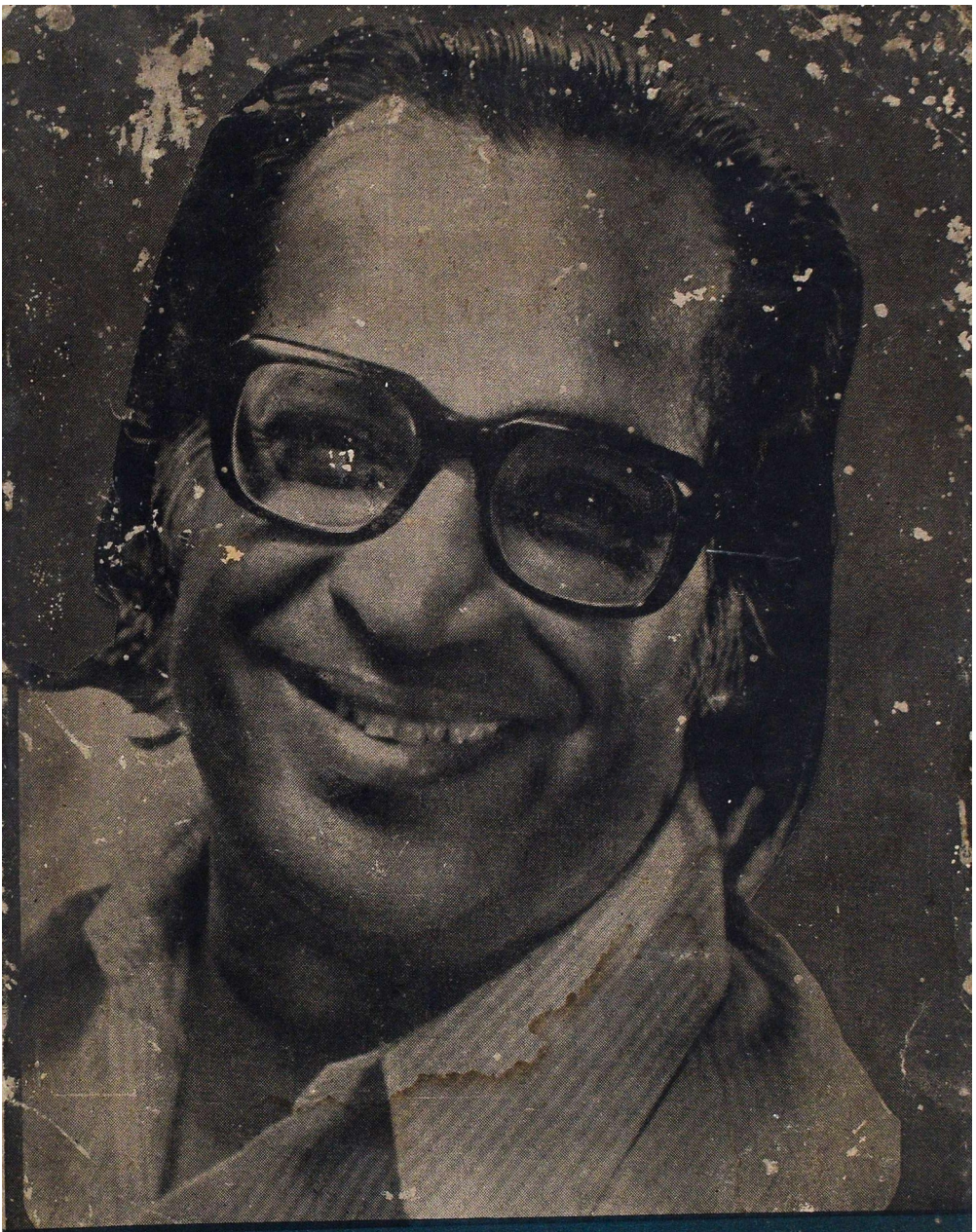


A FESTSCHRIFT FOR PROF. M. SHANMUGAM PILLAI

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Part One

(Eds.)

M. ISRAEL
R. SHANMUGAM
G. VIJAYAVENUGOPAL

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Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai-A Profile

Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai who has completed 60 years in January 1980 was born on 4th January 1920 as the last of ten children of whom only five sons survived, to Thiru Muthumperumal Pillai and Thirumathi Chidambaravadivu in a hamlet Puravacheri in Kanyakumari district. He had his early education in Tiruppaticaram and Vadacheri and Nagercoil in the same district and later took his B.Sc. degree in 1943 from Kerala University. He studied at the University College, Trivandrum. His exposure to science is one of the major factors for his interest in Linguistics, a growing social science during the post-world war period in the West. He moved then to Annamalai University for higher education. He joined the M.A. programme in Tamil and secured first class and first rank in the examination in 1945. It was during this time he came under the influence of Prof. T.P Meenakshisundaran, the great doyen among the Tamil scholars who was heading the Tamil Department and Oriental Studies at that time in Annamalai University. In M. A., Prof. A. C. Chettiar, Pandithamani Kathiresa Chettiar, Bhuvaraham Pillai, Arunachalam Pillai and Dr. V. SP. Manickam Chettiar were his teachers. Prof. Shanmugam Pillai, young scholar fresh with his coveted rank and degree, who was yet to start his career, married Muthammal He joined the Department of Tamil, Annamalai University in 1945 as a lecturer. Prof. Pillai, took to advanced research in Tamil and got the M. Litt. degree on *A Critical Study of Cilappatika:ram.* Though this thesis was published much later, much of its contents were somehow got printed under various persons' names, thanks to plagiarism. It was in 1955, the Summer School of Linguistics was conducted with the liberal grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, in Poona. Prof. Pillai attended this School and got his acquaintance with Linguistics and as usual stood first in the examination. This is a turning point in his intellectual career. He got a fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation to learn Linguistics under great scholars like Prof M.B. Emeneau, Prof. Gordon H. Fairbanks, Prof. Gumperz, Prof. Charles Ferguson and Prof. Charles F. Hockett. At a time when the American version of structuralism in Linguistic studies was in its peak, Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai had his training in Linguistics in several Universities including Cornell at Ithaca (1956 57) and California at Berkeley (1957-58).

After his successful training in Structural Linguistics in the U.S.A. he returned to Annamalai University and joined as Reader in Linguistics. Though there was no programme in Linguistics he started giving courses in Phonetics and General Linguistics to the M.A. students of Tamil. Later his services were fully utilised when the Linguistic Department was started coinciding with the Silver Jubilee of Annamalai University. This is an important step towards modernisation of Tamil Studies, contemplated by Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran and Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai. Subsequently an M. A. Programme in Linguistics was initiated in Annamalai University and the first attempt was made to introduce other Dravidian languages for study in this programme. Thus a nucleus was created for studies in Dravidian languages which later grew into a Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics. It is needless to say the role played by Professor Shamugam Pillai in the early stages. He was working at Annamalai until 1967. He also took charge of the department in 1966.

Changes were happening in the educational field in Tamilnadu. The Madurai University was started in 1966 and Prof. Shanmugam Pillai joined the new University in 1967 as Reader in Tamil. Teaching Tamil to foreigners was started in Annamalai University during sixties and Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai was heading this programme there. When Madurai University was started the Great Lakes Colleges (GLCA) Association of USA wanted to start a similar programme in Madurai. It is a happy coincidence that Prof. Pillai was there at Madurai and the GLCA promptly invited him to USA to start orientation courses. In this connection he went to the College of Wooster, Ohio, to run the Summer Orientation course in 1969. Again he went to USA in 1971 this time to the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia and joined the Department of South Asian Regional Studies. There he translated the whole book of *Kuṟuntokai*, an anthology of the great Cankam poems into English in colloboration with Dr. David E Ludden. During this period Prof. Pillai got interested in Socio-Linguistics besides his interest in dialectology and structural Linguistics. He wrote a few seminal papers on code-switching during this period. From USA he returned back to Madurai to head the Department of Tamil at the request of Dr. M. Varadarajan, the great Tamil Scholar and then Vice-Chancellor of Madurai University. This is a landmark in the development of Tamil Studies in Tamilnadu and the contribution made by Prof. Shanmugam Pillai will be cherished for ever

After he assumed charges as Professor and Head of the Department of Tamil, he carefully planned the future development of the department. His vast experience and training under great scholars have helped him to visualise the growth of the department. He started introducing new courses in the name of special subjects like Folklo e, Journalism, Transl ation and Dramatics. He successfully maneuvered and converted the Tamil Depa tment into Department of Tamil Studies where not only Tamil language and literature but also other related disciplines such as Journalism could be studied. This is an important step towards modernization of Tamil Studies. His dream was to upgrade this School of Tamil Studies into an Advanced Centre of national importance which we hope will materialise sooner or later. Other innovations introduced by Prof-M. Shanmugam Pillai include the Joint Seminar of all the Professors and students of the post-graduate programmes in the city colleges wherein both the teachers and the taught sat together and discussed and debated on wide ranging subjects in Tamil and other allied branches of knowledge. The proceedings of the Se minar were later on compiled into volumes called "Vaiyai". This has become a model for scholarly publications in Tamil. His interest was not only restricted to Tamil students but to all young students of our country. He wanted that all of our young students in this country should have a good command over English (both in speaking and writing). He joined with Prof Hobbs of UK and conducted the Bridge Course in English during the Summer vacation. Though he was criticised initially for this venture (he received criticism from both English and Tamil teachers) the importance of this was later realised and it had become a regular feature for a few years to have this course in Madurai University. He planned and started a M A. programme in Linguistics and boldly introduced language studies (like Telugu, Kannada, Sanskrit and Malayalam) in the M. Phil- programme. Another important contribution made by him is the introduction of Seminar on Modern Tamil literature. which is resented even today by the purists. Here again he made another first. He made the concerned author to be present during the Seminar and made him to participate in the debates This is acclaimed to be a healthy trend in the study of Modern Tamil literature. He has also designed new courses like B A. in Muttamil(Literature, Music & Drama) and B A. in Linguistics which are yet to make a start. M.A in Tamil Studies is another new programme intended for foreign students Besides Tamil, the students are required to study the History, Economics, Politics etc., of Tamil Nadu with provision for specialization. Here almost all the depart-

ments of Madurai Kamaraj University in Humanities are involved in teach ing this programme. His interests are many sided and it is no wonder that he was selected as a National Lecturer by the University Grants Commission in 1978. This was the first time that a language professor had been honoured from the South.

Prof. Pillai had produced fifteen Ph. Ds within a short span of seven years from 1973-'80, covering various fields namely Linguistics, Literature, Folklore, Dramatics and Journalism. He has written several books both in English and Tamil and numerous articles in regional, national and international journals, which are all given as an appendix to this volume.

Prof. M Shanmugam Pillai was happily married and has two sons and a daughter and two grand children

We wish him a long, happy and purposeful life.

Preface

Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai is 61 years old now. When informed nobody believed this because he looks so young and energetic. Look at his smile (on the cover). Do you believe that he is 61 now? However truth is truth. So we decided to celebrate his 61st birthday in a fitting manner. But as usual he discouraged it. Finally we prevailed upon him ro accept our wish. We decided to bring out a volume of research papers written on various themes to commemorate the many sided development of the Tamil department Prof. Pillai had been carefully doing for the past decade. A committee was sponsored and it has been decided to request friends and students of Prof. Shanmugam Pillai to write papers in their respective field and contribute also the printing cost of their papers. The response was overwhelming and we are forced to make the volume into two, one on linguistics 'and folkore which consists of papers in English except a few in Tamil and the other on literature, literary criticism etc, in Tamil. Two contributors are so enthusiastic that they have written two papers each.

As for editing is concerned we tried our best in presenting them with uniformity with the limited facilities available to us in printing. (For example the diacritical marks).

We wish to thank our colleagues in the committee who gave their full co-operation. We thank all those who contributed liberally for this publication especially our colleagues, research scholars and students. We thank our beloved Vice-chancellor, Dr. V. Sp. Manickam who wholeheartedly supported this idea and gave encouragement. Thanks are due to Dr. S. Agesthialingom, Director of the Centre of Advanced study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, who helped us in releasing this volume at the Annual Conference of the All India University Tamil Teachers held at Tuticorin on 14-6-80. Above all we thank Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai, who all these years nurturing and developing Tamil studies in Madurai Kamaraj University, for accepting this volume as a token of our love and affection.

Madurai,
14-6-80.

M. Israel
R. Shanmugam
G. Vijayavenugopal
R. Kothandaraman

A Festschrift for
Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai

1

Three Consonant Clusters in Tamil

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1. In a three consonant cluster in Tamil, the final member is usually a plosive, the second a nasal or plosive (each of which is homorganic to the following plosive) and the first member the so-called 'medial' consonants *y*, *r* or *l*. The actual situation may be symbolized as follows:

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} y \\ r \\ l \end{matrix} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} N \\ P \end{matrix} \right\}_i \quad P_i$$

(Here, 'N' stands for a nasal and 'P' for a plosive. The subscript 'i' indicates that the items concerned are homorganic to each other.)

2. Tamil consonants are classified traditionally into *val* 'hard', *mel* 'soft' and *iṭai* 'medial'. The 'hard' consonants are the plosives, the 'soft' ones the nasals and the 'medial' ones are the semi-vowels *y* and *v*, the flap *r*, the frictionless continuant *l* and the laterals *l* and *ḷ*. Out of the six 'medial' consonants, the ones that are avoided in a three consonant cluster are, thus, the laterals *l* and *ḷ* and the semi-vowel *v*. Other consonants constrained in the initial position are the nasals and plosives.

3. These constraints are relaxed at some abstract (phonological) level, where the following situation prevails:

$$\left[\left\{ \begin{matrix} C \\ M \\ N \end{matrix} \right\} \right] \left[\begin{matrix} P \\ N \end{matrix} \right]_i \quad P_i$$

(The 'C' here stands for any consonant and the 'M' for a 'medial' consonant) The above representation may be expanded as

PP_iP_i
MP_iP_i
NP_iP_i
MN_iP_i
NN_iP_i

The missing sequence at the abstract level is PN_iP_i.

4. Kumaraswami Raja (1969) deals with the abstract level NPP in Proto-Dravidian which continues upto the Pre-Tamil stage. It was suggested there in a more general manner that at the recorded stage of Tamil "the nasal before the plosive is dropped in order to avoid this three-consonant cluster" (p. 16). This is too simple a statement which can lead to wrong results. Deletion of the initial nasal can be a neat rule only when the nasal concerned is not of the alveolar or retroflex variety. The following are examples where, it seems, the nasal deletion rule can be applied:

**maram-tt-il*	→ *mara-tt-il*	'in the tree'	(*maram* 'tree')
**vaṇaṅk-kam*	→ *vaṇak-kam*	'salute'	(*vaṇaṅku* vb.)
**añc-cam*	→ *ac-cam*	'fear'	(*añcu* vb.)
**tōṇṭ-ṭam*	→ *tōṭ-ṭam*	'garden'	(*tōṇṭu* 'dig')
**varunt-tam*	→ *varut-tam*	'suffering'	(*varuntu* 'suffer')
**virump-pam*	→ *virup pam*	'desire'	(*virumpu* vb.)
**tōṉṟ-ṟam*	→ *tōṟ-ṟam*	'appearance'	(*tōṉṟu* 'appear')

5. The attested form *taṭpam* 'coolness' in Tamil is derivable from **taṉ-ppam* (because there exists a radical form *taṉ* 'cool'). If the initial nasal deletion rule is applied here, the result would be § *ta-ppam* and not *taṭpam* as we would expect it to be. The same is the case with the form *teṟku* 'south' which is derivable from **teṉ-kku* (cf. *teṉ* 'south'). Here the result would be § *te-kku* if the nasal deletion rule is applied.

6. The initial nasal deletion rule, therefore, has to be abandoned. We now need two separate rules to substitute the nasal deletion rule. They are: (i) Plosivization of the initial nasal and (ii) Simplification of the geminate plosive.

(i) $N_i \rightarrow P_i / __ PP$ (Plosivization rule)

(Here, a nasal gets converted into a corresponding plosive when it occurs before a geminate plosive.)

(ii) $P_iP_i \rightarrow P_i / P __$ (Reduction rule)

(Here, a geminate plosive gets reduced into a single plosive when it follows another plosive.)

7. The derivation of *taṯpam* 'coolness' and *teṟku* 'south' are as follows:

**taṉ-ppam*	|	**teṉ-kku*	(Base)
taṯ-ppam	|	*teṟ-kku*	(Plosivization)
taṯ-pam	↓	*teṟ-ku*	(Reduction)

The Plosivization rule and the Reduction rule are both ordered rules. The latter follows the former in the ordering. If the order is changed, it is impossible to derive *taṯ-pam* and *teṟ-ku* from **taṉ-ppam* and **teṉ-kku*, respectively. The Reduction rule cannot be applied first since the geminate plosive is not preceded by a plosive. Plosivization of the nasal is possible but the result would be §*taṯ-ppam* and §*teṟ-kku* which are not attested.

8. The following forms are taken care of by the above two rules which are ordered:

**vaṉaṅk-kam*	→	*vaṉakk-kam*	(P) →	*vaṉak-kam*	(R)	'salute'
**añc-cam*	→	*acc cam*	(P) →	*ac-cam*	(R)	'fear'
**tōṇṯ-ṯam*	→	*tōṯṯ-ṯam*	(P) →	*tōṯ-ṯam*	(R)	'garden'
**varunt-tam*	→	*varutt-tam*	(P) →	*varut-tam*	(R)	'suffering'
**virump-pam*	→	*virupp-pam*	(P) →	*virup-pam*	(R)	'desire'
**tōṉṟ ṯam*	→	*tōṟṟ-ṯam*	(P) →	*tōṟ-ṯam*	(R)	'appearance'

The ordering of Plosivization first and Reduction next will lead to trouble in the case of *mara-tt-ukku* 'to the tree', whose abstract representation is **maram-tt ukku*. When the Plosivization rule operates this will become *marap-tt-ukku* and by the application of the Reduction rule we will get the irregular form §*marap-t-ukku*. In order to avoid this discrepancy, we need another rule which should be placed at the top of the series. The new rule is the Nasal Harmony rule according to which the nasal *m* will become homorganic to the plosive that follows it. Here is the expanded list of ordered rules:

(i) m → N_i /—P_i (Nasal Harmony rule)
(ii) N_i → P_i /—PP (Plosivization rule)
(iii) P_iP_i → P_i /P— (Reduction rule)

The form *marattukku* can now be derived in the following manner:

**maram - tt-ukku*	(Base)
maran - tt-ukku	(NH rule)
marat - tt-ukku	(P rule)
marat - t-ukku	(R rule)

9. The Plosivization rule needs to be expanded to accommodate a lateral becoming a plosive also. The expanded version of that rule will look like this:

(ii) $\left\{\begin{matrix} L \\ N \end{matrix}\right\}_i$ —→ P_i /—PP (Plosivization rule)

(A lateral or nasal becomes the corresponding plosive when it occurs before a geminate plosive.)

The abstract (infinitive) forms **kēḷ-kka* and **kal-kka* will become *kēṭ-kka* and *kaṛ-kka*, respectively by this rule and when we apply the deletion rule to these forms, they become *kēṭ-ka* 'to ask' and *kaṛ-ka* 'to learn'. Other forms that are taken care of by these two rules are as follows:

**āḷ-cci*	→	*āṭ-cci*	(P)	→	*āṭ-ci*	(R)	'rule'
**mīḷ-ppu*	→	*mīṭ-ppu*	(P)	→	*mīṭ pu*	(R)	'redemption'
**muyal-cci*	→	*muyaṛ-cci*	(P)	→	*muyaṛ-ci*	(R)	'attempt'
**ēl-ppu*	→	*ēṛ-ppu*	(P)	→	*ēṛ-pu*	(R)	'receiving'

10. The past tense forms of the verbs *kēḷ* 'ask' and *kal* 'learn' are *kēṭ-t-* and *kaṛ-ṛ-*, respectively. These are to be derived from **kēḷ-tt-* and **kal-tt* , since both these verbs are 'strong'. When the Plosivization rule operates on these two forms, it will convert the lateral into plosive yielding *kēṭ-tt-* and *kaṛ tt* , respectively. Thereafter, the deletion rule will simplify the geminate dental plosive into a unit plosive, as a result of which we will get the forms §*kēṭ-t-* and §*kaṛ-t-*, respectively. These forms are not attested anywhere and hence we need another rule

which will add a retroflex or alveolar coloring to the dental plosive, which is given below :

$$D \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} R \\ A \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} R \\ A \end{bmatrix} - \qquad \text{(Dental Mutation rule)}$$

We have now got four rules in the following order :

(i) $m \rightarrow N_i / - P_i$ (NH rule)

(ii) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} L \\ N \end{matrix} \right\}_i \rightarrow P_i / - PP$ (P rule)

(iii) $P_i P_i \rightarrow P_i / P -$ (R rule)

(iv) $D \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} R \\ A \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} R \\ A \end{bmatrix} -$ (DM rule)

The DM rule follows the R rule in the above ordering. If it precedes the R rule, it has to operate twice. The forms *kēṭ-tt-* and *kaṟ-tt-* which result due to the application of the P rule will become *kēṭ-ṭt-* and *kaṟ ṟt-*, and then *kēṭ-ṭṭ-* and *kaṟ-ṟṟ-* (by the operation of the DM rule twice), which will later become *kēṭ-ṭ-* and *kaṟ-ṟ-* respectively by the application of the R rule. Economy of operation prompted us to push the DM rule below the R rule. It is enough now to operate the DM rule just once. The forms § *kēṭ-t-* and § *kaṟ-t-* which resulted due to the operation of the P rule and the R rule will become *kēṭ-ṭ-* and *kaṟ-ṟ-* by a single operation of the DM rule.

11. The Reduction rule above involves the deletion of one of the plosives. We are not quite sure as to which of the two homorganic plosives gets deleted. A third alternative is that a long plosive becomes short. The three choices are symbolized below :

$P_i \rightarrow \phi \; / \; PP_i -$
$P_i \rightarrow \phi \; / \; P - P_i$
$P{:}_i \rightarrow P_i \; / \; P -$

We will be able to select the best solution for this problem after we go through section (13).

12. Old Tamil has the form *enpu* 'bone' whose variant is *elumpu*. The first form can be reconstructed as **elmpu* and we can ex-

plain this form as resulting from vowel deletion. The lateral here will become a nasal because of the influence of the proximate nasal. This rule will be called the Nasalization rule.

$$L_i \rightarrow N_i \ / \ -N \qquad \text{(Nasalization rule)}$$

By the application of this rule, **elmpu* gets changed to § *eṉmpu*. In order to avoid the three consonant cluster here, we have to posit another rule as follows :

$$N_iP_i \rightarrow P_i \ / \ N- \qquad \text{(Reduction rule)}$$

(A homorganic sequence of a nasal and plosive becomes the corresponding plosive when it is preceded by a nasal.) When this rule is applied § *eṉmpu* will become *eṉpu*.

13. We now have got two Reduction rules :

$$N_iP_i \rightarrow P_i \ / \ N-$$
$$P_iP_i \rightarrow P_i \ / \ P-$$

In one, a nasal seems to be deleted and in the other a plosive. It would be better to club these two rules as follows :

$$\begin{bmatrix} N \\ P \end{bmatrix}_i \rightarrow \phi / \begin{bmatrix} N \\ P \end{bmatrix} - P_i$$

Thus, in a three consonant cluster, it is usually a nasal or plosive which is homorganic to a plosive and which occurs after a nasal or plosive, respectively that gets deleted.

14. An answer is in sight for the problem that confronted us in section (11). We can say now that it is the medial unit in a three consonant cluster that gets deleted. We can also conclude that double plosives in Tamil are only clusters, i.e. double units and not just the lengthened versions of single plosives.

15. We have to make a revision in the list of rules found in section (10). The Reduction rule there has to be expanded in order to accommodate the deletion of a nasal also. An additional rule that is suggested in section (12), viz. the Nasalization rule has to be incorporated

somewhere in the list. It does not really make much difference whether the Nasalization rule is placed before the Plosivization rule or after that. These are two complementary processes and hence ordering them one way or other does not matter very much. We would, however, prefer the Nasalization rule to precede the Plosivization rule arbitrarily.

16. The finalized version of the list of ordered rules is given below:

1. $m \rightarrow N_i / -P_i$ (NH rule)
2. $L_i \rightarrow N_i / -N$ (N rule)
3. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} L \\ N \end{matrix} \right\}_i \rightarrow P_i / - PP$ (P rule)
4. $\left[\begin{matrix} N \\ P \end{matrix} \right]_i \rightarrow \varnothing / \left[\begin{matrix} N \\ P \end{matrix} \right] - P_i$ (R rule)
5. $D \rightarrow \left[\begin{matrix} R \\ A \end{matrix} \right] / \left[\begin{matrix} R \\ A \end{matrix} \right] -$ (DM rule)

17. The derivations of five representative forms are shown below with the finalized version of the ordered rules.

(i)	**maṉam-kku*		(Base)
	maṉaṁ-kku		(NH rule)
	maṉak-kku		(P rule)
	maṉak-ku	'to the mind'	(R rule)
(ii)	**nal-ṅku*		(Base)
	naṉ-ṅku		(N rule)
	naṉ-ku	'well'	(R rule)
(iii)	**koḷ-nt-*		(Base)
	koṇ-nt-		(N rule)
	koṇ-t-		(R rule)
	koṇ-ṭ-	'took'	(DM rule)

(iv)	*kaṇ-kku*		(Base)
	kaṭ-kku		(P rule)
	kaṭ-ku	'to the eye'	(R rule)
(v)	**kēḷ-tt-*		(Base)
	kēṭ-tt-		(P rule)
	kēṭ-t-		(R rule)
	kēṭ-ṭ-	'asked'	(DM rule)

APPENDIX

1. Base clusters and their derivations with applied rules

1.	**ṅkk*	→	*kkk*	(P)	→ *kk*	(R)		*vaṇak-kam*	'salute'
2.	**ñcc*	→	*ccc*	(P)	→ *cc*	(R)		*ac-cam*	'fear'
3.	**ṇkk*	→	*ṭkk*	(P)	→ *ṭk*	(R)		*kaṭ-ku*	'to the eye'
4.	**ṉcc*	→	*ṭcc*	(P)	→ *ṭc*	(R)		*māṭ-ci*	'excellence'
5.	**ṉṭṭ*	→	*ṭṭṭ*	(P)	→ *ṭṭ*	(R)		*tōṭ-ṭam*	'garden'
6.	**ṉtt*	→	*ṭtt*	(P)	→ *ṭt*	(R)	→ ṭṭ(DM)	*maṭ-ṭēr*	'clay cart'
7.	**ṉpp*	→	*ṭpp*	(P)	→ *ṭp*	(R)		*taṭ-pam*	'coolness'
8.	**ntt*	→	*ttt*	(P)	→ *tt*	(R)		*varut-tam*	'suffering'
9.	**mkk*	→	*ṅkk*	(NH)	→ kkk	(P)	→ kk(R)	*maṉak-ku*	'to the mind'
10.	**mcc*	→	*ñcc*	(NH)	→ *ccc*	(P)	→ *cc* (R)	*marac-cilai*	'wooden idol'
11.	**mtt*	→	*ntt*	(NH)	→ *ttt*	(P)	→ *tt* (R)	*marat-t-il*	'in the tree'
12.	**mpp*	→	*mpp*	(NH)	→ *ppp*	(P)	→ *pp* (R)	*marap-peṭṭi*	'wooden box'
13.	**ɭkk*	→	*ɾkk*	(P)	→ *ɾk*	(R)		*kaɾ-ka*	'to learn'
14.	**ḷṅk*	→	*ṉṅk*	(N)	→ *ṉk*	(R)		*naṉ-ku*	'well'
15.	**ɭcc*	→	*ɾcc*	(P)	→ *ɾc*	(R)		*muyaɾ-ci*	'attempt'
16.	**ɭtt*	→	*ɾtt*	(P)	→ *ɾt*	(R)	→ ɾɾ(DM)	*viɾ ɾ-*	'sold'
17.	**ɭnt*	→	*ṉnt*	(N)	→ *ṉt*	(R)	→ ṉɾ(DM)	*niṉ-ɾ-*	'stood'
18	**ɭpp*	→	*ɾpp*	(P)	→ *ɾp*	(R)		*ēɾ-pu*	'receiving'
19.	**ɭmp*	→	*ṉmp*	(N)	→ *ṉp*	(R)		*eṉpu*	'bone'
20.	**ɭkk*	→	*ṭkk*	(P)	→ *ṭk*	(R)		*kēṭ-ka*	'to ask'
21.	**ḷṅk*	→	*ṉṅk*	(N)	→ *ṇk*	(R)		*koṇ-kaṇ*	'husband'

22.	*ḷcc	→ ṭcc	(P)	→ ṭc	(R)		āṭ-ci	'rule'
23.	*ḷtt	→ ṭtt	(P)	→ ṭt	(R)	→ ṭṭ(DM)	kēṭ-ṭ-	'asked'
24.	*ḷnt	→ ṇnt	(N)	→ ṇt	(R)	→ ṇṭ(DM)	koṇ-ṭ-	'took'
25.	*ḷpp	→ ṭpp	(P)	→ ṭp	(R)		mīṭ-pu	'redemption'
26.	*ṉkk	→ ṟkk	(P)	→ ṟk	(R)		eṟ-ku	'to me'
27.	*ṉcc	→ ṟcc	(P)	→ ṟc	(R)		poṟ-cilai	'golden idol'
28.	*ṉtt	→ ṟtt	(P)	→ ṟt	(R)	→ ṟṟ(DM)	poṟ-ṟoṭi	'golden bracelet'
29.	*ṉpp	→ ṟpp	(P)	→ ṟp	(R)		poṟ-pū	'golden flower'
30.	*ṉṟṟ	→ ṟṟṟ	(P)	→ ṟṟ	(R)		tōṟ-ṟam	'appearance'

2. Ordered rules applied and the examples

→ NH → P → R	:	maṉak-ku	<	*maṉam kku
1 3 4				
	:	marac-cilai	<	*maram-c-cilai
	:	marat-t-il	<	*maram-tt-il
	:	marap-peṭṭi	<	*maram-p-peṭṭi
→ N → R	:	naṉ-ku	<	*nal-ṅku
2 4	:	eṉpu	<	*elmpu
	:	koṇ-kaṉ	<	*koḷ-ṅkaṉ
→ N → R → DM	:	niṉ-ṟ-	<	*nil-nt-
2 4 5				
	:	koṇ-ṭ-	<	*koḷ-nt-
→ P → R	:	vaṉak-kam	<	*vaṉaṅk-kam
3 4				
	:	ac-cam	<	*añc-cam
	:	kaṭ-ku	<	*kaṉ-kku
	:	māṭ-ci	<	*māṉ-cci
	:	tōṭ-ṭam	<	*tōṇṭ-ṭam
	:	taṭ-pam	<	*taṉ-ppam
	:	varut-tam	<	*varuṇt-tam
	:	kaṟ-ka	<	*kal-kka
	:	muyaṟ-ci	<	*muyal-cci
	:	ēṟ-pu	<	*ēl-ppu
	:	kēṭ-ka	<	*kēḷ-kka
	:	āṭ-ci	<	*āḷ-cci

		:	*mīṯ-pu*	<	**mīḷ-ppu*
		:	*eṟ-ku*	<	**eṉ-kku*
		:	*poṟ-cilaĭ*	<	**poṉ-c cilaĭ*
		:	*poṟ-pū*	<	**pon p-pū*
		:	*tōṟ-ṟam*	<	**tōṉṟ-ṟam*
→ P →	R → DM	:	*maṯ-ṯēr*	<	**maṇ-t-tēr*
3	4 5	:	*viṟ-ṟ-*	<	**vil-tt-*
		:	*kēṯ-ṯ-*	<	**kēḷ-tt-*
		:	*poṟ-ṟoṯĭ*	<	**poṉ-t-toṯĭ*

3. Derivations and their base clusters

1.	kk	<	**ṅkk,*	**mkk*	
2.	*cc*	<	**ñcc,*	**mcc*	
3.	*ṭk*	<	**ṇkk,*	**ḷkk*	
4.	*ṭc*	<	**ṇcc,*	**ḷcc*	
5.	*ṭṯ*	<	**ṇṭṭ,*	**ṇtt,*	**ḷtt*
6.	*ṭp*	<	**ṇpp,*	**ḷpp*	
7.	*ṉk*	<	**ḷṅk*		
8.	*ṉṯ*	<	**ḷnt*		
9.	*tt*	<	**ntt,*	**mtt*	
10.	*pp*	<	**mpp*		
11.	*ṟk*	<	**lkk,*	**ṉkk*	
12.	*ṟc*	<	**lcc,*	**ncc*	
13.	*ṟp*	<	**lpp,*	**ṉpp*	
14.	*ṟṟ*	<	**ltt,*	**ṉtt,*	**nṟṟ*
15.	*ṉk*	<	**lṅk*		
16.	*ṉp*	<	**lmp*		
17.	*ṉṟ*	<	**lnt*		

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2

Personal And Impersonal Markers in Tamil

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Traditional linguistics (shortly, TL) identifies the verbals of *ceyta* (<ceyt-a) type both as predicative and non-predicative. While as predicative, *ceyt-a* verbals are past non-human plural as exemplified in *ya:nai-kaḷ naṭant-a* 'elephants walked', as non-predicative they assume the adjectival function as exemplified in *naṭant-a ya:nai-kaḷ* '(the) elephants that walked'. This holds good for the verbals of *ceykiṉ-a* (>ceykiṉ-a) type too. Eg: *ya:nai-kaḷ naṭakkiṉ-a* 'elephants walk/are walking' : *naṭakkiṉ-a ya:nai-kaḷ* '(the) elephants that walk'. The predicatives of *ceyt-a* and *ceykiṉ-a* types have been replaced by predicatives of *ceyt-ana* and *ceykiṉ-ana* types in the examples under reference in modern Tamil. Further in modern Tamil, adjectivals of *ceykiṉ-a* type are in free variation with adjectivals of *ceyy-um* type, the latter of which are noticed to function as predicate of human singular and non-human subject NPs in early Tamil (Tol.Col. Ce:na.227) and non-human subject NPs in modern Tamil. As for the meaning of the suffix *-a* figuring in *ceyt-a* and *ceykiṉ-a* verbals, TL associates it with non-human plurality taking the predicative function into consideration. No semantic specification is available to the suffix under reference within the framework of TL when the verbals under reference assume the adjectival function. *ceyt-a* and *ceykiṉ-a* verbals are impersonal in character when they assume the adjectival function. This is the reason why the TL is unable to determine the semantics of - *a* of non-predicative *ceyt-a* and *ceykiṉ-a*. The suffix *a* noticed in predicative and adjectival verbals of the type under reference might appropriately be trea-

ted as personal and impersonal markers respectively. The present study is an attempt to unfold the semantics of the impersonal marker *-a* figuring in the adjectivals of *ceyt-a* and *ceykiṉṟ-a* types and re-examine the semantics of the personal markers in general.

Tamil is not devoid of situations revealing the complementary relation between personal and impersonal verbal predicates. As for evidence the following may be taken into consideration.

1 (a) ve:ṭṭuvan kanai tuyil *maṭint(u)* ena (Puṟam, 320.3)
(b) ve:ṭṭuvan kanai tuyil *maṭinta:n* a:ka (supplied)
'As the hunter was in deep slumber'

2 (a) na:n aṅke: ponat(u) *uṇṭu* } (Specifying the sense of
(b) na:n aṅke: po:y *irukkiṟe:n* } familiarity)
'I had been there'

3 (a) murukan *vanta* piṟaku ra:man po:na:n
(b) murukan *vanta:n*. piṟaku ra:man po:na:n
'Raman went after Murukan came'

4 (a) murukan *vant*-a ceyti
(b) murukan *vantat(u)* a:kiya ceyti
(c) murukan *vanta:n* enṟa ceyti
'The news that Murukan came'

It might be noticed in examples (1)-(3), the verbals *maṭint(u)* / *maṭinta:n*, *uṇṭu* / *irukkinṟe:n* and *vanta/vanta:n* occurring in the impersonal - personal order are in complementary distribution. In (4), there are two impersonal verbals namely *vant* and *vantat(u)* and one personal verbal i.e., *vanta:n* all of which are complementarily related to each other. Examples in (4) are quite significant in certain other respects. The two impersonal verbals *vant* and *vantat(u)* therein are associated with the impersonal marker-*nt* and *-at(u)* respectively. Since *-nt* of *va-nt* figuring in 4(a) is past in character we are obliged to identify the same notion in the impersonal marker *-at(u)* of *vant-atu* and the personal marker *-a:n* of *vant-a:n* in (b) and (c) of (4). Such observation is quite inevitable, considering the fact that all the three forms namely *-nt*, *-at(u)* and *-a:n* noticed in the verbals in (4) are complementarily distributed. This makes it obligatory to identify the tense notion in two suceessive morphemes available not only in the impersonal and personal verbals of the type noticed in (b) and (c) in (4) but also in the impersonal verbals available in examples of the type figuring in 3(a).

The difference between personal and impersonal markers is that while the former is a product associated with agreement transformation, the latter is a derivative not associated with such transformation. The attribution of tense meaning to the personal markers and impersonal markers figuring after tense markers makes the entire problem a complicated one. The problem could be solved first at the hypothetical level formulating a hypothesis that *if in a single morphological construction tense is identified in more than one morpheme, such morphological construction will then be construed to be in association with more than one verb.* We need a constraint to this hypothesis that *tense markers not identifiable as impersonal markers are not entitled to enjoy the semantic structure available for impersonal markers.* This constraint not only denies the verbal status to the tense markers figuring before personal and impersonal markers but also allows the verbal status to tense markers noticed in the verbals of the type available in 4 (a) i.e., *murukan vant-a ceyti*. This hypothesis not only implies that both personal and impersonal markers are identifiable as verbals on their being associated with tense, but also permits the personal and impersonal markers to be associated with the semantic structures [X+Tense+Agreement Feature(s)] and [X+Tense] respectively. The [X] in the semantic structures under reference specifies the meaning of the verb.

The question to be answered following the foregoing analysis is what does the [X] figuring in the semantic description of the personal and impersonal markers stand for? This question might be indirectly tackled first taking the examples in (4) into consideration. The NPs in (4) involve a set of complement clause constructions, the predicates of which being *vant, vantat(u)* and *vanta:n*. Since the form *-a* of *vant-a* noticed in 4 (a) is in complementation with the stative adjectivals *a:kiya* and *enṛa* occuring after *vantat u)* and *vanta:n* in 4(b) and 4 (c), it is entitled not only to be treated as an instance of stative adjectival but also to retain the semantic structure available to the latter i.e , *a:kiya* and *enṛa*. The adjectivals *a:kiya* and *enṛa* are developed from the bases *a:ku* and *en* marked with the meaning *stative*. Since the adjectivals *a:kiya* and *enṛa* are associated with [Stative] and [Tense.] the stative adjectival *-a* of *vant-a* in 4 (a) is assigned the semantic structure [Stative + Tense]. The stative adjectival *-a* is a case of impersonal marker. What is applicable to this impersonal marker in the matter of semantic description is applicable without any prejudice to impersonal markers of any phonological description. This enables us to replace the [X] by [Stative] in the semantic structure [X+Tense]

meant for impersonal markers The [X] figuring in the semantic structure [X+Tense+Agreement Feature(s)] meant for personal markers is not different from that [X] that figures in the semantic structure of impersonal markers. This makes it possible to replace the [X] in the semantic structure of personal markers by [Stative]. We might now restate the semantic structures for personal and impersonal markers as [Stative+ Tense+Agreement Feature(s)] and [Stative+Tense] respectively. This analysis associates the impersonal markers *-nt* of *vant-a* and *-at(u)* of *vant-at(u)* noticed in 4(a) and 4(b) with the semantic structure [Stative+Tense] and the personal marker-*a:n* of *vant-a:n* in 4(c) with the semantic structure [Stative+Tense+Agreement Feature (s)]. The analysis proposed here in regard to the identification of the semantic structure of the personal and impersonal markers might at first blush look tricky in view of the fact that the stative adjectivals *-a, a:kiya* and *enra* noticed in (4) are not part of the complement clause therein. However this is not a serious problem if one takes into consideration the following examples.

5 (a) murukan *a:kiya* na:n

(b) murukan *enra/ennum* na:n

' I who is Murukan'

The examples in (5) are instances of NPs without involving complement clause. The fact is that the meaning of the stative adjectivals *a:kiya* and *enra/ennum* do not change whether the NPs in which they occur involve or not the complement clause. What is true of the stative adjectivals under reference in regard to the semantic structure is true of the impersonal marker *-a* figuring in adjectivals of *ceyt-a* and *ceyinr-a* types occurring in NPs which do not involve complement clause. It is with this orientation we might now look into the following NP.

(6) murukan vant-a rayil

'The train in which Murukan came'

It is to be noted that (6) is diametrically opposite to *murukan vant-a ceyti* noticed in 4 a) in the matter of structural description. The NP in (6) does not involve complement clause whereas the one in 4(a) is tied with complement clause. It is this difference which does not permit the verbal *vant-* in (6) to be treated as an instance of impersonal predicate. Consequently the tense marker therein is not assignable the semantic struc-

ture [Stative + Tense]. The non-complement nature of the NP in (6) constrains the impersonal marker *-a* figuring in *vant-a* to be an integral part of the morphological construction whereas the same in complement NPs of the type available in 4(a) is liberated from being an integral part of such construction. The variation in structural description of the NPs in 4(a) and (b) is not a valid reason to deny the semantic structure [Stative + Tense] to the impersonal marker *-a* of *vant-a* noticed in (6).

We shall now directly enter into the question relating to the semantic structure of personal and impersonal markers. The negative adjectivals of *ceyya:ta* type in Tamil are not restricted to any particular tense. They may be either past as against the past affirmative adjectivals of *ceyta* type or non-past as against the non-past affirmative adjectivals of *ceykiṉ-a* and *ceyy-um* types. The negative adjectivals of the type under reference might appropriately be called Kuṟippu adjectivals in traditional parlance considering the ambiguity in tense specification. These adjectivals are interpretable into past and non-past as explicated below.

7(1) tuyila:ta kaṇkaḷ 'The eyes which did/do not sleep'

(2)(a) tuyila:mal irunta kaṇkaḷ 'The eyes which did not sleep'

(b) tuyila:mal uḷḷa/irukkiṉṟa/irukkum kaṇkaḷ

'The eyes which do not sleep'

The fact that the negative adjectival *tuyila:t-a* in 7(1) is interpretable in terms of *tuyila:mal irunta* and / or *tuyila:mal uḷḷa / irukkiṉṟa / irukkum* and the impersonal marker-*a* of *tuyila:t-a* is in complementary relation with the stative adjectivals *irunta* and *uḷḷa/irukkiṉṟa irukkum* as evidenced in 7 (2) testifies that what is generally identified as adjectival suffix within the framework of TL is clearly a case of stative verbal associating with the semantic structure [Stative + Tense]. This ruling might be considered theoretical in nature as it is capable of taking care of adjectival markers of any phonological structure assigning the semantic structure under reference. This enables us to assign the semantic structure [Stative + Tense] to *-a* figuring both in *ceyt-a* and *ceyya:t-a* type adjectivals. Since impersonal verbals of *ceyt-a* type are complementarily related to their corresponding personal verbals as witnessed in example (3) and the former are not different from the adjectivals of *ceyt-a* type in terms of the semantic description we are now in a position to enrich the semantic structure of the personal markers adding [Stative + Tense].

As for the semantic structure of *-a* of *ceyt-a* verbals, yet another evidence may be adduced. The impersonal verbals of *ceyt-a* type noticed in examples of the type figuring in 3(a) are matched by the impersonal predicates of *ceyt-e* type in Ka:ṇikka:ran dialect.* The occurrences of the terminal markers *-a* and *-e* in verbals of the type noticed in Tamil and Ka:ṇikka:ran dialect enables us to reconstruct these verbals into verbals of **cey-t-ay* type. The terminal markers *-a* and *-e* under reference are reflexes of **ay*. The **-ay* has been argued on earlier occassions to be an instance of stative verbal associated with tense (Kothandaraman, R. 1979a: 107-112; 1979b: 1-64). Whatever semantic structure is assigned to **-ay* is to be consequently assigned to its reflexes too. Since the predicative verbals of *ceyt-a* type noticed in examples of 3(a) type and adjectivals of *ceyt-a* type are both impersonal in character, the semantic structure of *-a* in both cases will have to be evaluated on identical terms. That is, the *-a* in both verbals under reference is assignable the semantic structure [Stative+ Tense]. The fact that in example (3), the personal verbals are complementarily related to the impersonal verbals testifies that the personal markers too are entitled to enjoy the semantic structure available to impersonal markers in addition to transformationally achieved personal information.

There are instances in Tamil where verbals of *ceyt-a* and *ceykinr a/ ceyy-um* types are in complementary distribution with verbals of *cey-tu* and *ceykinru/cey-pu* types: Notice the following examples.

8 (1) (a) kaṇṭ-u*l*i
(b) kaṇṭ-a po:tu } 'When (one) saw'

(2) (a) ka:ṇkinr-u*l*i/ka:ṇp-u*l*i.
(b) ka:ṇkinr-a po:tu/ka:ṇ-um po:tu } 'When (one) sees'

Since the verbals occurring before *ul*i and *po:tu* in (8) are all impersonal in character and the adjectival markers *-a* and *-um* noticed in kaṇṭ-*a*, ka:ṇkinr-*a* and *ka:ṇ -um* are marked with the semantic structure [Stative+ Tense], we are obliged to extend the same structure to the impersonal markers *-t(u)* of *kaṇṭ(u)* (< *ka:ṇ-t(u)*), *kinr(u)* of ka:ṇ-kinr(u) and *-p(u)* of *ka:ṇ-p(u)* noticed before *ul*i in (a) versions in (8). This is quite inevitable in view of the fact that the impersonal markers figuring in verbals in a and (b) versions in (8) are complementarily related.

The whole analysis reveals one thing clearly, that is the personal and impersonal markers are basically stative verbals associated with tense. This observation culminates in the formulation of the following hypothesis.

9 *Stative markers are capable of absorbing non-stative meaning without losing their basic meaning in select contexts.*

We have elsewhere noted in the present analysis that the tense marker occurring before personal and impersonal markers are devoid of stative meaning. This state of affair leads us to propose a second hypothesis available in (10) below.

10 *Stative markers while absorbing non-stative meaning are susceptible to lose their basic meaning i.e., [Stative] in select contexts.*

The stative hypotheses in (9) and (10) are collapsible and reformulable thus:

11 *Stative markers while absorbing non-stative meaning may or may not lose their basic meaning namely [Stative] depending upon the contexts in which they occur.*

In Tamil, there are personal markers initiated by short vowels. These personal markers occurring in *terinilai* verbals are as a rule preceded by the phonological entity *-an-* as evidenced in the example *ceyt-an-an* 'did-he'. This entity is treated as an instance of empty morph or *ca:riyai* in TL. Since we are now in a position to assign the semantic structure [Stative + Tense + Agreement Feature (ˢ)] to the personal markers, we could assign a semantic function to the *ca:riyai -an-* under reference by diverting a portion of the semantic structure available to the personal markers. We might allow the *ca:riyai -an-* figuring in *ceyt-an-an* to enjoy the semantic structure [Stative + Tense] assigning agreement meaning to the personal marker *an* that follows the *ca:riyai* in the verbal under exemplification. This type of semantic analysis of the *ca:riyai -an-* and the personal marker that follows the former is governed by the hypotheses in (9) and (10) respectively. This analysis however is not applicable to the personal markers initiated by long vowels as witnessed in the example *ceyt-a:n* 'did-he'. Personal markers of this type are obviously governed by the hypothesis in (9).

The main thrust of the present study is to examine the semantics of personal and impersonal markers figuring in different types of verbals in Tamil and to formulate a stative hypothesis. We have done this job with a sense of optimism leaving ample scope to explore the area vigorously still further.

Foot note

* The information is culled out from the field notes of Prof. Dr. S. Agesthialingom, Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University. The Kaṇikkaːran dialect is spoken in the areas covered by Kulasekaram and Aḻakiyapandipuram forest ranges of Vilavankodu and Thovalai Taluks in Kanyakumari District.

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3

The Sub - Phonic Stratum

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The transcription of the physical phenomena of speech into phonetic symbols involves some sort of generalization, as many of the overt physical properties of speech are consistently left out in the process. Hockett (1958:116) names the indefinite number of sound variations that exist at the sub-phonic level as 'acoustic allophones'. He states that these sounds exhibit complex features as they are 'numerous', 'diverse', 'intersecting', and 'overlapping'. Some parts of these features are cancelled out "to make different identifications of bits of sound as sounding the same" but, "we do not know how this effect is brought out" (Ibid:117).

If the pleniphonetic transcription' (Truby, 1964) is an unattainable ideal, the very first procedure then in a descriptive analysis begins as a subjective process. Such definitions as, "phonetics is a set of techniques by which to identify and describe in absolute terms, all the differences of sound features that occur in any language" (Fries, 1964:156) are untenable.

Phonetic symbolisations are responses to auditory sensations which are, in turn, responses to the physical phenomena of acoustic signals. Even though it can be presumed that the acoustic signals enliven the neural reflexes at the first stage of this perceptual process, it cannot be shown that a one-to-one correspondence exists between them. It will also be impossible to establish empirical correlations between these reflexes which later function as self-stimulating impulses to the motor recoding, namely, the transcription itself, and the actual realization of phonetic elements.

Speech is in reality non-segmental. Segmental phonology is nothing more than an abstracting of the acoustic-physiological speech event. The Prague School Functionalists suggested the abstraction of 'phonetic oppositions' as prerequisite to the segmentation process. The Distinctive Feature Analysis, as initally modelled on the Prague School system of phonology by Jakobson, Fant, and Halle (1952), and later developed in Chomsky and Halle (1968), was construed to be a solution to the problem of the non-segmentality of phonic atoms. But even the 'featurists' admit that a phonetic transcription "represents the speaker-hearer's interpretation rather than directly observable properties of the signal" (Chomsky & Halle, 1968:294). The Phonological oppositions that the featurists rely on for their eventual segmentation process is deeply abstract, because the segments which are obtained thereby are not found in nature nor are they discoverable from any clear evidence psychologically. The ack of correlation between phonetic representations and physical or acoustic cues is stressed more explicitly in the following: ". . . . phonetic matrices refer in the first instance to a perceptual reality. what is perceptually real to a speaker-hearer is only determined in part by physical cues. Complex syntactic and phonological processes play an equally important role in determining this perceptual reality" (Botha, 1973:217)

A general model of speech perception, according to Cistovic et. al, (1968) contains five blocks which do the following operations in the complete perception act: "(1) Auditory analysis of the input speech-waves (2) Phonetic analysis of the auditory patterns, (3) Lexical and grammatical analysis of the sequences of phonetic units, (4) Syntactic analysis of the sequences of words, (5) Semantic analysis of the sequences of sentences" (Ibid: 33). According to the authors, "the function of each block is to convert the temporal sequence of the lower-order input units *described in less abstract terms* into the higher-order output units *described in more abstract terms*" (Ibid:33. emphasis ours). We are here concerned with the first two of the above-mentioned blocks and especially with the processing of incoming objective(acoustical) information for attributing perceived stimuli to one or another class of speech units. Subsequent higher-order abstractions are not relevent for us for, in the case of phonetic transcription, the encoding stops at Block, 2. We do not know what exactly the authors mean when they refer to the abstractions (see above, the portions in italics) nor we are informed the specific factors that are involved in such

abstractions. Whether these abstractions are confined to the sensory level (in such case phonological, syntactic and semantic organizations are completed before sensations are transferred to the higher regions), or whether, some of them are performed by central nerves, is not clear.

Bruner's study (1958) on neural mechanisms in perception adduces "the categorical nature of perceptual identification". Our perceptual faculty, according to him, identifies "constancies, treating as equivalent objects that have been altered drastically in all respects, save their defining attributes". Adrian (1954) states that "at some stage the complete report from the sense organs must be subjected to an editing which emphasizes the important items and sets the unimportant, aside".

The 'abstraction' process (Cistovic, op.cit.), the 'categorical nature of perception' (Bruner, op. cit), and the 'editing' at the sensory level (Adrian, op. cit.), probably refer to the reduction of sub-phones to phonetic elements i.e., the transformation of physical items into a set of purely discriminative signals.

Since we are familiar with the perceived phonic material, let us look into the left-out parts of the gross acoustic features. The amorphous and transient nature of these features defies categorization. Most of these features are not discretely locatable in particular segments as they extend over entire utterances. An attempt is made here to classify some of them.

1 Voice quality modulations

Persons can be recognized by their voices. The discriminable features must have some constancy and the perception of these features mostly depends upon past input redundancies.

2.Articulatory setting

This refers to the system of characteristic articulatory movement in a language which contribute some general phonic colour to those who speak the language. We often say, that the British are 'tight lipped' in comparison to the American speech, (Honikman, 1964). The mobility of the lips and forward position of the tongue in French (Marouzeau, 1943: 38) can also be said to be the result of an articulary setting peculiar to the French people.

3.Rate of output

It is not difficult to understand that the rate at which the sound sequences are produced has a direct bearing on the phonic nature of the output. That is perhaps why, some linguists have suggested that we should have 'sentence phonemics' besides the ordinary way of phonemicizing with isolated words.

Heffner (1952) calls this "contextual variations", and remarks: "The genetic or gennemic features of a speech sound thus isolated do not always exactly coincide with the genetic or the gennemic features of the same speech sound in its usual motor or acoustic contexts" (p.163). He distinguishes 'automatic contextual adjustments,' from 'contextual modifications peculiar to each language' (p. 164-165).

4.Expressive features

The trichotomy suggested by Karl Bühler (1934) in his 'organon model' speaks about the symbolic, signalling and symptomatic functions of speech. Bühler's symptomatic function includes more than the expressive or the emotional functions of the language. Many of the references (See Huttar, 1968, for a extensive coverage) confirm that even at the subphonic level, some of the features in the phonic material function as indices to the attitudes of the speakers. The prosodic parameters of speech are thus analysable into features which function as symbols, and those which function as symptoms. Trojan's (1957) term 'sub-lingulstic phonic expression' emphasises this point very clearly.

5.Faculative variants

When a language happens to have relatively smaller number of phonemes, the speakers are liable to have large number of involuntary variations. These variations occur independent of their phonetic context and are easily perceivable also. Daniel Jones (1950:205) calls these as 'variphones'. Permissible oscillations like these are referred to as 'facultative variants' by the Prague School linguists.

Now there is little question that perception of speech relies upon some amount of auditory processing of the acoustical signal. Whether this processing is mainly a motor behaviour or sensory organization has not

been conclusively solved by experiments. Some emphasized the motor activities, and others dealt mainly with sensory processing. Still others tend to endorse that both motor and sensory activities are involved in the perceptual process. Yet another problem is the listener's reference patterns It has been emphasized that the comparison pattern is stronger between perception and articulation rather than between perception and the acoustic character of the input. Twaddell (1952) states that, "at both ends of a speech transmission, it is muscular activity, not the acoustic character which dominates the identification."

If we realize the reduction process in primary perception, we may make an attempt to conjecture about the nature of this abstraction. In Gestalt school of psychology, it is said that the human organs have got an innate tendency to 'organize' disintegrated and un-organized stimuli into patterns, and one favourable condition for segregating a group from a mass, is similarity (including equality). Experiments conducted by psychologists of this school were mainly on visual perception but this sensorial organization can be extended to auditory perception too. As the condition for this phenomenon (similarity) cannot be precisely understood, we propose that the consistency of the input signals, in the case of auditory perception, is that which contributes to auditory organization. The consistency of the physical features in the input is determined by the organism on its past experience. The functional value of the features and the differentiation capacity of the organization; from its past input redundancies, help in this organization; then the auditory processing is almost a sensory organization.

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4

On the Extended Use of Two Pronouns in Tamil

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This paper explores the extended uses of two pronouns in Tamil- the first person inclusive plural pronoun *na:m* and the reflexive pronoun *ta:n,* in order to cast light on the organization of the categories of person and number that underpin the grammar of pronouns. The extended uses of these pronouns appear, at first blush, to conflict with their normal uses; so much so that it seems impossible to reconcile the extended uses with the normal ones. If, however, we analyze pronouns as clusters of linguistic categories that are defined in terms of private oppositions, we may invoke the process of neutralization to effect a rapproachment between two seemingly contradictory uses of one and the same pronoun.

A speaker of Tamil ordinarily uses the first person inclusive plural pronoun *na:m* when he wishes to indicate that his addressee is to be included in the group that he purports to represent. If, on the other hand, the speaker intends to represent a group that excludes the speaker but includes some third party, he will employ the first person exclusive plural pronoun *na:ṅkaḷ*. These two pronouns stand in opposition to each other and any speaker of Tamil who wishes to express the notions of first person and plurality must choose a pronoun that either includes or excludes his addressee.

The following passage from Ti. Janakiraman's novel *Amma: vanta:ḷ* illustrates what I call the extended use of the first person plural pronoun *na:m*.

(1) ka:ṉ:a:tataik kaṉṭuviṭṭa:ṟpo:la ka:ve:riyai ippoẓutu
see-neg-VN-acc see-avp-leave-cond like Kaveri-acc now
pa:rttuk koṇṭu uṭ:ka:rntu irukkiro:m. (p. 5)
see-avp hold-avp sit-avp be-pres-1st + pl + incl
'I have sat here watching the Kaveri river as if seeing something which has not been seen before.'

The context of the story makes it clear that the character who utters (1) is neither addressing an audience nor representing a group. It is clear that he is sitting alone on the banks of the Kaveri and that he is not speaking but rather is thinking to himself or musing out loud. If asked to supply a subject pronoun for sentence (1), any speaker of Tamil will supply the inclusive plural pronoun *na:m* instead of the exclusive plural pronoun *na:ṅkaḷ* or the singular pronoun *na:n* Several questions leap to mind why is a plural pronoun used in preference to a singular pronoun? The speech in sentence (1) represents the thoughts of a single character, yet a plural pronoun is employed. Why is the inclusive plural pronoun used instead of the exclusive? There is no apparent audience to which sentence (1) is addressed, yet a pronoun that conventionally included an addressee is deployed. In these two respects the use of the first person inclusive plural pronoun in (1) deviates from the normal, paradigmatic use of that pronoun. Furthermore, when we attempt to define the content of the first person inclusive plural *na:m* as a conjunction of its normal and extended uses, we draw a contradiction: it is a plural pronoun including an addressee and it is a singular pronoun without an addressee. This blatant contradiction invalids the attempt to define this one pronoun as a combination of its normal and extended uses.

The reflexive pronoun *ta:n* exhibits many restrictions on its normal uses: it must be anchored to a linguistic antecedent; it cannot serve as an anaphoric anchor itself; and it cannot be introduced into discourse through ostensive reference. The antecedent must be a subject NP and, indeed, a third person subject NP neither first nor second person NPs may serve as antecedents for *ta:n*. Caldwell (1913 : 101) conjectured that Tamil *ta:n* reflects an independent third person pronoun in Proto-Dravidian. It is, however, the only third person pronoun in Tamil (and in many other Dravidian langnages) that is bereft of deictic information: it does not participate in paradigmatic sets such as *avan* 'that man'/*ivan* 'this man'/ *van* 'which man'. We may also add that in Tamil *ta:n* is the only third person pronoun which regularly allows backward pro nominalization: the

primary function of the reflexive pronoun *ta:n* is anaphoric: it establishes the relation of coreference between two third person NP arguments.

The following passages, excerpted from Nila. Padmanapan's novel *Uravukal* present examples of the extended use of the Tamil reflexive pronoun *ta:n*.

(2) a:ṉa:l . . . aṅke: taṉṉaik koṇṭu po:y ce:rttatu
but there self acc. hold-avp go-avp join-pst-VN
appa: ta:n:a:? mutal na:ḷ appa:vin: kaiyaip
father emp-ques first day father-gen hand-acc
piṭittuk koṇṭu ta:n:a: aṅke po:no:m? (p. 15)
grab-avp hold avp emp-ques there go-pst-1st+pl+incl
'But was it really father who took me and enrolled me there? Did I go there on the first day holding onto father's hand?

(3) aṭuttatu ta:ṉ! ippo mu:ttavaṉ . . . taṉakku
next one self now eldest one self-dat
naṉ:ku tampikaḷ aintu taṅkaikaḷ. appaṭi ta:ṉ
four YngBr-pl five YngSis-pl that way self
uṭpaṭa mottam aintu a:ṇkaḷ aintu peṇ:kaḷ
included total five male-pl five female-pl
ippo irukkiṟo:m. (p. 40)
now be-pres-1st+pl+incl
'I was the next one born! Now I am the eldest . . . I have four kid brothers and five kid sisters. If you include me in the total, we are five boys and five girls.'

What is curious in passages (2) and (3) is that the reflexive pronoun *ta:n* is introduced into the discourse without the benefit of a linguistic antecedent and that it unambiguously refers to the first person, to the speaker. As in the passage cited from *Amma: vanta:ḷ*, the speaker in (2) and (3) muses over his thoughts, employing the first person inclusive plural pronoun to do so. While the reflexive pronoun *ta:n* is interpreted here as coreferential to the first person inclusive plural pronoun *na:m*, the latter need not serve as antecedent for the former since in passage (2) it neither commands nor precedes the reflexive pronoun, violating a general constraint on the construal of pronouns and their antecedents (Ross 1967, chapt. 5). If the first person plural pronoun *na:m* truly controlled the reflexive pronoun *ta:n* in these passages, we would expect the reflexive pronoun to agree in number with the first person plural pronoun manifesting a form either in *ta:m* or in *ta:ṅkaḷ*. This particular use of the reflexive

pronoun violates both the condition that reflexive pronouns, being anaphoric, have antecedents and the condition that they refer to third person NPs.

Let us review some basic notions concerning the function and content of pronouns. The traditional dictum that a pronoun *stands for* a noun or a proper name incorrectly describes the fundamental function of pronouns. Their primary function is one of reference: pronouns *refer* to discourse referents in the universe of discourse (McCawley 1979b). A derivative function is to establish *coreference*: that is, to establish the identity of various discourse referents, thereby setting up anaphoric chains among the referring expressions in the discourse, Two species of reference are generally recognized: *speaker referenee* and *semantic reference* (Donnellan 1977) The category of *person* combines both of these functions: it expresses the referential relation between the participants in the narrated events and those in the speech event (Jakobson 1971). Neglect of the relation between the category of person and referring expressions has obscured the analysis of pronouns. The traditional dictum simply fails to apply in most cases; in particular, it runs afoul of the first and second persons: since in these two persons there is no distinction among noun, pronoun, and proper name, there can be no noun or proper name that a first or second person pronoun can stand in for. This lack of formal distinctions has led Benveniste (1971: 200) to advance the proposal that pronouns of the first and second person are, respectively, the proper names of the speaker and addressee in a given speech event. In the first and second persons, unlike the third person, we find no formal contrasts of animacy, definiteness, specificity, gender, deixis, or reference versus attribution. Speakers may introduce first and second person pronouns into a discourse without introducing first a linguistic antecedent in the form of an existentially quantified referring expression whereas third person pronouns require such an antecedent or a referent that may be directly inferred from the context of situation. We do not infer the roles of speaker and addressee from the first and second person since by convention they name, express, or refer to these two roles. The reference of first and second person pronouns necessarily change as the roles of speaker and addressee alternate, but the reference of third person pronouns remains constant despite this alternation. Despite the differences between pronouns

of the third person and those of the first and second persons, we wish to consider them as a unified linguistic category since they all refer and all participate in the same linguistic rules such as subject-verb agreement.

It is a tenet of structural linguistics that the elements of language form a system and that each linguistic form is endowed with a function or value in virtue of the role that it plays in the language relative to the other elements that comprise the language. Each lingusistic element stands in contrast to one or more of the other elements in the linguistic system; the function of each elements is expressed by the set of oppositions in which it appears and the value that is assigned to opposition. Structural linguistics also asserts that the content of inflectional categories such as person, number, or tense is defined via a set of statements of bilateral implications: one element of an opposition such as the deictic *this* implies another element, namely *that*, and vice versa. These bilateral implications polarize the values of the sets of linguistic oppositions; delimit the range of the applicability of the terms of the oppositions; and are responsible for the paradigmatic shape that characterizes inflectional categories such as person and tense. As Stankiewicz (1962) notes: 'A grammatical opposition is a semantic unity of polar terms which are bound by a rule of bilateral implication.' By and large, oppositions exhibit a *privative* nature (Forsyth 1970): the two terms of a given opposition differ in that one member of the opposition has a positive, marked value while the other member has a negative, unmarked value. In the oppoision of the past tense with the present tense (more properly, the non-past tense), it is the past tense which is positively marked for pastness, while the non-past tense is unmarked or unspecified for pastness: present is defined as that which is not past. The unmarked value of a privative opposition is consistent with the marked value and may, in certain contexts, be substituted for the marked value The present tense, for example, may express past events (the historical present tense) in historical narratives. Although a particular linguistic form may express by convention a given meaning[1], the set of oppositions in which it participates serves to delimit the range of its intrinsic meaning.

Verbal categories may be defined as oppositions formed by combining members from the following set: the speech event, the narrated event, the participants in the speech event, and the participants in the narrated event (Jakobson 1971). The category of *person* expresses a correl-

ation between the participants in the speech event and those in the narrated event. If a participant in the narrated event is identified with the speaker in the speech event, NPs referring to that participant will appear in the first person; if he is identified with the addressee in the speech event, NPs referring to him will appear in the second person; all others will appear as third person NPs. In terms of its referential properties, it is the third person which is the unmarked member of the opposition third person versus non-third persons (e.g. first and second) because it can refer to any discourse referent in the universe of discourse, including speaker and addressee : *one wants to have a good life; they say; everybody knows; whoever plays with fire gets burned.* In the opposition of first person versus second person, it is the second person which has unmarked referential properties. allowing reference to the speaker as well as the addressee; whereas the first person can refer to only one group in the universe of discourse (that identified with the role of speaker), the second person has wider referential application: *you can buy anything you want at Spencer's* (on the possibility reading). It is a prediction of markedness theory that elements of an opposition that are highly marked, here the first person, do not participate in many of the oppositions that the unmarked members do, here third person: as was already noted, first and second persons do not have oppositions of gender, animacy, or definiteness.

While speakers may invoke the category of person to identify the roles of the participants in the narrated event relative to the roles of the participants in the speech event, they also have recourse to the category of number to indicate how many participants are involved in the various roles. Person treats the qualitative aspect of the participants' roles while number treats their quantitative aspect. The category of number may find expression in a grammatical system as an opposition of a mass expression versus an individuated expression. as singular versus plural, or one versus many.

The discussion of the markedness of oppositions leads to a working definition for each of what I have called the *normal* and *extended* uses of pronouns. A pronoun is understood to have a normal use when its content is defined by the maximum number of oppositions that is necessary to define all the pronouns in a given language: for example, *nān*

'I' occurs in its normal use when it appears in contexts that allow it to contrast with all other personal pronouns of Tamil *ni*: 'you', *ni:ṅkaḷ* 'you all', *na:m* 'we all', *avan* 'that man', etc. On the other hand, a pronoun is understood to have an extended use when it appears in contexts that do not invoke the maximum number of contrasts available for defining the entire pronominal system: when the contrast between members of a pronominal opposition is *neutralized* an extended use arises from a normal use. The neutralization of an opposition removes the differentiation between the members of that opposition, thereby *extending* the range of the unmarked member to cover that of the marked member. It is a corollary of this hypothesis that only unmarked members of privative oppositions have extended uses. For example, in French the opposition between masculine and feminine gender in the third person is neutralized in the plural when referring to a mixed group of masculine and feminine nouns: *ils* 'they (masc)' is used in place of the conjunction *ils et elles* 'they (masc) and they (fem)'. In its normal use, *ils* refers to a third person plural group of masculine nouns' in its extended use, obtained by neutralizing the opposition of gender, it refers to a third person group of both masculine and feminine nouns. We can apply the concept of neutralization to the pronominal system of Tamil in order to identify the markedness of the member of the categories of person and number.

We turn now to the analysis of the extended uses of the two Tamil pronouns cited above, utilizing the notions of markedness and neutralization. The substitution of the first person inclusive plural *na:m* for the singular *na:n* occurs in a theortically marked context: that of speaking to oneself. The deviation from the paradigmatic notion of a speech event with a speaker and an addressee is not that the opposition of speaker and addressee is neutralized, but that both roles are played by a single individual. This signals doubt or hesitation on the part of the speaker-addressee: this soliloquy expresses some internal conflict. The distinction between speaker and addressee is maintained here at the expense of the opposition of singular versus plural: while the normal speech event implies *two* participants, this rhetorically marked context undoes the opposition of singular versus plural. In order to maintain the distinction of speaker and addressee, the first person inclusive plural is chosen, since neither *na:n* 'I'

nor *nīṅkaḷ* 'you' can embrace both roles of speaker and addressee in a context that maintains that opposition. The process of neutralization takes its toll: it is the unmarked member of the opposition singular versus plural that appears here We can muster other evidence that it is the *plural*, rather than the singular, that is the unmarked member of the opposition of number. Notice that in the case of noun compounds, even though a noun's compounding form is often homophonous with the singular form of the noun, e.g. *fire-engine*, it refers to a group and conveys plurality. Thus, a *fire engine* is an engine used to put out many fires not merely one fire. Similarly, as McCawley (1979a) has argued, in a conjoined phrase such as *the quartets of Feierstein and Frühhof*, derived via *Conjunction-Reduction* from *the quartet(s) of Feierstein* and *the quartet(s) of Frühhof*, the phrase *the qaurtets* can refer to a single musical composition by each composer. Further arguments in favor of plural as the unmarked member of the opposition of number can be adduced from languages which encode the opposition of number in their morphology: Horn (1972) noted that all non-plural numbers place an upper bound on the cardinality of a group, but that plural number itself does not do so. Thus. *John has two children* is consistent with *John has one child* but not with *John has three children*: numerical quantifiers express upper bounds and implicate lower bounds, plurality does not do this. Thus we find morphologically encoded systems of number:plural versus singular; plural versus singular versus dual; plural versus singular versus dual versus trial; and so on. More arguments have been put forth in McCawley 1968 and 1979a. In addition to being the unmarked member of the opposition of number, *naːm* is also the unmarked member of the opposition of inclusive versus exclusive: the inclusive plural can refer to groups that include the first. second, and third persons rendering it of broader referential application than the exclusive plural, which by its nature disallows reference to the second person.

The extended use of the reflexive pronoun *taːn* occurs in the rhetorically marked context in which the first person narrator identifies himself with the third person major character of the novel. Here the opposition between speech event and narrated event is neutralized in favor of the unmarked member of that opposition: the third person of the narrated event. I note also a similar neutralization in modern French: *nous, on va* 'we, one goes' substituted for the expected *nous allons* 'we go.'

In its extended use, *ta:n* appears to assume some properties of *na:n*, with which it undergoes neutralization: it no longer requires an antecedent but may be introduced into discourse *tout court*. This indicates that the referential use of pronouns is primary while coreference (the ability to refer to other NPs) is secondary. Why is *ta:n* chosen over other third person pronouns when the neutralization between first and third person occurs? Like *na:n*, *ta:n* does not participate in deictic oppositions: to choose between *avan* 'that man' or *ivan* 'this man' would commit the speaker narrator to conveying extra information. Furthermore, since the roles of narrator and narrated are combined; the opposition of deixis, which is parasitic on that of person, is also neutralized. Both *ta:n* and the first and second person pronouns permit backwards pronominalization.

(4) a na:m ca:kap po:kiro:m enru avanukkut teriyum.
we-incl die-inf go-pres-1st+pl+incl comp he-dat know-fut
b 'He$_i$ knows that he$_i$ is going to die.'
c He$_i$ knows that we$_j$ are going to die.'

(5) a ta:n ca:kap po:kiro:m enru avanukkut teriyum.
self die-inf go-pres-1st+pl+incl comp he-dat know-fut
b 'He$_i$ knows that he$_i$ is going to die.'

While third person pronouns that are inherently marked for deixis do not allow backwards pronominalization, both *na:m* in (4a) and *ta:n* in (5a) are backwards pronominalized from *avanukku*: the first clause in both sentences is subordinate to the main clause *avanukkut teriyum* 'he knows'. Note that while (4a) has two interpretations, one in which *na:m* is referential to the participants in the speech event (4c) and one in which it is coreferential to the superordinate subject *avanukku* (4b) Note further that in (5a) the verb in the subordinate clause is inflected for first person plural, even though the subject pronoun *ta:n* is third person singular.

The neutralization of *na:n* and *na:m* in favor of *na:m* gives us independent confirmation that plural is the unmarked member of the opposition of singular versus plural, designating the category of person. The neutralization of *na:n* and *ta:n* in favor of *ta:n* reconfirms our proposal that it is the third person that is the unmarked member of the opposition third person versus non-third person, due to its broader referential application In the

first case, the roles of speaker and addressee are kept distinct but are conferred on one person, thereby neutralizing the opposition of number. In the latter case, the narrator and the narrated (the main character) are identified, thereby neutralizing the category of person.

These two examples of the extended uses of pronouns in Tamil do not exhaust all the latent possibilities of extending the use of pronouns. A college student, for example, may write to his father in order to get money: in that instance, he will address his father with the plural reflexive pronoun *tɲ:ṅkaḷ* instead of the second person plural pronoun *ni:ṅkaḷ*; like (5a), however, the verb form will show second person plural agreement despite a third person subject. The end result is one of honorification. Another example of the extended use of a pronoun is that of the proximate third person honorific pronoun *ivar* to refer to the first person (the speaker): one cannot use *ivan* the third person proximate singular. This suggests that it is the so-called honorific usage which is unmarked: thus the use of a singular pronoun to convey the lack of honorification is more contextually marked than the use of a plural pronoun, cf. *ni:* versus *ni:ṅkaḷ*. If the so-called 'honorific' pronoun is the neutral pronoun, then we need specify only those cases in which it is appropriate to use the 'intimate; non-honorific pronoun: e.g. talking to younger kinsmen, deities, and friends. The dimension of honorification is present only in the third person masculine: in the second person, the category of number stands in. One may also use collocations of *inta* 'this' + speaker's name to refer to the first person. Here the third person NP consisting of a deictic adjective and a proper name suggests that this collocation inherits the property of the first and second person pronouns, namely that they are the proper names of the speaker and addressee. The neutralization of the honorific opposition in the second person with the subsequent use of the category of number to convey the distinction tends to suggest that the notion of honorification which singles out someone on the basis of his social status, is derivative from the category of number, which singles out a person on the basis of individuation. Thus honorification holds a more peripherel and more neutralizable position in the hierarchy of categories that define pronouns in Tamil. The social notion of honorification finds expression in a linguistic system on the basis of the linguistically primitive category of number.

The theory of markedness, together with the ancillary notion of neutralization, suggests that not all pronouns are equally susceptible to extended uses: in particular, pronouns whose constituent categories have marked values in normal uses will not have extended uses. Thus, *na:n* 'I' in its normal use is highly marked for person and number and according to the theory, will have no extended use. Only the unmarked members of an opposition, which appear in contexts of neutralization, will have extended uses.

