huḍgi ke:ḷu / huḍgi ke:ḷu:

ask the girl

Example for the exception:

5. (a) *appan kari*

call the father

(b) * *appa kari*

is not allowed, where *appa* is an *-a* ending masculine singular.

3. 2. The word *maili* 'mile' never takes the case suffix in accusative in full sentences.

6. (a) *avan ond maili naḍeda*

He walked a mile

(b) *avan eraḍ maili naḍeda*

He walked two miles

maili here is evidently in the accusative, because the sentence when converted into an interrogative could be

7. *eṣṭu maili:na ?*

How many miles (did he walk) ?

8. *eraḍ maili:na*

Two miles (he walked)

4. 1. Instrumental :

All scholars are of the opinion that *-ind(a)* is the instrumental suffix, which is also employed to express ablative. All neuter instrumental forms, without any exception, can be expressed through locative suffix *-alli*, or through post-positions inflected for locative in the case of rational nouns and all pronouns.

Neuter nouns

9. (a) *pennind (a) ka:gada bari* Write a letter with a pen

(b) *pennal (li) ka:gada bari* "

10. (a) *ka:linda ceṇḍ odda* He kicked the ball with his leg
(b) *ka:lal (li) ceṇḍ odda* ,,

Rational nouns

11. (a) *huḍugninda pa:ṭha o:dsu* Make the boy read the lesson
(b) *huḍugankaili pa:ṭha o:dsu* ,,

Pronouns

12. (a) *avaninda kelasa ma:ḍsu* Make him do the work
(b) *avankaili kelasa ma:ḍsu* ,,

4. 2. This possibility of expressing the instrumental through the locative seems to characterize the instrumental case whereas ablative cannot be expressed through the locative. It must be repeated here that in common speech the instrumental expressed through the locative is more common and looks more natural than the one expressed through its so-called regular suffix *-inda*. A synchronic approach to the problem may lead us to take *-inda* as the regular case-marker or the ablative, although, historically speaking, *-im/ -in/ -inda* expressed both instrumental and ablative. (even during historical period, the instrumental was also expressed through the locative.)

5. 1. Dative :

The suffixes are *-kke / -ke / -k* and -ge / -g. Both occur in neat complementation and hence are allomorphs.

(i) *-kke / -ke / -k* is added to all *-a* ending neuter nouns singular, to third person demonstrative singular neuters and to their corresponding interrogative pronouns, to all numerals except *ko:ṭi* 'crore'.

Ex: *-a ending neuters (sg.)*

13. (a) *na:n holak (ke) ho:gti:ni*
I go to the field

(b) *avan sa:lak (ke) java:bda:ra*

He is responsible for (clearing) the debt

Third person neuter (sg)

14. (a) *adak ond e:ṭ koḍu*

Give it a blow

(b) *idan ya:vudak se:risbe:ku*

To which (category) should this be included

Numerals

15. (a) *mu:rak nilsu*

Stop at three

(b) *na:lkak eraḍ se:risidre a:ru*

If two is added to four it is six

(ii) Elsewhere *-ge / -g* occurs

manege

To the house

avugaḷige

To those things

ko:ṭige

To (the number) crore

5.2. The word *jana* 'people' is always plural, and still is treated as an *-a* ending neuter singular as far as dative suffix is concerned. It takes only *-k (ke)*. If a plural marker is added, it takes the usual suffix -g(e).

16. (a) *a: janak buddhi illa*

Those people have no discrimination

(b) *a: janarige (janagaḷge) idan koḍu*

Give this to those people

Similarly, the third person neuter plurals *avu* and *ivu*, like singulars, take only *-k*; but, if a second person plural marker is added, they take the expected suffix *-g(e)*.

avak (ke)

To those (things or animals)

avugaḷge

To those (things or animals)

6. 1. Ablative :

While discussing the instrumental, it was hinted that the ablative is expressed only through the suffix *-ind(a)*.

17. *ka:le:jnind (a) bande*

I came from the college

18. *cit̪t̪e hu:vnind (a) hu:vige ha:rutte*

The butterfly flies from flower to flower

19. *allind (a) ku:go:d ke:ḷistu*

I heard the shouting coming from there

20. *huḍugarinda phi: vasu:lma:ḍu*

Collect the fees from the students

The ablative forms can never be replaced by locative forms.

But, there is one particular context, as far as I know, where it looks as though ablative is replaceable by a locative.

21. (a) *nalli:nda ni:ru bantu* Water came through (in) the tap

(b) *nallili: ni:ru bantu* "

22. (a) *kaṇṇinda kaṇṇi:ru bantu* Tears came through (in) the eyes

(b) *kaṇṇalli kaṇṇi:ru bantu* ,,

Among these sets, the first sentence is the regular one. Because, if the sentences are converted into interrogatives, the questions should be framed like,

23. (a) *ni:ru ellinda bantu ?*

From where did the water come ?

(b) *kaṇṇi:ru ellinda bantu ?*

From where did the tears come ?

and not like,

23. (c) **ni:ru elli bantu ?*

**kaṇṇi:ru elli bantu ?*

The second sentence in each set seems to be modelled upon the analogy of sentences like,

23. (e) *ba:vi:li ni:ru bantu*

(d) Water came (has appeared) in the well

This fact strengthens our conclusion that the ablative is not replaceable by a locative.

6. 2. In instances where it is difficult to decide whether a form is in instrumental or ablative, the test of substitution can be applied. The following forms are in the ablative, since they cannot be replaced by locatives.

24. *avadinda tondare a:ytu*

Trouble was caused because of him

25. *avaninda tondare bantu*

Trouble came from (was caused by) him

26. *i:giddinḍa bahaḷa upayo:ga*

There are many uses from this plant

27. *na:nu kṣe:mdinda idi:ni*

I am keeping fine

28. *maguvan pri:tiyinda sa:kbe:ku*

The child should be reared with affection

29. *ra:vaṇa jambdinda keṭṭa*

Ravana was ruined because of (his) vanity

6. 3. Some traditional grammarians list *-desevinda* as an ablative case marker. In modern Kannada, its use is very restricted and always suggests some ill-luck or calamity.

30. *avan deseyinda kaṣṭa bantu*

Troubles came from his side (He caused troubles)

31. *ko:ti deseyinda to:ṭa ha:ḷa:ytu*

The orchard was destroyed because of monkeys

7. 1. Genitive :

Genitive is expressed through the suffix *-a*. In normal speech it tends to -∅. In such instances, the genitive becomes identical with the nominative or the accusative. Only the syntactical position or the accent marks out the forms.

avaḷ no:ḍu	look at her	(Acc.)
avaḷ pustaka	her book	(Gen.)

The verb or the noun which follows decides the case of *avaḷ*.

avaḷ devva	she (is a) monster	(Nom.)
avaḷ devva	her monster	(Gen.)

Here the accent is the deciding factor.

8. 1. Locative :

Locative is expressed through a host of postpositions including *-alli*, which many consider a suffix. A few of them are *-oḷage*, *-me:le*, *-keḷage*, *-hinde*, *-munde* and have either positional or directional meanings. The postpositions can be categorized into two sets, each set morphologically differing from the other.

Set 1. (Examples)

marad-me:le	on the tree
marad-keḷage	under the tree
marad-horage	outside the tree
marad-oḷage	inside the tree
marad-hinde	behind the tree
marad-munde	in front of the tree
marad-madhye	in the middle of the tree

Set. 2. (Examples)

marad-pakkadalli	by the side of the tree
marad-buḍdalli	by the root of the tree
marad-tudiyalli (*tudi:li*)	on the top of tree

All postpositions are free forms and can be declined like nouns at least for some cases. Post-positions in set 1 end in *-e* and those in set 2 end in *-alli*, and both are case-markers. It looks as though *-e* is the only locative suffix worth the name, all the rest being postpositions. If *-gaḍe* (>*kaḍe kaḍa* + *e*?

kaḍa = place, direction; *-e* locative suffix) is added to the underlying nominal bases of the post positions of the first set, the resultant forms are used as post positions or take an additional *-alli* in which case they resemble the postpositions of the second set.

marad-me:le / marad-me:lgaḍe / marad-me:lgaḍeyalli

on the tree

mane-munde / mane-mundgaḍe / mane-mundgaḍeyalli

in front of the house

The postposition *-madhya*, like the postpositions of the second set, takes *-alli*, and does not take *-gaḍe* which the postpositions of the first set take.

8. 2. The structure of these postpositions is very interesting. All postpositions are added to nominal bases inflected for some cases. For example, the sociative postposition is added to the genitive (*ra:manoḍane*, *ra:manajote*, *ra:mana-ku:ḍa* 'along with Rama') the instrumental and the ablative to the genitive (*avana-kaili*, *avana-deseyinda*). We should note the final endings *-alli* and *-inda*. In the case of locative, the post-positions are added to the base inflected for the genitive, while they themselves bear the locative case-marker.

marada + keḷagu + e = marad (a) keḷage

marada + tudi + alli = marad (a) tudiyalli

9. 1. Vocative case :

In vocative case, (i) either the base is used unaltered or the final vowel of the nominal base is slightly lengthened in singular.

(Ex. *huḍugi -huḍugi* : 'Hey, girl', *aṇṇa / aṇṇa:* 'hey, brother');
(ii) In plural, either *-e:*, or *-ira: / -rya: / -ra:* is used in final position.

Ex.	*aino:ru*	priest (honorific plural)
	aino:re:	Hey, priest
	makkaḷu	children
	makkaḷe: / makkaḷira: / makkaḷrya:	O! children
	ra:mara:v avru	Mr. Rama Rao
	ra:mara:v avre	Hey, Mr. Rama Rao

In Dravidian, one set of case suffixes is used both for singular and plural. Since the behaviour is different in singular and plural in the case of vocatives, it is difficult to argue *é* etc as case markers.

11. 1. Our ancient grammarians have noted that a case could be expressed through other case-markers. They call this *vibhakti pallaṭa* syncretism or case-shift. We have already seen in (4. 1) how the instrumental is expressed through the locative and the ablative. There are other case-shifts, and I list a few of them below.

(1) Nominative stands for accusative and genitive. But, then, this need not be taken seriously. As shown already (2. 1.) even when all the three have a common form in colloquial speech, each is readily recognized by certain factors.

(2) Accusative for dative

32. *de:varan vandisti:ni*

I bow to God (de:varige dat.)

(3) (1) Dative for accusative

33. *illi he:sige ma:ḍo:rige śikṣege gurima:ḍala:gutte*

Those who spoil this space will be subjected to punishment (*māḍōran*. Acc.)

(2) dative for genitive

34. *avan de:śak ra:ja*

He is a king, for the country (de:sad. Gen.)

(4) Ablative for instrumental

35. *pennind ka:gada bari*

Write a letter with a pen

(5) Locative for instrumental

36. *ko:lnal mane aḷi*

Measure the house with the stick

11. 2. The list is not exhaustive: a further search may reveal more case-shifts. But, more interesting than the list is the problem why and how such shifts take place ? The problem is not simple and needs fuller investigation, preferably on a comparative level. I can only touch upon the problem and leave at it.

(1) Loss of case-markers bring forms together, when we are tempted to assume that one case is expressed through another. Such is the case with nominative, accusative and genitive.

(2) Influence of other languages with a different case system: The influence of Hindustani is clearly visible in the case of Kannada spoken by Muslims who are bilinguals. In Hindustani, the accusative and the genitive are not differentiated. This practice is being carried over by the Muslims into their Kannada, as a result, where we expect accusative they bring dative.

37. *kudurege hoḍi*

beat the horse (*kudure:n acc.*)

(3) The structure of a particular sentence being carried over into another sentence in toto may result in case-shift. I take the same example given earlier.

38. *illi he:sige maḍo:rige śikṣege gurima:ḍala:gutte*

In this sentence, the verb *gurima:ḍu* 'subject to' is a transitive verb, and its object *ma:ḍo:ru* should be in the accusative. The sentence should be :

39. *illi he:sige ma:ḍo:ran śikṣege gurima:ḍala:gutte*

If instead of *gurima:ḍu*, the verb *koḍu* is used, then *śikṣe* must be in accussative. Then the sentence should be

40. *illi he:sige ma:ḍo:rige śikṣe:n koḍala:gutte*

But the structures of (39) and (40) are carried over into the sentence quoted in the beginning, as a result the case-shift takes place.

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KE:SIRA:JA'S TREATMENT OF CASE

J. S. Kulli
KARNATAK UNIVERSITY

Ke:śira:ja defines the case thus 'Vibhakti' (case) is so called because it divides the meaning of the word. It is also known as affix (pratyaya). Base takes its position before the suffix. These two join into a word'.[1]

The function of the vibhakti is to divide the meaning of the word, whatever it may mean. This is called pratyaya. These suffixes are joined to the base forms.

Ke:śira:ja enumerates the seven cases along with the suffixes. They are given below :

Prathama:	(Nominative)	*-ṁ*
Dvitiya:	(Accusative)	*-aṁ*
Tritiya:	(Instrumental)	*-iṁ*
Caturthi	(Dative)	*-ke*
Pancami	(Ablative)	*-at*
Ṣaṣṭhi	(Genitive)	*-ad*
Saptami	(Locative)	*-oḷ*[2]

These case suffixes are added depending upon the Ka:raka. Ka:raka is responsible for action. The Ka:raka is of six kinds: viz., Kartṛ (Agent), Karma (object), Karaṇa

(Instrument), Samprada:na (giving), apa:da:na (separation), adhikaraṇa (location). Genitive indicates relation between nouns.

The detailed examination of these along with his treatment of each case is dealt now onwards.

1) *Nominative case* : Nominative *-a* ending words get bindu. In non *-a* ending words, it is dropped. *-a* ending masculine gets *-n* (S. D. 115)

Examples :

for bindu — *ve:davidaṁ* 'the learned one of the Vedas'

for dropping of bindu—*pul* 'grass', *gida* 'plant', *puli* 'tiger', *baḷḷi* 'climber'.

for *-n* a:gama—*avanam* 'him', *avanoḷ* 'in him'.

Is there any suffix for nominative case ?

Ke:śira:ja lists *-ṁ* as the nominative case - suffix. This phenomenon is, moreover, limited to *-a* ending words.

Even in *-a* ending words, it is not universal. For example, *pavanaja* 'air god's son', *aḷiya* 'son-in-law', *arasa*, 'king', *keḷeyat* 'friend', (Gai, 1946: 29) etc. *Kaṇṇaci*, *kongaṇi* 'Proper names', *arasi*' 'queen' etc. have no *-a*. Hence, there is no nominative case-suffix in Kannada. Dr. A. N. Narasimhiya says 'there is no case termination for the nominative singular in all the three genders' (Narasimhiya, 1941 : 117). Usually, the stem itself or the stem with gender-suffix stands for the nominative case form. Kaipiḍi is specific about the non-existence of case termination for nominative (K. V. Puttappa (Gen. ed.) 1955: 336). The rule according to Ke:śira:ja is that in *-a* ending words, that too, in singular, the suffix is added.

That also sometimes dropped. This means, the case termination for nominative is zero. The suffix is juxtaposed, to drop it later on, just to fill the structural necessity of every case having a suffix. Caldwell says that in the Dravidian the nominative is not provided with a case termination (Caldwell 1956: 225).

2) *Accusative :* For *-a* ending neuter in accusative case, *-aṁ* and *-an* come. In Sanskrit words, there will be only *-aṁ*. (S.D. 116).

Examples :

for - *aṁ* - *beṭṭamaṁ* the hill,
koḷamaṁ the lake
for - *an* - *polanam* the field
nelanam the earth
for - *aṁ* in Sanskrit words - *Kulamaṁ* the clan
Calamaṁ stubbornity

Four kinds of objects are given by Ke:śira:ja (S. D. 138)

1. *Nirvartya* - to be done
e.g. *maneyam ma:ḍidam* built a house
2. *Vika:rya* - which is modified
e.g. *puḷuvaṁ kaḍidaṁ* cut the forest
3. *pra:pya* - that to be attained,
e.g. *maneyam sa:rdam* went home
4. *vaiṣayika* - object of an eye, etc.
gi:tamam ke:ḷdam listened to the song

Ke:śira:ja lists *-aṁ* as the accusative case suffix. But, originally, it is *-an*, as, when a vowel comes after *-n*, becomes *-n*, and in the old inscriptions the forms *-a:n*, *-an* are found (Gai, 1946; 42) e.g. *Singhaman*, 'the lion', *pi:ṭhama:n* 'the

seat' etc. of the forms, *-a:n* and *-an*, *-a:n* is ancient. This length is said to be optional in the words, in accusative cass, if vowel comes after. For example, *Kallane:ṟidam - kalla:neṟidam.*

3) *Instrumental case*: In agent, instrument and intention, nstrumental case is used' (S. D. 139).

Examples:

1. Agent - *padakam akkasa:leyim ma:ḍepaṭṭudu*
   The pendant was made by goldsmith
2. Instrument - *koḍaliyim kaḍidam*
   He cut with an axe
3. Cause - *o:lagadim paḍedam*
   He obtained from the Royal Court

For instrumental case etc. *-d-* comes' (S. D. 116) - it also comes in the words ending in *u*, *u:*, *ri*, *ri:*. *au*, *o* and *e*. For examples, *manadim* 'by mind', *mantradim* 'by mantras' etc. The instrumental has *-im*, *-indam*, *-inde* as suffixes. For these three *-e* also comes, (S. D. 117).

Examples:

-im	- *vaiha:liyim*	by the charge of the cavalry
-inda	- *muḷisindam*	by anger
-inde	- *aḷḷegoḷinde*	from the sides of the belly
-e	- *kramade*	in the manner

The three suffixes listed are for instrumental (and also *-e*.) But, it appears that at the root of these forms, there is *-in* and ancient old Kannada. Generally, *-im* is used before a consonant and *-in* before a vowel. But, sometimes *-in* also comes before consonants. The *-e* suffix which comes in place of three suffixes

is supposed to be the locative case suffix by some scholars (K. V. Puttappa, Gen. Ed., 1955:341). For examples, *oḷagu -e- > oḷage.*

4) *Dative case*: 'The dative case is used in samprada:na. It is used to denote taste, competition, jealousy, good thing, fear, prosperity, suspiciousness, hatred, cause, bowing, bad thing, analogy, desire, repression'. (S.D. 140, 1f1).

Examples :

1. Sampradāna - *Bra:hmaṇaṅge go:vam koḷṭam*
   He gave a cow to the Brahmin
2. Taste - *Ku:singe laḍḍugeyalti*
   The child likes to eat laḍḍu
3. Competition - *Kavige kavi munivam*
   Poet hates the other poet
4. Jealousy - *Savatige savati puruḍipaḷ*
   Co-wife competes with co-wife
5. Good *pasuvirge hitam ṭṛinam*
   Cow likes hay
6. Fear - *pa:pakkanjugum takkam*
   The virtuous one fears the sin
7. Prosperity - *lo:kakkadhikani:tam*
   Great man to the world
8. Nature - *simhakke sauryam*
   Courage for the lion

9. Cause - *sirigudyo:gam*
For wealth, occupation

10. Bowings - *guruvingeregidam*
Bowed to the teacher

11. Bad - *a:tange viṣamanikkidam*
Someone gave poison to him

12. Analogy - *a:tangi:tam takkam*
This man is equal to him

13. Representative - *a:kabbakki:kabbama:ytu*
This poem is for that poem

14. Desire - *bhaktange varamanittam*
Gave a boon to the devotee.

In dative *-a* ending masculine gets bindu before *-ge*. In *-a* ending neuter, that suffix is, optionally doubled. In consonant ending and vowel (other than *-a*) ending words, there will be *-ge* irrespective of number and gender. (S.D. 123).

Examples :

1. masculine — *arasange* to the king
2. neuter — *banake - banakke* to the forest
3. Three genders — *kavige* to poet
a:kege to her
tanuge to the body

4. Three numbers— *ninage* to you,
kavigaḷge to poets
kuruḷgaḷge to the hairs

For Sanskrit masculine and plural words, when dative case suffix is added, it may be doubled optionally (S.D. 125). Eg. *budharge - budhargge* 'to the learned ones'.

The dative case suffixes listed by Ke:śira:ja are *-ke* (*-kke*), *-ge* (*-gge*). Sometime *-ge* comes with bindu (*-nge*). Of these forms *-ke* appears to be older.

Of these *-ke* occurs after *-a* ending neuter nouns and pronouns *adu* 'that', *idu* 'this', and *e:n* 'what'. *- kke* is in free variation with *-ke* e. g. *polake - polakke* 'to the dry field'. *-ge* comes after the masculine and feminine forms and neuter nouns ending in a vowel other than *-a* e. g. *bra:hmaṇage* 'to a brahmin, *a:kege* 'to her', *ku:sige* 'to the child'. The form *-nge* comes after *-a* ending masculine nouns.[3] e. g. *arasange* 'to king' *-gge* is in free variation with *-ge* e. g. *budharge-budhargge* 'to learned ones.' Hence, they constitute the allomorphs of the dative case suffix morpheme.

It appears, the dative suffix *-ke*, can be further divided into *-k* and *-e*. This -e is used in the instrumental and locative cases also. For example, *kramade* 'in the manner' (instrumental), *oḷage* 'inside' (locative). Does this *-e* indicate direction? It should be inquired further.

5) *Ablative case*: In the sense of coming away from (*apa:da:na*), the ablative case is used. It is used in fear, acceptance, desire, non-desire, purpose, birth, greatness etc. (S. D. 142).

The suffix for ablative case is *-attaṇim* for example, *maradattaṇim paṇṇudirdudu* 'The fruit fell from the tree'

For ablative *-at* is included as the suffix. In the ablative three suffixes of instrumental case viz. *-im*, *-inde*, *-inda* are affixed and *-e* is left out. (S. D. 126).

-at is the case suffix for ablative according to Kε:śiraja. This *-at* becomes *-attaṇ* and he does not explain how, and to this, one of three suffixes of instrumental case viz. *-im*, *-inda*, *-inde* are added. The suffix will be *-aattaṇim*, *-attaṇinda*, *-attaṇinde*.

There is a question whether the ablative case is there in Kannada or not? Another question regarding the ablative is: whether it is necessary for Kannada? About the first question, Kε:śiraja's answer is in affirmative. He has given the suffixes for ablative case also[4]. The suffix *-attaṇim* is common to both instrumental and ablative cases. That means, the instrumental case suffix itself does the function of ablative also. Hence ablative is not there in Kannada. This view is supported by *Kaipiḍi* also (K. V. Puttappa-Gen. ed. 1955: 335).

Now, whether the ablative case is necessary or not? For the instrumental case, '*Karaṇa*' is the *Kaːraka*, and for the ablative 'apaːdaːna'. So they are different and even when the instrumental case suffix is used, the ablative meaning is conveyed by the context. Hence, why deny the existence of the ablative case? So, ablative case need not be taken out from the Kannada case-system. The instrumental case suffix and the ablative case suffix may be treated as homophonous forms.

Caldwell (1956; 283) categorically denies the existence of ablative case. This case appears to have been included in the list of cases by Dravidian Grammarians out of deference to the grammatical principles of the Sanskrit..... a distinction is to be drawn between the existence of a case and the existence of a case-sign. .....The Dravidian languages have undoubtedly an ablative of motion, and a great many ablative besides, but I

doubt whether they have any case-suffix which belongs exclusively to the ablative of motion.

6) *The Genitive case* : Genitive case is used in relation. Relation is characteristic of master, collectivity, family, viscinity, touch etc. (S. D. 143). The genitive case suffix *-a* is sometimes lengthened at the end. And this length is used for sorrow, gaity etc. e.g. *mriḍana:*, 'of Lord Siva' *jaṭana:* 'of the one who has matted hair'. etc. The genitive case suffix is *-a* (optionally it is *-a:*). of these *-a:* is earlier.

e. g. *giḷiya piṇḍu* flock of parrots
marada kombu branch of the tree

7) *The locative case* : In the sense of location (*adhikaraṇa*), the locative case is used (S.D. 144). Locative case is used in location, quality, action, subject, spread, behaviour, time, *sati*.

The locative case suffixes are *-alli*, and *-oḷ*. In the directional words ending in *-a*, optionally *-al* comes. In *-u* ending word *-e* and other words *-alli* and *-oḷ* forms come (S. D. 129) e. g. *koḷadoḷ - koḷadalli* 'in the lake', *banadoḷ-banadalli* 'in the forest', *mu:ḍal* 'east', *paḍuval* 'west', *oḷagu-oḷage*, 'inside' etc.

There is the suffix *-e* also used for locative case. This is found in *-a* ending neuter words, and *-u* ending direction words, which are used optionally.

The locative case suffix may be divided into two types: (i) Morphological which includes the suffix like *uḷ-oḷ* and (ii) Periphrastic which includes the mixed forms like *oḷage*, *keḷage*, *meṛle* etc. The forms *-uḷ* etc. appear to have originated from roots.

8) *The Vocative case*:- In vocative case everywhere, the nominative singular suffix is dropped. There are two ka:kus viz. short and long (S. D. 134).

e. g.	a:mantraṇa — *de:va binnappam*	O! lord, my request
	short ka:ku — *ele gaḷapa*	O! Gaḷapa
	long ka:ku — *Kurupati:*	O! Lord of Kurus

Without distinction to masculine or feminine, in vocative, there will be *e* or *ē* at the end. In *a* ending words if *e* and *ē* come, there will be *bindu nasal* in the middle. In the plural *-or* where there is no bindu, there is optionally *e* or *ē*.

e. g.	*ko:kilana:deye*	O! cuckoo-voiced one	(Feminine)
	manuve:	O! manu	(masculine)
	bhaṭṭare	O! priest	(-a ending)

Vocative case has no Ka:raka. Its purpose is to attract attention of or call the persons. The nominative form itself is used by the Kannada grammarians for this purpose; sometimes the final vowel is lengthened. It can be said that in Kannada, there is nothing which properly deserves to be styled a suffix or case-sign of the vocative. It is formed merely by affixing or suffixing some sign of emphasis or in certain instances by suffixing the fragments of the personal pronouns (Caldwell 1956 : 306).

The treatemt of case-system by Ke:śira:ja clearly shows that it is put in the mould of Sanskrit case-system. All the eight cases of Sanskrit grammar are taken into Kannada, irrespective of their applicability to Kannada structure. The nomenclature of the cases also is that of Sanskrit, being just the numerical enumeration viz. *prathama:*, *dvitiya:* etc.

Ke:śira:ja has enumerated the changes that the nominal bases undergo while taking the case suffixes. The case suffixes can be applied only to the stem form (prakriti). Case suffix can not be affixed directly to the noun base. The stem which takes the case suffix may have undergone the change, that are found in the stem form in relation to the original noun form which are noticed by Ke:śira:ja (e.g. sutra nos. 119, 121 etc). Such modifications are generally, restricted only to three cases viz. Instrumental, genitive and locative cases. For example, *mara* 'tree - *maradim*, *marada*, *maradoḷ*. These examples of stems can be shown as *mara-d-in*, *mara-d-a*, *mara-d-oḷ*. Here, the first part is the nominal root, and the last one is the case suffix. Both these have the meaning of their own. But, it is difficult to assign any meaning to the middle component viz. *-d-* when the case termination are affixed to the nominal item, some phonological changes are found in the process. This change is treated as augment *a:gama* by our grammarians, but as inflectional increment by some of the modern linguists. The term that is widely used is the 'stem formative'. The stem-formative though has no meaning is a structural necessity in Kannada in that without the addition of this component, no case suffix can be added, and is a morpheme (empty morpheme). *-d-*, *-n-*, *-in-*, and *-ar-* are the stem - formatives in Kannada. These four stem formatives are added to different kinds of nominal bases.

Now, whether any definitive pattern can be formulated for the occurrence of these stem-formatives. The different stem-formatives occur in different forms as follows:

i) *-d-* occurs in the form (C) V (C) (C) (V) C^{V}.

e.g. *eḍa* 'left' *bala* 'right', *agga* 'cheap', *hagga* 'rope', *pustaka* 'book'

ii) *-n-* occurs in the form (a) CV̄CV. (b) CVCCV

e.g. *Ra:ma*, *Ka:ma* 'Pr.n., '*baṇṭa* 'servant', *kuṅṭa* 'lame man' etc.

iii) *-in-* occurs after the (C) V (C) C (VC) (final vowel-*u*)

e.g. *kaṇṇu*, *bisilu*, *esaḷu*.

The predominant feature of the occurrence of the stem-formatives in Kannada is that they follow the form of the word. But, they follow meaning also. It is established that the words *Ra:ma*, *Ka:ma*, 'Proper names', have *-an-* as the stem formative. But, the same word *Ka:ma* 'desire' can has *-d-* also. e. g. *Ka:mada*. The difference between the two forms is clear: the first (Ka:mana) is masculine form, and the second (Ka:mada) is a neuter one, that means the stem-formative follows the meaning. This can be found in other examples, viz., the words indicative of numerals and measure, e.g. *aṣṭu*, 'that much', *iṣṭu*, 'this much', *ondu* 'one', *eraḍu* 'two'. In these words the stem-formative is-*ar-aṣṭaralli* 'in that much' *eraḍaralli* 'among two' etc. So, the majority pattern for the stem-formatives in Kannada is the form of the words, and in some cases they follow the meaning also.

