

Auxiliaries in Dravidian

EDITORS

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ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

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**ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
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Auxiliaries
In
Dravidian
(Seminar Papers)

S. Agesthalingom
G. Srinivasa Varma

Preface

This volume is the collection of forty two research papers presented in the Seminar on Auxiliaries in Dravidian conducted by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar from 29th to 31st October 1976. Professor S. Agesthalingom was the Director and Dr. G. Srinivasa Varma was the Secretary of the Seminar.

The auxiliary verbs have attracted the attention of the ancient grammarians of the important literary Dravidian languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Modern linguistics, in the late fifties of this century, has made its impact felt in spheres of language study, opening up a new vista before the eyes of the new scholars. When a linguist tries to study the auxiliary verbs and their syntactic, semantic behaviour, he finds that there are many relationships between the main verbs and auxiliaries. It has been felt that there is a case for the detailed study of auxiliaries in all languages. This has to be done for all the families of languages like Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and so on.

The study of auxiliaries in Dravidian presented here, ranges from highly literary to non-literary and recently discovered tribal languages. Comparison of the Dravidian system with that of Indo-Aryan has also been made in some of the papers presented here.

We are very grateful to all those who contributed research papers for the present volume. We are grateful to Dr. S. V. Shanmugam, Professor of Linguistics, who offered us valuable suggestions for bringing out this volume in the present form. Our sincere thanks and appreciation are due to Messrs. K. Annadurai and J. Suresh, Research Scholars, for seeing this volume through the press.

We thank the authorities of the Annamalai University for their continued support and guidance in the publication activities of the Centre. Last, but not least, we thank M/s Sri Velan Press, Chidambaram for neatly executing the printing work.

Annamalainagar }
10th October, 1980 }

S. Agesthalingom
G. Srinivasa Varma

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AUXILIARIES AND MAIN VERBS

S. AGESTHIALINGOM

As in many natural languages we find in Tamil many auxiliaries (Aux.) and they denote grammatical categories like aspects, modals, reflexive etc. These verbs are appended with another verb which are traditionally called main verbs (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 various grammarians like Agesthialingom (1964), Arden (1969), Israel (1976), Jothimuthu (1965), Schiffman (1969), Varadarajan (1963) and others.

In Tamil we find more than 35 verbs which are used as auxiliaries and they are generally appended with

- 1) infinitive of the main verbs
avaṅ vara ve:ṇṭum 'He must come'
- 2) verbal participle of the main verbs
avar cettuviṭṭa:r 'He has expired'
- 3) verbal noun of the main verbs
avaṅ 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 *eṇakkup paṇam ve:ṇṭum*
 'I need money'

2 *anta ve:lai muṭintatu*
 'That work is over'

3 *avan po:na:n*
 'He went'

and this can be seen in all Dravidian Languages

Mal. 4 *eṇraṭuttup paṇam irunnu*
 'I had money'

5 *aya:l nalla aṭi koṇṭu*
 'He got beating'

6 *aya:l ate kaḷañṇu*
 'He lost it'

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 majority of the 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 grammarians consider these verbs as auxiliaries and they treat expressions like *vantu-viṭu* as a single unit calling them "compound verbs". They are treated as a single well-knit unit. 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 two 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

- 7 *avan vant* { *a:yirru* }
 { *a:ccu* }
 'He had already come'

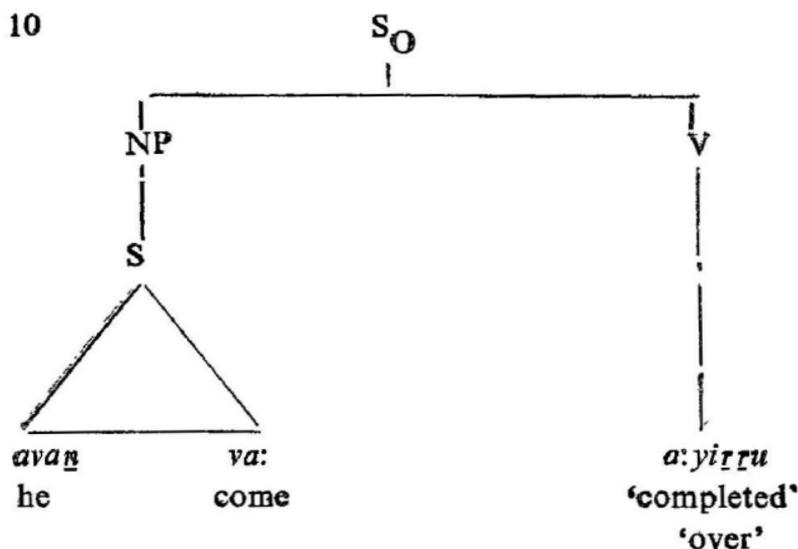
is derived from

- 8 *avan vantatu a:yirru*
 'He came-over'