We have isolated the extended uses of two Tamil pronouns from their normal uses and have related the two uses by the process of neutralization. From examples of neutralizations we can adduce the markedness of members of a given opposition that express a linguistic category such as person or number, thereby casting light on the hierarchical structure of Tamil pronouns. The less marked a pronoun is, the more extended uses it may have: note that while *na:m* has one extended use, *ta:n* has at least two, one substituting for the first person and another substituting for the second person. The use of markedness and neutralization permit consistent definition of the content of pronominal forms, avoiding thereby the contradictions to which conjunctive definitions would lead. The Tamil data, in turn, confirm more general hypotheses about the markedness of the categories of person and number in general linguistic theory (e.g. plural and third person are the unmarked members of the respective categories of number and person). Further investigation of Tamil pronouns, using the tools presented here, will clarify the nature of pronominal systems both in Tamil and in a general theory of language.

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Neither of these scholars necessarily agrees with everything I have said: I take responsibility for any errors or shortcomings.

Abbreviations

acc	— accusative case	dat	— dative case	pst	— past tense
avp	— adverbial participle	excl	— exclusive	ques	— question
comp	— complementizer	incl	— inclusive	neg	— negative
cond	— conditional	inf	— infinitive	self	— reflexive
emp	— emphatic	pl	— plural	VN	— verbal noun
		pres	— present tense		

Foot note

1. While the notion of language as a 'système ou tout se tient' goes back to Meillet and de Saussure, I do not subscribe to de Saussure's notion that linguistic signs have only negative value but allow for the possibility of intrinsic content being assigned to marked members of oppositions.

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5

A Syntactic Study of *Ta:n* in Tamil

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At the very outset we must differentiate the particle *ta:n* from the reflexive pronoun *ta:n*. The reflexive pronoun *ta:n* is a singular noun whose plural form is *ta:ṅkaḷ*.[1] Consider the following sentences.

(1) avaṉ ta:ṉa:ka iṅku vanta:ṉ
'he came here by himself'

(2) avaṉ-ta:ṉ iṅku vanta:n
'he came here'

(3) avarkaḷ ta:ṅkaḷa:ka iṅku vanta:rkaḷ
'they came here by themselves'

(4) avarkaḷ uṅkaḷai-t-ta:ṉ pa:rtta:rkaḷ
'they looked at you'

In the above sentences *ta:ṉ* in (1) and *ta:ṅkaḷ* in (3) are reflexive pronouns and the *ta:ṉ* in (2) and (4) is an emphatic particle. Although the pronoun *ta:ṉ* and the particle *ta:ṉ* are phonemically identical, they are two different items which are called homophonous forms. Our main concern in this paper (which is based on modern literary Tamil) is the particle *ta:ṉ* and not the other one. The particle *ta:ṉ* is found to be used in different ways.[2] Look into the following sentences.

5 (a) eṉṉa coṉṉa:lum avaṉ ke:ṭka ma:ṭṭa:ṉ
'whatever you tell him, he will not listen to you'

5 (b) eṉṉa-ta:ṉ coṉṉa:lum avaṉ ke:ṭkama:ṭṭa:ṉ
whatever you tell him, he will not listen to you'

Except some stylistic differences 5 (a) and 5 (b) may be considered synonymous. The particle *ta:ṉ* in 5 (b) may be considered what is called *acai* in Tamil. Apart from this *acai* 'a kind of expletive' the particle *ta:ṉ* functions mostly as an emphatic marker. This paper is an attempt to study the syntactic behaviour of the emphatic *ta:ṉ*.

Sentences such as (6) through (9) are possible and grammatical in Tamil.

(6) vaḷavaṉ-ta:ṉ iṅku vanta:n
'*Valavan* came here'

(7) vaḷavaṉ eṉṉo:ṭu-ta:ṉ vanta:n
'Valavan came *with me*'

(8). avaṉ ke:ṭṭuviṭṭu-t ta:ṉ eṭutta:n
'he took (it) only after making a request'

(9). avaḷ aḻaka:ka-t-ta:ṉ pa:ṭiṇa:ḷ
'she sang *beautifully*'

Note the occurrence of *ta:ṉ* in (6), (7) (8) and (9). It occurs after a noun, after a non-finite verb, after noun + case suffix and after an adverb. But, if *ta:ṉ* occurs after an adjective it is considered ungrammatical. Consider the following sentence.

(10)* avar nalla-ta:ṉ a:ciriyar
'he is a good teacher'

Now it appears that we can make the following generalisation.

(11). *The emphatic particle ta:ṉ occurs with a noun, with a noun followed by a case suffix, with a non-finite verb and with an adverb, but never with an adjective.*

It might be noted that *ta:ŋ* in the sentences (6),(7),(8) and (9) has occurred only once in a sentence. Can it occur more than once in a sentence?

(12). *vaḷavaṉ-ta:ṉ eṉṉo:ṭu-ta:ṉ vanta:ṉ
'*Valavan* came *with me*'

(13). *ni:ṅkaḷ-ta:ṉ avaṉai-t-ta:ṉ aḷaitti:rkaḷ
'*you* invited *him*'

The native intuition of a reasonably educated Tamil speaker considers the sentences (12) and (13) ungrammatical. Now the generalisation (11) needs an additional statement as follows:

(14). *The emphatic marker ta:ŋ can occur only once in a sentence*

Let us further examine the statement. Consider the sentences (15) and (16).

(15). avaṉ kaṇṇaṉ-ta:ṉ
'he is *Kannan*'

(16). *avaṉ vanta:ṉ-ta:ṉ
'he *came*'

In sentence (15) *ta:ŋ* is added after a nominal predicate and in (16) after a verbal predicate. Of the two, the latter is not possible in modern standard literary Tamil.[3] Now we have to add the following statement with (11) and (14).

(17). *ta:ŋ does not occur with the finite verb in a sentence.*

A noun can take a case suffix, a postposition and several other suffixes and particles. The following is an example for a noun with suffixes and particles

(18) a;ṇkaḷukka:kamaṭṭuma:?
aṉ-kaḷ ukku-a:ka-maṭṭum-a:
'only for men?'

Only after *maṭṭum* can we add *ta:n* in (18). If *maṭṭum* is absent *ta:ŋ* can occur after *a:ka*, if *a:ka*, is also absent *ta:ŋ* can occur after *ukku*, if *ukkŋ* is also absent *ta:ŋ* can occur after *kaḷ* and if *kaḷ* is also absent *ta:ŋ* can occur with *a:ŋ*. Note that a: cannot precede *ta:ŋ*. The following illustrations will make it clear.

(19) a:ṇkaḷukka:kamaṭṭun-ta:ṉa:? 'only for men?'

(20) a:ṇkaḷukka:ka-t-ta:ṉa:? 'Only for men?'

(21) a:ṇkaḷukku-t-a:ṉ-a:? 'only for men?'

(22) a:ṇkaḷ-ta:ṉ-a: '*men*?'

(23) aṉ-ta:ṉ-a: '*man*?'

In all the instances (19)-(23) *ta:ṉ* precedes *a:*. That is. *ta:ṉ* does not permit any other suffix or particle except *a:* in a word to occur in the following position. In natural conversation the vocative particles such as *aṭa, aṭi* and *-uṅka(l)* are found to follow the interrogative *-a:*. Except the vocative items no other particle or suffix can follow the interrogative item *a:*. The table on the next page clearly shows the position of *ta:ṉ* in a nominal word.[4]

The position of *ta:ṉ* in adverbs, and non-finite verbs is not a serious problem, whereas the problem is quite serious in the complex verbs with aspectuals and modals which I am not going to deal with in this paper.[5]

As a result of the discussion regarding the position of *ta:ṉ* in a word we can make the following generalisation in addition to (11), (14) and (17).

(24) *ta:ṉ does not allow any particle or suffix other than the interrogative a: and the vocative particles such as aṭa:, aṭi and uṅka(l) in a word to occur in the following position.*

Let us return to the generalisation (11) and test it further. According to the generalisation (11) *ta:ṉ* can be added with a noun, etc Examine the following sentences.

(25) na:ṉ kaṇṇaṉ koṭutta puttakattaip paṭitte:ṉ
'I read the book Kannan gave'

25 (a) *na:ṉ kaṇṇaṉta:ṉ koṭutta puttakattaip paṭitte:ṉ

25 (b) na:ṉ kaṇṇan koṭutta puttakattai-t-ta:ṉ paṭitte:ṉ
'I read *the book kannan gave*'

Noun Stem	Plural marker	Cariyai	Case suffix	Post-position	Particle	Emphatic particle taːɳ	Interrogative particle aː	Vocative particles
aːɳ	kaḷ		ukku	aːka	maṭṭum	taːɳ	aː	aṭaː
aṛam		attu	ukku	aːka	maṭṭum	taːɳ	aː	uṅka(ḷ)
eɳ			ai	poːḷa	maṭṭum	taːɳ	aː	aṭi
peɳ	kaḷ	iɳ		iṭam	maṭṭum	taːɳ	aː	aṭaː

(26) na:n aval metuva:ka-p pa:tiya pa:ttaik ke:tte:n
'I heard the song that she sang softly'

26(a) *na:n aval metuva:ka-t-ta:n pa:tiya pattaik ke:tte:n

26(b) na:n aval metuva:ka-pa:tiya pa:ttai-t:ta:n ke:tte:n
'I heard *the song that she sang softly*'

Note that the sentences 25 (a) and 26 (a) are ungrammatical. This situation suggests, that the generalisation in (11) has to be modified further. The reason for the ungrammaticality in 25 (a) and 26 (a) is this: A noun phrase in a sentence does not allow *ta:n* to be inserted in the noun phrase while it allows *ta:n* at the end of it. Now the following amendment is necessitated to (11).

(27) *ta:n cannot be inserted in a noun phrase.*

Let us further examine the generlisation. (11)

(28) ni:ńkal ke:ttal avar kotuppa:r
'If you ask (for it) he will give'

28 (a) * ni:ńkal-ta:n ke:ttal avar kotuppa:r

28 (b) ni:ńkal ke:ttal ta:n avar kotuppa:r
If you ask for it, he will give'

Note that 28(a) is ungrammatical while 28(b) is not. In (28) *ni:ńka ke:ttal* is the modified form of an embedded sentence (or constituent sentence). When we carefully examine many other embedded sentences of this kind, it might be discovered that *ta:n* cannot be inserted in the embedded sentence while it can be added at the end of it.[6] Now, another amendment similar to (27) is warranted here.

(29) *ta:n cannot be inserted in an embedded sentence.*

Since any nounphrase is traceable to an embedded sentence, the statment in (29) is capable of taking care of (27). Due to some semantic reason ta:n does not occnr after the particles a:vatu signifying choice and o: signifying doubt. The following sentences will provide evidence for this.[7]

(30) niːṅkaḷ-aːvatu varaveːṇṭum
'At least you must come'

30(a)* niːṅkaḷ-aːvatu-taːn varaveːṇṭum

31. avaṉ yaːr-iṭam-oː peːcukiṟaṉ
'He talks to somebody'

31 (a)* avaṉ yaːr-iṭam-oː-taːṉ peːcukiṟaṉ

Although, the function of *taːṉ* appears to be simple for a native speaker, it is not that simple. What we have presented here is not an exhaustive study of the particle *taːṉ*. Now we can summarise and restate the generalisations in (11), (14), (17), (24), (27) and (29) as follows:

32. (a) *taːṉ* cannot be inserted in an embedded sentence.

(b) Especially in literary Tamil *taːṉ* does not occur after a finite verb.

(c) Only the interrogative *aː* and the vocative particles such as *aṭa*ː and *aṭi* (and not any other item) can follow the the particle *taːṉ* in a word.

(d) The emphatic *taːṉ* never occurs after *aːvatu* and *oː*

(e) *taːṉ* occurs only once in a sentence.

The traditional grammarians have wonderfully dealt with many important problems in the Tamil language. While we adore them and appreciate their greatness in many respects, the particle *taːṉ* reminds us of the large amount of work before us in the field of Tamil linguistics.

Foot notes

(1) It is true that *taːṅkaḷ* can be used as a second person honorific singular form. It is not relevant for the present discussion.

(2) Since this is not a complete study of *taːṉ*, sentences like yaːrtaːn nallavar 'who is the good one' and *avar-taːneːvantaːr* 'he came, didn't he?.' are not considered here? *taːṉ* with interrogative words is another relevent problem which needs a separate study.

(3) Sentences like na:n-um varuve:n-ta:n 'I will come, too, indeed' are possible in spoken dialects. They are not accepted in the literary variety.

(4) Please see *Peyaraṭaï-c-coṛkaḷ* (by the author of this paper) in *Pulamai* Vol.1 No.1 (1975, Madras).

(5) In certain cases the complex verb permits the insertion of ta:ŋ (for instance *paṭittukkoṇṭu-ta:ŋ irunte:n*). In certain other cases such insertion is not possible (for instance**vantu-ta:n viṭṭa:n*). Such instances pose a problem yet to be solved.

(6) The embedded sentences with *ceytu* and *ceyya* patterns of verbs might seem to permit insertion of *ta:n*. It occurs to me, they are not really insertions and they may be explained in accordance with (29). Embedded sentences with the quotative particle *eṉṛu* are capable of nullifying many rules. A study of *eṉṛu* is a major problem.

(7) Sentences like *ya:ro:-ta:ŋ vanta:r* seem to be acceptable in spoken dialects but not in literary Tamil.

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6

The Present Finite Verb of Kannada

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0.1 An attempt is made here to analyse the Present finite verb of Modern Kannada from the historical point of view. When compared with other Dravidian languages, Modern Kannada stands unique in that it has developed a special set of pronominal terminations for the present finite verbs. In all modern grammars of Kannada, the closing elements of the present finite verbs are taken to be the pronominal terminations. Descriptively, this may be sufficient, though, on making close enquiries from historical perspective, it would be seen that the so-called pronominal terminations are not simply those what they are thought to be, but compressed finite verbs.

1.1 In Modern grammars, the parts segmented out as the pronominal terminations are the following:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	*-e:ne*	*-e:ve*
Second	*-i:*	*-i:ri*
Third Masculine:	*-a:ne*	*-a:re*
Third Feminine:	*-a:le*	*-a:re*
Third Neuter:	*-ade/-ide*	*-ave/-ive*

1.2 Old Kannada does not have any special markers for present tense and their analysis is proceeded on the line: Root + *dapa* + pronominal termination (Kesiraja, *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, Sutra 222). Kesiraja and his predecessor or follower, viz , Nagavarma II and Bhattakalaṃka, respectively, are not explicit about the complexity of the suffix *dapa* which was simply taken to be the present tense marker. R. Caldwell (1955, 3rd Edition, 490-491), as well as the authors of Kannada Kaipidi (1955, 355-356) have shown that this suffix is derived from the combination of a past tense marker and the future verb of *a:gu* 'to become' (*a:gu* + *p-* > *a-pp-* > *a-p*). Thus, in effect, in Old Kannada, the present tense construction is not a simple but complex verb, having a past participle + future finite of *a:gu*.

2.1 The modern form of the present tense construction appears for the first time in literary Kannada in the 16th century A.D., in Purandara Dasa's songs (Karnataka Haridasa Tarangini, Part I and II, Subodha Prakatanalaya, Bangalore 1964. 3rd edition). The following are such examples:

(a) **First Person Singular:**

(1) *maḍake toḷeyute:ne* 130-226 'I wash the pot, i.e., cooking pot'

(2) *maneya sa:risute:ne* 130-226 'I scrub the house'

(b) **Second Person Singular:**

(3) *adarinda nadiya da:ṭutiyappa* 106-185 'you cross the river by that ,my dear fellow,

(4) *maḍi maḍiyendu aḍigaḍige ha:ruti* 123-118

'Shouting *maḍi maḍi* (do not come near me, lest my being clean and pure be defiled) you jump up at every step'

(5) *a:guti* 'you become', *o:ḍuti* 'you run', *ku:guti* 'you shout, cry', *koṇḍa:ḍuti* 'you praise'. *no.duti* 'you look', *bi:ḷuti* 'you fall'. *be:ḍuti* tyou:' beg', *higguti* 'you rejoice', *ho:guti* 'you go' 300-457; *a:ḍutti* 'you play', *e:ḷutti* 'you rise up,' *iruti* 'you are'

kuṇikuṇida:ḍutti 'you dance and play', *tiruga:ḍutti* 'you wander', *hiṇḍuti* 'you squeeze' 210-472.

(c) **Third Person Masculine :**

(6) *ba:re go:pamma nimma ba:layyanaḷuta:ne* 16-18, 'Come on O! Gopamma, your infant son cries'

(7) *aṇḍadoḷage a:ḍuta:ne* 89-156, He dances in the Universe'

(8) *horaḷho:gta:ne* 106-185, 'He having started goes', 'he goes away'.

(d) **Third Person Neuter Singular :**

(9) *mattondhakki ha:rutadappa* 106-85, 'Another bird flies, my dear fellow'

(e) **Third Person Neuter Plural :**

(10) *makkaḷu aḷuta:re* 130-226 'children cry'

2.2 As the present tense constructions of this kind became more and more acceptable in literary Kannada, the use of *'dapa'* became rare and the past-based present tense of Old Kannada became present continuous-based. What was considered present tense between the past and future points, became only the points after past, in that the very same present tense verb was used in future sense also, by using appropriate adverbs :

e.g ,

(11) *na:ḷe ho:gutte:ne* 'I go tomorrow' (Lit: I will go tomorrow)

(12) *na:ḷe koḍutte:ne* 'I give tomorrow' (Lit: I will give tomorrow)

The grammatically correct future finite verbs like *baruve* 'I will come', *ho:guve* 'I will go', *koḍuvanu* 'He will give', *biḍuvaḷu* 'She will leave' etc., are confined only to literary usages and if they occur in colloquial speech, they sound highly artificial and abnormal.

2.3 The present continuous marker *-utt* is considered by modern grammarians as the suffix confined to present marking only. But considering it purely from the descriptive point of view it may not be wrong also. The meaning of continuity could be seen when occurs with other verbs,

e.g.,

(13) *na:nu baruttidde* 'I was coming'

(14) *avanu uṇṇuttidda* 'He was eating'

Here the verbs could be analysed as:

bar - utt # id-d-e and

uṇṇ - utt # id-d a,

where, the root + *utt* — is an incomplete verb and what follows them is a finite verb. In the same manner, the so-called present finite verb also has two main sections as:

e.g.,

(15) *na:nu ho:gutte:ne* 'I am going'

(16) *avanu uṇṇutta:ne* 'He is eating',

where the verbs are analysable as:

ho:g - utt # e:ne

uṇṇ - utt # a:ne

The forms *-e:ne, -e:ve, -a:ne, -a:re,* etc, have so synthesised their markers that it is hardly possible to identify them. However, with the available evidence it would be seen tha tthe task is not impossible. On closer examination it could be found that these are not purely pronominal terminations but compressed finite verbs by themselves. In that case, even in Modern Kannada, the present finite construction is not simple but complex verb, involving more than one root in it. To begin with, it may be noted that there are instances to prove that *ade, ide, ave* and *ive* are free forms and not bound as they are thought to be.

e. g.,

(17) *alli ade* 'It is there'

(18) *alli ave* 'They are there'

(19) *alli ide* 'It is there'

(20) *alli ive* 'They are there'

NOTE :- *i: pustakada ba:dhyateyu hindusta:na saraka:rada san 1867ne: isavi a:kṭinaṃte rsgiṣṭara ma:ḍiyade* (Samskrita Kannada Sabda Vyutpatti)

'The right of this book is registered (i. e., in the register being recorded according to the act of 1867 of Government of India'

2.4. Since the forms-*e:ne, e:ve* etc., are always bound with another verb obligatorily, their analysis is not as easy as that of *ade, ide, ave* and *ive*.

The authors of Kannada Kaipidi consider the present tense construction as follows:

(a) The verbs *kaṇḍe:nu* 'I may see', *bande:nu* 'I may come', indicate the indefinit future.

(b) People started using the suffix *-ut-/-utt-* to indicate the present tense and as a result there were presnt finite verbs with the pronominal terminations having long vowels.

(c) Even now the presnt finite verbs like *barutte.nu* 'I come', *ho:gutte:nu* 'I go', etc., occur in the spoken dialect of the people of certain regions.

(d) Since *-e:nu, -a:nu* etc., are indicating indefinitness, *-e* was added to them to form the present definit.

Attributing this to the opinion of modern scholars, the authors have shown in the foot note that the process of vowel harmony also has taken place here, i. e., in the case of *-e* (Kaipidi, 1955,362). It is not possible to explain the forms *-ade, -ide* etc , from this background. Because there is no overt change in them. An entirely different Neut. verbs are seen to express indefiniteness, e g., *bandi:tu* 'It may come, *banda:vu* 'They may come'. The reason for *-u* ending suffixes of present tense finite verbs in the speeches of the people of certain region may be due to the contact and influence of Telugu language, since in Telugu, invariably the pronominal suffixes and also all other words, have *-u* in the final position. None of the examples of present finite verbs that is available now, has *-u* in the final positions. The future indefinite construction is based on Past tense stem, in that the so-called pronominal terminations with initial long vowels are added to the past stem. Sporadic instances of the future indefinite constructions occur in Purandara Dasa's songs also[1]. Hence it won't be proper if we explain the modern present tense finite constructions through the future indefinite constructions. Both of them are entirely different.

If they were related, the neuter gender form also should have had the long vowel in the pronominal terminations. In other Dravidian languages like Tamil, Telugu etc., as well as in Old Kannada the pronominal terminations have long vowels.[2] In the process of Old Kannada transforming into Medieval and Modern Kannada, the long vowels of the pronomina terminations became short according to scholars (Gai, 1946, 108) However the long vowels occurring in the pronominal terminations of the indefinite verbs are not the fossils of the Old Kannada forms, but those that have resulted from $p > h > \emptyset$. Even now, one could see in response imperative constructions the past verb being used in future meaning, e.g., when some one calls some one else to come *ba:* "come!", the past verb is being used in response: '*bande*' " I came" (I will come), even before the action of coming started. The future indefinite constructions also are derivable in the same way as the present tense, where the only difference being that in future indefinite, the past stem is based and in the present, the present continuous stem is based. It is interesting to note that these constructions have developed only in Kannada, when compared to other Dravidian languages.

2.5.1 The independent forms of *ide* and *ade* mentioned above, are analysable in the following manner:

(1) *i-* and *a-* are the roots that have different forms, but common meaning.

(2) *-d-* and *-v-* occurring after them are the Neuter singular and Plural markers respectively.[3]

(3) *-e,* the details of which will follow.

2.5.2 Though *i-* and *a-* are said to be the roots having common meaning, they do not agree cent per cent in meaning as can be seen in certain instances. The root *i-* indicates nearness, and the root *a-* indicates distance in relation to point of time in which the action is referred to by these verbs. This distinction is blurred when the action is takiug place at the simultaneous point of time. When the reference is made to the action taking place in fnture, *a-* is used and never *i-*.

(21) *male i:ga baruttade*
(22) *male i:ga baruttade* } 'It rains now' (Simultanious)

(23) *rayilu i:ga baruttade*
(24) *rayilu i:ga baruttide* } 'The train comes now' (Simultanious)

(25) *eṇṭu gaṇṭege rayilu baruttade* 'The train arrives at 8 O' clock'

(26) *eṣṭu gaṇṭege rayilu baruttade?* 'At what time the train arrives?' (Future or distant time)

In the last two sentences, the verbs cannot be replaced by *-ide* as the sentences become unacceptable:

(25a) **eṇṭu gaṇṭege rayilu baruttide*

(26a) **eṣṭu gaṇṭege rayilu baruttide?*

Probably *a-* and *i-* roots marking distance and nearness respectively with regard to time, have a parallel with the demonstrative adjectives *a:* and *i:*. Just as an intermediate degree exists between the proximity and remoteness, in demostrative adjectives, the verb has an intermediate form, viz , *uṇṭu* (*uḷ* 'to be' + *tu* Neut. sg→*uṇṭu* 'it is'). This is a free form, whereas *ide* and *ade* are bound forms after the present continuous stem.

2.6 After analysing the forms *ade* and *ide*, it is easy to analyse *-e:ne*, *-e:ve*, *-i:*, *-i:ri*, *-a:ne*, *-a:le* and *-a:re*, the so-called pronominal terminations of Modern Kannada [4] The First and Second persons show proximity and therefore, *-e:ne*, *-e:ve*, *-i:* and *-i:ri* are derived from the root *i-*. The Third person shows remoteness and therefore, *-a:ne*, *-a:le* and *-a:re* are derived from the root *a-*.

Examples: (a) **First Person Singular:**

(1) *ir-p-en* → *ir-pp-en* → *i-h-en*

(2) *-h-* is lost and there is compensatory lengthening; so, *i:en*, and since the vowel clusters do not occur in the language, there is shift of position as: *i:ne*

(3) The rule of vowel harmony operates:[5]

i:ne → (1) *e:ne* (standard dialect)

(2) *i:ni* (Mysore colloquial dialect)

(b) First Person Plural:

Same processes as above, (1) and (2).

(3) *i:ve* → (1) *e:ve* (Standard dialect)

(2) *i:vi* (Mysore Colloquial dialect)

(c) Second Person Singular:

(1) *ir-p-ay* → *i-pp-ay* → *i-h-ay*

(2) *-h-* is lost and there is compensatory lengthening and as a result *i:ay*. Since there is no vowel clusters shifting of positions takes place: Thus, *i.ya*. Because of the high front vowel *i:*, *-a* the low vowel also is raised to a higher and frontal position and as a result, *-i:ye* occurs. Sometimes, the sequence *-ya* itself is lost and simple *-i:* occurs in standard colloquial dialect.

(d) Second Person Plural:

Same processes as (1) and (2) above.

(3) *i:-ar* → (1) *i:ra* (Mysore Colloquial dialect)

(2) *i:ri* (Standard dialect)

Third Person Masculine :

(1) *ar-p-an* → *a- pp- an* → *a-h-an*

(2) By the loss of *-h-*, compensatory lengthening of the preceeding vowel takes place: *a:-an*

(3) Since the vowel clusters are occurring in the language, their position is shifted and as a result: *a:-na* is derived. It is difficult to explain how *-a* in the third person finite construction is replaced by *-e*. The only explanation possible is that it has taken place on the analogy of the first person finite constructions

The third person feminine and plural also are derived in the same manner as above.

a:-aḷ → *a:-ḷa*, *a:ḷa* + *e* → *a:ḷe* (Feminine)

a:-ar → *a:-ra*, *a:ra* + *e* → *a:re* (Plural).

2.7 According to the above derivation, in Neuter gender forms also, a long vowel should have occurred. In Dharwar Kannada, though not actually long, stressed vowel which appears long is invariably found e.g., *bartàda* 'It comes'. Another colloquial form *aiti* 'It is', might have resulted from the long vowel.

The final vowel *e* of these verbs may be taken to be the suffix indicating definiteness like *antu* + *e* → *ante*, 'like that', *muntu* + *e* → *munt* in front of., as analysed in Kannada Kaipidi. There is reason to believe that the final-*e* may be due to the shifting of the vowel *-e* of the pronominal suffix of the first person. This is clearly shown in the case of *i:ni*, and *i:vi*, occurring in Mysore colloquial dialect of Kannada. Perhaps, *e:-* occurs in the pronominal terminations *-e:ne*, *-e:ve*, because of the vowel harmony, arising out of the suffix *-e* indicating definiteness which occurs in the final position. This suffix, viz., *-e* of definiteness occurs in past tense verbs also:

(27) *mella mellane bandane go:pamma ke:ḷe:*
'Listen Gopamma, he came slowly and slowly'

The suffix indicating definiteness had been occurring in the verbs even before the future indicator *-h-* was lost. There is evidence for this in Bharatesha Vaibhava of Ratnakara Varni of the 16th century.

(28) *a:karusaṇava ma:ḍutahaḷe* 'She attracts'

(29) *kavvaregoṇḍe:rutahare* 'They climb up with gust'

3.0, Conclusion;

1. In Modern Kannada also, the present tense is a complex construction made up of two roots.[6]
2. What appears now to be a pronominal termination in present tense finite from, is in reality, a compressed finite verb of future tense.
3. The present finite verbs have entered into literary language since the 16th century A.D.

Foot notes

1. *ma:ḍe:nu* 'I may do' Song No. 452; *uṇde:nu* 'I may eat' Song No. 457; *he:ḷe:nu* 'I will say' Song No. 487.

2. In Tamil the pronominal terminations have long vowels, except the third person neuter singular and plural. *-e:n, -o:m.* 1st pn. sg. pl. *-a:y, -i:r* 2nd pn. sg. and pl; *-a:n, -a:ḷ* and *-a:r* 3rd pn. Masc, Fem. and superior pl., respectively; *-atu* and *-ana* sg. and pl. In Telugu all pronominal terminations have long vowels and have *-u* in final positions. The neuter has initially short vowel and finally *-i, -a:nu, -a:mu* 1st pn. sg. & pl; *-a:vu, -a:ru* 2nd pn. sg and pl ; *-a:ḍu -a:ru* 3rd pn Masc and superior pl; *-di* and *-vi* Neut. sg. and pl. Malayalam does not have any pronominal termination in finite verbs and in Tulu, just as in Kannada, only the pronominal terminations with short vowels occur.

3. The tense marker is lost. In past tense verbs that have long vowels the tense marker is dropped when *-itu* is added (Kannada Kaipidi, 1955, 356)

4. It appears that the root forms that have orginated from *a-, i-* and *u-* might also contain a consonant. That *-r* occurs in *i-* root is clear. But the root **ar-* is not attested anywhere. In Kittel's Kannada English Dictionary. the vocable *appu* is shown to be related to its earlier form *arpu* and even to its still earlier form *aḷpu.* Therefore, it can be presumed that a consonant either *-r-* or, *-ḷ-* might be occuring with *a-* root verb also.

5. In (1) the process of vowel harmony acts on the first and in (2) on the final vowel. A question will arise as to why the suffix indicating definiteness, i.e , *-e* does not act similarly in the case of second persan verbs. At present, I have no answer for this.

6. In Modern Kannada, the following verbs are taken as the present tense forms: *idde:ne* 'I am', *idde:ve* 'We are', *idda:ne* 'He is', *idda:ḷe* 'she is', *idda:re* 'They are'. These are composed of Past participle of *ir-* 'to be' and *-e:ne, -e:ve, -a:ne, -a:ḷe* and *-a:re.* In Neuter gender, simply *ide* and *ive* only occur.

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7

Tenseless Predicatives in old Tamil

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0. Differences of opinion in the modern interpretation of the class of words which are referred to by traditional grammarians as *viṉaykkuṟippu* (Tol.C. 82, 197, 198,* Nan. 321) 'Verbs by implication' is quite common. Modern grammarians (Beschi, 1974:46-59, Caldwell 1956:475) refer to this class of words as Appellatives. Some modern grammarians (Arden 1942:108; Varadarajan, 1959, Andronov 1969:122-25, equate this class to Nouns. Others (Subramoniam 1960, K. Meenakshisundaram 1974, Kothandaraman, 1973, Agesthialingom, 1976) say they are verbs. I will attempt in this paper to show by inductive reasoning the nature of this class of words without evaluating the different views while doing so some of the earlier arguments will be incorporated while some others automatically get refuted. Further the different subclasses of this category of words will also be studied. The study is based mostly on the data of Tolkappiyam text for which I have prepared an index. Evidence from other Old Tamil texts, i.e. Sangam works will also be used wherever necessary.

1. The words found in Tolkappiyam and other Old Tamil texts can be grouped into two major form classes or parts of speech called Nouns and Predicatives on the basis of differing features.

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*Numbers of Tolkappiyam verses are that of Iḷampūraṇar's commentary for all the three Chapters.

1.1. Nouns inflect for case while the Predicatives do not except when nominalized, but inflect for Gender Number and Person.

1.1.1. Nouns

ve:ntan-ay,	'King (Obj.) (T1. P. 64.2)	
ve:ḻa-kku	'to the elephant' (Tol. 5 579. 1.)	
cu:ttiratta-a:n	'by the aphorisms' (Tol. P. 470.1.)	
maṉayvi-kaṇ	'with wife'	(Tol. P. 221 6.)
itaṉ-atu	'of this'	(Tol. C. 76)

1.1.2. Predicatives

peṟa:ṉ	'will not get-he'	(Tol. P. 535.)
peṟa:ḷ	'will not get-she'	(Tol. P 125.2)
peṟa:r	'will not get-they'	(Tol. P. 57.2)
peṯṯatu	'got-it'	(Tol. P. 74.1)
peṯṯaṉa	'got-they' (nuet.)	(Tol. P. 328.1)
uriyaṉ	'privileged-he'	(Tol. P 170.5)
uriyaḷ	'privileged-she'	(Tol. P. 156 2)
uriyar	'belong-they'	(Tol. P. 26.1)
uritu	'belongs-it'	(Tol. E.75 1)
uriya	'belong-they'	(Tol. E. 23. 2)

1.1.3. Nominalized Predicatives

peṟa:r-kku	'to those who did not get'	(Tol. P. 88.5)
paṟaṟ-ku	'for getting'	(Tol. P. 148 1)
urimay-k-kaṉ	'in the privlege'	(Tol. P. 144.4)

1. 2. Predicatives are so referred to as they occur as predicates of sentences. Though Nouns too occur as predicates they differ from Predicatives in taking a copula, While Nominal predicates can be optionally followed by a copula, other Predicatives cannot be so followed

e. g. 1) u*ṯ*-pe*ṟ*u pu*ḷḷi* uru a:kum
In ide getting dot shape will be-it
'The dot inside will be (its) shape' (Tol. E. 14)

2) malay-y i*ṟ*antu ceyal cu:*ḷ*nta
mountain going beyond making which was considered
poru*ḷ* poru*ḷ* a:kum-o:
wealth wealth wil be-it-Int.

'will the wealth which was made by going beyond the mountains will be real wealth? (Kali: 2.15,16.)

In (1) and (2) *a:kum* occurs as the copula to connect the Nominal predicates *uru* 'shape' and *poru*ḷ 'wealth' respectively to their corresponding subject NPs. It will be clear from the following examples that Predicatives do not take such a copula.

3) vaka:ram *pi*ṟ*akkum*
the sound v will be produced-it'

'The sound v will be produced' (Tol. E.98.)

4) *n*aka:ray mu*nn*ar maka:ram *ku*ṟ*ukum*
the sound -*n* after the sound m will be shortened-it'

'The sound m will be shortened after the sound *n*. (Tol. E. 52.)

5) pi*ṟ*a-v-um u*ḷ*a
others-also are-they (neut.)

'There are others too' (Tol. P. 572. 2.)

6) pull-um mara*n*-um o:r a*ṟ*ivi*n*a
grass-and tree-and one of the sense-they (neut.)

'Grass and tree are of single sense' (have single sensory perception) (Tol P. 572.1.)

In (3) - (6) *pi*ṟ*akkum* 'will be produced-it', *ku*ṟ*ukum* 'will be shortened it' *u*ḷ*a* 'are-they (neut.)' *a*ṟ*ivi*n*a* 'Of the sense-they(neut.) respectively are predicatives which occur without a following copula.

1. 3. Nouns do not undergo relativization while predicatives do. When sentences with Nominal predicates are relativized, the result is seen in the copula.

In (7) and (8) below the effect of relativization in NP-NP sentences is found in the copula becoming the R.P. *a:kiya.*

e g. 7) niṉ-a-kku maruntu a:kiya ya:ṉ
you-for medicine who became I

'I, who is medicine for you' (Aim. K. 59. 3)

8) vali-kku varampu a:kiya kaṇavaṉ
strength-for upper limit who became husband

The husband who is the upper limit for strength.
The husband who is the strongest (Malaik 308.)

1. 4. Nouns denote Gender, Number Person inherently except in the case of few derived nouns while predicatives cannot except when inflected as shown in 1.1.2.

e.g. tantay 'father' (Tol. P. 135.1.)
ta;y 'mother' (Tol. P. 95.1)
te:r 'chariot' (Tol. P. 75.5)

On the basis of these and other differences Predicatives stand apart from Nouns as a major class.

2. Predicatives as shown above include Verbs and other Verb like words. All these words share certain common properties.

2.1. They inflect for the grammatical categories Gender - Number -and Person as shown in 1.1.2. above.

2. 2. They occur as predicates in sentences as shown in 1.2. in (3)-(6).

2.3. They undergo relativization and give rise to Relative or Adjectival participles. (see Agesthialingom. S, 1976:8)

e.g. 9) aṯṯa ve:ntaṉ
who killed - king -
'the king who killed' (Tol. P. 72.10)

10) keṯṯa iṟuti
Which was lost ending
'the ending which was last' (Tol. E. 184.2.)

11) ariya aṉṉay
'difficult mother' (Naṟ. 173.6.)

12) iṉṉa: ve:ṉil
which (is) not pleasant summer
'The summer which is not pleasant' (Akam.335.6)

2.4. They form Participial Nouns

e.g.	aṟinto:r	'they who knew'	(Tol. P.50.2)
	aṟinto:ḷ	'she who knew'	(Tol. P.492.2)
	uṭayyatu	'that which has'	(Tol. P.452.5)
	e:ro:r	'they of the plough'	(Tol. P.75.3)
	vallo:ṉ	'he who (is) efficient	(Tol. P.653.2.)
	periyavar	'they who (are) great'	(Tol. P.75.10.)

2.5. All the verbs and a few of the other class give rise to Adverbial or Verbal Participles.

e.g.	aṟintu	'having known'	(Tol. E.408.2)
	aṟuttu'	'having cut'	(Tol. P.530.1)
	aṉṟi	'without being'	(Tol. P.233.2)
	iṉitu	'smoothly'	(Tol. E. 93.3)
	toṉṟu	'anciently'	(Tol. E.238.3)
	peritu	'greatly'	(Naṟ. 113.8.)

2.6. As predicates they govern different case phrases.

13) peyar-oṭu peyar-ay-p-puṇarkkum-ka:l
Noun-with Noun-obj adding - while
'While adding one noun with another noun'
(Tol. E.109.4)

14) iṭay niṉṟu iyalum ca:riyay
place between having occurred will behave - it augment
'The augment will occur in the place between'
(Tol E.133.6.)

15) uṇarcci va:yil uṇarvo:r valittu
understanding ability they who understand has as its strength-it

'The understanding ability has as its strength those who understand' (Tol. C.387.)

16) ki|avi ... to:|ikku uriya
statements female confident-to belong-they (neut.)
'The statements belong to the female confident' (Tol. P.148. 31, 32)

In (13) - (16) the Predicatives *puṇar* 'add' *nil* 'occur' *valittu* 'has as its strength-it' and *uriya* 'belong-they (neut.)' govern the cases sociative and objective (13), Locative (14), Objective (15) and Dative (16) respectively.

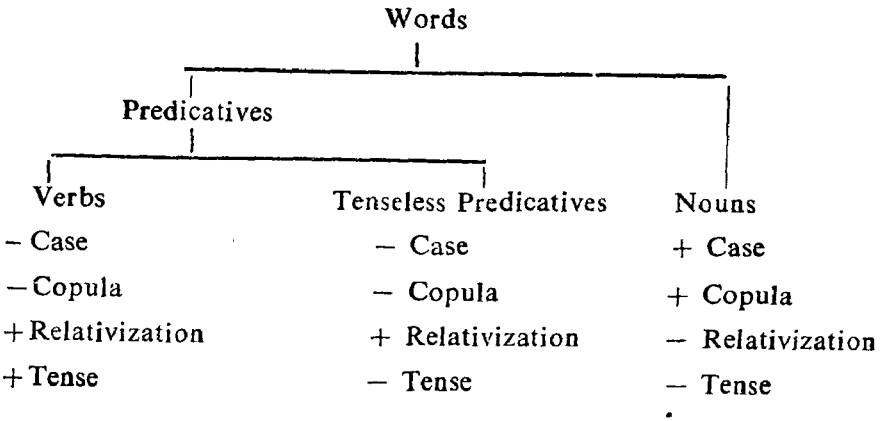
On the basis of these shared characteristics all these words are referred to here by the common name Predicatives.

3. Among the classs of words that can be referred to as Predicatives, Verbs form a separate class as they inflect for Tense while all others do not.

The other class of words differ from Verbs in not occurring in the Imperative and Infinitive moods. (See Agesthialingom and Shanmugam, 1970:205) Probably having in mind the above listed similarities and the differences this class of words are referred to as *viṇay-k-kuṟippu* 'Verbs by implication 'by traditional grammarians'. Modern grammarians refer to this class as Appellative Verbs. (See Agesthialingom and Shanmugam, 1970)

As the term 'appellative' is mainly associated with Nouns and naming as this class is shown above to be distinctly different from Nouns, I would like to refer to this class of words as Tenseless Predicatives (Tl.Pr.) as a sub-class of Predicatives.

The above classification of words on the basis of shared and differing features can be shown diagrammatically in the following manner,



4. Tl.Pr. can be sub-classified on the basis of formal and semantic differences. Basically Tl.Pr. fall into two classes *Inherent* and *Derived*. The ineherent Tl.pr. have separate bases of their own inflecting for various grammatical categories while the derived Tl.Pr. have nouns simple or derived serving as stems. Tl.Pr. like.

uriyan	'privileged-he'	(Tol.P. 156 3)
uṭayya	'have-they (neut.)'	(Tol.E.86.4)
koṭiyay	'harsh-you'	(Tol.P 156.3.)
naṉṟu	'good-it'	(Tol.P. 145.30)

are inherent having bases like *uri* 'have privilege', *uṭay* 'have', *koṭu(m)* 'harsh', *nal* 'good' etc. respectively. Others like,

neri-ttu	'of the way-it'	(Tol. P. 76. 3)
puṟatto:ṉ	'outside-he'	(Tol. P. 68.5)
poruḷa	'of the meaning they-(neut)	(Tol. E. 143.2)
aṟiviṉaḷ	'of the wisdom-she'	(Tol. P. 115)
ceyaṟkayya	'of the function-they (neut)'	(Tol. E. 198 2)
urimayya	'of the privileges-they (neut)'	(Tol. C.217.6.)

have as their stems simple nouns like *neṟi* 'way', *puṟam* 'outside', *poruḷ* 'meaning' and derived nouns like *aṟivu* 'wisdom', *ceyaṟkay* 'function', *urimay* 'privilege' etc. respectively.

4.1 The bases of the Inherent Tl. Pr. can be classified further. A large part of these bases morphologically stand apart from other bases by taking quality nominalizer *-may*.

e.g.

aṇ-may	'nearness'	(Tol. E. 211 2.)	
aru-may	'rarity'	(Tol. P. 109. 19)	
iḷa-may	'youthhood'	(Tal. C. 75.8)	
al-may → aṉmay	'negation of identity'	(Tol. C.210.5)	
il-may → iṉmay	'absence'	(Tol E. 133.7)	
uḷ-may→ uṇmay	'existence'	(Tol. C 210.5)	

The bases of this sub-class of Tl. Pr. are very similar functionally to the verbal bases in their inflectional behaviour and co-occurrence relations. As verbal bases compound with nouns these bases also form compounds.

VB. aḻi-paṭay	'destroying army'	(Tol. P. 65. 14)	
aṟi-col	'denoting word'	(Tol. C. .1)	
Tl Pr. bases.aṇ-pal	'upper teeth'	(Tol. E. 86.1)	
aru-marapu	'difficult-convention'	(Tol.P. 140. 22)	
irum-tu:vi	'black tail'	(Tol. P. 593.2.)	

Though relative participles are formed in all classes of Tl. Pr. verbal participles are formed only from the bases of this class.

initu	'smoothly'	(Tol. E. 93.3)
toṉṟu	'anciently'	(Tol. E. 2383)
peritu	'greatly'	(Naṟ. 113.8)

These differ from verbal bases in not undergoing action nominalization by taking the verbal noun suffix *-tal/-al* and undergo quality nominalization by taking *-may* as shown above.[1]

Most of these bases are semantically quality words and are adjectival from one point of view, as they occur in attributive relation to nouns. The Relative Participles derived from these bases function as Adjectives.

On the basis of the above characteristics, it is clear that the bases of this class of Tl. Pr. are similar to both Adjectives and Verbs. Therefore they are referred to as Adjectival Verbal Bases (AVB).[2] In this class the bases *uḷ* 'be or exist', *uri* 'belong', *uṭay* 'have or possess' and the negative *il* negation of existence and *al* 'negation of identity' different from the other - AVB The similarity of these five bases to Verbs is greater than with other AVB[3] Semantically too these five differ from others as these are not quality words. But on the criterion of taking *-may* these are also classified together and referred to as AVB.1

4.2. There is another class of Inherent Tl.Pr. having bases of their own. The bases belonging to this class differ from AVB.1, in not undergoing quality nominalization and they do not take the suffix - *may*. But for a few, most of the bases do not compound with Nouns[4]. Otherwise these are similar to AVB.1 in forming Adjectival Relative Participles which occur in attributive relation to nouns. This sub-class of bases are referred to as AVB.2. These include bases like *aṉ* 'of that nature', *iṉ* 'of this nature', *eṉ* 'other', *teṉ* 'clear', *pir* 'other' etc.

4.33 Derived Tl.Pr. can be divided into two sub-classes *Possessive Predicatives* and *Locative Predicatives*. Possessive Predicatives structurally consist of a Noun simple or derived plus GNP marker with an optional Link morpheme in between. The Nouns that constitute the stems of possessive predicatives are semantically non-place Nouns. Notice the following examples.

aṭi-ttu	'of the foot-it	(Tol. P. 454.1)
kaccu-iṉ-aṉ→	kacciṉan 'of the girdle-he	(Akam. 76. 7)
aṟivu-iṉ-aḷ→	aṟiviṉ-aḷ 'of the wisdom-'she'	(Tol P.115. 1)
kiḻamay-ttu	'of the relationship-it'	(Tol. C. 76. 4)
avar-atu	'it of them'	(Tol. P. 153. 1)
tam-a	'they (neut.) of them'	(Tol.P. 194.)

These give possessive meaning characteristic to the Genetive case.

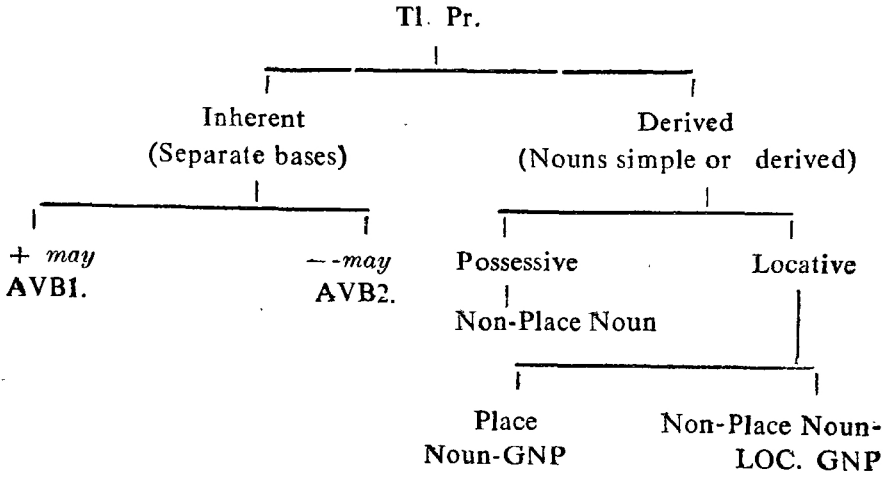
4. 4. The Locative Predicatives, which have locative meaning are formed in two ways : (1) either by the addition of the GNP. marker to

the Place Nouns or (2) by the addition of the GNP marker to a Non-Place Noun inflected for Locative case. In both the types suitable Link morphemes occur optionally. Notice the following examples.

e. g. 1. Place Noun-(link) – GNP
ițam-tt-a → iṭatta 'of the place-they (neut.)' (Tol. C. 29.3)
akam-tt-ar → akattar 'inside-they' (Kali 25 3)
neṟi-ttu 'of the way-it' (Tol. P. 76.3)

2. Non-place Noun-(Link)-Locative Case GNP
avar kaṇ-ttu → avarkaṭṭu 'it with them' (Tol. P. 638.2)
nul :iṉ-a:ṉ-a 'in the grammar they (Neut.) (Tol. P. 467.2.)

4.5. The different sub-classe of the Tl. Pr. can be diagrammatically represented in the following manner.



Foot notes

1 Though these Tl.Pr. bases do not take *-tal/-al*, a few verbs take *-may* and form stative nominals. e.g. *no:ṉ-may* 'tolerance' (Tol. P. 144.24.) *nilay-may* 'state' (Tol. P.26.2.) It is to be noted that *-may* occurs with Nouns also. Cf. *a:ṉ-may* 'manhood' (Tol. 6.62)

2. The modern treatment of Adjectives as Verbs (Lakoff, 1970: 115-33) finds support in the structure and functioning of Tamil AVB and their inflected forms. (Cf. Agesthialingom, 1976: 7-9)

3. It is to be noted that all the English equivalents of these bases are Verbs inflecting for Tense.
4. It is to be noted that some Verbal bases like *naṭa* 'walk', *paṛa* 'fly' too do not form compounds with Nouns.

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8

The Semantics of the Auxiliary Verbs *kotu* And *taru* in Malayalam

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0. This paper attempts to uncover certain semantic properties of the Malayalam auxiliary verbs *koṭu* and *taru*. These two forms are synonymous and have the meaning 'give' when they occur as main verbs. Their usage differs on the basis of a syntactic constraint. No other verb pair in Malayalam shows a constraint of this sort. *koṭu* can occur in sentences where the noun (or pronoun) expressing the 'goal' is a 'third person', If either a first or second person pronoun is mentioned as the goal of the action denoted by the verb, only *taru* can be used.

(1) ña:n avane (ra:janə) pustakam koṭuttu.
'I gave the book to him (or Rajan)'

(2) niṅṅaḷ avanə (ra:janə) pustakam koṭuttu.
'You gave the book to him (or Rajan)'

(3) ra:jan ba:buvinə pustakam koṭuttu.
'Rajan gave the book to Babu'

(4) avan (ra:jan) enikkə pustakam taṉṉu.
'He (Rajan) gave the book to me'

(5) avan (ra:jan) niṅṅaḷkkə pustakam taṉṉu.
'He (or Rajan) gave the book to you'

(6) niṅṅaḷ (avan/ra:jan) enikke pustakam taṉṉu.
'You (he or Rajan) gave me the book'

(7) avan paśuvinə veḷḷam koṭuttu.
'He gave water to the cow'

The above sentences exemplify the various possible collocations. Among Malayalam traditional grammarians only Mathen points out this distributional characteristics of *koṭu* and *taru* (Mathen, 1969)[1]. The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary has not clearly recorded this peculiar usage of these two verbs in Malayalam, presumably taking for granted that Malayalam and Tamil behave identically in this respect.[2] It should be mentioned that both these verbs exist in Tamil but they are not showing a syntactic complementary distribution as in Malayalam. Semantically these two verbs show more differences in these languages. (Kumaraswami Raja N. 1976)

1. Before examining the semantics of the auxiliary pair *koṭu* and *taru* a few words about the structural characteristics of Malayalam auxiliary verbs in general, would be in order. The auxiliary verbs in Malayalam occur only in the following morphological environments.

a. Past Verbal Participle + Aux
b. Infinitive Verb + Aux
c. Verb root + Present tense + Aux
d. Verb root + Habitual tense + Aux
e. Verbal Noun + Aux
f. Verb + Future tense + Aux

The occurrences of auxiliaries in environments other than (a) are extremely rare.[3] As the verb pair under discussion occurs in (a) environment, we shall not examine the other positions here. Thus, *koṭu* and *taru*, as auxiliaries, should necessarily by preceded by the past verbal participle form of a main verb.

2. Most of the composite structures containing 'main verb + auxiliary' exhibit semantic ambiguity because such composite structures are formally equivalent to structural sequences of past verbal participles and finite verbs Thus the sentences below allow two interpretations as shown against each:

(8) ña:n paṟaññu po:yi

1. 'I said and went' (Co-ordinate)
2. 'I (inadvertently) said' (Aux)

(9) avan paṟaññu ṉo:kki

1. 'He said and looked' (Co-ordinate)
2. 'He (hopefully) said' (Aux)

(10) avaḷ paṟaññu kaḷaññu

1. 'She said and discarded' (Co-ordinate)
2. 'she (unwantedly) said' (Aux)

A performance test and a syntactic test will reveal that the 'Vb-Aux' composite is relatively more bound than the 'Vb-Vb' structure. Thus the 'Vb-Vb' structure can be uttered with a pause in between, whereas the 'Vb-Aux' composite will not allow that. The syntactic test refers to the possibility of insertion in the 'Vb-Vb' structure; the 'Vb-Aux' composite will not allow intervention Hence the following sentences can have only the non-auxiliary interpretations.

(8) a. ña:n paṟaññə uṭane po:y.

'I said and went immediately'

(9) a. avan paṟaññə śradhiccu ṉo:kki

'He said and looked attentively'

(10) a. avaḷ paṟaññə ko:patto:ṭe kaḷaññu

'She said and discarded angrily'

3. The verbs *koṭu* and *taru* are associated with three essential arguments or casal relations. They are agent (instrumental), object and goal. The agentive case and the instrumental case are in complementary distribution which is predictable, i.e. the agentive casal relation is possible only when the subject is an animate one and if the subject is an inanimate one an instrumental casal relation is possible.

(11) viḷakkə pṟaka:šam tarunnu.

'The lamp gives light'

ña:n 'I' of sentences (1) is an agent and *viḷakkə* 'lamp' of sentence (11) is an instrument. In traditional grammers the goal is usually referred to as 'Indirect Object'. Although all the above three casal functions are inherent in *koṭu* and *taru* it has been, however, pointed out that the object relation is more essential than the goal relation, in the case of the English verb give' (Randolph Quirk et al. 1972). Hence (12) below is an acceptable structure in English while (13) is considered illformed.

(12) He gave a doll.

(13) ?He gave the girl.

Malayalam does not seem to be exhibiting this sort of syntactic constraint as shown by the following two sentences which cannot be differentiated on the basis of acceptability.

12(a) avan paṇam koṭuttu.
'He gave money'

13(a) avan avaḷkkə koṭuttu.
'He gave to her'

The 'Goal' in sentence (12a) is absent and the 'Object' in (13a) is deleted. But both these sentences are equally acceptable. We have used the term 'Goal' here in a very broad sense. In fact 'goal'can be considered a 'super-case' which subsumes several secondary casal relations[4]. Consider the following expressions:

(14) adde:ham aṅṅa:ṭiyile:kkə naṭaṉṉu.
'He(hon) walked toward the bazar'

(15) puḻa kaṭalile:kkə oḻukuṉṉu.
'The river flows to the sea'

(16) ña:n aṅṅo:ṭṭə ṉo:kki.
'I looked there'

(17) avan ammakkə oru kattə ayaccu.
'He sent a letter to mother'

(18) ña:n avanə dhairyam koṭuttu.
'I gave him courage'

In the above, *aṅṅa:ṭi* 'bazar', *kaṭal* 'sea', *aṅṅə* 'that place', *amma* 'mother', and *avan* 'he' are expressions of goal function. Nevertheless, each of the above differs from the rest. In (14) we have the Agent moving towards a locus. An object moves towards a locus in (15). In (16) there is obviously a specification of goal but there seems to be concrete movement involved. In (17) an Agent does something and as a result an object 'moves' (?) in the direction of someone. (18) involves both an abstract-action and abstract 'object' Consequently, the goal function manifested by *avan* will have to be treated separately. There are several other expressions where 'some kind of goal function' is involved; yet they do not seem to belong to any one of the above expressions semantically. We shall examine one more expression below

(19) hari be:ṅkil paṇam aṭaccu.
'Hari remitted money in the bank'

In (19) although *be:ṅkil* 'in the bank' is superficially a locative expression, it is not difficult to understand that the 'location' does not refer to the locus of the action (aṭaykkuka 'remit'); instead the 'bank' in the above is the 'goal' which 'receives' the 'money'. Campare (19) with (20) below.

(20) hariyil ninnə be:ṅkə paṇam svi:kariccu.
'The bank received money from Hari'

In (19) the roles of the nouns *hari* and *be:ṅkə* of (20) have only been reversed. As a result we get both the source expression *hariyil ninnə* 'from Hari' and the verb *svi:karikkuka* 'receive' which in one sense subsumes a 'goal' function.

4 The discussion in the above section clearly indicates that where we refer to the 'goal' function in regard to the verb *koṭu* and *taru* we are using the term in a very general sense. It seems necessary to make two types of distinctions in the case of 'goal' relations. Firstly, the action can be either a 'concrete movement' or an 'abstract movement'. Secondly, the thing which moves may be an Agent or Object. We shall for terminological convenience call the Agent-movement expression as 'Primary' and the Object-movement expression as 'Secondary'. *koṭu* and *taru* always result in the movement of an 'object' and the movement can

be either 'concrete' or 'abstract'. Whenever there is an abstract object present an abstract movement is noticed. The 'concrete object' is divided into two viz. (a) 'movable object' and (b) 'immovable object'. In sentence (1) we get a concrete object which is a movable one where a concrete movement is noticed and in sentence (20),

(21) ña:n avanə oru vi:ṭə koṭuttu.
'I gave him a house'

vṭə 'house' is a concrete object which is immovable and hence we get only an 'abstract movement'. In brief only abstract movement is possible for an immovable concrete object.

5. Having discussed the general properties of the verbs *koṭu* and *taru* in Malayalam, we shall now examine its semantic connotations in their appearence as auxiliary verbs. Generally each auxiliary verb will have a basic meaning' and may have a few subsidiary meanings which are derived from the basic meaning which Ehrman calls 'overtones' (Madeline Ehrman 1966). She adds "the BASIC MEANINC is the most general meaning of the modal in question, the meaning that applies to all it occurrences'. Here we assume that *koṭu* and *taru* have the basic meaning 'give' in their auxiliary usage also and these have a few 'overtones' in different occurences. Consider the following sentence:

(22) amma enikkə oru katha paṟaññu taṉṉu
'Mother told me a story'.

Generally speaking the verbs *koṭu* and *taru* reveal a 'benefactive' meaning on the part of the Goal in Auxiliary expressions. Thus in (22) the mother is performing the action and *enikke* 'me' is benefitted by that action. This would be clear when we examine the following pair.

23(a) avan enikkə oru saha:yam ceytu taṉṉu.
'He did a help to me'

23(b) avan enikkə oru saha:yam ceytu.
'He did a help to me'

Although (23b) is grammatical, instances of *saha:yam ceyyuka* 'help' without the auxiliary *koṭu* and *taru* are very rare. This is because the act of

'helping' should always be intended to the goal's 'benefit'. The significance of the beneficial act can further be explicated by the following pair o sentences.

24(a) ña:n avaḷo:ṭə paṟaññu.
'I told her'

24(b) ña:n avaḷkkə paṟaññu koṭuttu.
'I told her (with the intention of benefiting her)

(24a) does not specify the fact that the agent's act should be 'received' by the addressee. In (24b) there is specification of the goal's benefit. Consider again (25a) and (25b) below:

25(a) avan enikkə oru samma:nam ayaccu.
'He sent me a gift'

25(b) avan enikkə oru samma:nam ayaccu taṉṉu
'He sent a gift for my benfit'

(25b) gives an additional meaning also. This sentence can only be uttered after receiving the gift. This can be further explicated by the following pair of sentences.

26(a) aya:ḷ enikkə ayacca samma:nam kiṭṭiyilla.
'I am not in receipt of the gift which he sent to me'

26(b) *aya:ḷ enikkə ayaccu taṉṉa samma:nam enikkə kiṭṭiyilla
'I am not in receipt of the gift which he sent to me'

Here, it is inferred that *taṉṉu* in sentense (26b) gives the additional meaning 'receive'. Because of this the sentence (26b) is ungrammatical.

taru and *koṭu* are inherently transitive verbs. But they behave intransitively when combined with another intransitive verb.

(27) ña:n ayaḷkkə fo:ṭṭo eṭukkuṉṉatinə ṉiṉṉu koṭuttu.
'I stood to him for taking a photograph'

(28) paśu kaḷukuṉṉatinə kiṭaṉṉu taṉṉu.
'The cow laid down for washing'

In sentences (27) and (28) *ṉiṉṉu* 'stood' and *kiṭaṉṉu* 'laid' are intransitive verbs where there is no direct object possible and *koṭu* and *taru* seem to

function according to the preceding intransitive verbs. Here we get the meaning 'obey'.

6. Earlier we have stated that *taru* can be used in sentences where either a first or second person pronoun is mentioned as the goal of the action. But there are acceptable sentences in Malayalm, whlch appear to violate the above constraint. See the following sentences:

(29) makaḷ acchanə ṉalla pe:r sampa:diccu taṉṉu.
'Daughter earned good name to father'.

(30) makaḷ acchanə ṉalla pe:r sampa:diccu koṭuttu.
'Daughtei earned good name to father'

Both these sentences are grammatically as well as semantically acceptable in Malayalam.[5] In sentence (29) the speaker is *acchan* 'father' and the speaker of the sentence (30) is not *acchan* 'father' but someoneelse Further, sentence (29) is paraphrasable as.

29 (a) acchana·ya enikkə makaḷ ṉalla pe:r sampa: diccu taṉṉu.
'Daughter earned good name to me who is the father'

Although *acchan* is the third person noun, in the underlying structure it behaves as the first person semantically.

Similarly there are sentences like,

(31) viveknandan hindukkaḷkkə a:tma:bhima:nam uṇṭa:kki taṉṉu.
'Vive:kanantha brought self respect to Hindus'

(32) vive:ka:nandan hindukkaḷkkə a:tma:bhima:nam uṇṭa:kki koṭuttu.
'Vivekanandha brought self respect to Hindus'

Here in sentence (31) the speaker is a member of the Hindu religion and in sentence (32) the speaker is not a member of the Hindu religion or he is not interested in Hinduism. So in sentence (31) *hindukkaḷkkə* 'to Hindus' means *hindukkaḷa:ya ñaṅṅaḷkkə*' 'to us who are Hindus' (inclusive of the speaker). This can be clearly explained by the following pair of sentence.

(33) ho:kki ta:raṅṅaḷ bha:ratattinə ṉalla pe:r ṉə:ṭittaṉṉu.

'Hockey players brought good name to India'

(34) ho:kki ʈa:raṅṅaḷ bha:ratattinə n̪alla pe:r n̪e:ṭikkoṭuttu.
'Hockey players brought good name to India'

In sentence (33) the goal is mentioned in third person, but the sentence with *taṉṉu* is acceptable because the speaker is an Indian who identifies himself with the group.

7. Generally the 'goal' with these verbs will have the dative case relation. But there are certain usages with other case markers also.

(35) avan enikkə sinima ka:ṇiccu taṉṉu.
'He showed me a film'

(36) avan enne sinima ka:ṇiccu taṉṉu.
'He showed me a film'

Semantically (35) and (36) are identical and the accusative case is possible in the goal slot instead of dative, which is a surface phenomenon. There is still another type where the 'goal' is not expressed in the surface level.

(37) ña:n ammakkə ka:l ʈaṭavikkoṭuttu.
'I massaged mother's leg'

(38) ña:n ammayuṭe ka:l taṭavikkoṭuttu.
'I massaged mother's leg'

Both these sentences are semantically identical and these sentences can be paraphrased as,

38 (a) ña:n ammakkə ammayuṭe ka:l taṭavikkoṭuttu.
'I massaged mother's leg to mother'

In sentence (37) *ammayuṭe ka:l* 'mother's leg' and in sentence(38) *ammakkə* 'to mother' are deleted in the surface level. Here the leg is a part of mother and hence it is redundant to say *ammakkə ammayuṭe ka:l* 'to mother mother's leg'. In both these cases *amma* 'mother' expresses the goal function.

There are sentences with these auxiliary verbs where two readings are possible. Consider the following sentences.

(39) avan enikkə tuṇikaḷ kaḻukittaṉṉu.

a. 'He washed the clothes and gave to me' (Main verb)

b. 'He washed the clothes for me' (Aux)

In such case we get primarily the main verb meaning and secondarily the auxiliary verb meaning.

By closer examination we can unearth several subtle nuances of these two verbs, depending upon the communication context.

To 'accept a challenge' the speaker can use the verb *taru* as in (40)

(40) ña:n ti:yil ca:ṭittara:m 'I can jump on the fire'

When the speaker thinks that a person cannot do a particular task and when it is done by the same person, to express that state these verbs are used.

(41) mantṟava:di tanṟe mantṟa śakti koṇṭə paṭṭiye a:ṭa:kkittannu.
'The Magician made the dog into a sheep by his mantras'

The verb *koṭu* when co-occur with *ca:ṭi* we get the meaning 'undesired' from the speakers point of view.

(42) acchan aniyane śaka:riccu koṇṭirunnappo:ḷ ña:num
aviṭe po:yi ca:ṭikkoṭuttu
'When father was scolding my younger brother
I went near him'

These verbs can express 'contempt' also

(43) avaḷ bharta:vinṟe talayil tiḷacca veḷḷam oḻiccu koṭuttu
'She poured boiled water over her husband's head'

The two verbs *koṭu* and *taru* are thus used as auxiliary verbs in Malayalam to express a number of minute notions

Foot note

1. Mathen points out that for *enikkə* 'to me', *ñaṅṅaḷkkə* 'to us', *ninakkə* 'to you (sg)', *niṅṅaḷkkə* 'to you (pl)', *taruka* and *avanə* 'to him', *avaḷkkə* 'to her', *avarkkə* 'to them', *atinə* 'to it' *avakkə* 'to them

koṭukka are used. According to him these verbs combine with adverabial participle and form auxiliary verb He adds that when these verbs are used in sentences the actions (goals) are for the object and not for the subject.

2. DED gives the following meaning : Ta. Ma. *taru* 'to give to 1st or 2nd person, (2526). Ta. Ma. *koṭu* 'to give to 3rd person, (1708

3. The occurrence of past verbal participle + auxiliary is greater when compared to the other types. *vara:n no:kki* 'tried to come' *paṟaya:n po:y/no:kki* 'about to say', *saṛddikka:n vaṉṉu* 'about to vomit', *vi:ḻa:n po:yi* 'about to fall' are the examples of infinitive verbs + aux. The auxiliary verbs which come after the infinitive verb is very less in number. In the (c) group only *uṇṭə* is possible. In the (d) category *uṇṭə* and *uṇṭa:yirunnu* can occur In the (e) category *a:ṇə, a:vum. a:yiruṉṉu* and in (f) category *a:yirkkum* are used.

4. Here, refer to Fillmore's remarks on super-cases. caseme, allocase, etc. in Working Papers in Linguistics No. 10. Ohio State University.

5 A mother can ask a child to give her a kiss in this manner: mo:ne: *ammakkə* oru umma taru. 'Son! give a kiss to mother'. Again a person (say, Rajan) who is speaking on a telephone can say *ra:jan samsa:rikkunnu.* 'Rajan speaking'. In both these cases *amma* 'mother' and *ra:jan* 'Rajan' are third person nouns. but they behave like first person nouns *ammakkə* 'These can be expanded as *'ammaya:ya enikkə* 'to me who is mother'. *ra:jana:ya ña:n* 'I who is Rajan'. This type of usage is common in Malayalam.

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COLOPHON:

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A Festschrift for
Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai

9

A Neutralization in Progress

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Tamil has a verb agreement rule by which the finite verb agrees with a NP that is, its subject in a sentence. This paper is an attempt to explain why a violation of this rule does not render ungrammatical a sentence with a non-rational (i.e., neuter) NP as subject. This paper also attempts to resolve a theoretical conflict in regard to neutralization between the structuralist position (as represented in Trubetzkoy, 1971) and the generative semanticist position (as represented in McCawley, 1968).

The data for this paper is taken from modern Standard Written Tamil (i.e., the dialect as found in modern short-stories, novels, articles etc.) as opposed to Literary Written Tamil (i.e., the dialect as found in the writings of learned pandits). It is to be mentioned here that the Standard Written Tamil (hereafter, SWT) is also the dialect that is employed in formal speeches made in class-rooms, political rallies etc.

The phenomenon of violation of the verb agreement rule has been observed by early writers like Caldwell (1974), who overstates the case in rather simplistic terms when he says, "In Tamil, even when a neuter noun is pluralised by the addition of a pluralising particle, the verb is rarely pluralised to correspond; but the singular form of the verb is still used for the plural-the number of the neuter singular being naturally indeterminate. This is almost invariably the practice in the speech of the

lower classes; and the colloquial style of even the best-educated classes exhibits a similar characteristic. Tamil contains, it is true, a plural form of the third person neuter of the verb; but the use of this neuter plural verb is ordinarily restricted to poetry and even in poetry the singular number both of neuter nouns and of the verbs that correspond is much more commonly used than the plural (p.233)." It is true that the plural form of the third person non-rational verb is totally absent in modern Spoken Tamil irrespective of the standard of literacy of the speakers. But it seems to me that Caldwell's statement concerning the frequencies of occurrence of the singular and plural forms cannot be substantiated, as I show below.

The case of the non-rational nouns is somewhat different in that they are optionally affixed with the pluralizer *-kaḷ* although even the oldest extant grammar Tolka:ppiyam specifically states that *kaḷ* is a neuter plural suffix. (S.V. Shanmugam, 1971) This fact has been noted by other writers as well. For example, in the preface to the fifth edition of Arden, Clayton gives a list of the main characteristics of the Dravidian languages, which includes the fact that "Neuter nouns are rarely pluralised (Arden, 1954. p. iii)." Andronov (1969) is perhaps the first to note cautiously that "In neuter nouns the number frequently remains not expressed, especially in Classical and in Colloquial Tamil (p.65)."

The case of the non-rational verb is different since it has two distinct forms, one for the singular (ending in *-tu/-atu*) and the othe for the plural (ending in *-a/-aṉa*). Caldwell's statement concerning the use of the non-rational plural verbs, cited above, appears to be contradicted by facts. A random check of the non-rational verbs in Sangam literature indicates that the number of occurrences of the plural form is almost the same as that of the singular. For example, there are 13 occurrences of the non-rational plural *kaṇṭaṉa* '(they) saw' as against the 12 occurrences of the singular *kaṇṭatu* '(it) saw' (listed in Index des mots de la litterature tamoule ancienne). The plural form of the non-rational verb is used so commonly in modern Literary written Tamil that violations of the verb agreement rule are non-existent in this dialect. For example, there is not a single violation in the articles selected by the Text-book Society for use as Prose Text for the tenth grade. The plural form of the non-rational verb is commonly used in modern SWT also, as in

(1) avaḷ kaṇkaḷ kaṇṇi:ra:l *niṟaintaṉa* (Jeyaka:ntaṉ, 1978:14)
she eye-pl tear-ins *fill*-pst-pl

'Her eyes filled with tears'

(2) avaḷ a:caikaḷ ya:vum va:ṭip po:yiṉa (Ibid)
she desire-pl Q-incl wither-pst-avp- *go*-pst-pl

'All her desires withered away'

Modern writers seem to be overly conscious of the verb agreement rule to such an extent that they carry out hyper-correction, as in

(3) te:variṉ pu:jaikaḷum no:ṉpukaḷum kuḻantaikku appa:
Thevar-gen pooja pl-incl vow-pl-incl child-dat father

amma: *eṉṟa* iraṇṭu va:rttaikaḷaic collum-
mother *say*-pst-ajp two word-pl-acc say-*fu*-ajp

paṭi-ta:ṉ ceyya muṭintaṉa
manner-emp make inf can-pst-pl

''Thevar's poojas and vows could only make the child utter the two words 'father' and 'mother'' (Putumaippittaṉ, 1977:148)

The above sentence contains the defective verb *muṭi* 'can' which takes a sentential subject and hence normally requires a singular ending. But the writer, perhaps mistaking the conjoined NP as the subject, has chosen the plural form of the non-rational defective verb.

Another case of hyper-correction involves the use of the negative defective verb *kiṭaiya:tu* 'it is not' which is common for all genders and numbers. But sentences like the following are not uncommon in modern SWT and LWT:

(4) viruṭcaṅkaḷum...pul pu:ṇṭukaḷum kiṭaiya: (Ibid, p.150)
tree-pl-incl grass plant-pl-incl not-pl

'There are no trees, grass, or bushes'

Notice the plural marking of the non-rational verb in the above sentence. Often the very same writers do not go overboard and hyper-correct the verb to agree with a rational NP, as evidenced by sentences like

(5) paṉṉai aiyaraip po:l cine:kattiṟku nalla
farm Brahmin-acc like friendship-Ø-Ø-dat good

maṉitar kiṭaiya:tu (Ibid, p. 206)
man-pl not-sg

'There is no good man like the Brahmin of the farm for a friend'

In the above sentence, the verb is non-rational singular formally even though its subject is rational honorific plural. This fact indicates that the plural form of the non-rational verb in sentence (4) is only a product of hyper correction.

Facts such as the above support the hypothesis that the verb agreement rule, particularly in the non-rational class is very much operative in modern SWT. Hence it becomes necessary that violations of this rule are explained satisfactorily.

Violations of the verb agreement rule are found under a variety of contexts in modern SWT. These contexts may be classified on the basis of the subject NP as follows: (i) Affixation of the plural marker *-kaḷ* to the subject NP, (ii) A conjoined NP (i. e., a conjunction of nouns or noun phrases) as the subject and (iii) Quantification of the subject NP with *ella:m* 'all'. Violations of the verb agreement rule appear to the fewer in Context (i) than those in either Context (ii) or Context (iii) in the data examined.

(i) First, affixation of the plural marker *-kaḷ* to the subject NP does not trigger the verb agreement rule occasionally, as in

(6) atuṅka aṅke: eṉṉa kaṣṭappaṭut-o: (Jeyaka:ntaṉ,1978:12)
it-pl there what suffering-experience-pres-sg-dub

*'I wonder what kind of suffering they undergoes there'

(7) inta iraṇṭu vi:ṭukaḷ-um oru ka:lattil ore:
these two house-pl-incl one time-Ø-loc one-emp

vi:ṭa:yt	ta:n	iruntatu (Ibid, p. 128)
house-adv	emp	be-pst-sg

*'Both these houses was once just one'

(ii) Secondly, most of the times the non-rational verb is singular when its subject is a conjoined NP. Note the singular marking of the verb in the following sentences even though the subeject is a conjunction of nouns:

(8) a:ṉa:l	u:rum	te:camum	ciṉṉaca:miyai	
but	town-incl	country-incl	Chiñnasami-acc	
maṟantu		viṭṭatu (Ibid, p. 77)		
forget-pst-avp		*leave*-pst-sg		

'But the town and the country forgot Chinnasami . . . .'

The same is true when the subject is a conjunction of noun phrases as in

(9) na:ṉ	kalya:ṇam	ceytu	kolvatum	kolla:tatum
I	marriage	do-pst-avp	*hold*-fu-VN -incl	*hold*-neg-VN-incl

oru poruṭṭalla (Ibid, p. 136)
one matter-not-sg

*My marrying and not marrying does not matter'

(10) verṟilai	iṭippatum	po:ṭuvatum	oru	cuva:rasyam	
betel leaf	pound-fu-VN -incl	put-fu-VN -incl	one	interest	

illaiya: (Ibid, p. 66)
not-Q

*'Pounding the betel leaves and chewing them is an interesting thing, isn't it?'