About the case system three factors, can be recognised. 1) *ka:raka* 2) *Vibhakti* and 3) *pratyaya*. *Ka:raka* is the relation between the noun and nounphrase and a verb. [5] The *Ka:rakas* are defined semantically. Such a relation between the noun and a verb is of six kinds.

i)	*Karta:*	(The independent)
ii)	*Karma*	(The which is desired by the Karta)
iii)	*Karaṇa*	(The means)
iv)	*Sampradaːna*	(one whom the Karta has in view in the act of giving some thing)

v) *apa:da:na* (movement away from the fixed point)

iv) *adhikaraṇa* (The locus of action)

Sambandha is not considered as Ka:raka relation since it expresses only a relation between two noun-phrases in a sentence and not between the noun phrase and a verb.

Sambandha which is expressed by the genitive case is only indirectly connected with the case. Hence, it is not included in the *Ka:raka*.

The outward expression of the *Ka:raka* relation is done by *vibhakti*. Each *vibhakti* is assigned a primary representation of one *Ka:raka*. The definition of the *vibhakti* by *Ke:śira:ja* is (The grammatical Process) 'which divided the meaning of a word'. The representation of *Ka:raka* by *vibhakti* is clear.

The *vibhakti* which represents a particular *ka:raka* expresses itself by means of certain suffixes whereas *vibhakti* is a grammatical function, the suffix is a sign to represent the case. But Ke:śira:ja is confused and has equated both when he says '*antadam pratyayamembudu*' that is called the suffix. These case-signs for various *vibhaktis* in Kannada given by Keś:ira:ja are *-m-am-in-ke, attaṇim-a-oḷ*.

The genitive case-sign also is found in the scheme of Ke:śira:ja though *sambandha* is not considered as *Ka:raka*. This contradiction viz. rejecting *sambandha* from the *Ka:raka* relation but including the same in the cases is difficult to explain.

On the whole the treatment of case by Ke:śira:ja is the result of minute observation and clear analysis.

Notes :

1. *Padarthamam vibha:gisu*

   vudaṟinde vibhaktiyantadam pratyayamem

   budu tatpratyayadim pu:

   rvadoḷirkum prakritiyaraḍumamardodave padam - S.D. 45

2. *Sandisi maminkeyada oḷḷendirpuvu saptavidha Vibhaktigaḷavu*
   S.D. 103

   G.S. Gai p. 29

   A. N. Narasimhayya p. 117

   Kannada Kaipidi pt. I. p. 336

   Caldwell - p. 225

   G. S. Gai - p. 42

   Kaipidi - pt. I - p. 341.

3. The suffix-*nge* is bound, though rarely, after -i ending words also. e.g. *kūsinge*.

4. Both Gai and Narasimhiya say that there are no examples of the use of ablative in the inscriptions upto the 10th century. Gai gives the examples 'Purigerə-y-im where the instrumental case is used for ablative of motion. But, the suffix-*attanim* is found in Kaviraja marga.
   Kaipidi - pt I p. 335

5. a) K:araka is a semantic unit subsuming different shades of meaning relations which expressed by vibhakti in actual sentences of the language. - Karaka Theory and Case Grammar - IL. 31 1. p. 18.

   b) Kriya m Karo:ti ti Karakam.

   c) Kriyanvayitvam karakatavam

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THE CASE EXPRESSIONS IN KANNADA DIALECTS

C. Ramaswamy
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

Kannada is a 'Casal language', in the sense that there are overt markers to symbolize the various casal relations. Following the Sanskrit grammatical tradition like some other Dravidian languages Kannada also makes provision for eight cases which are referred by the ordinal numbers as "*Prathama:*" first case, *dviti:ya* second case, *triti:ya:* third case, *caturthi:* fourth case, *pamcami* fifth case, *ṣaṣṭhi* sixth case, and *saptami:* seventh case, but the eighth case is referred as *sambho:dana* the vocative (Gowda, 1972:310). Like other Dravidian languages Kannada uses the same signs for cases in plural as well as in singular. Case suffixes in Kannada are added directly to the stems if they are in singular. In plural nouns they are added after the plural suffixes.

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	Std. K.	G. K.	T. K.	N. K.	Ti. K.
Nominative	-ϕ			-ϕ	-ϕ
Accusative	-anna	-a ~-na	-na ~ -ϕ	-nna -anna -na	-ənna -a -na
Instrumental	-inda	-nda ~-da	-inda	-inda	-
Dative	~-ge ~-ige ~-kke	~-ge ~-ke ~-ṅge	~-ke ~-ge ~-ige	-kke -ge	-ikke -ige -ke -ge
Ablative	-inda	-nda	-	-inda -linda	-inda -ininda -ninda
Genitive	-a	-a ~-na	-a	-na -da -a -ra -ϕ	-ϕ -na -ina -a -la
Locative	-alli	-li,	-alli -li	-li	-əlli -li -inə -lli -nəlli
Vocative	-e :	-	-	-o : -e :	lengthening of final vowel

H. K.	B. K.	C. K.	D. K.	Gu. K	M. K.	Hy. K.
	-ϕ	-ϕ	-ϕ	-ϕ		-ϕ
-ϕ -na -anna -a	-a -anna -ī̃nna -na -nna ϕ	-ne -na -a:ne -ā:ne	ϕ -na ∼-nna	∼-ϕ ∼ g ∼-k	-na ∼-ϕ ∼ -ana	- : -a -na ∼-nna
-	-	-nda ∼-a:nda	-inda ∼-linda	-	-a:la	-inda ∼-inda:va
-age -ge -ige	-ge -ī̃ge -i:gu -ke	-gu ∼-a:gu -kku	-ge -ga -ka ∼ kka	-g -k	∼-ye ∼-iye ∼-ka ∼-ge	-kɛ ∼-kkɛ ∼-əkkɛ ∼-gɛ ∼-ngɛ ∼-i:gɛ
-nda -inda	-nda -inda	-nda ∼-a:nda	-	-ində -lində -a:ndə	-ddu	-
-ϕ -a	-ϕ -na -ina -a	-ϕ -a	-ə -:	-n -d -rə -ϕ	-u -ϕ	-: -a
-alli -li	-li, -illi, -i:li -alli.	-lu	-alli -a:ga	-a:gə	-li -tra	-əlli ∼-li -əlīgɛ
-e: -:	-	-	-ə:	-	-	-: -ɛ: -e: -ra:

Nominal bases can function as nominative forms without taking any suffix, in the standard and also all the other dialects of Kannada. Instrumental and ablative case markers are homophonous in Standard Kannada (Std. K). The other cases are expressed by different case markers. Among spoken dialects there is a tendency of the allomorphs of accusative case becoming homophonous with genitive case. In some other instances the feature of the allomorphs of Dat. and Acc. cases becoming homophonous is noticed. Zero suffix functions as Nom., Acc., and Gen. case markers, in some dialects.

Cases can be judged correctly only on the basis of their deep levels. The cases are identified by their function and not by the phonemic shape of the markers. Contrasts of different casal functions of the case markers of identical phonemic shape can be brought out by expanding or substituting the whole sentence or part of the sentence.

The allomorphs of all the cases in all the dialects of Kannada are listed in the chart[1].

1. Nominative Case : In almost all the dialects of Kannada, the nominal bases function as nominative forms without taking any suffix. In the analysis of Dharwar Kannada (D.K) the nominative case marker is given as *-ø* for singular and *-u* for plural. The examples given by the author (Hiremath, 1961 : 71) are :

1. *huḍuga* boy (Nom. *-ø*)
2. *huḍugaru* boys (Nom. *-u*)

If we observe the above examples, there is evidence for extending the word final *- u* to the singular noun viz : *huḍuga* also, since, the earlier form of it is *huḍuganu*. The singular and

plural markers end in consonants viz: *-n* and *-r*. As a result of the historical development that had taken place in Kannada language, the consonant ending words become vowel ending (Bright, 1958: 13-14) and this vowel is invariably *-u* which is called the enunciative vowel. Therefore it is clear that *-u* actually can not be set as a case marker for nominative.

2. Accusative case : *-annu* is the Acc. case marker in Std. K It has different allomorphic shapes in different dialects There are about fourteen allomorphs for this case in different dialects. Some are in complementary distribution and some are in free variation. *-a* is the allomorph of Acc. case marker in Gowda Kannada (G.K), Halakki Kannada (Hl.K). Tiptur Kannada (Ti.K); Barkur Kannada (B. K) and Havyaka Kannada (Hy.K) which become homophonous with Gen. case marker in G. K., Hl. K., Ti. K. and Hy. K.

e.g.	Hl. K.	3.	*nanna~nannanna*	me	(Acc.)
		4.	*nanna*	of me	(Gen.)

ϕ is also treated as the Acc. case marker in Ti. K., Hy. K. B. K., D.K., Gulbarga Kannada (Gu.K) and Madurai Kannada (M. K.). At the same time zero suffix is also treated as Gen. case marker in Hy. K., Tl. K , BK. Coorg Kannada (C. K.) Gu. K. and M.K.

e.g.	Gu. K.	5.	*kəy*	hand	(Nom.)
		6.	*kəy hiḍida*	(he) held the hand	(Acc.)
		7.	*kək baḷi*	hand's bangle	(Gen.)

It is clear by the above examples that zero suffix can function as Nom, Acc.[2] and Gen. case markers.

-g and *-k* also function as Acc. and Dat. case markers in Gu. K. i.e. the overt case markers of Acc. and Dat. become homophonous.

e.g. Gu.K.	8.	*a:kḷig hvaḍi*	beat the cow	(Acc.)
	9.	*tamməg*	to the younger brother	(Dat.)
	10.	*adək do:ḍu*	see that	(Acc.)
	11.	*adək-*	to that	(Dat.)

However, the distinction of the case is maintained in the verbs following these examples, *a:kḷig hvaḍi* 'beat the cow' (Acc.) *tamməg koḍu* 'give to the younger brother' (Dat.) There is no overlapping of dative and accusative in any other Kannada dialect.

Length (i.e. lengthening of final vowel) functions as Acc. and Gen. marker in certain class of nouns of Hy. K. (Shastry 1971:49).

e.g. Hy. K.	12.	*heṇti:* ~ *heṇti:ya*	wife	(Acc.)
		heṇti:na		
		heṇti:nna		
	13.	*heṇti:*	of wife	(Gen.)

3. Instrumental Case : *-inda* is Inst. marker in Std. K. With a slight change of phonemic shape it functions as Inst. marker in various dialects. About seven allomorphs are there in use in the dialects of Kannada. The allomorphs[3] of Inst. case and Abl. case are homophonous in Std. K. and the other dialects (See the chart).

Inst. case markers are not given for B.K. and Gu. K. by the respective authors.

-inda:va is another additional allomorph of Inst. case noticed in Hy. K. and the same is in free variation with *-inda*.

:a:la is the Inst. case termination found in M. K. only and none of the other dialects of Kannada has this markers. This may be due to the influence of Tamil, in which *-a:l* is the Inst. marker.

e.g.	Tamil	14.	*maratta:l*	by the tree	(Inst)
	M.K.	15.	*mara-n-a:la*	by the tree	(,,)
	Std. K.	16.	*mara-d-inda*	by the tree (Abl.)	(,,)

-inda. the Inst. case termination becomes homophonous with Abl. marker in Std. K. But in M. K. there is a specific marker for Abl. Viz. *-ddu.*

e.g.	M.K.	17.	*mana-li-ddu*	from the house	(Abl.)

:a:ga is treated as Loc. case termination in D.K., Gu.K. and the author's own[4] dialect (Cd. K.). This suffix is not treated as a case marker in any of the descriptive studies of other dialects of Kannada. In Cd.K. *-a:ga* becomes homophonous with Inst. case marker.

e.g. Cd. K. 18. *koḍliya:ga kaḍda*
He cut by the axe

19. *kuḍgo:lna:ga hullu koyda*
He has cut the grass by the sickle

20. *gadya:g hullu koyda*
He has cut the grass in field

In the sentence (19) *-a:ga* is used as Inst. marker where in (20) it is Loc. case marker. Let us subtitute this with Loc. case marker *-alli*.

19. (a) **kuḍgo:lnalli hullu koyda*
He has cut the grass in the sickle

20. (a) *gadyalli hullu koyda*
He has cut grass in the field

Though both Inst. and Abl. markers are homophonous, their difference in meaning can be deduced by the type of the verbs occurring in sentences (Gowda, 1972:334) and it is true with the Inst. and Loc. markers too.

Traditional grammars which were written having Sanskrit grammar as model omitted sociative case from the list of cases or added it to the Inst. case. Ke:šira:ja (Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa) also grouped this sociative (*Samyo:ga* 'company') under Inst. case as one of the four categories. But modern scholars made an attempt to place the sociative case as an independent one (Gowda, 1972:341).

The markers noticed for sociative case in Kannada are: *-oṭṭige*, a post position in Hy. K. and T. K. (Tumkur Kannada) *-ku:ḍa* in M. K. *-oḍane* is a post position maintained by Std. K. as sociative case marker. And *-ondige*, *-inda* are also sociative case terminations in Std. K.

e.g.	Hy. K.	21. *avana-oṭṭige*	with him
	T. K.	22. *av-Ø-r-oṭṭige*	with them
	M. K.	23. *amma-ku:ḍa*	with the mother
	Std.K.	24. *avaḷoḍane ho:gu*	go with her
		25. *ga:ḍiyondige ba:*	come with the cart
		26. *sne:hadinda ba:ḷu*	live (with) friendly

The marker *-inda* occurring with *sne:ha* should be separated from the Inst. as it can be proved that *sne:ha* can not be an instrument for the living. It is clear by the above examples that sociative can be treated as an independent case in Kannada.

4. Dative case : *-ge, -kke,* and *-ige* are the allomorphs of dative case termination in Std. Kannada. With slight change in phonemic shape according to the noun bases these markers occur in almost all the dialects. The dative case terminations of Gu. K. are *-g* and *-k* and of M. K. are *-ye, -iye, -ka* and *-ge.* Dative case marker *-g* and *-k* of Gu. K. are homophonous with Acc. case markers.

e.g. Gu. K. 27. *tammag kari* Call younger brother (Acc.)

28. *tammag kaḍu* Give (it) to younger brother (Dat.)

whereas in Std. Kannada,

29. *tammanannu kare* Call younger brother (Acc.)

30. *tammanige koḍu* Give (it) to younger brother (Dat.)

In Cd. K. -ige, the dative case marker is also used as accusative sometimes. The Acc. also has another marker viz. *-annu*.

-ige, functions both as the dative (33) and accusative (31) but, *-annu* the accusative marker does not have this freedom of occurrence (34).

e.g. Cd. K. 31. *avanige kari* call him (Acc.)

32. *avanannu kari* call him (Acc.)

33. *avanige koḍu* give (it) to him (Dat.)

34. *avanannu koḍu* give him (Acc.)

It is clear by above examples 33 and 34 that the substitution of *-annu* with *-ige* changes the meaning.

5. Ablative case: Ablative indicate the movement of something from something else. Modern scholars of Kannada think that the ablative is superfluous. The instrumental case termination is used for the purpose of what is called the ablative of motion, (Gowda, 1972:370).

Ablative and instrumental cases are expressed by the same marker *-inda* in all the dialects of Kannada except in M. K. So, the argument that ablative lacks an independent marker is absurd. In most of the dialects ablative is expressed as a post position which is added to the genitive form. In D. K. and Gu. K ablative is expressed by post position after genitive and Locative forms and the noun bases.

e.g. D. K. 35. *hɔladinda~hɔladlinda* by the field/ from the field

The above example shows clearly that the marker *-inda* which is in free variation with *-linda* functions as both instrumental and ablative case terminations.

In the analytical study of Havyaka Kannada (Shastry 1971:48) also ablative case expression is not distinguished. But it seems ablative function is there and the termination is homophonous with instrumental marker. This can be clarified by the examples selected from "the Havyaka dialect of North Kanara" (Shastry, 1971)

36. *aḍīvinda* from the forest (Abl.)

37. *heḍinda* by the wood (Inst.)

M. K. has distinct case terminations for instrumental (*-a:la*) and ablative (*-ddu*). The expressions of ablative is only by compounding locative and *-ddu*.

6. Genitive case :

-a is Genitive case marker in Std. K. It is found in all the dialects except in M.K., where *-u* and *-ø* are the genitive markers which are in free variation. About ten allomorphs are there for indicating the genitive case in the dialects of Kannada. The number of allomorphs that are present in various dialects varies from one to five. Genitive case marker *-a* become homophonous with Acc. case marker *-a* in G. K., Hl. K., Ti.K., B.K. and Hy. K. In these instances the distinction between genitive and accusative is determined by the following verbs or nouns. For example in G.K. if a verb follows the casal form *nanna* it denotes accusative, if a noun follows it denotes genitive.

e.g. G. K. 40. *nanna jigīṇṭī* pinch me (Acc.)
41. *nanna bɛrlī* my finger (Gen.)

Genitive is also expressed through the lengthening of final vowel if final vowel is *-i* in D.K. In Hy. K it is with regard to the noun bases ending *-i*, *-ɛ* and *-u* (Shastry 1971 : 49) in singular.

e.g. D.K. 42. *atti* 'aunt', *atti: mani* 'aunt's house'

M. K. Gen. forms resemble nominative forms of Std. K.

e.g. M.K. 43. *maga-n-u* son's
44. *maga-ø* son's

Zero suffix functions as Gen. marker in N.K., Hl.K., Ti. K., B.K., C.K. Gu. K and M.K., [5].

7. Locative case:

-alli is the Loc. case marker in Std. K. and it is met with in various dialects with a change in phonemic shape.

About twelve allomorphs for the locative morpheme are noticed in Kannada dialects. In D.K. *-alli* and *-a:ga* are Loc. case markers. In Gu.K. *-a:gə* is the post position (?) through which Loc. case is expressed [6] *-a:gə / -a:ga* are not noticed in any other dialects, except D.K., Gu.K and Cd.K *-a:ga* is also used to denote instrumental in Cd.K. (See. 18-20).

-tra and *-li* are the Loc. case markers noticed in M.K. which is in complementory distribution as: *-tra* occurs after human nouns; *-li* elsewhere (Chandran, 1972).

M K.	45.	*anna-tra*	with the brother
	46.	*amma-tra*	with the mother

-tra of M.K. seems to be the related form of Std. K. *hattira* 'near', a free morpheme.

Std. K.	47.	*nanna hattira hattu ru:pa:yigaḷive*	
		I am having ten rupees	

The same sentence in other dialects :

Cd. K.	48.	*naṇhatra hatru:pa:yi ide*	
	49.	*nannatra hatrupa:yide*	
Bi. K.	50.	*nanh ənte:li hatru:pay ava*	
	51.	*nannalli hatrupa:yava*	

hattira ~ *-hatra* ~ *-atra* *hənte:li* are used to express Loc. case *-ammatra* of M.K. can be explained as:

amma-Ø-hattira → *ammatra*

hattira of Std. K. becomes *-atra* (initial *h* droped)
Here the noun *amma*, zero (Gen-marker) and *-atra* altogether forms *ammatra*.

8. Vocative case :

"In Canarese the vocative is ordinarily formed by appending *-a:*, by lengthening the final of the nominative or by adding *-e* or *-e:*" (Caldwell, 1913:306). Vocative marker is noticed in bases denoting irrational beings too in old and middle Kannada. But in the dialects of Kannada of present day, this case is noticed only in the bases denoting rational beings.

e.g. Old Kannada	52.	*taḷire:*	O! tender leaves
	53.	*ta:vareye:*	O! lotus
Std. K.	54.	*ma:va-ma:vane:~mava:*	O! uncle
	55	*magu-maguve:~magu:*	O! child
	56.	*ra:ma~ra:mane.~ra:ma:*	O! Rama
N.K	57.	*magu-mago:*	O! Child

In Hy. K. four allomorphs are there which are conditioned to certain class of nouns (Shastry, 1971 : 50) *-ra* is a vocative marker which occurs only after plural suffix. *-ira* is noticed also in middle Kannada after plural suffix.

e.g.	58	*maragalira*	O! trees

Appendix I

	Standard Kannada	Gowda Kannada	Tumkur Kannada
Nom.	*mara* tree	—	—
Acc.	*mara-v-annu*	*mara-ṅ-gaḷ-a* the trees *akka-na* elder sister	*aṇṇa-n-na* elder brother *giḍa-Ø* the plant
Inst.	*marad-inda* by the tree	*avā-n-da* by him *appa-nda* by father	*mara-d-inda* from the tree
Dat.	*mane-ge* to the house *avan-ige* to him *mara-kke* to the tree	*katte-ge* to the donkey *appa-ṅge* to father *mara-k-ke* to the tree	*manege* to the house *mara-k-ke* to the tree *magaḷ-ige* to the daughter
Abl.	*mara-d-inda* from the tree	*appa-nda* from the father	—
Gen.	*mara-d-a* of the tree	*appa-na* father's *mara-d-a* of the tree	*amma-n-a* of the mother
Loc.	*mara-d-alli* in the tree	*koːṭe-li* in the fort	*ad-r-alli* in that *kay-li* in the hand
Voc.	*raːmaneː* O ! Rama	—	—

	Nanjangud Kannada	Tiptur Kannada	Halakki Kannada
Nom.	—	—	—
Acc.	*agsa-nna* washer man	*rəytar-ənna* farmers	*huḍuga-nna* boy
	nann-anna I	*rəytar-a* farmers	*ad-anna* it or she
	giḍa-na plant	*manɛ:-na* house	*hallə:-na* pond
			avɔn-a him
Inst.	*nanr-inda* by me	—	—
Dat.	*nela-kke* to the floor	*manɛ:-ge* to the house	*manɛ:-ge* to a house
	gaṇḍa-n-ge to the husband	*əsu:-ige* to the cow	*nin-age* to you
		ondə-k-ke to one	*ada-k-ke* to that
		kuḍi:l-ikke for drinking	*hunn-ige* to a wound
Abl.	*maragaḷ-inda* from the trees	*maney-inda* from the house	*avən-inda* from him

	marattav-linda	*u:r-ininda*	*mar e:-nda*
	from-near	from the village	from a house
	the tree	*u:r-ninda*	
		from the village	
Gen.	*maga-n(a)*	*maney-a*	*məgu:na*
	son's	house's	baby's
	giḍa-d(a)	*mane:*	
	plant's	house's	
	avḷ-a	*magu-v-ina*	*kere:ni:ru*
	her	of child	water of a lake
	ada-r(a)	*mund-la*	
	its	of front	
	dore		
	king's		
Loc.	*buʃʃi-li*	*məgi:n-əlli*	*ke:ri:-li*
	in the basket	to the child	in a colony
		məguv-inəlli	
		u:r-nəlli	*beʃʃad-alli*
		in the village	in a forest
		mane:li	
		in the house	
Voc.	*uḍg-o:*		*de:vre:*
	O! boy!	—	O! God
	magḷ-e.		
	O! daughter!		

	Barkur Kannada	Coorg Kannada	Dharwar Kannada
Nom.	—	—	*huḍuga-Ø* ? boy *huḍugar-u* ? boys
Acc.	*maga-nna* son *mara-Ø* tree *nann-anna* I *nann-ɪ̄nna* I *ɓa:mi:-na* well *nann-a* I	*giḍa:-ne/giḍa:-na* the plant *maga:ɭ-a:ne* *maga:ɭ-a:na* daughter	*huḍugar-~huḍugar-na* boys *huḍuga-nna* boy
Inst.	—	*kiḍa:-nda* by the plant *ra:ja:r-a:nda* by the kings	*huḍugan-inda* from a boy *huḍugan-linda* from a boy

Dat.	*huli:-ge*	*giḍa:-gu*	*huḍug-ga*
	to the tiger	to the plant	to a boy
	nan-ī:ge	*nann-a:gu*	*huḍugar-ge*
	to me	to me	to boys
	adīkke	*adukku*	*ondəka∼ondəkka*
	to it	to it	to one
	a:paṣṭige		
	until one happens		
Abl.	*magi:-nda*	*giḍa:-nda*	—
	from a child	from the plant	
	u:r-inda	*nann-a:nda*	
	from a village	from me	
Gen.	*ba:mi: -Ø ni:rī*	*nann-a*	*huḍugan-a*
	well water	my	of a boy
	magī:na		*a:ki:*
	of a child		her
	u:r-ina	*ga:ḍi:*	
	of a village	of cart	
	nann-a		
	of me		
Loc.	*ba:mi: -li*	*ga:ḍi: -lu*	*huḍugan-alli*
	in a well	in the cart	in boy
	u:r-illi∼u:r-i:li		*huḍugar-a:ga*
	in a village		in boys
	marad-alli		
	on a tree		
voc.	—	—	*huḍuga-:*
			O! boy
			huḍugar-a:
			O! boys

	Gulbarga Kannada	Madurai Kannada	Havyaka Kannada
Nom.	—	—	—
Acc.	*məni-Ø no:dḍa*	*nann-ana*	*aṇṇīndikḷ-a*
	he saw the house	me	~*annīndiki-na*
	adə-k no:du	*appa-na*	*annīndikḷ-īnna*
	see that	father	elder brother
	a:kḷi-g hvaḍi	*ba:ḍu-Ø*	*mani–:*
	beat the cow	flesh	house
Inst.	—	*mara-n-a:la*	*gubbinda*
		by tree	by a sparrow
Dat.	*tammə-g*	*marak-ka*	*danə-kkɛ*
	to the younger brother	to a tree	to a cow
	hvalə-k-	*nan-ge*	*danī-kɛ*
	to the field	to me	to a cow
		akka-n-iye	*gubb-iːgɛ*
		to sister	to a sparrow
		kime–ye	*avaṇ-ge*
		to the ear	to him
			raːjə-ŋge
			to king
			yɛrḍ-kkə
			to two

Abl.	*hʋald-ində* from the field	*mana-li-ddu* from the house	—
	gaḍgya:ndə from the basin		
	khəʈgi-lində from the firewood		
Gen.	*aɳɲə-n* of the brother	*dana-d-u* cows	*gubbi-ɾ* of sparrow
	giḍə-d of the tree	*dana-Ø* cows	*a:ḍn-a* of a goat
	ad-rə of it		
	məni-Ø of house		
Loc.	*kəlla:g* in the stone	*amma-ʈra* with the brother	*a:d-əlli~a:ḍ-* *nəlli~a:ḍi:li* in a goat
		mara-d-li in the tree	*əaīr-oīge* in it
Voc.	—	—	*ajja-:* O! grand father
			~ɲjj-o: O! grand father
			danīgl-eɾ O! cows
			kaɭ-ɾa O! theives

Notes :

1. About twelve dialects are taken for study as given in the chart. What ever said about Bijapur Kannada and Chitradurga Kannada it is from author's knowledge about these dialects.

2. Acc. marker is Ø optionally in nouns belonging to nueter class even literary Kannada. However genitive is obligatory in such examples.

3. *-inda* is also treated as sociative case marker (Gowda 1972: 223). But this was not treated as an independent case in other traditional grammars.

4. Chitradurga Kannada: This is a dialect of Kannada spoken in southern part of Chitradurga dt. No descriptive study has been done so far on this dialect. Chitradurga dt. occupies the central part of Karnataka state.

5. Zero suffix behaves as only nominative case marker in Std. K. But in other dialects it is treated as Nom. Acc. and Gen. case terminations. GK. and Hy. K. resembles Std K. in this respect where zero is treated as only Nom. case marker.

6. *-a:gə* is noticed as a post position for Loc. case by the author of 'Gulbarga Kannada'. The criterion for post position known widely is a suffix which can also available as a free morpheme is postposition. Ex. *-alli*. But *-a:ge* does not available as a free morpheme. So, it can not be treated as a post position.

7. *-həntə:li* and *-alli* are in free variation with human nouns in Bijapur Kannada. *-h'nte:li* is not used as Loc. termination with inanimate nouns.

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CASE-CONSTRUCTIONS IN TAMIL AND HINDI

(A CONTRASTIVE STUDY)

S. N. Ganesan

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

Summary

The purpose of the paper is (1) to bring out the differences in the cases and case-constructions in Tamil and Hindi and (2) to examine some theoretical problems in the cases and case-constructions in the individual languages, which come out prominent when a constrastive study is made. While the formal representations and the functions of the cases in the two languages show parallelism in some places and differences in others, which can be naturally expected, the interpretation of case-relations also becomes complex, since the definition of case strictly on the basis of formal features or on the basis of semantic relations becomes difficult. An attempt is made to bring out the intricacy of the situation. It is suggested that Structural cases and Semantic cases may be distinguished. Case-denoting expressions may be divided into twoclasses - case markers and case-substitutes.

1. CASE: SOME PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION

1. 1. Traditional Treatment

1. 1. 0. The cases in Tamil and Hindi are traditionally considered to be eight, and this is based on the supposed relations of the nouns(or pronouns) with the other words in the sentence.

In such a consideration, the case-markers are taken as integral parts of the nouns, and the forms with the case markers are considered as various inflected forms of the nouns.

1. 1. 1. In Tamil, the cases (*ve:RRumai*) is defined as that unit or element which occurs at the end of nouns, which are capable of taking them. Such elements differentiate in meaning and are eight in number (Nan. S. 291). Usually they are named with numbers, as First case, Second case etc. However in Tolkappiyam (Tol. Col. S. 64) and Nannul (Nan. S. 292) they have been named with the case-markers themselves, as *ai*- case, *a:l*- case, *oṭu*- case etc., but while dealing with the different cases in detail the cases have been named with numbers (Tol. Col. S. 65 & Nan. S. 295).