Where we find two sentences

- 9 $\left[\begin{array}{ccc} (avan & vant[a:n] & (a:yirru) \\ \text{NP } S_1 & S_1 \text{ NP} & \text{VP VP} \end{array} \right]_{S_0}$

having the deep structure, something like:



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 in 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 like

11 *na:n̄ avan̄ varap̄ pa:rtte:n̄*

'I saw him coming'

12 *avan̄ vantū ca:ppit̄ta:n̄*

'He came and ate'

13 *avan̄ kaṇṭu ku:ppit̄ta:n̄*

'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.

14 *avan̄ vara na:n̄ pa:rtte:n̄*

'I saw him coming'

15 *vantū avan̄ ca:ppit̄ta:n̄*

'He came and ate'

16 *kaṇṭu avan̄ ku:ppit̄ta:n̄*

'He saw (me) and called'

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

17 *vara-ve:ṇṭum-varave:ṇṭum-varṇum*

'must come'

18 *varal̄ a:kum → varal̄:m*

'may come'

- 19 *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

- 20 *varaṇum*
'must come'

- 21 *po:kaṇum*
'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:ṇum*)

- 22 *varava: ve:ṇum*
'must (I) come ?'

- 23 *po:kavum ve:ṇum*
'must also go'

- 24 *varatta:n ve:ṇum*
'must come' (emphatic)

- 25 *varave: ve:ṇṭa:m*
'don't have to come at all'

- 26 *po:kave: ve:ṇṭa:m*
'don't have to go at all'

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

- 27 *ni: po:kaṇuma:*
'Do you have to go ?'

28 *a:ma: ve:ṇum*
 'Yes I must' or

29 *ve:ṇta: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.

30 *na:n̄ avan̄ varap pa:rtte:n̄*

has both *na:n̄* 'I' and *avan̄* 'he' which are the subjects of both matrix and constituent sentences respectively. But in sentences like

31 *na:n̄ payantu po:ne:n̄*
 'I was afraid indeed'

32 *na:n̄ vantirunte:n̄*
 'I had come'

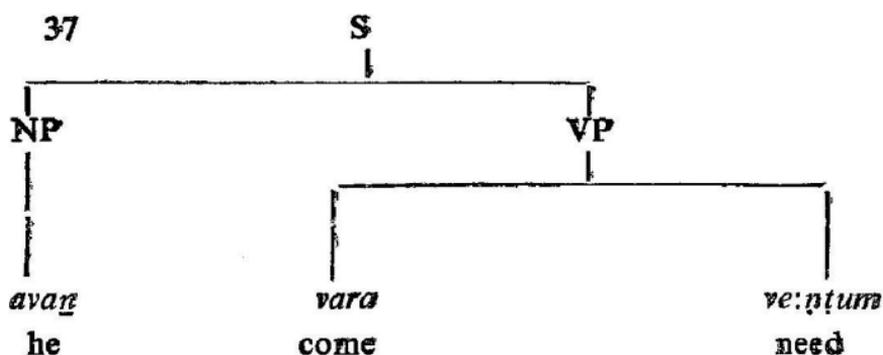
etc. no other constituent of the matrix sentence is found, except the so called auxiliaries *po:* and *iru*.