Sometimes the nouns in a conjunction can occur without the conjunctive particle -um. Even in such cases, the verb is singular, as in

(11) avaḷ pukalcci, avaḷ pukaḻntavitam, unarccimaẏam
she praise she praise-pst-ajp-manner emotion-full-ness

a:kit taṭuma:ṛiya kural avaṉukku oru
become-pst falter -pst ajp voice he-dat one -avp
tempaiyum perumaiyaiyum tantatu (Ibid, p. 81)
vigour-acc-incl pride acc-incl give-pst-sg

'Her praise, the way she praised, (and) her voice faltering with emotion gave him a vigour and a pride'

(12) kaṭaiyil varavu celavu vaḷarntatu (Putumaippittan, 1977:158)
store-loc income expense grow-pst-sg

'The income and the expenditure in the store grew'

(iii) Thirdly, the non-rational verb is singular even when the subject is universally quantified, as in

(13) eḻuttu ella:m kalaiñci pūṭṭutu (Jeyaka:ntaṉ, 1978:80)
letter all be smudged-pst-avb *go* -pst-avp-*leave*-pst-sg

'All the letters were smudged'

(14) puṇ ella:m ti:ya:ka erintatu (Ibid, p.71)
wound all fire-adv burn-pst-sg

'All the wounds burned like fire'

The situation is not different when *ella:m* 'all' is itself the subject, as found in

(15) ella:m cuḻalkiṛatu (Putumaippittaṉ, 1977:188)
all rotate-pres-sg

*'All rotates'

(16) ella:m tolaintu po:yiṭṭutu (Ibid, p.191)
all be-lost-pst-avp *go*-pst-avp-*leave*-pst sg

*'All is lost'

So far we have seen that violations of the verb agreement rule in the non-rational class tend to be most common when the subject is either a conjoined NP or a universally quantified NP. They seem to be least common when the non-rational subject NP is pluralized with the marker *-kaḷ*. As pointed out earlier, all these violations are not found in modern LWT[2]. And in Spoken Tamil the plural form of the non-rational verb never occurs[3], which suggests that the neutralization[4] of the opposition singular/plural is complete in that dialect and that it is partial or in progress in modern SWT.

The notion of neutralization involves the question of markedness. The category which does not appear in the position of neutralization is usually called the marked category in classical Prague School phonemic theory, as represented in Trubetzkoy (1971). In the case of the non-rational in Tamil, 'plural' will have to be taken then as the marked category. But McCawley (1968) has argued that 'plural' is less marked than 'singular'. Steever (in this volume) argues that 'plural' is less marked than 'singular' in Tamil rational pronouns. Thus there arises conflict between the structuralist and the generative semanticist positions in regard to the marked category in the non-rational class of nouns and verbs[5].

The basic question here is whether 'plural' is really the marked category in Tamil non-rational class of nouns and verbs. In as much as the opposition singular/plural is privative, proof of 'singular' as the unmarked category will amount to proof of 'plural' as the marked one. The following facts, *á la* McCawley (1968), indicate that the non-rational singular is unmarked:

(i) In the non-rational class, it is the singular that is normally used when it is not known whether one or more than one entity is being referred to, as evidenced by sentences like

(17) enna naṭakkak ku:ṭa:to: atu naṭantu viṭṭatu
what happen-inf ought-neg-dub it happen-pst-avp leave-pst-sg

'Whatever should not happen, it has happened'

(ii) Non-rational singular count nouns, like rational plural count nouns, take a zero generic article, as in

(18) na:y vicuva:camuḷḷa pira:ṇi
dog faithful animal

'The dog is a faithful animal'

(19) a:ṇkaḷ koṭiyavarkaḷ
man-pl wicked-PN-pl
'Men are wicked'

(iii) When quantified universally, it is not the non-rational plural but the singular that is ambiguous between the parts of one entity and the sum of many entities, as in

(20) atu ella:m na:ḷaikkut toṭaṅkukiṟatu
it all tomorrow start-pres-sg

'It all starts tomorrow'

(iv) It is the non-rational singular verb that is chosen in modern Spkoen Tamil and in SWT to agree with certain rational nouns in the language of respect, as in

(21) eṅka ta:tta: iruntatu, appo (Jeyaka:ntaṉ, 1978:85)
our grandfather be-pst-sg then
'Our grandfather was alive then'

These facts indicate that 'singular' is unmarked (and hence, 'plural' is marked) in the non-rational class of nouns and verbs. And, as mentioned earlier, 'plural' is shown to be unmarked (and hence, 'singular' marked) in McCawley (1968), presumably in the rational class. I suggest that not only the neutralization of the opposition singular/ plural (see, Smith-Stark, 1974) but also the reversal of the marked category demarcates the rational and non-rational classes in Tamil. It remains to be seen whether there are other semantic features whose roles are reversed in the non-rational class.

Notes

I wish to thank Sanford Steever for the discussions I had with him concerning certain aspects of the problem dealt with in this paper.

Naturally he is not responsible for any views, errors and such.

1. *alla* 'not' is formally plural but functions as one devoid of number and gender.

2. However, it must be noted here that in Pre-modern Literary Written Tamil, use of a non-rational singular verb is occasinally found, especially when the subject is a conjoined NP, as in

. . . aravu	uriyum	. . . kuṭampaiyum	ta:ṉ	eṉum
snake	skin-incl	nest-incl	self	*say*-fu-ajp

koḷkaitte: (tiruviḷaiya:ṭal, madurai, 376)
nature-sg-Q

*'Is a snake's skin and a bird's nest of the nature of ego?'

3. There is a plural form seemingly of the non-rational verb in Spoken Tamil. This form is derived by affixing-*kaḷ* to the singular verb (e.g., vantatukaḷ 'they came'). But it is commonly used honorifically in referring to human beings. Hence, its occurrence in spoken in Spoken Tamil does invalidate the claim made here.

4 It may be recalled that Greenberg (1973) has remarked that such phenomena as the suspension of agreement are analogous to that of neutralization in phonemics. Smith-Stark (1974) has applied the term neutralization for this phenomena and argued that the feature of plurality divides the class of nouns into two types. However, he talks about Tamil non-rational nouns only and he does not wish to talk about markedness.

5. One easy way to resolve this conflict between the structuralist and the generative semanticist positions is to suggest that the former deals with morphological categories and the latter with semantic categories. Such a solution would be a violation of the spirit of the structuralist position.

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10

Adjectivals In Tamil: A Stative Outlook*

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There are adjectivals in Tamil whose bases are in complementary distribution with nouns. Notice the following examples:

1(a)	kuḷirnta pa:nam	'cool drink'
(b)	kuḷircci-y-a:na pa:nam	
2(a)	kaninta pa:rvai	'sweet look'
(b)	kaniv-a:na pa:rvai	
3(a)	n i: ṭa kiḷaikaḷ	'long branches'
(b)	ni:ḷam-a:na kiḷaikaḷ	
4(a)	akanṟa pa:tai	'wide path'
(b)	akalam-a:na pa:tai	
5(a)	uyarnta malaikaḷ	'high mountains'
(b)	uyaram-a:na malaikaḷ	
6(a)	ku:riya va:ḷ	'sharp sword'
(b)	ku:rmai-y-a:na va:ḷ	

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7(a) karum kuḻal
(b) karumai-y-a:na kuḻal } 'black tresses'

The fact that *kuḻir-kuḻircci, kani-kanivu, ni:ḻ-ni:ḻam, akal-akalum, uyar-uyarm, ku:r-ku:rmai* and *ka:r-karumai* figuring in (1)-(7) are in complementary distribution shows that the first member of each pair of the variants is entitled to be treated as noun. It may be noticed that the subsequent phonological forms namely *-nta,-iya* and *-um* occurring in (a) versions and the stative adjectival *a:na* in (b) versions are in mutually exclusive environments. This distribution testifies that the phonological forms *-nta, -iya* and *-um* are entitled to be treated as stative adjectivals on par with *a:na*. This analysis exmphasises the fact that the phonological form *-nt-*noticed in *kuḻirnta, kaninta, ni:ṇta, akaṇṛa, uyarnta* of (a) versions is not identifiable as past morpheme This however does not mean that the constructions under reference are not entitled to be treated as past adjectivals In appropriate contexts these adjectivals are analogous to the past adjectivals figuring in the following examples.

(8) murukan uḻuta vayal
'The field which Murugan ploughed'

(9) ma:tavan eḻutiya kavitai
'The poem which Madhavan wrote'

(10) ma:tavi naṭitta paṭam
'The film in which Madhavi acted'

As for the stative adjectival *a:na* noticed in the (b) versions in (1)-(7), the tense may be either past or present. The exact specification of this phenomenon will determined from the context only. As such *kuḻircci-y-a:na pa:nam* in 1(b) is interpretable either as *kuḻircci-y-a:ka uḻḻa/irukkinṛa pa:nam* 'The drink which is cool' or as *kuḻircci y-a:ka irunta pa:nam* 'The drink which was cool'. Such interpretation enables us to treat the forms *-nta, -iya* and *-um* attested in the type of examples cited in (a) versions above either as past or present adjectivals underlying stative meaning.

With regard to the adjectival participles *uḻuta, eḻutiya* and *naṭitta*, figuring in (8)-(10) a similar interpretation is possible. Given proper context, these adjectivals are interpretable in terms of *uḻut-uḻḻa/uḻut-irunta eḻuti-y-uḻḻa/eḻuti-y-irunta* and *naṭitt-uḻḻa / naṭitt-irunta*. It appears that the past adjectivals i e. adjectivals of *ceyta* type are susceptible to this interpre-

tion. This interpretation testifies that what is identified as adjectival suffix in the adjectivals of the type under reference is not semantically empty. *Stative* and *Tense* which may be either past or present are the semantic primes that constitute the semantic structure of the adjectival suffix of the past adjectivals.[1] This is quite applicable to the adjectival suffixes figuring in the negative adjectivals of *ceyya:ta* type, *illa:ta*, *aṟṟa*, the comparative adjectival *po:nṟa*, the post-position *paṟṟiya* and the adjectivals such as *nalla*, *me:lai*, *iḷam*, *iḷaiya*, *inṟaiya*, *na:ḷaiya*, *me:laiya* etc. In effect what are considered adjectival suffixes in the traditional and taxonomic analyses turn out to be stative adjectivals in a semantic analysis. The bases after which these adjectivals occur are many, of which a few are illustrated above.

It is customary in the transformational analysis of adjectival clause constructions in Tamil to introduce the adjectival suffixes through an addition transformation familiarly known as Relativization or Adjectivalization Transformation. This analysis we now consider is no longer a valid one, since it implies that the adjectival suffixes are lacking a semantic structure of their own. Identification of a semantic structure in the adjectival suffixes enables us to treat them as a class of verbals in the *Stative* family which includes adjectivals developed from *a:ku*, *en*, *iru* (and *ul*) bases. The stative interpretation adduced to the adjectival suffixes makes it obligatory to enrich the semantic structure of the adjectival participles with the semantic primes *Stative* and *Tense* which ultimately lead to the derivation of adjectival suffixes

On the basis of the surface manifestation, the stative adjectivals may be classified into two types, namely, Monomorphemic and Bimorphemic. Monomorphemic stative adjectivals are those which are achieved by a single lexicalization rule the input of which consists of the semantic constituents *Stative* and *Tense*. Bimorphemic stative adjectivals are the resultants of two lexicalization rules deriving the phonological forms representing *Stative* and *Tense* respectively.

The phonological forms of the types of adjectivals under reference are enumerated below. The list need not be taken as an exhaustive one.

A. Monomorphemic Stative Adjectivals

11(a) *-a*
a. murukan ceyt-a ve:lai 'the work which Murugan did'
b. nall-a paṉpukaḷ 'good qualities'
c. iḷai-y-a talaimuṟai 'younger generation'

(b) *-um*
a. kar-um kuḷai 'black tresses'
b. kaṭ-um puyal 'severe storm'

(c) *-am*
a. iḷ-am talaimuṟai 'younger generation'
b. maturai-y-am pati 'the place that is Madurai'

(d) *-m*
a. ku:r-m kal 'sharp stone'
b. pai-m pon/koṭi 'yellow gold/green creeper'

(e) -ai
me:l-ai na:ṭukaḷ 'western countries'

(f) -a:
ney ill-a: uṇṭi 'food without ghee'

(g) -an
oṉṟ-an pa:l 'The singular(neuter) class'

(h) -in
aḻak-in katirkaḷ (Pichamurthi kavitaikaḷ, page 18) 'rays of beauty'
palav-in pa:l 'the plural (neuter) class'

(i) -ppu
(j) -mai
karu-ppu niṟam[2] } 'black colour'
karu-mai niṟam[2] }

(k) -ar
nann-ar neñcam (Akam, 128.6) 'good heart'

B. Bimorphemic Stative Adjectivals

12(a) -iy-a
in-iya kanavukaḷ 'sweet dreams'

(b) -aiy-a
a. inṟ-aiya ulakam 'today's world'
b. me:l-aiya na:ṭukaḷ 'western countries'

(c) -a:-ta
ko:yil ill-a:ta u:r 'village without temple'

(d) -t-a
murukan ceyya:-ta ve:lai 'the work which Murugan did /does/ will not do'

(e) *-nt-a* ciṟa-nta koḷkai 'excellent policy'

(f) *-a:-m* aṟivu-k kaṭal-a:m vaḷḷuvar 'Vaḷḷuvar, the ocean of wisdom'

(g) *a:n-a* akalam-a:na pa:tai 'wide path'

Quite interestingly in certain adjectival clause constructions the stative adjectival is optionally deleted. Notice the following instances, where the second member of each pair in braces is devoid of stative adjectival.

13 (a) { nall-a / nal } vaḷi 'good path'

(b) { kar-um / ka:r } kuḻal 'black tresses'

(c) ney { ill-a: / il } uṇṭi 'food without ghee'

(d) { me:l-ai / me:l } na:ṭukaḷ 'western countries'

(e) { kalla:-ta / kalla:[3] } ma:ntar 'uneducated men'

(f) { in-iya / in } cuvai 'sweet taste'

(g) { kuḷir-nta / kuḷir } ka:ṟṟu 'cool breeze'

(h) { { aḻak-a:na / aḻka-iya } / aḻaku } mayil 'beautiful peacock'

(i) { ki:ḻ-ai(ya) / ki:ḻ } na:ṭukaḷ 'eastern countries'

(j) { anpu enum / anpu } veḷḷam 'the floods of affection'

(k) { kaviñar a:kiya / kaviñar } ṉa:ku:r 'Tagore, the poet'

Optionality seems to be one of the characteristics of stative markers under certain conditions. What these conditions are, are yet to be determined. In metaphoric compounds and after nominal predicates their absence is predicatable. Appositive constructions and compounds consisting of *Specifier-Generic* constituents may also be taken into consideration in this respeet.

Foot notes

1) The semantic structure of the adjectival markers figuring in adjectivals of *ceyt-a*, *ceykiṉ-a* and *ceyy-um* types remains to be properly explored. Notice the following examples.

a) murukan *varaint-a* o:viyam
'The picture which Murugan painted'

b) murukan-a:l *citaint-a* o:viyam
'The painting which got disfigured because of Murugan'

The adjectival marker *-a* figuring in *varaint-a* and *citaint-a* in the above examples cannot be assigned identical semantic structure since the latter is semantically interpretable into *citaintu po:na* which is semantically identical with *citaintu po:y ulla/iruṉta*. The adjectival *varaint-a* cannot be subjected to similar interpretation. This testifies that the adjectival marker *-a* noticed in *varaint-a* and *citaint-a* is to be assigned different semantic structures. The semantic structure [Stative + Tense] might be acceptable to *-a* of *varaint-a*. The *-a* of *citaint-a* needs an additional semantic marker whose phonological manifestation is *po:y*. Thus the semantic structure [× + Stative+Tense], where [×] represents *po:y*, holds good for the *-a* in *citaint-a*.

Assignment of different semantic structures leads to study the characteristics of stative marker. Identifying the form *-a* in *varaint-a* and *citaint-a* figuring in (a) and (b), as an instance of stative marker it may be hypothesized that the stative marker is capable of enriching its semantic structure by accomodating additional semantic material. (See for details, Kothandaraman, R, this volume).

2) The forms *-ppu* and *-mai* noticed in *karu-ppu/karu-mai niṟam* 'black colour' are instances of stative verbals associated with the semantic structure [Stative + Tense] provided they are not identified as sedimented entities. If these forms, on the other hand, are sedimented ones,they are then devoid of the semantic structure under reference. The latter situation leads to the expansion of *karuppu niṟam* and *karumai niṟam* into *karuppu a:kiya niṟam* and *karumai a:kiya niṟam* respectively. The structure *a:kiya* in these expansions is an instance of stative adjectival, the presence of which is quite optional in examples of the type under reference. The NPs *karuppu/karumai niṟam* with sedimented and non-sedimented *-ppu* and *mai* enable us to hypothesize that the stative markers are not only capable of attracting additional semantic material, but also susceptible to semantic loss. The semantic loss leads them to get sedimented. (See for details, Kothandaraman, R. 1979 : 107-112)

3) The negative particle *-a:* in *kall-a:* might also be analysed as to include *Stative* and *Tense* besides *Negation.* However in this case, the form *-a:* is basically negative in character. It is because of this reason *kall-a:* is treated here as an instance of *Stative* truncated negative adjectival.

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A Festschrift for
Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai

11

Grammatical Relations and Passivization: Tamil Case*

K. Rangan
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In standard Theory (ST). the grammatical relations are defined at the level of deep structure[1]. One of the functions of the deep structure is to define grammatical relations which the 'semantic interpretation rules (SIR) utilize to derive the reading or semantic representation (SR) of the sentence. Chomsky (1965) argues that the grammatical relations like 'subject of' and 'object-of' need not be generated by the base rules in the deep structure. The relations are derived or reconstructed from the phrase markers generated by the base rules. 'Subject' is defined as the NP which is immediately dominated by S. It is represented as [NP. S]. The object is defined as the NP immediately dominated by VP [NP, VP].

(1) ka:rṭar te:ca:y-ai canti-tt-a:r
Carter Desai-acc meet-past-PNG

'Carter met Desai'

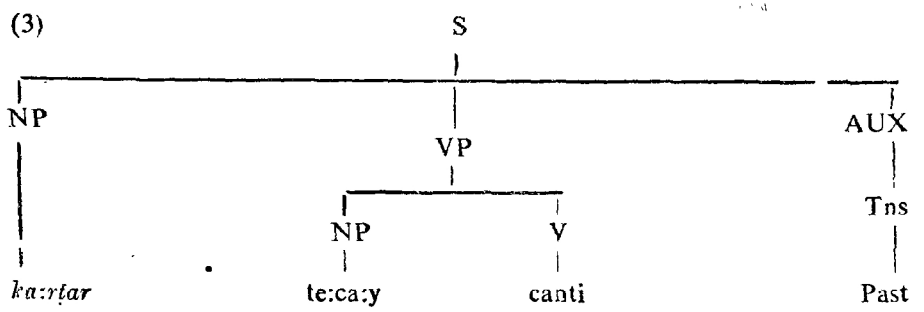
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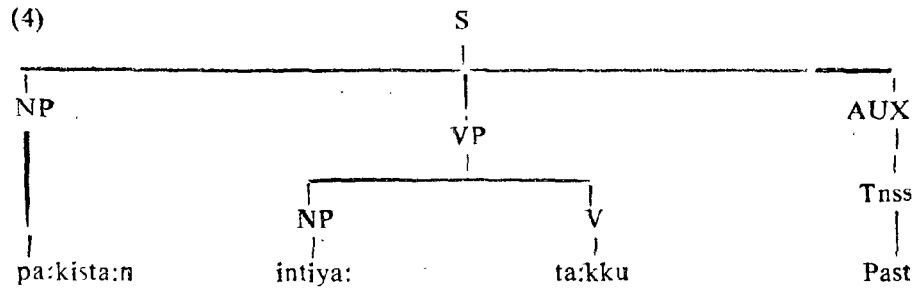
(2) pa:kista:n intiya:v-ai ta:kkiy-atu
Pakistan India-acc attack-past-PNG
'Pakistan attacked India'

The deep structure of these sentences would be represented as

(3)



(4)



ka:rtar and *pa:kista:n* are defined as the subjects because these NPs are immediately dominated by S. Similarly the NPs *te:ca:y* and *intiya:* are defined as the objects of the sentences since they are immediately dominated by VP[2]. In order to define the grammatical relations in terms of deep structure tree configuration, the notion 'dominance' is brought into the grammar. Thus, in ST, the definition of constituents in terms of grammatical functions are based on the immediate dominance of phrase markers. In this sense, the grammatical relations such as 'subject of' and 'object of' are not primitives but derivatives.

Chomsky (1965) does not talk about the grammatical relation 'Indirect Object' and therefore it is not clear whether such a relation is required to be derived from the phrase markers of deep structure. The acceptance of such a relation will lead the ST to incorporate the 'precedence' notion in order to make the distinction between 'Direct Object' and 'Indirect Object'. Both are immediately dominated by VP. The NP that immediately

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precedes the V is the Direct Object of the sentence and the NP which precedes both the Direct Object NP and V is the Indirect Object. However the necessity of defining the Indirect Object does not find any theoretical justification in so far as this provision fails to explain how the grammatical relation Indirect Object is utilised to get the semantic interpretation or how it is utilised in resolving certain syntactically ambiguous sentences. ST has not attempted to define these notions at the level of surface structure because these are significant and relevant to the level of deep structure only.

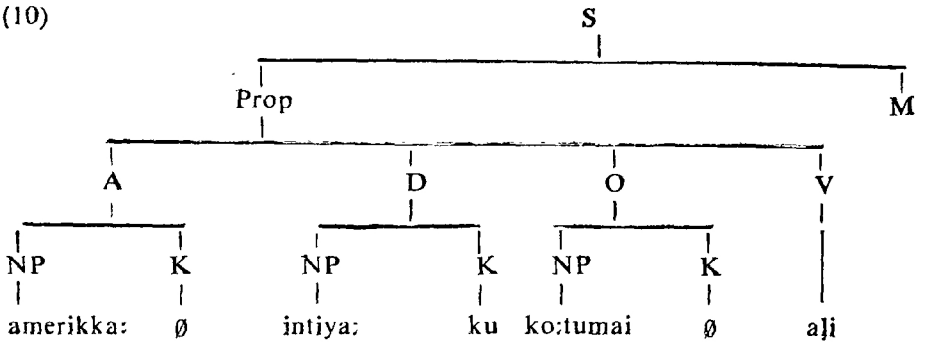
Case Grammar (CG) on the other hand defines the grammatical relations on the basis of surface structure tree configuration. The NP immediately dominated by S is the subject of the sentence and the Direct Object is defined as the NP which immediately precedes or follows the V. This can be explained by following example.

(9) amerikka: intiya:viṟ-ku ko:tumai aḷi-tt-atu
America India-dat wheat gave-past-PNG

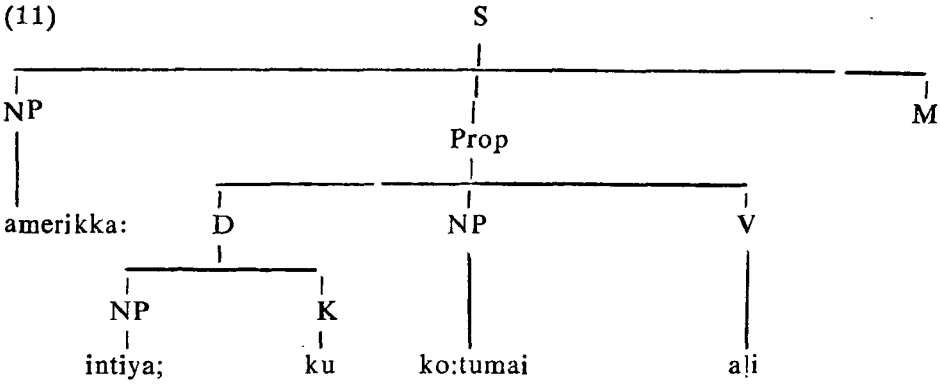
'America gave wheat to India'

Figs. (10) and (11) give the deep case representation and surface structure representation.

(10)



(11)



amerikka: is the subject of the sentence because it is immediately dominated by S. The NP *ko:tumai* is the Direct Object of the sentence because it immediately precedes the V (in languages like English V is initial under Prop and the Direct Object follows V immediately). Both ST and CG use the tree structure configuration to define the grammatical relations even-though the levels are different. In both models, it is implied that these relations are not primitives but derivatives.

The treatment of grammatical relations as derivatives in ST and CG has certain implications for arriving at the nature of transformational rules. ST conceives the deep structure in syntax as a significant level at which important liguistic generalizations are captured. A theory without this level (in opposition to taxonomic liguistic theory) fails to capture these generalizations. CG on the other hand takes the position that the existence of deep structure independent of semantic case structure does not contribute to the richness of theory[3]. The generalizations captured by the model which postulates syntactic deep structure can be captured without this intermediate level between syntax and semantics. In other words, CG conceives a set of universal cases and the transformational rules operate on these case nodes and derive the surface structure. The transformational rules in ST operate on phrase markers which are syntactic in their nature. For Chomsky (1972:29) the operations performed by transformational rules are *structure dependent*. The operations are not based only on the sequence of elements that constitute the sentence but also their structure. Chomsky (1972:32) further says 'An interesting property of the formal operations of language is . . . in an important sense, independent of meaning'. The transformational rules which map underlying phrase

markers into derived phrase markers do not refer to the grammatical and semantic relations[4]. But CG takes the other position and the operations per formed are semantic based (here case nodes). It is possible to interpret the position of CG as holding that the transformational rules do not depend on syntactic and grammatical relations.

The grmmatical relations are utilised by the semantic interpretation rules to derive the semantic representation of the sentence in ST. The structural ambiguity is resolved by conceiving different deep structures where the grammatical relations are shown to be different. Though the grammatical relations (GRs) are not primitives in ST, these concepts find theoretical justification because they are necessary for the interpretation of semantic rules. But I do not find any valid reason for the attempt to define the grammatical relations in CG. It is not clear as to ,what theoretical justification is given for the existence of these notions in CG. The attempt to define the grammatical relations at the level of surface structure in CG will not be universal. Since the surface structure possesses more language specific properties, the definition will be language specific in its nature[5].

An attempt is made here to see whether the rules are structure-dependent only or semantic-based (here in terms of case roles) or both. Since the base rules generate phrase markers with a particular order, the deep structures thus generated have language specific properties. The transformational rules operate on phrase markers with a specific order. In other words, a rule which has the same function is formulated differently depending on the word order of the language. As an example consider the formulation of passive rule in different languages[6]. Chomsky (1957) formulates the passive rule for English as

$$(12)\ NP_1 - Aux - V - NP_2 \rightarrow$$
$$NP_2 - Aux - be + en - V\text{-}by + NP_1$$

Chomsky (1965) later revised and introduced the Manner category which is expanded as *by passive*. The structural description (SD) on which the rule operates is given as

(13) NP — Aux — V —...—NP—...— by passive
(it cannot contain an NP)

The NP which is to the left of V is moved and inserted where the dummy △ is present under passive marker. The NP immediately following V is preposed and inserted in the place from where the deep structure NP is moved. Passivization is considered a phenomenon of the operation of two rules viz., agent-postposing and NP-preposing. But both the rules have a common characteristic feature i-e. both the rules are moving the subject NP and object NP. In terms of structural configuration passivization is a process where movement of NPs occurs in all natural languages.

For languages like Tamil, Malayalam and other Dravidian languages, the formulation of passive as a process of movement of NPs is thus questionable. For languages like English the formulation of passive as a process of movement can be justified because the word order is a grammatical feature. The movement of NPs in terms of agent postposing and NP preposing is obligatory in English. But linguists have uncritically accepted the movement of NPs in the derivation of passive sentences for Dravidian languages also. Agesthialingom (1969: 4-5) for example shows the derivation of passive sentences in Tamil as follows:

(14) na:n avan-ai PASS aṭi-tt-e:n
I-nom he-acc beat-past-PNG

'I beat him'

avan en(n)-a:l aṭikkap-paṭ-ṭ-a:n
he-nom me-by beat-passive-past-PNG

'He was beaten by me'

The tree diagrams given in Agesthialingom (1969:5) clearly indicate that in the process of deriving the passive sentences the NPs are moved. When we examine the examples closely, the rule moves the subject NP and object NP in Tamil. The transformational rule introduces-*paṭu* when *passive* is present in the deep structure[7]. The difference between active and passive is the case marking of NPs. Consider the following examples:

(15) makkaḷ intira: ka:ntiy-ai te:rtal-il nira:kari-tt-a:rkaḷ
people-nom Indira Gandhi-acc election-in reject-past-PNG

'People rejected Indira Gandhi in the election'

(16) makkaḷ-a:l intira: ka:nti te:rtal-il
people-by Indira Gandhi-nom election-in
nira:karikkap-paṭ-ṭ-a:r
reject-passive-past-PNG

'Indira Gandhi was rejected by the people in the election'

One may argue that the NPs have been moved by transformational rules because we find different suffixes to show the agreement between the subject NP and Verb.

(17) puyal makkaḷ-ai pa:ti-tt-*atu*
cyclone-nom people-acc affect-past-PNG
'Cyclone affected the people'

(18) makkaḷ puyal-a:l pat:ikkap-paṭ-ṭ-*a:rkaḷ*
people-nom cyclone-by affect-passive-past-PNG

'People were affected by the cyclone'

In sentence (17) *atu* occurs as the agreement suffix whereas in (18) *a:rkaḷ* occurs as the agreement suffix. It is possible for one to argue that the difference in suffixes indicates that the transformational rules have moved the NPs of the deep structure. The verb agrees with the subject NP in Tamil. The difficulty with ST is that the grammatical relations are defined at the level of deep structure. It is not possible to maintain the position that at the non-deep structure level also the NP immediately dominated by S is the subject[8]. At the level of surface structure more than one NP may appear under the immediate domination of S.

Another relevant point that I would like to emphasize here is that it is not the case that the verb agrees always with the surface subject NP in Tamil.

(19) na:n vara muṭiy-a:-*tu*
I-nom come could-not-PNG
'I could not come'

(20) ni: en conta viṣayaṅkaḷ-il talaiyiṭa-k
you-nom my personal matters-in interfere
ku:ṭ-a:-tu
should-not-PNG
'You should not interfere in my personal matters'

(21) na:n na:ḷai varu-v-*e:n*
I-Nom tomorrow come-future-PNG

(22) ni: na:ḷai varu-v-*a:y*
'you-nom tomorrow come-future-PNG
You will come tomorrow'

In (19) and (20) - *tu* occurs as the agreement suffix. But in (19) *na:n* functions as the surface subject and in (20) *ni:* functions as the surface subject. In (21) and (22)-*e:n* and *a:y* occur as the agreement suffixes with the verb. In (21) and (22) the transformation which copies the syntactic features of the subject NP and creates PNG applies at the end. But in the case of (19) and (20) it appears that when the agreement rule operates the subject is different from the subject of the surface structure. The PNG transformation operates at various stages in the process of derivations[9]. There are languages where the agreement of PNG is with deep structure subject. For example, in Achenese the verb agreement is triggered by initial subjects (contrasting with the more typical situation of cycle-final-subject agreement)[10]

(23) Gopnyan ka gi- com lon
She perf she- kiss me

'She (already) kissed me'

(24) Lon ka gi- com le-gopnyan
I perf she- kiss by-her

'I have already been kissed by her'

The argument that the different PNG suffixes indicate the movement of NPs loses all its strength when we examine the case of Malayalam. Consider the following sentences from Malayalam.

(25) ra:man ra:vaṇan-e konnu
Raman-nom Ravanan-acc kill-past

'Raman killed Ravanan'

(26) ra:vaṇan ra:man-a:l kollap-peṭ-ṭu
Ravanan-nom Raman-by kill-passive-past

'Ravanan was killed by Raman'

Malayalam does not have the agreement suffixes with verb to show the PNG of the subject NP. Sentence (27) is also grammatical.

(27) ra:man-a:l ra:vaṇan kollap-peṭ-ṭu
Raman-by Ravanan-nom kill passive-past
'Ravanan was killed by Raman'

There is no syntactic evidence in Malayalam to show that the NPs have been moved obligatorily by transformational rules to derive the passive sentences.

Within the framework of ST it is difficult to maintain the notion of subject in the non-deep structure level. It has already been pointed out that the transformational rules are not sensitive to the notions like subject etc., in the absence of any clear definition of subject in the non-deep structure level and surface structure level. I do not see the force of argument given for supporting the movement of NPs as a universal feature of languages in characterizing the process of passivization.

Both transformationalists and traditional grammarians agree that the Direct Object of the active sentences becomes the Subject of the passive sentence. This significant insight of the traditional grammarians is not under dispute. In order to characterize the universal features of passivization the observation of traditional grammarians must be incorporated into the universal grammer. The functional identity of transformational rules across languages must be captured in the universal grammar. The fact that some of the transformational rules change the grammatical relations of the NPs must also be comprehended. But the question remains as to whether the movement of NPs should be accorded universal status. The evidences I produced from Tamil, Malayalam and so on above clearly indicate that the earlier proposals to accord universal status to movement of NPs in passivization is not well established.

A different characterisation is now offered by the exponents of Relational Grammar. Perlmutter and Postal define passive phenomenon as the one in which (i) the Subject of active sentence ceases to bear any Grammatical Relation to its verb and (ii) the Direct Object (DO) becomes the Subject. Conditions (i) and (ii) with language specific 'side effects'

constitute the defintion of passive in the grammar of each language[11]. For Perlmuttar and Postal, condition (ii) is Primary and condition (i) follows from it[12]. The Do of the active sentence is promoted to subject in passivization. The Subject of the active sentence is demoted and becomes a chomeur. The Relational Grammarians on the other hand recognize the Grammatical Relations like Subject, Direct object and Indirect Object as primitives. The rules are sensitive not only to the phrase markers but also to the Grammatical Relations. By recognizing the Grammatical Relations as primitives certain grammatical processess like passivization can be characterized universally. Thus the rules in Relational Grammar operate on syntactic and semantic materials whereas in Case Grammar they operate on semantic material (cases) only and in Standard Theory exclusively on syntactic materials.[14]

Foot notes

1. One of the functions of deep structure is to characterize th grammatical functions of the constituents generated by the base rules. This feature is kept unchanged in Extended Standard Theory (EST) and Revised Extended Standard Theory (REST).

2. For detailed discussion refer to Rangan (1975).

3. Fillmore (1968:88). as a closing remark, says,

   '. . . the syntactic deep structure of the type that has been made familiar from the work of Chomsky and his students is going to go the way of the phoneme. It is an artificial intermediate level between the empirically discoverable 'semantic deep structure' and the observationally accessible surface structure, a level the properties of which have more to do with the methodological commitments of grammarians than with the nature of human language.'

4. This is explicit from the following statement of Postal (1976:151) 'No transformational rule can refer to notions like Subject etc.'

   The validity of this statement has been verified by Chomsky (note. 5)

5. In ST, the notions like subject and object are defined on the basis of 'dominance' relation. But in CG both the 'dominance' and 'precedence' relations are used. The 'precedence' relation is based on the sequence of elements. Any definition based on the sequence of constituents loses its universal appeal. It is rather language specific.

6. Johnson (1976:39) has shown how the passive rules differ from language to language even though the rules are FUNCTIONALLY IDENTICAL.

$$\overset{S}{NP_1} - V - \overset{O}{NP_2} \rightarrow \overset{S}{NP_2} - V_p - \overset{X}{NP_1} \text{ (ENGLISH)}$$

$$\overset{S}{NP_1} - V - \overset{O}{NP_2} \rightarrow \overset{S}{NP_2} - \overset{X}{NP_1} - V_p \text{ (CHINESE)}$$

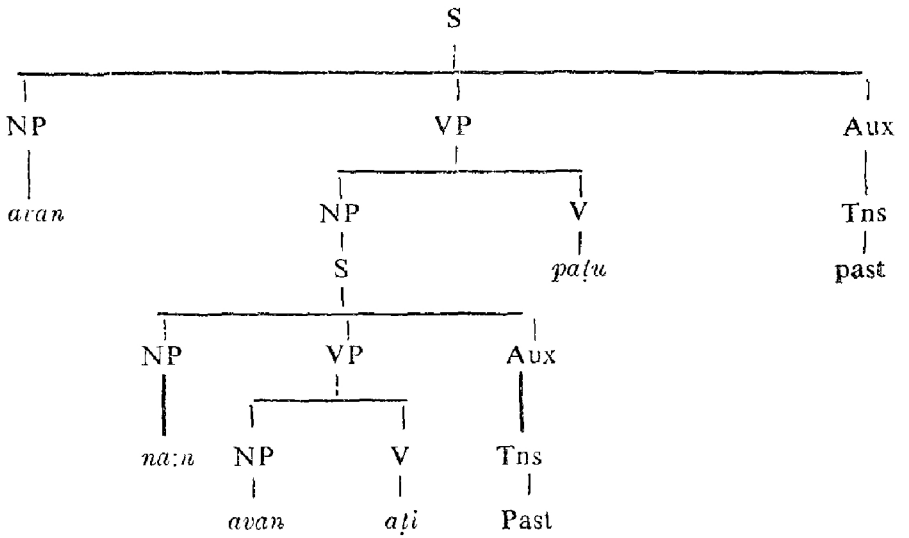
$$\overset{S}{NP_1} - \overset{O}{NP_2} - V \rightarrow \overset{S}{NP_2} - \overset{X}{NP_1} - V_p \text{ (JAPANESE)}$$

$$\overset{S}{NP_1} - \overset{O}{NP_2} - V \rightarrow \overset{X}{NP_1} - \overset{S}{NP_2} - V_p \text{ (HINDI)}$$

$$V - \overset{O}{NP_2} - \overset{S}{NP_1} \rightarrow V_p - \overset{X}{NP_1} - \overset{S}{NP_2} \text{ (MALAGASY)}$$

(where X = Agent Phrase)

7. It is possible to argue that passive is not transformationally derived from the active sentence. The deep structure of the passive sentence *avan enna:l aṭikkappaṭṭa:n* 'He was beaten by me' would be



From this deep structure, the sentence *avan ennaːl aṭikkappaṭṭaːn* is derived. The acceptance of this analysis does not presuppose that passive is derived transformationally from active. However I do not have any syntactic evidence to support this analysis. See Hasagawa (1968) for conceiving such a deep structure for the analysis of English passive sentences.

8. Chomsky (1965) has however noted the difficulties in extending the defintions of grammatical functions to surface structures. He (Chomsky 1965: 220-221) says '... in base structures, there is apparently never more than a single occurrence of a category such as NP in any structure immediately dominated by a single category ... But this is not true of surface structures. In the sentence "this book I really enjoyed," both "this book" and "I" are NPs immediately dominated by S." He proposes Topic-comment as the grammatical relations of surface structure.

9. In Rangan (1973) a number of assumptions are made regarding the place of application of agreement transformation in a derivation. But many examples are brought to falsify the assumptions. It is concluded that more evidences are required to determine the place of application of agreement transformation in the process of derivation.

10. The data are from Johnson (1977:footnote 28).
11. The definition of passive construction formulated by Perlmutter and Postal is taken from Keenan (1975:340).
12. For Keenan (1975) condition (ii) is primary (i.e. the demotion of Su is primary and the promotion of Do is secondary).
13. A French term used in the sense of 'not employed' *chômeur* refers to the NP which loses its GR to the verb.
14. For further discussion refer to Johnson (1976: 110:116). He rather focuses his attention on the difference between CG and RG.

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12

பெயரெச்சங்கள் : சில புதிய வாய்பாடுகள்

பா. மல்லிகா
தமிழியல் துறை
மதுரை காமராசர் பல்கலைக் கழகம்

பெயரெச்சம் பற்றிய செய்திகள் பத்து தமிழ் இலக்கண நூல்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன[1]. இலக்கண ஆசிரியர்கள் பெயரெச்சத்தை விளக்க இரு அணுகுமுறைகளைப் பின்பற்றி உள்ளனர். அவை வாய்பாட்டு அணுகு முறையும், சொல்லியல் அணுகுமுறையும் ஆகும். தொல்காப்பியம், நேமிநாதம், நன்னூல், இலக்கண விளக்கம், இலக்கணக்கொத்து, முத்துவீரியம், சாமிநாதம் ஆகிய ஏழு நூல்களும் பெயரெச்சத்தை வாய்பாட்டு முறையிலேயே விளக்கிச் செல்கின்றன. சொல்லியல் முறையில் பெயரெச்சத்தை ஆராய்ந்து அதன் விகுதிகளை வீரசோழியம், தொன்னூல் விளக்கம் ஆகிய இரண்டு நூல்களும் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன.

வீரசோழியத்தில் புத்தமித்திரனார் பெயரெச்சத்தை நேரடியாகக் கூறாது, அதைக் காலங்காட்டும் விகுதிகளைப் பற்றிய நூற்பாவிலேயே பேசிச் செல்கிறார்.

> *தாதுவின் பின்பு தனய விறப்பின்; நிகட்சியின்கண்*
> *ஓதுங் கிறசுவ்வொ டாநின்ற வாம்; கும்மும் மொடுமஃகான்*
> *பேத மலியுமெதிர்க ணாகும்; பிறவும் வந்தால்*
> *ஏதமில் சந்திராந் தம்பிழை யாம வியற்றிக் கொள்ளே*
> (நூ. 66)

இந்நூற்பாவில் வரும் 'சு' என்னும் குறியீடு உருவிலி உருபனைக் குறிக்கிறது. அது இவ்வாய்வில் ∅ என்னும் குறியீட்டால் குறிக்கப்படுகின்றது

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[1] இக்கட்டுரையை உருவாக்க எனக்குப் பெரிதும துணைபுரிந்த எனது ஆசிரியர் திரு. இரா. கோதண்டராமன் அவர்கட்கு நான் நன்றியுடையேன்.

காலம்	பெயரெச்ச விகுதி	எடுத்துக்காட்டுக்கள்
இறப்பு	த	பிறந்த பிள்ளை கண்ட எருது நின்ற பசு
	ன	போன பசு
	ய	சொல்லிய சொல்
நிகழ்வு	கிற	செய்கிற சாத்தன்
	சு (= ∅)	செய் சாத்தன்
	ஆநின்ற	செய்யாநின்ற சாத்தன்
எதிர்வு	கும்	நிற்கும் சாத்தன்
	உம்	அறியும் சாத்தன்
	ம்	சாங்கிழவி

தொன்னூல் விளக்கத்தில் வீரமாமுனிவர் 'உம்மீற்ற எச்சம்' (நூ.118) என்று சொல்லியல் முறையில் பெயரெச்சம் பற்றிக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். எனினும் செய்த, செய்கின்ற ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்களின் அமைப்பு பற்றி அவர் ஏதும் கூறவில்லை.

பெயரெச்ச விகுதிகள் பற்றிய ஆய்வில் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களையும் கருத்தில் கொள்ள வேண்டியுள்ளது. வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களைக் கருத்தில் கொள்ளாது விட்டால் பெயரெச்ச விகுதிகள் பற்றிய ஆய்வு முழுமையான ஒன்றாக அமைதற்கு வாய்ப்பில்லை. ஏனெனில் வினையாலணையும் பெயர், **பெயரெச்சம் + பதிலி** என்ற அமைப்பினதாகும். இவ்வமைப்பில் நிகழும் பதிலியானது தலைமைப் பெயரைப் பதிலியாக்க விகாரத்திற்கு உட்படுத்தியதன் மூலம் வருவிக்கப்பட்ட ஓர் வடிவமாகும். **பெயரெச்சம் + பதிலி** என்ற வினையாலணையும் பெயரின் அமைப்பைப் பின்வரும் எடுத்துக்காட்டுக்களில் அடைப்புக்களில் நிகழும் அமைப்புக்கள் தெளிவுபடுத்தும்.

(1) நேற்று பார்த்த பையனைவிட இன்று { பார்த்த பையன் / பார்த்தவன் } நன்கு பேசினான்.

(2) நேற்று பார்த்த பெண்ணைவிட இன்று { பார்த்த பெண் / பார்த்தவள் } மிகவும் நல்லவள்.

(3) நேற்று பாடிய பாடகரை விட இன்று	பாடிய பாடகர் / பாடியவர்	உயரமாக இருந்தார்.
(4) நேற்று பார்த்த படத்தை விட இன்று	பார்த்த படம் / பார்த்தது	மிகவும் நல்ல படம்.
(5) சித்திரையில் பார்த்த படங்களை விட ஐப்பசியில்	பார்த்த படங்கள் / பார்த்தவை	சிறப்பாக இருந்தன.

இவ்வெடுத்துக் காட்டுக்களில் பார்த்த பையன், பார்த்த பெண், பாடிய பாடகர், பார்த்த படம், பார்த்த படங்கள் ஆகிய பெயரெச்சத் தொடர்களினின்றும் முறையே பார்த்தவன், பார்த்தவள், பாடியவர், பார்த்தது, பார்த்தவை என்னும் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் உருவாவதைக் காணலாம். எனவே வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் அனைத்தும் பெயரெச்சக் கிளவியினை முதல் உறுப்பாகக் கொண்டிருப்பது தெளிவாகிறது. வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களில் நிகழும் பெயரெச்சக் கிளவிகள் பல்வேறு பெயரெச்ச விகுதிகளைக் கொண்டனவாகும். வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களிலுள்ள பெயரெச்சக் கிளவிகளில் நிகழும் பெயரெச்ச விகுதிகளைக் கண்டறிவதே இவ்வாய்வின் நோக்கமாகும். இவ்வாய்வைத் தொடங்குமுன் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் பற்றிய சில அறிஞர்கள் கருத்தினை அறிந்து கொள்வது அவசியமாகின்றது.

கால்டுவெல் சுட்டுப்பெயர்கள் அல்லது அவற்றின் விகுதிகளை நிகழ்கால, இறந்தகாலப் பெயரெச்சங்களோடு இணைப்பதன் மூலம் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் உருவாகின்றன என்பார்[2]. சுட்டுப்பெயர் படர்க்கை இடத்திலேயே வரும். எனவே இவர் பெயரெச்சங்களும் படர்க்கை இடப்பெயர்களாகிய சுட்டுப்பெயர்களும் சேர்வதால் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் அமைகின்றன என்னும் கருத்தினரோ என்று ஐயுறத் தோன்றுகிறது. இவர் கருத்துப்படி செய்தவன், செய்தவள், செய்தவர், செய்தது, செய்தவை ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டு வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் செய்த + அவன் / அவள் / அவர் அது / அவை என்ற அமைப்பினவாய்க் கொள்ளத் தக்கனவாகின்றன. மேலும் இவர் சுட்டுப்பெயரின் விகுதிகளும் பெயரெச்சங்களுடன் சேர்ந்து வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் தோற்றம் கொள்ள வகை செய்கின்றன என்று குறிப்பிடுவதால் செய்தான், செய்தாள், செய்தார், செய்தது, செய்தவை ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டு வினைகளையும் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் எனக் கருதுகிறாரோ என்று ஐயுறத் தோன்றுகிறது. இது உண்மையாயின் வினைமுற்றுக்களுடன் வடிவொப்புமை கொண்ட இந்த வாய்ப்பாட்டு வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் செய்த + ஆன் / ஆள் / ஆர் / து / அன என்ற அமைப்பினவாய்க் கருதத்தக்கனவாகின்றன. கால்டுவெல்லின் கருத்துக்களை மொழியியல் பின்னணியில் வைத்துப் பார்க்கும்போது வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களில் நிகழும் சுட்டுப் பெயர்களும், அவற்றின் விகுதிகளும் மாற்று உருபுகளாகக் கொள்ளத் தக்கனவாகின்றன.

வினையாலணையும் பெயரின் அமைப்பு பற்றிய கால்டுவெல் கருத்து புணரியல் கண்ணோட்டத்தில் ஏற்புடையதாகத் தோன்றவில்லை. ஏனெனில் செய்த + அவன், செய்த + ஆன் ஆகிய அமைப்புக்கள் முறையே செய்தவன், செய்தான் என்ற வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களாய் அமைவதற்குச் செயல்படும் சந்தி விதிகள் தமிழ்ப் புணரியலுக்கு இசைந்ததாகத் தோன்றவில்லை கால்டுவெல் கருத்துக்களைச் செம்மைப் படுத்துவதற்கு வாய்ப்பு உண்டு. அவன் என்னும் சுட்டுப்பெயர் பெயரெச்சத்தினை அடுத்து வன் என்னும் மாற்றுருபாகவும். ஆன் என்னும் விகுதியின் முன் செய்த மற்றும் செய்கின்ற வாய்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்கள் முறையே செய்து, செய்கின்று வாய்பாட்டினவாயும் அமைகின்றன என்றும் கொள்ளலாம்.

பெயரெச்சத்தினை அடுத்து அவன் என்பதன் மாற்று வடிவமாக வன் என்னும் வடிவம் நிகழுமெனக் கொண்டால் ஐம்பால்களுக்கும் மாற்றுருபன்களை வகுக்க வேண்டியுள்ளது. இவ்வாறு கொள்ளினும் செய்பவன் செய்பவன், செய்பவர், செய்வது, செய்வன ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டு இறப்பிலா வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களின் அமைப்பு பற்றி கால்டுவெல் தெளிவாக ஏதும் கூறவில்லை. அவர்தம் கருத்துப்படி இவ்வாய்பாட்டு வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களிலும் பெயரெச்சங்கள் நிகழவேண்டும். இப்பெயரெச்சங்கள் யாவை, அவற்றின் அமைப்பு யாது என்பன போன்ற செய்திகளைப் பற்றி அவர் ஏதும் குறிப்பிடவில்லை. எனவே கால்டுவெல்லிற்கு வினையாலணையும் பெயர் பெயரெச்சத்துடன் சுட்டுப்பெயரை இணைப்பதால் உருவாகும் என்ற கருத்து இருப்பினும் அதைத் தெளிவான மொழியியல் ஆய்விற்கு அவர் உட்படுத்தவில்லை என்றுதான் நாம் கொள்ள வேண்டும். கால்டுவெல்லின் வினையாலணையும் பெயர் ஆய்வு பற்றி இன்னொரு செய்தியையும் நாம் இங்கு குறிப்பிட்டாக வேண்டும். பெயரெச்சங்களை அடுத்து சுட்டுப்பெயர் நிகழ்வதன் மூலம் வினையாலணையும் பெயர் அமைகிறது என்ற அவர் கருத்தை ஏற்றுக் கொண்டால் பின்வரும் வாக்கியங்களை இலக்கண வழு உள்ள வாக்கியங்களாகக் கொள்ளத் தோன்றும்.

(6) நான் நேற்று வந்தவன்/வந்தவள்
(7) நீ நேற்று வந்தவன்/வந்தவள்

சுட்டுப்பெயர்கள் தமிழில் படர்க்கை இடத்தனவாதலின் தன்மை, முன்னிலை எழுவாய்களைக் கொண்ட மேலேயுள்ள வாக்கியங்கள் இலக்கணத் தன்மையுள்ள வாக்கியங்களாகக் கொள்ளப் படாமல் போவதற்கு வாய்ப்பு உண்டு. ஆகவே கால்டுவெல்லின் வினையாலணையும் பெயர் பற்றிய ஆய்வினை ஓர் முழுமையான ஆய்வாக ஏற்றுக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லை.

ஆண்டர்னோ வினையாலணையும் பெயர் நான்கு வகைகளில் அமையும் என்பார்[3].

(1) பெயரெச்ச வடிவத்தின்பின் படர்க்கை இடப்பெயர்களை இணைப்பதன் வாயிலாக வருவது. எ.டு: பெறுமவன் (< பெறும் + அவன்)

(2) கால இடைநிலையை அடுத்துப் படர்க்கை இடப்பெயர்களைச் சேர்ப்பதால் உருவாவது. எ. டு: செய்கிறவன் (< செய்கிறு + அவன்)

(3) பெயரெச்சத்துடன் முற்று விகுதிகளுக்கு ஒப்பான வடிவங்களை இணைப்பதால் கிடைப்பது. எ. டு: பெறுமோன் (< பெறும் + ஓன்)

(4) பால், எண் காட்டும் விகுதிகளைக் கால இடைநிலையோடு சேர்ப்பதால்தோன்றுவது. எ. டு: பெற்றோர்(< பெற்ற் + ஓர்)

வினையாலணையும் பெயர்பற்றிய ஆண்டர்னோவின் சிந்தனை மறுபரிசீலனைக்கு உரியதாகும். ஆண்டர்னோவின் முதல் குறிப்புப்படி பெயரெச்சத்துடன் படர்க்கை இடப்பெயர்களைச் சேர்ப்பதால் கிடைக்கும் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள், படர்க்கையாக மட்டுமே அமையுமே அன்றி தன்மை, முன்னிலைக்கு அவற்றைக் கொண்டு செல்ல முடியாது. ஆகவே ஆண்டர்னோவின் கருத்தும் கால்டுவெல்லின் கருத்தைப் போலவே ஏற்கக் கூடியதாக இல்லை.

இரண்டாவது குறிப்பின்படி, இடைநிலையை அடுத்துப் படர்க்கை இடப்பெயர் சேர்ப்பதால் உருவாகும் பெயர்களையும், பெயரெச்ச வடிவத்தின் பின் வந்த படர்க்கை இடப்பெயர்கள் எனக்கொள்ள இடமிருக்கிறது. மேலும் கால இடைநிலையை அடுத்து படர்க்கை இடப்பெயர் சேர்கிறது என்ற ஆண்டர்னோவின் கூற்று செய்து, செய்கின்று வாய்பாட்டு வடிவங்களைப் பெயரெச்சங்களாகக் கொள்ள வகை செய்கிறது. ஆகவே இவரது அணுகுமுறை தெளிவில்லாமல் உள்ளது.

மூன்றாம் குறிப்பின்படி அமையும் எடுத்துக்காட்டாகிய பெறுமோன் என்னும் வினையாலணையும் பெயர், பெயரெச்சத்துடன் முற்று விகுதிக்கு ஒப்பான வடிவங்கள் இணைவதால் உருவாகும். இதில் ஆண்டர்னோ படர்க்கை இடப்பெயரின் பதிலியாக அல்லது மாற்று வடிவமாக 'ஓன்' என்ற வடிவத்தைக் கருதுகிறார் என்று தோன்றுகிறது. முதல் பிரிவில் வருவதுபோல இவ்வடிவம் தன்மை முன்னிலைக்கும் வரும். எனவே இக்கருத்தும் பொருந்தவில்லை.

நான்காம் குறிப்பின்படி வரும் பெற்றோர் என்பது பகுதி + பால், எண் காட்டும் விகுதி என்ற அமைப்பையே உடையது. அங்கு காலங்காட்டும் இடைநிலை இல்லை. எனவே கால இடைநிலையோடு பால், எண் காட்டும் விகுதிகள் சேர்வதால் இவ்வகை வினையாலணையும் பெயர் உருவாகும் என்ற கருத்து பொருந்தாமல் போய்விடுகின்றது.

கால்டுவெல், ஆண்டர்னோ ஆகியவர்களின் வினையாலணையும் பெயரின் அமைப்பு பற்றிய ஆய்வு அவற்றில் நிகழும் பெயரெச்சங்களின் வகைகளை நன்கு புரிந்து கொள்ள வகை செய்யவில்லை. இந்த வகையில் பெயரெச்சங்கள் பற்றிய ஆய்வை (1) முதல் (5) வரையுள்ள எடுத்துக்காட்டுக்களைப் பின்புலமாகக் கொண்டு தொடரலாம். முதல் எடுத்துக் காட்டினை மட்டும் இங்கு ஆய்வுக்கு எடுத்துக் கொள்ளலாம்.

(1) நேற்று பார்த்த பையனை விட இன்று { பார்த்த பையன் / பார்த்தவன் } நன்கு பேசினான்.

இவ்வெடுத்துக்காட்டில் வரும் பார்த்த பையன் என்று வடிவம் பார்த்தவன் என்பதோடு பொருண்மை நிலையில் பொருந்தி வந்துள்ளதைக் காணலாம். எனவே பார்த்த என்னும் பெயரெச்சத்தினை அடுத்து வரும் அன் என்பது பையன் என்ற தலைமைப் பெயரின் பதிலியாக இருக்க வேண்டுமென அறியலாம். இவ்வாறு வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களை ஆராய்வதால் நடைமுறையில் இல்லாத, ஆனால் தவிர்க்க முடியாத சில பெயரெச்ச வடிவங்களை நாம் சந்தித்தாக வேண்டியுள்ளது. இதனைப் பின்வரும் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களை ஆராய்வதன் மூலம் கண்டறியலாம்.

செய்தவன் என்னும் வினையாலணையும் பெயரில் செய்தவ் என்னும் பெயரெச்சமும் அன் என்னும் பெயர்ப்பதிலியும் காணப்படுகின்றன. அதே போல் செய்கின்றவன், செய்பவன் என்னும் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களிலும் செய்கின்றவ், செய்பவ் என்னும் பெயரெச்சங்களும் அன் என்னும் பெயர்ப்பதிலியும் அமைவதைக் காணலாம்.

செய்தவன், செய்கின்றவன், செய்பவன், ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டு வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களில் பதிலியாகிய அன்னென் கிளவியின் முன் நிகழும் பெயரெச்சங்கள் முறையே செய்தவ், செய்கின்றவ், செய்பவ். ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டினவாகக் கொள்ளத்தக்கனவாகும். இப்பெயரெச்சங்கள் செய்த, செய்கின்ற, செய்யும் ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்களுடன் துணைநிலை வழக்கில் நிகழ்வனவாகும். இதனைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டு -அ, -அவ், -உம் ஆகிய மூன்று வகையான பெயரெச்ச விகுதிகளைச் சுட்டலாம்.

இவற்றுள் அகரக் கிளவி செய்த, செய்கின்ற வாய்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்களில் தலைமைப் பெயரின் முன்னும், அவ்வென் கிளவி செய்தவ், செய்கின்றவ் செய்பவ் ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்களில் தலைமைப் பெயரின் பதிலியின் முன்னும், உம்மைக் கிளவி செய்யும் வாய்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்களில் தலைமைப் பெயரின் முன்னும் நிகழ்வனவாகும். இந்த ஆய்வில் சுட்டப் பெற்றுள்ள செய்தவ், செய்கின்றவ், செய்பவ், செய்வ ஆகிய வாய்ப்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்கள் மரபிலக்கணங்கள் மற்றும் அமைப்பிலக்கணங்களால் அறியப்படாதனவாகும். இந்த நான்கு வாய்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்களும் பெயர் முதற்பதிலியாகிய துகரக்கிளவியின் முன் நிகழ்கையில் முறையே செய்த/செய்கின்ற, செய்வ/செய்ய, ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டினவாய் அமைகின்றன. எடு செய்த்-அ-து, செய்கின்ற்-அ-து, செய்வ்-அ-து, உண்-ப்-அ-து/நடப்ப்-அ-து.

செய்தது. செய்கின்றது, செய்வது ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டு வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களுக்கு எதிரான பன்மை வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் முறையே செய்தன, செய்கின்றன, செய்வன ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டினவாக அமை-

யும். இப்பன்மை வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களில் பதிலியாக நிகழும் அகரக் கிளவியைக் கழித்த பிறகு எஞ்சிநிற்பவை செய் நன்- செய்கின்றன்- செய்வன்- ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்களாகும். இப்பெயரெச்சங்கள் முறையே செய்த்-அன், செய்கின்ற்-அன் செய்ய்-அன் என்ற அமைப்பினவாதலால் இவற்றில் நிகழும் அன்னென்கிளவி பெயரெச்ச விகுதியாகக் கொள்ளத்தக்கதாகின்றது. அன் என்பதைப் பெயரெச்ச விகுதியான அ ஈரத்தின் மாற்று வடிவமாகக் கொள்ளலாமென்றும், இவ்வடிவம் தெலுங்கில் பெயரெச்ச விகுதியாக நிகழும் நிலை உள்ளதென்றும் மீனாட்சி சுந்தரம் சுட்டுகிறார்.[4]

மேலே குறிப்பிட்ட வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களைத் தவிர செய்யுந் + அன்/அள்/அர் அ ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டு வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களும் தமிழில் காணப்படுகின்றன. இறப்பிலாக் காலத்திற்குரிய இவ்வாய்பாட்டு வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் பழந்தமிழில் மட்டுமே காணப்படுவனவாகும். இவ்வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் செய்யுந் வாய்பாட்டுப் பெயரெச்சங்களின் மீது அமைந்தனவாகும். இப்பெயரெச்சங்கள் செய் + உந் என்ற அமைப்பினவாகும், இவ்வமைப்பில் நிகழும் உந் என்பது பெயரெச்ச விகுதியாகக் குறிக்கற்பாலதாகும்.

வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டு தமிழில் காணப்படும் பெயரெச்சங்கள் செய்த் + அ, செய்கின்ற் + அ, செய் + உம், செய்த் + அவ், செய்கின்ற் + அவ், செப்ப் + அவ், செய்ய் + அ, செய்த் + அன், செய் + உந் ஆகிய வாய்பாடுகளில் நிகழற்பாலன என்பதை அறிய முடிகின்றது.

வினையாலணையும் பெயர்கள் பெயரெச்சம் + பதிலி என்ற அமைப்பின என்பது முன்னர் அறியப்பட்டது. வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களைப் போலவே வினைமுற்றுக்களும் வேற்றுமை உருபு ஏற்கும் நிலையைப் பழந்தமிழில் மிகுதியாகக் காணலாம். பிரயோக விவேகம் (நூற்பா.37), இலக்கணக் கொத்து (நூற்பா 83) ஆகியவற்றின் ஆசிரியர்கள் கொடுக்கும் எடுத்துக் காட்டுக்களைக் கொண்டு நோக்கின் வேற்றுமை உருபேற்கும் வினைமுற்றுக்களையும் அவர்கள் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களாகவே கொள்வது போல் தோன்றுகின்றது வேற்றுமை உருபேற்கும் வினைமுற்றுக்கள் வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களாகக் கொள்ளப்படுமாயின் அத்தகைய வினைமுற்றுக்கள் பெயரெச்சம் + பதிலி என்ற அமைப்பினவாய்க் கொள்ள வேண்டிய நிலை ஏற்படுகின்றது. இது எந்த அளவிற்குப் பொருத்தமானது என்பதை செய்தான் என்னும் வினையை மையமாகக் கொண்டு ஆராயலாம். செய் நன் என்னும் வினை, வினையாலணையும் பெயராகக் கொள்ளப்படுகையில் பெயரெச்சம் + பதிலி என்ற அமைப்பினதாகவும், வினைமுற்றாகக் கொள்ளப்படுகையில் செய் + த் + அன் என்ற அமைப்பினதாகவும், ஆய்வுக்கு உட்படுத்தப்படும். இங்ஙனம் ஒரே வினை வடிவத்தை இருவேறு அமைப்பினதாகக்

கொள்வதால் நாம் சில சிக்கல்களைச் சந்தித்தாக வேண்டும். செய்தான் என்னும் வினைவடிவம் வினையாலணையும் பெயராகக் கொள்ளப்படும்போது அது செய்து + ஆன் என்ற அமைப்பாய்வுக்கு உள்ளாகி செய்து என்னும் உறுப்பு பெயரெச்சமாக அமையும்நிலை ஏற்படுகின்றது. இப்பெயரெச்சம் செய் + து என்ற அமைப்பினதாகி அதில் நிகழும் துகரக்கிளவியைப் பெயரெச்ச விகுதியாகக் கருதும் நிலை ஏற்படுகின்றது. செய்கின்றான், செய்வான் ஆகிய வினைகளை வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களாகக் கொள்ளும் போதும் இதே நிலைக்கு நாம் ஆளாகின்றோம் இவ்வினைகளில் செய்கின்று, செய்வ ஆகிய வடிவங்கள் பெயரெச்சங்களாய்க் கொள்ளப்பெற்று முறையே கின்று, வ ஆகிய வடிவங்களைப் பெயரெச்ச விகுதிகளாகக் குறிக்கத்தக்கனவாகின்றன. செய்தான், செய்கின்றான், செய்வான், ஆகிய வினைகளை வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களாகக் கொள்வதால் செய்து, செய்கின்று, செய்வ ஆகிய வாய்பாட்டு வினைகளைப் பெயரெச்சங்களாக அங்கீகரிக்க வேண்டியுள்ளது. இவற்றின் நிகழிடங்களைத் துல்லியமாகக் கணிப்பதில் நமக்குச் சிக்கல் ஏதுமில்லை. இவை மூன்றும் ஆன் என்னும் பதிலியின்முன் நிகழற்பாலன என்று வரையறை செய்வதுடன் செய்தான், செய்கின்றான், செய்வான் ஆகிய வினைகளை வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களாகக் கொள்ளலாம் என்று ஒரு சிக்கலிலிருந்து விடுபட்டு விடலாம். ஆயினும் இத்தகைய ஆய்வுமுறை எதிர்மறை வினை-முற்றுக்களில் எடுபடவில்லை, எடுத்துக்காட்டாக செய்யான் என்னும் எதிர்மறை வினை பயனிலையாகச் செயல்படுவதுடன் வேற்றுமை உருபு ஏற்கும் பெயராகவும் நிகழற்பாலதாகும். வேற்றுமை உருபேற்கும் நிலையைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டால் செய்யான் என்னும் வினையை வினையாலணையும் பெயராகக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். வினையாலணையும் பெயராகக் கொண்டால் அது பெயரெச்சம் + பதிலி என்ற அமைப்பினதாக இருக்கவேண்டும், ஆனால் செய்யான் என்னும் வினையை வினையாலணையும் பெயராகக்கொண்டால் பெயரெச்சம் + பதிலி என்ற அமைப்பில் ஆராய்வதற்கு முடியாமல் போகிறது.

வேற்றுமை உருபேற்கும் செய்தான், செய்கின்றான் ஆகியவை பெயரெச்சம் + பதிலி என்ற அமைப்பின என்பது உண்மை ஆயின், இந்த அமைப்பு மேற்படி வினைகளின் எதிர்மறையாகிய செய்யான் என்னும் (வேற்றுமை உருபேற்கும்) வினைக்கும் பொருந்தி வரவேண்டும். செய்யான் எனபதனை செய் + ஆன் என்று பகுக்கையில் அங்குப் பெயரெச்ச நிகழ்ச்சி காணப்படவில்லை. இதனைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டு பார்க்கையில் செய்யான் என்னும் எதிர்மறைவினை வேற்றுமை உருபேற்கக் காரணம் அவ்வினையமைப்பில் பெயர்த்தன்மையுடன் ஓர் உறுப்பு நிகழ்வதுதான். இவ்வுறுப்பு எதுவாக இருக்கும்? செய்யான் என்னும் வினை பகுதி + விகுதி என்ற அமைப்பினதாகும். இவ்வமைப்பில் விகுதிக்கென்று தனியாக பொருண்மையமைப்பு இருக்கின்றது. இவ்விகுதிக்கு வினையைப் பெயராக மாற்றும் ஆற்றல் இல்லை. எஞ்சிய உறுப்பாகக் காணப்படுவது செய் என்னும் பகுதியாகும். செய்யான் என்னும்

வினை வேற்றுமை உருபு ஏற்பதற்கு இவ்வமைப்பில் நிகழும் **செய்** என்னும் பகுதிதான் காரணமாக இருக்கவேண்டும். அப்படியாயின் **செய்** என்னும் பகுதியைத் தொழிலின் தன்மையதாகிய பெயர் என்று குறிப்பிடுவது பொருந்தும். வினைப் பகுதிகளைப் பெயர்களாகக் கொள்வது பற்றிய சிந்தனை தமிழ்மொழியில் மெல்ல உரம்பெற்று வருகிறது. (சுவாமிநாத தேசிகர், இலக்கணக் கொத்து, நூற்பா 66 உரை; Kothandaraman, R., 1978:47-53) **செய்யான்** வாய்பாட்டு எதிர்மறை வினைகள் வேற்றுமை உருபு ஏற்கும் நிலையைக் கருத்தில் கொள்ளும்போது, வினைப்பகுதிகள் பெயராகக் கருதத்தக்கன என்ற சிந்தனை வலுவுள்ள ஒன்றாகவே தோன்றுகிறது. **செய்யான்** வாய்பாட்டு வினைகள் பெயராய் அமைவதைப் போலவே அதற்கு நேரான **செய்தான், செய்கின்றான், செய்வான்** வாய்பாட்டு உடன்பாட்டு வினைகளும் பெயராய் நிகழ்ந்து வேற்றுமை உருபு ஏற்பது தவிர்க்க முடியாத ஒன்றாகிறது. ஆகவே வேற்றுமை உருபேற்கும் உடன்பாட்டு வினைமுற்றுக்கள் அனைத்தும் வினைப்பெயர்களாகக் கொள்ளத்தக்கவை என்பது புலனாகின்றது. இதனை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களின் அமைப்பினின்றும், வினைப் பெயர்களாகிய உடன்பாடு மற்றும் எதிர்மறை வினைமுற்றுக்களின் அமைப்பு முற்றிலும் மாறுபட்டது என்று துணிபமுடிகின்றது. வினைப் பகுதிகள் பெயர்களாய் இருப்பதால் வினைமுற்றுக்கள் வினைப்பெயர்களாகின்றன. உடன்பாடு மற்றும் எதிர்மறை வினைமுற்றுக்கள் வேற்றுமை உருபு ஏற்கும் நிலையைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டு அவற்றை வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களாகக் கொள்வதற்கில்லை என்ற சிந்தனை நல்லன், தீயன், கரியன் முதலிய குறிப்பு வினைமுற்றுக்களுக்கும் பொருந்தும். ஏனெனில் இத்தகைய குறிப்பு வினைமுற்றுக்களை பெயரெச்சம் + பதிலி என்ற அமைப்பில் வைத்து ஆராய முடியாது. இக்குறிப்பு வினைமுற்றுக்களின் பகுதிகள் பெயர்களாய் அமைவதால் அத்தகைய பகுதிகளின் மீது தோன்றிய மேற்படி முற்றுக்களும் பெயர்களாகவே நிகழ்தல் இயல்பானதும், தவிர்க்க முடியாத ஒன்றும் ஆகும். எனவே வேற்றுமை உருபேற்கும் **செய்தான், செய்கின்றான், செய்வான்** ஆகியவைகளை வினையாலணையும் பெயர்களாகக் கொள்ளாமல் வினைப்பெயர்களாகக் கொள்வது பொருத்தமாகத் தோன்றுகிறது.

குறிப்புக்கள்

1 பத்து தமிழ் இலக்கண நூல்கள், அவற்றின் ஆசிரியர்கள் ஆகிய செய்திகள் கீழே குறிக்கப் பெற்றுள்ளன. அடைப்புக்குள் உள்ள எண் இலக்கண ஆசிரியர்கள் எந்த நூற்றாண்டைச் சேர்ந்தவர் என்பதைக் குறிக்கும்.

1. தொல்காப்பியம் – தொல்காப்பியர் (?); 2. வீரசோழியம்—புத்தமித்திரனார் (11); 3 நேமிநாதம்—குணவீர பண்டிதர் (12); 4. நன்னூல் – பவணந்தி முனிவர் (14); 5. பிரயோக விவேகம்-சுப்பிரமணிய தீட்சிதர் (14); 6 இலக்கண விளக்கம் – வைத்தியநாத

தேசிகர் (17); 7. இலக்கணக் கொத்து—சுவாமிநாத தேசிகர் (17); 8. தொன்னூல் விளக்கம்—வீரமாமுனிவர் (17); 9. முத்து வீரியம்—முத்துவீர உபாத்தியாயர் (19): 10. சுவாமிநாதம் — சாமிகவிராசன் (19).

2. The greater number of nouns of this class are formed by suffixing the demonstrative pronouns or their terminations to the present and preterite relative participles - E.G., from **Seygira** 'that does' (the present relative participle of sey-to do) is formed **seygira-(v)-an** 'he that does'; **seygira-(v) a**l 'she that does'. &c. In this manner, from the past relative participle **seyda** 'that did' is formed seyda-(v)-an 'he that did'; seyda-(v)-a**l** 'she that did' &c; and by simply adding the appropriate terminations, participial nouns of any number or gender (but always of the third person only) may be made at pleasure. (Italics in the quote is supplied) (Caldwell, Robert, 1974:540)

3. Participial nouns:- There are several types of participial nouns of the descriptive level. One of them is represented by composite words formed of third personal pronouns attached to relative participles Ex. **perumavar**. Another type of participial nouns is formed by adding third personal pronouns to tense suffixes. Most participial nouns of Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Tulu belong to this type. Ex: **seyxiravan**. The third type of participial nouns is found in Kolami Parji, Konda and Malto. as well as in Tamil. Participial nouns of this type are formed from relative participles by means of special formants, which coincide in form with or are similar to personal suffixes: Ex: **perumōn**. (Andronov, M., 1979-65). Another type of participial nouns comprises forms found in Kui, Kuvi, as well as in Tamil, Malayalam and Malto, which add gender-number suffixes to tense suffix. Ex:- **pe***ṯṯ*ōr — 'They who received (Italics supplied) (Ibid, 66)

4. The relative participle has a nasal in Telugu which has been wrongly considered as a sandhi intrusion, e. g., **nilpinan dharmamu**' The charity that has been established'. The relative participle suffix **a** is thus related to **an** as its alternant form (Meenakshisundaram T.P., 1965:94)

துணைநூற் பட்டியல்

(1) குணவீரபண்டிதர், (1973), நேமிநாதம், (4ஆம் பதிப்பு),கழக வெளியீடு, சென்னை-1,

(2) சாமி கவிராசன்,(1975) சுவாமிநாதம்,மொழியியல்துறை வெளியீடு 36, அண்ணாமலைப் பல்கலைக்கழகம், அண்ணாமலை நகர்.

(3) சுப்பிரமணிய தீக்ஷிதர்,(1952) பிரயோக விவேகம் மூலமும் உரையுப், (3ஆம் பதிப்பு) வித்தியாநுபாலன அச்சகம், சென்னைப்பட்டணம்.

(4) சுவாமிநாத தேசிகர், (1956) இலக்கணக் கொத்து, (6-ஆம் பதிப்பு), வித்தியாநுபாலன அச்சகம், சென்னை.

(5) தொல்காப்பியர் (1974) தொல்காப்பியம் சொல்லதிகாரம், (9-ஆம்-பதிப்பு), கழக வெளியீடு · 18, சென்னை-1,

(6) பவணந்தி முனிவர், (1969) நன்னூல் காண்டிகை (9-ஆம்பதிப்பு) உரை,வை.மு.கோபால கிருஷ்ணமாசாரியர் கம்பெனி,சென்னை 5.

(7) புத்தமித்திரனார், (1970) வீரசோழியம், (2-ஆம் பதிப்பு), கழக வெளியீடு, சென்னை-1.

(8) முத்துவீர உபாத்தியாயர், (1972), முத்துவீரியம்'(9-ஆம் பதிப்பு), கழக வெளியீடு, சென்னை.

(9) வீரமா முனிவர், (1978), தொன்னூல் விளக்கம், தமிழ்ப் பதிப்பகம், சென்னை-20.