1. 1. 2. In Hindi, cases are called *ka:rakas* and the case-markers *vibhaktis* or *vibhakti-pratyayas*. *Ka:raka* has been defined in two ways. Etymologically relating the word with the root *kr* 'do', some have defined it as formal feature of the noun which shows the relation of the noun with a verb (Kamata Prasad Guru, ed. 1972 : 148; Dunichand, 1950:63-76). According to this definition, the cases are only six, genitive and vocative being excluded, since they do not relate the noun with the verb. Others (Kamata Prasad Guru, 1972:147-163) define case as the form of the noun (or pronoun) which shows its relation with any other word in the sentence, their number being eight including genitive and vocative, as in Tamil.[1] The eight cases have been named with particular names denoting the main sense (the relation to the other words) expressed by the markers. But it must be noted that, in several cases, the names do not cover all the senses of individual markers, or all the markers grouped under the same case.

1. 1. 3. Modern Linguists, however, prefer to treat the markers as separate entities, and the actual formal change in the noun itself is taken as the basis for defining cases. Accordingly, there are only three cases in Hindi, (1) the Basic or Direct, (2) the Oblique or Modified and (3) the Vocative. [2]

e.g.		*Basic*	*Oblique*[3]	*Vocative*
	Sg.	*laṛka:* boy	*laṛke :-*	*laṛke:*
	Pl.	*laṛke:* boys	*laṛko:-*	*laṛko*

Tamil also permits precisely the same kind of analysis but for the fact that the morphophonemic changes at the case-junctures are different from those at the noncase-junctures which makes it imperative to consider the case-markers - the traditionally accepted ones and few others [4] under a separate well-defined category.

For example :

	maram + *-il* > *marattil*	on the tree	(Case)
but	*maram* + *-illai* > *maramillai*	there is no tree	(Non-case)
	vi:ṭu + *-a:l* > *vi:ṭṭa:l*	by the house	(Case)
but	*vi:ṭu* + *-a:* > *vi:ṭu:*	is it house ?	(Non-case)

But, if the inflectional changes in the nouns alone are taken as the criteria for case relations, then there is no reason to include Vocative as a case, for, the vocative marker, *-a:*, *-e:* etc. are added only to the basic forms of the nouns and not to the oblique form.

paiya: O, boy	*makane:* O, son
maname:[5] O, mind	*a:Re:*[6] O, river
(**manatte:*)	(**a:RRe*)

1.1.4 Now, without going deep into the appropriateness of the definitions and the names of the cases, and without assuming any strict parallelism, the cases in Tamil and Hindi may be compared by juxtaposing.

Tamil			Hindi		
Cases	*Markers*	*Meaning*	*Cases*	*Markers*	*Meaning*
First	ø	(Sub.)	Karta:ka:raka- (Nom.)	*-ne*	(Sub.)
Second	*-ai/-inai*[7]	(Obj.)	Karmaka:raka (Obj.)	*-ko:*, ø	(Obj.)
Third	*-a:l/-ina:l*	by, with	Karnaka:raka (Inst.)	*-se*	by, with, through
	-a:n/-ina:n[8]	by, with			
	-oṭu/-inoṭu	with (Com.)			
	-o:ṭu/-ino:ṭu				
Fourth	*-kku/-inukku*	to	Sampradaːn	*-ko:*	to
	-iRku, -akku		ka:raka (Dat.)	(*-ke liye* *-ke: vaste:*)	for
	-kku a:ka[9]	for			
	-kku ve:ṇṭi)	for			
Fifth	*-in/inin*[10]	from	Apa:da:n		
	-il/-iniḷ[11]	from	ka:raka (Abl.)	*-se*	from, than
	(*-il ninRu*[12]	from, than			
	-il iruntu)	from, than			
Sixth	ϕ,	of, 's	Sambandha	*-ka:*	of, 's
	-atu/-inatu[13]	of, 's	ka:raka	*-ke:*	
	-in	of, 's	(Gen.)	*-ki:*	

	-uṭaiya			
	-inuṭaiya	of, 's		
Seventh	*-kaṇ/-in kaṇ*[14]	in, on	Adhikarana ka:raka (Loc.)	*-mẽ:* in, at
	-il/-inil			*-par* on, at
Eighth	*-ay* > *-a:y*[15] (Addressing)		Sambodhan ka:raka	*-a:* > *e:* (Sg.) (Adrressing)
	minus-n[16]			*-a:* > *o:* (Pl.)
	-an > *-a:*			*-o:* (Pl.)
	V > V:			
	-e:			

1.2. Discussion of the Nomenclature anb Classification.

1. 2. 0. An examination of the above markers (not taking into consideration other markers or words actually in use for showing case-relations) will reveal that neither a formal criterion nor a semantic criterion has been strictly adopted in defining the cases and fixing their markers in either language.

1. 2. 1. In both the languages, it is found that more than one case-marker, which often have different semantic contents have been grouped together under the same case. At the same time, the same case marker is found to show different relations. Again, the markers which are formally similar find a place under different cases and have different semantic contents.

1 .2. 1. 1. Thus in Tamil the instrumental *-a:l* and the comitative *-oṭu/-o:ṭu* are considered markers of the same case, though their semantic contents are different. Again, *-a:l* can

be instrumental, or agentive in the sentence in the passive voice, or with subject of a potential verb, *asmuṭi* 'be able/be possible'

1. *pe:na:va:l ezutu*

   Write with the pen

2. *avana:l ezutappaṭṭatu*

   It was written by him

3. *unna:l ceyya muṭiyuma:*

   Can you do?

-kuḷ-kku may be dative as in

4. *ta:y kuzantaikkup pa:l koṭutta:ḷ*

   Mother gave the child milk

or destinational as in

5. *avan vi:ṭṭukkup po:na:n*

   He went home

or intentive as in

6. *inke: iruppataRku na:n virumpavillai*

   I do not like to remain here.

or possessive as in

7. *kaṇṇanukku iraṇṭu piḷḷaikaḷ*

   Kannan (has) two sons

Similarly *-il* occurs both as the fifth case marker and as the seventh case marker.

1.2.1.2. In Hindi, the same marker *-ko* is supposed to show both the objective case and the dative case. Besides the destinational sense also is given by it.

8. *billi: cu:he ko: ma:rti: hæ*
The cat kills the rat

9. *mæ̃ us ko ek rupaya: dũaga:*
I shall give him/her one rupee

10. *yah ga:ɽi: kalkatte: ko: ja:ti: hæ*
This train goes to Calcutta.

The case-marker *-se:* is used for instrumental as well as for ablative. In fact, the instrumental *-se:* sometimes has the dative sense also.

11. *tum us se: kya: bo:lte: ho*
What do you speak to him ?

The ablative *-se:* has also the sense of comparison

12. *rahi:m ahmad se choṭa: hæ*
Rahim is smaller than Ahmad

The markers *mẽ:* 'in, at' and *par* 'on, at' have been considered as the markers of the same case locative, which may be perhaps justified if two sub-classes are assumed under it.

It must be clear from this, that the classification, or naming has no strong basis. If the other compound markers are also taken into consideration, the situation will be more complex.

1.2.2. However in Tamil, there is some justicfiation for listing the above markers only as case-markers, and not the others which have semantic contents similar to those of the case-markers, as, for example, *mutal* 'from', *varai* 'till, upto' *iṭam* 'place (near, by), *aruke:* 'near' etc. Though from a semantic point of view these can be considered as showing

case-relations, they behave differently from the regular case markers. These either occur with the basic form of the nouns (e.g. *mutal, varai*) or after another case-marker occurring with the noun (e.g. *iṭam, aruke:*)

na:ṭu mutal ka:ṭu varai

From the country to the forest

(Not **naṭṭu mutal kaṭṭu varai*)

a:RRiṭam to/with the river, But also *a:RRiniṭam*

vi:ṭṭaruke: by the side of the house'. also *vi:ṭṭin aruke:*

Further, these again take case markers, unlike the formally accepted case markers, and also occur freely.

aRRin arukil by the side of the river *arukil* 'near'

avaniṭattil with him *iṭattil* in the place

These may be important reasons for not including such words as case-markers in a formal analysis.

Many other words like these functioning as case denoters have been pointed out by S. Agesthialingom (1967), S. V. Shanmugam (1971) and M. S. Pillai (1970). There is a number of words or morpheme sequences, as *iṭam* 'to, by' (literally 'place') *aruke:* 'nearby', *aṇṭai* 'near, beside', *pakkam* side', *aṭiyil* 'below, under; *ne:re:* 'towards' etc. behaving like this. Some of them can also be added after the Dative or Genitive marker.

na:ṭṭiṭam/na:ṭṭiniṭam

To the country, With the country

vi:ṭṭaruke:/vi:ṭṭin aruke:

Beside the house

marattaṇṭaiyil/marattin aṇṭaiyil/marattukku aṇṭayil

Near the tree

a:RRu-p-pakkam / a:RRin pakkam / a:RRukku pakkam

Near the river

va:nattu aṭiyil/va:nattin aṭiyil/va:nattukku aṭiyil

Below the sky

vi:ṭṭu ne:re:/vi:ṭṭin ne:re/vi:ṭṭukku ne:re

Towards/in front of the house

As these case-denoters occur not only with the noun, but also occur, unlike the bound case-markers, with another case-marker, these are to be treated as belonging to a different category. Even when these occur directly with the oblique form of the noun, a convert case-relation (genitive or dative in the above examples) will have to be assumed. This assumption is justified by the fact that *aruku*, *iṭam*, *pakkam* etc. behave as nouns and again take case-markers. On this basis M. S. Pillai (1970) considers these as secondary case markers.

It is evident that the various linguistic units which function as case-denoters show difference in internal structure and external formal behaviour. A contrastive study will reveal some more such forms which have to be considered under semantic case constructions.

1.2.3. In Hindi, the situation is not quite different, though not so complex. The case-markers listed above occur with the oblique forms of the nouns.[17] The other words denoting case-relations are linked to the noun with the genitive markers (mostly the oblique masculine genitive marker *-ke:* as in *-ke: ba:har* 'outside', *-ke: ni:ce:* 'below, under,' *-ke: pa:s* 'near' etc. and in a few cases with the feminine genitive *-ki:*,

as in *-ki: o:r* 'towards', *-ki: tarah* 'like' etc.). The only words that create some difficulty are *tak* 'till, upto', *sahit* 'with, along with,' *dva:ra:* 'through' and a few others. Of these *tak* 'till, upto' occurs only with the oblique forms of the nouns, *sahit* 'with' (sociative) occurs generally with such singular nouns whose obliques are not marked and with plural obliques which are marked. *dva:ra:* 'through', 'by means of' can occur with the oblique nouns or with nouns with genitive marker *-ke:*

darva:ze: tak

Upto the door

ca:r baje: tak

Till four O' clock

a:nand sahit

With pleasure

putrõ: sahit

With sons

kalkatte: dva:ra:

Via. Calcutta

ḍa:k dva:ra:/ḍa:k ke: dva:ra:

By post

Thus it is found that the case relations are not always shown by the same type of markers. As in Tamil, some are simple markers occurring with the oblique form of the noun, but others are words occurring with other case-markers.

2. MODIFICATIONS OF NOUNS AND ADJUNCTS IN CASE-CONSTRUCTIONS

2. 0. The most important formal criterion for case is the morphophonemic change at the junctural points in case-constructions. Usually the case-markers occur with the oblique forms of nouns, but the oblique forms of some nouns are unmarked in either language. The changes in the nouns in the two languages when they take case-markers are not same or parallel, but a study of them is theoretically essential for defining case and case-relations, an attempt for which will be made at the conclusion of the paper.

2. 1. Tamil

2. 1. 1. Nouns ending in *-am* change the final *-m* into *-tt-* when they take case-markers.

maram + ai > marattai	tree (Obj.)
ka:lam + il > ka:lattil	in time
paṭam + in > paṭattin	of the picture

2. 1. 2. Nouns ending in */-Vṭu* or *VRu* where the *u* has the phonetic value (w) (i. e. all nouns except the ones of the canon $(C)\breve{V}Cu$ in which the final *u-* has the phonetic value *(U)*,[18] geminate the */ṭ/* or */R/* when they take case-markers). The final *u* is deleted by a general morphophonemic rule.

ka:ṭu + il > ka:ṭṭil	in the forest
cumaṭu + ai > cumaṭṭai	load (Obj.)
taviṭu + in > taviṭṭin	of bran
co:Ru + il > co:RRil	in rice
a:Ru + in > a:RRin	of river
kayiRu + a:l > kayiRRa:l	with rope

2.1.3 Other changes as the deletion of *u* -*[U]* when followed by vowels, and the appearance of glide sounds *y* and *v* between the final vowel of the noun and the initial vowel of the case marker are not specific to case-marker junctures. Since they are found in non-case junctures also, they have to be taken care of by general rules.

Similarly, the gemination of the final consonants *n, y, l, ḷ* and *ṉ* in the monosyllabic nouns with a short vowel also is a general morphophonemic change occurring at case-junctures as well as noncase-junctures.

maṉ + *il*	> *maṉṉil*	in soil
maṉ + *illai*	> *maṉṉillai*	no soil
ney + *a:l*	> *neyya:l*	with ghee
ney + *a:*	> *neyya:*	is it ghee ?
pal + *a:l*	> *palla:l*	with tooth
pal + *a:*	> *palla:*	is it tooth ?
ṭon + *a l*	> *ponna:l*	with gold
pon + *alla*	> *ponnalla*	not gold

2.1.4. There is no morphophonemic change in plural nouns when case-markers are added to them.[19]

2.1.5. Adjuncts to nouns in Tamil (Adjectives, Participle-etc.) are not affected when the nouns they qualify take cases markers. (It is not so in Hindi. See 2.2.4)

nalla paiyan	good boy
nalla paiyanai	good boy (obj).
azakiya pu:	beautiful flower
azakiya pu:vin	of beautiful flower
ni:la va:nam	blue sky

ni:la va:nattil	in the blue sky
kaṭum paci	acute hunger
kaṭum paciya:l	with acute hunger

2.2. Hindi

2.2.1. Masculine singular nouns ending in *-a:* (except the direct secondary loans Sanskrit as *ra:ja:* 'king', *pita:* 'father', *karta:* 'doer', *data:* 'donor' etc.) change the final *-a:* into *-e:* when they take case-markers.

laṛka: + *se:* > *laṛke:*	by the boy
g^{h} *o:ṛa:* + *par* > *g*^{h} *o:ṛe: par*	on the horse
kapṛa: + *ka:* > *kapṛe: ka:*	of cloth

2.2.2. Other singular nouns do not undergo any change when they take case-markers.

Mas.	*g*^{h} *ar* + *mẽ:* > *g*^{h} *ar mẽ:*	in the house
	pati + *se:* > *pati se:*	by husband
	pa:ni: + *ka:* > *pa:ni: ka:*	of water
	guru + *ko:* > *guru ko:*	preceptor (Obj.)
Fem.	*kita:b* + *mẽ:* > *kita:b mẽ*	in the book
	ma:ta: + *ko:* > *ma:ta: ko:*	mother (Obj.)
	ra:tri + *mẽ:* > *ra:tri mẽ:*	in the night
	nadi: + *par* > *nadi: par*	on the river

2.2.3. All plural nouns irrespective of gender and terminal sound, have oblique forms ending in *-õ:*, masculine nouns ending in *-a:* changing the *-o:* into *-õ:*, and others taking *-õ:*, when they take case-markers.

Mas.	*kapɽe:* + *ka:* > *kaprõ: ka:*		of cloths
	ghoɽe: + *par* > *gho:ɽõ: par*		on horses
	kavi + *ko:* > *kaviyõ: ko:*		poets (Obj.)
	ɖa:ku + *se:* > *ɖa:kuõ: se*		by robbers
Fem.	*kiṭa:bẽ* + *mẽ:* > *kita:bõ: mẽ:*		in the books
	na:riyã: + *ka:* > *na:riyõ: ka:*		of women

2. 2. 4. *Adjuncts*

All attributive adjuncts in Hindi ending in *-a:*, including qualifying participles, change the final *-a:* into *-e:*, if the nouns they qualify take case-markers.

acc^{h}a: g^{h}ar good house	*acc^{h}e: g^{h}ar mẽ* in the good house
baɽa: laɽka big boy	*baɽe: laɽke: se:* by the big boy
a:ta: (hua:) a:dmi: coming man	*a:te: (hue:) admi: ka:* of the coming man
dəɽta: (hua:) kutta: running dog	*dərte: (hue:) kutta: ka:* on the running dog
k^{h}a:ya: (hua:) p^{h}al eaten fruit	*k^{h}a:ye: (hue:) p^{h}al mẽ:* in the eaten fruit

Tamil adjuncts do not show such a change.

2.3. In both the languages, we have found, the declinable nouns undergo these formal changes only when they take case-markers or when a case-relation is implied. But there are several other forms also expressing relations same as or similar to the case-relations, which cannot be contained in this scheme. Several such markers have been pointed by

S. Agesthialingom (1967 : 5), S. V. Shanmugam (1971 : 250 ff.) and M. S. Pillai (1970 in Ghatage and others 1971 : 228-234). A few have been cited above. A semantic correlation of the case-expressions in Hindi and Tamil will reveal many more such markers in both the languages, which cannot be easily accomodated in the above system. How to deal with these is a problem to be solved.

3. CASE-CONSTRUCTS IN HINDI AND TAMIL : A SEMANTIC CORRELATION

3.0. The correlation is done here with a wide perspective so as to bring in not only the bound morphemes functioning as and usually accepted as case-markers, but also other compound forms which show a similar semantic relations. The relevance of this is proved by the fact that very often the case relation expressed by a bound case-marker in one language is shown by such compound forms in the other. This is a valid reason for considering all these compound forms also as case-denoters, at least at a particular level of analysis.

3.1. Nominative

The nominative in Tamil is shown by the absence of any marker.[20] Syntactically it can function as a subject, complement of an intransitive verb or in apposition to any of these.[21]

In Hindi, subjects of intransitive verbs never take case-markers. But the subjects of the transitive verbs take the case-marker *-ne:*, if the verb is in the tenses formed from the past participial bases of verbs (i.e. mainly Past Indefinite, Present Perfect which considered as a kind of past tense, Past Perfect and Past doubtful). When the subject thus takes the marker *-ne:* the verb observes concord with the object in gender and number[22] provided the object does not have

a case-marker. But if the object has the accusative marker *-ko:*, then the verb remains in the neutral form (uninflected form which is the masculine singular form) without concord with any other word,

Present

13. *laṛkaː roːṭiː kʰaːtaː hæ*

The boy eats bread (*Mas.*)

14. *laṛkiː roːṭiː kʰaːtiː hæ*

The girl eats bread. (*Fem*)

Past :

15. *laṛkeː neː roːṭiː kʰaːyiː*

The boy ate bread

16. *laṛkiː neː pʰal kʰaːyaː*

The girl ate fruit

(*roːṭiː* being grammatically feminine and *pʰal* masculine.)

Pr. Perf.

17. *raːm neː yah kahaːniː paṛʰi hæ*

Rama has read this story

18. *siːtaː ne yah paːṭʰ paraː hæ*

Sita has read this lesson

(*kahaːniː* being feminine and *paṭʰ* masculine)

Thus the two nominative forms in Hindi will converge to one in Tamil

$$H)) \begin{matrix} N \\ N \end{matrix} + ne > N ((T$$

3.2. Accusative

Accusative case in Tamil is marked by *-ai/inai* or ϕ.

(*-inai* in high literary style only). *-ai* is generally obligatory with personal nouns, but rarely personal nouns also can have ϕ.

19. *naːn aːɭ anuppukiReːn*
I shall send a person

20. (a) *avan oru veːlaiyaːɭ teːɻukiRaːn*
He searches for a servant

(b) *avan veːlaiyaːɭai-ṯ-teːɻukiRaːn*
He searches the servant

With other nouns *-ai* is used when a definiteness or focus is to be shown. Otherwise the object has ϕ marker.

21. *puːnai eli piɻikkiRatu*
The cat catches rats

22. *puːnai eliyai-k-konRatu*
The cat killed the rat

23. *mazai varukiRatu, kuɻai eɻuttukkoɭ*
Rain comes, take an umbrella

24. *en kuɻaiyai eɻukkaːteː*
Do not take my umbrella

In Hindi, objective case is marked by *-ko:* or ϕ. The situation is almost similar to that in Tamil., *-ko:* being used obligatorily with personal nouns, and with other nouns when definiteness is intended.[23] As in Tamil rare examples of personal nouns with ϕ are also found.

25. *mæ a:dmi: bʰeːjta: hū:*

I shall send a person

26. (a) *vah nɔkar kʰoːjtaː hæ*

He searches the servant

(b) *vah nɔkar ko: kʰoːjta:*

He searches the servant

27. *billiː cuːheː pakaɽtiː haeː*

The cat catches rats

28. *billi: neː cuːheː koː maːraː*

The cat killed the rat

29. *paːniː bʰarseːgaː, cʰaːtaː le lo*

It will rain, take an umbrella

30. *meːreː cʰaːteː ko mat lo*

Do not take my umbrella.

When the accusative is marked by ϕ the noun is in the basic form and not in the oblique form in both the languages.

31. (a) Ta. *avan paːṭam paṭikkiRaːn*

He reads the lesson

(b) Hi. *vah paːʰṛ paʰṛ taː hae*

He reads the lesson

32. (a) Ta. *naːn mukavari ezutukiReːn*

I write the address

(b) Hi. *mœ pataː likʰ taː huː*

I write the address

3. 3. Instrumental

Tamil *-aːl/-inaːl* and Hindi *-seː* are used to show instrumental case, either the instrument with which action is done, or the part of the body which is used in doing the action.

33. (a) Ta. *avan peːnaːvaːl ezutukiRaːn*

He writes with the pen

(b) Hi. *vah qalam seː likʰ taː hæ*

He writes with the pen

34. (a) Ta. *naːm kaṇṇaːl paːrkkiRoːm*

We see with the eyes

(b) Hi. *ɲam ãːkʰ õ seː deːkʰ teː hãæ*

We see with the eyes

In Tamil the past participles *vaittu* 'keeping', *koṇṭu* 'taking' are sometimes used for showing the instrumental.

35. Ta. *pe:na: vaittu/koṇṭu ezuta:te*

Do not write with the pen

Tamil *-a:l* can also be used to show the components of which things are made. But in Hindi, this is shown by the genitive marker.

36. (a) Ta. *avaḷ nu:la:l a:ṭai neykiRa:ḷ*

She weaves cloth with yarn

(b) Hi. *vah su:t ka: kapṛa: bunti: hæ*

She weaves cloth of yarn

In Hindi, the instrumental *-se:* has also the mediative sense 'through, along'. The semantic equivalent in Tamil is *vazi(aka)* 'by the way of'.

37. (a) Hi. *laṛki: kʰiṛki: se: deːkʰti: hæ*

The girl looks through the window

(b) Ta. *ciRumi jannal vazi (ya:ka) pa:rkkiRa:ḷ*

The girl looks through the window

38. (a) Hi. *gaːy saṛak se: dɔṛti: hæ*

The cow runs along the road

(b) Ta. *pacu pa:tai vazi (ya:ka) o:ṭukiRatu*

The cow runs along the road

Tamil *vazi (aka)* can be used with static medium as well as with conveyant medium. But in the latter case,

mu:lam (a:ka) also can be used. This sense is covered by Hindi *-se:*, but it can also be shown with the post-positional words *-ke: dvara:* or *-kezariye:*

39. (a) Ta. *avan tapa:l vazi (ya:ka) kaṭitam anuppina:n*

(b) *avan tapa:l mu:lam (a:ka) kaṭitam anuppina:n*

40. (a) Hi. *usne da:k se. ciṭṭ i: b^{h} e:ji:*

(b) *usne da:k (ke:) dva:ra: ciṭṭ i: b^{h} e:ji:*

(c) *usne: da:k ke: zariye: ciṭṭi: b^{h} e:ji:*

He sent letter by post.

Hence :

Ta.)) *-a:l* — *-se:* (Inst.), *-ka:* (Compt.) ((Hi. *-a:l*, *-vaittu*

Hi.)) *-se:* — *-koṇṭu*, *-vazi (ya:ka)*, *-mu:lam (a:ka)* ((Ta.

Ta.)) *-vazi (ya:ka)*, *mu:lam (a:ka)* — *-ke:dva:ra:/-ke zariye:* ((Hi.

3.4. Sociative (Comitative)

Tamil sociative marker *-o:ṭu/-ino:ṭu*,[24] *-o:ṭu ku:ṭa/-ino:ṭu ku:ṭa* are common, while the word *uṭan* (literally 'immediately') also is often used to give this sense. The sociative or comitative sense is not represented in the Hindi case system, but is expresses by *-ke: sa:t^{h}* 'in accompaniment of' or *sahit*

'with' (occuring only with Sanskrit words with which it can be added without any case-marker).

41. (a) Ta. *kaṇavano:ṭu (ku:ṭa) manaiviyum vanta:l*

Hi. *pati ke: sa:t^{h} patni: b^{h}i: a:yi:*

With the husband, the wife also came.

42. (a) Ta. *avanuṭan na:n po:kama:ṭṭe:n*

(b) Hi. *uske: sa:t^{h} mæ̃ nahī: ja:ū:ga:*

I will not go with him.

43. (a) Ta. *ra:man manaiviyuṭan ka:ṭu cenRa:n*

(b) Hi. *ra:m patni:-sahit van gaya:*

Rama went to forest with wife

Ta.)) *-o:ṭu (ku:ṭa)* / *uṭan* ↔ *-ke: sat^{h}* / *sahit* ((Hi.

However, when the accompaniment is by some feeling the marker *-se:* is used in Hindi.

44. Hi. *ra:ja: ne: kro:d^{h} se: de:k^{h} a:*

The king looked with anger

3.5. Dative

3.5.1. Indirect Object Dative

Tamil has *-ku* (and its variants *-kku, i-kku, -ukku, -iRku,* and *aRku*) and *-inukku* (literary) as the dative marker. Hindi has the marker *-ko:* for dative (and it is homophonous with the accusative marker) to show the normal dative or the indirect object.

45. (a) Ta. *ta:y kuzantaikku pa:l koṭukkiRa:l*

(b) Hi. *ma: bacce: ko: du:d^{h} de:ti: hæ*

Mother gives milk to the child

3.5.2. Destinational Dative

When verbs of motion, as 'go', 'come' etc. are used, the name of the destination is to be in the dative case, with the marker *-kku* or ∅ in Tamil and *-ko:* or ϕ in Hindi.

46. (a) Ta. *ni: eppozutu kalkatta: (vukku) po:va:y ?*

(b) Hi. *tum kab kalkatte: (ko:) ja:o:ge:*

When will you go to Calcutta ?

It may be noted that when the dative *-ko:* in Hindi is replaced by ϕ, the noun is in the oblique form, unlike in the case of accusative *-ko:*.

kalkatta de:k^{h} a:	Saw Calcutta
kalkatte: gaya:	Went to Calcutta.

3. 5. 3. Intentive or Purposive Dative

Intentive or purposive dative is expressed by Tamil by *-ku* or *-ku a:ka* (or its variants) and in Hindi by *ke: liye:* or *-ke: va:te:* (*-ke:* oblique genitive, *liye* oblique past imperfect of *le:* 'take', *va:ste:* oblique form of *va:sta:* 'relation').

47. (a) Ta. *na:n en manaivikku a:ka oru puṭavai va:nkine:n*

(b) Hi. *mæ̃ ne: apni: patni: ko liye: e:k sa:ṛi: k^{h}ari:di:*

I bought a saree for my wife.

When the purposive sense is connected with a verb, the infinitive of the verb also can be used in Tamil and the case-marker eliminated. In Hindi *-ke: liye:* / *-ke: vaste:* are used with the modified verbal noun (same as modified infinitive).

48. (a) Ta. *na:ṉ tilli po:ka/po:vataRku/povataRka:ka ṭikkaṭṭu eṭutte:n*

(b) Hi. *mæ̃ ne dilli: ja:ne: ke:liye:/ke: va:ste: ṭikaṭ liya:*

I took ticket for going to Delhi.

3. 5. 4. Possessive

In Tamil, *-ku:* has another use, namely showing possession, which is expressed in English by 'has, have, had'. This sense is shown in Hindi by the genitive marker, but unlike in other uses of it, the genitive marker in this use is always the modified or oblique one, namely *-ke:*. (in other uses *-ka:, -ke:* and *-ki:* are variants according to the noun and the case-marker with it).

49. (a) Ta. *avamukku iraṇṭu kuzaantaikaḷ/peṇkaḷ*

(b) Hi. *uske: do: bacce:/laṛkiyā: hæ̃*

He has two children/daughters.

50. (a) Ta. *pacuvukku oru va:l uṇṭu*

(b) Hi. *ga:y ke: e:k pū:c^{h} hæ* (Though *pū.c^{h}* 'tail' is feminine)

The cow has a tail.

3.6. Ablative

3. 6. 1. Separative Ablative

Though *-in/-il* were used in Old Tamil, and are now used in literary style, the more commonly used marker for separative

ablative in Modern Tamil is *-il iruntu*. Hindi has *-se* as the semantic equivalent of this.

51. (a) Ta. *marattiliruṉtu ilai vizuntatu.*

(b) Hi. *peːṛ seː patlaː giraː*

Leaf fell from the tree

52. (a) Ta. *vaṇṭi sṭeːṣaniliruṉtu puRappaṭṭatu*

(b) Hi. *gaːṛiː sṭeːšan seː nikaliː*

The train started from the station.