(10) வைத்தியநாத தேசிகர்,(1973),இலக்கண விளக்கம் எழுத்ததிகாரம். சொல்லதிகாரம் மூலமும் உரையும், கழக வெளியீடு,சென்னை-13.

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13

Auxiliaries and Main Verbs in Tamil*

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As in many natural languages we find in Tamil many auxiliaries (AX) and they denote grammatical categories like aspect, modal reflexive etc. These verbs are appended with another verb which is traditionally called main verb (MV). Traditional grammars and dictionaries distinguish between the main verbs and the so called auxiliary verbs. Caldwell (1956:456)calls them "principal verb" and 'auxiliary" respectively.This dichotomy is maintained by Agesthialingom (1964),Arden (1969) Israel (1976), Jothimuthu (1965), Schiffman (1969), Varadarajan (1963) and many others.

In Tamil we find more then 35 verbs (See Appendix) which are used as auxiliaries and they are generally appended with.

(a) infinitive of the main verbs
avaṉ vara veːṇṭum 'He must come'

(b) verbal participle of the main verbs
avar cettuviṭṭaːr 'He has expired'

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(c) verbal noun of the main verbs
avaṉ varala:m 'He may come'

It is well known that almost all of the verbs are also used as principal or main verbs as in

(1) eṉakkup paṇam ve:ṇṭum 'I need money'

(2) anta ve:lai muṭintatu 'That work is over'

(3) avaṉ po:ṉa:n 'He went'

It is true that when they are used as main verbs they denote certain lexical meanings. But as auxiliary they denote slightly changed meanings and in the majority of cases they denote grammatical meanings. *tolai*, as a main verb denotes the meaning *lose* and as an auxiliary the *contemptive* attitude of the speaker.

It has been mentioned that various grammarians consider these verbs auxiliaries and they treat expressions like *vantu-viṭu* as a single unit calling them "compound verbs". They are treated as single well-knit units. But many generative grammarians do not distinguish between the two classes of verbs in the deep level and they consider both of them as main verbs in the deep structure. The so called compound verb expressions are derived from two different sentences in each of which we find main verbs and they are dominated by V nodes. The so called compound verb expression is derived from two different sentences, one embedded in the other. The Compound expression

(4) avaṉ vant- { a:yiṟṟu / a:ccu } 'He had already come'

is derived from

(5) avaṉ vantatu a:yiṟṟu 'He came [it is] over'

where we find two sentences

(6) [$_{S_1}$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{S_2}$ avaṉ vanta:n]$_{S_2}$]$_{NP}$ [$_{VP}$ a:yiṟṟu]$_{VP}$]$_{S_1}$

having the deep structure something like

(7) $[_{S_1}\ [_{NP}\ [_{S_2}$ avan va: $]_{S_2}\ ]_{NP}\ [_{VP}\ [_{V}$ a:yirru $]_{V}\ ]_{VP}\ ]_{S_1}$

It shows that both *va:* 'come' and *a:yirru* 'took place', 'over' 'complete' are dominated by Vs which stand for the verbs of both the matrix and the constituent sentences. This is almost on par with the framework of complementation where the surface structures show certain reflexes of the deep structure more clearly. This can be seen in sentences such as

(8) na:ṉ avaṉ varap pa:rtte:ṉ
'I saw him coming'

(9) avaṉ vantu ca:ppiṭṭa:ṉ
'He came and ate'

(10) avaṉ kaṇṭu ku:ppiṭṭa:ṉ
'He saw (me) and called'

etc. The reflexes of the deep structures of the above can be seen in many areas.

(1) While it is possible to have change in the order of the various constituents in the above, this may not be possible in the case of the constructions where auxiliaries are involved.

(11) avan vara na:ṉ pa:rtte:ṉ 'I saw him coming'

(12) vantu avaṉ ca:ppiṭṭa:ṉ 'He came and ate'

(13) kaṇṭu avaṉ ku:ppiṭṭa:ṉ 'He saw (me) and called'

(2) While there is no fusion of the first and second verbs in the case of non-auxiliaries we find fusion of auxiliaries to such an extent that they are very often considered suffixes rather than independent verbs.

(14) vara-ve:ṇṭum → varave:ṇum → varaṇum 'must come'

(15) varal a:kum → varala:m 'may come'

(16) aṭittukkoṇṭa:n → { aṭicciṇṭa:n / aṭiccikkiṭṭa:n } 'beat himself'

In many dialects in spoken Tamil the fusion has changed certain auxiliaries beyond recognition. But it can be easily shown that they are not really suffixes, but only independent verbs. Though we find only *-ṇum* in

(17) vara-ṇum 'must come'

(18) po:ka-ṇum 'must go'

etc., it is possible to adopt the method of inserting a few suffixes in between them and get the original form *ve:-ṇum* (< ve:ṇṭum).

(19) varava: ve:-ṇum 'must (I) come?'

(20) po:kavum ve:-ṇum 'must also go'

(21) varatta:ṉ ve:-ṇum 'must come' (emphatic)

(22) varave: ve:ṇṭa:m 'don't have to come at all'

(23) po:kave: ve:ṇṭa:m 'don't have to go at all'

etc, where we find independent forms *ve ṇum* and *ve:ṇṭa:m*. It is also possible to recover the independent forms in ping pong dialogues like

(24) ni: po:ka-ṇum-a: 'Do you have to go?'

(25) a:ma:, ve: ṇum 'Yes I must' or

(26) ve:ṇṭa:m 'No, I don't have to'

This shows that though certain auxiliaries look like suffixes they are really independent verbs which have undergone changes beyond recognition.

(3) While in the resultant sentences, it is possible to have various other constituents (other than the main verb) in the non-auxiliary, this is not generally the case with the auxiliaries. There are a few cases where we find the presence of them and this will be dealt with later.

(27) na:n avaṉ vara-p pa:rtte:ṉ

has both *na:ṉ* 'I' and *avaṉ* 'he' which are the subjects of matrix and constituent sentences respectively. But in sentences such as

(28) na:ɳ payantu po:ɳe:ɳ 'I was afraid indeed'

(29) na:ɳ vantirunte:ɳ 'I had come'

etc., no other constituent of the matrix sentence is found except the so called auxiliaries *po:* and *iru.*

In this connection mention has to be made that in all types of auxiliaries the subjects and other constituents of both the sentences are found to be same and hence no other constituent of the matrix sentence is found. There may be a few exceptions and this will be dealt with later.

But one cannot deny the fact that the so called auxiliaries are main verbs in the deep structure and that is why many generativists call them also main verbs. Sentences like

(30) avaɳ vara-ve:ɳṭum 'He must come'

is analysed as

(31) [[enakku]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$ [[[avan va:]$_{S_2}$]$_{NP}$ [ve:ɳṭum]$_{V}$]$_{V}$]$_{VP}$]$_{S_1}$

Though predicates of the constituent sentence *va:* and tne matrix sentence *ve:ɳṭum* are really main verbs, after certain transformations like infinitivization they are glued together as a single unit in the surface level.

(32) [[enakku]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$ [[avan]$_{NP}$ [vara ve:ɳṭum]$_{V}$]$_{V}$]$_{VP}$]$_{S}$

Note that in the deep level *va:* and *ve:ɳṭum* are two different main verbs and in the surface level they become a well-knit unit giving rise to *vara-ve:ɳṭum.* Though they are considered a single unit in the surface level they are two different and separate units in the deep level.

avaɳ vara ve:ɳṭum is analysed by the traditional grammarians as compound verb, *va:* as the main verb and *ve:ɳṭum* as the auxiliary.

(33) [[avan]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$ [[vara]$_{MV}$]$_{MV}$ [ve:ɳṭum]$_{AX}$]$_{AX}$]$_{VP}$]$_{S}$

This is also the case in

(34) avan vanta:yirru 'He has come already'

Traditionally it is analysed as:

(35) [[[[avan] N] NP] [VP [[vantu] MV] [[a:yirru] AX] AX] VP] S

whereas this will be treated in the present analysis as

(36) [[[[avan va:] S_2] NP] [[a:yirru] VP] VP] S_1

(37) [[[avan] NP] [[vant] MV] [[ayirru] AX] AX] VP] S

It is true that the main verbs and the so called auxiliary verbs are glued together and they behave like a well-knit unit. Yet it is possible to insert certain suffixes such as *-um, -a:, -ta:ṉ* etc., in between the main verbs and many of the auxiliaries as shown already. Though it is not possible to insert in between *vantu* and *a:yirru* there are many such expressions where we can insert.

-a:

(38) vara-ve:ṇṭum — varav-a: ve:ṇṭum

(39) cettu-p po:ṉa:ṉ — cett-a: po:ṉa:ṉ

(40) paṭittukoṇṭirunta:ṉ — paṭittukkoṇṭ-a: iruntaːṉ

-um

(41) vara-ve:ṇṭum — varav-um ve:ṇṭum

(42) cettu-p po:naːṉ — cett-um po:naːṉ

(43) paṭittukkoṇṭirunta:ṉ — paṭittukkoṇṭ-um iruntaːṉ

-ta:ṉ

(44) vara-t-ta:ṉ ve:ṇṭum

(45) cettu-ta:ṉ po:ṉa:ṉ

(46) paṭittukkoṇṭu-ta:ṉ iruntaːṉ

onṟum

(47) vara onṟum ve:ṇṭa:m

(48) cettu onṟum po:kavillai

(49) paṭittukoṇṭ-onṟum irukkavillai

Note that *ta:n* and *onṟum* can be considered independent words and if it is so a word can also be inserted between the combination. But they do not give any lexical meaning and it seems that no content words can be inserted in modern Tamil. This insertion shows that once they were only two separate words and in due course they have become a well-knit unit giving rise to a compound formation.

But in the earlier stage of the development of the auxiliaries one can find even lexical items occurring in between them.

(50) ma:malar koyya.....ya:ṉum po.val
'I too am going to pluck the flowers'

In this connection mention has to be made that similar operation can be made in the case of even the so called single unit like *vanta:ṉ* 'came he' etc. In Tamil a type of interrogation is made by adding the verb *ceyy* 'do' to the infinitive as in:

(51) avaṉ varav-a: ceyta:ṉ 'Did he come?'
similarly we can have

(52) avaṉ varavum ceyta:ṉ 'He came too'

(53) avaṉ vara-t-ta:ṉ ceyta:ṉ 'Indeed he came'

(54) avaṉ vara-onṟum ceyyavillai 'He did not come at all'

This is due to the fact that even such single unit is expressed as

(55) varutal ceyta:ṉ 'He did the action of coming'

(56) po:kal ceyta:ṉ 'He did the action of going'

It is true that certain auxiliaries like *aṟum* as in

(57) varaṭṭum 'Let(him)come'

do not allow any item to be inserted and the only explanation that can be offered is that the fusion is so complete that nothing can be inserted in between them.

It is a well known fact that in all SOV languages V as a main verb occurs normally at the end of the sentences (Ross 1969) In all these languages it is found tnat the auxiliaries always occur after the main verbs. Here the sentences with the main verbs are used as a kind of complementation and the auxiliaries always occur after it. But in SVO languages the verb occurs before 0 and the auxiliaries occur before the main verb. English is an SVO language and the auxiliaries are always found to occur before the main verb. But in Dravidian languages auxiliaries find their place after the main verbs and in this respect the auxiliaries and the main verbs are found to behave alike and this can be considered as an evidence to show that auxiliaries are to be considered main verb in the deep structure.

avaṉ vanta:yirṟu 'He has already come' and *nɯ:ṉ po:kave:ṇṭum* 'I must go' are considered to have the following structures.

(58) [[[avan va:]$_{S_2}$]$_{NP}$ [[a:yirṟu]$_{V}$]$_{VP}$]$_{S_1}$

(59) [[enakku]$_{NP}$ [[[na:n po:]$_{S_2}$]$_{NP}$ [ve:ṇṭum]$_{V}$]$_{VP}$]$_{S_1}$

In Tamil and other Dravidian languages we find various types of conjunction and in all of them the deletion of the identical items can be found. When two sentences with identical verbs are conjoined the verb appears only once in the resultant sentence which can be seen in sentences like

(60) na:ṉ ra:maṉai-y-um kaṇṇaṉai-y-um pa:rtte:ṉ
'I saw Raman and Kannan'

which has come from:

(61) na:ṉ ra:maṉ-ai-p pa:rtte:ṉ 'I saw Raman'

(62) na:ṉ kaṇṇaṉ-ai-p pa:rtte:n 'I saw Kannan'

The same kind of change can also be found in the case of the so called auxiliaries and this can be taken as another evidence to show that they have to be considered main verbs.

(63) na·ɳ a:ṭav-um paṭav-um ve:ɳṭum
'I must dance and sing'

(64) na:ɳ varav-o: po:kav-o: ve:ɳṭum
'Either I must go or come'

In all the sentences of this kind we see the deletion of the so called auxiliary as in the case of main verbs or any other category and this shows that the auxiliaries have to be considered main verbs.

It is also to be pointed out that almost all of the so called auxiliaries are conjugated exactly like the main verbs of the same form except in one or two cases such as *a:m*, *aṭṭum* etc., which are not conjugated when they occur as auxiliaries.

(65)	aruḷ	'grace'
(66)	vant-aruḷ	'graciously come'
(67)	aruḷiɳa:r	'graced'
(68)	vant-aruḷiɳa:r	'graciously came-he(hon)'
(69)	aruḷi	'having vouchsafed'
(70)	vant-aruḷi	'having graciously come'
(71)	aruḷum	'be gracious'
(72)	vant-aruḷum	'please come graciously'
(73)	aruḷiɳ	'if gracious'
(74)	vant-aruḷiɳ	'if [someone] graciously'
(75)	aruḷiɳa:l	'if [someone] graces'
(76)	vant-aruḷiɳa:l	'if [someone]graciously'
(77)	ve:ɳṭum	'need'
(78)	pokave:ɳṭum	'need to go'
(79)	ve:ɳṭi irukkiṟatu	'(it) is necessary'
(80)	po:kave:ɳṭi irukkiṟatu	'(it) is necessary to go'

(81) paṇam ve:ṇṭiyatu irukkiṟatu 'money is necessary'

(82) po:kave:ṇṭiyatu irukkiṟatu 'It is necessary to go'

(83) ve:ṇṭuma:ṉa:l 'if necessary'

(84) pokave:nṭuma:ṉa:l 'if it is necessary to go'

It is true that several of the auxiliaries denote various kinds of meanings such as aspects, moods, possibility, potentiality, permission etc. Therefore they are called modals. Similarly various aspects such as perfective. completive, progressive etc., are expressed by certain other auxiliaries and hence they are called aspects. There are many other notions such as reflexive, disgust, self-benefactive etc., and they are also shown by certain other auxiliaries in Tamil. The latter notions can also be brought under aspects (according to some scholars).

In all these we find that only a particular auxiliary or a group of auxiliaries are made use of. Though the auxiliaries. in majority of the cases, denote some kind of grammatical meanings there is every possibility of having a kind of connection between the lexical meanings of the main verb and the so called grammatical meanings of the auxiliary. In other words it is claimed that there is a a kind of connection between the meanings of the main verbs and the auxiliaries of the same form. The commonness is very clear in certain cases though it may not be that much clear in certain other cases.

It is well known that *ve:ṇṭum* as a main verb denotes the meanings 'necessary, need require, want. request' etc. and this can be seen in sentences like

(85) naːṉ uṅkaḷai ve:ṇṭukiṟe:n 'I request you'

(86) eṉakku-p paṇam ve:ṇṭum 'I need money'/'Money is necessary for me'

etc., and the Tamil Lexicon (page 3825) lists the following meanings:

87(a) to want, desire

(b) to beg, entreat, request
(c) to listen to with eagerness
(d) to buy, purchase
(e) to be indispensable, to be necessary

As an auxiliary it is used to denote the notion of 'obligation' which means 'essential', 'necessary' and in this respect it is not very different from one or two meanings of the main verb *'ve:ɳtu'*. The difference between the main verb and the auxiliary lies in the fact that the latter always needs a sentence as its complement where as the former needs nouns such as *paɳam* etc. *na:n po:ka*, *na:n po:tal* etc., are considered sentences.

(88) eṉakku-p paṇam ve:ṇṭum 'I need money'
(89) eṉakku-p po:ka ve:ṇṭum 'I need to/must go'
(90) ni: po:ka ve:ṇṭum 'You need to/must go'

It is true that *ve:ɳtum* as in (87) is used as a main verb and the grammarians do not generally call it *obligatory mood* though there is no much difference in semantics of *ve:ɳtum* whether it is main verb or as the so called auxiliary.

a:m is the truncated form of *a:kum* whose root is *a:ku* It is generally considered to mean 'to become' and it is true that this meaning has nothing to do with the auxiliary meaning and even certain amount of stretching or extension of the former does not help to connect them. But a careful investigation of *a:ku* would show that it is used in various other meanings also.

The Tamil lexicon (page 201) has listed the following meanings

91 (a) to come into existence
(b) to happen, occur
(c) to be done, finished, completed, exhausted
(d) to be fit, proper, agreeable, congenial on friendly forms
(e) to prosper, to flourish
(f) to be
(g) to be like, equal

(92) anta ka:riyam a:kum/a:ka:tu
'That piece of work will (not) be done'

(93) kaliya:ṇam a:kum/a:ka:tu
'The marriage will (not) take place'

(94) eṉakku atu a:kum/a:ka:tu
'That is (not) suitable for me'

(95) itu nallavaṉukku a:kum/a:ka:tu
'It is (not) good for good man'

(96) anta ka:riyam a:yiṟṟu/a:ccu
'That piece of work was over (completed)'

(97) eṉṉa:le anta ka:riyam a:kum
'That piece of work will be done by me'

The above meanings show a kind of connection between them and the meanings of the auxiliary *a:m* viz. probaility, possibility, permission, suggestion, capability (Annamalai, 1974, Rajasekharan Nair, 1975) and completion (as in *vanta:ccu*) seem to under-pin the same.

The meaning of *possibility* is gotten from 91(b). Here *a:ku* means 'takes place' and it is to be noted that the future tense generally denotes *probability* only and not *certainty*.

(98) avaṉ va: a:kum ('He comes shall take place')→

(99) avan varal a:kum→avan varala:m 'He may come'

Similarly the meaning *permission* is gotten from 91(d). Here *a:kum* means 'suitable', 'alright' etc., and the sentence

(100) ni: pokala:m 'you may go'
is connected with

(101) ni: po: a:kum ('you go-alright (for me)')→
ni: pokal a:kum→ni: pokala:m 'you go'
'Your going is alright (for me)'→'You may go.'

It is to be noted that generally we don't get *enakku* 'for me' in his type of expression. But it is not uncommon to have
t

(102) eṉakku ni: po:kala:m 'As far as I am concerned you can go'

(103) avaṉukku eṉṉamo: teriya:tu 'But I do not know about him'

Here we have *enakku* which has something to do with *a:kum*. This is also the case with the sentences of permission.

(104) uṉakku aṅke: po:kala:m; a:ṉa:l eṉakku-p po:kakku:ṭa:tu
'It is alright for you to go there, but I should not go'

The completive meaning is used in sentences like

avaṉ vanta:ccu (34) 'He has come' (completive)

which is derived from

(105) avaṉ va: { a:ccu / a:yi ṟṟu } (He came over) →

(106) avaṉ vant { a:ccu / a:yiṟṟu }

It is gotten from 91(c)

It is true that it may not be very easy to connect the meanings of the auxiliaries with those of the corresponding main verbs of the same form. Yet it cannot be straight away rejected that they are in some way related. If we accept the fact that if the use of auxiliary is a later development we can legitimately ask the question why a particular verb has been chosen to denote a particular meaning like completive, obligation, reflexive reverence, riddance etc. From the repertoire of verbs why *aruḷ* alone is chosen to denote *reverence* and why verbs such as *keṭu* 'spoil', *va:* 'come' etc., are not chosen.

In the history of languages a competition can be found among certain words to denote an auxiliary meaning and in due course one may wither out while the other stays permanently. In the history of Tamil we find that the words *val* 'strong' and *muṭi* complete' *ma:ṭṭu*, *kil* were made use of to denote *capablity*. In old Tamil *val* alone is found and this can be seen in Aiṅkuṟunu:ṟu [AI] etc., and in due course *muṭi* has replaced

all of them. But the meanings of *val* and *muṭi* and others are capable of denoting *capacity* or *capability*. In *val* the meaning is very clear and in the case of *muṭi* certain amount of extension may be necessary.

(107) naːṉ anta veːlaiyai muṭitteːṉ
'I completed that work'

(108) eṉṉaːl anta veːlai { muṭintatu / muṭiyum }

'That work got / will get completed by me'

(109) veːre aːraːleyum muṭiyaːtu
'Will not get completed by others'

Use of *muṭi* 'complete' as a main verb above shows that it is used in the meaning of completion. From the meaning of completion a shift must have taken place to denote *capability*. Also note that the occurrence of *eṉṉaːl* which is found in the main verb is also seen even when it is used as an auxiliary. Similarly we can also account for the occurrence of *eṉakku* 'to me' as in

(110) eṉakku ceyya muṭiyum 'I can do'

as sentences like

(111) eṉakku anta katavu tiṟakkum 'That door will open to me'

(112) eṉakku anta veːlai muṭiyum 'That work will get completed to me'

are not uncommon.

The above examples clearly show that there is a kind of relation between the meanings of the main verbs and the so called auxiliary verbs of the same form. It is true that in certain cases there is direct relation and the meanings are almost one and the same and in certain other cases a kind of shift can be found which would explain the connection.

Another important issue that I would like to raise here is whether all the so called auxiliaries have to be set up in the deep structure. It is

now well known that categories like pronominal terminations etc., are only surface manifestations and they don't have to be set up in the deep structure. They are predictable and therefore they are derived by certain transformational rules like agreement transformation. Similarly certain auxiliaries that we find are predictable and therefore they don't need to be set up in the deep level and they can be derived by certain other transformational rules

It has been said that the auxiliary *aruḷ* 'be gracious' 'vouch-safe denotes reverence and it is found in sentences like

(113) aracar vantaruḷiṉa:r
'The king has visited graciously'

(114) po:ppa:ṇṭavar colliyaruḷiṉa:r
'The Pope,has said graciously'

etc. As the king and the Pope are people of great reverence, we add the verb *aruḷ* to show our great respect and regard for them. In the deep structure it is enough to have

(115) aracar va:-Past 'The king came'

(116) po:ppa:ṇṭavar col-Past 'The Pope said'

and as the subjects are the people of great respect

reverencialization transformation takes place which adds the verb *aruḷ* to the predicate and we get

(117) aracar vantaruḷ-Past

(118) po:ppaṇṭavar colliyaruḷ-Past

to which agreement transformation applies which results in

(119) aracar vantaruḷiṉa:r

(120) po:ppa:ṇṭavar colliyaruḷiṉa:r

This is also true with many other auxiliaries denoting *reflexive, acciáental* (without our marking), etc.

It is well known that in Tamil reflexive is expressed by the auxiliary ko*l* as in

(121) kaṇṇaṉ kuṭṭikkoṇṭa:n 'Kannan cuffed himself'

(122) avaṉ aṭittukkoṇṭa:ṉ 'He beat himself'

where the occurrence of ko*l* after the transitive verbs shows that the agent and the patient are one and the same persons which can be expressed very clearly by setting up deep structures marked in (123) and (124) respectively.

(123) kaṇṇaṉ$_i$ kaṇṇaṉai$_i$ kuṭṭu-Past kaṇṇaṉ$_i$ cuff.-past kaṇṇan$_1$

(124) avaṉ$_i$ avaṉai$_i$ aṭi-Past 'he$_i$ beat-Past him$_i$'

where we do not have the auxiliary ko*l* and it is added by *Reflexivization transformation* which gives

(125) kaṇṇaṉ$_i$ kaṇṇanai$_i$ kuṭṭu — ko*l* — Past

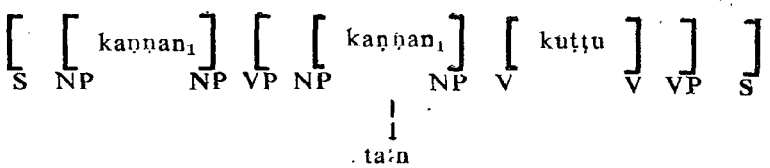
(126) avaṉ$_i$ avaṉai$_i$ aṭi — ko*l* — Past

Many other transformations like *agreement transformation, verbal participalization transformation* etc., take place and finally we get

(127) kaṇṇaṉ$_i$ kaṇṇaṉ-ai-k$_i$ kuṭṭikkoṇṭa:ṉ

(128) avaṉ$_i$ avaṉai$_i$ aṭittukkoṇṭa:ṉ

Finally *Equi-NP deletion transformation* takes place and as a result (121) and (122) are gotten.

(129)


(130) [[kaṇṇan] [[ta:n] [[kuṭṭu] [koḷ]]]]
S NP NP VP NP NP V MV MV AX AX V VP S
↓
φ

In Malayalam we don't find addition of reflexive verbs like koḷ and reflexivity is expressed only by the presence of identical reflexive pronouns, both as subject and object.

(131) aya:ḷ taṉṉatta:ṉe: aṭiccu 'He beat himself'

(132) aya:ḷ taṉṉetta:ṉe: kuṭṭi 'He cuffed himself'

Appendix

aṭi	'down'
aruḷ	'be gracious'
a:m	'may/probability/possibility/capability/suggestion'
al	'not'
a:yirru	'completive'
iṭu	'completive/certainty'
iru	'perfective/stative/suppositional/durative'
il	'no/not'
uḷ	'perfective' etc.
oḷi	'riddance/contemptive'
kil	'to be able/capacity'
ku:ṭum	'probability' etc.
koṇṭiru	'durative/progressive'
koḷ	'reflexive'
cey	'causative'
ṭakum	'appropriative'
ṭaḷḷu	'riddance/impatience' etc.
tolai	'riddance/contemptive'
nil	'stative'

paṭu	'passive'
paṇṇu	'causative'
pa:r	'attemptive'
peṟu	'passive'
po:.	'completive'
po:ṭu	'completive/[improper]'
ma:ṭṭu	'negative'
muṭi val	'capacity'
va:	'durative'/[habituality]
viṭu	'completive'
ve:ṇṭum	'obligative'
vai	'causative/future benefactive'

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14

On the Semantic Properties of *Vinaiyeccam*[*]

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What I want to do in this essay is explore the grammatical properties of two members of the verbal category known within the Tamil grammatical tradition as *vinaiyeccam* in order to discover what they contribute to the meaning of the sentences in which they appear. The category *vinaiyeccam* embraces a variety of verbal complements. I will concentrate my efforts on an analysis of the contrast between the infinitive and the adverbial participle, the foremost exemplars of this category. A structuralist theory of verbal categories (Jakobson, 1971) treats this morphological contrast as manifesting an opposition between two members of the category of *mood*: modal versus indicative verbal forms. I will then attempt to recast in the explicit mold of Montague Grammar (Montague, 1974) my analysis of the semantics of verbal complementation, paying close attention to the conditions under which the *extension* of a complement clause may be taken from its *intension*. This essay concludes with a brief discussion of the possibility of directly associating semantic rules with unmarked verb forms.

The term *vinaiyeccam* refers to a set of verbal forms that includes the infinitive, the adverbial participle, the conditional and others[1]. What

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all members of the category of *vinaiyeccam* share in common is that they lack oppositions of tense, person, number and gender; that they are subordinate verb forms incapable of constituting a complete predication by themselves; and that they must combine with other expressions to form a coherent sentence. The word *vinaiyeccam*, formed from compounding *vinai* 'verb, action' with *eccam* 'deficit, remainder', means "a (verb) form that is deficient in a *vinai*" or "a (verb) form that combines with a *vinai*." Our analysis of *vinaiyeccam* depends on whether we interpret *vinai* as a morphological, a syntactic, or a semantic label. Consider the sentences below in which *vinaiyeccam* combine with a variety of linguistic expressions,

1(a) pa?mpu kaṭittu-p paiyaṉ ceṭṭu-p po:ṉa:ṉ.
snake bite-avp boy die-avp go-pst-3sgM
'The snake bite the boy and he died.'

(b) avaṉ vantu viṭṭa:ṉ.
he come-avp leave-pst-3sgM
'He did come.'

(c) kavalai-p paṭṭu eṉṉa payaṉ?
worry befall-avp what use
'What use is worrying?'

2(a) eytavaṉ ırukka amp-ai no:va:ṉ-e:ṉ?
archer be-inf arrow-acc blame-why
'Why blame the arrow when the archer is there?'

(b) kamala: pa:ṭa caro:ja: a:ṭiṉa:l.
kamala sing-inf saroja dance-past 3sgF
'While Kamala sang, Saroja danced.'

(c) na:ṉ avaṉ-ai vara-c coṉṉe:ṉ.
I he-acc come-inf tell-pst-1sg
'I told him to come.'

(d) eṅke: po:ka?
where go-inf
'Where is one to go?

3(a) makaṉ poy coṉṉa:l amma: aṭippa:l.
son lie say-cond mother beat-fut-3 sgF
'If the son lies, the mother will beat him.'

(b) na:ṉ coṉṉa:l avaṉ ke:ṭṭa:l ta:ṉe:
I say-cond he listen-cond only-emp
'If only he listened when I spoke!'

The adverbial participle may combine with a full clause (1a), with an auxiliary verb (1b) or with a predicate nominal. The infinitive combines with a variety of clauses (2a) through (2c), but is also capable of standing alone (2d). The conditional verb form accompanies the protasis of a conditional sentence and, under normal circumstances, combines with an apodosis (3a); however, as (3b) illustrates, a conditional may combine with another conditional or with an emphatic quantifier. Both (2d) and (3a) are *indirect speech acts* that seem to arise through the neutralization of the categories of *manner* and *status* (Aronson 1977); thus we will not weigh their potential contribution to the invariant meaning of the members of *vinaiyeccam*. Of the remaining sentences all save (1c) combine with morphological verbs: we might try to assimilate (1c) to the remainder by invoking a rule that deletes an underlying verb present in its underlying structure. However, Benveniste (1966) cautions us against the pitfalls of equating nominal sentences with verbal sentences (contrast Montague's translation of *be* with his translation of the category of intransitive verbs)

vinai, and consequently *vinaiyeccam*, may be treated either as a morphological or a syntactic entity If we follow the latter course, we can characterize *vinaiyeccam* as the class of subordinate verbs and complementizers. If, however, we view *vinaiyeccam* as a morphological category, we can express the recursive nature of these verb forms and keep our definition of the category neutral with respect to a definition of the term predicate and with respect to the rules governing the distribution of finite and non-finite verbs. Indeed, Tamil grammarians treat *vinaiyeccam* as combining with a *verb-stem*, separating thereby the issues of subordination and finiteness. Consider the following sentence in which several *vinaiyeccam* appear.

(4) avaṉ eḻuntu iruntu pal viḻakki ka:ppi ca:ppiṭṭu
he rise-avp be-avp teeth shine-avp coffee eat-avp

viṭṭu ve:laikku-p po:ka a:rampitta:ṉ.
leave-avp work-dat go-inf start-pst-3sgM

'Getting up, he brushed his teeth, drank down his coffee, started to go to work.'

Although sentence (4) contains six *vinaiyeccam*, they are partitioned among three syntactic functions: subordinate main verb, auxiliary verb and complement of an aspectual verb. For the time being, we shall consider *vinaiyeccam* to be subordinate verb forms that combine with following verb-stems. They are opposed to the class of *peyareccam* which are subordinate verb forms that combine with nouns (i.e. they are adjectival participles) and which, unlike *vinaiyeccam*, are marked for oppositions of tense.[2]

Let me briefly discuss the conditional, if only to put it aside. Of the three major members of *vinaiyeccam*, the conditional lends itself most readily to semantic analysis: we may treat the conditional form as a surface manifestation of the logical connective familiarly known as material implication. We may also circumscribe the syntactic properties of conditional clauses: one subordinate clause (the protasis) always combines with a main clause (the apodosis). While the analysis of conditional sentences, particularly counter-factuals, is not free from difficulties, we may define the scope of research more easily for conditionals than for the infinitive of the adverbial participle. Setting the conditional aside, we proceed to analyse the infinitive and the adverbial participle in Jakobson's framework of verbal categories.

Jakobson (1971) adumbrates a theory of verbal categories that embodies the structuralist insight that the diverse elements of a language cohere as a system. Each element of a language is simultaneously distinguished from all other elements and bound to them via a system of oppositions that constitute a grammatical hierarchy. Jakobson distinguishes four primary aspects of a message that figure as building-blocks of a language: a speech event (E^s), an narrated event (E^n), the participants in

a speech event (P^s), and the participants in a narrated event (P^n). Aspects of any message may be characterized by a single building-block or by combination of two or more building-blocks. For example, P^n characterizes the participants in the narrated event without reference to the speech event: it embraces the familiar categories of *gender* (the quality of the participants) and *number* (the quantity of the participants); on the other hand P^n/P^p relates the participants of the narrated event to those of the speech event: it denotes the category of *person*. Any narrated event involves a verb, but, as we shall see, not every verb corresponds to a distinct event (E^n). The opppsitions that appear in these categories are privatively marked: while the marked member of an opposition denotes the presence of a certain property A, the unmarked member denotes its absence; hence, the unmarked value is not inconsistent with the marked.

What position do the infinitive and the adverbial participle hold in the system of Tamil verbal categories? Neither is opposed for tense, person, number or gender and, therefore, neither involve p^s or p^e. Both necessarily involve E^n, but, as we shall argue below, do not make crucial reference to E^s.

Let us now scrutinize the grammatical contexts in which the infinitive can appear in order to adduce its invariant meaning. Notions of temporality, causality, and purpose are often associated with the infinitive.

5 (a) nel viḷaiya maḷai peytatu.
paddy result-inf rain rain-pst-3sgN
'Rain fell in order for the paddy to grow.'

(b) maḷai peyya nel viḷaintatu.
rain rain-inf paddy result-pst-3sgN
'The rain fell and (as a result) the paddy grew.'

(c) teyvattiṉ aruḷ kiṭaikka-k kaviñar
god-gen grace obtain-inf poet
uṇarcciyuṭaṉ pa:ṭiṉa:r
emotion-soc si ng-pst-3sgH
'The poet sang with emotion to obtain god's grace.'/'The poet, having obtained god's grace, sang with emotion.'

(d) makaṉ kallu:rikku-c cella appa: vayalil pa:ṭupaṭṭa:r
son college-dat go-inf father field-loc toil-pst-3sgH

'The father toiled in the fields in order for his son to go to college.'/'His son having gone to college, the father toiled in the field.'

(e) ceṅkai piṭittu maṇam ceyto:rum pa:rttirukka-k
fair hand take-avp marry-pst-ajp watch-avp-be-inf

koṅkai piṭittiḻukkum ko:ma:ṉe:
breast take-avp-pull-ajp king-voc (Ku:ḷappa na:yakkaṉ viṟali viṭutu:tu)

'O King, who tugged at the breasts of her whose husband looked helplessly on.'

(f) ka:kka: uṭka:ra-p paṉampaḻam viḻuntatu.
crow sit-inf palmyra fruit fall-pst-3sgN
'The crow sat (on the tree) and the fruit of the palmyra fell.'

Inspection of sentences with infinitives reveals that the time reference of the infinitival clause may be prior to (5b), posterior to (5a), or simultaneous with (5e), (2b) with that of the clause to which it is subordinated. The pair of sentences (5a) and (5b) strongly suggest that notions of temporality are to be excluded from the invariant meaning of infinitive[3]. Note that while some sentences, such as *na:n avanai-p pa:rkka vante:n* 'I came to see him,' have infinitives that convey a purposive or causal meaning, many others. such as (2b), (2c). (5b), (5f), cannot sustain such a meaning, requiring an interpretation of coincidence.

A verb often appears in the infinitive when embedded under a modal verb, an auxiliary verb or a negative morpheme.

6 (a) eṉṉa:l po:ka muṭiyum.
I-instr go-inf be able-fut
'I am able to go.' i.e. 'I can go.'

(b) ni: po:ka ve:ṇṭum.
you go-inf must-fut
'You must go'.

(c) aval makaṉai-k ka:ppi a:ṟṟa-c ceyta:ḷ.
she son-acc coffee cool-inf make-pst-3sgF
'She made her son cool the coffee'.

(d) ni: vi:ṭṭukku veḷiye: po:ka ma:ṭṭa:y.
you-sg house-dat outside go-inf neg-fut-2sg
'you will not go outside of the house'.

(e) ra:maṉ kaṇṇaṉa:l aṭikka-p paṭṭa:ṉ.
Raman Kannan-instr beat-inf befall-pst-3sgM
'Raman was beaten by Kannan'.

The modal verbs *muṭiyum* 'be able' and *ve:ṇṭum* 'must' require infinitival complements Periphrastic causation (6c) and negation both require the embedded verb to assume the infinitival form: both appear to partake of modality in some measure, suggesting why they harmonize with infinitives. In (be), the passive transformation has applied and inserted the passive auxiliary *paṭa* 'befall'; the verb, *aṭikka*, which would have borne the affixes for tense, person, number and gender had passive not applied, appears in the infinitive. The infinitive appears in the complements of verbs of wishing, ordering, beginning, and others.

The infinitive may function as a part of speech other than a verbal complement. In a phrase such as *kuṭikka-t taṇṇi:r* 'water to drink' i.e. 'drinking water', the infinitive serves as an adjective. The adverbial participle cannot function so. Infinitives such as *mika* 'be excessive', *niṟaiya* 'be full' and *niṟampa* (colloquial,*ṟompa*) 'be full' may serve as adverbs. Finally the infinitive *a:ka* 'become' may serve as a complementizer. Lastly, as evidenced by sentence (2d), the infinitive may serve as a full predicate. These grammatical facts conspire towards one conclusion: the infinitive is the least marked verbal form of the Tamil verbal system.

The adverbial participle occurs in three syntactically distinct frames : in compound clauses (7a), in descriptive compounds (7b) and in aspectual compounds (7c).

7(a) ra:ttiri po:y pakal vantatu
night go avp day come-pst-3sgN
'Night departed and day came'.

(b) avaṉ iṅke: naṭantu varukiṟa:ṉ.
he here walk-avp come-pres-3sgM
'He' s walking here.' i.e. 'He' s coming here by walking.'

(c) na:ṉ aintu to:cai ca:ppiṭṭu viṭṭe:ṉ.
I five dosai eat-avp leave-pst-1sg
'I ate up five dosais.'

While some might claim that the adverbial participle makes covert reference to the category P^n by imposing a same-subject constraint on the clauses that flank an adverbial participle, examples (1a) and (7a) show that this position is untenable : the adverbial participle does not involve either P^n or P^s. Despite the fact that the adverbial participle is built on the past stem, it is not opposed for tense, and may signal actions that are prior to (7a) or simultaneous with (7b) the action of the main clause. It seems incapable of signalling an action that is posterior to the action of the clause under which it is embedded. Unlike the infinitive, it is always subordinate and may never serve as an adjective. Even though the adverbial participle fails to paritcipate in many of the oppositions present in the system of Tamil verbal categories, the fact that its distribution is more restricted than that of the infinitive compells us to factor out the exact parameter according to which the two verb forms contrast.

Consider the following pairs of sentences, in which one member contains an infinitive while the other contains an adverbial participle.

8 (a) maḻai peytu nel viḻaintatu.
rain rain-avp paddy result-pst-3sgN
'Having rained (or raining) the paddy grew.'

(b) maḻai peyya nel viḻaintatu.
rain rain-inf paddy result-pst-3sgN
'It rained and the paddy grew.'

9 (a) pattu aṭikka-p pattu nimiṣam irukkiṟatu.
ten strike-inf ten minute be-pres-3sg
'It is ten minutes before ten o'clock.'

(b) pattu aṭittu-p pattu nimiṣam a:yiṟṟu.
ten strike-avp ten minute become-pst-3sg
'It is ten minutes after ten o'clock.'

10(a) oru to:cai ca:ppiṭa-p pa:rtta:*n*.
one dosai eat-inf see pst-3sgM
'He tried to eat a dosai (but couldn't).'

(b) oru to:cai ca:ppiṭṭu-p pa:rtta:*n*.
one dosai eat-avp see-pst-3sgM
'He tried a dosai (and saw what it was like).'

11(a) co:*l*ar inta na:ṭṭai a:*ṇ*ṭu vanta:rkaḷ
Cholas this land-acc rule-avp come-pst-3pl
'The Cholas were ruling this land.'

b co:*l*ar inta na:ṭṭai a:ḷa vanta:rkaḷ.
Cholas this land-acc rule-inf come-pst-3pl
'The Cholas came (in order) to rule this land.'

While no tangible contrast accompanies the pair in (8), the other pairs evoke striking differences in conveyed import: intuitively, the contrast between the infinitive and the adverbial participle calls forth the distinction between the *potential* and the *actual*.

I contend that the contrast between the infinitive and the adverbial participle is expressive of the verbal category of *mood*: the infinitive is the least marked *modal* verb form while the adverbial participle is the least marked *indicative* verb form. I adopt Aronson's refinement (Aronson 1977) of Golab's (1964) definition of mood: "The verbal mood may be defined as a grammatical category expressing the ontological evaluation of the process denoted by a given verb." This category exhibits two main sub-divisions: "The opposition here is between indicative and non-indicative, where the latter characterizes all modal forms that do not denote a real process." Mood characterizes the quality of the process in the narrated event (E^n) while aspect characterizes the quantity of that process: both are subdivisions of the category of *manner* which characterizes E^n without special reference to either the qualitative or quantitative aspects. For the system of Tamil verbal categories, the modal (non-indicative) is the unmarked member of the opposition modal versus indicative; hence, the modal infinitive is the least marked verb form of the entire system of verbal categories. A proper analysis of mood in Tamil underpins the analyses of other grammatical phenomena: the so-called future

tense, for example, is a modal form which functions as the habitual verb form even with past time reference. The past and present, on the other hand, are indicative verb forms: thus the use of the present for the future carries greater ontological commitment and certainty than the so-called future tense does. The quantifiers *-o:* and *-a:vatu* 'some, any' respond to nuances of mood: it is unmarked for *-o:* to occur in indicative contexts and unmarked for *-a:vatu* to occur in modal contexts (here construed broadly enough to include negation and interrogation).

The contrast between the infinitive and the adverbial participle expresses neither the category of *taxis* (E^n/E^n) nor that of *status* (E^n/P^s). In auxiliary compounds neither the infinitive (6a) nor the adverbial participle (7b) denôtes an event that is distinct from the event denoted by the whole compound. Benveniste (1974:177) argues that an auxiliary compound is" . . . une forme linguistique unitaire qui se réalise, a travers des paradigmes entiers, en deux élèments, dont chacun assume une partie des fonctions grammaticales . . . " Thus we cannot impute reference to another narrated event to the invariant meaning of these two verb forms. One need not consult the participants in the speech event (P^s) to interpret either verb form: they present objective evaluation of the ontological status of the narrated event rather than subjective evaluations (as does the so-called 'hearsay' particle *-a:m* 'it is said'.) Both verb forms belong to the category of manner (E^n); however, since both taxis (E^n/E^n) and status (E^n/P^s) include E^n as a component part, it comes as no surprise that they often appear to inherit facets of the category of manner (E^n). My analysis of the adverbial participle as the least marked verb form of the indicative does not contradict Lindholm's (1975) contention that the invariant meaning of the adverbial participle is "natural relevance" but seeks to make precise that very notion by embedding it within the hierarchy of oppositions that make up the verbal categories of modern Tamil. The use of the indicatively marked adverbial participle in aspectual and descriptive compounds follows from the fact that these compounds treat the internal structure of events and processes. The modal nature of the infinitive (see Benveniste 1974:189) suits it to the modal contexts in (6). The infinitive expresses the unmarked member of the opposition of mood: modal versus indicative. Because the modal (i.e. the non indicative) is unmarked with respect to the indicative, it is also consistent with the meaning of the indicative: the use of a modal does not preclude the application of the

assertion in which it appears to the real world. However, the availability of the indicative makes that use otiose, except in contexts of neutralization. Mood, the qualifier of the E^c, is opposed to aspect, the quantifier of the E^a: since mood is indifferent to notions of internal temporal constituency of E^a, it may be taken as the unmarked member of the opposition, and, therefore, as the basic representative of the category of manner (E^a). Since all verb forms necessarily refer to E^a, the infinitive is the least marked member of the entire verbal system and, in consequence of its negative definition, has no intrinsic invariant meaning. We shall henceforth view the adverbial participle as the least marked verb form of the indicative sub-system in the set of Tamil verbal categories. The infinitive is the least marked verb form of the modal sub-system in Tamil and, due to the privative nature of the modal versus indicative opposition, the least marked verb form in Tamil.

While we have precipitated out the invariant meanings of the infinitive and adverbial participle, we have not indicated how these isolated meanings combine with the meanings of the other linguistic expressions with which they enter into construction. Both are verb forms which are simultaneously subordinated to main clause verbs and are part and parcel of the subordinate clause. How do the meanings of these expressions link up with the meanings of other expressions?

The program of logico-linguistic analysis known as Montague Grammer (Montague, 1974) provides the means with which to pose this question. In this theory. syntactic analysis and semantic interpretation go hand in hand: each syntactic expression appears with a translation into intensional logic that may be evaluated in a semantic model. This allows us to get at the specific contribution to semantic representation made by syntactic structures smaller than a sentence and to maintain Frege's insight that the meaning of an entire expression derives from the meaning of its component parts. The meaning of a linguistic expression is conceived of as a function which associates that expression to its denotation; sentences, for example, denote truth-values while noun phrases denote entities[4]. The denotation of an intransitive verb phrase is a composite function which associates the verb phrase to an ordered pair that is composed of an entity and a truth-value : the meaning of a verb phrase tells us the entities to which we can truly apply the verb phrase. To capture the meaning of an

expression we often need to know not only the denotation it has in the actual world but also the denotation it has in any possible world: the notion of possible world is made explicit in model theory. Consider the following sentences.

12 (a) John is looking for a unicorn.

(b) John is looking for a minotaur.

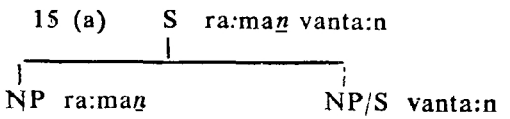
13 (a) This animal has a heart.

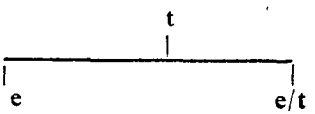
(b) This animal has a kidney.

Note that in (12) neither a unicorn nor a minotaur exist in the actua world: the denotation of both is the empty set, but the two differ in cognitive meaning. Note that in the actual world (13a) and (13b) pick out exactly the same animals: but this does not mean that hearts are the same as kidneys. We can conceive of worlds or possible states of affairs which contain unicorns; thus, in this other world (12a) will be true if there is a horse-like animal with one horn in the middle of its forehead. John will be satisfied if he finds this but not a man's body carrying the head of a bull. A special type of function, called an *intension* gives the denotation of an expression in any possible world in the model. When we evaluate an expression's intension at a particular possible world call this function the *extension* of expression X at world j. Thus, although (12a) and (12b) have the same extension in the real world, namely the empty set, they have different intensions that express the difference in cognitive meaning. Consider the following sentences.

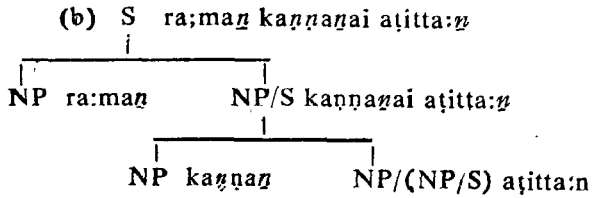
14 (a) ra:maṉ vanta:n. (b) ra:maṉ kaṉṉaṉai aṭitta:ṉ.

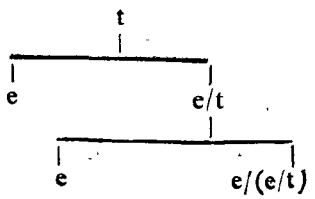
15 (a)





(b)





In this simplified version of Montague grammar there are two basic syntactic categories; noun phrase (NP) and sentence (S). In addition, there are an infinite number of derived categories with the general form a/b which names that category which combines with a member of category a to form a member of category b: a + (a/b) = b. Thus, an intransitive verb phrase belongs to the category of expressions labelled NP/S: those expressions which combine with a NP to form a S. Transitive verbs, such as *aṭikka* in (13b) belong to the category labelled NP/(NP/S), those expressions which combine with NPs to form intransitive verb-phrases (of category NP/S). Note that on this view both *uṇṭa:n* in (13a) and *kaṇṇanai atitta:n* in (13b) belong to the same syntactic category, that of intransitive verb (NP/S). Note further that this system has no primitive category of verb to which both transitive verbs (NP/(NP/S)) and intransitive verbs (NP/S) belong. The letter *e* denotes an entity while the letter *t* denotes a truth-value: *e* is associated with NPs and *t* with Ss. Again, an infinite number of derivative categories may be built up out of finite means: the category e/t is associated with intransitive verb phrases and denotes a function which has as its value an ordered pair made up of an entity and a truth-value. An intension is a function that associates possible worlds with the functions composed from *e* and *t*. The most general way of combining expressions in Montague grammar is through the rule known as *functional application* which has a syntactic and a semantic part. The syntactic part concatenates two expressions and combines them thus: a + (a/b) yields b. Let the meaning of a be X and let the meaning of b be Y: the combined function is $X(^{\cup}Y)$, that is, the function X acts as a predicate which takes the *intension* of Y ($^{\cup}Y$) as its argument. Consider the following sentence.

(14) John wants to marry a Swede

Sentence (14) has two readings: a *de re* reading (extensional) in which there is a specific Swede who John wants to marry and a *de dicto* reading (intensional) in which there is no specific person whom John wishes to marry, but whoever he does marry must be a Swede. Montague treated NPs in subject position as extensional while NPs in object position could be either extensional (*de re* reading) or intensional (*de dicto* reading) Since it was Montague's general policy that the arguments of functions be inten-

sional he provided meaning postulates that allowed one to take an extension from an intension if the verb of which the object was predicated belonged to a class of extensional verbs. This class would include *hit, love, marry* and exclude *seek, conceive, believe that S* and others

Now consider the infinitive and the adverbial participle: both are subordinate verb forms which belong to the category S/(NP/S) or the category (NP/S)/(NP/S): that is, expressions which combine either with intransitive verb phrases or sentences to form intransitive verb phrases. Thomason (1975) proposes a general category of AB/AB, that is, the category that combines with the semantic type of abstracts to form abstracts (where AB is short-hand for a function definable in terms of entities, truth-values, and worlds). What happens semantically is that the main clause verb's denotation function takes the intension of the subordinate clause's denotation function. This is the equivalent of a meaning-preserving transformation in transformational grammar. My guess is that the infinitive is a pure instance of the rule of functional application: it adds nothing extra to the meaning of the denotation function. I would like to claim that the adverbial participle is also associated with the rule of functional application but that it then permits the application of a meaning postulate that allows us to take the extension of the subordinate clause's denotation function. This meaning postulate would not accompany infintives. Thus, for the adverbial participle, the intension would always be evaluated at one world: the actual world as designated within the model. As Karttunen (1976) has indicated informally, the world which is designated as the actual world may change throughout a discourse. Thus, if one world is designated as the actual world in a given model (see Dowty 1978, Part I) we can express the notion of indicative (the actual world, so designated in the model) versus modal (any possible world in the model-including the designated actual world).

In Montague's system, the class of verbs that triggered the intension-to-extension meaning postulate was arbitrarily determined: the Tamil data suggest a principle whereby we may predict when a verb allows the application of this meaning-postulate. All verbs which necessarily require a complement structure will have objects with intensional readings. They may be verbs which can be lexically decomposed such as *seek = try to find*

or verbs which are not amenable to such lexical decomposition but which require sentential object complements such as *believe, know, conceive, want.* The task at hand is to determine which verbs permit the application of the intension-to-extension meaning postulate. Factive verbs, which may or may not lexically incorporate the head noun *the fact* from the object complement, will trigger this rule. Certain verbs such as *know*, but not others such as *believe*, will range over the actual world as designated in the model. In Tamil, the adverbial participle, or more precisely that semantic information which conditions the occurence of the adverbial participle such as aspect, will trigger the application of the rule that evaluates the intension of the subordinate clause expression at the designated actual world. These are no more than the broad outlines of a program of research to unfold the mysteries of the semantic properties of complement structures in Tamil. However vague this proposal may be it poses the important task of defining the conditions under which the intension of an expression is to be evaluated at the actual world in terms that are both general and linguistically significant. If we can adequately define that class of verbs and complement constructions that permit the application of this meaning postulate we will be able to define the traditional distinction of modal versus indicative explicitly and reconcile a logical theory with a theory of natural language.

Due to its unmarked nature, one might attempt to link the semantic rule of functional application directly to the morphological form of the infinitive. It is not clear that one could dispense with specifying a syntactic category (or scheme of categories) for the infinitive. As Mc–Cawley (1979) has noted the separation of morphology and syntactic structures in Montague Grammar is an important task: one that poses the question of the individuation of rules and the issue of the nature of a possible rule of natural language. If such separation is possible and if the semantics of the infinitive and adverbial participle can be defined in the meta language of Montague Grammar, we will be one step closer to a reconstruction of the notion *vinaiyeccam* in an explicit logical model of language.

Notes

1. I will discuss only Modern Tamil *vinaiyeccam* and will leave out discussion of forms such as the verbal noun and dative case which traditionally count as vinaiyeccam.

2. Aronson (1977) observes the correlation of indicative categories in Bulgarian with verb forms built on the *past* stem.

3. K. Paramasivam has come to the conclusion that the infinitive lacks marking for tense indepedently. This is to be found in his manuscript *Trends in Modern Tamil.* I have used his examples in (5) because they are more felicitous than my originals.

4. I have greatly simplified this treatment of Montague Grammar. NPs are not directly correlated with *e* but with a composite function in which *e* figures as a sub-part. See Dowty (1978) for a clear exposition of Montague Grammar.

Abbreviations

acc-accusative; adj-adjectival participle; -avp -adverbial participle; cond-conditional; dat-dative case; emp-emphatic; fut-future; inf-infinitive; instru-instrumental; loc-locative; neg-negative; pres-present; pst- past; soc-sociative; sup-supine; voc-vocative; 3sgM-third person, singular, masculine.

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15

A Note on *Untu* Verbal *

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It is generally believed that *untu* ending verbs occur only in Puṟana:nu:ṟu. But the *-untu* verb is found even in the language of *Iṉṉilai*. An attempt is made here to present a brief account of *untu* ending verb figuring in *Iṉṉilai*.

Tolka:ppiyar (Col.Ce:na,249) groups different types of affixes and particles in Iṭaiyiyal of Collatika:ram and identifies them as *iṭaiccols*. Having made a general statement and enumerated the various types of *iṭaiccols* in the prefatory verses he (Tol. Col. Ce:na:, 292) says that there are instances where *um* may also become *untu*.

Evidently, all the commentators cite examples from Puṟana:ṉu:ṟu for the statement made by Tolka:ppiyar. i.e,, for the modification of *um* into *untu*. Ce:ṉa:varaiyar (Tol. Col. 292) and Nacciṉa:rkkiṉiyar (Tol. Col, 194) treat this *um* as the termination of the *ceyyum* pattern relative participles. In an old commentary of Puṟana:ṉu:ṟu it is indicated that the *untu* ending verbs function only as relative participle. Tolka:ppiyar does not

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consider the termination *untu* either as the termination of finite verbs or as non-finite verbs. However he treats the form *um* from which *untu* is derived, as a particle denoting number.[1] The grammarian Pavaṇanti (Nannu:l, Arumuga Navalar Commentary, 341) unambiguolsy states that *um* of the relative participle of *ceyyum* pattern might also change into *untu*.

With regard to the characteristics of *untu* ending verbs a few later-day scholiasts and scholars have advocated divergent views. K.N. Sivaraja Pillai (1929: 46-50) does not consider *untu* as formed from the suffix *um*, but treats it as a demonstrative like *anta* and *inta* (as a full word) or as a demonstrative used with verbs to denote present tense. After a detailed study, he assigns predicative function to *-untu* verbals occurring in Puṟana:ṉu:ṟu. M. Varadarajan (1954: 213-215) says tha-*untu* is a combination of two morphemes, i.e., *um* and *tu*. R. Kothandaraman (1972: 221-232) quite interestingly derives the spoken verbals of *ceyyutn* type from *ceyyuntu* verbals involving *untu*. M. Israel (1977: 69-83) comes to the conclusion that the *untu* verbs are neuter singular participial nouns.

Let us now consider the *untu* ending verbal noticed in the language of *Iṉṉiali*.[2] The verse where the *-untu* verbal occurs in *Innilai* is reproduced below.

oṟṟuṇṭe: maṟṟuṭaliṟ paṟṟi vinaiyiṟukkum
poṉṟa: uṇarva:l vilaṅkoṟukka paimmaṟiya:t
taṉpa:l *peyarkkuntu* paṟṟu talaippaṭṭo:r
naṉpa:l aṟinta:r tuṟanta:r varaluynta:r
puṉpa:laṟ cuṟṟappaṭa:r (Iṉṉilai: 45)

A close examination of this verse reveals that the form *peyarkkuntu* functions as relative participle followed by the head noun *paṟṟutaloipaṭṭo:r*. In short it can be pointed out here that there is no possibility of treating the verbal *peyarkkuntu* either as a finite verb or as a participial noun.

The functional status of *-untu* verbal in *Innilai* enables us to conclude that there is a possibility to reinterpret the function of *untu* verbals occurring in Puṟana:ṉu:ṟu. Further there is a likelihood for advancing the date of Iṉṉilai, i. e., probably it may come nearer to

Puṟana:ṉu:ṟu. These observations may possibly lead to undertake further study in this field.

Notes

1. Tolka:paıyar does not include the sutra that deals with this change inViṉaiyiyal but discusses it in Iṭaiyiyal while discussing the particle denoting number.
2. *Iṉṉilai*, which belongs to the post-Sangam period is a small work containing forty five verses.

Abbreviation

Ce:na: = Ce:na:varaiyar; Col = Collatika:ram; Tol = Tolka:ppiyam.

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16

A Discussion on Nominal Negation In Tamil and a case for -tu as a Negative Suffix *

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1.0. Introduction

Negative in verb is a well-established fact in Tamil. It is one of the main areas of study in Tamil research. It has been descriptively, historically and comparatively analysed by various scholars at various times. But the case is different for nouns. That the Dravidian noun (and therefore the Tamil noun) has no negative morphology either inflectionally or derivationally is a dictum in research world. Hence no necessity arises for the students of research to approach nouns for this purpose. That is there are no such pairs like English *justice* × *injustice*' *capacity* × *incapacity*, *ability* × *inability*, *courage* × *discourage* in its native vocabulary as there are some pairs like *ni:ti* × *ani:ti* 'justice × injustice' *yo:kkiyaṉ* × *ayo:kkiyaṉ* 'good person × worst fellow', *ka:lattil* × *aka:lattil* 'in time × untime' in its borrowed vocabulary. The purpose of this small paper is only to initiate a discussion in this particular unvisited area. Another aim of the researcher is to bring to the notice of the scholars a case for the existence of negative suffix (with the help of three nouns.)

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* This paper was presented in the Seminar on Tamil Linguistics held in Annamalai University from 15th to 17th March, 1980.

2 0 Certain preliminary remarks:

About negation in nouns, the Tamil grammar offers the following details.

2.1. Like all other natural languages, Tamil too has certain antonyms as evidenced below.

1(a)	naṉmi	'good	X	ti:mai	'evil'
(b)	iṉpam	'pleasure'	X	tuṉpam	'suffering'
(c)	uṇmai	'existence'	X	iṇmai	non-existence'
(d)	aṟam	'virtue'	X	maṟam	'non-virtue'

2.2. Each language uses certain word-forms to impart the negative sense to the other words. For example *less* is such a word-form in English and it is used in such words *fearless, merciless* etc, for this purpose. Similarly, Tamil uses *kuṟai* 'less', *citaivu* 'spoilt condition', ke:ṭu 'destroyed state' to negate certain nominal forms. In short. any word with the sense 'diminishing, perishing' etc, can take this role.

2(a)	pukaḷ	'fame'	X	pukaḷ-k-kuṟai	'infamy'
(b)	ma:ṉam	'respect'	X	ma:ṉa-k-kuṟaivu	'disrespect'
(c)	ma:ṉam	'respect'	X	ma:na-naṣṭam	'disrespect'
(d)	kuṇam	'nobility'	X	kuṇa-k-ke:ṭu kuṇa-k-ke:ṭ-aṉ	'lack of nobility' 'ignoble preson'
(e)	nampikkai 'trust'		X	nampikkai t-turo:kam	'breach of trust

2.3. Apart from the above words, Tamil uses the negative words *il* 'no' and *al* 'not' also to negate both nouns and verbs. The derived forms *alum, iṉmai* and *ili* are also in use for this purpose. Notice the following examples.

3(a)	neṟi	'proper path'	X	al-neṟi	'improper path'
(b)	aṟam	'virtue'	X	al-aṟam	'non-virtue'
4	ko:lam	'order'	X	alam-ko:lam	'disorder'

5(a) aṉpu 'kindness' X anp-iṉmai 'cruelty'
(b) aruḷ 'compassion' X aruḷ-iṉmai 'non-compassion'
(c) naːṇ 'modesty' X naːṇ-iṉmai 'lack of modesty'
(d) oḻuṅku 'order' X 'oḻuṅk-inmai 'out of order'

6(a) kaṇ 'eye' X kaṇṇ-ili 'the person without eye-sight'
(b) payam 'usefulness' X payam-ili 'uselessness'
(c) poṟi 'fortune' X poṟi-y-ili 'unfortunate person'

As the negatable senses and the negative meanings are present in the forms themselves, the use of such forms becomes one of the sources in languages for negation. (For the sake of reference, they may be called negativiser-words. The forms *kuṟai*, *keːḍu* are partial negativiser-words; the forms *il* and *al* are full negativiser-words.

2. 4. The comparison of Tamil with English shows that source-possession is one thing and the mode of source-utilisation is another thing. Though both the languages possess the source the source-utilisation is maximum in English but minimum in Tamil. The source is used freely and productively in English whereas it is limited to a very few forms in literary Tamil and is not at all used in spoken Tamil. The operation of these forms in actual usage seems to be very low and restricted in Tamil.

2. 5. **Negativiser-words and their two-way behaviour**

In the examples *less power, less use, less money,* the form *less* is used as a word. A comparison with the forms *more power, more use, more money* shows clearly the word-like behaviour of the form *less*. In *less use* etc., *less* has a separate existence; it does not become part of the word. But in *powerless, useless* etc., *less* is not a separate word but only part of the word. Here it has the grammatical role of negativisation and not the lexical one.

7(a) more power X less power
(b) more useful X less useful

8(a) power-less X powerlessly
(b) use-less X use-less-ly, use-less-ness

In both the senses, *less* is used in English extensively. English seems to be very flexible and free in its movement from word-to-morpheme status. This freedom and this flexbility seem to be less in Tamil system. In Tamil, the negativiser-words behave more like lexicals rather than grammaticals. In *poruḷ-iṉmai* 'without money', *viːṭ-iṉmai* 'without house' *viḷakk-iṉmai* 'without light', *iṉmai* seems more to be a member of the compound rather than a part of the word. The pairs *poruḷ-uṭaimai* 'the possession of money' X *poruḷ-iṉmai* 'without money', *uːkkam-uṭaimai* 'possession of courage' X *uːkkam-iṉmai* 'without courage' may be the good examples for the Tamil students to understand the word like behaviour of *iṉmai*. But in ancient Tamil Texts, the same *iṉmai* has a grammatical role in a few forms. For example, in *naːṉiṉmai ceyteːn*, *naːṉ-iṉmai* means only tmmodesty' but not 'without modesty' Similarly *aruḷ-iṉmai* in certain conexts means 'without love' but in certain other contexts it means 'cruelty'. In Tamil, lexically, the negativiser-words can be used extensively but grammatically only occasionally. In a very few words like *alam-koːlam* 'disorder' the negativiser-words are used to get a noun negativised derivationally' That is, Tamil has only phrases or compounds with negativiser-words and in course of time, a few such combinations have attained word-status, due to some other special reasons. Due to this behaviour towards the negation, Tamil has to borrow the Sanskrit negative form *a-niːti* 'injustice' along with the form *niːti* 'justice'. It could not produce a negative form from the word *niːti* in its own way. The comparison

(9) niːti — [a-niːti 'injustice' ; niːti-y-iṉmai 'without justice']

will bring out the clear contrast between the Sanskrit way and Tamil way. Both Sanskrit and English have a well-developed system of negative derivation whereas Tamil seems to have no such thing in its linguistic system. But it is so only with reference to nouns. In verbs, Tamil has a well developed negative system.

2 6 . Negation : Verbs Vs Nouns

In negation, Tamil presents a case for an inter-category contrast also. The two categories Noun and Verb have maintained extremely two

different positions in their negative rules. In nouns, as shown above, the negation rule can produce only a handful of forms; but in verbs, the negation rule can operate on all forms. The very words *il* and *al* which have a very limited place in nominal negation are in full force in verb morphology, especially of Sangam Tamil. In the forms *vant-il-aṉ* 'he did not come', *kaṇṭ-il-aṉ* 'he did not see', *keːṭṭ-il-aṉ* 'he did not ask' the negativiser word *il* is used as part of the word i.e., grammatically used. Similarly in the forms *vaːr-al-aṉ* 'he does not come', *kaːṇ-al-aṉ* 'he does not see', *mara v-al* 'do not forget', *vaːr-al* 'do not come' etc., the negative word *al* is used grammatically. The same words behave in one way in verbs and in some other way in nouns. The negative words have two different roles in the two different categories. Though both the categories have some rules for negation they differ in application. Negation is an attraction-rule or resistance-free rule in verb morphology but a repulsive or sensitive rule in noun morphology. The same language has different types of generative rules for different categories of words. To sum up, negation is an open system in verbs but aclosed one in nouns. This is the reason why the negative derivation has only a marginal role in nouns throughout the history of Tamil language.

2.7 The suffix -a: and Pre-derivation of nominal negation

Tamil forms two types of nouns from verbs. One is called derivative nouns (by Caldwell). The forms *var-avu* 'visit', *cey-al* deed', *kaːṭci* 'scene' etc , are examples for this type. The other one is verbal nouns (Caldwell). The forms *var-al* or *varu-tal* 'the act of coming', *cey-tal*' the act of doing' *kaːṇ-al*'the act of seeing'etc., are the examples for this second type. There is a basic difference between these two types. The derivative nouns like *varavu* etc., are lexical items; the verbal nouns like *varu-tal* etc., are grammatical items. One is lexically nominalised noun; the other is grammatically nominalised noun. This is the position in the formation of nouns from verbs in the non-negative category.

2.8 Of these two types of nouns, the negative category has only one type. It has forms only for verbal noun type Verbs use the negative suffix *-a:* and the formative suffix *-mai* for this purpose. With these suffixes, any verb form can become a negativised noun. The forms *ceyy-aː-mai* 'the act of not doing', *kuːṟ-aː-mai* 'the act of not saying', *iruṭ-aː-mai* 'the act

of not stealing' are the few examples for this type. Though Tamil has a systematic rule for grammatical nominalisation in the negative category, it may be stated that it has almost no provision in its grammar for lexical nominalisation. The very suggestion that the negative suffix *-a:* in combination with some other derivative suffixes like *-mai* may be useful for this purpose is repulsive in Tamil grammar. The grammar is very sensitive; it does not allow even to extend a rule from one part to another within a related area. The grammatical nominalisation has no impact upon the lexical nominalisation in negative category. Consequently only one grammatically nominalised form seems to manage to become a lexical item in Tamil vocabulary. That solitary from is

(10) poɾ-a:-mai jealousy' < poɾu- 'to endure, to tolerate'

(11) aɾi-y-a:-mai 'ignorance' < aɾi 'to know'

Therefore *-a:* fails to be a good source for the formation of nouns in negative category. It is a constraint on negation in grammar of the lexical level. Hence, negation in nouns seems to be an impossible thing in Tamil. This is the back-ground against which we have to understand the few hard-won attempts made in this direction. The form *poɾ a: -mai* is one such attempt. The following two forms from the qualitative nominal bases are further steps in that direction.

12 (a) va:l 'pure' > va:l-a:-mai 'impurity'

(b) iŋ- 'sweet/ pleasant' > iŋŋ-a:-mai, iŋŋ-a: } 'bad deeds'; 'evil'

(13) iŋ- 'pleasant > iŋŋ-al 'suffering'

To these items may be added the following forms with a query (as I differ from Prof. Emeneau in interpreting these forms).

(14) *poll- 'good' + a: > (a) poll-a: 'bad' in poll- a: neɾi

(b) poll-a:-a:ṅku(?) 'harm'

(c) poll-a:-ppu 'bad'

(Emeneau derives **pol-* from *pul-* 'low, mean' and treats *-a:ṅku* and *a:ppu* as suffixes. *pol-* I, consider, is a separate stem with the meaning

'good' and the same stem with the suffix *-i* forms the verb *pol-i* with the meanings 'to be bright' etc.; *a:* in the above forms is the negative suffix)

3.0. -ṯu a negative suffix ?

3.1. The form given below is mainly responsible for this stand. The strength of the proposal depends absolutely upon the validity of the analysis of this form.

(15) ceviṯu 'deafness'

This form is connected with the word *cevi* 'ear',an organ used for listening. This connection helps us to divide the form *ceviṯu* into the base *cevi* and the suffix *-ṯu*. *cevi* means the listening organ; but *cevi-ṯu* means the loss of the listening capacity of the organ. Here, the meaning difference has to be attributed to the suffix *-ṯu*. Then, *-ṯu* has to be interpreted as performing the function of a negative suffix in this form. If *-ṯu* occurs in this sense in several other forms, there will not be any problem for the analyst to take it as a negative suffix. But when an interpretation is proposed on the basis of occurrence of a single form, the very number provides sufficient ground to argue the case in several other ways also. That it may well be a case of meaning extension is one such good argument. Meaning extension is possible in various ways. The word *cevi* itself extends its meaning from 'human ear' to 'fish ear gills' after the suffix *-ḷ* is added to it *cevi-ḷ* > *cevi-ḷ*. But negation is something else. It imports the opposite meaning to the base. This negation aspect cannot be a case of meaning extension. Here, the meaning has not been extended; but the very meaning has been negated. In languages, positive and negative are two extremes. The positive can extend its area in a positive manner. For example, take the word *peṇ* 'female'.

(16) peṇ > (a) peṇ-mai 'feminine quality'
(b) peṇ-ṭu 'lady'
(c) peṇ-ṭ-a:ṭṭi 'wife'
(d) piṇ-ai
(e) peṭṭai (peṇ + ttai) } 'female animal'

The various formatives extend the meanings in various ways. But there is no negation of basic meaning in these forms. This is only a positive way of extension. The one distinct feature of the positive way of extension is that it can produce any number of forms on demand. It has no freezing point. See the meaning extension in the forms *peṉ-peṇṭu-peṇṭa:-ṭṭi* series. But when it is negated, it freezes at that point. It has only a few possibilities of meaning extension (in negation). The English forms *a moral, im-moral non-moral* may illustrate this.

va:ra:ṉ is the negation of *vanta:ṉ/varukiṉṟa:ṉ; a-ni:ti* is the negation of *ni:ti*; *disrespect* is the negation of *respect*; similarly *ceviṭu* is the negation of *cevi*. It cannot be analysed in any other way. According to the present analysis, the formative *-ṭu* in *ceviṭu* with the meaning 'cheek, is different from the negative suffix *-ṭu* in *ceviṭu* 'deafness'. They are two different suffixes and it is not one suffix that is used in two different senses. In languages, the same suffix cannot do the positive and negative functions simultaneously. They have to be treated as separate suffixes. Only this line of argument boldens me to analyse *-ṭu* as a negative marker in Tamil At some stage in its history, Tamil seems to have a suffix for negation in nouns. But, as it has only a marginal role, only few forms with this suffix are at present available in Tamil. In support of this, the following form has also been given here.

3. 2. The form *kuruṭu* 'blindness'

According to the above proposal, the form *kuruṭu* may be derived from the nominal base *kuru* with the meanings 'brightness, light'. The suffix *-ṭu* in this form negates the basic meaning of the nominal form *kuru*. The sense 'loss of brightness or light' is due to the addition of this negative suffix. Though *kuru* is not a word for the sense organ 'eye', the negative form *kuruṭu* is a word used only with reference to the sense organ 'eye' in the sense 'loss of eye-sight.

In *cevi-ṭu* and *kuru-ṭu*, it seems that negation in nouns might have been used in Tamil in a particular area with certain specific function. The particular area seems to be the sense organs and the specific function of the suffix is to denote the loss of sense in the sense organs. This view lends support to include one more form into this group with a certain amount of doubt.

3. 3. The form *malaṭu* 'sterility'

Tamil has a form *mal* with several shades of meanings 'abundance, richness, plenty' along with the special meaning 'fertility' in ancient texts. The derived form *mall-al* has a high frequency of occurrence in Sangam works with the special sense 'fertile'. The addition of *-ṭu* with the enunciative vowel *a* to the base *mal* forms a word with the special sense 'loss of fertility'. Tamil uses this form not as a general term but as a special term with reference to the organ 'womb' The fertility word *mal* after the addition of *-ṭu* becomes the sterility word *malaṭu*.

Editors' Note

The analysis of *kuruṭu* in terms of *kuru* + *ṭu* is marred by the presence of *kuruḷu* 'blindness' (DED. 1487) in Kannada If the analysis of *kuruṭu* into *kuru* + *ṭu* is an acceptable one, then the same shall be extended to *kuruḷu* too i. e., *kuru* + *ḷu* assigning negative meaning to *-ḷu*. This type of analysis appears to be highly a nebulous one. Alternatively, *kuruṭu* may be analysed into *kuruḷ* + *tu* where the first segment denotes 'blindness' and the second one is a formative suffix The Kannada form *kuruḷu* emboldens us to analyse *ceviṭu* 'deafness' too into *ceviḷ* + *tu* assigning the meaning 'deafness' to the base *ceviḷ*. This analysis however seems to be a speculative one since *ceviḷ* with the meaning *blindness* is yet to be traced. If the analysis of *kuruṭu* into *kuruḷ* + *tu* is a reliable one,then Dr. Kamaleswaran may have to analyse *kuruḷ* into *kur* + *uḷ* or *kuru* + *ḷ* assigning the meaning 'blindness' to *-uḷ/-ḷ*. Again the problem is that we are lacking evidence to support the assignment of negative meaning to *-uḷ/-ḷ* of *kuruḷ*.

A Festschrift for
Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai

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Tolka:ppiyar's classification of Tamil Sounds

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1. Tamil Sounds

Tolka:ppiyar mentions that there are 12 vowels, out of which *ai* and *au* are described as diphthongs and 18 consonants. Their phonetic nature as described by Tolka:ppiyar is discussed by Murugaiyan (1971) in detail. In addition, certain sounds are referred to by Tolka:ppiyar and their phonetic nature is not very clear. However, we will try to summarise the present scholarly opinion here.

Tolka:ppiyar has referred to three sound units as dependent sounds, *kuṟṟiyalukaram* 'shorter *u*', *kuṟṟiyalikaram* 'shorter *i*' and *a:ytam*, the translation of which is difficult but will be explained later. All the dependent sounds are said to be articulated in the same place as the depend ing sound (S.101).

Shorter *u* is always preceded by any one of the plosives, *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* and *ṯ* which in turn can be preceded by $(C)V$ or $C\check{V}C(C)\check{V}$. Both short *u* and shorter *u* are in complementary distribution. Because a sound cannot be articulated at different places, i.e., places where the stops are

articulated, it is taken to refer to vowel releas e(Meenakshisundaram, 1965:67). The shorter *i* is said to occur in the word *miya:* especially as a clitic and this is taken to be a vowel release with palatal colouring.

a:ytam occurs in the following contexts *CV-PV-* (where P stands for plosive). As one of the dependent sounds, it is also articulated at the place where the succeeding plosive is articulated. The consensus among the Tamilologists is that it represents some period of fricative sounds corresponding to the following plosive (Kuiper, 1958; Meenakshisundaram, 1965) and it could be considered an archisegment. So, *a:ytam* is not a single sound but a group of sounds having fricativization as the common feature.

There are other sounds mentioned by Tolka:ppiyar but not included under the secondary sounds. They are *aika:ṟakkuṟukkam* 'shortened *ai*, '*makarakkuṟukkam* 'shortened *m*', *uyiraḷapeṭai* 'extra long vowel' and *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* 'extra long consonant'.

The shortened *ai* is said to have one matra duration while *ai*, as a long vowel has two matra duration. There are cases of change of *ai* to *a* (for details, See Shanmugam, 1972). It is possible that it represents the palatalised [a].

The extra long vowels *a:a*, *i:i*, *u:u* etc , are more common in Old Tamil. There are a few cases of *a:aa*, *i:ti* etc Tolka:ppiyar has specifically said that there is no sound in Tamil having three matras (S.5) but in the next sutra it is said that if lengthening is required, it is effected by combining the sound with the required matra. This means that extra long vowel should be taken as a vowel cluster and not as a unit sound. But in the chapter on prosody, there is a sutra about the syllabification of the extra long vowel which says that it could also be taken as a single syllable (S.1274). This means that there are cases of extra vowel functioning as a single unit with three matras. So, there are two types of pronunciation, one as a vowel cluster and another as a unit sound having three matras. However, the vowel cluster seems to be the predominant pronunciation in old Tamil period.

The shortened pronunciation of *m* is said to occur in the word *po nm* (S.13) which can be taken as half nasal. The extra long consonant

is said to occur in poetry (S 1275) and its occurrence is rare even in Old Tamil period. This is nothing but elongated consonant *kaṇṇṭu* 'having seen'

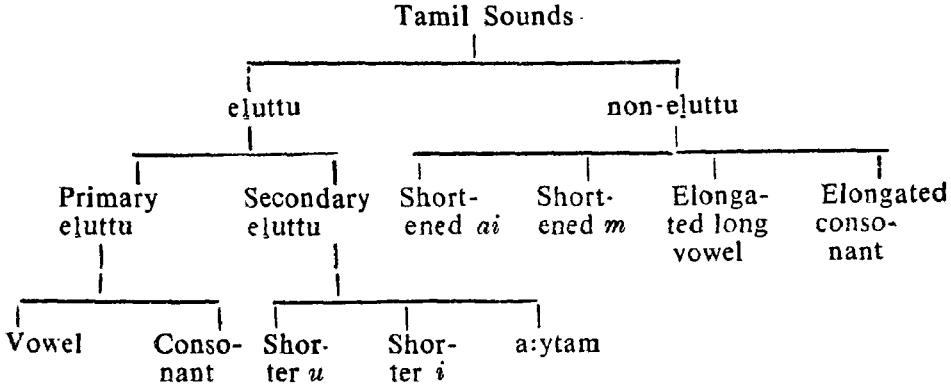
2. Functional classification of sounds

All the Tamil grammars refer to some sort of functional classification. Most of the Tamil grammars classify all the sounds into two major categories viz. *mutal* 'primary' and *ca:rpu* 'dependent or secondary'. They are more or less equal to phoneme and allophones respectively. But Tolka:ppiyar's functional classification is unique both in the classification and their treatment.

The first sutra of phonology says that the sounds which are to be noted are 30 in number i. e., *a* to *ṉ* excluding the three dependent sounds. The next sutra lists out those three dependent sounds as shorter *u*, shorter *i* and *a:ytam* and remarks that they are on a par with those sounds Therefore the sounds which are to be noted *eḻuttu enppatupa* i.e, *a* to *ṉ* belong to one class which can be called primary *eḻuttu* and the dependent sounds which are to be on a par with them i.e., *eḻutt-o:ranna*. These thirty sounds which are mentioned as *eḻuttu* in the first sutra on *puṇariyal* chapter on sandhi'.

mu:ṉṟu talaiyiṭṭa muppatiṟṟ eḻuttiṉ
iraṇṭu talaiyiṭṭa mutala:ku irupaht
aṟuna:ṉ ki:ṟṟoḻu neṟi niṉṟu iyalum
ella: moḻikkum iṟutiyu mutalum
meyye: uyireṉṟu a:yi: riyala (S.104)

Among the thirty three sound units all the words beginning with these any one of twenty two sound units and ending with any twenty four sound units will be classified as vowel and consonants as initials and finals. Therefore those thirty three sound units named by him *eḻuttu* are to be taken as basic units in sandhi. What about the other sound units like shortened *ai*, shortened *m*, elongated long vowel etc. These are to be considered *non-eḻuttu*. So, the Tamil sounds, according to Tolka:ppiyar will be classified functionally as follows.



Now, we will try to explain the basis of the above classification

Since the *eḻuttus* are, according to Tolka:ppiyar the basic units in sandhi, it is clear that they should be taken as morphophonemic units or in the terminology of generative phonology as systematic phonemics. Now the problem is to analyse that how far the modern equivalent is justifiable from the observation of Tolka:ppiyar or from the old Tamil data.

In this connection, it must be said that Balasubramaniyam (1970) has concluded that the format and contents of Tolka:ppiyam *eḻuttatika:ram* seem to fit well, to a great extent, if not completely with the format of the phonological component of the transformational generative model in particular and the whole of the transformational generative theory in general (p.17). With the two-fold classification of thirty three sound units, he has remarked thus: 'Tolka:ppiyar's *eḻuttu* along with the three *eḻutto:ranna* (secondary *eḻuttu*) resemble the level of systematic phonemic representation (p.12) or the phonological representations of phonological component of transformational generative model.

The phonemic status of the thirty sounds (12 vowels and 18 consonants) are not usually questioned eventhough there are problems of interpretation of diphthongs in the vowels and nasals in the consonants but the phonemic status of the three secondary *eḻuttus* are problematic.

Balasubramaniyam has argued very well for setting up the shorter *u* and *a:ytam* as separate phonemic units.

Eventhough, shorter *u* and short *u* are in complementation, they are taken as distinct units on the basis of their different sandhi behaviour. For instance, if they are followed by a word beginning with a vowel, the word with short *u* will have a glide while shorter *u* will disappear.

Short *u*	naṭu	+ e:	>	naṭuve:	'in the centre'
Shorter *u*	na:ṭu	+ e:	>	na:ṭe:	'country (emphatic)'

Moreover, the words with shorter *u* undergo lot of changes like the loss of the final syllable, note the sandhi changes of the numerals and names of direction. Therefore, if the short *u* and shorter *u* are grouped as one phoneme due to their complementary distribution, the difference in sandhi has to be explained by noting the different canonical patterns in which the shorter *u* occurs. It is to be noted in this connection that Tolka:ppiyar has devoted a separate chapter for the sandhi changes of shorter *u*. Therefore, the setting up of the shorter *u* as a distinct unit different from short *u* can be justified on the basis of difference in their sandhi behaviour.

a:ytam, as noted above is an archi segment without having a corresponding class of sounds. Moreover it is believed that *a:ytam* functions as a juncture phenomenon or boundary marker. A detailed discussion of this is found in Kuiper (1958).

Shorter *i* is in complementation with *i* as well as shorter *u*. Balasubramaniyam (1970) could not explain the significance of shoter *i* being a distinct unit.

As already noted, it occurs only in a single word *miya:* a particle denoting vocative and so it occurs within a word but not as initial or final. So, the behaviour difference could not be found for this. So, the reason for establishing it as a distinct unit has to be sought elsewhere. One possible reason may be found in his theory of morphophonemic base form. Eventhough there are a few cases of hypothetical base form, most of the cases, the free forms are taken as the base forms by Tolka:ppiyar. For example the expression *ve:ṇava:* 'intense desire' is explained as the

sandhi product of *ve:ṯai* 'desire' + *ava:* 'desire' because *ve:ṉ* occurs only in compound and not as free form. Similarly the expressions like *toṉṉu:ṟu* 'ninety', *toḷḷa:yiram* 'nine hundred' etc., are not expressed as *toḷ/toṉ* but as *onpatu* because the latter occurs as free form. Therefore his idea seems to be that all sounds occurring in the lexical representation are *eḻuttu*. This theory of *eḻuttu* seems to be more simpler than one suggested by earlier scholars. However, Tolka:ppiyar has not used the distributional criteria to classify the sounds.

Therefore Tolka:ppiyar has grouped the thirty three sound units as *eḻuttu* because they are all occurring in the base forms. Then what is the difference between the primary *eḻuttus* and the secondary *eḻuttus*. All the secondary *eḻuttus* occur in predictable environments while the primary *eḻuttus* are not. But there is one problem in the case of nasal consonant belonging to the primary *eḻuttu*. This is with regard to the velar nasal. The velar nasal in the early middle old Tamil occurs always before the velar stop and hence all the modern linguists do not set up the velar inasal as a separate phoneme (e.g. Meenakshisundaram, 1965) If so Tolka:ppiyar is not right in considering the velar nasal as a primary *eḻuttu*. But he has solved the problem in some other way. Eventhough there is no geminated velar nasal in the Early and Middle Old Tamil, he has listed it as one of the possible clusters in his grammar. If so, the velar nasal cannot be considered a dependent sound. In this connection it should be mentioned that there is many consonant clusters listed by Tolka:ppiyar for which there are many examples in Old Tamil. This has to be explained that his grammar is not observationally adequate but only descriptively adequate. However, some of those clusters are found in the later period.

As for the *non-eḻuttus*, they are all to be derived from some other base sound units and so do not occur as such in the base forms They are to be derived from some other basic sound units. The shortened *ai* is derived from /ai/, the shortened *m* from /m/. The elongated long vowels are to be derived mostly from the long vowels. But the detailed study of variant forms, it is to be derived from VCV sequence (for full details, See Shanmugam, 1976.) Tolka:ppiyar has not concentrated on the nature of basic forms of the elongated vowels and the elongated consonants. The base forms of the elongated consonants may be the single consonant.

Another feature of the *non-eluttus*, according to Tolka:ppiyar's statement is that they occur as free variants of the basic units. But in some cases, his wording is not clear about their free varying nature.

Another interesting feature of Tolka:ppiyar is that he has made a clear distinction between the sound units occurring within a word boundary and those occurring across word boundaries. (i. e. external sandhi). For instance, the shorter *i* occurs in the external sandhi and it is explained only in the sandhi chapter but not on *moḻi marapu* 'phonological word'. Similarly the occurrence of shortened [m] across the word boundaries is only explained in the sandhi chapter on consonantal ending But all the later grammarians do not make such distinction and they explain the sounds occurring within a word and across word boundaries,in one place especially in the *eḻuttiyal* 'phonology' and not on *puṇariyal* 'sandhi'

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18

Towards Alveolarization in Tamil

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Modern spoken Tamil represents various spoken varieties of Tamil language. All the varieties share certain common phenomena with which we are able to identify the shared features in the language. In his paper an attempt has been made to study the direction of phonological change of the spoken language, comparing it with the written language as the norm. This stand need not represent the chronology of the two viz. the written and spoken languages.

The retroflex consonants viz. retroflex stop /ṯ/, retroflex nasal /ṉ/ and retroflex lateral /ḷ/ are moving towards their respective alveolar sounds i.e., ṯ > t, ṉ > n and ḷ > l. These changes are found not only in a particular dialect of Tamil but in a number of dialects. But these changes are not at all regular and consistent. Mostly they are in free variation and sporadic. From the point of frequency alveolar pronunciation is many times more than the retroflex pronunciation. The above changes are attested in several modern regional dialects of Tamil.

Consonant Phonemes in written Tamil

p	ṯ		ṭ	c	k
				(j)	
m	ṉ	n	ṇ	ñ	ṅ
		l	ḷ		
			ḻ		
		r			
		ṟ			
	v			y	

Consonant Phonemes in spoken Tamil

p	ṯ	t	ṭ	c	k
				(j)	
m	(ṉ)	n	ṇ	(ñ)	(ṅ)
		l	ḷ		
			(ḻ)		
		r			
		(ṟ)			
	v			y	

The retroflex stop /ṭ/ has [ṭ, ḍ, ɾ] as allophones in spoken Tamil In certain dialects - Kanyakumari, SriLanka - there is an alveolar stop phone [t] as allophone to /ṭ/ phoneme. At times [t] is also treated as an allophone of /ɾ/ phoneme Here the retroflexion is progressively fronted, leading to an alveolar stop phone. Vellore Muslim dialect of Tamil also has this tendency where ṇṭ > nt in many lexical items.

niṉɾa:n	>	niṇṭa:n	>	ninta:n	'stood-he'
oṉɾu	>	oṇṭu	>	ontu	'one'

Almost all the Tamil dialects except Kanyakumari have m, n, ṇ phonemes and ṉ, ñ, ń as allophones. Sometimes ñ is treated as a phoneme with very limited occurernce. In Kanyakumari dialect also ń has the phonemic status because it occurs with other nasals in cluster.

aṅṇom	'the place where vessels are washed'
eṅṅe	'where'

The /ṇ/ is pronounced as alveoclar /n/, /ṇṇ/ > /nn/. Salem, Coimbatore, and Dharmapuri dialects and East Thanjavur have the tendency to alternate between ṇ and n phonemes. This is found from the socially elite and downtrodden i.e. both in Veḷḷaḷa: and Paḷḷar communities.

aṇṇan	>	annen	'elder brother'
eṇṇai	>	enne	'oil'
vaṇṇa:n	>	vanna:n	'washer man'
kaṉɾukkuṭṭi	>	kannukuṭṭi	'calf'
kuṇam	>	konom	'nature'

Dharmapuri : ve:ṇṭa:m > ve:na:m > ma:na:m 'don't want' Similarly ḷ, ḷḷ become l, ll respectively. /ḷ/ especially in the word final position becomes /l/ more often,

avarkaḷ	>	avarkal	'they/Hon. he'
vanta:rkaḷ	>	vanta:rkal	'came-they'
conna:rkaḷ	>	conna:rkal	'told-they'

Intervocalically also this change takes place.

a:ḷ/a:ḷu	>	a:lu	'person'
na:ḷaṉɾaykku	>	na:lannaykki	'day after tomorrow'
veḷḷam	>	vellom	'flood'
kaḷḷu	>	kallu	'toddy'

* /ɻ/ of written Tamil has merged with /ɻ/ in many dialects. This is retained in the Old Chola region viz. Trichi, Tanjore and South Arcot Districts. This /ɻ/ again has a tendency to change as /l/. Allophonically such changes have a dark colouring.

kiɻi	>	kili	[kiLi]	'parrot'
vaɻi	>	vali	[vaLi]	'way'

/ɻ/ in sequence with stops also becomes /ɽ/

to:ɻpaṭṭai	>	to:lpaṭṭe	'shoulder'
va:ɻkkai(> *va:lkkai)	>	va:lkke	'life'

Kamil Zevelebil (1961: 440 & 441) speaks about the process of decacuminalization and deretroflexion. The following four examples are given by him,

(i)	piɻɻai	>	pille/pilla
(ii)	vaḷarttu	>	[valatt-]
(iii)	aḷaka:y	>	[alaxa]
(iv)	koṇṭu	>	[-kəṭṭi]

There are a few instances where the alveolar sounds become retroflex sounds due to over correction or conscious effort on the part of the speaker. The modified pronunciation in a way shows their original social hierarchy with which they wanted to move upward in their social hierarchy.

ṭ > t, ṇ > n, ḷ > l system seems to be simplification of the complex system. These changes show that the system has a free variation alternating between retroflex to alveolar or vice versa at times. Just like palatalisation, nasalization etc , alveolarization should be recognized as one of the important sound changes which is taking place in the modern spoken Tamil.

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19

Some Variable Rules in Modern Tamil

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Recently I proposed a set of conversion rules that are needed to transform Literary Tamil into Spoken Tamil, and are needed to account for at least part of the competence of speakers of Standard Spoken Tamil (SST) (Schiffman 1979: 4-8, 1.21 1.43). Along with these rules, which generate the modern standard spoken language, speakers also possess a number of other rules that generate social or regional dialect forms, or are perhaps even part of the grammars of most speakers, but have the effect of generating casual, rapid speech, or 'substandard'' forms. These are socially stigmatized forms that speakers monitor out of their speech when these forms are brought to their attention because they consider them socially unacceptable[1]. Most speakers even deny that they use such forms although most do when not paying careful attention to their speech.

One set of forms that are considered to be substandard always involves rounding of vowels between an initial labial consonant and a following retroflex consonant. (Andronov 1962:10). This happens to the vowels /i/ and /e/ when they occur between a labial consonant (/m, p, v) and a retroflex consonant (/ ṭ, ṇ, *l*, ḷ).[2]

ST	piṭi	'like'	→	puḍi	'ibid.'
ST	peṭṭi	'box'	→	poṭṭi	'ibid.'
ST	peṇṇu	'girl'	→	poṇṇu	'ibid'. (This form is accepted as standard).

ST veenum 'want' → voonum 'ibid'
ST viiṭu 'house' → vuuṭu 'ibid'
ST viɻu 'fall' → vuɻu 'ibid'
ST peɻappu 'life, livelihood' → poɻappu 'ibid'
ST meḷakaay 'pepper' → moḷakaa 'ibid'
ST meta 'swim, float' → mota 'ibid'. (LT mita)
ST pera 'be born' → pora 'ibid'

It should be emphasized at this point that even though ST forms themselves are viewed with some disfavor by pundits, purists, and Tamil chauvinists, nevertheless the "standard" rules 1.21 to 1.43 outlined in Schiffman 1979 produce forms that most people agree to be standard and acceptable spoken Tamil, whereas the forms outlined above are definitely perceived by most people as unacceptable, uneducated, or substandard.

From the work of Labov and other linguistic variationists in non-standard English and other non-standard languages we can easily see parallels with these non-standard Tamil forms (Labov 1972:171). Like the variable pronunciation of (r) and the raising of (æ) and (ɔ) to higher fronted or backed positions respectively, the rounding and backing of front vowels in Tamil is not governed by a categorical rule, but by a rule that only operates part of the time, namely when speakers are not monitoring their speech, or when they are in a social situation that does not stigmatize these forms.

The formal of the variable rule that backs these vowels (in most cases) can be given as:

$$1.51.\quad [+\text{ voc}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ back} \\ +\text{ round} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ cons} \\ +\text{ ant} \\ -\text{ cor} \end{bmatrix} __ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ cons} \\ +\text{retracted} \\ +\text{ cor} \end{bmatrix}$$

This states that a vowel is backed and rounded when it occurs between a labial consonant and a retroflex consonant. Usually this occurs only in the first syllable of a word, but there are probably no forms exhibiting this environment other than in the first syllable, so we will not constrain this rule to that syllable until further evidence is forthcoming.

This rule, as we stated in Schiffman 1979, has to be ordered to operate following the lowering rule (rule 1.21) since vowels that are lowered by that rule from /i/ to /e/ are then backed to /o/, e.g. LT /pilai/ → /peḷa/ → /poḷa/ 'live, dwell'. No forms exhibiting backing without first being lowered are found, i.e. /piḷai/ does not ever become */puḷa/.

As for the phonetic process that is involved here, it is not difficult to understand why a vowel found between a labial consonant and a retroflex consonant should become rounded. Labial consonants are a natural environment for rounding, and retroflexion, especially when described in Jakobson and Halle features (1956:31). That is, the feature [flat] has an effect similar to labialization Furthermore, retroflexion involves moving the tongue backwards, with the result that a vowel produced in its environment is often retracted, even if not rounded, i.e., it is common enough in Standard Spoken Tamil for the front vowel [i] to be retracted to [ɪ] before a retroflex consonant, even if there is no rounding: /viiṭu/ → [vɪɪḍu] 'house'.

Rule 1.51 as currently formulated, however, does not take care of some of the forms cited earlier. The last two forms given, /meta/ becoming /mota/ and /pera/ becoming /pora/ are not handled by this rule since the following consonant is not retroflex. In fact, rounding before non- retroflex. consonants is even more sporadic than it is before retroflexes. It seems, therefore, that rule 1:51 is undergoing a process of generalization even though it has yet to be accepted as a standard rule, but as is typical with such socially stigmatized but inexorable sound changes in progress (Labov 1972:39), rule 1.51 is becoming more generalized simply by deleting one feature, that of [retracted], so that the environment that is left is [+cons, +coronal]. That is, rule 1.52 is identical to 1.51 except that it lacks the feature [+retracted]

$$1.52.\quad [+\text{voc}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{ant} \\ -\text{cor} \end{bmatrix} __ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cor} \end{bmatrix}$$

Another pair of variable rules that produces a set of non-standard forms is one that laxes an intervocalic post-nasal voiced velar stop, and also laxes the velar nasal itself to the point where there is only nasaliza-

tion plus velar constriction. This seems to be similar to the process of nasal assimilation in Malayalam, where original clusters of nasal plus homorganic stop are laxed to a geminate homorganic nasal.

ST /niiṅka/ → [niiṅṅæ] → [niiṅæ] → [nīiɣ̃æ] 'you pl.'
/vaaṅki/ → [vaaṅi] → [vã:ɣ̃ĩ] 'having bought'
/tuuṅki/ → [tũ:ṅĩ] → 'having slept'

Unlike the Malayalam situation, as far as I am aware, the Tamil process seems to be going further and even laxing the nasal occlusion, so that the result is a nasalized fricative [ɣ̃]; the nasalization seems to be spilling over onto adjacent vowels as well. This rule, and the output it produces, has as yet never been described in the literature to my knowledge Also unlike Malayalam, the process is at the moment confined to the velar position. not having spread as yet to other nasal plus stop environments such as palatal, retroflex, dental, or labial, except that the alveolar cluster /nr/ was de-occluded long ago when it was replaced by /-ṉṉ-/ or /-nn-/ in the spoken dialects. There is also the isolated form /veeṇum/ 'want, need, should' from LT /veeṇṭum/, where the stop has also been lost; in the negative, of course, /veeṇṭaam/ 'not wanted, needed; should not, usually is realized as [veeṇḍãã] but in substandard usage may also become [væ:ṇã]. with loss of occlusion.

Rule 3. **De-occlusion.**

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{tense} \\ -\text{obs} \end{bmatrix} / [+\text{nasa}] \text{———}$$

An alternative to this rule, simply deleting the stop consonant, is another possibility, in which the second set of features above would be replaced by zero [ϕ]. If this second alternative is chosen, the form of the next rule would have to be slightly different, but would in fact be closer to the environment of the existing intervocalic stop-laxing rule.

Rule .4 **Nasal fricativization**

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{obs}] / [+\text{voc}] \text{——} [+\text{voc}]$$

That is, the rule that now laxes intervocalic stops (see below) would be generalized to apply to intervocalic nasal stops as well, but since this rule

at present applies to intervocalic *velar* nasals, we cannot at present include the effect of rule 4 in the intervocalic consonant laxing rule. That rule must lax all intervocalic stops, whereas rule 4 laxes only intervocalic velar fricatives (which arise, of course, only on a phon level anyway, since the velar nasal is only ever found before a velar stop and is not a systematic underlying segment in Tamil.)

The intervocalic stop-laxing rule works as follows. In intervocalic position, a single (non-geminate) underlying voiceless tense stop is laxed and/or voiced, whereas after nasals it is simply voiced. Laxing for some stops may mean de-occlusion to the point of fricative status. This happens in the following way:

intervocalic /k/→[x, γ] or [h] /aa[h]u/ 'become' vs. /aakku/ 'cause to become'

/č/→[s] /uu[s]i/ 'needle' vs. /puucci 'bug'

/ṭ/→[ḍ (ḍ)] /oo[ḍ]u/ 'run' vs. /ooṭṭu/ 'cause to run'

/t̲/→[r] /uu[r]u] 'flow' vs. /uut̲t̲u/ 'pour'

/t/→[δ] /pa[δ]inaalu/ 'fourteen' vs. /pattu/ 'ten

/p/→[b (v?)] poo/ 'go' vs. /koṇtu [b] oo/ 'take (and go)'

As can be seen, the stops other than /ṭ t̲/ and /p/ become completely laxed intervocalically; there is some evidence to indicate however that historically intervocalic /p/ was laxed at a very early stage, since the future marker in weak verbs is already written and pronounced /v/; its analog in strong verbs is /pp/ There are also a number of verb pairs where the strong member has a final /-pp-/ in the stem, while the weak analog has /-v/, e.g. /kalappu, kalavu/ 'mix, adulterate'. This leaves intervocalic /ṭ/ and /t̲/ which become flapped [ḍ] and [r], respectively. While [d] also become a flapped [ɾ] in some dialects, neither to my knowledge ever becomes a fricative, i e, completely lacking in occlusion, however brief the flapping or tongue tapping may be In any event, there is nothing to say that this process has to be complete in all the intervocalic stops before it can be extended to post-nasal stops, since it seems almost to be in the

nature of variable rules to extend themselves in this way, resulting in the end, in 'sporadic' sound change,

Foot notes

1. It should be noted that, as with most socially-marked rules of this sort, some speakers do not consider these forms substandard. Thus, for example, Ramaswami (1979) considers the rounding rule just another of the rules needed to generate spoken surface forms.

2. The segment /ṣ/, though phonetically retroflex, does not seem to trigger rounding, so that LT /viṣam/ 'poison' becomes ST /veṣam/ 'ibid'. but not */voṣam/. The rule must be therefore written so as to exclude /ṣ/, but since there is no natural class that includes /ṭ, ṇ, ḷ, ḻ/ but excludes /ṣ/, an ad hoc solution must be found, i.e., marking words containing /ṣ/ as exceptions because of the fact that they are borrowings from Indo-Aryan, or some such convention.

3. Distinctive features for Tamil have yet to be worked out in a way that is well motivated and economically accounts for various morphophonemic processes. It is especially difficult to adequately characterize the feature of retroflexion, as I have tried to show elsewhere (Schiffman 1975). However, until features have been completely worked out, we will use a modified Chomsky-Halle (1968) set.

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20

Some Observations on Epigraphical Usages in Tamil

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The term epigraphical usages in Tamil helps to distinguish a section of written Tamil usages from literary usages as certain epigraphical usages are found only in Tamil inscriptions. Tamil literature and Tamil epigraphy, as far as available records go, seem to have almost the same antiquity of about the beginning of the Christian era. But the most ancient Tamil Brahmi inscriptions which are mostly small labels still present many problems in reading and interpretation. From the sixth century A.D. to till about the beginning of the last century, thousands of inscriptions had been made in Tamil and a few thousands of inscriptions have already been published. This study is confined to usages, peculiar to Tamil epigraphy of this long period.

The study of Tamil epigraphical usages is an important branch of Tamilology. Tamil epigraphy is an important source for the study of History and Linguistics and much depends on the correct interpretation of epigraphical usages. Some of the usages can be easily explained by scholars in literary Tamil. A knowledge of colloquial Tamil forms is required to interpret some other usages Quite a number of interpretations of epigraphical usages are mere guesses without sufficient reason. There are many other usages whose meaning cannot even be guessed. Even the Tami Lexicon, published and later reprinted by the University of Madras, deals

with only a small section of epigraphical usages. Considering this background, the great contribution of D.C Sircar and T.N. Subramanian will become clear as their epigraphical glossaries serve as dictionaries to scholars in Tamil Epigraphy.

The study of epigraphical usages helps to reconstruct the History of Tamil language. Epigraphical usage reflects to some extent spoken Tamil usage. Till recently, spoken Tamil usages very rarely entered Tamil literature. The traditional Tamil scholarship consisting of an intensive study of classical Tamil literature, Tamil grammar and commentaries could not give a proper picture either of the past or of the present living Tamil language. The long history of many usages in present day spoken Tamil is revealed to us only by a study of Tamil epigraphical material.

The study of patterns or formulas in the formation of epigraphical usages also helps to interpret newly found epigraphical usages. The major portion of Tamil epigraphical material still remains unpublished. The reading of estampages is a time-consuming process. Thousands of Tamil inscriptions are being published without notes on epigraphical usages by the Archaeological Survey of India and the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology. Scholars who do not specialise in Tamil Epigraphy find it difficult to make use of these publications. The proceses of the reading of the estampage and the interpretation of the published records will be made relatively easy if patterns in the formation of epigraphical usages is brought out.

One characteristic which distinguishes epigraphic usages from literary usages is phonemic variation. Phonemic variations occur both in indigenous Tamil words as well as in loanwords. There is a possibility of the occurrence of orthographical errors in inscriprions. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish orthographical errors from phonemic variations. There is a possibility that peculiar changes in the language confined to particular periods of time and area might be dismissed as orthographical errors by some scholars. The alternate possibility of framing rules of phonemic change out of orthographical errors also exists. There is also another problem for the linuist. When two variant forms exist, which one is to be treated as the original and which one as its variant?

For convenience, the literary form is taken as the original and the colloquial one, its variant but this need not be so in actual fact.

PHONEMIC VARIATIONS

(i) Vowels

a > i

vaḷa:kam > viḷa:kam 'land'
puṭiyatu > puṭiyitu 'newly harvesed paddy offered to the deity'
mala:ṭu > mila:ṭu 'abberiviation of Malaiyama:ṉ naṭu'
navarai > navirai 'a kind of paddy harvested in July'

a > e

caṇṭai > ceṇṭai 'a kind of musical instrument'

a > ai

maṭa vaḷa:kam > maṭai viḷa:kam 'land surrounding the temple land where temple servants live'
tañcai > taiñcai 'another name for Tanjore'
kacco:ḷam > kaicco:ḷam 'a kind of vessel'
kaḷañcu > kaḷaiñcu 'name of a measurement'

a: > ai

veṭṭimuṭṭa:va:l > veṭṭi muṭṭaiya:l 'person sent to work without interruption in public undertakings in thevillage.'

i > a

aṭiyiṟai > aṭiyaṟai 'a kind of impost'

u > i

tu:cuppaṭai > tu:cippaṭai 'front line of the army'

i: > e(y)

mi:ya:ṭci > meyya:ṭci 'overlordship'

u > a

accuttaṟi > accataṟi 'a kind of spinning wheel'
patuvaram > patavaram 'tax due from exchange of land'
naṭṭuvam > naṭṭavam 'teaching dance'
tiruvuṇṇa:ḻikai > tiruvaṇṇa:ḻikai 'innermost shrine in the temple'

u > i

karuvi < karivi 'barber's knife'

u > ai

iravu > iravai 'night'

u > o

upa:ṯi > opa:ti 'dues'

puttakam > pottakam 'book'

e > a

veḷḷa:ṉvakai > vaḷḷa:nvakai 'a kind of land ownership'

teḷittal > taḷittal 'sprinkling'

e > i

peyar > piyar 'name'

ai > a

kaiccą:ttu > kacca:ttu 'signed receipt'

ai > e

vaiccamutu > veccamutu 'offering made to the deity'

ai > a(y)

taiya:ṉ > tayya:ṉ 'tailor'

o > a

polikai > palicai 'interest'

a: > a

ca:ṉtikku:ttu > cantikku:ttu; cantikkuṉippam 'a kind of dance'

i: < i

pañcuppi:li > pañcupili 'tax paid on cotton'

u > u:

kuṟṟarici > ku:ṟṟarici 'well polished rice'

(ii) **Consonants**

-k- > -c-

polikai > policai 'interest'

-k- > -y-

tirukkaiko:ṭṭi > tirukkaiyo:ṭṭi 'temple hall where devotional songs are recited'

-c- > -t-

paricu > paritu 'manner'

ñ- > n-

ña:yiṟu > na:yiṟu 'the sun'

n- > ñ-

na:ḷi > ña:ḷi 'name of measure'

na:ṭu > ña:ṭu 'district'

-p- > -m-

parappu > parampu 'area'

-m- > -ṇ-

kamma:ḷar > kaṇma:ḷar

-m > -ṉ

kalam > kalaṉ 'name of a measure'

vaṭṭam > vaṭṭaṉ 'rate'

-ḷ > -r

tiṭal > tiṭar 'rising ground'

-ṟ- > -c

eṟco:ṟu > ecco:ṟu 'lunch'

-ṟ- > -t-

e:ṟṟampulam > e:ttampulam 'land cultivated by irrigation with picottah'

ciṟṟa:yam > citta:yam 'minor imposts'

-yc- > -ṭ-

a:ra:ycci > a:ra:ṭci 'investigation'

In words and phrases, some phonemes disappear. The appearance of new phonemes is also noted in some cases.

Disappearance of phonemes

relative participle marker -a-

niṟaicca aḷavu > niṟaicca ḷavu 'the full measure'

cuṭṭa o:ṭu > cuṭṭo:ṭu 'burnt tile'

vacca amutu > veccamutu 'offering made to the deity'

Consonant r > ϕ

varttanai > vattinai 'land granted as service tenure for particular officials'

turkkai > tukkai 'Durga'

Appearance of phonemes

Consonant r

catace:vai > catace:rvai 'continuous service'

Consonant *l*

aṇṇa:vi > aṇṇa:ḷvi 'teacher of drama, dance etc'.

Addition of u

nalla: > nallavu 'an impost on good cow'
ceṟu > ceṟuvu 'paddy field'

Hybrid compounds, formed from Sanskrit and Tamil words are rare in literary Tamil but they are found in large numbers in Tamil inscrin ptions. Some illustrations will follow:-

ci:vitapparṟu 'land granted for life time only'
ti:pama:lai 'garland of lamps'
mu:ttatika:ram 'leading or top authority'
alpamiṟai 'minor tax'
paṇṭa:rakkaṇka:ṇi 'supervisor of the treasury'
e:kapo:ka iṟaiyili 'tax free land granted for enjoyment by on individual'

Inscriptional Tamil also helps to explain the Tamilisation of Sanskrit loan words. Sanskrit loan words are found in inscriptional Tamil as pure Sanskrit loans, Tamilised Sanskrit loans and partly Tamilised Sanskrit loans. According toTamil grammatical tradition, Tamil words will not have *r* as initial letter. When Sanskrit words with initial *r* are Tamilised, the vowel *i*-or *u*- will precede the *r*-. Inscriptional Tamil has preserved both types of forms:-

ra:cakaram - ira:cakaram 'palace'
ruttirar- uruttirar 'Saiva devotees'
ratta:ma:ṉiyam - irattama:ṉiyam 'land granted to families of dead soldiers'

Some Sanskrit loan words, when adopted to Tamil, assume two forms. Inscriptional Tamil preserves both forms:-

ve:taṉam/ve:taṉai 'salary'
cira:vaṉam/cira:vaṉai 'document'
maka:ppirata:ṉaṉ/maka:ppirata:ṉi 'general of the army'

When Sanskrit words are adopted to Tamil, Tamil letters are substituted even for letters peculiar to Sanskrit. Sometimes the peculiar sounds are retained with the use of the Grantha script:-

pi:ramasta:ṉam/ pi:ramatta:ṉam 'Brahmin settlement'
maha:/maka: 'great'
ra:jakaram/ ra:cakaram 'palace'
marija:ti/ marica:ti 'boundary, limit, rate'
sva:mi/ cuva:mi 'lord'
mo:ksam/ mo:ṭcam/ mo:kkiḻam 'salvation (?)'

Unlike in Sanskrit, the Tamil phonemic pattern doesn't allow compound letters. When Sanskrit words with compound letters are adopted into Tamil, *i* or *u* enters as svarabhakti. Inscriptional Tamil preserves both types of forms:-

vaṁsam/ vaṅkicam/ vammicam 'lineage'
a:jñapt ~ a:ṇatti 'order'
pra:pti/ pira:pti/ pira:tti

Sri: becomes ciri:, ci: and tiru in inscriptional Tamil:-

Sri: ka:riyam/ ci: ka:riyam 'temple matters'.
Sri: ruttirar/ ci: ruttirar 'Saiva ascetics'.
Sri: mukam/ ciri mukam/ ci: mukam/ tirumukam 'letter'

mu:la parisad of Sanskrit has variant forms as *mu:la parisai mūla purusai*, *mu:la paruṭai* and *mu:la pariṭai*. Many Sanskrit words and phrases had been beautifully translated into Tamil and both types of forms have been preserved in Tamil inscriptions. Translated forms are given below in italics.

parivarttanai→*talaima:ṟu* 'exchange'
carvama:ṉiyam→*muṟṟu:ṭṭu* 'complete enjoyment'
capai→*kuṟi* 'assembly'
naive:ttiyam→*amutupaṭi* 'sacred offering'
tuvaja a:roːkaṇam→*e:ṟu ca:ttu* 'hoisting of the flag'

Some peculiarities in Sandhi too could be noticed in epigraphi usages In a few cases, sandhi had not occurred where it should have occurred:-

ka:cu kal 'weight used to weigh gold'
ko:l ku:li 'wage for measuring rod'

There are many cases where inscriptions preserve phrases where sandhi has occured and where it has not occurred.

nalpacu, narpacu 'good cow'
kalna:ṭu, kaṉṉa:ṭu 'erecting stone in memory of the dead'

Two types of sandhi have occurred in some phrases:-

taṇṭakkuṟṟam, taṇṭaṅ kuṟṟam 'damage for offence committed'
vi:rakal, vi:ra kkal 'hero-stone'
tiruna:makka:ṇi, tiruna:mattukka:ṇi 'temple land'

Inscriptions have also preserved phrases where sandhi caused ambiguity:-

na:ṭṭupa:ti-na:ṭṭu upa:ti	'dues to be paid fot the na:ṭu'
tiruviruppu-tiru iruppu	'temple building. place where temple is situated'
ulku:ṭṭuccarakku-ulku u:ṭṭu-c carakku	'goods on which customs duties can be levied'

A number of words or phrases seem to denote the same thing and many such cases can be collected from inscriptional Tamil. A portion of the temple had been referred to by five names in different inscriptions:- *tiruccuṟṟa:lai, tiruccuṟṟa:layam, tiruccuṟṟuma:lai, tiruccuṟṟuma:ḷikai* and *tiruccuṟṟumaṇṭapam.* The sale deed had been referred to by various names as in *vilaiccira:va:ṇai, kirayaca:caṉam, vilaiya:vaṇam, vilaiyo:lai vilaippirama:ṇam* and *vilai-t-taravu.* This characteristic seems to be pronounced when referring to taxes or imposts:-

veṭṭikka:cu, veṭṭivari, veṭṭippa:ṭṭam	'dues paid to village assembly in lieu of service rendered without wage.'
ka:ṇikkaṭaṉ, ka:ṇikku:ki	'land tax'
iṭaippa:ṭṭam, iṭaippu:ṭci, iṭaiyar vari	'tax on shepherds'
aṅka:ṭiku:li, aṅka:ṭippa:ṭṭam	'market rent'

There are a number of cases where the word denoting tax was omitted when referring to taxes:-

tirikai 'tax on potter's wheel'
taraku 'dues on brokerage'

Those who caused inscriptions to be written had felt many times the need to express the sense of 'in perpetuity'. In many such cases, Sanskrit phrases like *candra:dityavat* (till the moon and the sun last) and *a:cantira:ta:ram* (till the moon and the stars last) were used. The word *va:ṭa:*, the negative form of va:ṭu 'to wither' had been used in that sense in phrases like va:ṭa:kkaṭaṉ and va:ṭa:kkaṭamai. The word *nilai* 'to be permanent', 'to endure' had been used in many cases:-

nilaiyiṟai 'permanent tax'
nilaippoliya:ṯṯu 'permanent interest'
nilaippaṭai 'standing army'

Provision for religious and social services and education was made by grants of lands. Loan words like *virutti ji:vitam* and *po:kam* were added to the kind of service to coin phrases:-

ve:ta virutti 'land granted for reciting the veda'
vayittiya virutti 'land granted for the physician'
pa:rata virutti 'land granted for exposition of Mahabha:rata'
u:rkkaṇakkar ji:vitam 'land granted for village accountants for their life time'
niruttiyapo:kam 'land granted for performance of dance'
vaittiyapo:kam 'land granted for the physician'

Tamil words like *pe:ṟu*, *puṟam*, *paṭṭi*, *viḻa:kam*, *pa:ṭṭi*, *paṟṟu* and *ka:ṇi* were also similarly used:-

maruttuvappe:ṟu 'land granted for the physician'
tiruviḻa:ppuṟam 'land granted for the performance of festivals'
e:rippaṭṭi 'land granted for the Aiyanar temple'
akarappaṟṟu 'land granted for Brahmin village'
piṭa:ri viḻa:kam 'land granted for the godess'
arccaṉa:vipa:vakka:ṇi 'land granted for the performance of worship'

Another important characterstic of Tamil epigraphical usages can be seen in the formation of nouns. A number of nouns are formed on the

formula of noun plus locative case marker (?) plus epicene plural marker *-a:r*.

va:l + il + a:r	→	va:lila:r	'swordsmen'
vari + il + a:r	→	variyila:r	'tax-payers'
ta*l*i + il + a:r	→	ta*l*iyila:r	'temple dancing women'
va*l*i + kaṇ + a:r	=	va*l*ikkaṇṇa:r	'descendant'

Nouns on the formula of noun plus negative *il* and termination *i* are also found.

i*r*ai + il + i	→	iraiyili	'tax free land'
taram + il + i	→	taramili	'unclassified land'

Words and phrases have their abbreviated forms and epigraphical usages consist of both types.

ku*n**r*umaṇi, ku*n**r*i 'names of a weight'

ka:ra:ṇki*l*amai, ka:ra:ṇmai 'right of cultivation'

tantikai, taṇṭu, 'palanquin'

a*l**l*a:yam, a*l**l*u, a*l*u, 'handful of goods sold in the market'

Some other interesting usages of the past which are quite different from modern usages are preserved in inscriptional Tamil. Advance money which is now called *mu**r**paṇam* was known as *mu**n**ṉiṭumpaṇam*. Last year which is now known as *kaṭanta a:ṇṭu* was known as *mu**n**pila:ṇṭu* and coming year, now known as *varuki**r**a a:ṇṭu* was known as *etira:m a:ṇṭu*. Signing, now known as *kaiye**l**uttiṭutal* was known as *tiruve**l**uttucca:ttutal*. Proposing which is now known as *pire:rittal*, was known as *mu**r** ku:**r**utal* and seconding which is now known as *a:mo:tittal* was known as *pi**r** ku:rutal*. The way a person is addressed today was different from the way the person was addressed in inscriptional Tamil. The present day usage consists of either a person's name, the street where he lives and the place where the street is of a person's name, the work he does and the place where he works. In inscriptional Tamil, the order was exactly reversed-

The above study is not comprehensive, but a number of important features in Tamil epigraphical usages have been brought out. A detailed study of this type, based on chronological and dialectical divisions, will be very productive.

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22

Traditional Sandhi as a Reconstruction Mechanism *

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Tolka:ppiyar's treatment of sandhi in respect of certain nouns appear to be quite interesting from the reconstruction view point. The words *maka, kuṉṟu, maṉṟu, aṟacu, muracu, aḻan puḻan, i:m, kam, ekin, val, ta:ḻ* and *tamiḻ* behave differently in internal and external sandhi. The sandhi behaviour of these words are quite analogous to that of nouns ending in *-am*. There is a general rule in Tamil according to which the nasal of *-am* ending nouns is deleted both in internal and external sandhi. This deletion leads to gemination of initial plosive of the subsequent expression. If the subsequent expression begins in a vowel or non-plosive consonant the loss of the *-m* of the *-am* ending nouns is left as such without any gemination. Notice the following examples.

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* But for the persuasive comments and criticism of my teacher Thiru, R. Kothandaraman, this paper would not have attained the present format. My sincere thanks are due to him.

The reconstruction of certain lexical items into *-(a)m* ending ones has been discussed in T. P. Meenakshisundaram (1959: 128 & 129) too. This came to my notice much later after finalising the press draft. The analysis available in the present paper is totally an independent one.

(1) maram + kiḷai > marakkiḷai

2.(a) maram + ulakkai > mara v-ulakkai[1]

(b) maram + ve:r > marave:r

(c) maram + ya:nai > marayana:i

In internal sandhi the *-am* ending nouns loose the final nasal and admits the phonological entity *-tt*. Notice the following example.

(3) maram + il > mara-tt-il

The sandhi changes noticed in *-am* ending nouns offer sufficient motivation to re-examine the output forms of *aḷan, puḷan, maka, i:m, kam, ekin, val, ta:ḷ,*; and *tamiḷ* figuring in Tolka:ppiyar's treatment of morphophonemics. Of these, the nouns *i:m, kam, ekin, val, ta:ḷ* and *tamiḷ* according to Tolka:ppiyar admit the vowel *a* after them in sandhi. Consider the following examples.

(4) [i:m / kam] + kuṭam > [i:m / kam] -a-k + kuṭam (Toḷ Eluttu, Iḷam. 330)

(5) ekin + ka:l > ekin a-k + ka:l (Tol. Eḷuttu. Iḷam. 338)

(6) val + [palakai / na:y] > vall-a [-p + palakai + na:y] (Tol. Eluttu Iḷam, 375)

(7) ta:ḷ + ko:l > ta:ḷ-a k + ko:l (Tol. Eḷuttu, Iḷam. 385)

(8) tamiḷ + kanni > tamiḷ-a-k + kanni (Tol. Eḷuttu. Iḷam 336)

Tolka:ppiyar formulates separate rules to account for the formal change which the first member of the input in (4)-(8) undergoes as in the output. He considers the addition of *a-* after the first member of the input nouns figuring in (4)-(8) as an instance of increment. The phonological shape of the first member of the output in (4)-(8) is quite similar to that of *-am* ending nouns in sandhi. This enables us to reconstruct the first member of the input nouns namely *i:m, kam, ekin, val, ta:ḷ* and *tamiḷ* into **i:mam* kam(m)am, *ekinam *vɪllam, *ta:ḷam*[2] and **tamiḷam* respectively on the basis of their output shape.

With the respect to the nouns *aḷan* and *puḷan* Tolka:ppiyar states that these are capable of admitting the increment *-tt* after them in sandhi.[3] In this process the final nasal of *aḷan* and *puḷan* is lost. Notice the following examples.

(9) aḷan + ai > aḷa-tt-ai (Tol. Eḻuttu Iḷam, 194)
(10) puḻan + ai > puḻa-tt-ai (Ibid)

As for the noun *aḻan*, Tolka:ppiyar formulates an additional rule according to which not only the final nasal of *aḻan* is lost but also a plosive gemination takes place provided the following expression begins in plosive. Notice the following example.

(11) aḻan + kuṭam > aḻa-k + kuṭam (Tol. Eḻuttu. Iḷam.355)

The phonological shape of aḻan and puḻan in the outputs obtained in (9)-(11) emphasizes that these two nouns share the characteristics of *-am* ending nouns in respect of morphophonemic changes. This makes it possible to reconstruct the nouns *aḻan* and *puḻan* into **aḻam* and **puḻam* respectively.

Tolka:ppiyar states that the nouns *aḻan* and *puḻan* have the stem alternants *aḻa-tt* and *puḻa-tt* (Tol Eḻuttu. Iḷam., 194). This observation further confirms that the stem alternants *aḻa-tt* and *puḻa-tt* are traceable to the non-oblique forms **aḻam* and **puḻam* and not to *aḻan* and *puḻan*.

There are certain nouns namely *pani vaḷi, maḻai, viṉ* and *veyil* which according to Tolka:ppiyar, are capable of accepting the ca:riyai *-att.*, which, strictly speaking, seems to perform the locative function. The output structure of these nouns will be,

(12) pani-y-attu (Tol. Eḻuttu Iḷam., 242)
(13) vaḷi-y-attu (Tol. Eḻuttu. Iḷam., 243)
(14) maḻai-y-attu (Tol. Eḻuttu. Iḷam., 288)
(15) viṉṉ-attu (Tol Eluttu Iḷam., 306)
(16) veyil attu (Tol Eḻuttu. Iḷam. 378)

respectively, These output structures enable us to reconstruct the forms *pani, vaḷi, maḻai, viṉ* and *veyil* into **paniyam *vaḷiyam *maḻaiyam, *viṉṉam *veyilam* respectively.[4]

There are certain other nouns ending in *-a* and *-u* such as *maka aracu, muracu, kuṉṟu, maṉṟu* etc. These nouns share the morphophonemic characteristics of *am* ending nouns. Notice the following examples.

(17) maka+kai > maka-ttu-k+kai (Tol.Eḻuttu. Iḷam, 126)
(18) aracu-kanni > araca-k+kanni (Tol. Eḻuttu. Iḷam, 129, 418)
(19) muracu+kaṭippu > muraca-k+kaṭippu (Ibid)
(20) kuṉṟu+ku:kai>kuṉṟa-k+ku:kai(Tol. Eḻuttu. Iḷam. 419)
(21) maṟnu + peṇṇai > maṉṟa - p + peṇṇai (Ibid.)

The phonological structure of the first member of the outputs in (17)-(21) lead us to reconstruct their corresponding input forms in terms of **makam*, **oracam*, **muracam*, **kuṉṟam* and **maṉṟam* respectively.

The point is that the output alternants under reference are directly associable to the reconstructed *-am* ending forms and not to the forms lacking the final *-am*. However what is distressing is that these reconstructed *-am* ending forms were not available to Tolka:ppiyar. His analysis is primarily based on synchrnic data. As such he could not set up forms which are not available in the language of his period, though their morphophonemic behaviour demand the postulation of *-am* ending forms. However it is theoritically possible to set up certain *-am* ending forms hypothetically to maintain the morphophonemic consistency even in the absence of such forms. Tolka:ppiyar has not attempted this type of analysis. What is significant in the proposed analysis is that certain forms namely *kuṉṟu* and *maṉṟu* are available elsewhere as **kuṉṟam* and **maṉṟam* respectively confirming our reconstruction. It is true that we do not come across the form **aracam*. This is not a serious problem if we take into consideration the phonological structure of *aracu* in the output noticed in (18). The form **muracam* does not present any problem since it is attested in early literature itself. Notice the following examples:

(22) ci:rkeḻu mannar maṟaliya ña:ṭpin
imiḻicai *muracam* porukaḷat toḻiya (Akam, 246: 10-11)

Similarly the word *ekinam* which we reconstructed earlier noticed to occur in Sangam Literature.

(23) pacaikol melviraṟ perunto:ṭ pulaitti
tuṟaiviṭṭanna tu:mayir *ekinam*
tuṇaiyoṭu tiḻaikkum ka:ppuṭai varaippu (Akam, 34: 11-13)

So far, we have discussed the possibility of reconstructing certain nouns in terms of *-am* ending ones, on the basis of their morphophonemic behaviour. All the non-reconstructed forms under discussion obviously

belong to the period of Tolka:ppiyam during which the reconstructed *-am* ending forms were not evidently available to Tolka:ppiyar. There are several other nouns in Tamil for which no specific stem alternation rules are available in Tolka:ppiyam. And yet they are also reconstructable in terms of *-am* ending nouns. Such nouns are referred to below along with their reconstructed forms specified right below to them.

(24) vampu + parattai > vampa-p+parattai (Cilampu. 10-219)
*vampam

(25) murukan + kaṭavuḷ > muruka-k+kaṭavuḷ
*murukam

(26) viya:ḻan + kiḻamai > viya:ḻa-k+kiḻamai
*viya:ḻam

Of the examples cited in (24)-(26) the reconstructed forms **vampam* and **murukam* for *vampu* and *murukan* are not available in literature. The morphophonemic behaviour of *vampu* and *murukan* noticed in (24) and (25) however makes it obligatory to reconstruct the forms **vampam* and **murukam*. As for the example in (26) the reconstructed form **viya:ḻam* needs explanation. The form **viya:ḻam* is noticed to occur in medieval literature.

(27) veḷḷi-yeḻuntu *viya:ḻam* uṟaṅkiṟṟu (Tiruppa:vai 13.4)

The replacement of labial nasal in *viya:ḻam* into an alveolar one is due to the occurrence of the form *puṟan*. The form *puṟan* occurs earlier than *viya:ḻan* while counting the days of the week. It is because of the influence of *puṟan*, ending in alveolar nasal, **viya:ḻam* has turned into *viya:ḻan*.

Such explanation is not possible to the form *murukan*, ending in alveolar nasal. In Tamil, there are proper nouns of human sector ending in labial nasal which are in free variation with alveolar nasal. Consider the following examples.

(28) a:ṟumukam ~ a:ṟumukan
(29) paramacivam ~ paramacivaṉ
(30) cupramaṇiyam ~ cupramaṇiyaṉ
(31) caṇmukam ~ caṇmukaṉ

In Tamil *-an* is masculine marker. The assignment of masculinity to the *-am* ending nouns in (28)-(31) might have influenced these nouns to become *-an* ending ones. Such development has not taken place in the following nouns of masculine sector:

(32) ma:ṇikkam ~ *ma:ṇikkan
(33) cuntaram ~ *cuntaran
(34) civaliṅkam ~ *civaliṅkan

The nouns are however noticed to become *-an* ending ones before the honorific marker *-a:r* as evidenced below.

(35) ma:ṇikkan-a:r
(36) cuntaran-a:r
(37) civaliṅkan-a:r

We are now in a crucial stage of our analysis. On the basis of sandhi, we have reconstructed a class of nouns as *-am* ending ones.

Though we have relied upon the morphophonemic behaviour of nouns figuring in the present analysis in the matter of reconstructions, our attempt can be considered only partially successful This is due to the fact that *-am* ending nouns in Tamil behave in two different ways in internal and external sandhi as witnessed below.

Internal sandhi

(38) maram + il > mara-tt + il

External sandhi

(39) maram + kiḷai > { marattu-k / mara-k } kiḷai

The output structure of the noun *maram* in (38) and (39) are noteworthy. An *-am* ending noun may or may not admit the increment *-ttu* in external sandhi. In either case the *am* ending noun loses the final na Of the two characteristics noticed in *-am* ending nouns in the morphophonemic process, we come across only one characteristic i.e., loss of final nasal without the increment *-ttu* in the reconstructed *-am* ending nouns. Notice the examples in (4)-(11) and (17)-(21). In regard to the examples in (28)-(34) the *-am* ending nouns seem to share the both characteristics, xemplified in (38) and (39). Consider the following examples:

40 (a) a:ṟumukam + kavuṇṭar > a:ṟumuka-k + kavuṇṭar

(b) a:ṟumukam + te:var > a:ṟumuka-t + te:var

(41) a:ṟumukam + ai > a:ṟumuka-tt + ai

As for the reconstructed nouns **paniyam*, **vaḷiyam*, **maḷaiyam*, **viṇṇam* and **veyilam* following the structures in (12)-(16), though they admit after them the increment *-ttu* which causes the loss of final *-m* we do not come across instances where the final *-m* of these reconstructed nouns drop without the addition of the increment *-ttu*. Consequently while *paniyattu*, *vaḷiyattu* etc., are possible from **paniyam* and **vaḷiyam*. The sequences **paniya-k-koḷumai* and **vaḷiya-k-koḷumai* are not found to be attested. This reveals our reconstruction of *pani*, *vaḷi*, *maḷai*, *viṇ* and *veyil* in terms of **paniyam*, **vaḷiyam*, **maḷaiyam* **viṇṇam* and **veyilam* respectively is only partially successful. Instances of this nature appear to be a matter of theoritical importance. The problem is whether the *-am* ending reconstructed forms figuring in the present analysis are admissible or not. They are addmissible provided the theory in regard to the morphophonemic behaviour of the *-am* ending nouns both in internal and external sandhi is weakened.

One interesting question that arises from the present analysis is that why is it that the reconstructed *-am* ending nouns fail to share the morphophonemic characteristics of the non-reconstructed *-am* ending nouns such as *maram*, *kuḷam* etc. It appears that there should have been a strong encroachment of certain dialectal features in the language of Tolka:ppiyar. That is, structures such as *ta:ḷa-k-ko:l* (7), *tamiḷa-k-kanni* (8) etc., might have been passed on to Tolka:ppiyar's language from a different Tamil dialect where the *-am* ending nouns such as **ta:ḷam*, *tamiḷam* etc., should have been in prevelence. The presence of these structures supposed to have found their way in Tolka:ppiyar's language however does not alter the phonological shape of the forms *ta:ḷ*, *tamiḷ* etc. This is mainly due to the fact that these non *-am* ending nouns figuring in the inputs cited in the present analysis were capable of functioning as free morphemes. At the moment we could find no other explanation to justify the presence of *-am* ending reconstructed forms and their corsesponding non *-am* ending forms in Tolka:ppiyar's language.[5]

— Appendix

Glossary

1. *aracu* 'king' 'royal'
   araca-k-kanni 'royal lady'
2. *aḻan* 'corpse'
   aḻa-tt-ai 'corpse' (obj)
   aḻa-k-kuṭam 'pot used in the death ceremony'
3. *i:m* 'death cermony'
   i:ma-k-kuṭam 'pot used in the death cermony'
4. *ekiṉ* 'swan'
   ekin-a-+ka:l 'the leg of swan'
5. *kaṭavuḷ* 'god'
6. *kam* smiths' work', smithery'
   kamm-a-k+kuṭam 'smiths' pot' (?)
7. *kavuṇṭar* 'name of a community'
8. *kuṉṟu* 'hill'
   kuṉṟa- k+ku:kai 'the owl in the hill'
9. *tamiḻ* 'Tamil'
   tamiḻa-k+kanni 'The Tamil girl'
10. *ta:l* 'bolt'
    ta:ḻa-k+ko:l 'bolting rod or instrument'
11. *te:var* 'name of a community'
12. *pani* 'dew'
    pani-y-attu 'in the dew'
13. *puḻan*
    puḻa-tt-ai
14. *maka* 'child'
    maka-ttu-k+kai 'the child's hand'
15. *maram* 'tree'
    mara-k+kiḻai 'branch of the tree'
    mara-v-ulakkai 'wooden pestle'
    mara-ve:r 'root of the tree'

mara ya:nai 'wooden elephant'
mara-tt-il 'in the tree'
mara-ttu-k-*kiḷai* 'branch of the tree'

16. *maḻai* 'rain'
maḻai-y-atttu 'in the rain'

17. *maṉṟu* 'public place'
maṉṟa p-peṉṉai 'the Pennin tree in the public place'

18. *muracu* 'drum'
muraca-k+*kaṭippu* 'drum stick'

19. *val* 'dice'
valla-p-palakai 'wooden card used to play dice'
valla-na:y 'the instrument used to play dice'

20. *vaḻi* 'with'
vaḻi y-attu 'in the wind'

21. *viṇ* 'sky'
viṇṇattu 'in the sky'

22. *veyil* 'sun-shine'
veyil-attu 'in the sun-shine'

Foot notes

1. The -v- of *mara-v-ulakkai* is generally considered to be an instance of glide.

2. Quite interestingly the reconstruction of *ta:ḻ* into **ta:ḻam* is validated by the occurrence of *ta:ḻamu* in Telugu (DED. 2598) where *ḻ* has turned into retroflex lateral.

3. Tolka:ppiyar actually sets up the increment *-attu* (Tol Eḻuttu. Iḷam 194) to deal with the morphphonemic behaviour of a class of nouns. In the present sketch, we do not recognise this increment. Instead we take into consideration the increment *-tt(u)* to account for the behaviour of certain nouns in sandhi.

4. If we accept these reconstructed forms, then the phonological entity *-tt* occurring after them (eg. veyilam + tt) might be considered

to perform locative function . Anyway this is subject to further investigation.

.5 R. Kothandaraman, in the course of the discussion connected with the present paper, came out with a proposal that the *-am* ending nouns and their alternants might be considered to have two different formative (?) markers. That is the forms *mara* of *mara-p-paṭṭai* and *am* of *maram* might be analysed into *mar-a* and *mar-am* without deriving *-a* of *mar-a* from *-am* of *mar-am*. Kothanda raman's proposal as he himself admits, appears to be highly speculative. However, the problem connected with *-am* ending nouns and their alternants requires further investigation.

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First Person Plural Terminations

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Introduction: A distinction between inclusiveness and exclusiveness preserved to some extent in Old Tamil is said to be one of the distinctive features of Dravidian languages. Tolka:ppiyar (TC. 199) does not distinguish the distinction between the inclusive and exclusive terminations However the language of old Tamil gives sufficient evidence that there was such a distinction prevalent during the age of Old Tamil. The Commentators of Tolka:ppiyam, Pavaṇa*nti*, the author of Nannu:l and a few other scholars of modern times have thrown some light on this distinction.

Caldwell (1976:483) and Jules Bloch (1954:51) state that the personal terminations should have been developed from the pronouns. The terminations of the inclusive and exclusive verbs have been derived from the inclusive and exclusive pronouns respectively. But at the same time the inclusive and exclusive terminations have undergone some morphophonemic changes, which have caused certain confusions. In this paper an attempt is made to analyse the first person plural terminations enumerated in Tolka:ppiyam with reference to their occurrence in the Old Tamil texts and to relate these terminations with the Proto-Dravidian inclusive and exclusive terminations.

First Person Plural Terminations:-Tolka:ppiyar (TC. 199) enumerates *-am, -a:m, -em, -e:m, kum, -ṭum, -ṯum* and *ṟum* as the termi-

nations of the first person plural. Iḷampu:raṇar (TC. 206) opines that *-am* and *-a:m* denote inclusiveness , *-em* and *-e:m* denote exclusiveness and *-kum*, *ṭum*, *ṭum* and *ṟum* denote both inclusive and exclusive meaning. Pavaṇaṉṉi (NN. 332) too is of the same view.[1] Ce:na:varaiyar(TC 202) and Naccina:rkkiniyar (TC.204) consider that *-am*, *-a:m*, *-kum*, *-ṭum*, *ṭ um*, and *ṟum* refer to both the inclusive and exclusive meanings, but *-em* and *-e:m* only the exclusive meaning.

-ạm, a:m:-

In Old Tamil texts, the terminations *-am* and *-a:m* denote both the inclusive and exclusive meanings as indicated by Ce:na:varaiyar (TC. 202) and Naccina:rkkiniyar (TC. 204).

Inclusive:

am: pukukam *ṉa*:m 'will enter-we' (AKN. 396:5)
ke:ṭṭanam...*ṉa*:m 'heared-we' (AN.210:14)

-a:m: enpa:m *ṉa*:m[2] 'will say -we' (KAT. 60-26)
ceyva:m...*ṉa*:m 'will do-we' (NT. 194:2)

Exclusive:

-am: ya:m...ce:*ṟ*ukam 'will pass-we' (PP. 49:1)
va*ṉṭ*anam ya: m 'came-we' (PN 10:13)
anaiyam ya:m 'like that-we' (AKN. 70.5)

-a:m: ya:m ...akalva:m 'will separate-we' (NT.103:9 & 10)
ceyva:m 'will do-we' (KT. 217:3)

The citations given above reveal that the terminations *-am* and *-a:m* have been used to denote both the inclusive and exclusive meanings. If *-am* and *-a:m* denote the inclusive meaning, they should have been derived from the inclusive forms **ṉam* and **ṉa:m* respectively. And in the same way, if *-am* and *-a:m* denote the exclusive meaning they should have been derived from the exclusive forms **yam* and **ya:m* respectively. In the course of the morphophonemic process, the initial *ṉ-* of the inclusive pronoun and the initial *y-* of the exclusive pronoun have been lost and thus the terminations have resulted in homonyms due to the mergcr. The rule can thus be set up in the following way.

I. $\begin{bmatrix} * \begin{Bmatrix} ṉam \\ yam \end{Bmatrix} \\ * \begin{Bmatrix} ṉa:m \\ ya:m \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} am \\ a:m \end{bmatrix} / \text{Verbal Stem} -$

-em, -e:m

In most of the Old Tamil verses *-em* and *-e:m* denote exclusive meaning although in a few instances the latter is used to denote the inclusive meaning.

Inclusive

-e:m :	oruve:m . . . ṉa:m	'one-we'	(KT. 57:6)
	iruve:m	'two-we'	(AN. 73:10)
	ṉa:m maṟakka ma:ṭṭe:m	'will not forget-we'	(CA. 7:32:4)

Exclusive

-em	enkuvem	'will say - we'	(KT. 191:7)
	koṇṭanem	'saw-we'	(AKN. 69:1)
	ya:m . . . ve:ṇṭinem	'entreated we'	(PN. 140:4&5)
-e:m	celve:m . . . ya:m	'will go-we'	(AKN. 429:2)
	va:ḻttine:m . . . ya:m	'praised-we'	(PL. 13:62&63)
	ya:m . . . uṭaiye:m	'have-we'	(PN. 384:18&19)
	ṉalle:m ya:m	'good-we'	(PM 13:2)

These terminations should have been developed from the exclusive forms **yam* and **ya:m* respectively (T. Burrow, 1968: 123-25) in Proto-South Dravidian (P.S. Subrahmanyam, 1969: 111&112). In some rare instances the use of *-e:m* instead of the inclusive terminations also proves that the clear-cut distinction between the inclusive and exclusive meanings in the finite verbs has become weak to some extant in old Tamil. Thus the examples given from Old Tamil also prove that along with *-em* and *-e:m* the terminations *-am* and *-a:m* have also been used to denote the exclusive meaning and it also strengthens the views of Ce:na:varaiyar (TC. 202) and Naccina:rkkiniyar (TC. 204).

-kum, -ṭum, -ṭum and *-ṟum*:-

The terminations *-kum ṭum, ṭum* and *-ṟum* attested in Old Tamil refer to both the inclusive and exclusive meanings.

Inclusive

-kum ka:ṉkum 'will see-we' (CA.6:13)

-ṭum kaṉṭum ,, (PM.229:2)

-ṭum *ṉa*:m . . . a*ṟ*iṭum '(will) know-we' (NT.229:6)
ṉa:m piri*ṭ*um '(will) separate-we' (AN. 5.28)

-ṟum ce:*ṟ*um *ṉa*:m '(will) reach-we' (NT. 24:6)

Exclusive

-kum amaikum 'will be suitable we' (AN. 6:15)
ka:*ṉ*kum 'will see-we' (KAT.80:26)

-ṭum ka:ṉṭum ,, (PN.173:9)

-ṭum u*ḷ*lu*ṭ*um . . .ya:m '(will) think we' (PN.197:18)
ya:m . . . varu*ṭ*um '(will) come-we' (CAP.143)
varvṉṭu*ṭ*um ya:m '(will) suffer-we' (NT.103:9)

-ṟum ya:m . . . ce:ṟum 'will reach-we' (KT.113:4&5)
ya:m . . . en*ṟ*um 'said-we' (AKN.11:3)

Naccina:rkkiniyar (TC 204) states that *-k-*, *-ṭ* ,*-ṭ* and *-ṟ-* in *-kum, ṭum, -ṭum* and *-ṟum* respectively are tense markers. According to him *-um* is a termination of the first person plural. So, it can be safely concluded that the *-um* in the above terminations is the first person plural marker. If *um* denotes the inclusive meaning, it should have been developed from the inclusive termination *-am* which is derived from **nam* and if it denotes the exclusive meaning, it should have been developed from the exclusive termination *-am* which is derived from **yam*. According to the first rule, we have got the homonym *-am* from **nam* and **yam*, which denotes the inclusive as well as exclusion meaning. This *-am* has changed into *-um*. The morphophonemic rule is as follows:

II a→ u/ — m

Due to the morphophonemic change, the termination is not explicitly known. Thus, Tolka:ppiyar would have included the tense markers

with the personal termination and segmented -*kum*, *ṭum*, -*ṯum* and -*ṟum* as first person plural terminations. The -*um* ending termination of the first person plural verbs is found in other Dravidian languages also.[3]

-*o:m*

In Old Tamil -*o:m* is found only in a few instances, denoting both inclusive and exclusive meanings.

Inclusive

ṉa:m . . . maṟaṉṯo:m 'forget-we' (AKN. 112:3&4)
va:l*ṯṯuvo:m ṉa:m* 'will praise-we' (CA.29:12&13)

Exclusive

u*ḻalvo:m* 'will whirl-we' (MM. 26:41)
ka:*ṇo:m* 'do not know-we' (ATA.43:4)

According to Ce:na:varaiyar (TC.211)-*o:m* has developed from the first person exclusive termination -*e:m* But Caldwell (1976:364) and P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri (1934:160) state that -*o:m* should have been derived from -*a:m*. The -*o:m* ending finite verbs denoting the inclusive and exclusive meanings in old Tamil also seem to support their view. Hence, -*a:m* which is developed from **na:m* and **ya:m* becomes -*o:m*. The following morphophonemic rule is set up for the change.

III a: → o:/—m

Inclusive and exclusive Distinctions:- Grierson (1967:293-94) and Sankaran (1939:99) opine that the distinction between the inclusive and exclusive could not be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian. But Sathasivam (1962:573), Israel (1976:48) and Agesthialingom (1978:30) state that the distinction must have been existed even in Proto-Dravidian. In most of the instances from old Tamil, the distinction between inclusive and exclusive is clearly seen to some extent. Eventhough the homophonous nature of the terminations has caused some confusion in the language, the distinction between inclusiveness and exclusiveness has to be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian. The pronouns also preserve it in Old Tamil.

Conclusion:- In the following examples -*am*, -*a:m*, -*um* and -*o:m* denote inclusive meaning.

-am	ka:ŋkam	'will see-we'	(NT. 307:10)
-a:m	ka:ŋpa:m	' ,, '	(TMA. 29:4)
-um	ka:ṇkum	' ,, '	(CA 6:13)
-o:m	ŋa:m . . . maṟaṉṯo:m	'forgot-we'	(AKN. 112:3&4)

In these terminations *-am* and *-a:m* are historically earlier to *-um* and *-o:m* i.e., the former two are the Proto Dravidian inclusive terminations in which the latter two are developed respectively due to the morphophonemic change.

In the following examples *-am*, *-a:m*, *-em*, *-e:m*, *-um* and *-o:m* denote the exclusive meaning.

-am	ka:ŋkam	'will see-we'	(AN. 216:7)
-a:m	ka:ŋpa:m	,,	(KAT.142:14)
-em	ka:ŋkuvem	,,	(AKN.443:3)
-e:m	kaṉṯe:m	'saw-we'	(KAT.81:26)
-um	ka:ṇkum	'will see-we'	(KAT.80:26)
-o:m	ka:ṇo:m .... ya:m	'will not know-we'	(ATA.43:4)

Historically, the terminations *-am* and *-a:m* are earlier than *-em*, *-e:m*, *-um* and *-o:m*. The former two are reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian. *-em* and *-e:m* have been developed from **yam* and **ya:m* and *-um* and *o:m* from the exclusive terminations *-am* and *-a:m* respectively. Hence the first person plural terminations *-am*, *-a:m*, *-em -e:m*, *-kum*, *-ṯum*, *-ṯum* and *-ṟum* enumerated in Tolka:ppiyam should have been developed from the inclusive oblique form **nam* and nominative form **ŋa:m* and the exclusive oblique form **yam* and nominative form **ya:m*. Due to this reason they have the inclusive and exclusive meanings in the finite verbs.

ABBREVIATIONS

AKN	= Aiṅkuṟunu:ṟu.	NN	= Nannu:l
AN	= Akaṉa:nu:ṟu.	NT	= Naṯṯiṇai.
ATA	= Aiṉṯiṇai Aimpaṯu.	PL	= Paripa:ṭal.
CA	= Cilappaṯika:ram.	PM	= Paḻamoḻi *Na*:nu:ṟu.
CAP	= Ciṟupa:ṇa:ṯṯuppaṭai.	PN	= Puṟaṉa:nu:ṟu.
KAT	= Kaliṯṯokai.	PP	= Paṭiṯṯuppaṯṯu.
KT	= Kuṟuṉṯokai.	TC	= Tolka:ppiyam - Collaṯika:ram.
MM	= Maṇime:kalai.	TMA	= Tiṇaima:lai Aimpaṯu

Foot Notes

1. Pavaṇaṉṯi (NN. 332) enumerates -*o*:m also as an exclusive termination.

2. Though most of the examples for the inclusive and exclusive finite verbs are used in the honorofic singular, they are considered plural finite verbs for the purpose of the discussion.

3. Toda, one of the South Dravidian languages and Khlami, Naiki (Ch) and Parji of Central Dravidian languages have the first person plural termination-*um* (P.S. Subrahmanyam, 1971:399 & 400)

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The Relationship between Infinitives and Verbal Nouns in Dravidian Languages

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Introduction : Some sort of close relationship is observed between the infinitives and verbal nouns in different Dravidian languages with regard to their morphological formation as well as their syntactical behaviour. In some languages the same formations are used both as infinitive as well as verbal nouns. In some other languages, though different types of formations are retained, they occur in free variation. In some other languages they are mutually substitutable at least in a few syntactical constructions. Some of the languages have completely lost either of them and are employing the other for both of the infinitives and verbal nouns. However, a number of the languages either retain two different formations or at least maintain the traces for the reflexes of them. These different forms are not mutually substitutable in a number of syntactical constructions in different Dravidian languages. Thus, the paper is aimed at enumerating and discussing the different formations of the infinitives and the verbal nouns with a view to clarify the relationship between them and to reconstruct their structures on the basis of the forms and meanings retained in different languages.

Tamil

koḷ-a	'to take'	niṟ-k-a	'to stand'
var-a	'to come'	cell-a	'to go'

tiṉṉ a	'to eat'	i:y-a	'to give'
pu:-pp-a	'to blossom'	po:-k-a	'to go'
eṭu-kk-a	'to take'		

In strong verbs, the suffix is preceded by the formative -pp- or -kk-.

Purposive - Infinitive

a)	varu-v-a:ṉ	'in order to come'	d)	ka:ṇ-iya	'to see'
	koḷ-v-a:ṉ	'in order to take'		tar-iya	'to give'
b)	enpa:(ṉ)-kku	'in order to say'	e)	tar-iyar	'to give'
c)	ceyaṟ-ku	'in order to do'	f)	ka:ṇ-ma:r	'to see'
	varaṟ-ku	'in order to come'			

Verbal Noun

a)	cey-al	'doing'	b)	tiṉ-ṟ-al	'eating'
	var-al	'coming'	c)	cela-vu	'going'
	koḷ-al	'taking'	d)	naṭa-ppu	'moving'
b)	cey-t-al	'going'	e)	cey-kai	'doing'

Malayalam

a)	ka:ṇ-e	'to see'	c)	var-a:ṉ	'to come'
	tiṉṉ-e	'to eat'		tar-a:ṉ	'to give'
b)	ka:ṇ-k-e	'to see'	d)	ka:ṇ-ma:ṉ	'to see'
	nil-kk-a	'to stand'			

Though the forms with the suffix -a:ṉ / -ma:ṉ are original purposive infinitives, they occur as regular infinitives in the language.