Personal nouns take *-iṭam iruntu* in Tamil, but Hindi has the same *-se*:

53. (a) Ta. *aracaniṭamiruṉtu kaviñan paricu peRRaːn*

(b) Hi. *raːjaː seː kavi ne inaːm paːyaː*

The poet got prize from the King.

kiṭṭe iruṉtu is used in this sense in spoken Tamil. (Agesthialingom, S. 1967:5).

When the sense of starting from a local or temporal point is to be shown, *mutal* may be used as a free variant of *-il iruṉtu* in Tamil.

54. (a) Ta. *cennaiyiliruṉtu/cennai mutal tilli varai*

(b) Hi. *madraːs seː dilliː tak*

From Madras to Delhi.

55. (a) Ta. *ṉaːnku maṇiyiliruṉtu/maṇi mutal aːRu maṇi varai*

(b) Hi. *caːr baje: seː c^{h}ah baje: tak*

From four O'clock till six O'clock

3. 6. 2. Comparative Ablative

Tamil *-il* (*-in* in literary style) is used for showing comparison along with the particle *-um*. But in Modern Tamil the more commonly used comparative markers are *viṭa* 'leaving' and *ka:ṭṭilum* 'showing' with the accusative marker *-ai*. Hindi has *-se:* in this sense also.

56. (a) Ta. *avanilum periya paiyan/avanai viṭa -p- periya paiyan*

avanai-k-ka:ṭṭilum periya paiyan

(b) Hi. *us se: baṛa: larka:*

A boy bigger than he

Thus Hindi *-se:* will have to be represented in Tamil by *-il*. *-il iruṉtu*, *-iṭam iruṉtu*, (*kiṭṭe iruṉtu* in spoken Tamil), *mutal*, *-ai viṭa*, or *ai-k-ka:ṭṭilum* and conversely all these forms in Tamil will converge to one form *-se:* in Hindi.

3. 7. Genitive

3. 7. 1. Possessive Genitive

Ordinary (Possessive) genitive shows possession of either external things or, parts of persons, things etc. This is expressed in Tamil by a number of markers ∅, *-atu*, *-in*, *-uṭaiya*, *-inatu* *-inuṭaiya*. Of these *-atu* occurs with nouns ending in *-an* (*manitanatu* 'man's', *arsanatu* 'king's') and provided and possessed noun neuter (including irrational) (and with plurals (*marankaḷatu* 'of trees', *na:ṭukaḷatu* 'of countries'). *-inatu* and *-inuṭaiya* do not occur with nouns ending in *-an* (**aracaninuṭaiya***, (*aracaninatu*) *-uṭaiya* does not occur with nouns ending in *-am*(**maramuṭaiya*,[25] (**maraṭṭuṭaiya*). Other markers occur with all nouns as free variants, or stylistic variants.

ϕ	-atu	-in	-uṭaiya	-naṭu	-inuṭaiya
aracan	*aracanatu*	*aracanin*	*aracanuṭaiya*		
na:y		*na:yin*	*na:yuṭaiya*	*na:yinatu*	*na:yinuṭaiya*
maram		*marattin*		*marattinatu*	*marattinuṭaiya*
peṇ		*peṇṇin*	*peṇṇuṭaiya*	*peṇṇinatu*	*peṇṇinuṭaiya*

Hindi has three morphologically conditioned alternants *-ka:*, *-ke:*, *-ki:*[26] whose distribution are strictly defined, though a little complex.

1. *-ka:* possesses masculine singular nouns which do not have case markers.

ra:ja: ka: g^{h}oṛa: King's house

ra:ni: ka: mahal Queen' palace

g^{h}oṛa: and *mahal* being grammatically masculine

laṛke: ka: pær boy's foot

laṛki: ka: ha:t^{h} girl's hand

pær and *ha:t^{h}* being grammatically masculine.

2. *-ke:* possesses—

(i) masculine singular nouns which take case-markers.

ra:ja: ke: g^{h}oṛe: par on the king's horse

ra:ni: ke: mahal mẽ in the queen's palace

laṛke: ke: pær ka: of the boy's foot

larki: ke ha:t^{h} mẽ in the girl's hand

(ii) masculine plural nouns whether taking case-markers or not.

ra:ja: ke: g^{h}oṛe:	king's horses
ra:ja: ke: g^{h}o:rõ: par	on the king's horses
ra:ni: ke: mahal	the queen's palaces
ra:ni: k:e mahalõ: me:	in the queen's palaces

(iii) some adverbial words to make post-postions. (not conditioned phonologically, but depending upon lexical items.)

ke: bah:ar	outside	*ke:andar*	inside	*ke: ni:ce:*	below
ke: u:par	above	*ke:bina:*	without	*ke: sa:t^{h}*	with

3. *-ki:* possess all feminine nouns, singular or plural, taking case-markers or not.

zami:nda:r ki: laṛki:	The Zamindar's daughter
zami:nda:r ki: larki: ka:	Of the Zamindar's daughter
zami:nda:r ki: larkiyā:	Zamindar's daughters
zami:nda:r ki: larkiyo: se	By from the Zamindar's daughters

3.7.2. Qualifactory Genitive

Qualifactory genitive also has the markers *-ka:*, *-ke:*, *-ki:* in Hindi, but Tamil has *-il uḷḷa* as equivalent of this.

57. (a) Ta. *to:ṭṭattiluḷḷa marankaḷ*
The trees of the grove

(b) Hi. *ba:g ke: pe:ṛ*
The trees of the grove

58. (a) Hi. *kita:b ki: tasvi:rẽ:*
The pictures of in the book[27]

(b) Ta. *puttakattiluḷḷa paṭankaḷ*
The pictures in the book

3. 8. Locative

The locative markers in Tamil are *-il* (*-in, kaṇ* in high literary Tamil) which can have the meanings 'in, on, at.' Hindi has the markers *-mẽ*; 'In, at' and *-par* 'on, at' for locative. For specifying 'on' *-me:l* or *-in me:l* is used in Tamil.

59. (a) Ta. *kiṇaRRil tanni:r illai*
(b) Hi. *kuvẽ: mẽ: pa:ni: nahi: hæ*
There is no water in the well

60. (a) Ta. *teruvil ya:ro: niRkiRa:rkaḷ*
(b) Hi. *saṛak par koi: kh^{h}aṛa: hæ*
Somebody is standing on the road

61. (a) Ta. *appa: vi:ṭṭil irukkiRa:r*
(b) Hi. *pita:ji: g^{h}ar par hæ̃*
Father is at home

In Hindi, there is a contrast between *g^{h}armẽ* 'inside the house, and *g^{h}ar par* 'at the house'.

Tamil *me:l/-in me:l* gives the sense 'on'

62. (a) Ta. *puttakam me:jai me:l/me:jaiyin me:l irukkiRatu*
(b) Hi. *kita:b me:z par hæ*
The book is on the table

3. 9. Vocative

As mentioned above (1. 1. 3), there are some objections for considering the vocative formally as a case. But semantically some markers may be accepted as case-markers. In Tamil

the nouns with final *-an* change the *-an* to *-a:*, nouns with final short vowels change the short vowel into a long one. All nouns take *-e:* as a vocative marker. In Hindi masculine singular nouns ending in *-a:* change the final *-a:* into *-e:* in the vocative. Other singular nouns do not have marked vocative forms. All plural nouns have *-o:* as vocative marker, the nouns ending in *-a:* replacing the *-a:* by *-o.* and others taking it as an additive.

Ta.	*paiyan*	boy	- *paiya:/paiyane:*	O, boy
	maṭaiyan	fool	- *maṭaiya:/maṭaiyane:*	O, fool
	tampi	younger brother	- *tampi:*	O, younger brother
	makaḷ	daughter	- *makaḷe:*	O, daughter
	na:y	dog	- *na:ye:*	O, dog
			- *na:ykaḷe:*	O, dogs.
	kaṭavuḷ	god	- *kaṭavuḷe:*	O, god
Hi.	*laṛka:*	boy	- *laṛke:*	O, boy
			- *laṛko:*	O, boys
	bahan	sister	- *bahan*	O, sister
			- *bahano:*	O, sisters

The comparison of the case-constructs in the languages reveals the complexity of the systems in them. Besides the above, there are case-constructs in both the languages which do not have overt case markers. These may be considered as covert case construct.

4. COVERT CASE CONSTRUCTS

In the two languages, the various case-markers can remain covert, and the relations may be expressed by the

nouns themselves in the particular contexts. In Hindi this feature is predominant in the case of words taken from Sanskrit.

Accusative	Hi.	*-ko:* > ϕ	
		gagancumbi:	Touching the sky
		nagar-ša:san	City government
	Ta.	*-ai* > ϕ	
		va:ntoṭum	Touching the sky
		nakara-a:ṭci	City government
Dative	Hi.	*-ko:* > ϕ	
		ra:h-k^{h}arc	Expense for way
		ḍa:k-mahsul	Postal charge
	Ta.	*-kku* > ϕ	
		vazi-c-celavu	Expense for way
		tapa:l ku:li	Postal charge
Instrumental	Hi.	*se* > ϕ	
		aka:l-pi:ṛit	Struck by famine
		muh-mã:ga:	Asked by mouth
	Ta.	*-a:l* > ϕ	
		kaṭṭi-k-kuttu	Knife-wound
		va:y-p-pe:ccu	Vocal speech
Ablative	Hi.	*-se* > ø	
		janma:nd^h	Blind from birth
		karma-p^{h}al	Result of deed

Ta. *-il iruntu* > ϕ

piRavi-k-kuruṭu	Blind from birth
vinai-p-payan	Result of deed

Genitive Hi. *-ka:, -ke:, -ki:* > ϕ

pustak-b^{h}avan	Book house
kamal-patra	Lotus leaf
nagar-jan	City people

Ta. *-in, -uṭaiya* > ϕ

puttaka-nilaiyam	Book house
ta:maraiyilai	Lotus leaf
nakara-makkaḷ	City people

Locative Hi. *-me:* > ϕ

kala:-nipuṇata:	Skill in art
yudd^{h}-vi:r	Hero in war

Ta. *-il* > ϕ

kalai-t-tiRan	Skill in art
po:r-vi:ran	Hero in war

In some of these cases, the overt case marker introduced in the overt constructs will be of a case different from the actual semantic relation existing.

Hi. *nagar-ša:san — nagar ka: ša:san*
Rulling (rule) of the city

Ta. *ṉakara-a:ṭci — ṉakarattin a:ṭci*
Rulling (rule) of the city

Though the overt marker is that of genitive, the semantic case-relation of the noun with the verbal noun is one of object.

There are some covert case-constructs which may stand for more than one overt constructs with different case markers.

Ta. *ta:yanpu — ta:yiṭam anpu / ta:yin anpu*
Love to / of mother

Hi. *ma:ta-pre:m — ma:ta: se: / ka: pre:m*
Love to / of mother

5. DOUBLE CASE-MARKERS IN HINDI

In Tamil a case-marker is not followed by another case-marker. But in Hindi two case-markers are often nsed together. Generally the locative marker is the first one and the ablative or genitive marker the second. In Tamil, the equivalent forms have single case-markers followed by some verbal form (including participle)

Hi. *re:l ga:ṛi mẽ: ka: injin*

Ta. *rayil vaṇṭiyil uḷḷa incin*
The engine in the train

Hi. *g^{h}are: mẽ: se: jin nikala:*

Ta. *kutattiliruntu pu:tam veḷivantatu*
The jinn came out of the pot

6. CONCLUSION : STRUCTURAL AND SEMANTIC CASES - CASES AND CASE SUBSTITUTES

The study reveals that the case-markers in the two languages are not quite parallel either structurally or semantically. But what is more important to the noted is that semantic contents

expressed by case-markers in one language are often expressed by words or morpheme-sequences in the other. This raises the problems whether all these expressions can be considered as case-markers. But structurally they behave differently in affecting the forms of the nouns and also in occuring freely elsewhere. While these words or morpheme sequences can occur freely, the case-markers cannot. The solution suggested is this:-

The Semantic and structural cases must be clearly distinguished. All expressions or forms showing case-relations may be considered as semantic case-constructs. Among the semantic case-denoters, the normal or bound case-markers which show the structural peculiarities (Section 1. 2. 3) should be considered as case-markers. The others, namely the words or morpheme sequences, which also show case relations may be considered as case-marker-substitutes. These permit further analysis and classification. In fact, from a macro-analysis, it is found that case-marker-substitutes fill the slot of the case-marker, but a micro-analysis makes it possible to break them up into components, unlike the case-markers proper. Hence such an analysis and distinction are necessary to bring out all relevant details.

Notes :

1. Dunichand (1950:63-76) considers *kaːrakas* as six, and *vibhaktis* as four on a formal basis. (i. e. Nominative, Objective, Vocative, and all others under oblique).

2. Some later grammars in Tamil as *Ilakkanavilakkam* by Swaminatha Desikar make a distinction between *vibhakti veːRRumai* and *kaːraka*.

3. Hockett (1958, Ed. 1970:235) mentions only two cases obviously overlooking the vocative. Dimschits (1) 66, P. 49 ff.)

has given all the three. Jagdev Singh (1970:37-39) treats the case in the Bangru dialect of Hindi in the same way taking their number as three.

4. It may be noted that in singular, the Oblique and the Vocative are overtly marked only in the case of masculine nouns with final *-a:* (this also of the Native Hindi layer and the Arabic-Persian layer, and not the secondary borrowings from Sanskrit). In plural, the oblique is always overtly marked. Details are given later (section 2).

5. These include some words which have the same semantic content as some case-markers and are added to the oblique forms of the nouns.

6. These particular examples are given because their oblique forms are marked.

7. The alternate forms with *-in-* are used in literary style.

8. *-a:n/-ana:n* are found in Ancient, and Modern literary Tamil.

9. Forms in brackets are not single morphemes but sequences.

10. 11 & 12. These are ancient forms now used in high literary style only.

13. *-atu/-inatu* are used when the noun possessed is neuter or irrational.

14. 15 & 16. These are found in ancient Tamil and in high literary style or Modern Tamil.

17. Only some nouns have marked oblique form in the singular. Details will be given later. (See section 2. 2.)

18. The allophonic distribution of */u/-* (*u*, *U*) is a little complex. For a detailed treatment of this and the morphonemic changes of the same sec. Genesan. S. N. 1975. Section 2. 1. 2. 1. 3. P. 162 ff.

19. It may be noted that the case-markers with *-in-* (*inai*, *-na:l* etc.) are not taken by plural nouns. While *manitarai* 'people' (Obj.) *marankaḷa:l* 'with/by trees' are grammatical, **manitarinai*. **marankaḷinai* are not.

20. Pillai, M. S. (1970, In Ghatage & others 1971:233) has raised the problem whether the unmarked form can be at all considered as a case, since there is no positive case-

marker. Whether the *-m* in words like *maram* 'tree', *pa:ṭam* 'leason' etc. which changes to *-tt-* when the nouns take other case markers can be considered as a marker of the nominative is a question to be examined If it can be taken so, than a Ø marker may have to be assumed for the other nouns which do not change when they take case-markers.

21. Andronov (1969:76-78) lists a number of other kinds of nominatives as nominative of object, nominative of ablative nominative of instrument etc., which the present analysis prefers to consider as respective covert case-constructs.

22. In other kinds constructions the concord is with the subject.

23. It is found that this distinction is not strictly maintained especially when there is a demonstrative or specifying word before the object.

1.	*yah c^{h}a:ta: mat lo*	Do not take this umbrella
2.	*me:ra: c^{h}a:ta: mat lo*	Do not take my umbrella

24. *oṭu* and *-inoṭu* are also found as stylistic variants.

25. *maramuṭaiya* is possible but in another sense having trees. *uṭaiya* is in fact the particple of *uṭai* 'possess' which has a defective conjugation.

26. These have also the allomorphs *-ra:*, *-re:*, *-ri:* occuring with the pronouns *mæ* 'I', *ham* 'we', *tu:* 'thou' and *tum* 'you' *me:ra/me:re:/me:ri:* 'my' : *hama:ra:/hama:ri:* 'our' *te:ra:/te:re:/te:ri:/* 'thy', *tumha:ra:/tumha:re/tumha:ri:* 'your'

27. The ambiguity of sence may be noted. *kita:b mẽ ki tasvi:rẽ:* with two case markers will definitely give the sense 'the pictures in the book'.

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CASE SYSTEM AND SANDHI IN TAMIL

SP. Thinnappan
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

1. The study which is able to provide the rules for all kinds of changes when two or more morphemes or words occur together is called Sandhi. Pa:ṇini, the renowned grammarian in Sanskrit uses the term *samhita* "close contact" to denote the same (Aṣṭa:dhya:yi I. 4. 109). Tolka:ppiar, the author of the earliest extant Tamil grammar, called Tolka:ppiyam, uses the term *puṇar nilai* or *puṇarmoḻinilai* (Tol. S. 111 & 113), which means junction or coming together of two morphemes or words. *Pavaṇanti*, the author of *Nannu:l*, a Tamil grammar belonging to twelth century A. D. uses the terms *puṇarppu* and *puṇarcci* to indicate sandhi (Nannu:l. S. 151 and S. 242).

2. Sandhi may be broadly classified into two kinds :

(1) Internal Sandhi and (2) External Sandhi. The sandhi between two parts of a word is called internal sandhi and that between two words is called external sandhi. Even though sandhi and morphophonemics are considered, in some sense to mean the same thing, it must be noted that sandhi includes something more than morphophonemics (Kothandaraman 1972 : 56).

3. The first part of *Tolka:ppiyam*, called *Eḻuttatika:ram* deals elaborately with the sandhi system of Tamil language. Three

hundred and eighty sutras (from 104 to 483) out of the total four hundred and eighty three sutras of *Eḻuttatika:ram* explain the sandhi system and its rules. The names of those chapters containing the above sutras are, *puṇariyal*, *tokaimarapu*, *urupiyal*, *uyirmayaṅkiyal*, *puḷḷi mayaṅkiyal* and *kuṟṟiyalukarap puṇariyal*. The chapter on *puṇariyal* deals only with the classification and the general principles of sandhi. The next chapter, *tokaimarapu* deals with the rules which involve more than one item or a class in the process. The chapter on *urupiyal* explains the developments of sandhi when the case suffix (*urupu*) is added to the noun. The remaining three chapters, *uyirmayaṅkiyal*, *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* and *kuṟṟiyalukarappuṇariyal* explain the sandhi changes wherein the preceding word ends in a vowel, a consonant and a shorter *u* respectively. In short, the internal sandhi is explained in the chapter *urupiyal* and the external sandhi is dealt with only in the remaining chapters. In this paper, an attempt is made to show the characteristic behaviour of the case markers and the function of the case system in both kinds of sandhi in Tamil.

4. The area of sandhi is surrounded and covered by the parts of the aspects of phonology, morphology and syntax. Only in sandhi, all the structural aspects of language come together and meet. If anyone carefully goes through the chapters on sandhi in Tolka:ppiyam, he can easily find the various classification of sandhi, based on phonetic, syllabic, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects. One can discuss the behaviour of the case system according to these aspects also.

5. One of the general rules of sandhi which is based on phonological aspect, given in the chapter *tokaimarapu*, says that the final consonants of the preceding word of the canonical form $(C)\overset{v}{V}C$ must be doubled when any one of vowels follows (Tol. S. 161) $((C)\overset{v}{V}C \rightarrow (C)\overset{v}{V}CC/\text{-}V$. *kal* 'stone' + *il* (Loc.) →

kallil 'in the stone'). For this rule, we find exception in the case of personal pronouns in the environment of the fourth and the sixth case signs. When the oblique bases of the personal pronouns of CVC type are followed by the fourth and the sixth case markers, the doubling of the final consonant is warranted before the vowel *a*, which occurs in between the oblique base and the above mentioned case markers, (Tol. S. 162).

e.g., *en-a-ku* → *enakku* 'to me' *en-a-atu* → *en-a-tu* → *enatu* 'my'

As soon as any one sees the sutram (S. 109. of *puṇariyal*) stating that sandhi occurs between a noun and a noun, noun and a verb, verb and a noun, and verb and a verb, he may have a doubt whether the other two parts of speech of Tamil language, called *iṭaiccol* and *uriccol*, are occurring in sandhi or not.

6. According to the commentators, both Iḷampu:raṇar (Tol. S. 1109) and Naccina:rkkiniyar (Tol. S. 108) these two parts of speech are ignored here because these two are not 'free forms'. But the chapter *uruḷiyal* provides rules only when the case markers are added to the nouns. Further, the rules are given in *uyir mayaṅkiyal* and *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* for the following particles (*iṭaiccol*) when they occur as preceding words : *a m m a* (4 4 4 4) in (S. 213), *ini* and *aṇi* in (S. 237), *e:e* and *o:o* in (S. 273 and 274), *piṉ* and *muṉ* in (S. 334). Even *uriccol* like *kaṭi* and *paṇai*, occurring as preceding words, are also cited as examples under (S. 159). Therefore we have to take into consideration of occurrence of *iṭaiccol* and *uriccol* as preceding or following items in sandhi.

7. The external sandhi is divided (Tol. S. 113) into case relation sandhi (*ve:ṟṟumai kuṟitta puṇarmoḻinilai*) and non-case relation sandhi

ve:rrumai alvaḻippuṇarmoḻi nilai). If the former of the two words stands in case relation to the latter, the sandhi is called case relation sandhi e.g. *nu:l o:t:iṉe:ṉ* or *nu:lai o:tiṉe:ṉ* 'I read the book'. Here the case marker may occur covertly or overtly. If it is not so, it is called the noun-case relation sandhi. (*nu:l ciṟiyatu* 'the book is small'). The first one is called *ve:rrumai* (*ppuṇarcci*) and the second one *alvaḻi* (*ppuṇarcci*). Here it is peculiar to note that *ve:rrumai* includes only the six cases (i.e. from second to seventh) which are having separate case markers. The nominative and the vocative cases which are not having case markers, are grouped, not in case relation sandhi but in non-case relation sandhi. But one should remember that same author dealt with all these eight cases (from nominative to vocative) under the heading 'case' in the second part of the book called *collatika:ram*, 'the morphology and syntax'. The (S.114), which follows immediately the sutra which mentions the above classification, says that case suffixes are six in number; viz. *ai*, *oṭu*, *ku*, *iṉ*, *atu* and *kaṇ* the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th case markers respectively. The consititutes in which these case signs, whether present or suffering an ellipsis, will be called *ve:rrumai*.

Therefore where there is neither the case sign nor its significance present, the phrase will have to be taken as *alvaḻi* (Vijayavenugopal, 1968:185). Tolka:ppiyar did not specifically mention the constructions which will come under *alvaḻi* as Nannu:la:r (S. 152). According to him all the constructions, other than the above mentioned six case relationships are taken under *alvaḻi*. In most of the cases, the nominative constructions are given as examples for *alvaḻi*; the genitive construction for *ve:rrumai*. This classification is considered as important one to understand *sandhi* in Tamil. Tolka:ppiyar always distinguishes between *case ralation sandhi* and *non-case relation sandhi* for each *alphabetic* ending. Hence before one

determines the sandhi change in Tamil (at least to Old Tamil), one should know before hand the meaning of the words to decide whether the sandhi comes under the case relation sandhi or the other (Sastri, 1947:74). Then only, we can decide the sandhi rule. This phenomenon is followed by all the latter grammarians except the author or *Vi:raco:ḻiyam* who followed the model of the Sanskrit grammars in which this division is absent. In the grammars of Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam also we are unable to find this classification. Therefore we can consider that this feature is peculiar only to Tamil (see also under 12 also).

8. According to Tolka:ppiyar, all the case markers are particles, or, *iḻaiccol*. Even among the particles, the case markers behave differently in sandhi. This is rightly pointed out by Dr. S. Agesthialingom as follows:

Certain changes like *maram→ marattu* take place only when case signs are added to *-am* ending nouns. But this kind of change cannot occur when interrogative suffixes like *-oo* and *-aa* are added to *-am* ending nours. *paṉam-ooḻu→ paṉattooḻu*; *paṉam -oo → paṉamoo*; *paṉam-aa→paṉamaa* '(Agesthialingom, 1969)'. This feature can be extended even to the other nouns which are having different oblique bases from the nominative bases and to the particles *-um*, *-ee*, etc. *ya:n̲-ai→ en̲n̲ai*; *ya:n̲-um→ ya:ñ̲um*; *ya:n̲-ee→ ya:n̲e:e* (*ya:n̲* 'I').

9. In a very large number of instances there is no difference in the form of the bases of the nouns for nominative case and other cases. There are certain groups of nouns in which the nominative form is different from the oblique form to which alone case suffixes are added. The changes of those nouns are dealt in *urupiyal*. The rules for those changes are conditioned only before the case markers. The *ca:riyais*, or,

inflectional increments occur between the nouns and the case signs. *Urupiyal* deals with the distribution of these *ca:riyais*. Some of the changes, dealt under *urupiyal* are given here.

9. 1. The pronouns form a separate class in the nouns because they cannot be preceded by the genitive case phrase or adjectives like other nouns (Shanmugam, 1971 : 175). Further they will not occur in the vocative case (Tol. S. 137 and 143). The personal pronouns have two bases; nominative and oblique. The oblique bases of the personal pronouns are formed by shortening the long vowels of the nominative bases. The shortening is brought about by the addition of the case markers. This feature is found not only in Tamil but also in all the Dravidian languages (Subrahmanyam, 1968:)

		Nominative	Oblique
I Sg.		*ya:n*	*en* < **yan*
Pl.	(exclusive)	*ya:m*	*em* < **yam*
	(inclusive)	*na:m*	*nam*
II Sg.		*ni: (n)*	*nin*
Pl.		*ni:r*	*num* **nim*
III Sg.		*ta:n*	*tan*
Pl.		*ta:m*	*tam*

In the expressions like *enkai* 'my hand' the oblique form *en* occurs only because of the genitive case significance.

9. 2. The neuter demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (both singular and plural) are also forming their oblique bases by taking *an ca:riyai* for singular (Tol. S. 177 & 201) and *arru ca:riyai* (Ibid. S. 178) for plural. Sg: *atu* > *atan-ai*, *ya:tu* > *ya:tan-ai*; pl. *avai* > *avaiyarr-ai* > *avarr-ai*; *ya:* ~ *ya:vai* > *ya:varrai*.

9. 3. The *-am* ending nouns take *-tt-* (>*attu*) with the loss of final *m* for their oblique bases (Tol. S. 186) *maram-maratt-ai* "tree (Acc.)". In literary texts, *-tt-* occurs after *m* ending words obligatorily before all case suffixes other than sociative and dative cases (Shanmugam, 1971 : 199).

9. 4. The words ending in *-ṯu* or *-ṟu* which is preceded either by a long monosyllable or more than one syllable, form their oblique bases by doubling the final consonants i.e. *ṯ* or *ṟ* (Tol. S. 197 & 412). *ya:ṯu* 'goat' *ya:ṯṯ-ai*; *pakaṭu* 'bull', *pakaṭṭ-ai* / *e:ṟu* 'ox', *e:ṟṟ-ai*; *kaliṟu* 'male elephant', *kaliṟṟ-ai*. According to Shanmugam this can be interpreted as the addition of the increment *-tt-* with the operation of sandhi rule (Shanmugam, 1971 : 202).

9. 5. According to Tolka:ppiyam, the word *ella:m* 'all' will denote both First person plural (human category) and the Third person non-human plural. This word behaves differently in forming its oblique base according to its grammatical category. Third person non-human plural form takes *vaṟṟu ca:riyai* while the other takes *nam ca:riyai:* / (Ibid. 203) *ella:vaṟṟaiyum*; *ella:-namm-ai-yum*.

9. 6. The Third person plural *ella:rum* 'all (of them)' and the Second person plural *elli:rum* 'all of (you)' will have *tam* and *nam ca:riyais* for their oblique bases respectively. Those *ca:riyais* and case signs are inserted in between *ella:r* (*elli:r*) and *um* (Ibid. S. 192) *ella:rum* > *ella:r-tam-m-ai-y-um*; *elli:rum* > *elli:r-num-m-ai-y-um*.

9.7. The numerals will take *aṉ ca:riyai* for their oblique bases. *oṉṟu-* 'one' *oṉṟaṉ—ai* (Ibid. S. 199)

9.8. According to the general rule which is meant for all shorter *u* ending words, the words denoting the directions should take *iṉ ca:riyai* (Ibid. S. 195). But before the seventh

case suffix *-kaṇ*, the *caːriyai* may be optional; if the *caːriyai* is absent, the final *-ku* is also dropped; e.g. *vaṭakku* 'north' *vaṭakkiṇ kaṇ* ~ *vaṭakkaṇ* 'in the north' (Ibid.S.202).

9. 9. The list of the other words which are also having different oblique bases is given under :

pala	many	*pala-varr-ai*	(Ibid. S. 175)
uṟiñ	sucking	*uṟiñ-iṉ-ai*	(Ibid. S.183)
porun	a caste, action	*porun-iṉ-ai*	(Op. cit.)
verin	back	*verin-iṉ-ai*	(Op.cit)
tev	enemy	*tavv-iṉ-ai*	(Tol. S. 185)
urum	thunder	*urum-iṉ-ai*	(Ibid. S. 187)
aḷaṇ	corpse	*aḷa-tt-ai* ~	
		aḷaṇ-iṉ-ai	(Ibid. S. 194)
puḷaṇ	?	*puḷa-tt-ai* ~	
		puḷaṇ-iṉ-ai	(Op. cit.)

10. The occurrence of the inflectional increment is also conditioned by the environment of certain cases. Tolkaːppiyar has pointed out the optional occurrence of inflectional increment before the third case suffix *oṭu* (Ibid. S. 133) *puːvoṭu* ~ *puːviṉoṭu* 'with the flower'. The inflectional increment *iṉ* is dropped before the case suffix *iṉ* (Ibid. S. 132). The occurrence of the more common locative suffix *iṉ / il* is also restricted only to the nouns other than the animates and the pronouns (Shanmugam, 1971 : 272).

11. The different behaviour of the second and third case relationship sandhis is dealt with elaborately in *tokai marapu* (Tol. S. 157 & 158). They are the exceptions to the regular, generalised rules, mentioned in the earlier or following chapters.

11 1. The different kinds of sandhi which take place between the preceding and the following word, when the former is of the second case relationship either with the presence or absence of *ai* are as follows :

(a) If a nasal were to emerge under the ordinary rule (Tol. S. 218 & 144) the plosive will double as an exception.

viḷa + kuṟaitta:ṉ > viḷakkuṟaitta:ṉ for *viḷaṅkuraitta:ṉ*
He cut the tree *viḷa*

(b) Where the plosive has to double (Tol. S. 311), a nasal has to come in;

maram + kuṟaitta:ṉ > maraṅkuṟaitta:ṉ for *marakkuṟaitta:ṉ*
He cut the tree

(c) Where there should be no change (Tol. S. 359) there will be doubling;

ta:y + kolaiceyya:te: > *ta:ykkolaiceyya:te:* for *ta:y kolaiceyya:te:*
Do not murder (your) mother

(d) Where a vowel has to come in (Tol. S. 227, 268, 278) it will not come in.

pala: + kuṟaitta:ṉ > pala:kkuṟaitta:ṉ for *pala:akkuṟaitta:ṉ*
He cut the jack tree

(e) Where a *ca:riyai* should come in (Tol. S. 421), it will not;

vaṇṭu + koṇarnta:ṉ > vaṇṭu koṇarnta:ṉ for **vaṇṭ-in-koṇarnta:ṉ*
He brought the bee

(f) Where there should be no *ca:riyai* (Tol. S. 245, 283, 376) there will be optional doubling or alternation of the consonants.

puḷi + kuṟaitta:ṉ < puḷikkuṟaitta:ṉ or *puḷikuṟaitta:ṉ*
for *puḷiyaṅkuṟaitta:ṉ* He cut the tamarind tree

(g) In the human category, the accusative marker *ai-* should always be present (Tol. S. 154 & 158). Otherwise there will be distinction between the nominative and the accusative.

nampiyaikkoṇarnta:n	He brought *nampi* (Acc.)
nampi koṇarnta:n	*Nampi* brought (Nom.)

If the following word starts with *k, c, t, p* the sandhi rule will also help us to distinguish between the nominative and the accusative constructions (even in the absence of *ai*).

	Nominative	*Accusative*
1.	*talaivaṉ kaṇṭa:n*	*talaivaṟkaṇṭa:n*
	hero saw	somebody saw hero
2.	*makaḷ koṭuṭṭa:ḷ*	*makaṭkoṭutta:ḷ*
	daughter gave	somebody gave (his) daughter
3.	*avar kaṇṭa:r*	*avarkkaṇṭa:r*
	he saw	somebody saw him
4.	*onna:rteṟalum*	*onna:rtteṟalum*
	the enemy succeeded	somebody succeeded the enemy

If the sounds other than *k, c, t, p* occur initially it is very difficult to distinguish the nominative and the accusative constructions.

maḷavar o:ṭṭiya 'the soldiers caused to run or somebody caused to run the soldiers'. *a:ṭu:uvaṟicol* 'word known by the male or denoting the male'.

(h) The above mentioned rule (g) is also applicable to *akṟiṉai viravuppeyar*; *ca:ttaṉaikkoṇarnta:n* 'he brought *ca:ttaṉ*, the cow'.

(i) The change will not happen where the rule prescribes that the consonant is changed to the other (Tol. S. 303 & 333)

poṉ+koṇarnta:n>poṉ koṇarnta:n for *poṟ koṇarnta:n*
he brought the gold

maṇ+koṇarnta:n>maṇ koṇarnta:n for *maṭ koṇarnta:n*
he brought the soil

These are the exceptional behaviour of the second case sandhi; some of them are coming for the purpose of avoiding the ambiguity between the nominative and accusative (in other words *alvaḻi* and *ve:ṟṟumai*) constructions.

11. 2. If a noun (with its third case dropped) ends in a vowel or consonant and is followed by a verb which denotes its action and which begins with *k*, *c*, *t*, *p* there is no change or doubling of the initial letter of the succeeding word is optional. According to the rules mentioned in *uyir mayaṅkiyal puḷḷimayaṅkiyal*, there the doubling of the plosive must occur.

e. g. *na:y ca:rappaṭṭa:ṉ*
He was surrounded by the dog

cu:rkko:ṭpaṭṭa:n ~ cu:rko:ṭpaṭṭa:n
He was caught by the demon

12. The importance of the classification of sandhi in Tamil into casal and noncasal is clearly explained by Dr. P. Kothandaraman. According to him, this classification is based on syntactic relation of the preceding and the following

words (Kothandaraman, 1972 : 65). The following pairs will be enough to show the evidence that the words are having different sandhi rules based on these two divisions. The first three pairs are taken from Kothandaraman's paper and the rest from the commentary of Tolka:ppiyam - eluttatika:ram.

	Casal	*Non-casal*
1.	*na:y + kuṭṭi > na:ykkuṭṭi* Puppy	*ka:y + kani > ka:ykaṉi* Vegetables and fruits
2.	*ma:ṭu + kaṉṟu > ma:ṭṭukkaṉṟu* Calf of a cow	*ma:ṭu + kaṉṟu < ma:ṭukaṉṟu* Cattle
3.	*vi:ṭu + va:cal > vi:ṭṭuva:cal* Courtyard	*vi:ṭu + va:cal < vi:ṭuva:cal* Home, land, etc.
4.	*porun + kaṭumai > porunakkaṭumai* Hardness of similarity (Tol. S. 300)	*porun + kaṭitu porunukkaṭitu* The similarity is hard (Tol. S. 299)
5.	*verin + kuṟai > veriṅkurai verikkuṟai* (Tol. S. 301 & 302) Defect of the backside	*verin + kaṭitu > verinuk kaṭitu* (Tol. S. 299) The backside is hard
6.	*maṇ + kuṭam > maṭkuṭam* (Tol. S. 303) The pot made of soil	*maṇ + kaṭitu > maṇkaṭitu* (Tol. S. 148) The soil is hard
7.	*poṉ + kuṭam > poṟkuṭam* (Tol. S. 333) The pot, made of gold	*poṉ + kaṭitu > poṉkaṭitu* (Tol. S. 148) 'The gold is hard'

8. *ella:rum + kai* >
ella:rtaṅkaiyum (Tol. S. 321)
Hands of all (of them)

ella:rum + kuṟiyar >
ella:ruṅ kuṟiyar (Tol.S.322)
All of them are short

9. *elli:rum kai* <
elli:ruṅkaiyum (Tol. S. 321)
Hands of all (of you)

elli:rum + kuṟiyi:r >
elli:ruṅkuṟiyi:r (Tol.S. 322)
All of you are short

10. *ella:m + ko:ṭu* >
ella:vaṟṟukko:ṭum (Tol.S. 323)
Branches of all (trees)

ella:m + kuṟiya >
ella:kkuṟiyavum ~
ella:ṅkuṟiyavum
(Tol. S. 323, 324).
All are short

11. *ya:m + kai* > *eṅkai* (Tol.S. 321)
Our hands

ya:m + kuṟiya:m >
ya:ṅkuṟiya:m (Tol. S. 322)
We are short

12. $\left\{\begin{matrix} i:m \\ kam \\ kaṉ \end{matrix}\right\} + kuṭam \rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix} i:mak \\ kammak \\ kaṉṉak \end{matrix}\right\} kuṭam$

$\left\{\begin{matrix} i:m \\ kam \\ kaṉ \end{matrix}\right\} + kaṭitu \rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix} i:muk \\ kammuk \\ kaṉṉuk \end{matrix}\right\} kaṭitu$

(Tol. S. 330, 347) (Tol. S. 329, 346)

i:m 'cremation ground'; *kam* 'work'; *kaṉ* 'copper-smith's work'

13. *na:y + ka:l* > *na:ykka:l* (Tol. S. 338)
Leg of the dog

na:y + kaṭitu > *na:ykaṭitu*
(Tol. S. 362)
The dog is cruel

14. *ni:r+kuṭam>ni:rkkuṭam* (S. 363)
Pot with water

ni:r+kuṟitu>ni:rkuṟitu (S. 405)
Water is less

15. *kal+kuṭam>*
kaṟkuṭam (Tol. S. 367)
Pot made of stone

kal+kuṟitu>kalkuṟitu~
kaṟkuṟitu
The stone is small

16. *av+ko:ṭu>avaṟṟukko:ṭu* (Tol. S. 379)
Their horns

av+kaṭiya>a̱kkaṭiya (Tol. S. 330)
They are cruel

17. *ya:ḷ+talai>ya:ḷttalai* (Tol. S. 384)
Head of *ya:ḷ*

ya:ḷ+ciṟitu>ya:ḷciṟitu (Tol.S. 405)
ya:ḷ is small

18. *muḷ+kuṟai>*
muṭkuṟai (Tol. S. 397)
Defect of the thorn

muḷ+kaṭitu> muṭkaṭiṭu~
muḷkaṭitu
The thorn is hard

Here we have to note that the following word begins only with *k, c, ṭ, p*. The doubling of these plosives may be one of the reasons for the different behaviour of the two kinds (casal and noncasal) of sandhi.

13.1. Sometimes, the homonymic clash is also avoided by sandhi. n Tamil *a:ṟu* means (1) 'river' (2) 'six'. When we are adding case markers, we find the operation of different sandhi rules according to the meaning.

a:ṟu+ai	*a:ṟṟai*	river	(Tol. S. 197)
	a:ṟ-aṉ-ai	six	(Tol. S. 199)

The following examples also may be added for this feature. Here the case markers occur covertly.

13. 2. *ma:* + *ko:ṭu* > *ma:-aṅ-ko:ṭu* > *ma:-ṅ-ko:ṭu*

Branch of the mango tree (Tol. S. 232)

ma:-ṉ-ko:ṭu

Horn of an animal (Tol. S. 232)

13. 3. *puḷi* + *ko:ṭu* > *puḷiy-aṅ -ko:ṭu*

Branch of the tamarind trees (Tol. S. 245)

puḷi + *ku:ḷ* > *puḷi-ṅ-ku:ḷ* > *puḷi-k-ku:ḷ*

Food with sour taste (Tol. S. 246)

13. 4. *ekiṉ* + *ko:ṭu* > *ekiṉ-aṅ-ko:ṭu*

Branch of the *ekiṉ* tree (Tol. S. 337)

ekiṉ + *ka:l* > *ekiṉ-a-k-ka:l*

Leg of the *ekiṉ* bird (Tol. S. 338)

14. Thus we can easily note the characteristic behaviour of the case markers and the case system in the phonological (5), morphological (6, 8, 9, 10), syntactical (7, 11, 12.) and semantic (13) aspects of sandhi in Tamil.

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KODAGU CASE SYSTEM

R. Balakrishnan
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

1.0. There are ten cases in Kodagu, viz. nominative, accusative, instrumental, sociative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, comparative and purposive. Nominative is unmarked. The case markers help us to identify the relationship of noun and verbs i.e., case. The genitive case is an exception to this and it will be discussed later.

1.1. Case suffixes

Accusative	*-a*
Instrumental	*-oṇḍī*
Sociative	*-o:ḍe*
Dative	*-kī*
Ablative	*-iñji*
Genitive	*-ḍa/-ra*
Locative	*-lī/-alli*
Comparative	*-iñja/-iñji*
Purposive	*-a:ylī*

2.0. Certain nouns in Kodagu have two alternants, one before case suffixes and the other elsewhere. The oblique form of a noun is the inflectional base. The suffix that forms the oblique base is taken as an inflectional increment (Caldwell, 1956:259) or link-morph.

There are six inflectional increments in Kodagu. They are *-t-*, *-tn-*, *-n-*, *-ḍ-*, *-k-* and *-a:n-*

The third person neuter and interrogative bases have doubled increments (Caldwell, 1956 : 261) *n* + *ḍ* and *n* + *k* as shown below.

1. *adī*, *idī*, *edī* + *nḍ* + *alli*

2. *adī*, *idī*, *edī* + *nk* + *iñji/a:ylī*

2.1. The distribution of the inflectional increment is as follows:

	Inflectional Increments	Preceding Nouns	Following case suffixes
1.	* *-t-*	*-a* ending nouns	*-o:ḍe; -kī;- (lī) iñij -ra;-lī* (optional).
2.	*-tn-*	*-a* ending nouns	*-a; -oṇḍī*
3.	*-ḍ-*	All animate nouns including pronouns	*-alli; -alliñji*
4.	*-k-*	Any noun except *adī idī* and *edī*	*-iñji/-iñja; -a:ylī*
5.	*-a:n-*	Numerals	*-a; -kī; -ḍa*
6. (a)	*-n-*	(i) *adī*; *idī* and *edī*	*-a; -oṇḍī; -o:ḍe; -kī;- ḍa*
		(ii) Other nouns except *-a* ending nouns	*-a; -oṇḍī*
(b)	*-n* + *ḍ-* *adī*, *idī* and *edī*		*-alli*
(c)	*-n* + *k-* *adī*, *idī* and *edī*		*-iñji/-iñja; -a:ylī*

* *-t-* is optional when *-kī* occurs with *-a* ending nouns.

2. 2. The 1st, 2nd and reflexive pronouns in singular have two sets of oblique forms:

(i) before accusative and instrumental markers and

(ii) other case markers, except *-o:ḍe* (Sociative).

Ex.	*Nominative*		*Oblique*	
	(1)	*na:n(ī)*	I. (1)	*nan-*
	(2)	*ni:n(ī)*	(2)	*nin-*
	(3)	*ta:n(ī)*	(3)	*tan-*
			II. (1)	*na:-*
			(2)	*ni:-*
			(3)	*ta:-*

3. 0. All the cases except genitive are casals showing the relation between noun and verb in a sentence and so they are treated here prior to that of the genitive construction.

3. 1. Nominative

As already noted the nominative in Kodagu is unmarked. Syntactically the nominative functions as subject.

Morphologically there are some adverbial nouns (*na:ḷe* 'tomorrow', *indī* 'to-day', *oḷī* 'inside', *aḍi* 'under' etc.) which are inflected only with *-kī*, *-lī* and *-iñji*, the dative, the locative and the ablative markers respectively. *-kī* occurs only after time indicating adverbial nouns and these three *-kī*, *-lī* and *-iñji*) can occur after the location adverbial nouns.

eg.	*na:ḷe-kī*	tomorrow
	indī-kī > *inde:kī*	today
	oḷī-kī	towards

oḷī-lī	inside (within)
olīliñji	from inside etc.

Syntactically these adverbial nouns are all adverbials as they modify a verb, or adjective or another adverb. So if a noun can be distinguished for number-gender or countable that can function as subject in the nominative case (Krishnamurti, 1969 : 248).

1. *avën ba:tī*
   He came

2. *ayṅga ka:le:jīkṭ po:ci*
   They went to the college

3. *paṇṇī maraliñji bu:va*
   The fruit falls from the tree

3.2. Accusative

In animate nouns the occurrence of the accusative case suffix is obligatory, and in inanimate nouns it is optional like any other Dravidian languages.

4. *avēn kīṇṇën-a ka:kici*
   He called the boy

5. *na:nī payyu-na noṭīnĕ*
   I saw the cow

6. *ni:nī mane (-na) kĕṭṭiya*
   You built a house

3.3. Instrumental

The instrumental marker *-oṇḍī* is connected with the free form *koṇḍī*, the past participle of *koḷ-* 'to have'. Therefore in Kodagu there are two types of instrumental case constructions viz. (1) morphological and (2) periphrastic.

(1) Morphological : when *-oṇḍī* occurs immediately after the oblique base.

7. *avĕn kattin-oṇḍī kettici*
He cut with knife

and (2) Periphastic : when *koṇḍī* occurs after an accusative case inflected noun.

8. *avĕn kattin-a koṇḍī kettici*
He cut with knife

Here the sentence (8) is equal to the sentence (7)

If the noun belongs to human or animate class, the suffix *-oṇḍī* has causal meaning.

9. *avĕn nann-oṇḍī o:dici*
He studied because of me

The distinction between the causal and non-causal is as follows. The non-causal construction can be relativized as,

7. (a) *avĕn kettīnĕ katti*
The knife with which he cut

but the causal construction cannot be relativized.

9. (a*) *a:ën o:dīnë na:nī*

which is an unacceptable sentence.

There is also an instance like

10. *na:nī avëna kaṇṇoḍane kaṇḍe*

I saw him with my eyes

Here the instrumental suffix *-oṇḍī* cannot replace *-oḍane* of the sentence (1). If we compare the sentence (10) with the following sentence,

11. *na:nī avëna kaṇṇoṇḍī no:ṭīnë*

I looked at him with my eyes

We do not find any difference in the surface level. But there is a difference, which is based on the finite verbs, i.e., *ka:ṇ-* is a object oriented verb (Some thing appears to the subject), and *no:ṭ-* is a subject oriented verb (in the sense the subject sees something). And also the verb *ka:ṇ-* tempts us that the verb itself gives the answer for the question how? (the answer is 'with eyes'). So *kaṇṇoḍane* gives only the emphatic meaning not the instrumental

3. 4. Sociative

The sociative case has only one suffix *-o:ḍe*, which occurs with all nouns.

12. *avën orī muıḍiyo:ḍe po:ci*

He went along with a girl

13. *ava paṇato:ḍe ba:tī*

She came with money

14. *ni:nī arīḷo:ḍe bandiya*

You came with graceness

In the case of human nouns the post-positions *jotëlī* and *ku:ḍe* occur as free forms after the genitive inflected nouns. *jotë ī* is in free-variation with *ku:ḍe*.

15. *avën na:ḍa jotëlī ba:tī*

16. *avën na:ḍa ku:ḍe ba:tī*

He came with me

3. 5. Dative

The suffix *-kī* indicates the dative case in Kodagu. This may be true as far as the surface feature is concerned. When we examine closely it would be seen that not all nouns with the above suffix are in the dative case relation with the verb. The dative can be classified into dative proper, dative of direction and dative purpose (Kushalappa Gowda, 1972:351).

The dative proper has a non-location noun, an object and a transitive verb with reference to transferring something to one.

17. *na:nī avëṅgī paṇa koḍītë*

I gave him money

18. *ava na:kī pustaka koḍītëlī*

She gave a book to me

The dative of direction has location noun and a motion verb with reference to the moment of something or someone in the direction of some place or location.

19. *na:nī avēṇḍa manekī po:në*

I went to his house

20. *ni:nī na:ḍa to:ṭakī ba:*

You come to my garden

The dative of purpose has the similar qualities which are shown in the case of dative proper.

21. *na:nī avëṅgī paṇa ëḍītë*

I took money for him

Though the sentence (21) appears almost similar to the sentence (17); (21) means that 'I took money for the sake of him'. In this type of sentences, the noun with the dative suffix is not the actual receiver of the thing transferred (i.e. *paṇa-* 'money'). So this could be distinguished as the dative of purpose.

3.6. Ablative

The ablative marker *-iñji* occurs (1) always after the locative marker *-alli*, when the nouns belong to human or animate class, and (2) after the optional *-lī* (allomorph of locative marker) in inanimate nouns.

22. *avën na:ḍalliñji po:ci*

He went from my place

23. *na:nī payyuḍalliñji pa:lī karapi*

I will milk the cow

(Lit. I will get milk from the cow)

24. *ni:nī mane(lī)iñji bandiya*

You came from the house

It is also to be noted that the suffix *-iñji* is functioning as an adverb when it occurs after verbal nouns, where the initial *-i* is lost.

25. *ayṅga alli nippë-ñji dɛ:vaḷa bo:ḍici*

At the time of their standing there, they prayed God

26. *avën bappë-ñji pa:ṭa o:duva*

At the time of coming he will read the lesson

3.7. Locative

-lī and *-allī* are the locative suffixes that occur after inanimate and animate nouns respectively. *-lī* occurs optionally after the link-morph *-t-*

27. *avën manelī uṇḍī*

He is in the house

28. *na:nī to:ṭat-(lī) uḷḷë*

I am in the garden

29. *na:ḍalli paṇa uṇḍī*

I have money with me

30. *payyuḍaḷḷi po:lī ille*

No milk in the cow

It is also to be noted that sporadically the *-alli* is in freevariation with *-lī**

31. *koḍagīlī maḷe ille*

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* This feature is not found in the speeches of old people or people residing in villages. Therefore this may be taken as an influence of Kannada that has come to the speech of some who are accustomed to use Kannada for a number of transactions.

32. *koḍāgīn-alli maḷe ille*

No rains in Kodagu (area)

3. 8. Purposive

The purposive case suffix *-a:yīī* occurs after all noun stems having *-k-* as the link-morph.

33. *avĕn na:ka:yīī bappa*

He will come only for me

34. *i: maraka:yīī bandĕ*

I came for this tree

3. 9. Comparative

The comparative case marker *-iñji* or *-iñja* occurs after all noun stems having the link-morph *-k-*.

35. *avĕn ni:kiñji nallavĕn*

He is better than you

36. *i: mara a marakiñji ettaratuṇḍī*

This tree is taller than that tree

4. 0. In Kodagu a simple sentence can have more than one casal construction but not of the same type (Fillmore, 1970 ; 21) except the locative when the second or the other noun is the constituent of the first or the former noun. For instance

37. **na:nī avĕna manena no:ṭīnĕ*

is an ungrammatical sentence, whereas

38. *na:nī avĕna manēlī no:ṭīnĕ*

I saw him in the house

is a grammatical sentence. The sentence having two locative suffixes such as

39. *avën maḍike:rilī ka:le:jīlī o:duva*

He studies in a college at Mercara

is also an acceptable one. Here the occurrence of two locative constructions are possible only because the second noun *ka:le:jīlī* is the constituent of the first noun *maḍike:rilī*.

5 Genitive

The suffixes *-ra* and *-ḍa* are the suffixes for the genitive construction in Kodagu, which occur after the inanimate nouns and animate nouns respectively.

40. *idī marat-ra kombī*

This is the branch of tree

41. *avën mane-ra mumbī po:te*

(You) don't go in front of his house

42. *adī na:ḍa mane*

That is my house

43. *idī appën-ḍa peda*

This is the name of father

It is also to be noted that there are some exceptions:

(1) the suffix *-ra* is in free variation with *-ḍa* when the animate nouns end in *-i*

eg. *mu:ḍi-ḍa/muḍi-ra* girl's

ajji-ḍa/ajji-ra mother's

(2) the nouns *aːṇ*(*ī*) 'male' and *poṇ*(*ṇī*) 'female/wife' take only the suffix *-ra*, and

(3) the borrowed noun *bukkī* 'book' takes *-ḍa* as the genitive marker.

All cases except the genitive have already been explained as casals showing the relation between noun and verb. But the genitive case is the one showing the relation between two nouns in the surface level.

In Kodagu the nominals *naːḍa mane* 'my house' and *niːḍa pustaka* 'your book' are derived from the sentences

44. *mane naːḍadī*

The house is mine

45. *pustaka niːḍädī*

The book is your's

respectively. By the same transformational rules which are applied for deriving nominals from the relative participles (i.e., *kīṇṇë baːtī* 'the boy came' =>*bandë kīṇṇë* 'the boy who came') we can derive the nominals *naːḍa mane* 'my house' and *niːḍa pustaka* 'your book' from the sentences (44) and (45) respectively. Functionally both the genitive and the relative participles seem to be related to each other as both show the relation between the preceding and immediately following nouns (Kushalappa Gowda, 1972 : 383).

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TODA CASE SYSTEM

S. Sakthivel

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

1. 0. The Todas are a small tribal community in the Nilgiris speaking the Toda language and they are well known to anthropologists for the oberrancy of their buffalo-centred culture. The Todas call their language as *o:ɪ fo:s*. Much work has been done on the ethnological studies of the Todas but very little work in linguistics is available on their language. So far no work has been done except Professor M.B. Emeneau's 'Toda, A Dravidian language'. According to 1971 Census of India, the language is spoken by a total of 765 persons. One of the most striking feature of the Toda is the loss of vowels in non-initial syllables. The Toda could be classed with the South Dravidian languages alone, since it has alveolar phonemes distinguished from dental and retroflex. The Toda morphology is different in many respects from that of any other Dravidian languages. Secondary stem (termed as S^2 is the basis for the past tense in the Dravidian languages while in Toda it is the basis for the past and non-past. The Toda is the only language which retains in full working order as part of the past tense formation the sibilant suffix that must be reconstructed as part of the past tense apparatus for Proto-Dravidian. The Toda holds a prominent position in the study of comparative Dravidian for a number of reasons.

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2. 0. According to native grammarians of Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu, there are eight cases viz. nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative. This is an attempt to reflect the Sanskrit case system into these languages. Tolkappiyar has not defined about case. Pavananti, the author of Nannul, a well known thirteenth century grammarian, has attempted to define case in Tamil. According to him, the suffixes are referred to as cases. They occur finally after nouns and change the meaning of the nouns. Regarding instrumental and sociative as two different cases, their contrast and their different syntactic behaviour warrant us to consider them as separate cases in the Toda language. The sociative case can be paraphrased with conjunctive *-m* in the Toda language. There are other syntactical differences between the instrumental and sociative. Therefore they should be considered as two different cases in the Toda language. The purposive case different from the dative has been set up by Professor Agesthialingom (1967) because the purposive and dative are expressed by different suffixes in Modern Tamil. Like Modern Tamil, Toda, Badaga, Kota, Telugu and Kolami languages have separate marker for the purposive. The contrast between the dative and purposive found in certain sentences seem to be surface level phenomenon. In the Toda language purposive and dative are considered as two different, cases.

2. 1. There are ten cases in the Toda language. They are nominative, accusative, instrumental, sociative, dative, purposive, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative. Nominative has no overt marker and so it has not dealt here. Vocative has not been dealt by many grammarians.

2. 1. 1. Accusative

$$\left\{ -n \right\}$$

e.g.	*wīṛfed-n*	Younger brother (obj.)
	ku:x-n-paṭ	Catch the girl
	koṛ-npe:ṭ	Drive the calf
	o:n ṉe:r nīm-n kozpini	I saw you yesterday
	o:n ṉr-n pi:škpini	I kill buffalo
	aθ en wīṛfed-n pīsti	He beats my younger brother

2.1.2. Instrumental

$$\left\{ \text{-a:l} \right\}$$

∞ *-a:l*, ~ *id*, ∞ *-a:ṛ*, ∞ *-iṭ*

∞ *-a:ṛ* occurs after these noun stems

e.g.	*koṇ-a:ṛ*	Through eye
	kīfy-a:ṛ	Through ear
	koy-a:ṛ	By hand
	po:y-a:ṛ	By mouth
	o:n koṇ-a:ṛ kozpini	I saw thro' eye
	o:n kīfy-a:ṛ ke:ṭkin	I hear thro' ear
	o:n po:y-a:ṛ a:foṛpini	I talk by mouth
	o:n koy-a:ṛ kele kīspini	I did work by hand

∞ *-iṭ* occurs after noun stems belonging to inanimate class.

e.g.	*mošt-iṭ*	With an axe
	mod-iṭ	With churning rod
	tu:ry-iṭ	With knife
	o:n mošt-iṭ me:ṇ kwartpini	I cut the tree with an axe
	o:n mod-iṭ po:ṣ kaṛopini	I churn milk with churning rod

∞-*a:l* occurs elsewhere and it is in free variation with -*id*.

e.g.	*em-a:l*	By us
	em-id	
	nin-a:l	By you
	nin-id	
	en-a:l	By me
	en-id	
	an-a:l	By him
	an-id	

ak ku:x-n-a:l enk upum kaṣṭm īyi

ak ku:x-id enk upum kaṣṭmīyi

I have troubles because of that girl

o:n koṉ-a:l a:ṉ kīspini

I build house by stone

7.1.3. Sociative

{ -*poḏy* }

~ -*poḏy* ~ *wīṛ*

~ *poḏy* occurs after these stems and it is in free variation with -*wīṛ*

e.g.	*en-poḏy*	With me
	en-wīṛ	
	nīn-poḏy	With you
	nīn-wīṛ	
	kurub-poḏy	With Kurumba tribe
	kurub-wīṛ	

nīn-poḏy-o·n paškin	I come with you
nīn-wīr o:n paškin	I come with you
Peṛyxe:n-wīr o:n makolk padpini	I will come with Pelikan to-morrow
īr-poḏy--kor poḏti	Calf comes with buffalo
pö r-wīr pö:r	Tamilians with Tamilians
ars-wīr ars	Europeans with Europeans
ak ku:x-poḏy ni: pö:x	You go with that girl
tojmox-wīr a:foṛoṭi	Do not talk with Toda women
en-poḏy podoṭi	You should not come with me
o:n an-poḏy pi:špini	I went with him

2.1.4. Dative

$$\left\{ -k \right\}$$

e.g.

en-k	to me
nīn-k	to you
a:s-k	to house
poṭy-k	to dairy
ko:tfoy-k	to wife
moḏ-k	to Toda village
sonm-t-k→sontk	to people
no:ym-t-k → no:ytk	to the assembly
īrṇ-t-k → īrṭk	to the place
aθ īne:r to:ro:rmod-k pi:či	He went to Taranad Mund yesterday
nīn-k in pe:k	What do you want ?
ni: elfīn u:rk pi:ti	When did you go home ?