Verbal Noun

a)	ka:v al	'watching'	b)	viṭu-t-al	'leaving'
	ka:ṇ-al	'seeing'		ku:ṭu-t-al	'gathering'
c)	varu-ka	'coming'			
	nil-kka	'standing'			

Kota

o:g-l	o:g-lk	'to go'
no:ṛ-l	no:ṛ-lk	'to see'
uṛt-l	uṛt-lk	'to plough'

The verbal nouns and the purposive infinitives occur as regular infinitives in Kota also.

Verbal Noun

o:g-l 'going'
no:ṛ-l 'seeing'
uṛt-l 'ploughing'

Kodagu

ma:ḍuva-ku 'for making'
oṛepa-ku 'for breaking'

The same forms occur as regular infinitives also.

Kannada

bar-a	bar-e	bar-al(u)	baral-ke	'to come/coming'
ma:ḍ-a	ma:ḍ-e	ma:ḍ-al(u)	ma:ḍal-ke	'to do/doing'
ir-a	ir-e	ir-al(u)	iral-ke	'to be/being'
un a	uṇ-e	uṇ-al(u)	uṇal-ke	'to eat/eating'

All these forms occur in free variation as infinitives as well as verbal nouns.

Tulu

a) bu:ri-ar-ɛ 'to fall'
ke:ṇ-ar-ɛ 'to see'
malp-ar-ɛ 'to make'

b) bu:ri-ni 'to fall'
ke:ṇ-uni 'to see'
malp-uni 'to make'

Both these types of forms can be traced back to the original purposive-infinitives. They occur as regular infinitives. Sometimes, the dative suffix *-gu* is added to the *-arɛ* ending infinitives to express the purposive sense.

a:v-ar-ɛ -gu 'for becoming'
tinn-ar-ɛ -gu 'for eating'

Telugu

O. T.	*M. T.*	
ceyy-u	ce:y-a	'to do'
tin u	tin-a	'to eat'
an-u	an-a	'to say'
vin-u	vin-a	'to have'

Purposive

O. T.	*M. T.*	
ce:y-an	ceyaḍana-ku	'for doing'
veḷḷ-an	veḷḷaḍana-ku	'for going'
an-an	'for saying'	
vin-an	'for listening'	

In Modern Telugu, the purposives with the suffix *-ku* often occurs as the regular infinitives.

Verbal Noun

O. T.	*M. T.*	
ce:y-uṭa	ce:y-aḍam	'doing'
tin-uṭa	tin-aḍam	'eating'
an-uṭa	an-aḍam	'saying'
vin-uṭa	vin-aḍam	'listening'

In Old Telugu the final *-l* of the verbal noun suffix is lost and in Modern Telugu it has changed into *-m*.

Gondi

tind-a:	tind-le:	tind-n-e:n	'to eat'
va:y-a:	va:y-le:	va:y-n-e:n	'to come'
veh-a:	veh-le:	veh-n e:n	'to speak'

It appears that in Gondi the original verbal nouns and purposive infinitives also occur as the variants of the regular infinitives. Hence the language has developed different formations for the purposives and verbal nouns.

Purposive

tinn-al	tinda:le: (sk)	'in order to eat'
vaṅkn-al	vaṅki:le (sk)	'in order to speak'

Verbal Noun

aṭṭ-ma:ɾ	'cooking'
kars-ma:ɾ	'playing'
uru:s-ma:ɾ	'breaking'

Konda

ta-t-eṅ	'to bring'	uṇ-ḍ-eṅ	'to eat'
va:-d-eṅ	'to come'	in-ɾ-eṅ	'to say'

The same forms in Konda function as regular infinitives as well as verbal nouns.

Pengo

ta-t eṅ	'to bring'	kuc-c-eṅ	'to sit'
va-d-eṅ	'to come'	in-j-eṅ	'to say'
uṇ ḍ eṅ	'to eat' to drink		

The same forms in Konda and Pengo occur as regular infinitives as well as verbal nouns.

Kuvi

ta-c-ali	'to bring'	kot-h-ali	'to hoe'
va:-y-ali	'to come'	ja:p (i) -ali	'to learn'
tin-j-ali	'to eat'		

In Kuvi the infinitives are replaced by the original verbal noun forms.

ta?-n-ayi	'bringing'	ta-t-ayi	'the having brought'
va:-n-ayi	'coming'	va:-t-ayi	'the having come'
hi:-n-ayi	'giving'		

The verbal nouns are regularly formed from the non-past verbal stems; seldom from the past stems also. The final -l of the original suffix is lost

Kui

koḍ-a	'to bring'	tin-b-a	'to eat'
pu:-p-a	'to blossom'	si:-v-a	'to give'

Purposive

The purposive infinitive is regularly expressed by the addition of the dative case post-position *taṅgi/tingi* to the infinitives.

tinba-tañgi	'in order to eat'	uṇb-oṇḍi	'in order to drink'
si:va-tiṅgi	'in order to give'	a:v-oṇḍi	'in order to become'
pa:g-oṇḍi	'in order to fight'		

The infinitives in Kui occur as verbal nouns also.

Kolami

tin-eṅ	'to eat'	var-eṅg	'to come'
kor-eṅ	'to bring'	ser-eng	'to go'

These forms are called purposive infinitives in the language and the same forms occur as regular infinitives.

Purposive

tin-a-k 'in order to eat'

Verbal Noun

si-uḍ	'giving'
o:l-uḍ	'seeing'
kak-uḍ	'making'

Naiki

tin-en	'to eat'	oy-k-en	'to see'
kat-k-en	'to cut'	un-en	'to drink'

The same forms function as regular infinitives as well as verbal nouns.

Purposive

ser-eka 'in order to go'

Verbal Noun

kak-mu- 'doing'

This type of verbal noun is of later development.

Parji

ven-uṅ	'to hear, ask'	koy-u	'to harvest'
tin-uṅ	'to eat'	endr-u	'to dance'

eti-p-uṅ 'to raise' tuñ-u 'to sleep'
niḷ-uk 'to stand'

There are two types of infinitives in Pengo.

Purposive

koyran-ug 'for harvesting'
endran-ug 'for dancing'
ceyran-ug 'for doing'

Verbal Noun

koy-r-an (o) 'harvesting'
endru-r-an(o) 'dancing'
ver-r-an(o) 'coming'

Gadaba (Ollari)

ka:k-iṅ 'to watch' su:ṛ-uṅ 'to see'
var-iṅ 'to come' po:k-uṅ 'an utterance'
e:nd-iṅ 'to sing' po:ku 'to tell'
muy-uṅ 'to bathe'

The same forms occur as regular infinitives as well as verbal nouns.

Kuṛukh

temb-a: 'to beg' ci:-na: 'to give'
e:s-a:/-na: 'to break' cap-na: 'fo fulfil'
bar-na: 'to come'

The infinitives occur as verbal nouns also and thus they are declined, when they function as verbal nouns.

Malto

ek-oti 'to go' tund-oti 'to pour'
band-oti 'to drive' dary-oti 'to catch'

Such of these forms frequently occur as infinitives. But these are actually purposive -infinitives in origin.

on-e 'to drink' pun-e 'to put on'

Verbal Nouns

ban-de	'driving'	tun-po	'pouring'.
tun-de	'pouring'	ban-po	'driving'

These verbal nouns occur as regular infinitves also.

Brahui

mann-iṅg	'to be'	ra:s-eṅg	'to arrive'
tin-iṅg	'to eat'	xall-eṅg	'to strike'
bin-iṅg	'to hear'		

The same forms occur as regular infinitives as well as verbal nouns.

Syntactic Constructions

In the syntactic constructions expressing obligative, potential and prohibitive moods with the help of auxiliaries, the infinitives and verbal nouns freely vary.

Tamil

varal ve:ɳṭum/vara ve:ɳṭum	'must come'
varal ku:ṭum/vara-k ku:ṭum	'can come'
niṛṛal ku:ṭa:tu/niṛka-k ku:ṭa:tu	'should not stand'

Telugu

va:ḍiki i: pani ceyyaḍan ra:du vaḍiki i: pani ceya ra:du	'He cannot do this work'

In these constructions originally the verbal nouns would have been used, but gradually due to the dropping of the final consonant -l, the verbal nouns and the infinitives would have merged into one formation.

Infinitives and Verbal Nouns

In Dravidian languages there are evidences or at least traces for the occurrences of different structures for the infinitives and verbal nouns, even though they are mutually substitutable in certain syntactic

constructions as in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu; they occur in free variation in Kannada and in Gondi as infinitives; the infinitives have replaced the verbal nouns in the Kui and Kuṛukh and the vice versa in Kuvi.

Infinitives proper and Purposives

In some of the South and Central Dravidian languages there have been separate forms used to express the purposive-infinitive whereas in the Central Dravidian languages and in Kuṛukh the infinitives are expressed by a different type of formation.

In Old Tamil there were three different sets of constructions used to express the regular infinitives, the purposive infinitives and the verbal nouns. Whenever the infinitive with the suffix *-a* denotes 'purpose', it can be replaced by the verbal noun with the suffix *-al* plus dative case suffix *-ku*. In Old Telugu also the distinction between the regular infinitives and the purposives is represented by two different sets of forms. In Kannada, Kota, Konda, Pengo. Kolami, Parji, Naiki, Gadaba and Brahui also a different type of infinitives formed by the addition of the dative case suffix is found. Thus there are clear-cut evidences or at least traces for the distinction of two types of structures for the infinitives, i e. one for the regular and another for the purposive.

Infinitives Proper

In Dravidian languages the infinitive has a very simple structure and it is generally formed by the addition of the suffix *-a* to the verbal stems, with the intervening formatives in the case of some verbs in Tamil, Malayalam, and Kui. (Ta: *-pp-*, *-kk* , *-k-*; Ma: *-kk-* Kui: *-p-*, *b-*, *v-*). Such a structure of the infinitives is found in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada Telugu, Gondi, Kui, Kuṛukh and Malto. Since these languages represent all the three main sub-groups **-a* can be reconstructed for the Proto-Dravidian. In Malayalam **-a* is changed into *-e* and in Kannada it freely varies with *-e*. In Gondi and Kuṛukh the suffix *-a* is lengthened and in Kuṛukh it is preceded by a glide *-n-*.

In Old Telugu, Parji and Gadaba, the infinitive is formed by the addition of the suffix *-u* to the verbal stems.

In Kannada the verbal noun forms freely vary as infinitives, in Gondi the original verbal nouns also occur as infinitives, and in Kuvi the infinitives are replaced by the original verbal noun forms. In Tulu, Konda, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Pengo, and Brahui the purposive-infinitival forms have replaced the original infinitives also.

Purposive - Infinitive (Supine)

The supine, expressing the meaning of 'purpose' (in order to) i.e a non-finite form of the verb in Dravidian languages and it occurs in distinct forms in Old Tamil, Malayalam. Tulu, Old Telugu, Gondi, Kolami, Naiki and Parji.

In many of the Dravidian languages the reflexes of different structure of infinitives other than that described as infinitives proper are found to occur. Such a different structure is the attestation for the separate purposive-infinitive in the Proto-language and it is generally formed by the addition of the dative suffix, to which the purposive sense is assigned as one of the major meanings, in all the Dravidian languages.

The supines are formed by three different ways, viz., one by adding *-Vn* to the non-past or crude verbal stems another by adding the dative case suffix *VnkV* to the verbal stems and the third adding the dative case suffix *-kkV* to verbal nouns with the suffix *-al*. The first type of formation has evidences in Old Tamil, Malayalam, Tulu, Telugu, Gondi and in Naiki; the second type of formation has evidences in Old Tamil, Kodagu, Telugu, Konda, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Pengo and in Brahui and third type is attested in Tamil, Kannada, Kota, Gondi and has stray evidences in Kolami and Naiki also.

Thus for the purposive-infinitives three different types of suffixes viz., *-*Vn, *Vn-kV* and **-al-kkV* could be reconstructed. Thus there is a a possibility to connect the different suffixes of the purposive infinitives to the suffixes of the dative case, as the different Dravidian languages generally take the corresponding related suffixes for the dative case and for the infinitives, proper or purposive. Further it may also be noticed that the supine with the suffix *-*Vn*, which may be connected with the dative case suffix *-*Vn* reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian, occurs mainly in the languages where we have evidences for the reflexes of dative case suffix- **Vn*

Three different suffixes could be reconstructed for the dative case in Dravidian. They are **-Vn*, *-*Vn-k* and *-kk*V. Old Tamil. Malayalam, Naiki and Kuṛukh have the evidences for the reconstruction of **-Vn* as the dative case suffix, whereas Old Tamil, Kodagu and Kolami, Parji sub-group have the evidences for the reconstruction of **Vnk*. Assimilation of n into *ṅ* before *k*, the voicing of *-k*, the loss of *-k*, sometimes the loss of ṅ in Parji and the loss of vowel before another vowel should have taken place in Kolami-Parji, sub-group and in Brahui.

Another type of the suffix for the purposive-infinitive attested in Old Tamil and Tulu may be reconstructed as *-*iyar*.

The purposive-infinitive forms occur as regular infinitives in Kannada, Kota, Kodagu. Tulu, Gondi, Konda, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Pengo and in Brahui. Tulu, Kolami and Naiki, have evidences for the development of new type of formations. They occur as verbal nouns also in Kota. Kannada, Konda, Kolami, Parji, Gadaba, Pengo and in Brahui It appears that in Kuvi and Malto, the supine is expressed rarely by some special type of suffixes viz., *-oṛḍi* in Kuvi and *oti* in Malto.

Verbal Noun

The verbal noun in Dravidian is generally formed by the addition of *-al* or its allomorphs to the verbal stems, with a formative or tense-suffix intervening in certain languages. Such a structure of verbal nouns is found in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Kannada, Telugu and Gadaba. In Old Telugu the final consonant is lost, whereas in Kuvi it is replaced by *-y*.

A contrast between the past and non-past has developed in the verbal nouns in certain languages (e g. in Kuvi *va:tayi** 'the having come', *va:nayi* 'coming') and to a certain extent in Tamil.

A different type of aspect related verbal noun, which is formed by adding *-u* or its allomorphs to the verbal stems in Tamil, Malayalam, Kuvi and in Malto.

In Kui and Kuṛukh the infinitives with the suffix *a* occur as verbal nouns and in Kannada they occur in free variation with the verbal nouns of other suffixes. In Konda, Pengo, Naiki, Gadaba and Brahui, the forms of the supine origin have replaced the proper infinitives as well as

verbal nouns, i.e., in these languages the same forms occur as infinitive as well as verbal nouns.

In Malto, there are verbal nouns with final *-e*. This suffix may be connected with *-al* and explained as one changed into *-e* after the loss of the final *-l*. It may be worthy of notice that Gondi, Kolami and Parji have developed new kind of verbal nouns in them.

Conclusion

Thus in Dravidian three distinct sets of formations could be reconstructed, one set for each of the proper infinitives, the purposive infinitive (supine) and verbal noun.

The proper infinitive	**a*
The supine	**-V, *-Vn- K(u), *-al-KV, *-iyar*
The verbal Nouns	**-al, *T-al, * (C)V*

It may be assumed that in Kui and Kuṛukh, the verbal noun forms, after the loss of *-l* are completely merged with the infinitives and thus in those languages there is no contrast maintained between them. Though Kannada and Gondi maintain the reflexes of the three different sets, all of them occur in free variation in Kannada and as only the regular infinitives in Gondi. Thus Gondi has developed different formations for the verbal nouns and supines.

In Konda, Pengo, Naiki, Gadaba and Brahui the same forms of the supine origin occur as well as verbal noun also. Gondi, Kolami and Parji have developed different types of formatives for the verbal nouns.

In Kuvi the original verbal nouns have replaced the infinitives.

In Dravidian the purposive infinitive is regularly expressed with the help of the dative suffix, whose one of the major meanings is 'purposive'. Thus the 'suffixes of purposive infinitive in different languages may be connected with the corresponding dative case suffix occurring in them.

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Appendix — A

A Comparative Table of the Suffixes for Infinitives

	*-a	*-al	*-V̄n	*-V̄n-ku	*-al-kk-V	*-iyar(?)		
Tamil	-a		-a:ṉ	-a:kku	-al-ku	-iyar -iya(?)		-ma:r
Malayalam	-e		-a:ṉ -ma:ṉ					
Kota		-l			-l-k			
Kodagu				-aku				
Kannada	-a/-e	-al(u)			-al ke			
Tulu			-Vni			-ar-	-arɛgu	
Telugu	-u(O.T.) -a(M.T.)		-an(O.T.)	-an(a)ku				
Gondi	-a:	-le: -al	(-n)-e:n		-a:le:(s)k			
Konda				-eṅ				
Pengo				-eṅ				
Kuvi		-al(i)						
Kui	-a							*oṇḍi

| | | |

Appendix—B

A Comparative Table of the Suffixes for Verbal Nouns

	*-ai	*-T-al	*-(C)V			
Tamil	-al	-tal	-u			
		-ṛal	-Vu			
		-ṭal	-pu			
			-kai			
Malayalam	-al	-tal	-kai			
			-a			
Kota	-l		-l-k			
Kannada	-al	-al-ke				
Telugu		-uṭa(O.T.)				-e/-ɪ
		-aṭam(M.T.)				
Gondi						
Konda						-ma:ṛ
Pengo				-eṅ		
				-ɔṅ		
Kuvi	-ali	-cali	-u			
		-gali	-vu			
		-jali	-pu			
		-hali				
		-nayi				
		-tayi				
Kui						-a

| | | |

Appendix C

A Comparative Table of the Suffixes for Supine

	*-V̄n	*-V̄n-K(u)	*-al-kkV	*-iyar(?)		
Tamil	-a:n̪	-a:kku	-al-ku	-iyar -iya(ṟ)	-ma:r	
Malayalam	-a:n̪ -(m)a:n̪				-m ɹ:n̪	
Kota			-l-k			
Kodagu		-aku				
Kannada			-al-ke			
Tulu	-Vni					
Telugu	-an(O.T.(	-an(a)ku		-ar	-arɛ-gu	
Gondi	(-n)-e:n		-a:le(s)k			
Konda		-eṅ				-al
Pengo		-eṅ				
Kuvi						
Kui						
Kolami		-eṅ	-ak			-oṇḍi
		-eṅg/-eṅk				
Naiki	-en		-eka			
Parji		-uṅ/-uk				
		-an-ug				
Gadaba		-iṅ/-uṅ				
Kuṛukh						
Malto						
Brahui		-iṅg/ -eṅg				-oti

A Festschrift for
Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai

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உரையாடல் உள்ளுறை

இ. முத்தையா
தமிழியல் துறை
மதுரை காமராசர் பல்கலைக்கழகம்

1.0. உரையாடற் சூழ்நிலையில் பேசுவோர் ஒரு கூற்றின் மூலம் ஒரு தெரிவினை (proposition) உணர்த்த விரும்புவதோடு தான் உணர்த்த விருப்பும் தெரிவினையே கேட்போரும் புரிந்து கொள்ள வேண்டும் என்ற நோக்கத்தில் அக்கூற்றைக் கூற, கேட்போரும் பேசுவோரின் நோக்கத்தை உணர்ந்து அவர் உணர்த்த விரும்பும் பொருளையே அனுமானித்துப் பதில் அளிக்கும்போது பேசுவோர் கேட்போருக்கு இடையே பொருள்கோள் ஒத்துழைப்பு இருப்பதை அறிந்து கொள்ள முடிகிறது. பேசுவோர் கேட்போருக்கு இடையே பொருள்கோள் ஒத்துழைப்பு இருப்பின் உரையாடற் சூழலுக்கேற்பப் பேசுவோர் ஒரு கூற்றைப் பயன்படுத்தி அக்கூற்று உணர்த்தும் செம்பொருளிலிருந்து மாறுபட்ட உள்ளுறைப் பொருளைக் கேட்போர் உணரும்படி செய்யலாம்.

1.1. பொருள்கோள் ஒத்துழைப்புக் கொள்கை (Co-operative principle) பற்றியும், உரையாடல் உள்ளுறை பற்றியும் கிரைஸ் என்பவர் ஆராய்ந்து விளக்கியுள்ளார். (Grice: 1968) உரையாடுவோர் சில உரையாடல் நியதிகளை (Conversational Maxims) மீறும்போது அவர்களுடைய உரையாடல் மொழியில் உள்ளுறை அமைகிறது என்பது கிரைசின் கருத்தாகும். இக்கருத்தை உறுதி செய்யும்பொருட்டு கிரைஸ் சில உரையாடல் நியதிகளை உருவாக்கியுள்ளார். ராபர்ட் எம் ஹார்னிஷ் (Harnish Robert M. 1976) என்பவர் எடுத்தாண்டுள்ள கிரைஸின் உரையாடல் நியதிகள் கீழே கொடுக்கப்பட்டு உள்ளன.

அளவு (Quantity)

1) உரையாடலில் எந்த அளவுக்குத் தேவையோ அந்த அளவுக்கான தகவலை மட்டும் கொடுக்கவும் (Make your contribution as informative as is required)

2) தேவைக்கு அதிகமாகத் தகவல் கொடுப்பதைத் தவிர்க்கவும் (Do not make your contribution more informative than is required)

பண்பு (Quality)

1) பொய் என்று தோன்றுவதைச் சொல்லாமல் இருக்கவும்.
(Do not say what you believe to be false)

2) தேவையான ஆதாரம் இல்லாமல் பேசற்க
(Do not say that for which you lack evidence)

உறவு (Relation)

இயைபு உடையதாகப் பேசுக (Be relevant)

தன்மை (Manner)

தெளிவாகச் சொல்லுக (Be persipicuous)

(அ) இருண்மைத் தன்மையைத் தவிர்த்துப் பேசவும் (Avoid obscurity)

(ஆ) இருபொருள்படும்படிப் பேசுவதை தவிர்க்கவும் (Avoid ambiquity)

(இ) சுருக்கமாகப் பேசவும் (Be brief)

(ஈ) முறையாகப் பேசவும் (Be order)
(Harnish, Robert M, 1976 : 341)

கிரைஸின் இந்நியதிகள் வரையறுக்கப்பட்டவையாக இல்லாமையால் உரையாடலில் உள்ளுறை அமைகின்ற முறையை ஒரு சீரான அமைப்புக்குள் அடக்கி விளக்க இயலாது என்ற முடிவுக்கு வரப்படுகிறது (முத்தையா, இ, 1979: 153-156). இதனால் உரையாடல் உள்ளுறை பற்றிய ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு ஒரு புதிய அணுகுமுறை அவசியமாகிறது. இவ்வவசியம் கருதித் தூண்டல்-துலங்கல் கோட்பாடு (Stimulus Response theory) உருவாக்கப்படுகிறது.

1.2. உரையாடல் தூண்டல் (Stimulus), துலங்கல் (Response) என்ற இரு செயல்களினால் நடைபெறுகிறது. உரையாடுவோர் இருவரில் பேசுவோரின் (பேர்) கூற்று தூண்டலாக அமைய, அதற்கு மறுமொழியாக அல்லது பதிலாகக் கூறப்படும் கேட்போரின் (கேர்) கூற்று துலங்கலாக அமைகிறது. ஒரு தூண்டலுக்குரிய துலங்கலோடு உரையாடல் முடிவுற்றால் அத் துலங்கல் துலங்கலாகவே கருதப்படும். அவ்வாறின்றி உரையாடல் தொடர்ந்தால் துலங்கல் தூண்டலாக மாறலாம். தூண்டல், துலங்கல் ஆகிய இரண்டு செயல்களும் மாறி மாறி நடக்கும்போது உரையாடல் வளர்கிறது. உரை

யாடலில் தூண்டல் கூற்றின் மூலம் நேரடியாகவும், மறைமுகமாகவும் பொருளை உணர்த்தலாம். எனவே தூண்டலை நேர்த்தூண்டல், மறைத் தூண்டல் என இருவகையாகப் பிரிக்கலாம். தூண்டலைப் போன்று துலங்கலை 'நேர்த்துலங்கல், மறைத்துலங்கல், விலகல் துலங்கல்' என மூன்று வகையாகப் பிரிக்கலாம்.

1.2.1. உரையாடலில் தூண்டல், துலங்கல் ஆகியவற்றின் செயற்பாடுகளைக் கீழ்க்கண்டவாறு உணர்த்தலாம்.

1. (அ) நே. தூ → நே. துல்
(ஆ) நே. தூ → ம. துல்
(இ) ம தூ → நே. துல்
(ஈ) ம. தூ → ம. துல்
(உ) நே. தூ → வி. துல்
(ஊ) ம. தூ → வி. துல்

3) இவற்றில் → என்ற குறியீடு பேசுவோர், கேட்போருக்கு இடையே நடக்கும் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றத்தைக் குறிக்கும்.

1.3. உரையாடுவோருக்கு இடையே பொருள்கோள் ஒத்துழைப்பு இருக்குப்போது 1 (அ) - (ஈ) ஆகிய தூண்டல், துலங்கல் செயற்பாடுகள் சாத்தியமாகின்றன. இவற்றிற்குப் பொதுவான விளக்கங்களாகக் கீழ்க்கணட பிரமாணங்களை அமைக்கலாம்.

2. (அ) பேசுவோர் 'அ' என்ற கூற்றின் மூலம் (இக்கூற்று தூண்டல் அல்லது துலங்கலாக விளங்கலாம்) அக்கூற்றின் செம்பொருளை உள்ளடக்கியுள்ள '$அ_1$' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்த்த விரும்பிக் கூற, கேட்போரும் பேசுவோரின் விருப்பத்தை அறிந்து '$அ_1$' என்ற தெரிவினை அனுமானித்துக் கொள்ளல் அல்லது அனுமானித்துப் பதில் அளித்தல்.

(ஆ) பேசுவோர் 'அ' என்ற கூற்றின் மூலம் (இக்கூற்று தூண்டல் அல்லது துலங்கலாக விளங்கலாம்) 'இ' என்ற தெரிவினையை கேட்போரும் புரிந்து கொள்வர் என்ற நப்பிக்கையில் அக்கூற்றைக் (அ என்ற கூற்றை) கூற கேட்போரும் பேசுவோரின் விருப்பத்தை அறிந்து 'இ' என்ற தெரிவினை அனுமானித்துக் கொள்ளுதல் அல்லது அனுமானித்துப் பதில் அளித்தல்.

உரையாடுவோருக்கு இடையே பொருள்கோள் ஒத்துழைப்பு இல்லாதபோது 1 (உ) (ஊ) ஆகிய தூண்டல், துலங்கல் செயற்பாடுகள் சாத்தியமாகின்றன.

இவற்றிற்குப் பொதுவான விளக்கங்களாகக் கீழ்க்கண்ட பிரமாணங்களை அமைக்கலாம்.

3. (அ) பேசுவோர் 'அ' என்ற கூற்றின் மூலம் (இக்கூற்று தூண்டல் அல்லது துலங்கலாக விளங்கலாம்) 'இ' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்த்த விரும்பிக் கூறக் கேட்போர் 'உ' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்ந்து கொள்ளல் அல்லது உணர்ந்து பதில் அளித்தல்.

(ஆ) பேசுவோர் 'அ' என்ற கூற்றின் மூலம் (இக்கூற்று தூண்டல் அல்லது துலங்கலாக விளங்கலாம்) 'இ' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்த்த விரும்பிக்கூற, கேட்போர் 'அ' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்ந்து கொள்ளல் அல்லது உணர்ந்து அதற்குப் பதில் அளித்தல்.

(இ) பேசுவோர் 'அ' என்ற கூற்றின் மூலம் (இக்கூற்று தூண்டல் அல்லது துலங்கலாக விளங்கலாம்) '$அ_1$' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்த்த விரும்பிக் கூற, கேட்போர் 'இ' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்ந்து கொள்ளல் அல்லது உணர்ந்து அதற்குப் பதில் அளித்தல்.

(ஈ) பேசுவோர் 'அ' என்ற கூற்றின் மூலம் (இக்கூற்று தூண்டல் அல்லது துலங்கலாக விளங்கலாம்) 'இ' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்த்த விரும்பிக்கூற, கேட்போர் அதைப் புரிந்து கொள்ளாமல் இருத்தல் அல்லது புரிந்து கொள்ளாமையைத் துலங்கலின் மூலம் உணர்த்துதல்.

மேற்காட்டிய பிரமாணங்களில் 2. (அ) நேரடிப் பொருள் அமைந்த உரையாடலுக்கும், 2. (ஆ) உள்ளுறைப் பொருள் அமைந்த உரையாடலுக்கும், 3. (அ)-(ஈ), விலகற்பொருள் அமைந்த உரையாடலுக்கும் விளக்கங்களாக அமைகின்றன. இவற்றில் பிரமாணம் 2. (ஆ) மட்டும் இங்கு ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு எடுத்துக் கொள்ளப்படுகிறது. இப்பிரமாணம் 1. (ஆ)-(ஈ)-க்குரிய செயற்பாட்டு விதிகளான

நே. தூ → ம. துல்
ம. தூ → நே. துல்
ம தூ → ம. துல்

ஆகியவற்றிற்குப் பொதுவான விளக்கமாக அமைகிறது.

1.4. ஒரு வாக்கியம் உணர்த்தும் செம்பொருளையே அவ்வாக்கியத்தைச் சந்தர்ப்பத்திற்கேற்பப் பயன்படுத்தும் பேசுவோரும் உணர்த்த வேண்டும் என்ற கட்டாயம் இல்லை எனக் கிரைஸ் குறிப்பிடுவதின் மூலம் (Grice, 1968: 227) ஒரு வாக்கியத்தின் பொருளைச் சந்தர்ப்பம் அல்லது உரையாடற்சூழலை

அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டே தீர்மானிக்கமுடியும் என்பதை வலியுறுத்துவதாக தோன்றுகிறது. ஆனால் தூண்டல் துலங்கல் கோட்பாட்டில் பேசுவோருடைய கூற்றின் செம்பொருளுக்கும் அக்கூற்றின் மூலம் உள்ளுறுத்திக் கூறப்படும் தெரிவுக்கும் ஏதாவதொரு இணைப்பு இருந்தாக வேண்டும் என்பது கருது கோளாகக் கொள்ளப்படுகிறது. இக் கருதுகோளை உறுதி செய்யும்பொருட்டு 1. (ஆ)-(ஈ) ஆகிய செயற்பாட்டு விதிகள் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகளுடன் விளக்கப் படுகின்றன.

1.4,1. ஒரு கூற்றின் மூலம் பேசுவோர் உணர்த்தும் உள்ளுறைப் பொருளுக்கும் அக்கூற்றின் செம்பொருளுக்கும் உள்ள இணைப்பை உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி (உ.கி) (implicational marker) எனக் குறிபபிடலாம். இவ்வுள்ளுறைக் கிளவி பற்றி விளக்குவதற்கு 1. (ஆ)விற்குரிய நே.தூ → ம துல் என்ற செயற்பாட்டு விதிக்குப் பொருத்தமுள்ள கீழ்க்கண்ட உரையாடலை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கொள்ளலாம்.

(4) பேர் : முருகன் நேற்று வகுப்பிற்கு வந்தானா?
கேர் : மாலா நேற்று வகுப்பிற்கு வரவில்லை.

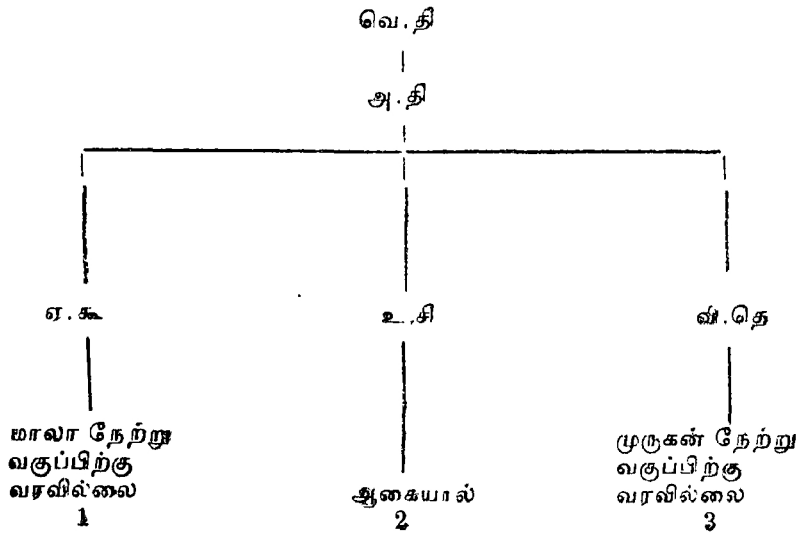
இவ்வுரையாடலில் 'கேர்' என்பவர், மாலா நேற்று வகுப்பிற்கு வரவில்லை' என்ற கூற்றின் மூலம் 'முருகன் நேற்று வகுப்பிற்கு வரவில்லை' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்த்துகிறார், கிரைஸின் கருத்துப்படி இவ்வுரையாடலுக்குழலில் 'கேர்' என்பவருடைய கூற்றின் பொருளே 'முருகன் நேற்று வகுப்பிற்கு வரவில்லை' என்ற கூற்றின் செம்பொருளைக் கணக்கில் எடுத்துக் கொள்ள வேண்டிய அவசியம் இல்லை. ஆனால், இவ்வாய்வில் கூற்றின் செம்பொருளுக்கும் அக்கூற்றின் மூலம் பேசுவோர் உணர்த்தும் உள்ளுறைப் பொருளுக்கும் இடையே உள்ள இணைப்புச் சுட்டிக் காட்டப்படுகிறது. 'கேர்' என்பவர் தன் கூற்றின் மூலம் 'மாலா நேற்று வகுப்பிற்கு வரவில்லை. ஆகையால் முருகனும் வகுப்பிற்கு வரவில்லை' என்பதை உணர்த்துகிறார். இதில் 'ஆகையால்' என்ற சொல் கூற்றின் செம்பொருளையும் உள்ளுறைப் பொருளையும் இணைக்கிறது. இச்சொல்லே 'உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி' என அழைக்கப்படுகிறது. 'ஆகையால்' என்ற உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி கூற்றினையும், தெரிவினையும் இணைக்கும் போது அவற்றில் ஒன்று ஏதுவாகவும் மற்றொன்று விளைவாகவும் மாறுகிறது. எனவே, இவ்வுள்ளுறைக் கிளவியை 'ஏது – விளைவு உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி (Cause and effect implicational Marker) எனக் குறிப்பிடலாம் இதனால் இணைக்கப்படும் கூற்றினையும். தெரிவினையும் முறையே ஏதுக்கூற்று (ஏ கூ) என்றும் விளைவுத் தெளிவு (வி. தெ) என்றும் குறிப்பிடலாம். உரையாடலின்போது தூண்டல், துலங்கலில் விளைவுத் தெரிவும், உள்ளுறைக் கிளவியும் மறைந்து ஏதுக்கூற்று மட்டும் புறநிலையில் காணப்படும்

போது அத்தூண்டல், துலங்கல் ஆகியவற்றை முறையே மறைத்தூண்டல் என்றும் மறைத்துலங்கல் என்றும் குறிப்பிடலாம். மேற்காட்டிய எடுத்துக்காட்டில் 'பேர்' என்பவரின் தூண்டலோடு 'கோ' என்பவருடைய துலங்கலைச் சார்புப்படுத்திப் பார்க்கும்போது அத்துலங்கல் மறைத்துலங்கலாக விளங்குகிறது அல்லது அத்துலங்கல் உள்ளுறைப் பொருளை உணர்த்துகிறது. எனவே உள்ளுறைப் பொருளை அறிவதற்கு உரையாடுவோர்,

1) தூண்டல் துலங்கல் உறவு
2) உரையாடற் சூழல்
3) கூற்றின் செம்பொருள்
4) பொருள்கோள் ஒத்துழைப்பு

ஆகியவற்றைக் கவனத்தில் கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

1.4.2. தூண்டலாகவும் துலங்கலாகவும் விளங்கும் கூற்றுகள் உரையாடுவோரின் வெளிப்பாட்டுத் திறனின் விளைவு முன்னர்க் கூறப்பட்டது. அவ்வெளிப்பாட்டுத் திறன் (வெ. தி) அறிதிறனிலிருந்தே (அ.தி) பெறப்படுகிறது. எனவே, 'மாலா நேற்று வகுப்பிற்கு வரவில்லை' என்ற கூற்று 'கோ' என்பவரின் அறிதிறனிலிருந்து எவ்வாறு பெறப்படுகிறது என்பதைக் கீழ்க்கண்ட கிளைப்படத்தின் மூலமும் அதன் மீது செயல்படும் விகாரங்களின் (transformation) மூலமும் விளக்கலாம்.



அறிதிறனின் நேரடி ஆட்சியிலுள்ள கணுக்கள் (nodes) எந்த மாற்றத்திற்கும் உட்படாமல் வெளிப்பாட்டுத் திறனிலும் காணப்பட்டால் அறிதிறனும் வெளிப் பாட்டுத் திறனும் சமமாகக் கருதப்படும். இத்தகைய நிலையில் அறிதிறன் என்ற கணுவை நீக்கிவிடலாம். அவ்வாறின்றி அறிதிறனின் நேரடி ஆட்சியி-லுள்ள ஏதாவதொரு கணு நீக்கப்படும்போது அறிதிறன் என்ற நிலைமாறி வெளிப்பாட்டுத் திறன் என்ற நிலையை அடைகிறது. இதனாலும் 'அறிதிறன்' என்ற 'ஆட்சிக்கணு' நீக்கப்படுகிறது. இச்செயலைக் 'கணுக்களைவு' (tree pruning) எனக் குறிப்பிடுவர் (Ross, John Robert 1969: 288-299) மேற்காட் டிய கிளைப்படத்தில் அறிதிறனின் நேரடி ஆட்சியிலுள்ள கணுக்களான 'ஏதுக் கூற்று -- ஆகையால் -- விளைவுத்தெரிவு' ஆகியவற்றில் விளைவுத்தெரிவு முத-லில் நீக்கப்படுகிறது அதன் காரணமாக 'ஆகையால' என்ற உள்ளுறைக் கிளவியும் நீங்குகிறது. இதனால் 'அறிதிறன்' என்ற நிலை மாறுகிறது. இப்-போது 'அறிதிறன்' என்ற ஆட்சிக்கணு கணுக்களைவின் மூலம் நீக்கப்படுவ-தால், 'ஏதுக்கூற்று வெளிப்பாட்டுத்திறனின் நேரடி ஆட்சியில் அமைகிறது. இந்த ஏதுக்கூற்று விளைவுத் தெரிவை உள்ளுறையாக உணர்த்துகிறது. எனவே, இதை விளைவுத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறைக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூற-லாம். விளைவுத் தெரிவு, உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி ஆகியவை நீக்கம் செய்யப்படு-வதைக் கீழ்க்கண்ட விகாரங்களின் மூலம் உணர்த்தலாம்.

விளைவுத் தெரிவு நீக்கல் விகாரம்

1 2 3 ——→ 1 2 – மாலா நேற்று வகுப்பிற்கு வரவில்லை ஆகையால்

உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி நீக்கல் விகாரம்

1 2 ——→ 1 – மாலா நேற்று வகுப்பிற்கு வரவில்லை.

1.5. மேலே விளக்கிய விளைவுத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறையைப் போன்று கீழ்க் கண்ட உள்ளுறைகளையும் விளக்கலாம்.

(ஆ) ஏதுத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை
(இ) எதிரிடைத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை
(ஈ) உவமேயத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை
(உ) உரையாடல் அழுத்தத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை

இவற்றிற்குரிய உள்ளுறைக் கிளவிகள் கீழே கொடுக்கப்படுகின்றன.

(5) (ஆ) (1) விளைவு – ஏது உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி – ஏனென்றால், ஏனெனில்

(இ) (1) எதிரிடை உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி — ஆனால்
(ஈ) (1) ஒப்புமை உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி — போல, மாதிரி
(உ) (1) உறையாடல் அழுத்த உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி — (,)

மேற்காட்டிய உள்ளுறைத் தெரிவுகளை மறைத்து உறையாடுவதைக் கீழ்க்கண்ட செயற்பாட்டு விதிகளான,

(1) (ஆ) நே. தூ ——→ ம. துல்
(இ) ம. தூ ——→ நே. துல்
(ஈ) ம. தூ ——→ ம. துல்

ஆகியவற்றின்மூலம் விளக்கலாம். இச்செயற்பாட்டு விதிகள் ஒவ்வொன்றிற்கும் எடுத்துக்காட்டுத் தந்து விளக்கலாம் என்றாலும் (1) (ஆ) -விற்கு மட்டும் எடுத்துக்காட்டுத் தந்து விளக்குவது இங்குப் போதுமானதாகக் கருதப்படுகிறது.

1. 5. 1. ஏதுத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை

(2) (ஆ) நே. தூ ——→ ம. துல் என்ற விதிக்குக் கீழ்க்கண்ட உரையாடலை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறலாம்.

(6) பேர் : கோடை விடுமுறை முடிந்து நேற்றுப் பள்ளிக்கூடம் ஆரம்பித்துவிட்டார்களோ?
கேர் : நேற்று மண்ணெண்ணை வாங்க முடியவில்லை.

இவ்வுரையாடலை 'பேர்' என்பவரின் கூற்று நேர்த்தூண்டலாக விளங்க, 'கேர்' என்பவரின் கூற்று மறைத்துலங்காக விளங்குகிறது. 'கேர்' என்பவர் தன்னுடைய கூற்றின்மூலம் 'என்னுடைய பிள்ளைகள் பள்ளிக்கூடத்திற்குச் சென்று விட்டார்கள்' என்ற தெரிவினை உள்ளுறையாக உணர்த்த விரும்புகிறார். உரையாடற்சூழல் ஆகியவை 'கேர்' என்பவர் உணர்த்த விரும்பும் உள்ளுறைத் தெரிவினையே 'பேர்' என்பவரும் அனுமானிக்க உதவுகின்றன. 'கேர்' என்பவரின் மறைத்துலங்கல் கூற்றிற்கும், அதன்மூலம் உணர்த்தப்படும் உள்ளுறைத் தெரிவுக்கும் இணைப்பாக 'ஏனெனில்' என்ற உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி விளங்குகிறது. 'கேர்' என்பவரின் அறிதிறனான 'நேற்று மண்ணெண்ணை வாங்க முடியவில்லை (விளைவுக் கூற்று) ஏனெனில் என்னுடைய பிள்ளைகள் பள்ளிக் கூடத்திற்குச் சென்று விட்டார்கள்' (ஏதுத் தெரிவு) என்பதிலிருந்து வெளிப்பாட்டுத் திறனாக விளைவுக் கூற்று மட்டும் பெறப்படுகிறது. இவ்வாறு உள்ளுறைக் கிளவியும், ஏதுத் தெரிவும் மறைக்கப்பட்டு உரையாடுவதைக் கிரைஸின் கருத்துப்படி, 'எந்த அளவுக்குத் தேவையோ அந்த அளவுக்கான தகவலை மட்டும் கொடுக்கவும்' என்ற உரையாடல் நியதியை மீறுவதாகக்

கொள்ளலாம். அதாவது கிரைஸின் கருத்துப்படி மேற்காட்டிய உரையாடலில் 'கேர்' என்பவரின் கூற்று குறைந்த தகவலைத் தருகிறது எனக் கொள்ளலாம்.

1. 5. 2. எதிரிடைத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை

(1) (ஆ) நே. தூ ——→ ம துல் என்ற விதிக்குக் கீழ்க்கண்ட உரையாடலை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறலாம்.

(7) பேர்: விமானத்தில் முதலமைச்சர் வருவதாகச் சொன்னார்களே, வந்துவிட்டாரா?
கேர்: விமானம் வந்துவிட்டது.

இவ்வுரையாடலில் 'கேர்' என்பவர் தன்னுடைய கூற்றின்மூலம் 'முதலமைச்சர் வரவில்லை' என்ற எதிரிடைத் தெரிவினை உள்ளுறையாக உணர்த்துகிறார். பொருள்கோள் ஒத்துழைப்பு, உரையாடற்சூழல் ஆகியவற்றின்மூலம் 'கேர்' என்பவர் உணர்த்தும் உள்ளுறையைப் 'பேர்' என்பவரும் அனுமானித்துக் கொள்வார். 'கேர்' என்பவருடைய கூற்றிற்கும், இக்கூற்றின்மூலம் உணர்த்தும் உள்ளுறைத் தெரிவிற்கும் இணைப்பாக 'ஆனால்' என்ற உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி விளக்குகிறது. அதாவது 'கேர்' என்பவரின் அறிதிறன் 'விமானம்' வந்து விட்டது, ஆனால் முதலமைச்சர் வரவில்லை' என்பதாக இருக்கும். இதிலிருந்து 'விமானம் வந்துவிட்டது' என்பது பெறப்படுகிறது. கிரைஸின் கருத்துப்படி 'கேர்' என்பவரின் கூற்று 'பேர்' என்பவருக்குத் தேவைக்குக் குறைவான தகவலைத் தருகிறது எனக் கூறலாம்.

1. 5. 3. உவமேயத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை

(1) (ஆ) நே. தூ ——→ ம. துல் என்ற விதிக்கு கீழ்க்கண்ட உரையாடலை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறலாம்.

(8) பேர்: முருகன் அந்தப் பெண்ணை மணக்க விரும்புவது பற்றி என்ன நினைக்கிறாய்?
கேர்: மூடவன் கொம்புத்தேனுக்கு ஆசைப்படுகிறான்.

இவ்வுரையாடலில் 'கேர்' என்பவர் தன்னுடைய கூற்றின்மூலம் 'முருகன் அந்தப் பெண்ணை மணக்க விரும்புவது நிறைவேறாது' என்பதைக் குறிப்பாக உணர்த்துகிறார். முருகனைப்பற்றியும் அந்தப் பெண்ணைப்பற்றியும் அறிந்த 'பேர்' என்பவர் 'கேர்' என்பவர் உணர்த்தும் பொருளை அனுமானித்துக் கொள்வார். 'கேர்' என்பவரின் அறிதிறன் 'மூடவன் கொம்புத்-

தேனுக்கு ஆசைப்படுவது நிறைவேறாததைப் போல முருகன் அந்தப் பெண்ணை மணக்க விருப்புவது நிறைவேறாது என்பதாக இருக்கும். அதில் உவமானக் கூற்றையும், உவமேயத் தெரிவையும் 'போல' என்னும் உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி இணைக்கிறது.

1. 5.4. உரையாடல் அழுத்தத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை

(1) (ஆ) நே.தூ→ம.தூல் என்ற விதிக்குக் கீழ்க்கண்ட உரையாடலை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறலாம்.

(9) சிபாரிசின் மூலம் தகுதியில்லாத ஒருவர் ஒரு வேலையில் சேர்ந்து விட்டார். 'கேர்' என்பவர் மேற்குறிப்பிட்டவருடைய தகுதியை அறிவார். 'பேர்' என்பவர் மேற் குறிப்பிட்ட ஆளைமட்டும் அறிவார்.

பேர்: அவருக்கு எப்படி அந்த வேலை கிடைத்தது? நல்ல தகுதி உடையவரா?

கேர்: அவர் நல்ல தகுதி உடையவர்.

இவ்வுரையாடலில் 'கேர்' என்பவர் 'நல்ல தகுதி உடையவர்' என்ற கூற்றில் உள்ள 'நல்ல' என்ற சொல்லில் கொடுக்கும் அழுத்தத்தின்மூலம் 'அவர் தகுதியற்றவர்' என்பதை உணர்த்துகிறார். இவர் சொல்லுகின்ற முறையைக் கவனத்திற்கொண்டு இவர் உணர்த்த விரும்பும் பொருளைப் 'பேர்' என்பவர் உணர்ந்து கொள்வார். கிரைஸின் கருத்துப்படி 'கேர்' என்பவர் 'பொய் என்று தோன்றுவதைச் சொல்லாதிருக்கவும்' என்ற உரையாடல் நியதியை மீறியதாகக் கொள்ளலாம்.

1.5.5. (1) (ஆ) நே. தூ→ம.துல் என்ற செயற்பாட்டு விதியில் 1) ஒன்றுக்கு மேற்பட்ட ஒரேவகை உள்ளுறைக் கிளவிகளும், அவற்றோடு தொடர்புடைய உள்ளுறைத் தெரிவுகளும் மறைந்து காணப்படலாம்.

11) இரண்டு வேறுபட்ட உள்ளுறைக் கிளவிகளும், அவற்றோடு தொடர்புடைய உள்ளுறைத் தெரிவுகளும் மறைந்து காணப்படலாம்.

இவற்றில் (11)-க்குக் கீழ்க்கண்ட விளக்கத்துடன் அமைந்துள்ள உரையாடலை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறலாம்.

(10) காதலியைப் பிரிந்து செல்லவேண்டிய கட்டாயத்தில் இருப்பதாக அவளுடைய தோழியிடம் (கேர்) காதலன் (பேர்) கூறுகிறான். அப்போது,

தோழி(கேர்): மலரைச் செடியிலேயே விட்டு வைத்தால் வாடிவிடும்;
நினைவில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு போய்வாருங்கள்.

இவ்வுரையாடலில் 'கேர்' என்பவர் தன்னுடைய கூற்றின்மூலம் 'விரைவில் தலைவியை மணம் செய்து கொள்ளுங்கள்' என்ற உள்ளுறைத் தெரிவினை உணர்த்த விரும்புகிறார். இவருடைய கூற்றிற்கும், உள்ளுறைத் தெரிவிற்கும் இணைப்புகளாக இரண்டு உள்ளுறைக் கிளவிகள் விளங்குகின்றன. அதாவது 'கேர்' என்பவரின் அறிதிறன் 'மலரைச் செடியிலேயே விட்டு வைத்தால் விரைவில் வாடிவிடுவதைப்போலத் தலைவியை வீட்டிலேயே விட்டுவைத்தால் விரைவில் மெலிந்து விடுவாள் ஆகையால் விரைவில் தலைவியை மணம் செய்து கொள்ளுங்கள்' என்பதாக இருக்கும். இவ்வறிதிறனில் இரண்டுவகை உள்ளுறைக் கிளவிகள் காணப்படுகின்றன. 'கேர்'-இன் நோக்கம் 'ஆகையால்' என்ற ஏது-விளைவு உள்ளுறைக்கிளவியோடு தொடர்புடைய விளைவுத்தெரிவினை உணர்த்துவதாகும். எனவே, இவ்வுரையாடலை 'விளைவுத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறைக்கு' எடுத்துக் காட்டாகக் கொள்ளலாம்.

1.6. உள்ளுறை பற்றிய ஆராய்ச்சி தமிழுக்குப் புதியது அல்ல. உள்ளுறை பற்றித் தொல்காப்பியர் பொருளதிகாரத்தில் விளக்கியுள்ளார் என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. தொல்காப்பியர் உள்ளுறைவகைபற்றிக் கீழ்க்கண்டவாறு குறிப்பிடுகிறார்,

உடனுறை, உவமம், சுட்டு, நகை, சிறப்பெனக்
கெடலரும் மரபின் உள்ளுறை ஐந்தே
(தொல். பொருள். இளம்., நூ 238 கழக வெளியீடு)

இவற்றில் உடனுறை என்பதற்கு 'உடனுறையாவது உடனுறைவதொன்றைச் சொல்ல, அதனானே பிறிதொரு பொருள் விளங்குவது' என விளக்கம் தரப்படுகிறது (தொல்.பொருள். இளம். நூ. 238) உள்ளுறை உவமம் பற்றித் தொல்காப்பியர் கீழ்க்கண்டவாறு குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.

உள்ளுறுத்து இதனோடு ஒத்துப் பொருள் முடிகென
உள்ளுறுத் திறுவதை உள்ளுறை உவமம்
(தொல். பொருள். நச்சி. : நூ. 48)

இந்நூற்பாவிற்கு 'யான் புலப்படக் கூறுகின்ற இவ்வுவமத்தோடு புலப்படக் கூறாத உவமிக்கப்படும் பொருள் ஒத்து முடிவதாக என்று புலவன் தன் உள்ளத்தே கருதி, தான் அங்ஙனம் கருதும் மாத்திரையேயன்றி கேட்போர்

மனத்தின்கண்ணும் அவ்வாறே நிகழ்வித்து அங்ஙனம் உணர்த்துவதற்கு உறுப்பாகிய சொல்லெல்லாம் கொண்டு முடிவது உள்ளுறை உவமம்' என்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் விளக்கம் தருகிறார். (தொல். பொருள் நூ. 48: கழக வெளியீடு) இவ்விளக்கம் 'உரையாடல் உள்ளுறைக்கும்' பொருந்தும். தொல்காப்பியர் உடனுறை, உள்ளுறை, உவமம், நகை, சுட்டு, சிறப்பு ஆகியவற்றை அகவிலக்கியத்திற்கு மட்டும் உரியவையாகக் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். இவ்வுள்ளுறை வகைகள் அனைத்தும் உரையாடல் மொழியிலும் காணப்படுகின்றன. எனவே, இவை எல்லாவற்றையும் 'உரையாடல் உள்ளுறை' என்ற பொதுவான தலைப்பின் கீழ் அடக்கிக் கூறலாம் ஏனெனில் உள்ளுறை வகைகள் ஒவ்வொன்றையும் தொல்காப்பியர் வேறுபடுத்திக் கூறினாலும், இவை எல்லாம் (3) (ஆ)-விற்குரிய 'பேசுவோர்' அ' என்ற கூற்றின் மூலம் (இக்கூற்றுத் தூண்டல் அல்லது துலங்கலாக விளங்கலாம்) 'இ' என்ற தெரிவினை உணர்த்த விரும்புவதோடு தான் உணர்த்த விரும்பும் தெரிவினையே கேட்போரும் புரிந்து கொள்வர் என்ற நம்பிக்கையில் அக்கூற்றைக் ('அ' என்ற கூற்றை) கூற, கேட்பொரும் பேசுவோரின் விருப்பத்தை அறிந்து 'இ' என்ற தெரிவினை அனுமானித்துக் கொள்ளுதல் அல்லது 'அனுமானித்துப் பதில் அளித்தல்' என்ற உரையாடல் உள்ளுறைபற்றிய விளக்கத்திற்கு உட்படுகின்றன.

இவ்விளக்கம் உள்ளுறை வகைகளுக்குப்பொருந்தி வருவதைச் சங்க இலக்கியத்திலிருந்து ஒரு எடுத்துக்காட்டுத் தந்து விளக்கலாம்

(11) *சேந்றுநிலை முனைஇய செங்கட் காரான்*
ஊர்மடி கங்குலின் நோன்றளை பரிந்து
கூர்முள்வேலிக் கோட்டி னீக்கி
நீர்முதிர் பழனத்து மீனுட னிரிய
வந்தூம்பு வள்ளை மயக்கித் தாமரை
வண்டுது பனிமலர் ஆரும் ..... (அகம். 46)

என்ற கூற்றின் மூலம் தோழி தலைவனின் பரத்தமை ஒழுக்கத்தை உள்ளுறைப் பொருளாகக் கூறிக் கடிகின்றாள். தோழியின் கூற்றை 'அ' என்னும், அக்கூற்றின்மூலம் உணர்த்தும் உள்ளுறையை 'இ' என்றும் கொண்டால் இவ்விரண்டிற்கும் இணைப்பாகப் 'போல, என்ற உள்ளுறைக் கிளவி விளங்குகிறது. தோழியின் அறிதிறன் 'சேற்றிலேயே நிற்பதை வெறுத்த சிவந்த கண்களையுடைய கரிய எருமை, ஊரார்அனைவரும் உறங்கும் இருளில், தனது வலிய தளையை அறுத்து, தன் கொம்பினால் முள்வேலியை அகற்றி, நீர்மிக்க வயலில் மீன்கள் ஓட, வள்ளைக் கொடியை நீக்கித் தாமரைப்பனிமலரைத் தின்பதைப்போல தலைமகன், தான் ஆதரிக்க வேண்டிய தலைவியை வேறு

படுத்தி நாணத்திலிருந்து விடுபட்டு, பரத்தைக்கும் காவலாகிய விறலியைப் பாணனின் மூலம் நீக்கி, அப்பரத்தையோடு இருக்கும் தோழிகளை விரட்டி விட்டு அப்பரத்தையை நுகர்ந்தான்' என்பதாக இருக்கும் இவ்வறிதிறனிலிருந்து 'ஒப்புமை உள்ளுறை கிளவியும்,உவமேயத் தெரிவும் நீங்கி' உவமானக் கூற்று மட்டும் வெளிப்பாட்டுத் திறனாக விளங்குகிறது' எனலாம். தோழி தன்னுடைய கூற்றின்மூலம் உணர்த்தும் உள்ளுறைத் தெரிவினைத் தலைவன் புரிந்து கொள்வதற்கு உரையாடற்சூழலும், பொருள்கோள் ஒத்துழைப்பும் உதவுகின்றன. தோழி எந்த நேரத்தில், எந்தச்சூழலில் கூறுகிறாள் என்பதைத் தலைவன் உணர்ந்து கொண்டாலன்றி அவருடைய கூற்றின் உள்ளுறைப் பொருளை அனுமானிக்க முடியாது.

1 6.1. தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடும் 'உடனுறை' என்பதும் இறைச்சி என்பதும் ஒன்றே எனத் திறனாய்வாளர் கருதுகின்றனர். (செயராமன், நா: 1979:52). உடனுறை, இறைச்சி என்ற வெவ்வேறு சொற்களைத் தொல்காப்பியர் பயன்படுத்தினாலும், இறைச்சி என்பதற்கு மட்டுமே விளக்கம் கொடுத்துள்ளார். ஒரே பொருள்கோளைக் குறிப்பதற்கு இருவேறு சொற்களைப் பயன்படுத்த வேண்டும் என்ற அவசியம் இல்லை. எனவே உடனுறை என்பது தற்கால மொழியியலார் குறிப்பிடும் அனுமானம் (presupposition) என்பதை உணர்த்தும் எனலாம். தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடும் இறைச்சி என்பதின் கீழ் முன்னர்க் குறிப்பிட்ட விளைவுத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை, ஏதுத் தெரிவு உள்ளுறை ஆகியவற்றை அடக்கிக் கூறலாம். இறைச்சியில் 'ஆகையால்' ஏனெனில், ஆனால், அழுத்தம் (stress)' ஆகியவை உள்ளுறைக் கிளவிகளாகச் செயல்படும். ஆனால் உள்ளுறை உவமத்தில் 'போல, மாதிரி' ஆகியவை உள்ளுறைக் கிளவிகளாகச் செயல்படும்.

1.6.2 இலக்கியங்களில் காணப்படும் உள்ளுறைகளைப் பற்றிப் பொருளதிகாரத்தில் குறிப்பிட்ட தொல்காப்பியர், சொல்லதிகாரத்தில் தூண்டல், துலங்கல் செயற்பாடுகள் குறித்துக் கீழக்கண்ட நூற்பாக்களில் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார்.

(அ) ''செப்பும் வினாவும் வழா அல் ஓம்பல்''
(ஆ) ''வினாவுஞ் செப்பே வினாவெதிர் வரினே''
(இ) ''செப்பே வழீஇயினும் வரைநிலை யின்றே
அப்பொருள் புணர்ந்த கிளவியான''
(தொல். சொல். தெய். நூ: 13;15, கழக வெளியீடு)

இந்நூற்பாக்களில் (அ), (ஆ) ஆகிய இரண்டும் (1) (அ) நே. தூ → நே. துல் என்ற செயற்பாட்டு விதிக்கு விளக்கங்களாக அமைகின்றன. நூற்பா (இ) (1)

(ஆ) நே. தூ → ம. துல் என்ற செயற்பாட்டு விதிக்கு விளக்கமாக அமைகிறது. இந்நூற்பாவிற்குத் தெய்வச்சிலையார்,

உண்ணாயோ சாத்தா?
வயிறு குத்திற்று

என்ற எடுத்துக்காட்டினைத் தருகிறார் (தொல். சொல்.தெய். நூ. 15). இதில் 'வயிறு குத்திற்று' [என்ற செப்பு உண்ணாயோ சாத்தா?' என்ற வினாவிற்கு வழுவுடைய செப்பாக விளங்குகிறது என்பது தொல்காப்பியர், உரையாசிரியர் ஆகியோரின் கருத்து. இருப்பினும் இச்செப்பு 'நீ உண்' என்ற பொருளை உணர்த்துவதால் இதை வழுவமைதியாகக் கொள்ளலாம் எனத் தொல்-காப்பியர் கருதுகிறார். வழுவுடைய செப்பு என்பதே மறைத்துலங்கல் என இவ்வராய்ச்சியில் கொள்ளப்படுகிறது. இவ்வழுவுடைய செப்பின்மூலம் என்ன பொருள் உணர்த்தப்படுகிறதோ அப்பொருளே 'உரையாடல் உள்ளுறை' எனப் பெயரிட்டு விளக்காவிட்டாலும், உரையாடலில் ஒரு கூற்றின்மூலம் அக் கூற்றின் செம்பொருளுக்கு மாறுபட்ட இன்னொரு பொருளை உணர்த்தலாம் என்பதைச் சுட்டிக்காட்டியிருப்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது ஆகும். இருப்பினும் தொல்காப்பியத்தின் உள்ளுறை பற்றிய கருத்துக்கள் ஒரு கோட்பாடாக உருவாக்கம் செய்யப்படவில்லை.

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A Festschrift for
Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai

26

A Strategy for Teaching Tamil*

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Planned presentation is as important as the quality of the material in any enterprise aimed at getting maximum results. It is more so if the material to be presented is complex. Teaching of Tamil as second language involves the handling of such complex material since it should cover diglossia. The teacher of Tamil has to teach both spoken and written Tamil, which are considered as two different styles by some and as two different languages by some others, depending upon their definition of language.

It is true that the choice of the style or the language to be taught is dictated by the needs of the student. But in most circumstances the student needs to learn both spoken and written Tamil. It is not enough to teach him the spoken Tamil alone since he cannot understand with it the writings and the speeches made on formal occasions. We cannot ask him to use the spoken Tamil on formal occasions since it will amount to ignorance on his part of language use. It is not enough to teach him the written Tamil alone since he cannot understand the speech of the people, though he could speak with them and be largely understood. So

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we need to teach him both spoken and written Tamil along with the social contexts they are used in. And we need to find an efficient way to teach both Tamils.

Both may be taught either successively or simultaneously. But neither one of these two methods is followed exclusively by any one It is the general practice to combine both and teach both Tamils successively in the initial stages and then change to simultaneous teaching in the later stages. In the elementary stage, the spoken Tamil is taught first by most teachers which is followed by the written Tamil. But the teachers differ in the time when they start teaching written Tamil. Though it is simultaneous in the later stage, teaching spoken Tamil and written Tamil do not get equal time. The written Tamil in general practice occupies more and more time in the later stage and the spoken Tamil goes to the background.

I would argue in this paper that it will be more efficient and effective to start with the written Tamil This hypothesis is based on my observation of student performance in the classroom and outside after the completion of the course and on my discussions with my students and fellow teachers of Tamil. It is not subjected to any rigorous objective comparative evaluation. This is proposed for teaching Tamil as a second language for non-native adults whom I have the experience of teaching to. Nevertheless, I assume that this will be more true for the non-native children also for the additional reason that we don't need to introduce the Roman script to them to transliterate spoken Tamil. Some of my arguments are based on my experience in phased programmes but I think they will hold true for intensive programmes also.

I will first give the problems the students have when we start with spoken Tamil. First, since we introduce spoken Tamil through transliteration, which is akin to the Roman script, and since most of our students are already familiar with this script, they relate the Tamil sounds not to the actual pronunciation but to the transliteration symbols. Since the students have already established a recongnition pattern with the Roman script, they are influenced by those symbols in pronouncing the Tamil sounds. Even the modifications of the Roman script such as using capitals and diacritics do not help the students to disassociate themselves from the practice of identifying them with the Roman script. For

example, in spite of using T or ṭ for the retroflex stop the students often pronounce it like the English t.

Secondly, it is not easy for some students to relate the spoken word in Roman script and the written word, and even the spoken word itself, in Tamil script as one and the same item. They tend to keep the two systems apart. It looks as though they are carrying two lexicons in their brain, which makes storage space consuming and acquisition and retrieval time consuming. For example, ele 'leaf' in transliterations said separate entity for them from the written form இலை and even the spoken form எல in Tamil script. This happens in spite of giving the regular rules, wherever regularity exists, relating written Tamil and spoken Tamil. It must also be noted that always the rules are given to derive the spoken forms from the written. It is nearly impossible to go the otherway round, i.e., to derive the written forms from the spoken, since the conditioning factors for certain phonological changes have been lost in spoken Tamil. Even if we could do it, it will not help the student to readily identify the spoken from in Tamil script with that in Roman script.

Thirdly, the students do not get enough reinforcement of spoken Tamil in the advanced stage of his learning, since more and more time in this stage is used for written Tamil. As a result, their competence in spoken Tamil slowly falls down. It is not possible with the limited time available to allot equal time for both Tamils in the class room and to do justice for both.

One may propose that the first two problems may be solved if we teach spoken Tamil through the Tamil script. But this has certain disadvantages. The Tamil script is not adequate to render the exact pronunciation of the spoken forms and we can give only close approximations. We cannot introduce modification on the Tamil script for the simple reason that it would make the regular Tamil script, which is used for written Tamil, a removed and relating both scripts would be as difficult as relating Roman script and Tamil script as described above. Moreover, the student is likely to carry over the script system used for spoken Tamil to written and will be considered (or condemned) to have misspelled the words.

On the other hand, there are good linguistic, pedagogical and psychological reasons for starting the Tamil course with written Tamil. Before taking them up we will see whether there are any arguments for

starting with spoken Tamil and how far they are valid. One argument is that the spoken language must be the linguist's primary concern. Even if a language teacher accepts this as valid irrespective of the concerns of the student, this argument evaporates since, as we saw above, less and less time is devoted for spoken Tamil in the later stages of the courses. The second argument is that the native children learn the language this way. But it is not necessarily true that the non-native adults learn the language the same way as the native children. Moreover, the native children acquire complete mastery over spoken Tamil before they start the written. Though they learn both Tamils successively they hear spoken Tamil all the time outside the classroom while they are learning written Tamil. We cannot provide this exposure and opportunity to our non-native adult students, especially when the language is taught in an area where it is not spoken.

The linguistic reasons for starting with written Tamil are the following. First, since the sounds are introduced through the Tamil script, with which the student has established no prior association, there are more chances of him getting the correct pronunciation. Secondly, since there will be only one dictionary, the student, especially the one who is more prone to visual image than to audio image, is likely to acquire, recognize and retrieve more words in less time. Thirdly, the written Tamil is more basic than any other dialect for deriving the various dialect forms including the standard dialect, which has not yet emerged fully. It will be thus easy for the student to switch from written Tamil to any dialect, wants to get familiar with after learing certain rules. Fourthly, even if the student fails to master the spoken language, he will be able to read and write and understand formal speech such as that on radios, classrooms and public platforms and will be understood by most people (even be admired for speaking 'Chaste Tamil') since by and large the Tamil population is exposed to formal speeches. The only thing he cannot do is to understand the informal speech. But the experience of my students shows that they acquire this skill in a short time once they are in the actual speech community. If they never come to live in the community, as some foreign students do since their work involves only reading and interpretation of books, they will not miss their lacking of this skill. And the foreign student can keep himself in touch with the written Tamil through out his career more easily than with spoken Tamil.

There is a pedagogical advantage also in starting with written Tamil. The lesser time avilable for written Tamil in the advanced stage

of the course can be well compensated by giving home assignments such as translation, composition, epitomizing, etc. The student can make use of the available dictionaries at home. The exercises can be corrected by the teacher outside the class hour. This kind of compensation cannot be done for spoken Tamil since it requires the student to speak and that requires the teacher and the classroom. There is no point in giving spoken exercises in transliteration since it doesn't help them at all to speak the language. There is no dictionary of spoken words for the student to use at home. If the teacher gives these exercises for reinforcing the grammatical patterns it can be very well done with the written exercises also. It must be noted, however, that the compensation for the less time spent on spoken Tamil can be made to some extent if a language laboratory and good spoken exercise materials on tapes are available. But the experience of every teacher tells us that it is very hard to make interesting reinforcement material for spoken Tamil for the advanced student which can be administered without the teacher.

There are a few psychological advantages in starting with written Tamil. The student gets the excitement of diciphering an unknown code in the elementary stage when he learns the values of the written symbol and reads a few lines without understanding them. May be because the visual image is concrete and stationary, the student gets a sense of achievement when he masters a new language through its own script. The written language has a prestige value in the psychology of the people and this contributes to the motivation for learning the language.

There are two objections for starting with written Tamil There is a fear that the written forms may interfere while speaking in the pronunciation of the student. I think this can be kept to the minimum by constantly and intensively exposing the student to spoken Tamil in the advanced stage. This exposure will also take care of inculcating in the student the intonation and the rhythm of the Tamil speech. Even if some interference stays on, it will be socially more acceptable than the interference of spoken forms in the writing of the student. The second objection is that the student will be confused once he comes out of the classroom, since he will hear mostly spoken Tamil. But this objection is valid only when Tamil is taught in a Tamil speaking area The possibility of confusion exists here even if we start with spoken Tamil, since the student will hear more often the non-standard dialects. Also I have seen

my students' spoken Tamil being corrected towards written Tamil in the beginning by the common people on whom the students try their spoken Tamil, since the written Tamil is considered to be the correct and grammatical Tamil.

So far I have talked about written Tamil as if there were only one kind of it. But in reality there are many kinds of written Tamil starting from Pandit's Tamil at one end of the spectrum to New Writer's Tamil at the other end. The written Tamil I am advocating here is the one which is closer to spoken Tamil in syntax and morphology except in the phonological shape of the morphemes, This will be a middle point from which the student can go either to the spoken Tamil or to the literary Tamil. The written Tamil will be started in the Tamil script and the student will be taught in the elementary stage the reading pronunciation. Then towards the end of the intermediate stage he will be taught the spoken pronunciation as we do for English from the beginning. The student may be guided into this gradually by using visual aids in the initial lessons such as bracketing the silent sounds and giving the approximate spoken forms in Tamil script within brackets etc. These aids may be removed in later lessons when the student has established the pattern of spoken pronunciation. The student may have problem in keeping the reading and the spoken pronunciations distinct since the base symbols for both are the same. But we must concede that there is even among the native speakers quite a number of transfers of spoken pronunciation to reading pronunciation.

As I said in the beginning, this proposal to start teaching Tamil with the written variety is based on subjective thinking but I believe it is worth experimenting in the class room.

A Festschrift for
Prof M. Shanmugam Pillai.

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A Programme for Teaching the Formal and Informal Varieties of Tamil*

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1. There are certain language like Tamil, Sinhalese and Arabic which have a peculiar language situation known as Diglossia. Charles Ferguson (1959) defines diglossia as:

> A relatively stable languages situation in which in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard cr regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or of another speech community, which is

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* This is the rivised version of the paper presented in the Eighth Annual Conference of Indian Association for programmed learning and Educational Innovations, held in CIEFL, Hyderabad, November 1975.

I owe my thanks to Dr. E. Annamalai, who guided me in preparing this paper. My thanks are due to Dr. D.P. Pattanayak, for having guided me in the inital stages of the paper. My thanks are due to Dr.M. S. Thirumalai, for having helped writing this paper and to Dr. S. Rajaram for having discussed with me some of the problems I encountered with.

learned largely by formal education and is used formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation.[1]

2. The existing Tamil situation has an informal and formal variety. The informal variety is a variety through which Tamils speak with each other in informal contexts. The formal variety is that variety which has been used (i) as a vehicle for literary writting (ii) which is learned through formal education and (iii) which has been used for most written purposes and formal spoken purposes. This variety is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

3. Linguistically the informal and formal varieties differ from one another (i) at the phonological level (ii) at the morphophonemic level (iii) at the morphological level and (iv) at the syntactic level.
Some illustrations are given below.[2]

(i) Phonological level

INFORMAL	FORMAL	
ele	ilay	'leaf'
koɾom	kuṭam	'pot'
paṭicce:n	paṭitte:n	'read'

(ii) Morphophonemic level

INFORMAL	FORMAL
paṭi + tt- → paṭicc	paṭi + tt → paṭitt-

(iii) Morphological level

There is no distinction between neuter singular and plural in the informal variety.

INFORMAL	FORMAL	
ma:ṭu po:kutu	ma:ṭupo:kiɾatu	'bull-goes'
na:l:uma:ɾu po:kutu	na:nku maṭukaḷ po:kinɾana	'four bulls-go'

In the honorific singular unlike a single pronoun in the formal variety there are two pronouns for masculine and feminine genders.

INFORMAL		FORMAL	
avar	'he/she' (hon)	avarū	'he (hon.)'
		avaṅka	'she (hon.)'

There are many words in the formal variety which are never used informally.

(iv) Syntactic level

Present tense marker is used in relative participle and human participial noun constructions in the informal variety whereas in the formal variety future tense marker is used in addition to present tense marker.

colra	colkiṟa/collum	'the thing which is being told'
colravaṅka	colkiṟavarkaḷ/colpavarkaḷ	'the persons who tell'

4.1. In language teaching, teaching languages like Tamil etc., create certain problems as the two varieties differ remarkably from each other and yet they are related. If a teacher wants to teach both the varieties the problem is as to how he could handle the situation.

4.2. There are broadly two ways to teach.

One : Keep spoken Tamil and written Tamil as separate entities and concentrate on teaching written Tamil after teaching spoken Tamil or vice versa.

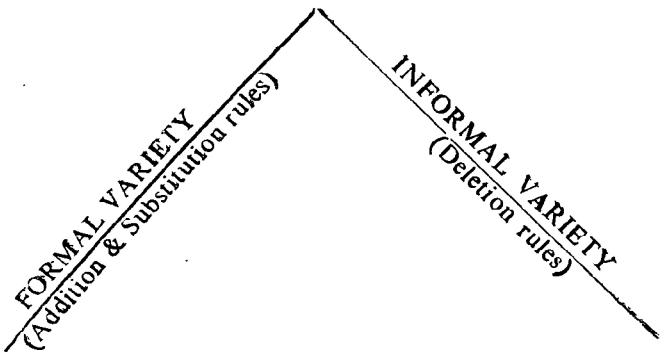
Two : As these two varieties are related, teach one variety in the beginning and later on teach the other variety by means of addition/deletion/substitution rules. The latter seems to be a better method than the former as one assumes generally that the learning is facilitated if the principle from known to the unknown is adopted. Now the problem before a second language Tamil teacher would be as to which variety of the language he should start with, in the second method.

Let us assume that a teacher teaches first the informal variety and then switches over to the formal variety. After this switch over, what should the teacher do to keep the students in touch with the informal variety? The teacher cannot give home assignments, in the informal variety as it will be of no use in pleaces where the language learned is not spoken outside the class room and where sufficient reinforcement though tapes etc, is not readily available Besides this, switching over from informal variety to formal variety needs a lot of 'addition rules' which are tedious from the learner's point of view.

There is still one more strategy in which one may start from the formal variety and switch over to the informal variety. This also does not seem to work very well because, an important feature of the forma variety is the existence of a great number of synonymous constructions, all the case of which have no counter occurrence in the informal variety. Examples are given in section 6.