Dative is also used in the locative and purposive sense in the Toda language.[1]

e.g. *ekaɾfotk* in the evening

o:n pu:txuty poty pospini I kept cloak in the box

en ofk po:s̲ e:s̲ pozpini I have brought milk for my mother

2. 1. 5. Ablative

{ *-s̲n* }

e.g. *aɪ̲-s̲n* from there

iɪ̲-s̲n from here

eɪ̲-s̲n from where

moḏ̲-s̲n from Toda mund

kwī:ko:l-s̲n from Kota village

pojo:r-t-s̲n from Ootacamund

o:n meɪ̲ga:s̲ moḏ̲-s̲n pozpini I came from Garden mund

aʊ̯ küšu moḏ̲-s̲n pi:či She went from Lovedale mund

2. 1. 6. Genitive

{ *-n* }

e.g. *en vīɾfed-n o:ɪ̲* Younger sister's husband

en ok-n o:ɪ̲ Elder sister's husband

ku:x-n o:ɪ̲ Daughter's husband

ku:x-n mox Daughter's son

en o:ɪ̲-n̲ dan ok-n o:ɪ̲ My husband's elder sister's husband

2. 1. 7. Locative

{ *-s* }

ɷ -s ∞ -kīḍs

∞ *-kīḍṣ* occurs after animate nouns

e.g.	*en-kīḍṣ*	with me
	an-kīḍṣ	with him
	ku:x-kīḍṣ	with girl
	ankīḍṣ poṇm o:ɾθy	He has no money
	ankīḍṣ upum īr wīḍy	He has more buffaloes
	ak ku:x kīḍṣ upum pu:txuṯy wīḍy	She has more cloaks
	koɾ kīḍṣ a:py upum wīḍy	There is much cowdung near the calf

∞ *-ṣ* occurs elsewhere.

e.g.	*me:ṇ-ṯ-ṣ* → *me:ṇṯṣ*	in the tree
	kaštal-ṣ	in the darkness
	ekaɾfot-ṣ	in the evening
	īn mupoθ-ṣ	in the thirty days

2. 1. 8. Purposive

{ *-go:y* }

eg.	*en-go:y*	for my sake
	nīn-go:y	for your sake
	an-go:y	for his/her sake
	en-go:y i kelc kīy	Do this work for my sake
	nīn-go:y i:nk pozpini	I came here for your sake
	ka:wxwīṯṇ emgo:y i kelc kīsti	Kawkuttan works for us
	i par engo:y e:tpini	I buy this article for my sake
	nīngo:y o:n am moḍk pi:spini	I went to that mund for your sake

2. 1. 9. Vocative

$$\left\{ -a: \right\}$$

∞ *-a:* ∞ *-ya:*

∞ *-a:* occurs after these stems

e.g.	*oṇ oṇ-a:*	Oh my elder brother
	piaf piaf-a:	Oh grand mother
	af af-a:	Oh my mother

∞ *-ya:* occurs after these stems

e.g.	*mox mox-ya:*	Oh my son
	ku:x ku:x-ya:	Oh my daughter
	o:ṭ o:ṭ-ya:	Oh my husband
	tajmox tajmox-ya:	Oh my wife

3.0. Even though theoretically all the cases can combine with each other (cases), the following are the combinations of cases observed in the data in the Toda language.

$$\text{Obj.} + \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ins.} \\ \text{Soc.} \\ \text{Dat.} + (\text{Soc}) \\ \text{Abl.} \\ \text{Loc.} + (\text{Soc.}) \\ \text{Purp} + \text{Dat.} + (\text{Abl.}) \\ \qquad \text{Ins.} \end{array} \right\} \right)$$

$$\text{Soc.} + \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Obj.} + (\text{Loc.}) \\ \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Purp.} + (\text{Dat.}) \\ \text{Abl.} + \text{Dat.} \\ \qquad \text{Purp.} \end{array} \right\} \right)$$

Ins. + ({ Obj. + (Abl.) / Abl + (Dat.) / Soc. / Dat. / Loc. })

Abl. + ({ Obj. + (Purp) / Soc + (Dat.) / Dat. / Purp. })

Dat. + ({ Obj. / Ins. + (Abl.) / Soc. / Purp. })

Purp. + ({ Obj. / Abl. / Soc. + (Abl.) })

Loc. ({ Obj. / Soc. / Dat. / Purp. })

Obj. + Ins. *o:n īrn moštiṭ kü:pšpini*

I killed buffalo with an axe

Obj. + Loc. + Soc. *o:n īne:r nīn meḷga:s moḍs pi:ṭro jnwīr nwī:ṣpini*

I saw you at Melgas mund with Peterrajan yesterday

Obj. + Purp. + Dat. + Abl. *o:n ay oṭn aθgo:yto:n in mortk aɪgn po:ḍöspini*

I asked him to come to this mund only for that purpose

Soc.+Obj.+Loc.	*o:n ĩne:r̲ ka:wxwi t̪n̪poḏy nĩmn o:t̪at̪s kozpini* I saw you yesterday with Kawkuttan on that way
Soc.+Purp.+Dat.	*o:n onpoḏy aθgo:y am moḏk pi:spini* I went to that mund with him for that purpose
Soc.+Abl.+Purp.	*o:n pi:t̪ro:jnpoḏy pojo:rt̪s̪n nĩngo:yto:n pozpini* I came with Peterrajan from Ootacamund for your sake
Ins.+Abl.+Dat.	*o:n ana:lto:n mor̲tcö:r̲s̪n küšuk pozpini* I came from mor̲t›õ:r̲ mund to Lovedale mund because of him
Abl.+Obj.+Purp.	*o:n sotyšn an nĩngo:y e:spozpini* I broght it from the sandy for your sake
Abl.+Soc.+Dat.	*o:n te:lu:rs̪n anpoḏy küšuk pozpini* I came with him to Lovedale mund from Sholur
Dat.+Ins.	*o:n mi:t̪pa:wk ana:lto:n pi:špini* I went to Mettupalayam only because of him
Dat.+Purp.	*o:n ank so:roygo:y poṇm kwĩrspini* I gave him money for arrack

Purp.+Abl.	*Kwī:f engo:y kwī:ko:lsn pi:či* Kota went from Kota village for my sake
Purp.+Soc.+Abl.	*o:n töwbīsgo:yto:n anpoḍy ku:ḷu:rsn pozpini* I came with him from Gudalur for the sake of Tebnis
Loc.	*aθ ka:s moḍs wīḍy* He is in Kantal mund
Loc.+Obj.	*o:n pojo:rts an kozpini* I saw him in Octamund
Loc.+Soc.	*o:n poḍyš anpoḍy pozpini* I came with him in the bullock cart
Loc.+Dat.	*o:n ma:fkīḍs poḍyk poṇm pinɪpini* I ask money from Badaga for the bullock-cart
Loc.+Dat.	*o:n ma:fnīḍs poḍyk poṇm pinɪpini* I ask money from Badaga for the bullock-cart

4.0 Accusative case suffix in the Toda language is *-n*. The reflexes of **-an* are found in Kota (*n*), Toda (*n*), Tuḷu (*nu/nī*), Telugu (*n*), Koya (*in*), *Koṇḍa* (*ni*), Pengo (*an/in*) Kolami (*n/un*). Naiki (*ch*) (*n*) Parji (*n/in*) Gadaba (*n/in*) and Kuruḵh (*an/n*). The final nasal is uniform in all these languages but the preceding vowel is not uniform. Due to loss of vowels in non-initial syllables in Toda, *-n* is retained in this language. In most of the Central Dravidian languages vowel is retained after stems ending in a consonant. When the consonantal

ending came to have an enunciative vowel in prepausal position the nasal alone should have condsidered as the accusative suffix due to recutting and hence extended to other nouns. *-n* is found in all the languages which have the reflex of **an*. *-an* can be considered as accusative suffix in PDr. (Shanmugam, 1971 : 371). The reflexes of **a:n/a:l* as instrumental suffix are found in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota and Gababa. The Toda has preserved **a:l*. *a:n/a:l*, *o:ṭu/oṭu* can be reconstructed as sociative suffixes to PDr. *oṭu* is more predominently used for the sociative and its reflexes occur in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota and Parji. We can relate Toda sociative suffix *-wīṛ*, with *uṭan* in Tamil and Malayalam. The Toda purposive case- *-go:y* can be compared with *ka:ry* in the Kota, *ga:yi* in the Badaga, *go:cam* in Telugu and *-a:yī* in Kodagu language. Historically *-in* can be taken as genitive case suffix. It occurs in Koya (*ini*), Parji (*n/in*), Naiki (Chanda) (*ne/n*) and Gadaba (ollari) (*n/in*). Due to loss of vowels in non-initial syllables, *i* is lost and *in* is retained in the Toda language. The more common locative suffix is **in/il*. It is found in Tamil, Malayalam, Naiki (ch), Gadaba and Kota languages. *in/il* does not occur with animate nouns and pronouns in these languges. In the Toda language also, the locative suffix *-s̱* occurs with inanimate nouns only. The Toda locative case suffix *-s̱* is developed from **-l* (Emeneau, 1970). Another common semantic feature of Dravidian languages is found in the use of postposition denoting 'near' as locative suffix especially with human nouns and pronouns. It is to be noted here that in the Toda language also locative suffix *-kīḍs̱* occurs after animate nouns only. There are two vocative case suffixes **-e:* and **-o:* in PDr. The reflexes of *o:* are found in Tuḷu and Kurukh. Nannūl has referred to the suffix *o:*. The Toda has *a:* as vocative. It related to **-o:*. (Emeneau, 1970).

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CASE SYSTEM OF KOTA*

G. Subbiah,

CIIL, MYSORE

0. Kota, a South Dravidian Tribal Language, is spoken by the Aboriginals of the Nilgiris plateau of Tamilnadu. Kota, a close akin to old Tamil (Subbiah, 1970), exhibits nine cases in its grammatical system. The present paper tries to picturise the case system as found in this language. It divides into two parts as (1) Description of the cases, and (2) Overlapping of cases, with their meaning interpretation. At the end of part one, some post-positions are discussed which function as cases in this language.

1. DESCRIPTION OF CASES

1.0. Of the nine cases, except the instrumental and vocative cases, all other cases have only one allomorph. The allomorphs of instrumental case have the lexical environments as the conditioning factor. The allos of vocative case are exhibiting semantic distributional characteristics. One more case is added in the end post-positions as cases - in contrast to the ablative, the allative.

1.1. Accusative

This case is expressed by the morpheme *-n*. Except Tamil and Malayalam, all other Dravidian languages have this *-n* as the case sign.

* The author expresses his thanks to Dr. E. Annamalai, Deputy Director and Dr. K. Rangan, Junior Research Officer, CIIL, for their valuable suggestions made towards this paper.

e.g. Ko. *avn imn tavirčkθ:*

He *buffalo* (Acc.) killed-he

He killed the buffalo

maln¹a:rm

Mallan (Acc.) call (please)

(You) please call Mallan

Te. *va:ṇṇi piluvaṇḍi*

he (Acc.) call (please)

(You) please call him

Ka. *avanannu kari:ri*

he (Acc.) call (please)

(You) please call him

Just as in Tamil, in this language also, the accusative is absent in some instances when an inanimate object is addressed; but it becomes obligatory when the inanimate object is specified and stressed.

Ta. *pa:l kuṭi*

milk drink

Drink milk (unspecific & not stressed)

pa:laik kuṭi

milk (Acc.) drink

Drink the milk (specific & stressed)

Ko. *ku:v tin*

food eat

Eat food (unspecific & not stressed)

ku:vn tin

food (Acc.) eat

Eat the food (specific & stressed)

1. 2. Dative

-k is the dative case sign in this language.

peḍ-k	wife (Dat.)
a:v-k	cow (Dat.)
pay-k	house (Dat.)

a:n ka:ṭk o:be:n

I field (Dat.) (will) go-I

I will go to the field

av karaːḷk kuːv koṭko:

Mother *Younger brother* (Dat.) food gave-she

Mother gave food to younger brother

1. 3. Genitive

This case is exhibited by the marker *-d*

avḷ-d	She (Gen.)
nin-d	You (Gen.)

u:ḷ da:rd mo:ḷ

This woman *who* (Gen.) daughter

Whose daughter is this woman

1. 4. Purposive

The marker *-kary* is being used to denote the purposive case.

e. g. *u:ɻ-ka:ɾy* she(Purp.)

ko:ka:l-ka:ɾy village(Purp.)

kotka:rn ko:ka:lka:ɾy itko:

Village Treasurer *village* (Purp.) is living

The Village Treasurer is living for the sake of the village

1. 5. Locative

This case has *-l* as the marker.

e. g. *ka:ṭ-l* field(Loc.)

pay-l house(Loc.)

ayṇ payl oḷo:

Father *house*(-Loc.) is

Father is in the house

1. 6. Ablative

The sign *-tr* occurs with the place adverbials and place nouns ending in *-l*, without taking the locative sign with these adverbials/nouns. But it adds to other nouns/adverbials only after the addition of the locative sign to the particular noun/adverbial.

e. g. *ay / a:k-tr* there(Abl.)

iy / i:k-tr here(Abl.)

ey / e:k-tr where(Abl.)

aga:l-tr Agal(Abl.)

koka:l-tr village(Abl.)

u:r-l-tr village(Abl.)

pay-l-tr house(Abl.)

ka:ṭ-l-tr field(Abl.)

kambaṭn ne:ɾ kina:ṭltr vaḍko:

Kambattan yesterday *kina:ɾ* (Abl.) come-he

Kambattan came from kina:ṛ yesterday

ni: eytr vabi:

You (Sg.) *where* (Abl.) (will) come-you

from where are you (Sg.) coming?

1.7. Sociative

-o:ɾ is the sociative case marker.

avḷ-o:ɾ she(Soc.)

kaṛt-o:ɾ ass(Soc.)

inḍy-o:ɾ to-day(Soc.)

ka:č-o:ɾ money(Soc.)

kaṛa:č avo:ɾ o:či:ko:

Younger sister *mother* (Soc.) went-she

Younger Sister went with mother

1.8. Instrumental

This case is expressed by three allos, *-a:l*, *-a:r*, & *-o:ɾ*. Of these allos, *a:l* occurs with human nouns while the latter two *-a:r* & *-o:ɾ* with non-human nouns. With non-human nouns, the *-a:r* and *-o:ɾ* freevary with each other and there is no concrete evidence to show the distributional characteristics of these two allos.

e.g. *em-a:l* us (excl.) (Inst.)

am-a:l us (incl.) (Inst.)

kara:ḷ-a:l Younger brother (Inst.)

maln-a:l Mallan(Inst.)

pitl-a:r / *pitl-o:ɾ*	back (Inst.)
čelk-a:r / *čelk-o:ɾ*	stick (Inst.)
kaɾt-a:r / *kaɾt-o:ɾ*	ass (Inst.)

ma:dy en:al pa:čko:
Mady *me*(Inst.) song-she
Mady song by me (because of me)
u:n katya:r / katyo:ɾ katirčko:
This man *knife* (Inst.) cut-he
This man cut with the knife

1.9. Vocative

Four allomorphs constitute the vocative case. They are *i:*, *-e:*, *-a:* & *-o:*.

The vocative case signs differentiate the men and women folks' speech, i.e.; the sex of the speakers as well as the addressee controls the distribution of the particular vocative allo. For example, when a male speaker addresses, he employs the allo *-a:* as the vocative. Likewise when the speaker is a female the allo *-o:* is employed.

When a super human being is addressed, the speaker, irrespective of the sex of its own, employs *-i:* as the vocative.

When a human being of younger female or male[2] or an animate noun is vocated, the marker *-e:* is used irrespective of the sex of the speaker.

The following table will show the distributional characteristics of the vocative.

Case sign	Speaker	Addressee
-i:	Male or Female	Super human being
-e:	Male or female	human beings (Younger female/ male) and animate beings.
a-	Male	Human beings (But the word ends in *-n, -ṇ & -ḷ*)
-o:	Female	Human beings (But the word ends in *-n, -ṇ & -ḷ*)

e.g. *čo:ymi: emn ka:pa:tm*
God-(Voc.) us (excl.) (Acc.) will bless
Oh ! God ! will bless us (excl.)
(*Addressee*: *superhuman-being*.)

kara:ḷe: eyk itvi:
Younger brother (Voc.) where be-you
Oh ! Younger brother where are you (Sg.)
(*Addressee : human being younger male*)

na:ye: aṭ o:g
Dog (Voc.) that side go
Oh ! dog ! go that side
(*Addressee : animate being*)

kambaṭ-a: i:k va:m
Kambattan-(Voc.) here come (please)
Oh ! Kambattan please come here (*Male speaker*)

kambaṭ-o: i:k va:m

Kambattan (Voc.) here come (please)

Oh ! Kambattan please come here

(*Female speaker*)

chi:rav-a: eyk o:gvi:

chi:rav (Voc.) where go-you

Oh ! chi:rav where are you going ?

(*Male speaker*)

chi:rav-o: eyk o:gvi:

chi:rav (Voc.) where go-you

Oh ! *chi:* rav where are you going ?

(*Female speaker*)

1. A. POST POSITION AS CASES

Kota employs some post positions as case markers and they do function and convey the meaning of the particular case. They are classified as locative post position and allative post position.

1. A. 1. Locative Post Position

The sign is *-otl*. The vowel *-o* in *otl* becomes zero after the human nouns ending in *-n*, *-ṇ*, and *-ḷ*.

$$\text{(i.e.)} \quad -o > \phi \,/\, \& \left\{ \begin{matrix} n \\ ṇ \\ ḷ \end{matrix} \right\} \& - \&$$

e.g.	*avn+otl*	>	*avntl*	in him
	ayṇ+otl	>	*ayṇtl*	in father
	kavra:ḷ+otl	>	*kara:ltl*	in Y. brother
	av+otl	>	*avotl*	in mother

kaɾ ɪ:č + otl > *kaɾa:čotl* in Younger sister

ayɳtl ka:č ila:

Father (Loc. Post) money not

Father has no money with (in) him

I. A. 2. Allative Post Position

-o:tl

∞ *-o:tl*, ∞ *-o:tk*

∞ *o:tk* occurs with Non-human nouns.

e.g. *im-o:tk* towards / near buffalo

marm-o:tk towards / near tree

∞*-o:tl* occurs with Human nouns

ayɳ-o:tl towards / near father

ma:ɭ-o:tl towards / near ceremonial friend

kara:ɭ avo:tl kuti:rko:ko:

Younger brother *mother* (All. Post.) sit-he

Younger brother sits near mother

a:vo:tk o:ga:di:

cow (All. Post.) do not go-you

(You) donot go towards the cow

2. OVERLAPPING OF CASES

Like Tamil, Kota is also not free from the case overlapping phenomenon. In Kota, except the ablative, genitive, and vocative all other cases suffer from this phenomenon. The case overlapping is the phenomenon where a case can occur in the place of another case with or without any loss in its meaning The meaning of the actually expected case is expressed by the occurring case. Consider the following examples from Tamil and Kota.

Ta. (A) *ra:ji talaikku pu: vaytta:l*

Raji *head* (Dat) flower adorn-she

Raji adorned the flower on the head

(lit: Raji adorned the flower to the head

Ko: (B) *ma:dy aṇk peḏ a:ypo:l*

Mady *elder brother* (Dat.) wife become-she

Mady becomes the wife of elder brother

In the examples (A) and (B) the expected cases are locative and genitive respectively. But the meaning of the locative and genitive cases are conveyed by the dative case occurring in (A) and (B). The following (A. 1) and B. 1) are the respective synonyms of (A) and (B).

(A.I.) *ra:ji talaiyil pu: vaytta:l*

Raji *head* (Loc.) flower adorn-she

Raji adorned the flower on the head

(B.1.) *mady aṇd peḏ a:ypo:l*

Mady *elder brother* (Gen.) wife become she

Mady becomes the wife of elder brother

But there are some instances where one cannot have the synonymous or paraphrased version for the particular case which exhibits the meaning and function of another case. This can be best illustrated by the following examples.

Ta. (C) *avaṉ ma:ṭṭaik koṇṭu nilam uḻuta:n*

He *bull* (Acc.) *having* field ploughed-he

He ploughed the field, with the bull

(lit : he ploughed the field, having gotten the bull)

Ko. (D) *avn imu ka:r uṛtko:*

He *bull* (Acc.) field ploughed-he

He ploughed the field with the bull

The accusative case in (C) and (D) conveys the instrumentality. The paraphrased versions for these two sentences seemed to be urgrammatical ones in these two languages.

(C.1.) **avan ma:ṭṭa:l nilam uluta:n*

(D.1.) **avn ima:r ka:r uṛtko:*

But in Tamil, when an inanimate noun with the accusative case plus *koṇṭu* exhibiting the instrumental can be paraphrased with the corresponding instrumental case.

(E) *kaṇṇaṉ kattiyaik koṇṭu paḻam veṭṭiṉa:n*

Kannan *knife* (Acc.) *having* fruit cut-he

Kannan cut the fruit with the knife

(Lit : Kannan cut the fruit, having gotten the knife)

(E.1.) *kaṇṇaṉ kattiya:l paḻam veṭṭiṉa:n*

Kannan *knife* (Inst.) fruit cut -he

Kannan cut the fruit with the knife

2.1. Accusative

The accusative case carries the function and the meaning of the instrumental as well as the genitive cases in certain environments. This can be shown by the following illustrations.

1. *maln imn ka:r uṛtko:*

Mallan *buffalo* (Acc.) field ploughed-he

Mallan ploughed the field with the buffalo

2. *ay e:ɪn kolk oḍkal uda:k iḷkme:r kula:ɾy oḍo:*
That *bull* (Acc.) footsteps one stone height today-even being sign is

That bull's foot steps are there as rock relief even today

In the example (1) substitution of instrumental case in the place of the accusative case seems to be ungrammatical in this language. But in (2) the substitution of genitive case for the accusative one is grammatical.

1. (a) **maln imaɪr ka:ɾ uɾtko:*
*Mallan *buffalo* (Inst.) field ploughed-he
*Mallan ploughed the field with the buffalo

2. (a) **ay etd kolk oḍ kal uda:k iḷkme:r kula:ɾy oḍo:*
That bull's footsteps are there as rock relief even to day.

2.2. Dative

Dative case does the functions of accusative, instrumental, locative and genitive. As in Tamil, the dative is used for comparative construction.

Consider the following illustractions.

3. *oḍa:ḷ eyḍa:ḷk gelkmo:*
One man *two men* (Dat.) will win
Will one man win over two men

4. *amd gaḍtl veḷdbd akyd ku:vn inḍyan kaṇk kaḍpe:n*
our (Gen.) field (Loc.) cultivated paddy (Gen.) food-(Acc.) just today eye (Dat.) saw-I
I saw the paddy cultivated in our own field by (my) eye just do-day

5. *u:ḷ aṇk peḍ a:ypo:ḷ*

This woman *Elder brother* (Dat.) wife become-she

This woman becomes Elder brother's wife

6. *kaṇk mad irbo:ṛo:*

eye (Dat.) medicine must put

(One) must drop medicine in the eye

In the above examples, the dative case functions as accusative (3), instrumental (4), genitive (5) and locative (6). If all these examples are substituted with the respective case signs, the meaning wouldn't be changed.

3. (a) *oḍa:ḷ eyḍa:ḷn gelkmo:*

Will one man win over two men

4. (a) *amd gaḍtl veḷdbd akyd ku:vn inḍyan kaṇa:r kaḍpe:n*

I saw the paddy cultivated in our field by (my eye just to-day

5. (a) *u:ḷ aṇd peḍ a:ypo:ḷ*

This woman becomes Elder brother's wife

6. (a) *kaṇl mad irbe:ṛo:*

(One) should drop the medicine in the eye

In example (4) the dative case which carries the instrumentality can also be substituted by the locative case. i. e. this is the best example where more than one case overlap with each other.

4. (b) *amd gaḍtl veḷdbd akyd ku:vn inḍyan kaṇl kaḍpe:n*

I saw the paddy cultivated in our field by (my) eye just to-day

Dative as Comprative Construction:

7. *adnk id pača:ɳda:ɾy oḍo:*

This thing is beautiful than that thing

2. 3. Locative

Locative case does the function of the instrumental case. If the case conveys the notion, then the substitution is not possible.

8. *a morḍn avḷn katyl kntyko:*

that rouge *her* (Acc.) *knife* (Loc.) stabbed-he

That rouge stabbed her with the knife

9. *end a:ɾelm o:či:bd varčll mayl tati:ko:*

me (Gen.) goat all *last year* (Loc.) *rain*(Loc.) died-they

All my goats died last year due to the rain

In (8) the locative case can be substituted by the instrumental case *-a:r*, but not by the dative case *–k* as it is possible with the example (4).

8. (a) *a morḍn avḷn katya:ɾ/katyo:ɾ kutyko:*

That rouge stabbed her with the knife

(b) **a morḍn avḷn katyk kutyko:*

Since the locative in *mɪyl* (9) functions and conveys the causal notion, the substitution of the locative by the instrumental here seems to be ungrammatical one.

2.4. Sociative

The sociative case conveys the ablative and the instrumental case meaning. In some instances, it is used to express the coordinative construction.

10. *en ayɳo:ɾ de:r ve:čr vake:n*

My *father* (Soc.) God buying will come-I

(I) will come by getting the God from my father

11. *indyo:ɾ en pa:ɾ ti:rčko:*
Today (Soc.) my trouble ended-it
From today onwards my troubles are over (ended)

12. *avr talpvčl eɾdbd pakyn go:vo:ɾ tuɾko:*
hey at height flying *bird* (Acc.) *gun* (Soc.)shot-they
They shot the bird flying at a height with the gun

13. *avn ta:no:ɾ tabeḍo:ɾ uḷi:k o:či:ko:*
He *he* (Soc.) *his wife* (Soc.) kitchen went-he
He went into the kitchen along with him and his wife

This is the only example (13) where the sociative occurs with the nominative form *ta:n (13)*, but not with the corresponding oblique form *tan*. The example can be said without altering the coordinative notion by using the conjunct marker-*m*

13. (a) *avn ta:nm tabeḍm uḷi:k o:či:ko:*
He went into the kitchen along with him and his wife

2. 5. Purposive

The Purposive conveys the causal notion.

14. *avḷ enka:ɾy pa:čko:*
she *me* (Purp.) song-she
She sang for my sake/because of me

15. *maln ninka:ɾy kek gečko:*
Mallan *You* (Purp.) work did-he
Mallan worked for your sake/because of you.

2. 6. Instrumental

Instrumental case has the function of locative. It also expresses the notion of causal and passive in this language

16. *avḷd kevaːyɲaːr oḏ iːṛ iṭkoː*
she (Gen.) *cheek* (Inst.) one blow struck
(Someone) struck one blow on her cheek

17. *avn piṭlaːr iṭkoː*
He *back* (Inst.) struck-he
He struck on the back

18. *karaːḷaːl ayn pay viṭr oːčikoː*
Younger brother (Inst.) father house leaving went-he
Father went out of the house because of younger brother.

19. *puj enaːi tavirčpeːn*
Tiger *me* (Inst.) killed-I
The tiger was killed by me

In the above examples, (16) and (17) show the use of the instrumental as locative. But replacement of the instrumental by the locative case sign is not possible with (17). In (18) the causal notion is being conveyed by the Instrumental, whereas the passive notion is conveyed in (19).

One thing is noted here that the examples (16-18) all have subject-verb-predicate concord which is not found in (19). i. e. (19) has the concord between instrumental subject- *enaːl-* and the verb predicate; but not between the actual subject- *puj-* and the verb-predicate.

Notes:

1 In Kota, any two similar consonants come into contact, they automatically get singled out. This is an automatic phonological rule.

e g	$C_1 + C_1$	>	C_1
	avn+n	>	avn
	he *Acc.*		him (Acc.)
	maln+n	>	maln
	Mallan (Acc.)		Mallan (Acc.)
	Ka:yk+k	>	Ka:yk
	crow (Dat.)		crow (Dat.)
	kek+k	>	kek
	work (Dat.)		work (Dat.)

2 The younger female here denotes the kinship noun *kaṛaːč* 'Younger sister *moːḷ* 'daughter'. The Younger male indicates the kinship noun *karaːḷ* 'Younger brother' ; *mog* 'child/son'.