5. In order to solve such problems arising in diglossic situal tion, the present paper suggests another strategy. One may start teaching a common core variety, which is common both to written and spoken variety. After teaching the common core, a teacher can teach on the one hand the informal variety mostly by means of certain deletion rules and on the other hand the formal variety mostely by means of certain addition and substitution rules. This can be diagramatically represented as follows

COMMON CORE



6. **What is a common core?**

Common core is a variety where the syntax of the formal Tamil is closer to informal Tamil. But as far as the phonemic shape of words and morphomes are concerned, they follow the formal Tamil. In other words sentences which are common both to the informal and formal verieties find a place in the common core.

See the following sentences,

(1) aval peːcikkoṇṭeː vantaːḷ 'she came talking'

(2) avanukkuk koːpam vantatu 'He (dative subject) got angry'

(3) ta:n paṭikkiṟataik keṭukkiṟata: 'He told that (some one) is spoiling kacconna:n his reading'

(4) ni: paṭittu ennaceyyap po: 'she shouted as what are you going kiṟa:y enṟu avaḷ kattina:ḷ to do after studying'

The above sentences are in the common core, as they fulfil the requirements of section 6.

Now from these sentences as a starting point one can go on both the directions viz., Informal and formal varieties.

Sentences No. 1.

(i) To Informal variety

ava pe:cikiṭṭe: vanta: 'She came talking'

Here a deletion rule and a substitutions rule are in operation. The word final ḷ is deleted from the common core words *avaḷ* and *vanta:ḷ*; *kiṭṭe* is substituted in the place of *koṇṭu* of the common core variety.

(ii) To formal variety.

avaḷ pe:ciyava:ṟu vanta:ḷ
avaḷ peciyavaṇṇam vanta:ḷ
avaḷ peciya paṭiye: vanta:ḷ
} 'She came talking'

Here *pe:ciyava:ṟu*, *pe:ciyavaṇṇam*, *pe:ciyapaṭiye:* are synonymous to the common core form *pe:cikkoṇṭu*. Here in this case substitution rule operates.

Sentence No. 2

(i) To informal variety

avanukku -k- ko:pom vantatu 'He got angry'

Here the word final -am is reduced into a nasalized vowel. As one k of the sandhi is disappeared the pronunciation of the word final u is changed from rounded u to unrounded u.

(ii) To formal variety.

avan ko:pam aṭainta:n 'He got angry'

This sentence is synonymous to the common core sentence.

Sentence No. 3.

(i) To informal variety.

tã: paṭikkurate keṭukkurata: connã:

'He told that (someone) is spoiling his reading'

Phonological shape of the present tense suffix *kkiṛ* is changed into *kkur* where there is no difference in pronunciation between *r* and r. The phonological shape of the accusative case suffix *-ai* is changed into *-e*. The phonological shape of the adverbial suffix *-a:ka* is changed into *-a*. In other words these can be called as spelling changes.

(ii) To formal variety.

ta:n paṭippatãikkeṭuppata:kak ku:ṛina:n

'He told that (someone) is spoiling his reading'

The present tense marker viz, *kkiṛ* of the common core is changed into future tense marker viz. *-pp*-in the case of relative participle and the partifipial noun of the formal variety though semantically both refer to noncast. The lexical item *conna:n* of the common core is substituted by the pormal variety *ku:ṛina:n*

Sentence No.4.

(i) To informal variety.

ni: paṭiccu enna ceyyappore:ṇṇu ava kattina:

paṭi + *tt* brings a difference in morphophonemic rule as *paṭi* + *cc* in the informal variety.

The present tense suffix *kiṛ* is changed into r and pronominal termination of the second person singular is reduced from *a:y* to *e:*,

The quotative particle *enṛu* is reduced into *-ṇṇu*

(ii) To formal variety,

The sentence can be used as such.

CONCLUSION

Here a frame work is suggested for teaching the informal and formal varieties of Tamil. The author of this paper believes that a material pro-

ducer who is trained in programmed instruction can exploit his expertise to maximum following the strategy suggested in this paper for the preparation of a programme

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Tamilian English: A Sociolinguistic study

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1. Introduction

Different social groups of different regions in India assimilate English according to their own language situations using those phonetic and grammatical laws applicable in their languages. But irrespective of the existing regional variations, there is a general feeling among scholars and writers about the existence of a variety called Indian English. The term 'Tamilian English' represents the variety of English used by Tamil speakers in their normal linguistic behaviour, in various social contexts.

In sociolinguistic descriptions, it has become a practice to present 'loan assimilations' by means of *assimilation rules* along with those variable rules which explain the 'linguistic variability' found in the native usages. All these rules are conditioned by different *social parameters* like social status, economic status, educational status, age, sex etc. The present study conducted in the Annamalai university campus, takes into account the *literacy level* as the major variable.

The various segments available for the study of Tamilian English represent Post Graduate-Arts (PGA) Post Graduate-Science (PGS), Under Graduate-Science (UGS), Under Graduate-Arts (UG), Agriculture (AG) Engineering (ENGG), Teaching staff (TS) and Non-teaching Staff (NTS).

2. Questionnaire and Data Elicitation

As a first step of the present study of a questionnaire was prepared including all basic types of grammatical features, sentence patterns

etc., of English. Informants were asked to give the equivalent usages from their language.

3. Method of Analysis

The data collected from the informants being phonetic in character is compared with the standard variety of English, namely R.P. from the comparison, all deviations, assimilations etc., reflected in the informants use of English are found out. These deviations and assimilations are then classified as follows.

4. Phonetics : overall system

In this section the overall system of sounds (i.e. vowels, diphthongs and consonants) reflected in the use of the native Tamil speakers in their English usage, is presented. The correspondences found in various sound segments in different educational groups are represented. The correspondence is made between RP and the Tamilian English. The variants, as found in the English usage, are illustrated.

4.1 Vowels and their variants

4.1.1. Illustration and comparison with RP

The vowel [i:] has the variants [yi:], [i:] and [i:y].

Ex:	'eat'	[yi:t]
	'beat'	[bi:t]
	'see'	[si:y]

Correspondingly [i] has the variants [yi], [i] and [iy].

The vowel [ɛ] or [e] has the variants [ye] and [e].

The vowel [a] has the variants [æ] and [æ:] and [a].

The vowel [a:] has the variants [a:], [æ] and [æ:].

The vowels [ɔ] and [ɔ:] have only one sound correspondence [a :]

The vowel [u] has the variants [u] and [u:]

The vowel [u:] corresponds to [u:]

The vowel [ʌ] has the variants [a] and [ʌ]

The vowel [ə:] has the variants [e:] [a] and [ə:]

The vowel [ə] has the variants[a], [e], [a:] and [ə:]

4.1.2 Diphthongs and their variants

The diphthong [ei] has the variants [ɔi], [e] and [ei]

The diphthong [ou] has the variants [o:] and [o]

The diphthong [ai] has the variants [ai] and [aiy]

The diphthong [au] has the variants [av], [avu] and [au]

The diphthong [ɔi] corresponds to [a:y]

The diphthong [ɛə] has the variants [æ], [æ:] and [e:ya]

The diphthong [iə] has the variants [iya], [i:] and [ia]

The diphthong [ɔə] has the variants [o:] and [o].

The diphthong [uə] has variants [uva], [ua] and [u:]

4.2. Consonants and their variants

Stops:

Bilabial RP [p]* has the variants [pp] and [p]
RP [b] has the variants [bb] and [b]

Alveolar RP [t] has the variants [t̪] and [t̪t̪] and [t]
RP [d] has the variants [d̪], [d̪d̪] and [d]

Velar RP [k] has the variants [kk] and [k]
RP [g] has the variants [g] and [gg]

Affricates:

Alveopalatal

RP [tʃ] has the variant [č]
RP [dz] has the variant [ǰ]

Fricatives:

Labiodental (slit)

RP [f] has the variants [f], [ff], [ɓ] and [pp]
RP [v] has the variants [v] and [w].

Dental (slit)

RP [θ] has the variant [t̪]
RP [ð] has the variant [d̪]

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*[p] is always unaspirated initially in Tamilian use of English.

Glottal (slit)

RP [h] remains the same.

Alveolar (Groove)

RP [s] has the variants [s] and [ss]
RP [z] has the variants [z], [s] and [ss].

Alveopalatal (Groove)

RP [ʃ] has the variants [š] and [šš]
RP [z] has the variants [ʒ], [lj] and [š]

Lateral

Alveolar

RP [l] has the variants [l], [l̩] and [ll]

Nasals

Bilabial

RP [m] has the variants [m] and [mm]

A veolar

RP [n] has the variants [n̩], [m] and [nn]
RP [ṅ] has the variants [ṅ] and [ng]

Flap

Alveolar

RP [r] has the variants [r̩], [r] and [ɾ]

Semivowels

Bilabial

RP [w] has the variants [w] and [v]

Alveopalatal

RP [y] has the variants [y] and [i:].

4.3. Assimilation Rules

4.3.1 i → [yi / i:] / [{ PGA, UGA, NTS, UGS } { (PI), (M), +) }] [{ AG, PGS, PGA, UGS, UGA, NTS }]

I(nitial) M(edial) F(inal)
+

[ini∫iə] → [ʏinišal] 'initial'
['libəti] → [libarṭi:] 'liberty'
(i → e medially (only in the suffix-*nes* (ness))

e.g.

[gudnis] → [gudṇes] 'goodness'

e3.2.

e → [ye] / [UGS, UAG (F), PGS (♂)]

I M F

e.g

['enimi] → [yenimi:] 'enemy'

4.3.3. [æ] → [a, æ:, e:] / [{ PGS, UGS, UGA, NTS, ENGG, AG } { PGA, TS, PGS, UGA, UGS, NTS } AG]

I M F
+ + +
+

eg.

[æ plikei∫ən]	→	[aplike:šan]	'application'
[bæṅk]	→	[bæ:ṅk]	'bank'
[æpl]	→	[æ:pɬ']	'apple'
[æṅgə]	→	[e:ṅgar]	'anger'

4. 3. 4. [ei] → $\begin{bmatrix} e: \\ e \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \{\text{ENGG, AG, PGA, PGS, UGA, UGS, TS, NTS}\} \\ \text{ENGG} \end{bmatrix}$ + $\begin{bmatrix} \text{I} & \text{M} & \text{F} \\ + & + & + \\ + & & \end{bmatrix}$

eg.

[eidʒ]	→	[e:j]	'age'
[σ'sou∫ieit]	→	[aso:siye:ṭ]	'associate'
[dei]	→	[ḍe:]	'day'
[e:ndʒəl]	→	[ə:ñjal]	'angel'

4. 3. 5. [ou] → $\begin{bmatrix} o: \\ o \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \{\text{ENGG, AG, PGA (F), PGS, VGA, VGS, TS, NTS}\} \\ \text{PGA(M)} \end{bmatrix}$ + $\begin{bmatrix} \text{I M F} \\ + + + \\ + \end{bmatrix}$

e g. [ould] → [o:l l] 'old'
[lou] → [lo:] 'low'
[ould] → [o:ld] 'old'

4.3.6. [o] → [pp]

	I	M	F
TS, NTS, PGA, UGA, UGS (P)		+	

eg

[klipt] → [klipp/dt] 'clipped'
[sli:pin] → [sli:ppiŋg] 'sleeping'

4.3.7. [t] → [ʈ, ʈʈ]

	I	M	P
UGS, TS, NTS, ENGG, AG, PGS, PGS(M), UGA(F)	+	+	+
TS, NTS, UGA, PGA(M), PGS(M), UGS(F)		+	

eg.

[timbə:] → [timbar] 'timber'
[bitə:] → [bitʈar] 'bitter'
[let] → [leʈ] 'let'
[greitə:] → [gre:ʈar] 'greater'

5. Morphological system

With reference to morphology we find, in the use of some of the grammatical categories such as pronoun system, tense, number, adjective, adverb, nominalisers, auxiliaries etc., distinct assimilations which show the peculiarities of Tamilian English.

5.1. Nouns

5.1.1. Pronouns

	Nominatives		Case Forms		
	ai	1	2	3	
Pr. Sg.	* ai (I)	mi:(me)	mai(my)	ava:s	(ours)
		mi:	mai	main	(mine)
Pr. Pl.	wi:, vi: (we)	as (us)	avar (our)	ava(r)s	(ours)
	wi:	s	auə (our)	auə	
II Pr. Sg.)	yu: (you)	yu:	yuar (your)	yua(r)	
Pl.)	ju:	ju:	jə:	jə:z	(yours)
				yuvə:s	
III Pr. Mas. sg.	hi: (he)	him	his	his	
	hi:	him	hiz	hiz	
Fem.Sg.	ši: (she)	har(her)	har	hars, ha:ˢ	(hers)
	ɻ ɪ:	hə:	hə:	hə:z	
Neu.Sg.	yiṭ,iṭ (it)	iṭ	iṭs (its)	iṭs	
	it	it	its	its	
Com.pl.	ḍe: (they)	ḍem (them)	ḍə:r (their)	ḍə:rs	(theirs)
	δei	δem	δɛəz	δɛəz	

5.2. Verb

5.2.1. Tense

5.2.1. **Past Tense**: Three suffixes | d |, | id | and | t | are in standard usage. In Tamilian use of English it is always

$\{id\}$

St. + P.T. Marker

{ -id }

~ — id̩ (< -d-, -id (~-ed) and -t)

eg.

['begd] → [beg(g)id̩] 'begged'
['weistid] → [we:stid̩] / [we:sted] 'wasted'
['wə:kt] → [workid̩] 'worked'

5 2.1.2. **Present tense:** The third person singular verb in English, in the present tense form has the suffixes | s | and | z | . In T.E. use of English it is always | s |

St. + Pr. t. marker

{ -s }

~ -s (< - s and -z)

eg.

[hi: 'tɔ :ks] → [hi: ṭa:ks] 'he talks'
[ʃi: gouz] → [ši: go:s] 'she goes'

5.3. **Adjectival Marker**

| - ful | , | -əbl | and | -lis | are the suffixes which denote adjective.

St. + adj. marker

{ -ful } ~ -ful, -b(i)l, -les (-ful, -abl, -lis)

eg.

[bju:tiful] → [byu:ṭiful] 'beautiful'
['lʌvabl] → [lava] b(i)l 'loveable'
['eimlis] → [eimles]~ [e:mles] 'aimless'

5.4. Nominalizers

Certain nouns are derived from other bases like verbs, adjectives etc., by the addition of nominalising suffixes.

5.4.1. Agentive

V.st. + Nom.

$\{-\wedge r\} \sim -r \quad (<ə)$

eg.

['wə:kə] → [vork∧r] 'worker'

5.4.2. Other nominalisers

V. st. + Nom.

$\{$-mənt$\} \sim$ - meṇṭ (< -mənt)

eg.

['g∧vənmənt] → [gavarmeṇṭ] 'government'
/ [gavarmeṇṭ(u)]

$\{$ -e: ʔ ən $\}$

$\sim$ -e:šan (< - ei ʔ (ə)n)
/-e:san

eg.

[bɔð ə'rei ʔ ən] → [ba:ḍare:san] 'botheration'

The present study being exploratory in nature is restricted in all aspects. Further sociolinguistic research on these lines taking into consideration the intonation, the use of 'question-tag, the phonological changes etc., in Tamilian use of English may throw much light on the significant deviations reflected in actual use.

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Naming of the streets of Madurai

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The study of the names of the streets of Madurai is most fascinating. While all the main streets laid around the temple in the centre, are named after the Tamil months, the lanes and by lanes carry the names of functionaries like *Cittirakka:ra-t-teru*, *Vaḷaiyalka:ra-t-teru*, *Cuṇṇa:mpukka:ra-t-teru*, Aricikka:ra-t-teru etc. This article confines itself to the important streets that carry the names of Tamil months.

The names of the main streets commencing with the one inside the compound walls of Aruḷmiku Mi:na:kshi Sundare:swarar Tirukko:vil, viz., the A:ṭi vi-ti, are the Cittirai Vi:ti. A:vaṇi mu:la vi:ti, Ma:ci Vi:ti, and Tai vi:ti (presently known as Veḷi Vi:ti).

Two other streets around the temple beyond the Ma:ci streets have been formed during the nineteenth century, pulling down the dilapidated ramparts and filling up the most that existed inside the Veḷi streets. These new streets are named after Marret, the Assistant Surveyor who planned the project and Peruma:ḷ Maistry who superintended the actual works.

All the main streets around the Temple have a prefix indicating the cardinal direction like, the East Cittirai street, South Cittirai street, West Cittirai street and North Cittirai street.

The A:ṭi street is inside the compound wall, followed up on the outside by Cittirai streets, A:vani streets, Ma:ci streets and Tai streets. The names of months of the A:ṭi, Cittirai, A:vaṇi, Ma:ci, Tai do not seem to follow the sequences of the months; and if thus re-arranged the order ought to have been Cittirai, A:ṭi, A:vaṇi, Tai and Ma:ci. There should have been some reason for the names given to these streets and this article is intended to probe into the names and discover the reason that motivated the people to name the streets after the months and also the manner in which it is done.

Often it is remarked that the streets were formed to accommodate the perambulation of the deities. Though it is partly true yet it does not explain the sequence of the streets A:ṭi first; Cittirai next; and so on to Tai (or Veḷi) street. The Festivals of Madurai are many and are celebrated almost in every Tamil month. Festivals with flag hoisting are six in number; five of them for Sundaresvara and one for Mi:na:kshi. The months in which they are held are Cittirai, A:ṭi, A:vaṇi, Ka:rttikai, Ma:ci and Tai. Here we have the names of the Tamil months, based on which the streets are named but there is another extra month namely, Ka:rttikai. So there should be some other scheme which possibly may have been adopted.

Prior to the consideration of the naming of the streets it becomes necessary to discuss the months themselves and what they stood for, and the symbolism involved. The table below catalogues them in a nut shell:

TABLE

Showing the names of the months, their relation to the houses of Zodiac and their Lords.

S.No.	Name of month	House of Zodiac	Lord of House
1.	Cittirai	Mesha(Aries)	Cevva:y(Mars)
2.	Vaika:ci	Rishaba(Taurus)	Cukkiran(Venus)
3.	A:ni	Mituna(Gemini)	Putan(Mercury)
4.	A:ṭi	Kaṭaka(Cancer)	Cantiran(Moon)
5.	A:vaṇi	Simmam(Leo)	Cu:riyan(Sun)
6.	Puraṭṭa:ci	Kanni(Virgo)	Putan(Mercury)

7.	Aippaci	Tula:m(Libra)	Cukkiran(Venus)
8.	Ka:rttikai	Viriccikam(Scorpio)	Cevva:y(Mars)
9.	Ma:rkaḷi	Tanucu(Sagittaries)	Kuru(Jupitur)
10.	Tai	Makaram(Capricorn)	Cani(Saturn)
11.	Ma:ci	Kumpam(Acquaries)	Cani(Saturn)
12.	Paṅkuni	Mi:nam(Pisces)	Kuru(Jupiter)

This table indicates that the Lords of the months of A:ṭi, Cittirai, A:vaṇi, Ma:ci and Tai are Cantiran, Cevva:y, Cu:riyan and Cani for Ma:ci and Tai.

The planets themselves influence the earth during their diurnal and seasonal movements; thus providing a link between the microcosmic existence in the earth with the macrocosmic existence in the cosmic regions.

Now let us take the Lords of the houses:

Cu:riyan is the Lord of Simmam (Leo). He is the illuminer-the father of cosmic; existance; the fosterer and enlightener of our souls. Cu:riyan is the Godhead of Supreme Truth and knowledge and his rays are the light emanating from that supreme truth and knowledge.

Cantiran is the Lord of Kaṭaka (Cancer) and is the representative deity of the highest Beatitude and Delight. Cantiran sustains the universe, as mother a child.

Cevvāy is the Lord of Me:sha- a planet which symbolises energy and intense activity. He symbolises the son -the progeny basically necessary for the continuation of the species of man.

Putan- is the Lord of Mituna and Kanni and symbolises education both worldly and spiritual.

Veḷḷi, the lord of Rishaba and Tula:m is the planet of art and love, symbolising marriage and its bliss.

Jupiter, the Lord of Mi:na and Tanucu represents the life after death.

Cani, the life determiner, is the lord of Makara and Kumbha. It symbolises deep mysteries, of which one is death,

Of these planets the most important are Cu:riyan, Cantiran, Cevva:y and Cani because they represent Father, Mother, Son and Life determiner.

Cu:riyan is eq uated with Lord So:masundara of Madurai and Cantiran the Mother Minakshi; Cevva:y symbolises Kumara-Lord Subrahmanya, the son of the Divine Pair. Thus the months in which they are lords namely A:vaṇi, A:ṭi, Cittirai, Tai and Ma:ci become importtant.

In the month of A:vaṇi is held the most important of Madurai. Festivals extending to 41 days when the sports of Lord Sundare:śvara-Tiruviḷaiya:ṭal are dramatised.

For Mi:na:kshi, A:ṭi Muḷaikkoṭṭu Festival -a flag hoisting Festival for Mi:na:kshi is conducted.

The Cittirai Festival has bemcome now important due to its linking with the Aḻakar Festival: even otherwise Cittirai is an important Festival in Tamilnadu. Intira Viḻa: referred to in Caṅkam literature is held in this month.

In Tai, a festival known as Aṭṭami Pradakshiṇam is held and all important deities of the Madurai Temple are taken around the outer main streets (Tai Vi:ti now known as Veḷi Vi:ti).

Lastly the Ma:ci festival is also a great Festival.

Why the order of streets as A:ṭi, Cittirai, A:vaṇi, Ma:ci and Tai? The importance of the arrangement is to give precedence to Mi:na:kshi. (A:ṭi), to her son Subrahmanya (Cittirai) and then to Sundare:śvara (A:ni) Lastly Ma:ci takes precedence over Tai since over Kumbha-water symbol and seventh house of Sun, is to be given a much more emphasis.

Thus great care has been bestowed in naming the streets of this great town which has with stood the onslaught of Time and attacks of Monarchs and Generals: yet Madurai is one of the few cities in the world which has continued to live from the very early habitation of men till today-a continuous record of pre and proto history that any town can feel proud of.

A Festschrift for
Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai

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Night Riders: Massive Temple Figures of Rural Tamilnadu

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Some of the most prominent and dramatic forms of art to be seen in rural areas of Tamilnadu, India are life-sized and larger than life-sized temple figures of gods mounted on horses(cemmaṉ kutirai). These represent fierce and heroic deities who ride the village boundary at night driving off harmful intruders and dispensing justice.

Visitors to the state may catch a glimpse of such figures from the window of a bus or train but if an interest is aroused, it is difficult to pursue. Most Tamil people born in the cities know little of these figures and those born in the villages naturally take them for granted as part of the landscape. Although some attention has been given by scholars to aspects of the religious complex in which the figures play a part (eg: Whitehead, 1921; Elmore, 1925). I believe nothing has yet been published about the figures themselves, the artists who make them, or their function. In this paper an attempt will be made to describe these massive figures and to outline some features of their development.[1]

Massive figures are most popularly a part of village temples in Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirappalli and Coimbatore Districts and can also be found in some parts of Tirunelveli, Thanjavur, Pudukkottai and South Arcot Districts. The first four districts listed form the center of the tradition of representation of a god in this form. Massive figures are

rarely found in the extreme northern or southern parts of Tamilnadu.[2] A relatively large number and extensive variety of figures of the mounted gods have been constructed in Madurai District and it is largely through experience in this area that the following information has been gathered.

The figures form part of a village temple, usually the largest and most important of the various temples which can be found in and around most Tamil villages. They are constructed, singly or in pairs, in either the courtyard of a temple or outside the main entrance and always face in the same direction as the entrance (usually north or east).[3] In the case of a temple without a wall, massive figures may stand in a prominent place in front of the other images. Most figures stand between 15 and 25 feet tall (including a large base) and each involves the use of several tons of stone, brick and either clay, plaster or cement. They are a permanent part of the temple and may be renovated at 10 to 20 year intervals.

The exact role of massive figures in the worship carried out in the temple at which they stand varies from place to place but certain general trends are evident. Each occasion of worship (pūja) usually involves an offerring of incense, flowers, fruits and holy ash to each of the many gods in a village temple. The large figure is often the last to be so honored. The priest simply stands before the massive figure,[4] waves a lamp or incense and sprinkles some holy ash or water in its direction. In most cases an image of the main god of a size and arrangement more appropriate to worship has been installed in a temple guarded by a massive figure, and it is around this small image that the more elaborate aspects of worship take place. Special occasions of worship of the massive figure are discussed below. The massive figure is often the most remarkable and imposing part of a village temple and the sight of the god in this form is said to attract people and help them keep god in mind.

The cost of constructing and subsequently renovating a massive figure is often born by a wealthy individual or family out of religious devotion, in fulfillment of a vow, or as a means of creating a memorial (a donor's name is sometimes inscribed in the base of a figure and is usually remembered in connection with it). In most cases with which I am familiar this type of donor has been a member of a dominant agricultural community (eg. Vellaḷa) however there is no necessary restriction. In other circumstances a village council (made up of wealthy and influential

people) may sanction village funds (proceeds from rents, leases, local taxes, etc.) for a figure to be built or renovated, often in conjunction with a temple's festival. Temples to the guardian deities are often important to the village as a whole, are the scene of a variety of important rituals and are a focus of pride considered worthy of support.

The artist who will be contacted to carry out the construction work is chosen based on a very localized set of circumstances involving relationships which may exist between members of the council or patrons and artist groups with suitable abilities. In the Madurai area, for the past few generations at least, there was often a variety of artists with whom a contract could be arranged. Modellers and painters from artist families of the Naidu (Chittirakkarar), Pillai, Konar and Maravar communities have built massive figures of mounted village gods which in many cases show the same mastery of technique and bold style evident in their work in other mediums.[5] Another major group of artists at hand for this work in Madurai District has been members of the Velar community (Kularar) whose skills include pot-making and other work's with clay. In this area Velars are the hereditary priests (pucari) for the temples at which massive figures are built. Occasionally they arrange for specialists from their own community, or in a few cases, their own family to undertake the work. Although perhaps less than 30% of the massive figures which are under worship today can be attributed to members of the Velar community, there is reason to suspect, as we shall see, that the tradition developed through their work.

Construction of a massive figure usually takes between three to six months. A recent major renovation took a full month. A small offering of worship attended to by the priest, some important persons of the village and the workers, usually precedes any work. During this worship, the god's blessing is sought for the project. In the recent past, a three or four man team has frequently worked under the direction of a head artist. He would ordinarily be advanced money throughout the duration of the project for materials and expenses. In a few cases I know of, materials were purchased and dispensed by a village representative. The team consisted of a leader, usually a recognized artist, a mason/brickl layer (Kottanar), a cook who also acted as a plaster grinder and a few assistants. The leader supervised the project and usually did the fine work on the limbs and faces, often both modelling and painting. If the

work was in a place at some distance from their homes, the team would stay with relatives or be provided with a place to stay by the host villages[6]. Today Ve:la:r builders and repair artists accept only jobs close to their homes or at villages in which they have close relatives. Modern materials (eg. cement and enamel paints) have made the jobs less time consuming and the work teams smaller. It is said that certain observances common in Hindu artistic ritual such as sexual abstention, food restrictions and bathing formalities have accompanied such work for village temples, but most of these are not closely observed now.

The first stage of construction of a massive horse and rider figure involves building a base, usually of stone, in a rectangular shape. This base is usually at least 6 feet by 10 feet and 6 feet high. It is often completed in advance by a stone mason but is sometimes raised by the figure builders themselves. Before proceeding beyond this stage, a bamboo framed and thatched enclosure is usually built around the base to a height which will accommodate the figure to be built or renovated. Another specialist is hired for this purpose. This enclosure acts as scaffolding for the workers to reach the upper portions of the figure and also gives them a certain degree of privacy and "protection". There is a strong aversion to exposing the figure of a powerful god to public view in a preliminary stage of creation or repair and at the same time a desire on the part of the workers to avoid being subjected to premature comment or criticism from passing villagers.[7]

A brick core is constructed on the base and into this and the base itself are fitted iron rods and (formerly) wooden armatures onto which the extending parts of the figure are built. Bits of broken brick dipped in plaster are gradually built up around the rods or armatures and wire and nails are bent and tied to form the frame for the finer details (eg. hands, weapons, etc.). A thick layer of plaster coats the entire form and is modelled to the appropriate shapes. Older figures are modelled of a plaster consisting of lime, sand, palm (palmyra) sugar syrup (karuppaṭṭi-icca:ṟu) and an alum like seed (kaṭukka:yc ca:ṟu). In recent years this plaster has been replaced in both new construction and renovation by ready-mix cement.

The type of paint commonly used until recently was a tempura made from dye powder, egg, tree gum (karuvakko:ntu) and a binding oil.

The pastel shades of this mixture can still be seen on older figures, but have been almost totally replaced in recent work by commercial enamel paints, whose durability and wide range of bright colours are much more appropriate to contemporary village taste. Details of all the construction procedures, tools used and other aspects of this type of work will be described in a forthcoming publication.

The completion of a construction or renovation of a massive figure is marked by a special puja for which the main god, horse and auxiliary figures are decorated with flower garlands. The most important part of this worship is the bathing of the figure in holy water (abishekam). This consecrates the new image of the god in the presence of important members of the village. In some cases a cock or goat is sacrificed and the base of the figure is anointed on four sides with its blood and juice of a lime. New body cloths and towels are usually presented to the artists on this occasion.

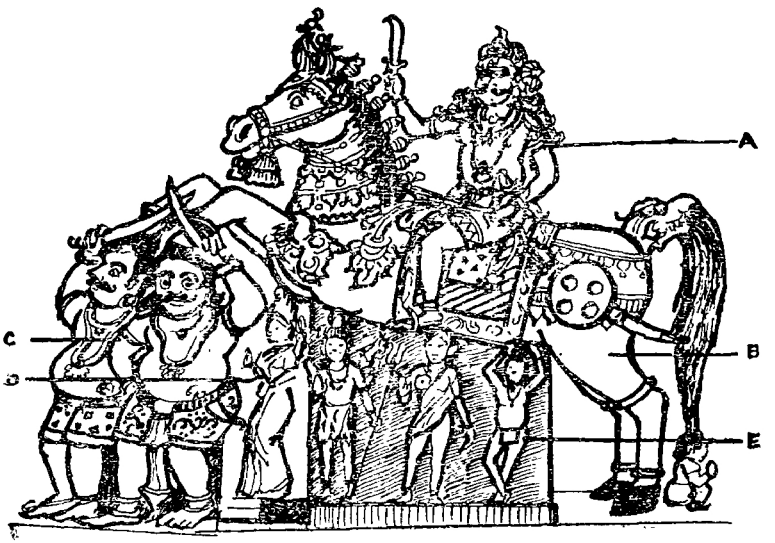


Figure 1

A description of a "typical" massive figure would be difficult, nevertheless some features have come to characterize most recently constructed examples (see Fig. 1)

Letter "A" indicates a major god of the temple, a night rider. Massive figures are found most frequently at temples to the South Indian agricultural deity Aiyana:r (perhaps more than 50% of all figures built are

a depiction of this god) see Dumont, 1970; Srinivas, 1954). The next most frequently depicted is the more ferocious Karuppaṉ, usually as a pair with Aiyaṉa:r. Other demonic guardians who appear as massive figures either accompanying Aiyana:r or alone are Muṉiya:nti, Muttaiya:, and Co:ṉaiya:. All these gods usually appear dressed in the clothing and ornaments of the ancient South Indian kingdoms.[8] Karuppaṉ and the other demonic guardians are distinguished from Aiyaṉa:r by their dark skinned representations (eg. Karuppaṉ is blue, Co:ṉaiya: is red), large moustaches, and fearful weapons. Although often decorated with Saivite (in the case of Aiyaṉa:r) or Vaiṣṇavite (in the case of most others) marks and other attributes introduced from the all-India Hindu traditions, these are relatively recent additions for reasons of status (ie: creating a link with "Brahmanical" tradition).

Letter "B" illustrates the horse itself, usually built in a rearing posture and considerably oversized relative to the rider. The association of the horse with the South Indian kings (as depicted in medieval temples,[9] has contributed to the continuing popular identification of the horse with power and god.[10] The posture and stylistic rendering of most massive horses seen at village temples today shows the unmistakable influence of art of the classical South Indian kingdoms, specifically that of the medieval pillared halls (maṇṭapam) and court yards which were in many places embellished with carved horse figures.[11]

Letter "C" shows two demons (pu:tam) who are known to protect the temple. They often carry large clubs (which remind one of the door guards-dva:rapa:la-of classical Hindu temples) and other prominent canine teeth and substantial proportions assist them in their task. Conceptually, the demons are under the hooves (ie· control) of the god and at the same time give him their assistence. Structurally, they support the front of the horse and are thus an indispensible part of the entire construction.

Letter "D" indicates the image of a goddess which is usually built in three-quarter or full relief onto the front of the main brick support. This goddess usually appears in the form of Patra-Kali or Kali, but in other cases maintains the purely Dravidian demoness form of Pida:ri Amman. Pe:chiamman, Rakka;yi Amman or Iruḷa:yi Amman. A figure of or shrine to the goddess is commonly a part of every village temple and her function is thus recognized in the elaborate iconography of the massive figure.

Letter "E" illusrtrates "side figures" commonly built onto either side of the main support, either attached in three-quarter relief of free standing. These, like the figure of the goddess, are between three and six feet tall, depending on the size of the entire composition. The variety of themes depicted by these figures gives some indication of the range of influences on the development of massive figures as a whole. The most frequently seen arrangement is a set of three figures on each side, one set depicting a scene from "daily life" and the other a mythological scene, usually one which links (at least by association) the riding god to an all India Hindu theme. The scene depicting "daily life" often illustrates a group of Tamil nomadic tribal people (Narik Kuṟavars) in their characterstic dress and often dancing. The "Narik Kuravar" dance is a popular act among the entertainments which accompany most important village temple festivals. Other examples of "daily life" scenes are milkmen and maids playing together, musicians (another essential part of any festival) and depictions of important personalities. These may include a status of a local person who attained an important position in, for example, the police or military, or a figure of Mahatma Gandhi or even the Bengali patriot N. S. C. Bose. These figures add interest and often humour to the massive figure and their position under the belly of the great god's horse is said to represent activities in the mundane world going on under the protection of the Lord. The side figures illustrating the mythological scene often tell the story of Aiyana:r's birth. The story, which describes Aiyana:r as the son of Siva by a feminine form taken by Viṣṇu is now a popular method of linking this Dravidian deity with the all-India Hindu tradition and the Brahmanized cult with which his worship is becoming progressively identified. This scene usually consists of three figures: Siva the seductive Mohini (Viṣṇu) and the demon (Asura) who tempted Siva. Other commonly depicted mythological themes are marriage of Murukan (Vaḷḷittirumaṇam), Kaṇṇaki and Kovalan meeting a sage (from the ancient Tamil poem Cilapatika:ram) or the marriage of Minakshi, the last two events of which are believed to have taken place in the Madurai area. None of these stories have anything directly to do with the main god or his worship but all of them make the figure as a whole more attractive both aesthetically and by association with higher status urban and classical tradition.

The type of figure described above is the kind commonly seen in Tamil villages, the "full-developed" massive figure built today. The

oldest massive figures, remains of which can be seen in a few places in Madurai and adjoining Ramnad districts, are however quite different (see Fig. 2).



Figure 2

Rather than plaster or cement, these figures are made primarily of clay. Some have the stone base and brick core already described with the upper parts modelled of clay, yet others are fully hollow and made entirely of clay. In some cases this might escape notice because a layer of plaster has been added to the clay surface later in order to make the figure more durable. In other cases the upper part of a massive clay figure is embedded in a stone and plaster base after the lower parts have deteriorat d.

These massive figures are technically the most ambitious achievement in clay found anywhere in India and according to a hasty survey are probably the largest hollow clay images which have been created anywhere. Some of the technical details of the construction have been forgotten, yet it is apparent that they were hand moulded by the slab method, fired in pieces and assembled with plaster joints at the temple site. They were made by members of the Ve:/a:r community and according to local tradition were commonly in use at village temples until about 75 to 100 years ago. The early type of massive figure is simple in design, the horse rounded and potlike, depicted in a four-square stance and the riding god stiff and boldly characterised in the village pottery style. They appear to

be larger versions of the clay horse figures still commonly made by Tamil village potters for presentation to the night riding gods in periodic festivals. It seems that the declining clay technology and increasing competition from other groups of artists offering more sophisticated classically oriented styles of massive figures[12] drove the clay type out of existence. The Vela:r artists themselves came to emulate and reproduce the elaborate rearing horse style in order to remain competitive.

We are perhaps in a position now to identify, through the evolution of massive figures of mounted village gods, some broader trends in the development of village arts. One significant dimension of the evolution of massive figures is the movement in iconography from the simple to the complex. The older figures in clay represented the god alone on his horse without demons, goddess or side figures. This is in keeping with the tradition of the worship of Tamil village gods individually for specific purposes. The "fully developed" massive figure of today has, in contrast created an image of a pantheon, relationships between strong and weak, male and female and graphic explanations of mythological events, which have been characteristics of classical and urban Hinduism. Similar increasingly popular developments in Tamil rural traditions of worship and art include the depiction of village gods with consorts and the association of gods in "families" (ie., Vinayakar and Murugan with Aiyana:r). Through increasing travel and communication it becomes desirable among village people to make it possible to relate their local deities more directly to those encountered in towns and cities, those that have wide popularity and embody high status. One way of doing this is by making "additions" to the traditional rural gods which proclaim their relationship to classical or urban traditions and another is to "rearrange" the rural gods in patterns which conform better to those traditions.

A second significant dimension of the evolution of massive figures is the movement in material from clay to plaster and cement. As there is a hierarchy in deities from rural to urban and from the centers of great traditions to peripheries, so there has been a hierarchy of artist communities, partly determined by the materials with which they work. Clay as a modelling material retains a close association with everyday matters and rural life and has a stigma attached to it which involves the lack of education in classical texts or designs (shastras). Work in plaster, which is seen in abundance in the great temples and palaces of South India has

higher prestige.[19] The use of cement has become very widespread in the construction of massive figures and for modelling of smaller images as well. Its association with modernity and wealth (seen graphically in the mud/plaster/cement hierarchy in housing material) and its durability have made cement products desirable and have enabled the artists who can work in cement to maintain a portion of a dwindling market.

The development of massive figures outlined above contradicts the still prevalent popular belief that village traditions are "timeless" and "unchanging". Significant changes in technique, materials, and style of this widespread rural art have taken place in the past and are likely to continue.

It is also possible, using this example, to question the conception that artist communities in India are strictly confined to one medium and style. Both the periodic participation of a number of artist communities in the construction of massive figures and the evolving role of the Ve:lar artist's work on massive figures are examples of the flexibility of Indian artist communities, a flexibility which is becoming increasingly more apparent as scholars of art place more emphasis on the lives of artists themselves and on their role in society.

Foot Notes

1 This paper has been inspired by a study of the work of the Vel:a:r(Kul-lalar) community of Madurai District which is now in process. Readers are invited to refer to a preliminary survey completed in 1975: Inglis, S., *A Village Art of South India: The Work of the Ve:lar,* Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai 1980.

2 Massive figures of seated (rather than mounted) deities are popular in North and South Arcot Districts and massive figures of demons(pu:tam) are found at temples throughout Tamilnadu. These will, however, not be considered in this paper.

3 In a few exceptional cases up to four massive figures have been built at a single temple.

4 Often at a small stone (pali pīṭam) embedded in the ground which is also used as the location of offering animal sacrifice.

5. These other mediums include in specific cases, portraiture in oils, Hindu devotional painting, temple painting and various types of sculpture.

6. This temporary living arrangement coupled with certain dietary restrictions common in Hindu society account for the need of a cook.

7. Interaction between villagers and workers is often an interesting and complex one. Everyone seems to have taken an interest in the work. During a recent renovation for example, a half cup of tea for the god was sent along with the regular tea for the workers.

8. In a few cases they appear dressed as policemen or army officers.

9. This association may have in turn originated with the mounted tribes of the second millennium B.C.who introduced the cult of the horse to India.

10. There is evidence in the oldest massive figures and in stone and metal sculpture that the original mount of Aiyanar was the elephant.

11. For example: the "Pudu Mandapam" near the Meenakshi Amman temple in Madurai.

12. For example, the Naidus, whose traditional painting work for the great classical temples enabled them to have close contact with the classical sculptures.

13. The still more prestigious work in stone and metals, although important to a full consideration of this subject are not directly relevant to the construction of massive figures

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31

Gesture in Tamil Communication

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Some scholars have taken culture in its entirety as a system of communication (see Hall, 1968). This paper will focus on one facet of cultural communication, the use of gesture, as a system of conveying explicit and implicit meanings.

Speaking in most communities is accompanied by gestures.[1] Whether "....all language is spoken mostly with the body" (Wylie, 1979:98), as some have claimed is not the issue here. I have noted however, that in learning to communicate in Tamil, a language which is marvelously full of gestural expression, it is apparent that "If you're off rhythm, it interferes with communications" (Wylie, 1979:98).

The wide range of prescribed gestural expression in different cultures indicates that gestures are not an instinctual characteristic of conversing. 'Kinesic' behaviour, as the study of body motion is called, is "...a learned form of communication, which is patterned within a culture ..." (Birdwhistell, 1970:ix). I have observed countless examples of gestures being explicitly taught to children, both in ordinary circumstances and particular situations, where specific gestures are a socially required skill. When approaching a new culture, the social scientist is much like a child. In many cases he must put aside the gestures with which he is most familiar and learn a new set of socially appropriate and inoffensive gestures with which to communicate effectively.[2] In order to avoid mis-

interpretation, this should be a major concern Furthermore, this kind of learning enables the social scientist to have access to an enormous realm of subtle communication which he might otherwise miss.

In training government and business overseas workers, one anthropologist has found that training in language, culture, government and history is not sufficient. "...of equal importance is an introduction to the non-verbal language which exists in every country of the world and among the various groups within each country" (Hall. 1968:10). Gestures are aspects of linguistic behaviour, happening in real time and space, which reflect the relationship between language and its cultural and social values.

The gestures discussed below are primarily examples drawn from colloquial Tamil[5], though it will be shown that gestures are not always necessarily accompanied by speech. Prior to launching the discussion of the gesture samples themselves, a brief outline of methodology for this type of data collection may be useful.

Guidelines for collection in this area are sparce. The informant technique, a basic method for most research and field work in anthropology, sociology and linguistics is not suitable for the collection of gestures. Gestures are often inherent aspects of speaking a language, or of communicating something particular, and in many cases are manifested unconsciously. Thus, the sources for the study and collection of kinesic data are limited. One must tap the available resources most prominent in the contemporary scene with which one has most contact.

The first most obvious technique of data collection is keen observation. While travelling in a bus, walking along a street, shopping in a store or market, one may observe a great variety of interactional gestures. Secondly, another rich source of data is the local Tamil cinema.[4] In films gestures are often exaggerated and made more prominent, creating greater intensity of action. Because of this the gestures are easily isolated for cataloguing purposes. Thirdly, if one is concerned with the historical continuity (or lack of it) of occurrence and meaning in gesture, ancient sculpture, abundant in Tamilnadu, provides and excellent serious of three dimensional images involving gesture. Fourthly, both a Tamil dictionary[5] and lexicon[6] prove to be invaluable tools. One may locate the word kai[7] (hand) for example, and discover pages of composite words often des-

cribing a particular movement with the hand. Such a term may be noted and later investigated according to the frequency of occurence, popularity and context. Examples pooled from these sources will be included in the following discussion. Once a gesture was observed, it was catalogued on a card. A descripiion of the gesture, its context, and any coinciding linguistic marker was noted. Its frequency was tabulated and people were questioned for a deeper explanation of the possible meaning(s) attached to a given movement. The following sample will illustrate the variety of gestures observable in Tamilnadu.[8]

"Many languages have spoken punctuation marks, which English grievously lacks" (La Barre, 1948:59). The suffixual spoken interrogative marker in Tamil is a:. Questions making use of this marker are not, according to my observations and enquires, accompanied by a particular gesture. The intonation serves as a sound interrogative marker, as the voice raises its pitch toward the end of the sentence. Interrogative words, however, are definitely characterized by a specific gesture. The word is often prefixed by the right hand in a closed fist, thumb slightly extended, and an up and downward, or back and forward movement of the entire forearm (fig.1). In this way the gesture serves as a physical interrogative marker. The association of this gesture with the interrogative words is so close, that in a situation where speaking is not possible, 'and' 'who' are they?" is the massage to be conveyed, a look at the subjects of enquiry followed by the gesture is sufficient.[10]

A much more stylistically evolved and complex series of gestures is to be observed at Carnatic Music Concerts (South Indian Classical Music,). Carnatic Music uses the ta:lam as a measure or time keeping mechanism. Ta:l (old literary form for foot) is related to ta:lam, as the time was and still is kept with the foot, at least by the performing musicians. The most sophisticated Carnatic musician is one who elaborates the ta:lam to such an extent that at times even the accompanying musicians may find it difficult to follow. In this way the appreciation of the musicians' improvisation skill at playing together is emphasized.

At any Carnatic music concert today, the researcher of gesture has the opportunity of attending two performances simultaneously. As the music is being played, certain members of the audience, through a series

of hand and arm movements, seem to be competing with each other as to who can keep pace with the complex ta:ḷam. As the concert reaches its crescedo so does the movement of limbs, tapping the right hand, back and front, on the knee, raising the right arm and gracefully feigning to catch notes in mid air with the hand. One may infer from this that the elaborated interpretation and "competitive" nature of the ta:ḷam is atleast partially responsible for the development of this form of social showmanship. A very sophisticated and complex series of gestures have thus been developed. It is considered rude to clap after a performance, but the musician can evaluate the audience's appreciation of his interpretation throughtout the concert. The musician is assured that his music is stimulating the emotions, sensitivities and intelects of the listeners through their facial expressions, bodily movements and sounds.

Bharata Natyam, one of South India's most well known classical dances makes extensive use of Abhinaya (gestural expression). The body is trained and put to use for the expression of ideas, thoughts, feelings and emotions. "A distinct language of hand gestures came into being which was codified in the texts with meticulous care" (Kothari, 1979:75). The dance is enjoyable partly because of the use of highly stylized variations of many gestures already familiar to Tamils.

A very rich array of gestural communication may be elicited from the complex status respect observances operating in Tamilnadu. "Ranking is also implied in the forms of address used between groups, and by subtle body gestures that accompany conversation" (Beck, 1972:155).[11] Although the use of gesture appears to be closely linked with language, gestures fall into categories other than explicit association with language. The rearrangement of clothing is one method of indicating respect in some situations.[12] In Tamilnadu many traditional rural women and widows do not wear a blouse under their sa:ris, their chest being partially exposed. Upon meeting someone to whom respect is due (a person of known higher status some one from a different community or a stranger) the portion of the sa:ri covering the upper body is gracefully pulled across the uncovered breast.

Men perform a corresponding action with their ve:ṭṭi (waist cloth.) The ve:ṭṭi is a white cloth, wrapped and tucked around the waist, reaching to the ground. While walking the ve:ṭṭi is commonly folded up to knee length enabling greater mobility and comfort. In meeting someone worthy of respect, he will generally lower his hands, untie the folded ve:ṭṭi

which then drops back to the ground, concealing the previously uncovered calves.

In both cases, the adjustment of the body cloth is made toward modesty. On observing such an encounter, without hearing any verbal exchange, one might deduce that these two people are not familiar enough with each other to engage in "free movement" (familiarity has been described in this way).

Depending on the context, the vaṇakkam gesture, palms together thumbs about chin level (fig. 2) can indicate adoration, reverence, respect, regard, obedience or gratitude. Thank you, as English speakers have been taught to say for virtually everything handed to them is not common in Tamil. In fact, it can become offensive if engaged in obsessively (our normal usage of thank you is considered excessive). In gratitude one either smiles or uses the vaṇakkam gesture. As a greeting, vaṇakkam is often dropped between people who are familiar with each other. It does however. connote respect towards the person or object being greeted. This gesture is visible outside the realm of a person to person encounter. As people travelling in a bus, train or walking pass by a temple or shine important or familiar to them, they offer vaṇakkam in respect for the deity housed there.

Vaṇakkam becomes a prefixual and suffixual marker to a gesture employed when in the presence of someone to whom one feels extraordinary respect (a god or teacher). This behaviour involves prostration, implying an extremely formal respect relationship. One begins with vaṇakkam; the hands are then separated, and the ground near to, or the feet of the recipient of respect are touched three times, this process ending with either a vaṇakkam, or vaṇakkam and the touching of one's eyes. This particular gesture is often practiced by both classical and folk dancers, before commencement of a class or performance. One folk dance teacher has interpreted the touching of the ground three times, ending with the fourth contact with eyes or vaṇakkam as being a gesture of both respect and gratitude; first to ma:ta: (mother) for having brought us into the world, secondly to pita:r (father) for his support and care, thirdly to kuru(teacher) for his instruction and lastly to teyvam (god) for everything.[13] In making a physical connection between the other's feet, and one's own eyes, one is drawing together the feet, most polluted part of the body with the eyes,

most precious part of one's own. A similar instance has been noted, when the head is lowered in prostration to the feet, and has been described in this way: "...the most lowely part of your body (your feet) are the equal of the most exalted part of my body (my head" (Beck, 1976: 218,)

Prostration and worship for some gods in the Hindu pantheon has developed into a very formal stylized sequence or gestures. Worship to Ganesh (Second son of Siva) provides one such example. To perform to:ppukkaraṇam is to be submissive. While standing before Ganesh, the arms are bent at the elbows and crossed, the hands either resting on the shoulders or holding the earlobes between the thumb and first finger (fig.3). In this position the worshipper bends at the knees and bobs up and down three times. This is an indication of extreme reverence.

The same term however, to:ppukkaraṇam, plus po:tu (to put, in this case to do) is addressed in the imperative, usually to naughty boys, who are being punished. "Do 100 to:ppukkaraṇam" is considered a trying duty and is always associated with a wrong doing. I observed the performance of this gesture in a popular contemporary Tamil film recently While an angry landowner was accusing a poor village farmer, the farmer was in the to:ppukka.aṇam stance with slightly bent knees (but without the bobbing), partly out of "reverence" for this powerful man, but mostly out of fear.

Acceptance of *piraca:tam (holy food, usually cooked rice which* has been offered to an idol) and vipu:ti (sacred ashes of cowdung) from a priest in a temple is another example of when a deferential gesture is required. One indication of respect is the "concealment" of the left hand in a given action (the left hand is the one used for attending the personal hygiene, hence it is considered polluted, while the right is the appropriate one to use for handling food and exchanging things between people). In acceptance, the right arm with open palm, is extended slightly bent at the elbow, supported by the left hand under the right elbow. Thus the left hand is hidden, protecting the giver from danger of its pollution.[14]

In exceptional cases of reverence and respect, while receiving something, the right hand is extended, with open palm, and the left hand covers the mouth. In this way the giver is at a safe distance from the left hand and is also protected from being affected by the receiver's breath.

which may be polluting as well. One may observe a similar stance in a beautiful South Indian bronze image of Hanuman (devoted and loyal helper of Rama, a mythological hero) housed at the Madras Art Gallery.[15] He is in total reverence and obeisance to his master, Rama.

The care people take in protecting any other from the ill effects of the left side can also observed in descriptions of measurement. The gesture of length or width measurement particularly graphically exemplifies the impo-tance of putting this observance into action. Length or width is indicated in two ways. For short measurements (Such as two or three centimeters), the right hand is projected forward and the thumb is placed (usually on the middle finger)at the appropriate position. For longer lengths, the right arm is extended towards the recipient of the information and the left hand, extended flat with fingers together, meets the right arm at the appropriate position (fig.4). In this way the receiver of the information is spared the confrontation of both left and right arms being extended towards him, as one would do in North America where the left side has not been stigmatized in this way.

As may be surmised from this discussion, the concept of touch is a very sensitive one, bound by strict rules of etiquette. Partly due to this, eating and drinking are considered personal activities, hence most people prefer to eat or drink at home. Many foreigners have been amazed however, to see a glass placed at a public drinking water fountain The idea that hundreds of people passing by might drink out of the same glass seems preposterous. The fact is that the rim of the glass never touches one's lips. A gesture often used to summon a waiter to bring water when out of hearing range illustrates the method of drinking from a public glass. The head is tilted back, the hand in a closed fist with rigidly extened thumb is brought up toward the mouth (fig.5). The first graphically represents the glass, and the thumb, the water being poured into the mouth. avoiding the meeting of the rim of the glass with the lips.

In Tamilnadu one eats with the right hand. When a beggar solicits from a passerby, he often does two things. He first expresses paci (hunger) verbally, and then demonstrates with his right hand what he wants, food. The right hand, with fingers cupped together as in eating a meal, is raised to the mouth (fig.6). Thus, the dual message ("I am hungry; I want food") is conveyed both verbally and gesturally. Usually the gesture itself suffices.

It has been demonstrated that gesture is an aspect of language not "...explicable purely in terms of the linguistic context" (Shapiro and Schiffman, 1975:311). The examples discussed above illustrate that cultural reality is explicitly and implicitly demonstrated through a wide range of ordinary and formalized gestures. "Many sociologists and linguists.. deny that social information can be obtained from speech alone without reference to extra linguistic information" (Gumperz, 1978:6). Even though this is becoming an important issue in both these fields, the attention paid to body movement as a communication system is still limited. Others have noted the importance of a dual pattern "...of verbal and non-verbal acts by which he (the speaker) expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself" (Goffman, 1957:5). If the researcher is literate regarding respect gestures for example, he may easily surmise, often accurately, what the status relationship between two people meeting is. simply by observing the message markers in the initial interaction. He is thus able to decode how one person evaluates his status vis-a-vis the other.

It has been shown that gestures are culture linked, both in shape and meaning, and that they do not always have explicit or invariable messages.[16] A gesture like to:ppukkaraṇam can express various sentiments in different contexts.

Having acquired a basic speaking knowledge of Tamil, one can through keen observation, relatively quickly assimilate the gesture most frequently used in everyday interaction and experiment with them. The local bus conductor, shopkeeper and market vendor are often receptive "listeners" and responders to gesture. The use of gesture by a language learner is appreciated by these people. Furthermore, because many Tamil people cannot believe that a foreigner is speaking a little of their language they listen for English and not Tamil. Although one may be enunciating clearly in Tamil, the message is not understood. However, if one attaches a Tamil gestural message to the verbal one, the recipients are often much more inclined to perceive what is being conveyed.[17]

If we are willing to consider the importance of gesture in communication, we might find it useful to note and utilize gesture during fieldwork. In this way, in many situations, "Any response we make to what confronts us will be a fuller and subtler response than anything we could put into words" (Britton, 1970:276).

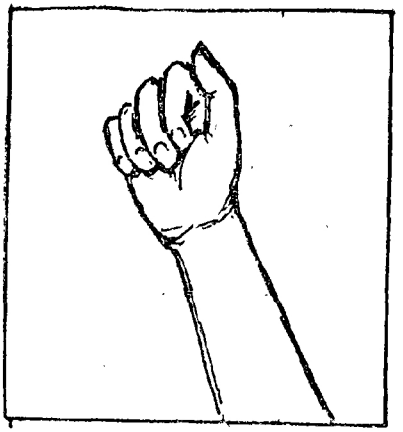


Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig 3

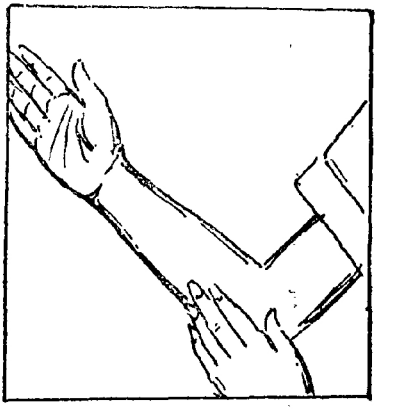


Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6

Foot notes

1. Unfortunately North Americans have been noted to be characteristically illiterate in the area of gesture language.

2. For example: the North American must pay close attention to the left/right dichotomy in India, as well as being extremely cautious about extending the feet toward anyone, an action which causes discomfort here.

3. As is well known, there is a clear distinction between the literary and colloquial forms in Tamil. There is an enormous corpus of material to be collected on the gestures used as descriptive or emphatic markers in literary lectures, religious discourses, political-rallies as well as specific community studies.

4. Others have noted the potential in viewing locally made films as a kind of inexpensive and easily available data bank for research in kinesics. Gregory Bateson suggested to Weston La Barre, while he was engaged in kinesic research in Ceylon, to make use of the local cinema. He found this useful and has continued to use this technique since, in his work with European gestures (La Barre, 1964:218.)

5. The most useful and complete Tamil/English dictionary is *J.P. Fabricius's Tamil and English Dictionary*, Tranquebar, Evangelical Lutheran Mission Publishing House, 1972.

6. *Tamil Lexicon*, Published under the authority of the University of Madras, Mylapore, 1932.

7. All Tamil words in this paper have been transliterated according to the Madras lexicon system, op. cit., fn.6.

8. To date, over 55 gestures have been catalogued. Given the scope of this paper, a few illustrative examples have been selected for discussion.

9. What, where, why, who, when and how.

10. This interrogative gesture is also characterized as a body behaviour which looks like the word it accompanies sounds, that is, short, quick and abrupt.

11. For another interesting discussion of address terms and their corresponding physical behaviour as expressions of social hierarchy, see: Pillai, Shanmugam M., "Address Terms and the Social Hierarchy of the Tamil", *Proceedings of the First All India Conference of Dravidian Linguistice*, V. I. Subramaniam, ed., St. Joseph's Press, Trivandrum, 1972.

12. For further discussion on clothing adjustments in Tamilnadu see Beck. 1972.

13. The sequence ma:ta:, pita, kuru, teyvam is usually only used in this context (there are other colloquial terms for these). It (should be noted that ma:ta: also refers to Parvati (consort of Siva), pita: also refers to Siva and Kuru also to spiritual preceptor.

14. In more secular situations this gesture is used as an indicator of gratitude and respect when for instance, a shopkeeper accepts money from a patron, and is repeated when he offers the change.

15. This is a 10th Century bronze from Vadakkuppanaiyur, Thanjavur, District, Tamilnadu.

16. Birdwhistell (1970) has extensively examined European gestures concluding that they have a great variability in meaning.

17. This of course refers to the less formalized ordinary gestures used in daily interaction.

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A Festschrift for
Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai

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The Evil Eye: Its Prevention and Expulsion

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There is a belief among Tamils that a glance or continued stare by certain individuals causes evil effects to be suffered by the person looked at. This they call 'evil eye'. This paper is an attempt to describe some of the customs and rituals relating to the prevention and expulsion of the evil eye. The data used in this paper has been collected from different Hindu castes in and around Madurai. The study is confined to those practices followed by people without the help of specialists, priests and magicians for the prevention and removal of the evil eye. From this point onward, the individual who causes harm with the evil eye either intentionally or subconsciously will be referred to as the 'caster' and the person affected by the evil eye will be referred to as the 'receiver'.

The evil eye is said to be motivated by the emotional state of the observer. Most often this motivation is jealousy; however, it can be a strong desire of any kind. It may or may not be deliberate. There is a belief that individuals said to have been born with open eyes are especially potent in effecting the evil eye. People with wicked qualities are generally suspected to be the caster, though every individual has the potential for casting it. The evil eye caster is always a human being.

The receiver of the evil eye can be a human being, animal, bird, crop, place and any other inanimate object. It is the exceptional quality like

beauty, prosperity, expertise and so forth which are most often affected by the evil eye. The effects caused by casting an evil eye harms the possesser of the object, animal or quality as the ill effects of loss or harm to these things are ultimately suffered by the owner.

The effect of the evil eye is always considered bad. The effect can result in sickness, misery or failure. It can vary from a very mild to a serious condition, hence people adopt certain customs and rituals for the prevention and removal of the evil eye. The customs and rituals are practised mainly for children; main characters in a ritual or performance; newly constructed buildings; sick human beings, animals and crops; fields and groves promising high yield and shops and other places of business activity.

The evil eye prevention and expulsion customs and rituals are undertaken usually by an older member of the family, other than the receiver, interested in his/its well being. These rituals are generally performed by women indoors and men outdoors.

Prevention of the Evil Eye

The preventive practices of the evil eye seem to adopt certain principles.

1. Creating imperfections:

Children, simply by virtue of their innocent beauty attract the gaze of all people; as a result are often hesitant to adorn them. Never theless their parents enjoy decorating their children with clothes and jewels thus enhancing their beauty. When they decorate their children, they add some obvious imperfections. The common practice is to mark the child's forehead with some big rough black dot.[1] The idea is that, it is the debeautifying "warding off" imperfection which would attract the gaze of other people and not very much the beauty of its possesser.[2]

2. Use of "absorbing" agents:

Certain objects are used as "absorbing" agents which are believed to be capable of engulfing the effects of the evil eye which would otherwise affect the receiver. A black perfect round dot marked on the checks

of children and black bangles worn on their arms are used for that purpose. Sometimes people string a small white conch shell with a black card and tie it on the forehead of a bull. Strings of black beads around the neck of a cow are also used for the same purpose.

3. **Jointly using the principles of imperfection and absorbing agent:**

The practice of creating imperfections and using absorbing agents are sometimes used in combination and it is extended to plants and inanimate objects. For example lime paste is used to mark white dots on a black clay pot. It is then placed on top of a pole planted in the middle of a field, garden or grove pleasing to those who pass by and promising a high yield. Generally the pot is installed in the center of the field once the sown seeds have grown making the field beautiful and full of greenary. Sometimes however the installation is made during the yielding period. Occasionally an ugly or terrifying human sized image of a person is made of straw and covered with cloth. This image called "Chola Kollai bommai" is kept tied to a tall post planted in the middle of a field. Both the spotted pot and "chola kollai bommai" are ugly and act as imperfections. Just as an imperfect mark on the forehead of the child reduces his beauty and protects him from the evil eye, the "chola kollai bommai" and the spotted pot reduce the beauty of the fields The spotted pot and the "chola kollai bommai" also act as absorbing agents. Moreover since these prophylatic objects are placed on a level higher than the crop, and are peculiar in form, they attract the attention of passers by. This way they minimise the potential for a malevolent gaze at the valued property below.

People often hang pumpkins marked with black spots at the entrance of houses and other newly constructed buildings. In a recent elaboration of this tradition, pictures of frightening human faces with bulging eyes and long protruding teeth and tongue are available in the market. These are hung at the entrance of shops and other business places.

4. **Use of humour enticing objects :**

Another practice employed to prevent the evil eye operates directly on the potential caster rather than on the potential receiver. For example humourous figures or signboards proclaiming "Look into my eyes and smile" may sometimes be seen at the entrance of business places. These figures and signs evoke non-malevolent emotions like happiness and

laughter Since the evil eye is believed to be caused by negative feelings, these figures and signboards help to transform them into pleasant ones.

Expulsion of the Evil Eye

The preventive practices of creating imperfections through warding off markers and using absorbing agents and humour enticing objects are not always successful. Despite all precautions, children, property and health are nevertheless subject to the evil eye and require a variety of remedies. The following principles could be seen in the expulsion rituals.

1. Use of 'Collection' agents:

Certain objects are believed to be capable of collecting the effects of the evil eye from the reciever. Red chillies, salt, mustard seeds, camphor, lime etc., are commonly used for this purpose.

2. Collection, humiliation and destruction of the effects of the evil eye:

An older person, usually a relative interested in the well being of the receiver may perform certain rites using the principles of collection, humiliation and destruction of the effects of the evil eye. For example sickness is believed to be the common effect of the evil eye. Accordingly an older relative of the receiver holds some of these collecting agents and touches the entire body of the receiver with them. Then the older woman encircles the head of the receiver with her hand holding the collecting agents in her hand. Sometimes words of scorn and humiliation are murmured by the older woman while performing the ritual. The receiver may spit on the collecting agents at the end of the ritual. This action is a symbolic humiliation of the evil which has been removed. The collecting agents are either discarded or are first burnt and the ashes are thrown out according to the nature of the object.[5] Thus the effect of the evil eye is collected, cursed, humiliated, burnt and thrown away.

The receiver is then believed to be relieved of the effects of the evil eye. When the receiver's older relation throws the collecting agent(s) outside, she is supposed to return to the house without looking back at the discarded object(s), and close the door immediatly after she enters. If she does not comply with this, it is believed that the potential lingering dangers may reenter the house and affect its inhabitants[6]. This expulsion ritual may

also be performed for shops, cows and bulls. It can also be done at frequent intervals so that the bad effects of the evil eye are periodically collected so that they do not accumulate and produce serious effects.

3. Adpotion of the principle of contagious magic :

The principle of contagious magic seems to be involved in the expulsion ritual mentioned above. The main concept in contagious magic is that the objects which have been in contact with a person or an animal remain in contact relationship even after they are separated from the person or animal. This applies not only to things like nails and hair but also to objects which were in temporary contact like clothing. For example if a person is suspected of having cast the evil eye, sand on which he has stepped is collected without his knowledge. Alternatively sand from the entrance of his house may also be assembled. The sand is believed to be in contact relationship with the person. It is used with other collecting agents such as salt, mustard seed and red chillies in the same way described above. It is humiliated, cursed, burnt and thrown outside. This expulsion ritual making use of the sand and collecting agents is symbolically directed toward the caster from under whose foot the sand had been taken.

4. Scape goat:

Sometimes however more serious measures involving a scape goat are taken. Thus the absorbing agents like spotted pot and terrifying human figure, sometimes act as temporary ones. Animals especially roosters and goats are thought to act as resting places of the effects of the evil eye. After the harvest, on the day when the absorbing agents are removed from the field, a rooster or a goat is sacrificed in order to discharge the effects of the evil eye accrued over the period.

Ceremonial Rites

Ceremonial prevention and expulsion of the evil eye differ in many ways from mundane practices. For instance, the collecting agents used in ceremonial occasions differ. A solution of lime and turmeric which turns red by a chemical reaction is used on ceremonial rites. It is used for both the initiate and the important characters in an individual's

life cycle ceremonies and for the deity at the end of important pujas and festivals. The red solution is waved in front of the receiver by two female family members at the end of the ritual and thrown out. This action collects the effects of the evil eye deposited by the audience. A few more objects are used as collecting agents on ceremonial occasions. For example when girl undergoes her puberty ritual, an older female relative places seven biscuits on the girl's body. One is placed on her head, one each on both her shoulders, hands and feet. Then two older female relations stand; one in front of the girl and another behind her. The one in front hands a pot of rice or water to the one behind in a clockwise direction. This process is repeated by the woman standing behind, till three full circles are completed. The biscuits are shed and the water or rice in the pot is discarded. Afterwards banana fruits and new biscuits are passed between the two women in the same manner as described above. The girl spits on the collecting agents, the banana fruits and biscuits at the completion of three circles. Then the collecting agents are thrown away in all the four directions. Biscuits, rice, water and banana fruit are used here as collecting agents.

Other features of rites performed during ceremonial occasions deserve comment. For example the person who performs the ritual of removal and expulsion is expected to be silent except when carrying out the acts like murmuring, cursing and using humiliating words, directed, at the caster of the symptoms of the evil eye. By contrast the people who wave the red solution around the receiver are expected to sing songs while they perform the act. There are folk songs sung specially during these occasions invoking God's protection from the evil eye and blessing for a happy and prosperous future.

Moreover the rites of collecting the effects of the evil eye during ceremonial occasions are done in full public view, It also involves the act of more than one relation. In contrast the rites of collecting the effects of the evil eye on mundane occasions are done by a single member in secrecy.

Summary:

The evil eye is motivated consciously or subconsciously. The evil eye caster is always a human being while the receiver can be a human

being, animal: crop, place and any other inanimate object. The effect of evil eye is always considered bad. Hence people adopt certain customs and rituals for its prevention and expulsion.

The preventive practices seem to employ certain principles like creating imperfections using absorbing agents, jointly using the principles of imperfectional absorbtion absorbing agents and using certain humour enticing objects.

The expulsion ritual practices make use of collecting agents, the principle of collection, humiliation and destruction of the effects of the evil eye, principle of contagious magic and scape goat.

The ceremonial rituals differ in certain ways from the mundane ones. The collecting agents used here are different. It involves a few relations and the act of singing songs. And also the rituals are performed in full public view.

Foot notes

1. This rough black dot is in contrast to the 'poṭṭu', a beautifying perfect round dot placed in the center of the forehead of girls and women.

2. Another example of an imperfection which serves to ward off the evil eye is the practice of piercing ears. It is believed that the God of death 'Yama' would not desire a child who has imperfection on his body.

3. This is comparable to the North American scare crow, a stuffed figure of a human being erected on a pole to ward off crows.

4. Some collecting agents are used individually and some in combination with others. For instance camphor. and lime are used individually and red chillies, salt and mustard seeds are used jointly.

5. For instance lime is most commonly discarded, camphor is burnt and red chillies, salt and mustard seeds are first burnt and then the ashes are discarded.

6. It should be noted that it is believed that either a turn back toward the objects or an open door can singly or jointly invite the ill effects to return.

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A Festschrift for
Prof M. Shanmugam Pillai.

33

Autism and Language*

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1. What is Autism?

Autism is so closely related to disorders such as childhood schizophrenis and developmental aphasia that it is generally difficult to distinguish autism from other disorders easily. Autism is described as the quality of psychotic ideation in which the patient referred everything in the world to himself. Autism has been described a *semiotic* psychosis, atypical ego development, a mental retardation phenomenon, a dysfunction of the central nervous system, a physical disease of the brain, a neuro-pathophysiologic process which interferes with developmental rate and the modulation or integration of sensory input within the brain, a disturbance of motility, a disturbance of language, disturbances of personality development and the inability to relate to others. Certain errors in the biochemical mechanisms involved in the production of autistic symptoms have been generally identified but these generally do not offer such help in the sub-

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classification of autistic types (Goleman, 1976). Some of the sub-types identified are *familial autism*, *purine autism* and *celiac autism*. Yet there is no unanimity about how to identify a child as autistic. The origin of the symptoms of autism has been a bone of contention between the adherents of the psychogenic etiology and organic etiology - between the advocates of *nurture* and the advocates of *nature*. But fortunately for us there appears to be a give and take in matters of investigation including those of language between the two groups, as evidenced in Churchill(1978)

2. Autism as a Communication Disorder

The status of autism as a communication disorder is not well recognized in the literature. In fact autism as a communication disorder has not been fully accepted in the literature. In India, inspite of several dissertations of a wide variety of communication disorders, no one has yet seen it fit to investigate and identify the characteristic features of autism as a communication disorder. The lack of interest among speech pathologists in autism in general may be due to the tacit assumption that the prognosis is always very poor.

3. Some important Contributions to the Study of Autistic Language

While autism per se has received a good deal of attention from scholars of a wide variety of disciplines, the language of the autistic child or the recognition that lack of language could be a primary factor in the emergence of autism has not received much attention of the investigators. But we must hasten to add that what little has been done in recent years on the description and explanation of the language of the autistic child is extremely significant and has given great insights into the nature of the disease itself. The works mentioned in bibliography are some of the most relevant and significant contributrions on the description and explanation of autistic language. Most of these works are not, however, readily available to the Indian students interested in the language of the autistic child.

4. Trends in the Description and Explanation of Autistic Language

The following approaches or trends in the collection, analysis, description and explanation of the language of the autistic child are discernible in the recent publications.

i) Most of the early studies are impressionistic characterizations of the autistic language. These impressionistic characterizations have not, perhaps fortunately, strictly followed any of the models of language available in current Linguistics. One also notices a naive description of structures of language involved.

ii) Collection of data and descriptions of autistic language are made in several cases through the use of tests, both verbal and non-verbal.

iii) Comparison of the language behaviour of autistic children is pursued to arrive at the likely uniformities that may be found in the language use of these children.

iv) Comparison of language of the autistic child with that of normal child is pursued to measure the distance between the two and to set up diagnostic criteria and therapy goals.

v) Researches are conducted to prove or disprove hypotheses such as a specific language deficit may underlie the developmental of infantile autism; there are more communicative or socialized utterances than egocentric and vice versa, etc.

vi) Researches indicating considerable variation in the use of language among autistic children lead to the hypothesis of the uniqueness of each patient's language.

vii) Researches assuming and indicating that there may be a universal set of autistic language characteristics of which different children may exhibit different subsets.

viii) Autistic language as imitative language, as echolalia and as repetitive language.

ix) Autistic language as a delayed language as opposed to more complex disturbance or deviance.

x) Deviant parent-child verbal interaction (Deficient or inadequate maternal language as the model).

xi) Mental subnormality as the basis of autism.

xii) Autism as response to a language deficit as opposed to a larger cognitive deficit.

xiii) Autism as social withdrawal (as the primary defect of autistic children)

xiv) Autism as an abnormality in left lateralization.

xv) Autistic language as failure to establish co-ordination between breathing rhythms and grammatic speech.

5. Limits to language capacity in autistic child as the Major Focus

The authors of this paper wish to emphasize a focus that has been only weakly recognized and that too only implicitly. The focus is as follows. The nature of the autistic child is such that a study of his spontaneous utterances alone will not yield a proper characterization of his language capacity. The child has to be got involved in a number of learning tasks in order for us to assess not only his language capacity but also the limitations of this capacity. In studies of language acquisition by normal children also we have to resort to several modes of collection of data such as imitation, elicitation, questionnaire method, participant observation, involving the children in certain learning tasks, etc., in addition to a study of the spontaneous utterances of the children. Note, however, that in the study of language acquisition by normal children, the emphasis is mainly on a characterization of the language capacity children have and how this capacity is reflected in a developmental process, whereas in the study of the language of autistic child the emphasis has to be necessarily on the limits of the language capacity and language use of the autistic child, even though the same modes may have been employed for the collection of data.

6. Some characteristics of the Autistic Language

Let us now briefly present the characteristics of language found in autistic children. These features are not to be taken as present in every autistic child. None of them would have all the features. The language

of the autistic shares some characteristic with the language of the aphasic and the schizophrenic Among the autistic children, relatively a minority alone has verbal communication. Of this relatively few also only a very small number has expressive and auditory speech. There appears to be a progression from primitive oral speech of 'mumbling' to clear vocalizations, from primitive grammatic usage to more elaborate and normal grammatic structure. More often there is mention of the presence of the immediate and/or delayed echolalia (parroting of not understood words and phrases, and the parroting of stored words and phrases). There is a process of reversal of pronouns, generally between *you* and I, but it could cover other pronouns also. There is also the use of words with reference and connotations peculiar to the child and these connotations/references, however, need not be consistently used. Extreme literalness, other comprehension difficulties, limited vocabulary. inappropriate and non communicative language, mutism, neologisms, articulation difficulties, lack of questions and informative statements, frequent use of imperatives, limited output, little comprehension or use of gestures, limited syntagmatic abilities (reduced sentence length) and deviations in intonations, are other major characteristics of the autistic language.