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CASE SYSTEM OF KASABA*

V. Chidambaranatha Pillai
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

1. INTRODUCTION

Kasaba is a language spoken by a jungle tribe inhabiting the comparatively level strip of jungle intervening between the base of the Nilgiris and the Moyar river, Masinigudi being the extreme south and western limit. According to 1961 census report, the population of this tribe is 391 (Ramadhar Singh: 1961)

The Kasabas live in more than eighteen villages in between the area as specified above. They are thick-lipped and sharp-eyed with curled hair and black complexion. Though the Nilgiris aboriginals are found diffused over the mountain in each village, they number less than the rural folk. The huts, which they call *se:ri*, have mud walls and roofs covered with grass (Chidambaranathan: 1971 & 1972.) Some of the Kasabas still gather forest products and honey but most of them work in plantations. Some are employed in the forest department (Damodaran:1962). There is a five-member panchayat

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system among this aboriginal tribe. They conduct a festival in October for a day. Moreover they conduct three *pujas* in the new year, in October and in December which are known as *uka:ti pu:jay*, *Gowri pu:jay* and *ka:rtikay pu:jay*. respetively.

There are two sets of Kasaba people. Of them, one speaks Kannada and the other speaks Kasaba. The language spoken by Kasabas is taken for the analysis in this paper. Kasaba language which preserves many special features[1] distinct from other Dravidian Languages becomes a member of the South Dravidian Language family and makes the Dravidian Language number list to 23.

In this paper, an attempt is made (i) to present the Kasaba case system descriptively and (ii) to compare the same system with the case systems of other Dravidian Languages and also to study, particularly, the special features of the Kasaba case system.

2. Descriptive Study

In Kasaba, there are eleven cases including nominative and vocative. Nominative has no overt marker and so it is unmarked. Similarly vocative also has no overt marker but it is expressed with a slight phonemic change in the last syllable (see. 2. 11) The other cases are accusative, instrumental, sociative, dative, genitive, locative, ablative, purposive and comparative (Chidambaranathan, 1975).

2. 1. Accusative case

Accusative case has only one variant *-e*[2]

Examples:

na-n-e	→ *nanne*	I
ni-m-e	→ *nimme*	you (Pl.)

magen-e	son
ṯe:ṉ-e	honey
kaḷḷa:-n-e → kaḷḷane	thief
ugluxaḷ-n-e→ ugluxaḷṇe	nails

This variant has both obligatory and optional functions. It is obligatory with pronoun, human nouns and also with nouns if the noun is preceded by a clitic adjectival or followed by suffixes like emphatic, interrogative etc.

Examples :

iva:n-e	this-he
ava:ḷ-e	that-she
iḏ-e	this-it
ṯambi-e→ ṯambiye	younger brother
ni:mī aḏi parsanga:ve/ *parsanga:ḏṉe sollīvīy*	you (Sg.) (hon.) tell that story
ni:nī parsanga:veḏa:n/ *parsanga:ḏṉeḏa:n sollī*	you (Sg.) tell only the story

It is optional with neuter nouns.

Example :

ni:nī paːṯṯī sollī	you (Sg.) sing the song

2. 2. Instrumental Case

Instrumental case has two variants *-ḏi* and *-dirḏa:* *-ḏi*[3] occurs after the inflexional increment *-a:-* which is preceded by the number markers.

Examples :

na-n-a:-ɖi	by me
ni:-θ-a:-ɖi → ni:ya:ɖi	by you (Sg.)
ni-m-a:ɖi	by you (Pl.)
ṯa-n-a:-ɖi	by oneself

-ɖirɖa: occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

ma:mi-n-ɖirɖa: → ma:miɳɖirɖa:

By mother-in-law

avve-n-ɖirɖa: → avveɳɖirɖa:

By mother

poliya:-n-ɖirɖa: → poliyaɳɖirɖa:

By the man of Harijan caste

va:y-ɖirɖa:

By mouth

2. 3. Sociative case

Sociative case has two variants *-ɖokka:* and *-ɖoṯṯīkk(ī)* which are in freevariation with each other.

Examples:

na:ɖeni-n-ɖokka: → na:ɖeniɳɖokka:

With the younger sister-in-law

na:yakka:ra:-n-ɖoṯṯīkk (ī) → na:yakka:raɳɖoṯṯīkk(ī)

With the speaker

ɖarj-ɖokka: → ɖarjīɖokka:

With the judge

pana:-ṯṯ-ḏoṭṭīkk(ī) → *pana:ḏḏoṭṭīkk(ī)*

With the money

2.4. Dative Case

Dative case has two variants *-kk(ī)* and *-kke*. *-kk(ī)* has the same distribution as that of the instrumental *-ḏi*.

Examples :

na-n-a:-kk(ī)	to me
ni:-θ-a:kk(ī)→*ni:ya:kk(ī)*	to you (Sg.)
ni-m-a:-kk(ī)	to you (Pl.)
ṯa-m-a:-kk(ī)	to ourselves

-kke occurs elsewhere

Examples :

ṯoxa:r-kke→ *ṯoxa:rīkke*	to the pit
se:ṛixaḷ-kke→*se:ṛixaḷīkke*	to the house

2.5 Genitive case

Genitive case has only one variant *-ḏ(ī)*

Examples :

ma:mi-n-ḏ(ī)→ *ma:miṉḏ(ī)*	mother-in-law's
aṉṉa:-n-ḏ(ī)→ *aṉṉaṉḏ(ī)*	elder brother's
valeya:-n-ḏ(ī)→*valeyaṉḏī*	fisherman's
aḏ-n-ḏ → *aḏīṉḏ(ī)*	its
na-m-a:-ḏ(ī)	ours
ṯa-n-a:-ḏ(ī)	oneself's
kɔy-ḏ(ī)	hand's

2. 6. Locative case

Locative case has two variants *-ḍa:v(ī)* and *-ili/-li*. *-ḍa:v(ī)* occurs after the inflexional increment *-a-* which is preceded by the number markers and also after the inflexional increment *-n-*

Examples:

na-r-ḍa:v(ī)	with me
ni:-ɸ-a-ḍa:v(ī) → *ni:yaḍa:v(ī)*	with you (Sg.)
ni-m-a-ḍa:v(ī)	with you (Pl.)
ṯa-n-a-ḍa:v(ī)	with oneself
eṯṯe-n-ḍa:v(ī) → *eṯṯeṇḍa:v(ī)*	with mother-in-law

-ili occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

gaıya: -ṯṯ-ili	in the wound
vəy-ili	in the path

-li

Examples:

baṇḍi-li	in the cart
pu:-li → *pu:vli*	in the flower

2. 7. Ablative case

Ablative case has two variants *-ḍa:virḍa:*, and *-ilirḍa:/-lirḍa:*[8] The distributions of these variants are the same as those of the locative variants *-ḍa:v(ī)* and *-ili/-li* respectively.

Examples :

na-n-a-ɖa:virɖa:	from me
ni:-ɸ-a-ɖa:virɖa→ ni:yaɖa:virɖa:	from you (Sg.)
ni-m-a-ɖa:virɖa:	from you (Pl.)
ṯa-n-a-ɖa:virɖa:	from oneself
pe:ṯṯi-n-ɖa:virɖa:→ pe:ṯṯinɖa:virɖa:	from the grand daughter
ko:ṯṯa:-n-ɖa:virɖa→ ko:ṯṯanɖa:virɖa:	from the Kota man
viɖi-ilirɖa:→ viɖiyilirɖa:	from the fate
kɔy-lirda:	from the hand

2. 8. Purposive case

Purposive case has the only variant *-kka:gi* (for detail, see 3.8).

Examples :

na-n-a:-kka:gi	for me
ni:-ɸ-a:-kka:gi → ni:ya:kka:gi	for you (Sg.)
ṯa:-m-a:-kka:gi	for ourselves
u:r-kka:gi→ u:rīkka:gi	for the village

2. 9. Comparative case

Comparative case also has the only variant *-kkirɖa:* (for detail, see 3.9).

Examples :

ava:ḷ-kkirɖa:→ ava:ḷīkkirɖa:	than her

kuṇḍi-kkirḍa:	than the cripple
magaːḷaːr-kkirḍa: →	
magaḷaːrīkkirḍa:	than the daughters

2.10. Vocative case

Kinship nouns and the proper names of human beings alone can be declined for vocative. The vowel in the last syllable gets extra length or *-en* in the final syllable becomes *a:*

Examples:

appaː	Oh, father
maːmi	Oh, mothe.-in-law
bommi	Hallo, Bommi
ceːṭṭu	Hallo, Cheddu
ḍippe	Hallo, Dhippe
ḍaːsen → *ḍaːsaː*	Hallo, Dhasan
mallen → *mallaː*	Hallo, Mallan

3. Comparative Study

The comparative study is based on the study of the case systems of Dravidian Language observed by Shanmugam (1971).

3.1. Accusative case

One of the reconstructed forms of accusative case suffix is **-ay*. The others are **-an* and **-(v)nk*.

The form *-ay* found as such in Ta(mil) and Ma(layalam) only. Colloquial Ta. has the form *-e*. Even though Ma. *-e* (Sekhar 1953) can be considered to have developed from an earlier *-ay*. Its regular reflex is only *-a* in majority of the

cases. The reason for this special development is not known now. Kasaba has the form *-e*. Koḍ (agu) *-a* can be taken as the reflex of **-ay*. *-i* in Kui and Kuvi and *-e* in Br(ahui) seem to be connected with the reflex **-ay*.

The Kasaba form *-e* gives an additional support for setting up of the suffix **-ay*.

3.2. Instrumental case

The reflexes of the instrumental suffix fall under three phonological groups **-a:n/-a:l*, **-oṭu/-o:ṭu* and *-(v)n*.

No one of the Kasaba suffixes does not fall under one of the reconstructed forms. Ba(daga) form *-do* (Shanmugam, 1971) is partially attested with the Kasaba forms *-ḍi* and *ḍirḍa*: This gives a clue to set up one more PDr. form beginning with **-t* and following with a short or long vowel. This will be supported, by the North Dravidian Language Ku(rux) since it has the forms *-tri* and *-tru*: which are partially identical with the PDr form beginning with **-t* with the explanation that *r* is dropped in Ba. and Kasaba.

The reflexes of the sociative case suffix fall under two sets of phonological groups **-a:n/-a:l* and **-o:ṭu/-oṭu*. Note that first two instrumental reconstructed forms are phonologically identical with the sociative forms.

The reflexes of **-oṭu/-o:ṭu* are found in Ta., Ma., Ko. (ta) and Pa(rji). *tho:ṛo:-* a post position in Go(ndi) functions in the sociative sense (Subrahmanyam, 1968). Koya has *-to:n* and Br. has *-to* as the sociative suffix. The only south Dravidian Language Kasaba forms *-ḍokka*: and *-ḍoṭṭīkk(ī)* seem to be related with Koya and Br. forms at least to the partial level.

Caldwell observes that "the resemblance between the Ta. form *-o:ṭu* and the Te(lugu) form *to:ḍu* is altogether accidental. It is not so, since the Kasaba form *-ḍoṭṭīkk(ī)* gives an additional support for the existence of the relationship between the Ta. form and Te. form is natural rather than accidental and also the setting up of the reconstructed form **-oṭu/-o:ṭu*.

Kui *-ke* (Winefield, 1928), Pe(ngo) *-hoka* (Burrow and Battacharya; 1970) and Na(iki) (Ch) *-nokon* (Battacharya, 1956) seem to be related to each other and they may probably be derived from **okv* < ** oka* (Shanmugam, 1971). Ta. has the form *okka* which has the meaning 'together'. Therefore, the South Dravidian Languages Ta. and Kasaba give evidence for the existence of the relationship of the Kui, Pe., and Na(Ch.) forms with **okv* > **oka*.

The reason for the presence of *ḍ* in *ḍokka:* and *-ḍoṭṭīkk(ī)* is not known. It is noteworthy to mention that the Ta. form *aṭṭu* which has the meaning 'together', with' etc. resembles not only in meaning but also, almost, in phonemic shape with the Kasaba form *-ḍoṭṭīkk(ī)*.

3.4. Dative Case

There are two PDr. forms for dative suffix **-kkV* and *-(V)n-k*. The reflexes of the first form are found in all the languages. Konḍa, Pe., Kol (ami), Pa. and Ga (daba) have *-(V)ṅ* as the dative suffix and it can be explained as derived from **Vn-k*.

The Kasaba forms *-kk(ī)* and *-kke* give support for the setting up of the reconstructed form **-kkV*.

The final vowel *ī* of *-kk(ī)* can be taken as he enunciative vowel. The *e* of *-kke* might be clitic (i.e. *e:*)

in origin as *e* in Kannada and *e:* in Ku. Since after loosing the significance of the clitic, it should have become part and parcel of the case suffix.

3. 5. Genitive Case

The reflexes of the genitive suffix fall under the two phonological groups **-a* and **-atu*.

The languages Ta., Ka-, Ko(ta), Te., Konḍa and Kui have the reflexes of **-atu*. Kasaba also has the reflex of **atu* as *ḏ(ī)* and thus it gives evidence to support for the reconstructed form **-atu*.

The languages Ta., Ka. and Te. alone have the reflexes of the two suffixes **-atu*.

3. 6. Locative Case.

The suffixes **-an*, **-in/*-il* and **-(a)tt* can be reconstructed to the PDr stage for locative suffix.

The reflexes of **-in/*-il* are found in Ta., Ma., Ko To., (the form *-s* is developed from **-l*) (Emeneau, 1970) and Koḍ. The Kasaba form *-ill/-li* seems to be related with **-il* and thus gives an additional evidence for the setting up of PDr. **-il*.

No one of the languages from either group of the Dravidian family has the Kasaba form *-ḏa:ɔ(ī)* or its reflex. Therefore, I may say that this is an unique special suffix in Kasaba language.

3. 7. Ablative case

The ablative of motion is expressed by the two post positions **(n)inṯu* and **antV*. All the locative suffix can also be employed to denote the ablative of motion when the case

phrase is in immediate constituent relationship with the verbs of motion. The first reconstructed form seems to be related with the verbal participle form of the verb *nil* 'stand' (DED 3043). The languages Ta. and Ma. also have the reflexes of **nin̲tu*. Ma. and Konḍa have evidence for *an̲tu*.

The ablative suffixes *-ḏa:virḏa:* and *-ilirḏa:/-lirḏa:* of Kasaba can be taken as the combination of locative case form plus *irḏa:* Historically this analysis has evidence. The Ta. form *-iliruntu* also can be taken as *-il* plus *iruntu* which gives an additional support for the bifurcation of the Kasaba suffix. Moreovar, the Kasaba form *-irḏa:* may be taken as the reflex of the verbal participle form of the verb **irdī* denoting 'exist'

3. 8. Purposive case

Purposive is one of the meanings denoted by the dative form. Languages like Ta., Ka., Tu(lu), Te., Pa. and Ku. use dative form for purposive sense. But Kasaba is not using the dative form for denoting the purposive sense.

Some of the languages use the adverbial suffix with the dative form to denote purposivity. The lauguages Ta. *-(u)kk-(a:ka* =*-(u kka:ka)*, Ko. (*-k-a:ṛy*= *-ka:ṛy*), To (*-k-oy*=*-koy*) and Ba. *-g-a:yi* =*-ga:yi*) denote purposivity as pointed out now. Kasaba form *-kka:gi* (*-kk-a:gi* = *-kka:gi*) supports this view.

3. 9. Comparative case

In Ta., Ko , Ka., Go., Kui., Pa. and Kol. the dative form is also used to denote comparative sense. The ablative suffix is also used to express comparition in the languages Ta., Ma., Ka., Tu., Ku., and Br.

Kasaba has the form *-kkirḏa:* which is the combination of the dative form and *irḏa:* may be related with the participle form

of the verb denoting 'exist'. This is the only language to denote the comparative sense with the combined form dative plus *irḍa:*.

4. CONCLUSION

It can be easily inferred from the above detailed studies (descriptive and comparative) that, almost in all cases, the case system of Kasaba gives the strongest solid evidences and supports for the already established PDr. forms are correct.

Notes :

1. Some special features of this language are given below :

Phonological level :

(i) existence of *ṣ* (ii) absence of palatalization of dentals after front vowels and y (iii) merger of *l* and *ḷ* (iv) existence of the centralized vowel phoneme *ĩ* (v) existence of the phoneme x vi) non-merger of *ṛ* and r.

Morphological level :

(i) retention of some of the ancient morphs in both nominal and verbal inflexion with a little phonemic change like masculine singular *-en*, plural *-ar*. *-xoḷ*, oblique stems of pronouns *no,-, na:-* (I P), *ni-, ni:-* (II.P.), *ta-, ta:-* (reflexive pronoun) the number suffixes *-n-*, *-ϕ-* and *-m-* are excluded from the stems), personal ending *-e:* (*n*) (I. P. Sg.), *-e:m(ĩ)* (I. P Pl.), *-e* (II. P. Sg.), *-iri-* (11. P. Pl), *-ene*, *-ine* (III.P. Pl.).

(ii) no inclusive and exclusive distinction in IP. Pl.

(iii) a two tense system : non-past Vs past

(iv) existence of the new adjectival suffix *ṇḍ* :

(v) addition of a new permissive suffix *-xoy*

Lexical level :

Forms like *ṭoxa rĩ* 'pit', *ba:ḷe* 'betel' etc do not have no plausible cognates and may indicate a substratum language

Syntactical level :

There is no passive construction in Kasaba.

2. The inflexional increment *-n-* may not occur in between (i) the noun and the accusative marker and (ii) the other inflexional increment *-tt-* and the accusative marker. The rest of the inflexional increments are *-a-* and *-a:-*.

3. The instrumental suffix *ḍi* is in freevariation with *-ḍirḍa:*

4. The locative suffix *-lil-li* is in freevariation with *-ḍa:n(ī)*

5. The ablative suffix *-ilirḍa: / -lirḍa:* is in freevariation with *-ḍa:virḍa:*

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KURUMBA CASE SYSTEM*

S. Jayapal
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

1.0 Kurumbas, the tribal people are living in North Arcot, Coimbatore, Trichy and Nilgiri Districts in Tamil Nadu. According to Madras Census Report 1891, Kurumbas are the modern representatives of the ancient Kurumbas or Pallavas who were once powerful throughout Southern India (Thurston, 1909: 156). There are five sects in the Kurumba tribal community. Here, the study is restricted to the Nilgiri *Beṭṭa Kurumbas*. There are nearly 300 people of this sect residing in the forest and hilly places of Gudalur Taluk in the Nilgiris. They are scatteringly populated. Their villages are called, *paːḍi*. The men of this sect who are living within the boundary of Mudumalai forest work as watchers, forest guards and mahouts in the forest department of Mudumalai. The ladies usually go to interior of the forest to collect the bamboo rice and some edible rootg for their usual food. The people of other than the above said area are working as the labourers in the tea Estates of the Nilgiri District. They worship *Karuñcaːṯṯan* and *muḷan*. They believe in the soul. The life of these people is completely immersed in superstition. They are of the opinion that takin

*I express my whole hearted thanks to my Professor S. Agesthialingom who has kindly permitted me to undertake this work, and also I express my sincere thanks and gratitude to my Supervisor S. V. Shanmugam for his valuable suggestions.

treatment from the hospital is a great sin. So the ratio of their death increases year by year. This may be one of the reasons for their lesser population. Marriage is very simple. They marry their mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's daughter. Widow marriage is allowed in this community. Sororate is allowed but levirate is not allowed in this community. It is very interesting to note that there are only eight names for men and women.

	Name (Men)		*Name (Women)*
1.	*ma:ɳban*	1.	*ma:ɳbakan*
2.	*bomman*	2.	*bommakan*
3.	*ka:ɭa:n*	3.	*kæɭakan*
4.	*ma:ran*	4.	*mærakan*
5.	*ma:ɖan*	5.	*mæɖakan*
6.	*ke:ʈan*	6.	*ke:ʈakan*
7.	*saɖayan*	7.	*saɖaccakan*
8.	*so:man*	8.	*si:rʈakan*

Emeneau (1969:342) and Zvelebil (1972) have already pointed out the independent status of Beṭṭa Kurumba language of Nilgiris. There are many interesting special features in their language.

i. In the final position, consonant clusters are found.

Eg.	*-ɖn*	*benka:ɖn*	spider
	-ɳɪɳ	*kuɳɪɳ*	lame-person

ii. *-ɖu*, *gī* and *-ru* are the plural suffixes. *-ɖu* occurs after nouns ending with a nasal consonant. *-ru* occurs after nouns ending with a high front unrounded vowel. And *-gu* occurs after remaining nouns.

Eg.	*Singular*		*Plural*
	akkun	elder sister	*akkuṇḍu*
	aṇ	elder brother	*aṇḍu*
	keːḷṇ	parrot	*keɪḷṇḍu*
	uḍuguṭi	girl	*uḍuguṭiru*
	kuḍḍi	blind women	*kuḍḍiru*
	kɛraːḷu	younger sister	*kɛraːḷgu*
	guṇḍu	bullet	*guṇḍugu*

iii. Occurrence of formative suffix *-p-* before non-past suffix

Eg.	*naḍa-p-i-a* > *naḍapiya*	I will walk
	puḍi-p-i-a > *puripiya*	I will catch

It should be noted that *-p-* is more commonly found in Old Tamil as formative suffix especially before infinitive (*kaṟ-p-a* 'to learn') and conditional (verbal participle) which is of the pattern verbal root+*iṉ* (*kiṭa-pp-iṉ* 'if lying') (Shanmugam, 1971a).

iv. There is no gender distinction either in the demonstrative pronoun or in the pronominal termination.

Eg.	*aḏu*	he, she, it
	agu	they (human-non-human)
	aduṭinḏa	he, she, it etc.
	aguṭinḏo	they (mas., fem., neu.) etc.

This is perhaps the third language of the Dravidian family known to us which does not show any gender distinction. The other two Dravidian Languages are Toda and Brahui.

v. The past negation is expressed through the structure like that of following.

Base + P. Tense + Negation + PT.

But, the negation in the non- past is expressed by a morphological structure like

Infinitive + *il* + PT.

Eg. *bandle* (I) did not come

barlille (I) will not come

vi. This language has separate markers for causatives and purposives (See 39, 40, 41 and 42.).

vii. The final vowel is *-a* in the dative case suffix ((*-ka*) (see, 23, 24)) while most of the Dravidian languages have *-u* here (*-kku*). But old Tamil and Badaga have *-a* as the enunciate vowel in the dative case suffix ((-kka) (Shanmugam, 1971b : 378)). This is the third language having *-a* finally in dative case.

The following case suffixes have not been noted so far in any other Dravidian languages.

viii. *-pili* as the locative case suffix (see, 35 and 36).

ix. *-baliye* as the sociative suffix (see 19, 20 and 21).

x. *-lito* as the ablative case suffix (see 32, 33 and 34).

and

xi. the purposive case marker *-kabeyri* (see 43 and 44) is the peculiar case suffix found in this language.

xii. It is very interesting to note that the lexical items *enbadu* denotes the numeral nine, whereas eighty is denoted by the word *embaṭu*.

So it is clear from above, that the features found in Beṭṭakurumba justify its claim as a distinct language of the Dravidian family and belongs to South Dravidian group.

It is to be noted that Upadhyaya (1972) published a paper on Beṭṭakurumbas of Nagarhole area of Mysore state. He says "it was found necessary to consider it as a language belonging to the South Dravidian group but distinct from other well known languages of the same stock". When compared with the speech of Nilgiri Beṭṭakurumbas there are many common features as well as some variations between these two.

i. The presence of retroflex vowels

ii. The plural suffixes *-ḍu* and *-gu*

iii. The formative suffix *-p-*

iv. The absence of gender distinction in the third person pronoun and

v. The accusative suffix *-ma*

vi. The closer similarities of conditional suffix are some of the common features found in both the speech groups.

But i. The change of medial *ḍ* to *jj*

ii. The genitive suffix *-ḍe*

iii. Past participle suffix ending in *-n*

iv. Associative suffix *-o:ḍa* are some of the features not found in the speech of Beṭṭakurumbas of Nilgiris.

On the other hand

i. The change of medial *-ḍ-* in the second syllable into *-r-*, if it is followed by a high front unrounded vowel and formative suffix,

Eg. *kuḍi* > *kuripiya* I will drink
kaḍi > *karipiya* I will bite

ii. The plural suffix *-ru*
iii. The accusative suffix *-e*
iv. Unmarked genitive case
v. The sociative case marker *-beliye*
vi. The locative case marker *-pili*
vii. The instrumental case marker *-oṛḍa*
and
viii. The purposive case marker *-kabeyri* are some of the features of Nilgiri Beṭṭakurumba which do not occur in the speech of Nagarhole Kurumbas.

From the above facts one can assume that the speech of Beṭṭakurumbas of Nilgiris and Nagarhole of Mysore, are two different dialects of Beṭṭakurumba language.

2.0 CASES

There are nine cases in the speech of Beṭṭakurumbas of Nilgiris they are (i) accusative case, (ii) instrumental case, (iii) sociative case, (iv) dative case, (v) ablative case, (vi) locative case, (vii) causative case, (viii) purposive case and (ix) vocative case. As in other Dravidian languages, there is no nominative case morphologically. The genitive case is unmarked in this language.

1. *aḍan-ɸ* his
iḍnaḍan kiːri This is his house

2. *maku-ɸ* child's
iḍu mak ṯiːri This is child's shirt

3. *pikki-Ø* bird's
pikkiːriye noːḍi beːḍa Don't see the bird's nest

2. 1. Accusative Case

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} -\phi \\ -e \end{matrix} \right\}$$

$\sim$ -Ø, $\sim$ *-e*, $\sim$ *ma*

2. 1. 1. $\sim$ -Ø occur after all nouns (except pronoun) which has nasal as its final consonant.

4. *bañaːn ϕ* door (Acc.)
   niː bañaːn ṭarḍuḍi You open the door

5. *man-ϕ* heart (Acc.)
   aḍan man aḷḷaːgalīlla
   We cannot measure his heart

2. 1. 2. $\sim$ *-ma* occurs after the nouns which have *-e* as their final vowel.

6. *piliye* tiger
   pilima tiger (Acc.)
   yaːnoːḍa pilima kɛngaːlaɪgalīlla
   Elephant (Inst.) cannot kill the tiger

7. *meriye* young one
   merma ɛgṭaṭu
   Don't kick the young one

2. 1. 3. $\sim$ *-e* occurs elsewhere.

8. *magaḷ-e* daughter (Acc.)
   en magaḷe nɛlṭil ṭaḷḷaṭu
   Don't push my daughter in the ground

9. *beːli-e* fence (Acc.)
   navu naṇṭu beːliye negḍe
   Yesterday I jumped over the fence

2. 2. Instrumental case

{ -o:ḍa }

10. *ervu o:ḍa* by the knife

navu aḏane aḏīñabeyri ervo:ḍa ṯarce

I cut it by the knife for the sake of him

11. *beri o:ḍa* by the stick

aḏu beriyo:ḍa arva He will beat by the stick

12. *ḏu:ji-o:ḍa* by the needle

navu ḏu:iiyo:ḍa kuṯṯiya

I will stitch by the needle

It is also used to denote sociative.

13. *navu aḏano:ḍa ni:ra:ḏne*

I took bath with him

14. *navu aḏano:ḍa ninniye kaṇḍe*

I saw you with him

It also expresses the locative sense when it occurs with the human pronouns. Moreover it seems to be restricted only with the verb of communication.

15. *ni·en eno:ḍa poḏi?*

When did you tell me?

(Lit. When did you tell with me?)

16. *ni·en aḏano:ḍa poḏi ?*

When did you tell her ?

(Lit. When did you tell with her ?)

The instrumental case marker *-o:ḍa* is also used with the verb of capability.

17. *aḏro ḍa naḍla:ppaḏu*

He can walk

(Lit. By him walking is possible)

18. *aḏro:ḍa naḍla: galilla*

He cannot walk

(Lit. By him walking is not possible)

2.3. Sociative Case

{ *-beliye* }

19. *bumman-beliye* with Bomman

navu bumman beliye perika:ṭlito baṉḏe

I come from the forest with Bomman

20. *en-beliye* with whom

ni· perika:ṭka enbeliye ba:rl be:ḏa

You don't come to the forest with me

21. *ḏa:rbeliye* with me

ni·ḏa:rbeliye ki:rka aṉña po:paḏu

Why will you go to the house and with whom?

2.4. Dative Case

{ *-ka* }

~ ṅa, ~ -ka

2.4.1. *~ -ṅa* occurs after the nouns of place, person and time which end in a nasal or high back vowel.

22. *aḍu-ña* to him / to her / to it
aḍu-ña ka:ri numbīlī
He is suffering from severe cold
(Lit. to him severe cold)

23. *ma:ḍan-ña* to Madan
ma:ḍanña ka:ri nit kuṭṭu
Madan is suffering from severe head-ache
(Lit. to Madan severe head-ache)

24. *kærkere-ña* to Karkudi
bamman en-beliye kærkeña baṇḍa
Bomman came to Karkudi with me

2.4.2. ~ *-ka*, occurs elsewhere.

25. *ki:ri-ka* to house
en ki:rka pi:gey Go to my house

26. *peṇi-ka* to the work
aḍupeṇika enbeliye baṇḍa
He came to the work with me

It is also used to express the locative sense after time nouns.

27. *navu ergaḍuña a:r maṇika poḷḍovya*
I will get up at 6 A.M. in the morning

28. *navu opaṭuña a:r maṇika ba:rlilla*
I will not come at 6 O' clock in the evening

The same suffix is also used to express the purposive sense

29. *en kuḍirka mu:r kattu pullu ein barey*
Bring three bundles of straw for my horse

30. *bummanña nič etn barey*

Bring food for Bomman

The same suffix is used to express the comparative sense.

31. *bummanña maṛḍan ḍapu mansan*

Madhan is a taller man than Bomman

2.5. Ablative Case

{ *-lito* }

32. *meri-lito* from the tree

eli merilito eljeyo:ḍamu

The leaf falls from the tree

33. *perikaṭulito* from the forest

amu perika:ṭlito ninkabeyri ern enanḍa

He brought the fire wood for you from the forest

34. *i:r-lito* from the native

amuninniye iñiña i:rlito bupka poḍu?

Why he asked you to come from the native?

2. 6. Locative Case

{ *-pili* }

∞ *-pili*, ∞ *-l*

2. 6. 1. ∞ *-pili* occurs after human nouns and personal pronouns.

35. *bumman-pili* with Bomman

bumman pili on na:yunḍo

There is one dog with Bomman

(Lit. There is one dog in (the house of) Bomman).

36. *en-pili* near to me

enpili ba:rl be:ḍa

Don't come near to me

2. 6. 2. ∞ *-l* occurs elsewhere.

37. *ṭo:ṭi-l* in the garden

en maglu ṭo:ṭlavḍamu

My daughter is in the garden

38. *la:ri-l* in the lorry

navu la:rṭul a:jo:ma po:ne

I travelled in the lorry with pleasure

It is also expressed in the dative sense with some neuter nouns.

39. *amu amuṅabeyri aṅgetil paṇa koṭa*

He gave money to the shop for the sake of him.

40. *amu eninma i:rl po:ce*

He went to the native because of me

2. 7. Causative Case

{ *-inma* }

41. *en -inma* because of me

amu eninma u:til kelṭo:ḍa

He studied in Ooty because of me

42. *nin-inma*

nininma ma:ranṅa iñjin prayo:jilla

There is no any use to Maran by you

(Lit. by you, no any use to Maran)

2.8. Purposive case

{ -*kabeyri* }

43. *ma:ri-kabeyri* for Mari

ma:ran perika:tlilo ma:rikabeyri erṅ enanda

Maran brought the fire wood from the forest for (the sake of) Mari

44. *ḏa:r-kabeyri* for whom

bumman ḏa:rkabeyri ma:ya:rlilo po:ce

For (the sake of) whom Bomman went from Mayar?

2.9. Vocative case

{ -*o:y* }

∞-:, ∞-*o:y*

2.9.1. ∞ -/:/ occurs after the female proper nouns

bommakan	*bommaka:*	Oh, Bommi
mærakan	*mæraka:*	Oh, Mari
mæḏakan	*mæḏaka:*	Oh, Madi

2.9.2. ∞ -*o:y* occurs after the male proper nouns

ma:ran	*ma:ro:y*	Oh, Maran
bomman	*bommo:y*	Oh, Bomman
ma:ḏan	*ma:ḏo:y*	Oh, Maḏan

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IRULA CASE SYSTEM

R. Perialwar

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

1. Introduction

1. 1. Iruḷas belong to one of the scheduled tribes sporadically settled in various districts of Tamilnadu. They are also living in the adjoining states of Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, but their kindred is unkonwn. The present study is confined to the Iruḷas inhabiting the lower Jungle slopes of Nilgiri hills of the Western Ghats who differ from Iruḷas elsewhere in their socio-economic and cultural background.

1. 2. The Nilgiri Iruḷas are called *Malana:ḍu Iruḷas* or *Malade:sa Iruḷas*. The eastern and southern slopes of the Nilgiris are their nature territory. Their present population is roughly about 4500. Most of them are plantation labourers. They have some land on which they cultivate fruits and millets or cereals. They are used to collecting wild roots for their food. In olden days honey collecting, hunting and primitive agriculture were their occupations. While a majority of them are illiterate they know Tamil and Badaga (language

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of another Nilgiri community) and speak Iruḷa only among themselves. They are generally reluctant to speak their language before non-Iruḷas.

1. 3. There are differences of opinion among scholars regarding the status of *Iruḷa* i. e. whether it is a separate language or a dialect of Tamil. M. B. Emeneau (1969 : 342) says: 'Gerard Diffloth has removed the language of the Iruḷas and the uralis from the category of new languages by identifying it is a Tamil dialect.' But Diffloth (1968:2) himself considers 'The Iruḷa language, a close relative of Tamil' and a Dravidian language of the Tamil - Malayalam group. But he has not clearly estabished Iruḷa as a separate language. Kamil V. Zvelebil (1973) assertains that Iruḷa is a separate language. S.V. Shanmugam (1974 : 2) says that 'It is now beyond doubt that Irula should be considered as independent language in the South Dravidian sub-group of the Dravidian family.' The author of this paper also has the same opinion as that of Zvelebil and Shanmugam. There are sufficient evidences both linguistic as well as non-linguistic to consider Iruḷa as a separate language.

1.4. There are so many features to show Iruḷa as a separate language. Iruḷa has some independent innovations. This language shares certain features of old Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Kodagu and some central Dravidian languages like Gondi, Kolami and Konda. The independent innovations are as follows.

1. It has five centralised vowels as phonemes. They are *ï, ë, ä, ö,* and *ü*.

2. Short or long *a* becomes *e* or *e:* or centralised short or long *ä*.

3. Sporadic metathesis of some lexical items and loss of initial vowels in some words.

4. The extension of *-k-* as the non-past tense marker before all person and number.

5. *-ttu* is used as the genitive marker.

6. The use of *-aḷ* (before a vowel) as the second person singular personal ending in finite verb.

7. Infinitive markers are *-kka* and *-ga*.

8. Instrumental suffixes are *-ili*, *-i* and *-a:le*

9. The occurrence of case marker after plural suffix is not possible.

In addition to these innovations Iruḷa is the only language in South Dravidian family preserving some features which are found in Central Dravidian languages like Kolami Gondi and Konda.

The third person demonstrative masculine pronoun has a nasal which also found in Kolami.

Ir. *amma* 'that man-' < **amma*ḷ < *am-a:ḷ*
Kol. *am/amd* 'that-man'

Irula causative suffix *-pis* is found in Gondi and Konda.

It is clear that the above mentioned facts strengthen that Irula should be considered as an independent language.

1. 5. In modern syntactic studies 'case' plays an important role. It has attracted the attention of the most of the modern grammarians like Fillmore and others. Modern trend of generative grammarians has been centred on discussions of

the different syntactic features of the natural languages in terms of semantics. This trend has developed a new area of investigation by looking the semantic features of the languages i. e. a semantically oriented syntactic investigation has become necessary for discussions on all natural languages. According to Fillmore (1968:2) 'grammatical notion of case deserves a place in the base component of every language.' He is of the opinion that the conception base structure should be such that where in the case relationships are primitive terms of theory in which such concepts of subject, direct object etc. are missing. The latter are regarded as properly to surface structure of some languages. With this basic assumption he has developed a theory of case and made diffierent classifications for cases on the basis of deep structure notion as follows. His inventory of propositional cases ended up to be agent, experiences, instrument, objective, source and goal with possible addition of path, possessive, comitative and benefactive.

1.6. The main purpose of this paper is to expose and discuss the function of certain case markers in Iruḷa language by making use of descriptive techniques. The syntactic features of the cases have also been noted sporadically during the discussion.

1.7. Iruḷa has a very complicated case system in general. The casal relationships are expressed by suffixes or post positions. The case suffix may be optionally preceded by a link - morph (but two case suffixes cannot occur together).

1.8 There is no suffix or specific marker for nominative case. In other words, it is unmarked. It, must be noted that the nouns when take the vocative suffix do not change into oblique forms and vocative suffixes are directly added to the noun

forms. Moreover, in syntax also the vocative case behaves in a very different way, when compared to other cases.

1.9. While examining the case system in Iruḷa one can come across with homophonous case markers for different cases. For example the instrumental and the locative cases have homophonous forms in certain respects. Similarly dative and locative have a homophonous marker viz. *-kke*. A correct assessment of the case markers to the respective cases therefore, requires both semantic and syntactic evidences.

1.10. There are ten cases in Iruḷa language. They are nominative, accusative, instrumental, locative, dative, purposive, sociative or associative, ablative, genitive or possessive and vocative. The nominative case is unmarked. Ablative case marker is a complex *-(i)lirundu* which may be analysed as a syntactic construction *-(i)li* (which may be optional) and a verbal participle *-irundu*.

2. Accusative case

2.1. As in other Dravidian languages in Iruḷa also accusative case marker is obligatory with animate nouns and optional with inanimate nouns. In this language, specific instances have been noticed wherein inanimate nouns take accusative case marker. Constructions like, 1. Relative participle + noun, 2. Demonstrative adjective + noun and 3. attribute + noun require accusative case marker obligatorily. This case has two suffixes *-ne* and *-e*. They are phonologically conditioned.

2.2. ~ *ne* occurs after the nouns which are ending in *-e*.

1. *a: ve:le-ne nallacanne ce:de:mu*
   We did that work well

2. *avaru i: ëṟe-ne detta:ru*
They broke that rock

3. *ni:mu a: ku:re-ne kaṭṭiniri*
You (Pl.) built that house

2.3. ~ *-e* occurs elsewhere

4. *a: keṭṭu po:na pa:l-e ka:ccuga ve:ṇ:u*
Don't boil that spoiled milk

5. *oru mara-tt-e- pa:tte:mu*
We saw a tree

6. *avaru pamm-e vangina:ru*
They brought fruit

7. *nan-n-e avaru aḍitta:ru*
They beat me

8. *nam-m-e avaru keletta:ru*
They abused us

9. *na:mu a: mara-tt-e pa:tte:mu*
We saw that tree

10. *ni: u:ci-y-e pa:ru*
You look at the needle

11. *ni:mu pu:-v-e parittiri*
You (Pl.) plucked the flower

12 *avan-e avaru letta:ru*

3. Instrumental case

3.1. Instrumental case is expressed by the suffixes *-a:le, -ili* and *-i*. The suffix *-a:le* occurs with pronouns and animate nouns. The other two suffixes occur with inanimate nouns and are phonologically conditioned. The suffix *-i* occurs after the link morph *-tt-* in nouns ending in *-a* and *-ili* occurs elsewhere. Note that *-ili* and *-i* also denote locative meaning.

3.2. ∞ *-a:le* occurs after the pronouns and animate nouns.

13. *nan-an-a:le co:ru tinga muḍindale*

I could not eat food

14. *nam-an-a:le naḍakka muḍiya:du*

We can not walk

15. *pu:ne-n-a:le pa:lu kuḍikka muḍindale*

The cat could not dring milk

16. *nin-an-a:le co:ru aḍuga muḍigidu*

You can cook food

17. *na:yi-n-a:le ronguga muḍindale*

The dog could not sleep

18. *maṇi-n-a:le u:rikke po:ga muḍigale*

Mani can not go to the village

19. *ra:mi-n-a:le tinga muḍindale*

Rami could not eat

20. *ava-a:le nanukku ippaṭṭi kaṣṭa*

I am in this much of difficulty because of him

21. *avar-a:le nanukku pammu cikkinadu*

I got the fruit because of them

3.3. ~ *-i* occurs after the link morph *-tt-*, in nouns ending in *-a*.

22. *nanukku to:ṭṭa-tt-i paṇa vargudu*

I earn money out of the garden
(Lit: money comes to me from the garden)

23. *paṇa-tt-i ku:re vangine:mu*

We bought the house for money

24. *mara-tt-i peṭṭi ma:ḍine:mu*

We made the box out of wood

25. *na:mu pe:-na-tt-i verende:mu*

We wrote with the pen

26. *co:ḷa-tt-i puṭṭu ma:ḍine:mu*

We cooked puddings with maize

27. *giḍa-tt-i marundu ma:ḍine:mu*

We prepared medicine out of the plant

3.4. ~ *-ili* occurs elsewhere

28. *avaru katti-li pamme veṭṭina:ru*

They cut the fruit with knife

29. *arici-li co:ru aṭṭe:mu*

We cooked food with rice

30. *pamm-ili ca:ru ma:ḍine:mu*

We prepared curry with fruit

31. *ka:lu vali-li naḍakka muḍindale*

Due to the pain in the legs (one) could not walk

3. 5. The instrumental case in Iruḷa conveys three different meanings. They are pure instrument, causal and capability. These differences are described syntactically. For instance pure instrument sentences can be relativized and others can not be relativized.

3. 6. *Pure instrument*: The sentences 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30 convey the pure instrument meaning. These sentences can be relativized. For example 25 and 28 can be relativized as *verenda pe:na* 'the pen by which (someone) wrote, and *veṭṭina katti* 'the knife by which (someone) cut'. Pure instrument sentences take suffixes *-ili* and *-i*.

3. 7. *Causal:* The instrumental case which conveys causa meaning can not be relativized. The sentences 20, 21, 22 and 23 express causal notion. These sentences take all the three instrumental suffixes *-a:le*, *-i* and *-ili*. Among these three types of instrumental sentences, causal sentences alone take all the instrumental suffixes. Causal instrumental sentences are considered as being derived from complex sentences.

3. 8. *Capability*: The instrumental marker *-a:le* take model auxiliary verb *muḍi* and conveys capability notion. In Tamil 'It (*muḍi*) is also the only model which can have nominative, instrumental and dative forms in the surface level as in the same meaning, (Agesthialingom, 1972:486). This same situation is noticed in the case of Iruḷa verb *muḍi*.

Meaning	Markers	Syntactic behaviour
Pure instrument	~ *-i* ~ *-ili*	can be relativized
Causal	~ -i ~ *-ili* ∞ *-a:le*	can not be relativized
Capability	∞ *-a:le*	can not be relativized and take only model '*muḍi*' as predicate.

4. Locative case

4.1. The locative case has three suffixes. They are *-ili*, *-i* and *-kke*. But the marker *-kke* occurs with all nouns provided the predicate contains an action verb.

4.2. ∞ *-i* occurs with pronouns, animate nouns[1] and mostly nouns of time and place which are ending in *-a* and less frequently with some other nouns. It is in free variation with *-ili* suffix after some nouns ending in *-a*.

32. *avaru nan-ad-i paṇa ke:ṭṭaɪru*

They asked money from me

33. *nam-ad-i coːṛu ille*

We have no food

34. *nin-ad-i pammu kaḍakkudu*

(Lit.) The fruit is with you: you have fruits

35. *raɪman-itt-i paṇa vangineɪmu*

We received money from Raman

36. *ä:ne-tt-i kombu kaḍakkudu*

Elephant has tusk

37. *a: ne:ra-tt-i avane pa:tte:mu*

We saw him at that time

38. *i: ëḍa-tt-i ku:re kaḍakkudu*

There is a house in this place

39. *nana pakka-tt-i avaru irunda:ru*

They were on my side

40. *ni:mu du:ra-tt-i irukkiri*

You (Pl.) are at a distance

41. *ni:mu i: ja:ma-tt-i e:nge po:giri*

Where do you go at this (night) time

42. *a: ve:le-ne cikkira-tt-i muḍi*

You finish that work quickly

43. *kallu o:ra-tt-i giḍa kaḍakkudu*

There is a plant near the stone

44. *a: vaḍa-tt-i kanappe nu:lu kaḍakkudu*

There is a red thread in that rope

45. *a: na:ya-tt-i na:ya ille*

There is no Justice in that verdict

46. *cappara-tt-i to:ga kaḍakkudu*

God is on the palanquin

The following examples are given for the freevariation of *-ili* and *-i*.

47. *mara-tt-ili ko:ḍe irukkudu*

There is a monkey on the tree

48. *a: mara-tt-i irukka ka:kkene piḍikkoṉu*

(One) should catch the crow on that tree

4.3. ∞ *-(i)li* occurs elsewhere

49. *karaṇḍi-li co:ṟu kaḍakkudu*

There is food in the spoon

50. *bokk-ili eḻuttu kaḍakkudu*

There are letters in the book

51. *va:ca-tt-ili kugande:mu*

We sat on threshold

52. *peṭṭi-li paṇa kaḍakkudu*

There is money in the box

53. *vira-tt-ili mo:dira ekkime:mu*

We placed a ring on (someone's) finger

54. *oru u:r-ili reṇḍu gaṇḍucu irunda:ru*

There were two men in a village

55. *to:ṭṭa-tt-ili irukka giḍaga caṭṭuṭṭina*

The plants in the garden were all dead

56. *ni:r-ili pu: kaḍakkudu*

There is a worm in the water

57. *ku:re-li paṇa kaḍakkudu*

There is money in the house

58. *ole-li ti: kanalu kaḍakkudu*

There is fire in the oven

59. *giḍa-tt-ili pammu kaḍakkudu*

There is fruit in the plant

60. *poḷo-li puḷḷi kaḍakkudu*

There is a spot on the scar

44. *-kke* occurs with all nouns which take action verbs as their predicates. This case suffix conveys the notion 'towards'.

61. *avaru ä:ne-kke po:na:ru*

They went towards the elephant

62. *puli-kke po:ne:mu*

We went towards tiger

63. *te:ni-kke te:nu kunniga vandina*

Bees went towards the honey

64. *avaru peṭṭi-kke paṇa ekkina:ru*

They kept money in the box

65. *nan-a-kke vanda:ru*

They came towards me

66. *mara-kke ni:ru viṭṭe:mu*

We poured water for the tree

67. *kaḷa-kke came ekkiniri*

You heaped the Italian millet in the thrashing floor

68. *ka:yi-kke uppu ekkine:mu*

We added some salt to the vegetables

69. *avaru nan-a-kke* { *ko:pa* / *ro:ca* } *ma:ḍina:ru*

They got angry with me

70. *giḍa-kke ni:ru u:rrine:mu*

We poured water for the plant

71. *pammi-kke i:ppi vandina*

The house- flies came towards the fruit

5. Dative case

The dative case has two suffixes. They are *-kku* and *-kke*.

5.1. ∞ *-kku* occurs with animate nouns, pronouns and time nouns. The nouns which are followed by post positions denoting places will also take this suffix.

72. *nan-u-kku pammu illa*

I have no fruit

73. *nam-u-kku reṇḍu mara irukkina*

We have two trees

74. *avaru-kku koḷḷa bu:mi kaḍakkudu*

They have plenty of lands

75. *nan-u-kku cangaṭṭa*

I am in trouble

76. *a:yittava:ra-kku po:gila*

(One) may go on Sunday

77. *ku:re-kku veṭṭili avaru irukka:ru*

They are outside the house

78. *u:ru-kku pakkatti kere oḍuguḍu*

The river flows near the village

79. *tele-kku uddali pu: kaḍakkudu*

There is a worm on (some one's) head

5.2. ∞ *-kke* occurs elsewhere

80. *ku:re-kke po:ge:mu*

We go to the house

81. *avaru ko:likere-kke vanda:ru*

They came to Kolikkarai

82. *moṭṭupaḷa-kke po:ne:mu*

We went to Mettupalayam

83. *na:mu paḷḷikuḍa-kke po:gila enru irukke:mu*

We think that we may go to school

84. *ni:mu ba:vi-kke ni:ru reccuga po:giri*

You go to the well to draw water

85. *avaru anga:ḍi-kke po:yi perangi vangina:ru*

Having gone to the shop, they purchased chillies

86. *ni:mu kere-kke ni:ru a:ḍuga po:giri*

You (Pl.) go to the river to take bath

87. *avaru cidambara-kke paḍikka po:ga:ru*

They go to Chidambaram to study

88. *na:mu mara-kke po:ge:mu*

We go to the tree

89. *ni:mu to:ṭṭa-kke vargiri*

You (Pl.) come to the garden

90. *co:ttiro-kke po:gemu*

We go to perform the rites

6. Purposive case

The purposive case marker is *-kku*. One of the dative case suffixes is also *-kku*. This purposive case marker occurs with all the nouns.

91. *pammu-kku koḍutte:mu*

We gave something for the fruit

92. *eṇṇe-kku paṇa koḍuttiri*

You (Pl.) gave money for the oil

93. *moṭṭupaḷa-kku paṇa koḍutte:mu*

We gave money to the people of Mettupalayam

94. *teyla-kku eṇṇe koḍuttiri*

You gave oil for preparing

95. *marundu-kku peṭṭi koḍutte:mu*

We gave box to keep the medicine

96. *pa:lu-kku cakkare vangine:mu*

We purchased sugar for milk

97. *co:ṟu-kku uppu vangina:ru*

We purchased salt for meals

98. *ca:ru-kku ka:yi vangine:mu*
We bought unripe fruit to prepare curry

99. *ṭi: giḍa-kku marundu vangina:ru*
They bought pesticide for the tea plant

100. *labare-kku katti vanginiri*
The bought knife for the rubber tree

7. Sociative case

The Sociative case marker is *-o:ḍe*. It occurs with all nouns.

101. *nan-n-o:ḍe avaru vanda:ru*
They came with me

102. *nam-m-o:ḍe ni:mu maṇittiri*
You spoke with us

103. *nim-m-o:ḍe avaru co:ṟu tiṉṟa:ru*
They ate food with you (Pl.)

104. *avaru mudupp-o:ḍe badukkina:ru*
They lived with respect

105. *ka:remaḍe-y-o:ḍe na:mu vande:mu*
We came with Karaimadai

106. *na:mu roṭṭi-y-o:ḍe po:ne:mu*
We went with bread (we took bread)

107. *pa:l-o:ḍe ni:re kalande:mu*
We mixed water with milk

108. *avan-o:ḍe na:yi vandadu/vandudu*

The dog came with him

109. *kuḍumba-tt-o:ḍe* / *kuḍi-y-o:ḍe* } *u:rikke po:ne:mu*

We, the whole family went out to a village

110. *na:mu ucur-o:ḍe po:ra:ḍine:mu*

We struggled for life

111. *avar-o:ḍe caṇḍe viṭṭe:mu*

We fought with them

112. *puli-y-o:ḍe karaḍi jagaḍa ma:ḍinadu*

The bear fought with tiger

113. *cuci peṭṭi-y-o:ḍe ko:yamuttirilirundu vanda*

Suci came from Coimbatore with a box

114. *avaru cando:ca-tt-o:ḍe irunda:ru*

They were happy

115. *kuyya pamm-o:ḍe cakke pamme tiṉṟa:ru*

They ate jack fruit along with guava fruit

8. Ablative case

ablative case markers are *-(i)lirundu* and *-irundu*. The case marker *-(i)lirundu* can be analysed as the locative case *-(i)li* which is optional and the verbal participle *-irundu* of the verb *iru* 'to be'.

8. 1. ∞ *-irundu* occurs with the nouns which are taking *-i* as the locative marker.

116. *na:mu giḍa-tt-irundu pu:ve paritte:mu*

We plucked the flower from the plant

117. *pe:na-tt-irundu ingi pecendadu*

The ink came out of the pen

118. *a: ĕḍa-tt irundu na:mu po:ne:mu*

We went from that place

119. *a: ne:ra-tt-irundu adike po:gadu ille*

Since that time onwards (one) does not go there

120. *nan-ad-irundu paṇa vangina:ru*

They received money from me

121. *co:le pakka-tt-irundu vande:mu*

We came from very near to the forest

122. *cappara-tt-irundu vaṇṇatte eḍutte:mu*

We took the sari from the palanquin

123. *a: ja:ma-tt-irundu ma:mu rongugale*

We do not sleep from that time onwards

124. *nin-ad-irandu nanukku pammu cikkinadu*

I got the fruit from you (Sg.)

125. *beṭṭu o:ra-tt-irundu u:rikke po:ne:mu*

We went to the village from the side of the mountain

126. *cakke mara-tt-irundu pammu veṭṭine:mu*

We cut the fruit from the Jack tree

127. *na·mu kaḷa-tt-irundu varge:mu*

We came from the ground

128. *ā:ne-irundu kombu cikkugudu*

We get tusk from the elephant

129. *avare idi-irundu ku:rekke po:ga collu*

(You) ask them to go to the house from here

130. *ni:mu e:d-irundu vargiri ?*

Where do you come from ?

8. 2. ∞ *-(i)lirundu* occurs elsewhere.

131. *na:mu u:r-ilirundu varge:mu*

We came from the village

132. *ba:vi-lirundu ni:ru reccuge:mu*

We draw water from the well

133. *a:cige-lirundu avaru ō:ndu varga:ru*

They came after getting up from the bed

134. *ko:ttagiri-ilirundu avaru vandale*

They did not come from Kotagiri

135. *pamm-ilirundu ca:ratte iṇḍine:mu*

We extracted Juice from the fruit

136. *na:mu anga:di-lirundu colavu vangine:mu*

We bought grocery from the shop

137. *peṭṭi-lirundu paṇatte eḍutte:mu*

We took money from the box

138. *a: mara-tt-ilirundu o:ḍi vanda:ru*

They came running from the tree

139. *avare a: ve:le-lirundu ni:kki vitte:mu*
We dismissed them from the job

140. *vira-tt-ilirundu latta vargudu*

141. *ni:mu ke:re-lirundu vandiri*
You came form the house

142. *na:mu kere-lirundu po:ne:mu*
We went from the river

143. *a: ërre-lirundu ä:ne po:nadu*
Elephant went from that rock

9. Genitive case

The genitive case has two suffixes. They are *-a* and ϕ[2]

9.1. ∞ *-a* occurs with the oblique bases of first and second person pronoun.

144. *idu nan-a ku:re*
This is my house

145. *adu niy-a bokku*
That is your book

146. *adu nim-a / mim-m-a ka:ḍu*
That is your (Pl.) land

147. *adu nam-m-a / mam-a petti*
That is our box

9.2. ∞ -ϕ occurs elsewhere.

148. *na:mu avaru-ttu ku:rekke po:ge:mu*
We go to their house

149. *avan-u-ttu pe:re ke:kka po:ge:mu*

We are going to ask his name

150. *i: ku:re-ttu co:ṟu*

The meals of this house

151. *pammu-ttu toṭṭe kitcuga po:ge:mu*

We are going to cleave the fruit's skin

152. *i: mara-ttu pammu*

This tree's fruit

153. *a: giḍa-tt-ka:yi*

That plant's unripe fruit

154. *nari-ttu va:lu*

Fox's tail

155. *imbi pammu-ttu ca:ru*

Lemon fruit's juice

156. *ma:ri-ttu peṇḍu*

Mari's wife

157. *ä:ne-ttu kombu*

Elephant's tusk

10. Vocative case

There is no specific marker for this case except lengthening of the final vowel in nouns.

158.	*o: ra:mi*	*o: ra:mi:*	Oh Rami
159.	*e: kondi*	*e: kondi:*	Oh Younger sister-in-law
160.	*o: ma:ri*	*o: ma:ri:*	Oh Mari

161. *o: p:äli* *o: pä:li:* Oh Pali

162. *o: ka:ramaḍe* *o: ka:ramaḍe* Oh Karamadai

163. *o: ra:mä* *o: ra:ma:* Oh Rama

1. The following chart shows different case markers in Iruḷa

Case	markers		
Nominative	unmarked		
Accusative	~ *-e*	~ *-ne*	
Instrumental	~ *-ili*	~ *-i*	∞ *-a:le*
Locative	∞ *(i) li*	∞ *-i*	*-kke*
Dative		∞ *-kku*	∞ *-kke*
Purposive		*-kku*	
Sociative	*-o:ḍe*		
Ablative	∞ *-(i)lirundu*	∞ *-(i)rundu*	
Genitive	∞ *-a*	∞ *-Ø*	
Vocative	Mostly final vowel is lengthened		

12. All the natural languages have the phenomenon of case movement and clause reduction. Like Tamil, Iruḷa also has the phenomenon of case movement and clause reduction. Consider the following sentences.

164. *nam:mu ni:mu aḍugude tiru aḍuge:mu*

We can cook as you (Pl.) cook

165. *na:mu nimme tiru aḍuge:mu*

We can cook like you (Pl.)

166. *na:mu avaru lettada:le idikke vande:mu*

We come here since they invited us

167. *nam:mu avara:le idikke vande:mu*

We came here because of them

Sentences (165) and the (167) are paraphrases of (164) and (166) respectively. In the sentence 164 the accusative case marker *-e* occurs after the noun clause *ni:mu aḍugadu* 'you (Pl.) cook' whereas in (165) it occurs after *nim* (the oblique form of *ni:mu*). The accusative case marker *-e* is moved in the same clause after the noun *ni:mu* and the noun clause is reduced to a noun as a result of which we get *nimmetiru*. It must be noted here that this kind of movement takes place only when *-e* is followed by the post position such as *tiru*. In the sentence 166 instrumental marker *-a:le* occurs after the noun clause *avaru lettadu* 'they invited' whereas in 167 it occurs after *avaru*. The *a:le* case is moved in the same clause after the noun *avaru* and the noun clause is reduced to a noun as a result of which we get *avara:le*.

In certain situations two nouns with the same case suffix may occur in a simple sentence. Consider the following sentences.

168. *avaru nimmemu nammemu pa:ttam:u*

They saw you and us

In the above sentence two nouns occur with *-e* followed by a conjunction marker. This compound sentence is showing case recurrence with conjunction.

Notes :

1. The pronouns and human nouns take *-i* a locative suffix and *-ad-* and *-itt-* are the link morphs (see 32, 33, 34 and 35) Alternatively *-adi* (with pronouns 32, 33, 34) and *-itti* (with human nouns 35) can also be taken as locative suffix
2. *-ttu* is same as link morph which seems to denote the genitive meaning. But it should be taken as a link morph and genitive ϕ on the basis of other suffixes which always occur after link morph (*ë:ḍa-tt-i* see sentence 38) and *-u* is nothing but the enunciative.

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