A survey of the studies listed by us earlier in section-3 reveals that the profile of linguistic abilities and disabilities an autistic child has, is, indeed, peculiar to him, and is not shared fully by any other autistic child. To this extent each autistic child and his language must be considered unique. For students of aphasia this assertion must sound very familiar, However, one can still arrive at sub-groups on the basis of what Churchill (1978) calls the type of impasses. Every truly autistic, or rather centrally autistic, child is known to fall short of a complete mastery of communicative skills, at some level or other. Churchill focusses on these failures and posits a wide spectrum of low level functioning of language to limitations imposed on higher language functioning. At the lower level children have channel specific deficits, difficulty with particular parts of speech, and/or limited capacity for the higher level of the combination of stimuli. At the higher level of language functioning children are found to have difficulties with generalizations and classification, cross referencing and syntactic transformations. The errors committed by the autistic children in the manipulation of language (communicative tool) should also be considered while classifying the patients. Take for instance, a syntagmatic impasse Churchill and other have identified at the syntactic level which is called a sequence

effect. Children were found to respond correctly to the last word of a sequence consisting of two words such as *red-block*. Changing the stimulus to *block-red* would result in the child's responding with consistent correctness and missing *block*. It has been also found that introduction of new words even within the same part of speech to a recently mastered set often resulted in a loss of old skills. (These are syntagmatic and paradigmatic deficits of whose relevance we shall discuss in a moment). We also suggest a classification based on comparison between normal language development and the language of the autistic child. We further argue that findings in these areas would be rewarding and rich in direct proportion to the fine qualities (delicacy) of the learning tasks demanded of the autistic child.

7. Comparison between Animal Communication Systems and Autistic Language

The authors of the present paper notice a curious similarity between researches on animal communication, in particular the learning tasks provided to chimpanzees, and the learning tasks provide to autistic children in the mastery of communicative skills. As majority of the autistic children have deficient or inadequate speech and most of them no speech at all, researchers have tended to expose the autistic children to a mastery of non-verbal communicative tasks in the sense that these tasks do not insist upon the manifestation of speech but on the manifestation of an ability to recognize and express paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, and on the comprehension and use of novel yet appropriate communicative tasks The authors of this paper are reminded of the most competent and continuing research of the Gardner couple. And a critical appraisal of the learning tasks provided to autistic children and the results obtained force the authors to fall back, upon the seminal criticism of the Gardners' work and the critical prediction of an inevitable failure the chimp Washoe would face in the mastery of human language-like communicative tasks by Roger Brown.

The Gardners, like Churchill (1978) and others, investigating autistic language, have very wisely divorced language from its manifestation in sounds and have viewed language in an abstract sense, as *semanticity, grammatical productivity* and novelty in addition to communicative appropriateness and paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations may manifest in activities other than speech also. And even then Gardners' Chimpanzee Washoe did not show any order in the relations between the signs learned

by her. The limited number of signs mastered by her tended to occur in all possible orders, even when there was no change in the non-linguistic contexts. (This variability was not generally noticed much in autistic language; however, the sequence effect impasse referred to earlier is another version of a limitation of the syntagmatic capacity). Washoe has not demonstrated her capacity to discriminate with respect to the order of elements in a situation. Further, Washoe has not demonstrated her capacity for displaced communication, semanticity productivity and novelty. Immediacy reigns supreme and abstraction and generalization are of a limited scope. These characteristics are easily identified in the language of the autistic child. The autistic child, the centrally located autistic child, fails to master any of the more important and crucial features of human communicative language. While he acquires a crucial feature, he fails to acquire another one which also is part of the set of features that comprise human communicative language. In essence, like Washoe, he should also be predicted as suffering from a defect that is an essential feature of his very being.

8. Autistic Language as Relics in the Evolution of Human Language

The present authors would like to view this ultimate inability to acquire and use normal communicative language even through and in non-verbal aspects as the essential defining feature of acute autism, or as we referred to as centrally located autism in a wide spectrum of autistic manifestations. The authors would also argue that within Pattanayak's Frame (Pattanayak 1979), autism as a speech/language disorder would fall within the category of handicaps that would not lend themselves for a language and speech therapy programme. We would also like to view this ultimate inability or the impasse in relation to an extended sense of Jakobson's mirror image theory and the Pigetian epistamological position that these are parallels between the thought of children and philosophical systems. We suggest that the ultimate inability of the autistic child to acquire and use communicative language so well revealed through the impasses is symptomatic of his sub-human status as far as language use is concerned. The uniqueness of language found in each autistic child and the far-ranging varieties of the autistic language are the relics of the arduous process of evolution that the homosapiens had to undergo before they finally attained the propensity for the communicative language of the

present stage. The mirror image theory is sought here to explain the interrelationship between the child's acquisition of normal language and its destruction in disorders but to relate possible ontological relationships between language disorders and the acquisition of language by humans through evolutionary processes. This position closely follows the Piagetian dictum mentioned above. If this position is correct, the answer to the oft-raised question whether we can reconstruct the human language from the animal communication systems (is there any ordered and significant hierarchy among the communication systems of living organisms of which the human language may be the latest, more superior and more complex? etc., has to be answered not only through an indepth study of animal communication systems, but also through a study of language disorders. We are of the opinion that in this primary importance would have to be given to the language of the autistic child.

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34

Correlation of Kallar's Life Style with Concept of Time*

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2.1. How the concept of time is revealed among the members of 'Piramalaik Kaḷḷar community of Sakkiliyankuḷam in Madurai District is the subject matter of the present paper. Instead of classifying a day in terms of twenty four hours, this community makes the classification in terms of certain natural phenomena. These people divide a day into twenty two fragments in accordance with their daily routine. Each division of time has some bearing on one activity or other in their life. Their concept of time is based on four phenomena:

a) The crow of the rooster at night
b) The rising of the stars in the sky
c) The movement of the sun
d) The environmental conditions

2.1.1. In the first column of the following table, the time divisions in vogue among these people are given with serial numbers. In the

* I am indebted to Dr. G. Vijayavenugopal for having helped me in the collection and interpretation of the data connected with the present paper. Naturally I shall be responsible for any short comings of this paper.

second column, each time division with its corresponding clock-time has been given. The literal meanings for time divisions are to be found in brackets under 'clock time' in this column. The numbers in the third column show the phenomenon on which the concept of time is based. All the twenty two divisions of time are accounted for in the table. The first division of time commences from midnight.

2.1.2. Concept of time based on the crow of the rooster.

1.2.5 and 7 in the table are based on the phenomenon the crow of the rooster All these four are employed to divide the night time- Though the same rooster crows at different times, the head nouns such as rooster'. •

Concept of Time

No.	Time Divisions	Corresponding clock-time	Phenomenon on which the time division is based
	I	II	III
1.	talekko:ḷi	12 00 mid-night (first-rooster crow)	(a)
2.	sa:makko:ḷi	After 12.00 p.m. (the rooster which crows at mid-night)	(a)
3.	reṭṭiveḷḷi or neṭṭiveḷḷi	1.00 a.m. (most bright star)	(b)
4.	ta:rkkampuveḷḷi	2.00 a m. (good star)	(b)
5.	naṭukko:ḷi	Between 3.00 a.m. to 4.00 a m. (the middle rooster crow)	(a)
6	nacce:traveḷḷi	4.00 a.m. (most bright star with four rays)	(b)

7.	kaṭe:sikko:ḷi	Between 4.00 a.m. to 5.00 a.m. (the last-rooster crow)	(a)
8.	viṭiveḷḷi	After 5.00 a m. (the morning star)	(b)
9.	s ṇkamaṇkala:	Between dawn and early morning (dim and not clear)	(c)
10.	poḷutupariye	After 6 00 a.m. (the time of sunrise)	(c)
11.	kamcipoḷutu	Between 7.00 a.m. to 8.00 a.m. (time for gruel)	(d)
12.	orupa:ppoḷutu	Between 8.00 a.m. to 9.00 a.m. (when the sun rises to a height from the point of dawn)	(c)
13.	elematya:nõ	11.00 a.m. (the tender noon i.e , before noon)	(c)
14.	uccipoḷutu	12.00 Noon	(c)
15.	aṭiṭirumpa or aṭicca:ye	After 1.00 p.m. (the sun rays turns east to west)	(c)
16.	periye vi:ṭṭukku ole vakre ne:rõ	3.00 p.m. (the time when the cooking pot will be set ready in the big house)	(c)
17.	maleva:ye kaṭṭe	Before sunset i.e., between 5.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m. (sun is tying the mouth of the mountain)	(c)

18.	poḷutu viḷun-turuccu	After sunset i.e., after 6.00 p.m. (the time has fallen)	(c)
19.	antima:e	Between 7.00 p.m. to 8 00 p.m. (dusk)	(c)
20.	u:roṭuṇkre ne:rõ	Between 8.00 p.m. to 9.00 p.m. (the time when the village calms down)	(d)
21.	aravõmoṭuṇkre ne:rõ	11 00 p.m. (the time when the noises go down)	(d)
22.	ele tuluṇka:ta ne:rō	Between 11.00 p.m to 12.00 p m. (the time when even leaves of the tree do not rustle)	(d)

tale, *sa:mam*, *naṭu* and *kaṭe:si*, which are used in Standard Kaḷḷar Tamil, make one feel that there are different roosters crowing at different periods. That is what exactly Piramalaikkaḷḷars also consider. But he is more concerned with the time of crowing of the rooster even if it is the same and hence the time is of more concern than the rooster as such. This explains the fact that it is the time division which is more important.

Piramalaikkaḷḷars are able to distinguish the *talekko:ḷi* from the *sa:makko:ḷi* instinctively. If there is any doubt, they get it cleared by associating the rooster-crow with the appearance of certain stars in the sky. At the crow of the last rooster, their daily life commences. They wake up from their sleep, prepare food for the day and leave home to attend to their work in the field.

2.1.3 Concept of time based on the appearance of the stars:

The stars in the sky do not appear simultaneously. Certain stars rise at a particular time in a particular direction. Using their know-

edge of this phenomenon, Sakkiliyankulam Kaḷḷars divide the night time. 3, 4, 6 and 8 in the table refer to the time divisions in the night. These people have divided the stars into nine groups according to the time of their appearance, formation and brightness. The rising of the *reṭṭivelḷi* or *neṭṭivelḷi* helps them understand that the midnight-rooster has crowed. *ta:rkkampu velḷi* and the rising of *nacce:travelḷi* makes them associate the stars with the crowing of the middle-rooster and the last-rooster respectively. Sometimes, by observing the appearance of the star, they open the sluice gates to irrigate their fields.

2.1.3.1 The word *reṭṭi* in the phrase *reṭṭivelḷi* refers to a member of the Reddiar community. There is an episode which accounts for the use of this word in *reṭṭivelḷi* "A certain Reddiar had to go to another village on business early in the morning. Mistaking the *reṭṭivelḷi* for *nacce:travelḷi*, he thought the day would break very soon. With money in his hand, he set out on his business trip. Some highway men not only robbed him of his money but also killed him". Ever since the murder of the Reddiar, people have started calling the star *reṭṭikuṭi keṭutta velḷi* (the star that ruined the fortunes of the Reddiar) or *reṭṭivelḷi*.

2.1.3.2 The *ta:rkkampu velḷi* rises after 2 O'clock in the night. A few minutes before or after the rising of the *ta:rkkampuvelḷi* the following four stars are said to appear in the sky.

(a)	ku:ṭṭumaṉṉuvelḷi	'the 9 stars in a circle'
(b)	kaṭluka:luvelḷi	'the four stars in a circle'
(c)	pareyĕ ta:rkkampu velḷi	'a group of stars resembling a small goad used by a Parayar caste man'
(d)	siluve velḷi	'a group of stars resembling the cross'

2.1.3.2.1 The names of these stars are given on the basis of their formation. The phrases *ta:rkkampuvelḷi* and *pareyĕ ta:rkkampuvelḷi* bring to light the fact that in naming the stars the social custom of the Piramalaikkaḷḷars is reflected in the language.

If a group of stars appear in a row, these people name them not individually but collectively. As two separate groups of stars rise simul-

taneously, they call the longer row *ta:rkkampuvelḷḷi* and the shorter one *pareyĕ ta:rkkampuvelḷḷi*. They use the term *ta:rkkampu* (a thin stick used or stimulating the bull, etc.,) to indicate that the stars in each of the above two groups lie on a straight line. As a rule, this stick is long. But the members of the most backward Paravar community are said to use short sticks. Therefore, Piramalaikkaḷḷars use the phrase *ta:rkkampuvelḷḷi* to refer to the stars in the long row and *pareyĕ ta:rkkampuvelḷḷi* to refer to the not-so-long row of stars.

2.1.3.2.2 Just as the grains of a handful of sand cannot be differentiated from one another, so also the nine stars in a small circle cannot be distinguished from one another. Hence, these stars are given the name *ku:ṭṭumaṉṉuvelḷḷi*. The four stars group is called *kaṭluka:luvelḷḷi* since a cot has four legs. Likewise, the group of stars resembling the cross is named *siluvelḷḷi*. The nouns *ta:rkkampu, pareyĕ ta:rkkampu, kaṭluka:lu siluve* precede the noun *velḷḷi* in these phrases and function as adjectives.

2.1.4 Concept of time based on the movement of the sun:

Of the 22 divisions of time in use among Sakkiliyankulam Kaḷḷars are based on the movement of the sun. These divisions have something or other to do with daily routine. These people who leave their residence at *Seṉkamaṉkaḷa:* (dim and not clear) return home before *maleva:ye kaṭṭe* (before sun set). They work and take rest in the interval between these two time divisions.

2.1.4.1 It is interesting to note that certain myths have given rise to the coinage of the time-division phrases. It was believed that the sun was swallowed by the mountain at the time of sunset. It is only a myth but its sway over the phrase *maleva:ye kaṭṭe* is quite evident.

2.1.5 Concept of time based on the environmental conditions.

The 11th and 16th time divisions have much greater connection with the life of Sakkiliyankulam Kaḷḷars. The time for breakfast is denoted by '*Kamcipoḷutu*. The phrase *periya vi:ṭṭukku* in *periya vi:ṭṭukku ole vakre ne:rŏ* refers to a rich man's house where, unlike in other houses, supper is prepared. In these people's opinion only the rich can afford to prepare fresh supper. At dusk, the members of this community return home after having worked on the farm.

2.1.5 1 The last three divisions are based on these people's observation of environmental conditions. The phrase *u:roṭuṇkre ne:rõ* makes it clear that it is time to go to bed. The time, when the noice of people and domestic animals dies down is implied by the use of the phrase *aravõmoṭ-uṇkre ne:rõ*. The last phrase *ele tuluṇka:ta ne:rõ* denotes thetime when even tree-leaves do not stir. This makes it clear that nature is at rest at night.

3.0 The concept of time clearly brings out the simplicity of Sakkili-yankulam Kaḷḷars and their close communication with nature. It may be concluded that the concept of time has given rise to the coinage of certain terms in keeping with the life style of these people.

A Festschrift for
Prof M. Shanmugam Pillai

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A Linguistic Approach to Interlingual Translation*

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Language Communication is related to the human social situations in which it operates. In a way language is a type of patterned human activity. This activity, externalised and manifested through language, involves the process of various caterization in language. These caterizations could be found under linearity or hierarchy.

In the modern world mono lingual communication is limited. Multilingual communication is the order of the day. But still,the basic problems of inter-lingual communication or rather the task of translation from a source language to a target language, however, remain the same.

There is one method, as suggested by R. Jakobson, available in the field of translation: this is 'interlingual translation' involving the interpretation of the verbal signs of one language by means of the verbal signs of another language. This in fact not only includes word for word comparisons, but also the equivalence of both symbols and their arrangements Actually it suggests that one must know the meaning of the entire connotation or denotation of the communicative unit.

Very often Tamil scholars point out that words like *aṟam* (அறம்), *oḻukkam* (ஒழுக்கம்), *kaṟpu* (கற்பு), *paṇpu* (பண்பு), etc , are the

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* Paper submitted to the Seventh All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists held in Bangalore in June 1977.

typical entities that cause endless misdirection in translation in Englise or for that matter in any non-Indian idiom. The basic cause, perhaps, for this state of affairs is due to a particular world-view of the Tamils from time immemorial. In fact a search and a study of lexical and conceptual field pertaining to linguistic and semantic contexts might help to iuterpretand translate effectively as well as efficiently the aspects of culture through language structures and patterns. Taxonomic studies dealing with classification of vocabulary of related terms, the componential analysis of semantic domains, the interpretative/Lexical semantics, the generative semantics etc., from different angles might throw light on the problems as well as on certain prospects or methods of solving them. In the case of Tamil and English the total meaning of grammatical constructions contribute a lot to the aspects of Translation of Tamil phrases and sentences into English.

Consider the following Tamil phrase although appear simple on surface but involves complexity in nature in English translation.

Eg. /paɻam irunta me:sai/ 'The table on which the fruit was'
(பழம் இருந்த மேசை)

To make a proper translation of the Tamil phrase into English, one has to find out the many different types of constructions and correspondingly diverse meaningful relationships between the constituent parts of grammatical constructions. Let us set up a tree diagram for the Tamil construction which reveals the various layers of relevent combinations from the point of deep structure as well as surface structure of the construction. The S(tructural) D(escription) and the S(tructural) C(hange) has to be observed carefully contrast to similar description and change in he structure of English.

Relative Nominilization Rule

S.D. : X — N LOC — Vb. — N
1 2 3 4 5

S.C. : 1 ——————————→ 1 4 + RP 25

The condition is:

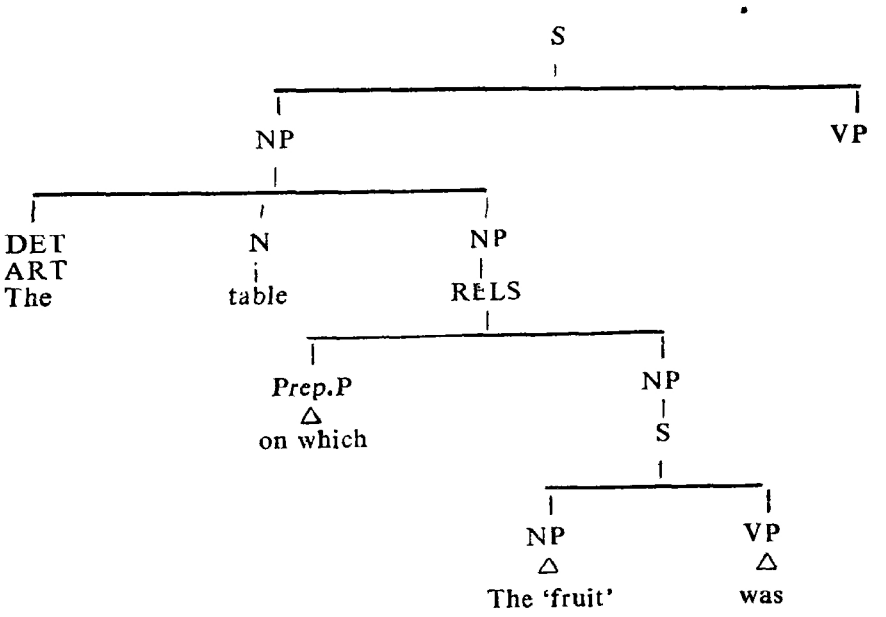
2 = 5; 1 ——— 4 is a sentence
5 is the head of an NP of matrix sentence

Replacement Rule

S.D. : X — Vb — RP — N — N
1 4 3 2 5

S.C. : 1 ——————— 5 → 1234

The relationship between the deep and the surface structures have been discovered here and made clear in order to choose the right equivalents in the English. It is good to observe the equivalent English surface structure tree diagram for the phrase 'The table on which the fruit was': which has been the translation for 'palam irumta me:cai'



The diverse meaningful relationships between structurally similar types of expressions are in fact based on certain basic sentences.

For the translator especially, the view of language as a generative device is important, since it provides him first with a technique for analyzing the process of decoding the source text, and secondly with a procedure for describing the generation of the appropriate corresponding expression

in the target language. In fact a person's understanding of a construction rests on the basic nature of sentences. Generally people reproduce complex constructions in terms of their basic types. Generative transformational analysis seems to explain most adequately the embedding of structures with in structures and the relationship of parallel structures to each other.

Professor J.C. Catford, while discussing translation and linguistics, defines Translation as follows:

> "Translation may be defined as the replacement of textual material in one language (source language) by equivalent textual material in another language (Target language)."

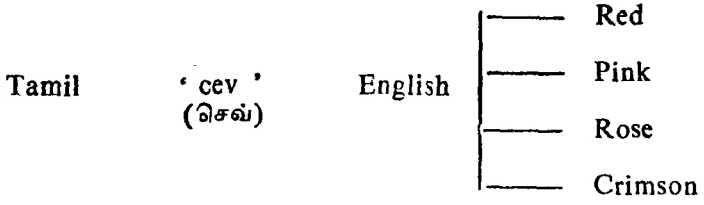
In recent years all over the world an enormous necessity and importance have been generated on the operation of translation, a process of substituting a text in one language for text in another. This process, in fact, ultimately rests on a theory of language or rather a theory of linguistics. Professor M.A.K. Halliday, focusing the process of translation comments that there are no over-all comparative statements accounting for the difference between two languages. Here one has to recall the chauvanist Tamil scholars' claim stated earlier. According to Halliday the comparison may take a variety of different forms: the explanation of categories of L2 (i.e. language. 2) by reference to categories of L1 (i.e. Language. 1) The use of translation in either direction or both direction.

In normal day to day communication it is not the complete textual or verbal material of a source language which is translated or rather replaced by target language equivalents (i. e. one to one formal linguistic equivalents). If we translate the Tamil taxt, "Kaṇṇaṭakkam' (கண்ணாடக்கம்), the title of a collection of short-stories of Dr. Kalaignar M. Karunanidi as 'eye-transplantation' (although linguistically relevent), it does not convey the author's functionally relevent ironical conotation of the Tamil compound in that situation in English. Hence one has to render the Tamil compound in English as 'The Silver-eye', on account of trans-cultural difficulties in communication, and failure to find a target language (i.e. English) equivalent for the source language (i.e. Tamil) compound form Thus one has to convey the functionally relevent feature of the situation, that is the irony conveyed through the title of the story.

There are two kinds of transfer process in the act of translation viz (i) formal transfer, and (ii) contextual transfer. But when the languages(Language-1 sa source language, and Language-2 as the targe tlanguage), involve in the process of translation are of distinct typological such as Tamil and English and have wide difference and deviations in the cultural backgrounds, the transfer process in the act of translation becomes difficult. Often the one to one exact linguistic transfer equivalents do not seem to be available. Hence, there arises the so called 'untranslatability'. But, to get over this difficulty the features that are relevent to socio-linguistic function have to be carefully isolated from the features that are relevent to linguistic form or unit which manifest itself in due process in the language.

For instance, the Tamil sentencec 'na:n ca:ppitte:n' can be rendered in English as 'I ate'. Here the features that are relevent to linguistic form above are transfered from source language (Tamil) to Target language (English). This kind of transfer-translation is called *formal transfer*. The transfer-translation of 'kaṇṇaṭakkam' as 'silver-eye' is named as '*contextual transfer*. Cultural variability or what we may call as cultural relativity often creates barriers to the transfer from one language to another. Anyhow contextual features in such instances generally guide the reader (of the translation) to select the appropriate situational features in any particular case for understanding.

Another instance in Tamil points out the cross-cultural barrier. A Tamil nominal form 'tavara:ja cinkam' (தவராஜ சிங்கம்) used by Jeyakantan in a noval called 'twigs' (விழுதுகள்), is rendered in English as 'A king lion among the sages' modelled after an exocentric construction, were as a native Englishman genius would expect here a construction, modelled after an English endocentric construction. Another Tamil nominal compound 'a qualifier-head phrase' cevva:lai', (செவ்வாழை) used by C.N. Annadurai also seems to be untranslatable according to some translators. The second member of the compound is amenable to formal transfer and can be rendered as 'banana' in English. The first member of the phrase is a colour adjective which seems to have no one-to-one equivalent for the Tamil construction in English. The colour configuration and their identity differs from language to language basing on the world-view of the concerned speakers of the language.



In spite of the difficulty, the term 'red' is chosen in the English which suggests and echoes the feeling, pathos and irony, portrayed beautifully in the story by C.N. Annadurai. In this particular instance the formal and contexual features go hand-in-hand in the choice of the vocabulary equivalent in English for the Tamil phrase *cev-va:ḷai* (சேவ்வாழை).

In translation, linguistics plays a pivotal role essentially at three stages: (1) analysis of source and target language (2) careful study of the source language text and (3) choosing and combining the appropriate formal and contexual equivalents from the target language in order to construct the target language text — the piece of translation. Man or machine, no matter, whatsoever, must have these three essential components for translation. At no time in the historical and the world has been so much demand as today to have sequential or simultaneous translations to get over communication — break in the national and international meetings, conferences etc., and it is high time that linguists, especially applied linguists, should involve thoroughly in exploring the problems and thus discovering the prospects of translation all over the world in order to bring closer the unity of mankind.

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36

Ceyyattum type verbals in Tamil

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Verbals of *Ceyyaṭṭum* type in Tamil are noticed to be context sensitive. In simple sentences these verbals admit only such of those subject NPs which belong to third person. Notice the following examples:

1. *avaṉ/avaḷ/ avar(kaḷ)/atu/avai Ceyyaṭṭum*: *Ceyyaṭṭum* verbals however function as predicates to first person pronouns excluding inclusive *na:m,* besides third person nouns, when they occur before the interrogative marker -a:. This privelege is not available to second person pronouns.

2. { (*na:ṉ/na:*ñ*kaḷ/na:m*) / (**ni:/ni:*ñ*kaḷ*) / (*avaṉ/avaḷ/avar(kaḷ)/atu/avai*) } *Ceyyaṭṭum-a:*?

It is noteworthy that the Ceyyaṭṭum verbals also admit the suffix -*e*: after them provided their subject NP belongs to third person nouns.

3. *avan ceyaṭṭum — e:*

Interestingly the *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals admit all the three personal pronouns as their subjects when they occur as a constituent sentence in a complex sentence.

4) { *na:n* / *ni:* / *avan* } *ceyyaṭṭum enṟu ava! ninaiṭṭa:!*

Of the two emphatic suffixes *-ta:n* and *-e:*, the subject NPs of *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals allow only the latter after them. In this respect the subject NPs seem to belong to third person.

5) { *avan - e:* / **na: n-e:* / **ni: -y-e:* } *Ceyyaṭṭum (enṟu ava! Conna:!)*

Ceyyaṭṭum verbals are as a matter of fact impersonal in character. The semantics of these verbals appears to be a complicated one. No uniform interpretation could be assigned to *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals occurring in different syntactic contexts. Generally these verbals specify either obligative or desiderative meaning. Thus in sentence (1) they denote obligative meaning, and in sentence of the type available in (4) they specify desiderative meaning. In sentences of the type noticed in (2) the *ceyyaṭṭum* verbal seems to specify the permissive meaning. One possible way to capture the meaning of *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals in various syntactic contexts is to elicit the responses to yes-no type question sentences involving the verbals under reference. Consider the following examples where (A) and (B) are involved in a conversation:

(6) A) na:n Ceyyaṭṭum-a:?

B) i) ni:cey (affirmative)

ii) ni: ceyya ve:ṇṭa:m (Negative)

7) A: *avan Ceyyaṭṭum-a:?*

B: i) *avan Ceyyaṭṭum* (Affirmative)

ii) *avan ceyya ve:ṇṭa:m* (Negative)

In (6) and (7) the negative response of B enables us to assign obligative meaning to *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals, figuring in A's observation. Another way is to construct non correlative yes-no type question sentences where the first member is ceyyaṭṭum verbal and the second one is negation of the former.

(8) { na:n / avan } Ceyyaṭṭum-a: ve:nṭa:m -a: ?

The occurrence of *ve:nṭa:m-a:* in (8) provides the necessary clue to attribute the permissive meaning to the *Ceyyaṭṭum* verbal figuring therein. The permissive meaning could also be assigned to ceyyaṭṭum verbals, noticed in the following syntactic contexts.

(9) A: ippoluta:vatu { na:n / avan } Ceyaṭṭum-a: ?

B:(i) ippolutu { ni: / avan } ceyyala:m

(ii) ippolutu avan ceyyaṭṭum

The situation obtained in (9) testifies that the syntactic context as available in *ippoluta:vatu* plays a significant role in deciding the semantics of *Ceyyaṭṭum* verbal. Obviously no semantic description of ceyyaṭṭum verbal is possible in the absence of a specific syntactic context. Shanmugam Pillai (1975:149) maintains that *Ceyyaṭṭum* verbals are assignable the permissive meaning irrespective of syntactive context. His observation appears to be partially acceptable.

If there is a possibility of associating the *Ceyyaṭṭum* verbals with imperative verbals we can then fairly decide the meaning of ceyyaṭṭum verbal as obligative. This can be noticed in the examples (6) and (7) involving the imperative verbal in B's response. Also consider the following example.

(10) avan Ceyyaṭṭum ni: Cumma: iru

The involvement of imperative verb *'iru'* in (10) makes it possible to attribute obligative meaning to *Ceyyaṭṭum* verbal there in. The reason for assigning this meaning to *Ceyyaṭṭum* verbal in contexts of the type noticed in (6). (7) and (10) is that no imperative meaning could be assigned to a verbal whose subject NP is a non second person one. This ruling is however a speculative one.

Andronov (1969:175-177) associates the semantics of *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals with that of optatives. This observation appears to be nebulous, since the optative verbals do not maintain paraphrased relation with *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals when the subject NP is in second person.

(11) (a) ni: ceyka

(b) ni: ceyya*ṭṭ*um

However in regard to sentences where the optatives and ceyyaṭṭum verbals are associated with third person subject NPs. Andronov's observation seems to be a sustainable one. Notice the following examples:

(12) (a) avaṉ ceyka

(b) avaṉ ceyyaṭṭum

Sentences in (12) appear to be semantically identical. This identity reveals that in syntactic contexts of the type marked in (12) ceyyaṭṭum verbals are assignable the deciredative meaning.

T.P. Meenakshisundaran (1965:216) assigns the 'ability' or 'capability' meaning to *ceyyaṭṭum* besides indicating permissive meaning. His analysis is not supported by any syntactic evidence.

The semantics of *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals, needs eloborate discussion, which we have not attempted in the present sketch. Our observation in this respect are quite tentative and inconclusive.

As far the morphology of *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals, Andronov analysis them into *ceyal*+*aṭṭum*. This analysis implies that *'ceyal'* is realized into *'cey'* before *aṭṭum*. T.P.Meenakshisundaran segments *ceyyaṭṭum* verbal into *ceyya* + *oṭṭum* He considers that *-'a'* of *ceyya* and *'o-'* of *oṭṭum* merge together yielding 'a'. This analysis is highly arbitrary and unmotivated, considering the artificiality of the emergence of *a* from *a*+*o* sequence. Shanmugam Pillai presents an analysis of *ceyyaṭṭum* verbals, according to which the verbals under reference are segmented as *ceyya*+*ṭṭum* This analysis too is unacceptable, since no suffix in Tamil begins in a retroflex consonant historically.

Ceyyaṭṭum verbals are analysable into cey + attum where *aṭṭum* being a verbal *ceyyum* type is associable with the verb *aṭu*. The verb *aṭu* is noticed to occur with the meaning 'to do' in the noun phrase *'po:r aṭu*

a:ṉai (Akana:ṉu:ṟu 226-16). The emergence of *aṭṭum* from the base *taṭu* seems to be rather complicated since *aṭṭum* cannot be analysed into *aṭu+um* Such analysis will obviously result in the form *aṭum* instead of *aṭṭum*. There are two possibilities to tackle this problem. The form *aṭṭum* may be analysed into *aṭ + tum*. The Second analysis will segment the form *aṭṭum* into *aṭṭu+um* In this case the base *aṭṭu* may be considered an allomorph of *aṭu*. This analysis however appears to be a speculative one. As for the first analysis of *aṭṭum* i.e., *aṭ+tum*, we find it very difficult to maintain it since no *ceyyum* type of verbal in Tamil seems to have the *-tum* suffix. We therefore leave the problem of morphology for further study.

In Telugu we come a class of verbal nouns of *ce:yaṭam/ce:yḍam* type. These verbal nouns are analysable into *verbal base + aṭam / aḍam*. The suffix *aṭam / aḍam* noticed in the verbal nouns of the type under reference appears to have originated from the base *aṭu*. The base of aṭṭum of *ceyyaṭṭum* verbal and base *aṭam/aḍam* of verbal nouns *ce:yaṭam / ce:yaḍam* type do not seem to be semantically different.

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37

Towards a description of Tamil verb structure

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There are some verbal roots in Tamil which are called auxiliaries. These are really markers of the Tamil aspectual system.[1] The verb root 'paar' is one such auxiliary verb.[2] It is the aim of this paper [1] to study the semantic structure of this verb and its realisation in the surface level and [2] to point out the implications of this analysis which will ultimately lead to a complete rethinking on the description of Tamil verb system in particular and Tamil syntax in general[3].

Let us consider some sample sentences from Tamil in order to find out the semantic range of the verb 'paar'.

1. Kaṇṇan Pinnaiyai-p-paarttaan "Kaṇṇan saw Pinnai"
   1 2 3 1 3 2
2. Kaṇṇan Pinnaiyai-k-keeṭṭu - p- paarttaan "Kaṇṇan asked
   1 2 3 4 1 3
   Pinnai and tried"
   2 4
3. Kaṇṇan Pinnaiyai-k-keeṭka-p-paarttaan "Kaṇṇan tried
   1 2 3 4 1 4
   to ask Pinnai
   3 2

Sentence [1] differs from [2] and [3] in that in [1] 'paar' is used as a main verb whereas in [2] and [3] it is used along with another verb by which reason it is called an auxiliary. This would be further demonstrated with the following examples.

4. nii atai eṭuttu-p-paar "you take and see it"
   1 2 3 4 1 3 4 2

5. nii atai-t-tuukki-p-paar "you lift and see it"
   1 2 3 4 1 3 4 2

6. nii eeri-p-paar "you climb up and see"
   1 2 3 1 2 3

7. nii pooy-p-paar "you go and see"
   1 2 3 1 2 3

[4a] nii atai eṭuttu-p-paar "you take it and try"
1 2 3 4 1 3 2 4

[5a] nii atai-t-tuukki-p-paar "you lift it and try"
1 2 3 4 1 3 2 4
[lift it and do a trial]

[6a] nii eeri-p-paar "you climp up and try"
1 2 3 1 3 2
[Climb up and do a trial]

[7a] nii pooy-p-paar "you go and try"
1 2 3 1 3 2
[go and do a trial]

It is clear from the above examples that in [4] - [7] the verb 'paar' expresses the meaning of 'see' and in [4a] - [7a] it expresses the meaning of 'try'. The difference could be seen in the syntactic level too. While it is possible to shift the object 'atai' and insert it in between 'eṭuttu' and 'paar' in [4] it is not possible to insert like that in sentences [4a] because the semantic structure of 'paar' in these sentences do not permit such insertion. So is the case with sentences [5] and [5a]. It has to be noted here that there is no lexical realisation of the meaning 'Do' though it is

understood. The motivation for splitting the meanings of the verb 'paar' into two viz , Do and TRIAL could be seen in the following examples where 'paar' is synonymous with 'muyaṟci/cey'[4] "try".

[8] naan eluti-p-paartteen "wrote and tried"

[9] naan eluti-muyaṟci ceyteen [I wrote and did a trial]

The grammar which tries to explain the surface forms has to take note of the fact that certain surface forms do have more than one meaning and one or more of the meanings of the complex semantic structure may be unmarked at the lexical insertion takes place. [The Prelexical transformation with reference to 'paar' will be explained below]. One question may arise here as to the distinction and realisation of the meanings viz. 'see' and 'try' in sentences [4a] - [7a] where there is no overt formal difference. Perhaps the phonological structure of these sentences will take care of the meaning difference. Generally a pause is given between the verb attribute and the finite verb if it means 'see' and no such pause is given when the intended meaning is "try" which feature besides several others forms the basis to abandon the level of deep structure posited by Chomsky and his followers.

Coming back to our examples [2] and [3] it could be said that in these sentences the verb 'paar' do give the meaning of 'try' and not at all giving the meaning of 'see' as in [1]. It is a homophonous form with two different meanings. It is better to call 'paar' with the meaning 'try' a different verb altogether. But when one compares [2] and [3] he is in doubt as to which is the main verb among the two viz. 'kee]' and 'paar'. Before we decide among these two let us consider first the difference found among [2] and [3]. In both the cases the concept of 'trying' is involved. However there is one difference. Whilst in [2] the 'trying' is made before the intended notion i.e. by asking. Thus though in both cases the concept of 'trying' is involved the surface forms differ in 'how the trial is made'. The concept of tense also plays a crucial role here One finds the past tense in [2] and the non-past in [3][5]. However in the light of the explanation given above one can conclude that the primary 'act' in both these types is 'trying' and they differ only in how the 'trying' is made. Thus one may also conclude that since 'trying' is the main action involved that would be the main verb in both these sets. In the light of the above facts one can conclude what occurs before the main verb expresses a notion e.g. How the action is done or where the action is done or when the action is

done. This leads us to have a complete rethinking on the formation of Tamil verb phrase. Certain aspects of the verb are expressed by certain particles and they are added after the verb[6]. Thus Tamil aspectual markers involve pre-and post-verbal concatenations. Similarly certain other notions are realised and added before the main verb. Such notions are like how the action is done etc. The semantic structure diagrammes for [2] and [3] will be as follows.

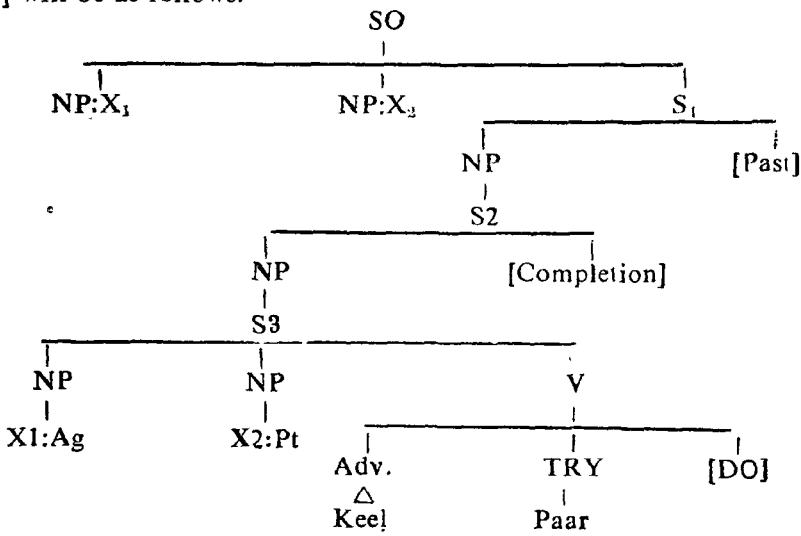


Fig. 1 Semantic Structure of Sentence [2]

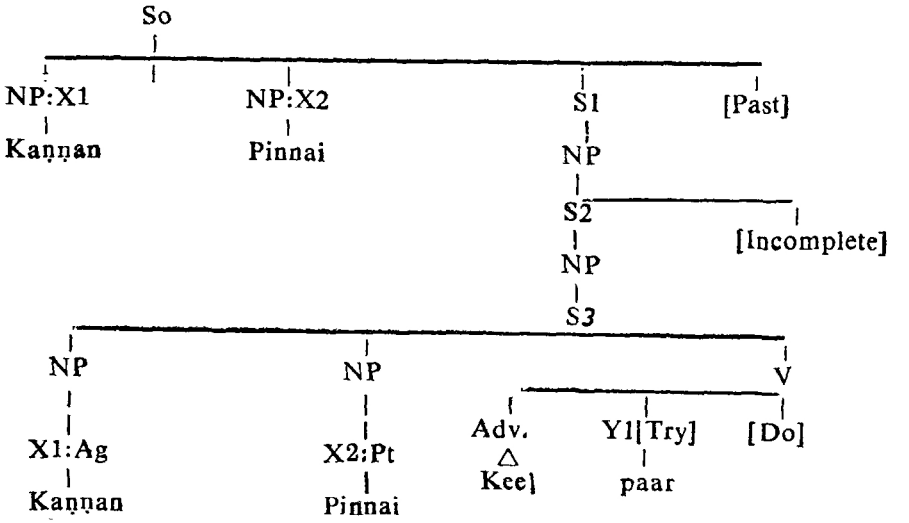


Fig. 2 Semantic structure of sentence [3]
[Ag = Agent; Pt = Patient; Yl = Verb]

The process of realising the surface sentence [2] from the semantic structure shown in Fig. 1 will be explained now. The words with bold letters given within square brackets indicate that they are meanings and not morphemes and each meaning represents a different predicate. These elements of meaning are encoded in the surface verb form. The mapping of these semantic structures will be done by a cyclic rule called 'Predicate raising' [some prefer to call it 'verb adjunction' see Schiffman: 1969] which 'allows the predicate of a clause to be adjoined to the predicate of the next-higher clause' Thus successive application of this rule will convert the semantic structure shown in Fig. 1 to the surface structure sentence [2]. After the application of the predicate raising rule to Fig. 1 in the first stage the output will be

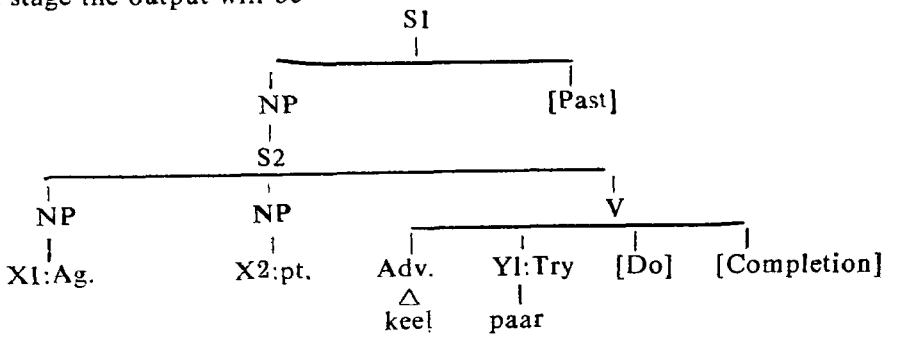


Fig. 3 Output of first application of 'predicate raising'

Fig: 3 will become as following after the second application of the rule.

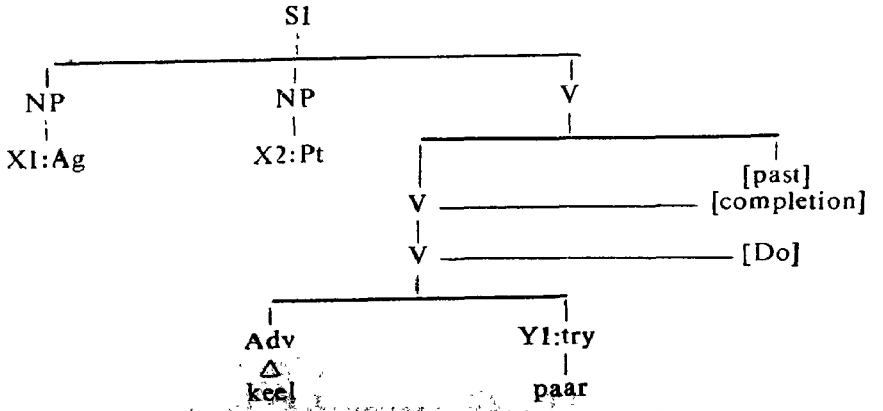


Fig: 4 Final output of 'predicate raising'

The redundant NPs found in Fig. I [i. e. NP:X1 and NP:X2] will be removed by what are called the tree pruning principles [eg. Equi-NP deletion rule]. In the same manner sentence [3] also could be arrived at.

Treatment in traditional grammer :

We know that Tolkaappiyar the author of Tolkaappiyam (an ancient Tamil grammer generally assigned to 3rd centuary B. C.) it distinguishes four types of grammatical categories viz , peyar 'noun', vinai 'verb', 'iṭai' and 'uri' 'noun and verb attributes' though he brings both iṭai, and 'uri' under noun and verb categories.[8] The statement that both iṭai and uri will occur as attributes to noun and verb and they will be added either before or after those categories is significant from our point of view. We have already noted that certain roots expressing certain aspects of verbs are added after the verb and certain words are added before the verbs to indicate certain other notions like how the action is done, when it is done etc. Some of the particles like til, amma given by Tolkaappiyam could very well be taken as aspect markers[9]. A complete reinterpretation of Tolkaappiyam chapters on iṭai and uri is possible in the light of the above discussion. Perhaps we may have to bring all that occur before the main verb i.e, the whole verb phrase into what may be called the semantic structure of the verb. Probably this may be the reason for the non-classification of vinai eccams 'verb adjuncts' in Tolkaappiyam and each vinai eccam perhaps expresses a notion of the verb. These are only tentative suggestions and further work is very much necessary.

Foot Note

1. Schiffman, F. Harold, *A Transformational Grammar of the Tamil System*, University of Washington, Studies in Linguistics and Language Learning, Vol. III, Seattle, 1969.

2. Israel, M., *Ilakkaṇa Aayvu Vinaiccol*, Madurai Publishing House, Madurai, 1976.

3. The stand I have taken here in the description of Tamil is that on the lines of Semantic Syntax preferred by Pieter A. M. Suerin, Mc Cawley and others to that of Chomsky and his followers. In

this approach the level of deep structure is rejected whilst the level of transformation is accepted. Further it is also presumed that there is a level of pre-lexical transformation which map the semantic structures before lexical insertions are made.

4. It may be pointed out here that 'cey' functions in Tamil in some cases as a verbalising maker. This is one of the characteristic features of Tamil verb system. See also in examples puucai: puucai cey; muyal: muyarci cey; kaatali: kaatal cey; etc.,

5. However there is the other meaning of "about" also to the word 'paar' in examples like keeṭkappaarttaan. He was about to ask' etc. which is not discussed here.

6. For a treatment of these see Schiffman. op.cit.

7. Mc Cawley, D. James, *Prelexical Syntax*, in Semantic Syntax, [Ed] Pieter A M. Seuren, Oxford Readings in Philosophy, Oxford University Press, London, 1974.

8. Tolkaappiyam Collatikaaram, Sutra 156.

9. Israel, M. op.cit.

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தோற்பாவையின் மௌன மொழி

மு. இராமசுவாமி
தமிழியல் துறை
மதுரை காமராசர் பல்கலைக் கழகம்

சர்வநிலையிலும் கருத்துப் பரிமாறல் என்பது இரண்டுபேர் சம்பந்தப்பட்டதே. கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் இல்லையெனில் மனித சமுதாயம் என்பதே கேள்விக்குறியாய்த்தானிருக்கும். மனித சமுதாய வளர்ச்சியில் மொழியின் பங்கு முக்கியமானது. பரந்த உலகம் சுருங்கியதாய்த் தெரிவதற்கான பலகாரணங்களில் ஒன்றாய் மனிதன் மொழியைக் கைக்கொள்கிற தன்மை அமையும். கருத்துப் பரிமாறலுக்காக உருவான இந்த மொழி-மொழி உணர்வு-மொழி வெறி, மொழி ஆதிக்கம் என்கிற நிலையில்-மனிதன்மேல் தன்வீச்சை ஆழமாக்கியிருக்கிற தன்மை விசித்திரமாயினும் உண்மையானது. அடிப்படையில் மொழி என்பது கருத்துக்களை உணர்த்துகிற குறிகளின் அமைப்பேயாகும் (system of signs)' (Ferdinand de Saussure 1972:67).

'சமூகத்தில் குறிகளின் ஜீவன் பற்றிய விஞ்ஞான அறிவே குறியியல் (semiology) எனப்படுகிறது. இது, குறிகள் எவ்விதம் அமைந்துள்ளன என்பதைப் பற்றியும், அவைகளை இயக்குகிற விதிகளைப் பற்றியதுமாகும் (Ibid; 57-68). ஆனாலும், 'உண்மையில், இந்த விஞ்ஞானப் பரப்பின் சாத்தியம் பற்றி இணக்கமான கருத்துக்கள் இல்லை. சிலர் கவனமாக இதை, கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றத்திற்குத் தேவையான மொழியல்லாத குறிகளின் அமைப்புகள் பற்றி அறிதலாகும் என்பர்; ஸுசூரைப் (F.de Saussure) பின்பற்றும் சிலர், சடங்கு, விழா . . . . . போன்ற சமூகக் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்ற வடிவங்களுக்கு இந்தக் குறிகளின் விளக்கத்தை நீட்டுகிற தன்மையைக் காணமுடிகிறது. இன்னுஞ் சிலர், கருத்துப் பரிமாற்ற முறைகளான கலை இலக்கியங்களும்,

குறிகளின் பொதுவான கோட்பாட்டைச் சார்ந்து, குறிகள் உபயோகிக்கிறதை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டிருக்கிறது என்கின்றனர் (Peirre Guirand,1975:3).

மொழிசார்ந்த சாராத எல்லா நிலைகளிலும் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் என்பது குறிகளின் அடிப்படையில் மட்டுமே உணரப் பெறுகிறது என்பதே இக்கட்டுரையாளர் கருத்தாகும். 'மொழி குறியியலின் ஒரு பகுதியாக இருந்தாலும், அறிவியல் சார்ந்த, சுய அந்தஸ்து பெற்ற தனித்துறையாக மொழியியல் இன்று வளர்ந்துள்ள காரணத்தால், அது நீங்கிய கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றத்திற்கான அனைத்தும் குறியியல் என்னும் துறையாகக் கருதப்படுகிறது(Ibid:1) என்பதே இந்நிலையில் சரியாய்ப்படுகிறது. இந்த அடிப்படையில், கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் என்பதே குறிகளின் வழிதான் சாத்தியமாகுமெனில், தோற்பாவை நிழற்கூத்தில் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் தோற்பாவைகளின் வழி எவ்விதம் நிகழ்கிறது என்பதைக் காணலாம்.

தோற்பாவை நிழற்கூத்தில் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் கதைநிகழ்ச்சிகளைக் கூறல் என்கிற நிலையில் பாவையாட்டியின் மூலம் நடைபெறுகிறது. இது மொழி சார்ந்த நிலையில் நடைபெறுதலாகும். ஆனால் தோற்பாவை நிழற்கூத்து மொழி மட்டுமே சார்ந்த கலையில்லை. மொழி மட்டுமோ, பாவைகள் மட்டுமோ தனித்து நின்று இந்தச் சாதனத்தின் தேவையைப் பூர்த்தி செய்துவிட முடியாது. இந்தக் கூத்துக்கலை மொழியுடன் இணைந்து நின்று, இந்தச் சாதனத்தின் வழிக் கதையை விளக்க வரும். 'தோற்பாவை நிழற்கூத்து தோற்பொம்மைகளின் அசைவுகளின் மூலம் கதை சொல்கிற சாதனம் என்னும்போது இங்கு பிரதானம் பொம்மைகளின் அசைவுகளே ஆகும். பொம்மைகளின் மூலம் கதை பார்வையாளனை அடையவேண்டும் . . . . . கதைதான் உயிர்நாடி என்றால் அதற்கு இந்தச் சாதனம் (medium) தேவையில்லை. உட்கார வைத்துக் கதை மட்டுமே சொல்லி விடலாம். பொம்மைகளது அசைவுகளின் மூலம் கதை மனதிற்குள் செல்ல வேண்டும் (மு. இராமசுவாமி, 1978;). இந்தப் பொம்மைகளின் அசைவுகள் என்பதுவே உண்மையில் இவற்றின் மொழியாயிருக்கும். அப்பொழுது மட்டுமே இவற்றின் மூலம் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் நடத்தல் சாத்தியம். மொழி குறியாய் நின்று கருத்தை உணர்த்தல் போல் இத்தோற்பாவைகளின் அசைவுகளும் குறியாய் நின்று, அவை தந்நிலையில், பாவையாட்டியின் மொழியுடன் இணைந்து கருத்துக்களை உணர்த்தும். இந்தக் கருத்துக்களின் வழி மட்டுமே பார்வையாளன் இந்தக் கலையுடன் இணைந்து நிற்க முடியும். அல்லாமல் வெறும் மொழி வழியே கதையை மட்டுமே பாவையாட்டி கூறிக்கொண்டு போனால் பார்வையாளன் வெறும் காதோடு மட்டுமே வந்து அமர்ந்துவிட முடியும். ஆனால் இது கேட்பதற்கானகலை மட்டுமேயில்லை; பார்வை வழியும் விஷயங்கள் பார்வையாளனை அடையவேண்டும். பின்னதன் வழியாக

மட்டுமே இந்தச் சாதனத்தின் தேவை பூர்த்தியடையும். இதன் முக்கியத்துவம் பார்வை வழி பார்வையாளனை அடைதல் எனும்போது பார்வை வழிப் பேசுகிற இத்தோற்பாவைகளின் அசைவுகள் முக்கியமானவையாகின்றன. பாவைகளின் அசைவுகளின் வழி, அல்லது அவை பார்வைவழிப் புலப்படுத்தும் அர்த்தம் என்பது, பாவையாட்டி வெளிப்படுத்தும் மொழிக்கும், இச் சமூக கலாச்சாரத்திற்குமான உறவின் அடிப்படையில் நிகழும். இதை, சில உதாரணங்களான அசைவுகளின் வழிக் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் பார்வையாளனை எவ்விதம் சென்றடைகிறது என்று விளக்கலாம்.

குறி (sign), ஒரு நாணயத்தின் இரண்டு பக்கங்களைப்போல் குறியன் (signifier), குறிமம் (signified)என்கிற இரண்டு நிலைகளில் செயல்படும். குறியன், குறிமம் ஆகிய இரண்டு நிலைகளில் ஒன்று செயல்படாதிருக்குமானால் அது குறியாக முடியாது; அதாவது கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் அதன்வழிச் செயல்படச் சாத்தியமில்லை என்பது கருத்தாகும். இங்கு, குறியின் இரு நிலைகளான குறியன், குறிமம் இரண்டும் ஒன்றையொன்று வித்தியாசப்படுத்துகிற எதிர்மறையைக் காட்டுகிற தன்மையுடையதாகவும், முழுமையின் பகுதிகளாகவும் விளங்குகின்றன (Ferdinand de Saussure, 1972:73). ஸசூர் மொழியின் இருநிலைகளாக-குறியின் குறியன் குறிமமாக ஒலிப்படிமமும் (soundinags), கருத்தும் (concept) செயல்படுவதாகக் குறிக்கிறார் (Ibid:70).

மொழியியல் சார்ந்த-சாராத அனைத்துநிலை கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றச் சாதனங்களுக்கும் குறியன், குறிமம் ஆகியவை பொருந்தும். உதாரணத்திற்கு, ரயில் புறப்படுவதற்குச் சமிக்ஞை பச்சை விளக்கு என்பது ஒரு குறி. இது பச்சைவிளக்கு எரிதல், ரயில் புறப்படல் வேண்டும் என்கிற இருநிலைகளில் செயல்படும். இதில் முன்னது குறியனாகவும், பின்னது குறிமமாகவும் விளங்கும்.

பொருள் (matter) அதற்குரிய கருத்தை (idea)விளக்கி நிற்கக் கருத்துப் பொருளிலிருந்து பெறக்கூடிய நிலையை இரண்டின் பிரிக்க முடியா இணைப்பில் அதுபெறும் குறி எனும் உருவில் பார்க்க முடிகிறது பொருள் குறியனாகவும், கருத்துக் குறிமமாகவும் விளங்கும்.

கைகாப்புதல் என்கிற சைகை குறியனாக நின்று வணங்குதல் என்கிற கருத்தை விளக்குதலைக் காணலாம். இந்தக் கருத்து, பொருள் வடிவாய் இருக்கிற கைகாப்புதல் என்பதிலிருந்தே கிடைக்கிறது.

மரம் என்கிற வரிவடிவம் புதைநிலையில் மரம் என்கிற உருவமாகி அது மரம் பற்றிய கருத்தை விளக்குதலைக் காணலாம். மரம் என்பது அர்த்தமற்ற நிலையில் தனித்து இயங்க முடியாது. இது கருத்தோடு பொருந்தி வரும்போதே முழுமை கிட்டும். ஆனால் கருத்தானது இந்த வரிவடிவத்தின் அடிப்படையில் மட்டுமே எழமுடியும்.

பொருள், கருத்து ஆகிய இரண்டின் இணைப்பாய் விளங்கும் குறி, அனைத்துக் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றங்களுக்கும் இன்றியமையாதது என்கிற உண்மையுடன் தோற்பாவை நிழற்கூத்திலுள்ள பாவைகளின் அசைவுகளின் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றங்களைக் காணலாம்.

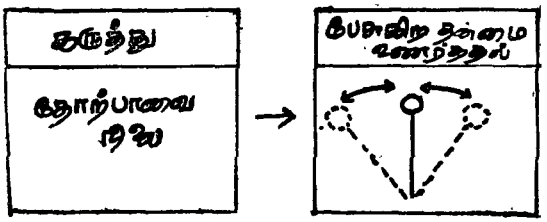
தோற்பாவை நிழற்கூத்தில் தோற்பாவைகளை வைக்கும் முறை, அசைக்கும் முறை, இவைகள் தன்னளவிலேயே கருத்தை விளக்கி நிற்குமெனில் அல்லது கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றத்திற்குக் காரணமாக இருக்குமெனில் இதன் கருத்து வெளிப்பாட்டை மௌன மொழியை-இக் குறிகளின் வழி நின்று விளக்குதல் அவசியம்.

தோற்பாவை நிழற்கூத்தைப் பொறுத்தவரை பொம்மைகளின் அசைவுகளின் மூலம் கருத்துப் பெறப்படுகிறது எனும்போது இந்தக் குறியின் அமைப்பு இப்படி இருக்கும்,

குறி → குறிமம் / குறியன் → கருத்து / தோற்பாவைநிலை

இங்கு விளக்கத்திற்காக ஐந்து உதாரணங்கள் வழி, தோற்பாவைகளின் வைப்பு நிலைகள், அவறறின் அசைவுகள் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றத்திற்கு எவ்விதம் உதவுகின்றன—குறியாகிற தன்மை எவ்விதம் என்று காணலாம்.

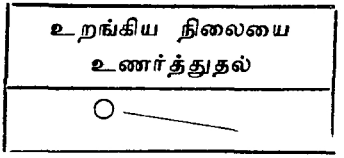
(i) திரைச்சீலையில் இரண்டு கதாபாத்திரப் பாவைகள் இருப்பதாகக் கொண்டால், அதில் பேசுகிற கதாபாத்திரப் பாவை அசைந்துகொண்டிருக்கும்; அல்லது பாவையாட்டி அதை அசைத்துக் கொண்டிருப்பார். பேசாத நிலையிலிருக்கும் கதாபாத்திரப் பாவை அசையாமல் திரையை ஒட்டிய கயிற்றில் சொருகப்பட்டிருக்கும். இந்தச் சிறு அசைவின் மூலமே தூரத்திலுள்ள பார்வையாளனுக்கு யார் பேசுகிறார்கள் என்பதை உணர்த்தி விடுகின்றனர்.

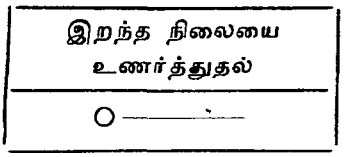


பேசுதல் என்பதில் வாயின் அசைவு என்பது முக்கியமானது. வாய் அசைக்காமல் அடுத்தவருடன் பேசுதல் என்பது மலையைக் கடைகிற விஷயந்-

தான். ஆனால் இங்குப் பாவைகளுக்கு வாய்ப்பகுதி அசையாது. ஆகவே பேசுகிற பாவையைப் படத்தில் காட்டியிருக்கிறபடி அசைக்கிற தன்மையினால் அந்த அசைவே அதனோடு கூடவரும் ஒலியுடன் இணைந்து அந்தப் பாவை பேசுகிறது என்பதை உணர்த்துகிறது. (இந்த அசைவுகளின் வித்தியாசத் தன்மைகள், அதன் வழி கருத்து மாற்றம் ஆகியவை இங்கு விவாதிக்கப்பட-வில்லை).

(ii) கதாபாத்திரப்பொம்மை உறங்கிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறது என்பதை உணர்த்த அந்தப் பொம்மையைத் தலை மட்டும் உயர்ந்த நிலையில் சாய்வாக வைக்கின்றனர். (iii) இறந்த நிலையிலுள்ள கதாபாத்திரப் பொம்மையைக் காட்ட மல்லாந்து கிடப்பதாகக் காட்டுகின்றனர்.



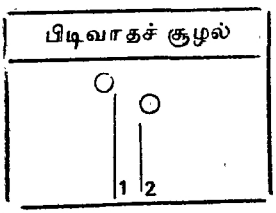


உறங்குகிற பாவையின் தலை மட்டும் லேசாக உயர்ந்திருப்பதாகக் காட்டல் என்பது தலையணையில் சாய்ந்து உறங்குவதைக் குறிப்பதாகக் கொள்ளலாம். தலைப்பகுதி உயர்ந்திருத்தல் என்பது உறங்குதல் என்பதை உணர்த்துகிறது. பழைய வீடுகளில் இப்பொழுதும் பார்க்கிற திண்ணைகளில் தலை வைக்கும் பகுதி மேடாகக் கட்டியிருக்கும் தன்மை கலாச்சார நிலையில் பொருத்தி பார்க்கக் கூடியது.

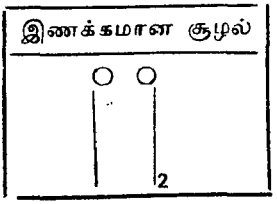
இறந்தநிலை என்பது கழுத்து நேராக நிற்காமல் சாய்ந்தநிலை என்-பதை அல்லது தலையை உயர்த்தி வைக்கிற உயர்இயக்கம் அற்றநிலை என்-பதை விளக்க மல்லாந்து நேராகக் கிடப்பதைப்போல் காட்டுகின்றனர்.

செங்குத்துத் தன்மையிலிருந்து அதன் படுக்கைத் தன்மையே (Hori-zontal position) அதன் வித்தியாசத்தை உணர்த்த, அதிலும் காணப்படும் சிறு வேறுபாடு அதற்குள்ளும் கருத்து வேறுபாட்டை உணர்த்துகிறது.

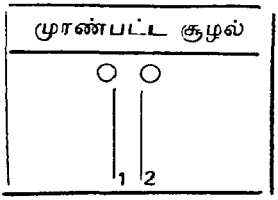
(iv) கதாபாத்திரப் பாவைகளை நிறுத்தி வைக்கின்ற முறையிலும் பார்வையாளருக்குப் பார்வை ரூபத்தின் வழி, அந்தக் கதாபாத்திரங்களுக்குள்ள தொடர்பை விளக்கிவிட முடிகிறது, எந்தப் பேச்சுகளுமின்றி.



A



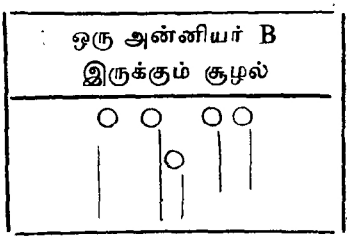
B



C

இதில், மூன்றும் வெவ்வேறு உணர்வுகளை அல்லது கருத்துக்களை விளக்குகின்ற நிலையில் தோற்பாவைகள் இப்படி அமைந்துள்ளதாகக் கொள்ளலாம். இந்தப் பாவைகள் பேசாமலேயே இவர்களின் தன்மைகள் கருதப்பட்டுள்ளன. A_1 என்னும் கதாபாத்திரம் A_2-ஐவிடப் பிடிவாதம் பிடிக்கிற தன்மையையும், B_1B_2 இருவரும் சுமுகமாக-இணக்கமாக இருக்கிற தன்மையையும், C_1C_2 இருவரும் ஒருவருக்கொருவர் முழுவதுமாக முரண்பட்ட தன்மையையும் இங்கே காண முடிகிறது, எந்தவித உரையாடல்களுமின்றியே! இந்த வைப்பு முறையே பார்வை ரூபமாக மேற்கண்ட கருத்துக்களைப் பார்வையாளரிடம் புகுத்திவிடுகிறது. இந்தக் குறிப்பிட்ட கருத்துக்கள் தோன்றுதல் என்பது சுலாச்சார அனுபவத்தின் வெளிப்பாடாய் இருக்கும்.

(v) கதாபாத்திரப் பாவைகளை நிறுத்திவைத்திருக்கிற முறையிலேயே அந்தக் கதாபாத்திரப் பாவைகளிடையே உள்ள உறவு தெளிவாகத் தெரிவதைக் காணலாம்.



தனியே நிற்கும் கதாபாத்திரப் பாவை அக்கட்டத்தில் அன்னியர் என்கிற கருத்தை அப்பாவைகளின் வைப்பு முறையே தெரிவிக்கிறது அவர் அன்னியர் அல்லாத பட்சத்தில் மற்ற கதாபாத்திரங்கள் அவரைச்சுற்றி இருமருங்கும் இருப்பதைக் காணலாம். இது சமூகநிலை அனுபவத்தோடு தொடர்புடையதாய் விளங்குகிறது-

இவை அனைத்திலும் உரையாடல்கள் இல்லாமல் தோற்பாவைகளின் மௌன மொழியின் மூலமும் அவைகளின் வைப்பு முறை அசைவுகளின் மூலம் – கருத்து பரிமாறப்படுகிறது என்று கண்டோம். இதுபோல் தோற்பாவைகளின் ஒவ்வொரு அசைவுகளையும் கவனிக்கையில் அவற்றின் அசைவுகளின் வழி – கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் பார்வை வழியே பார்வையாளனைச் சென்றடைகிறது.

கதை பார்வையாளன் காதுகளைத் தொடுகையில் அது கேட்கிற சாதனத்தின் தன்மையுடையதாய் விளங்கும். ஆனால் பாவைகள்வழிக் கதை பார்வையாளன் கண்களைத் தொடுகையில் இது பார்க்கிற சாதனத்தின் தன்மையுடையதாயும் விளங்கும். அதனாலேயே பார்த்துக் கேட்டு மகிழ்கிற கலை

(Audio-visual art) யாக விளங்குகிறது. பார்க்கிற, கேட்கிற இரண்டின் முக்கியத்துவமும் பூரணமாக நிறைந்திருக்கையில் மட்டுமே இக்கலையின் தேவை பரிமளிக்கும். தோற்பாவைகளின் அசைவுகள் — இருத்தல்கள் குறிகளாகிக் கருத்துக்களை உணரச் செய்கின்றன. இதுவே இத்தோற்பாவை நிழற்கூத்து எனும் பார்த்துக் கேட்கிற சாதனத்தின் பார்வை, ரூபமாக்கலின் இயல்பாய் இருக்கும். இந்த மௌனமொழி பாவையாட்டியின் பேச்சு மொழியுடன் இணைந்து பார்வையாளரது மனத்தை இலகுவில் ஊடுருவும்.

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39

Ka:yaka or Dedicated Labour
A Concept of Brotherhood of Labour

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In the spiritual history of Karnataka Śiva śaraṇas Bhakti movement had played a significant role in revitalizing and reforming religion and society. The great leader of this movement was Basavaṇṇa, the prime minister of Bijjaḷa, a Kalacurya King, who ruled Karnataka in the middle of 12th century A.D. He won the hearts of thousands of Kannadigas through his Vacanas* spreading the message of social equality and universal love.

Śiva Śaraṇas Bhakti movement was more of a revolutionary nature. They flourished in the turbulous times of religious unrest. At that time religion had become the peculiar preserve of the priests and discrimination, inequality, superstitions were encouraged by this orthodox caste society. Their religious texts were in Sanskrit, unintelligible to the masses, causing further imbalance among the people. It is in this context, Vīra Śaiva movement under Basavaṇṇa's lead reared up its head and tried to remove the imbalance in society by bringing into its fold men and women from all castes and religion, irrespective of their higher and lower status in society. Śaraṇas toiled hard to give it a mass touch, even as they were giving expression to their mystic experiences. The principles they pro-

* Vacanas: Short pithy sayings in rythmic prose — prose in form but poetry in spirit

claimed in their Vacanas were based on their own inner experiences in the path of true devotion to Lord Siva, the supreme Lord of Universe. Till Śiva Śaraṇas appeared on the arena of spiritual world of Karnataka, no prophet tried to teach in Kannada, the language of the mass. Vacanas, as they were in simple and genuine Kannada, made an unprecedented influence on the people, enrapturing the hearts of thousands.

The Śaraṇas saints had fully realised that if society should progress towards Universal Welfare, every one following his vocation should work amicably. Castes and family arose only from one's own profession. 'Man becomes a blacksmith by beating metals; if he washes clothes he becomes a kaunderer; by weaving he becomes a weaver; if he recites Veda he becomes a Brahmin;''[1] All irrespective of their birth are subject to desire, anger, and joy. Different persons adopt different professions for the sake of living. Every profession contributes its quota for the ameleoration of society. Be it the work of a carpenter, a tanner, a farmer, or a cobbler, it makes no difference for a Śaraṇa. There is nothing which is inferior or superior. In the similar strain, Śaraṇas declared that every profession was a *Ka:yaka* or dedicated labour. They proclaimed Ka:yakave: Kaila:sa — means earning through the dedicated labour is heaven.

The term *Ka:yaka* deriving from Ka:ya the body, ordinarily means something connected with the body. But in Śaraṇas system of life, it has a higher significance. *Ka:yaka* is not mere occupation or physical labour. "It means manual labour, the fruit of which is offered to god and god kind''[2] A Śaraṇa or a devotee works and lives for god. He works with a dedicated mind and takes delight in his labour. Dedication is of two kinds- one is dedication to ones own profession; another is dedication of the fruits of one's labour to the society. It is only when this labour does not stop with quenching hunger of the body, but proceeds further make others enjoy the fruits of the labour, it deserves the dignified name *Ka:yaka.*

Through *Ka:yaka* or dedicated labour Bhakta endevours to know the spirit at closer quarters. Allama Prabhu, a great intellect amidst Śiva Śaraṇas, explained that we should realise God through the work we do. Basavaṇṇa believed that Śaraṇas following different *Ka:yakas* could still attain yogic heights. Even the meanest of such work is worship according to him. He declared:

What if one labours in the field for his livelihood,
Show me the feet of him who toils hard
With the purity of body and spirit,
And performs his *Dasoha* or service with true devotion[3]

Shall I call Siriyāla a man of trade
And Macayya a washer man?
Call Kakkayya a tanner and
Cennayya a cobbler.
And if I call myself
A priest, will not Kūḍala Sangama[4] just laugh at me?

Thus the greatness of *Ka:yaka* lies not in the vocation of superior order only. Every work has its due role in serving mankind. Nuliya Candayya, a śaraṇa, thus describes *Ka:yaka*:

A ka:re * leaf
Comes from dedicated work.
Is worthy to be offered to Linga.
But one that comes
Of covetousness, is not.
There the timeless thing
That comes from dedicated work
Righteous and Pure, is
To Candeśvara Linga
Consecrated food.[5]

Candayya's daily routine was to sell the ropes he made and to make use of the proceeds to do service of the god-kind.

Purity of mind and truthfulness are necessary to dedicate oneself in his *Ka:yaka*. The Śaraṇas, style it as *Satya Śuddha Ka:yaka* or *Citta Śuddha Ka:yaka*. A śaraṇa doing such *Ka:yaka* never thinks of saving up for tomorrow's needs. Whatever he earns for the day, he spends it immediately for the service of Guru, Linga and Jangama – the three fold face of the divine. He craves for no reward, but accepts every thing as gods's grace. Cenna Basavaṇṇa a disciplined follower of Vi:ra Śaiva Bhakti, said in one of his Vacanas: "if one earns his food with the

* A Thorny plant.

Satka:yaka (true labour), first he should offer it in the service of Jangama, and then only he should partake prasadam (remnants)to quench his hunger. The food thus offered only is called food and not otherwise.[6]

Lakkama, a lady saint in the Vi:ra Śaiva fold, declares: "godess Laxmi (wealth) will approach him alone who labours hard with the purity of mind and not to a man of impure mind."[7] One can find salvation only in the work rendered with dedication of mind. Lakkamma lived in a small house with her husband. Aydakki Marayya, her husband, picked up every day food grains that had dropped in front of Bhaktas houses and with the money thus earned, the couple just satisfied their hunger and reserved the rest for serving the Jangama saints. They served food to the śaraṇas before they part took *Prasadam* (remnants). Thus they lived a contented life.

Maḍiva:ḷa Macayya, another Śaraṇa, declares:

Don't discard the duties merely
Because thou hast sought knowledge.
If sweet is added to sweet
Will taste suffer?
If money is added to money
Will it result in poverty?
Thou should'st add true devotions to Śiva
In the duties you perform in the daily routine.[8]

Even a spiritual teacher, he attains salvation only through his dedicated labour and not by begging alms from others. Even a Linga can break the shakles of its stone lineage only through *Ka:yaka*. Begging to maintain one self by forsaking his duties, under the pretext of renunciation, was a great sin according to Nuliya Candayya. No individual should be a burden to society. Self reliance and self help are the basic needs of the society. Even the god himself is not releived of his labour. He is bound with us in our labour. Śaraṇas followed their *Ka:yaka* in this firm convictions. They have blended knowledge, devotion and action together and they termed it as *Ka:yaka* or dedicated labour.

Amidst the Śiva Śaraṇas, we can mention the names of those who hail from all professions in society. Basavaṇṇa was a Prime Minister by profession, Jedara Dasimayya was a weaver, Śankara Dasimayya a tailor,

Ma:dara cennayya a Cobbler, Haḍapada Appaṇṇa a barber, Maḍiva:ḷa Macayya a washerman, Kinnari Bommayya, a goldsmith, Jodhara Muddaṇṇa a soldier, Do:hara Kakkayya, a tanner, Me:dara Ke:tayya a basket-maker, Ambigara Cowdayya; a boatman, Okkaligara Muddaṇṇa an agriculturist, Molige Marayya a faggot gatherer, Ghattivalayya a dancer and Remavve of spinning wheel and so on. Down from the cobbler up to the Prime Minister, Śaraṇas sat together in Anubhava Mantapa (Academy of Religious Experience) and participated in every discussion on terms of equality. This alone proclaims their greatness and spirit of universal brother hood.

Poverty is not something that is ordained by god and was regarded as a malady brought about in the frame of society by false presumptions according to Śiva Śaraṇas. It was, they declared, the child of illegitamacy and in form of the unevenness in society, because of the non recognition of *Dignity of Labour*. If everyone followed his vocation regarding another's equally honourable, there will be no occasion of ill-will, acrimony and different economic levels in society. Above all *Ka:yaka* or dedicated labour, they considered as one of the chief means to elevate their soul to a higher goal. They declared that a person who toils must retain for himself only as much as necessary for maintaining his family and donate the rest for the service of godmen. They did not encourage amassing wealth or hoarding money by an individual. "The Vi:ra Śaiva teachers seem to have spread their idea of community property. If a devotee earns, he should share his earnings with teachers and servants of god,"[9]

They had made an attempt to evolve an ideal and perfect society where its values were based on industry, selfless service, devotion to work and freedom of expression. Man being a social being, he cannot be happy when he is alone. The family is only a small unit of society. Hence from his earnings to bring up his family, by serving society, larger portions of it may be dedicated in the service of mankind. This certainly leads to equal distribution of wealth in society. There is no occasion for any body to be dissatisfied with his earnings. Thus Śiva Saraṇa saints established 'Brotherhood of labour'[10] in society.

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