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 exception 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

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

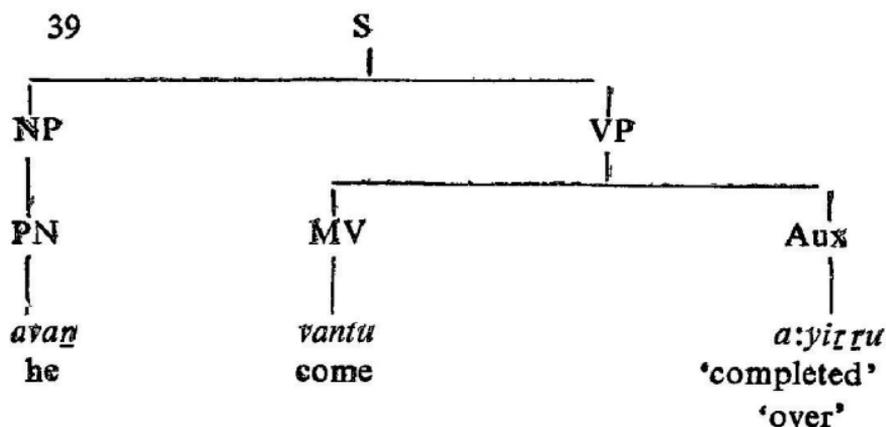
avan̄ vara ve:ṅṭum is analysed by the traditional grammarians as compound verb, *va:* as the main verb and *ve:ṅṭum* as the auxiliary.



This is also the case in

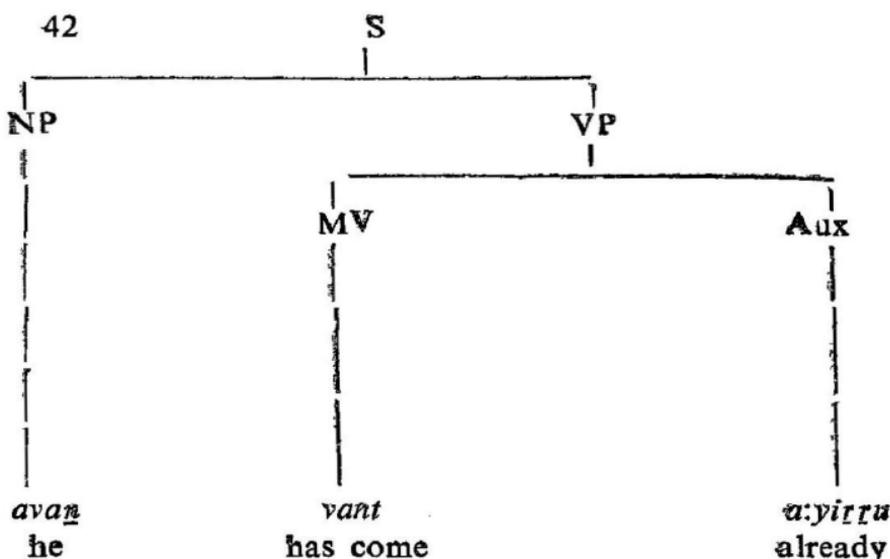
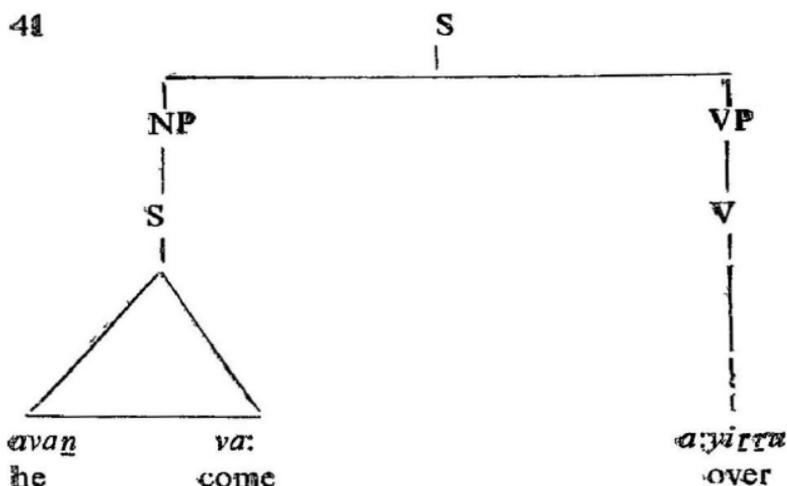
38 *avan̄ vanta:yirru*
'He has come already'

Traditionally it is analysed as



Whereas this will be treated in the present analysis as *

40 $\left[\begin{array}{cccc} (\text{avan} & \text{va:}) & (\text{a:yirru}) & \\ \text{NP S}_2 & \text{S}_2 \text{ NP} & \text{VP} & \text{VP} \end{array} \right]$
 $\text{S}_1 \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{S}_1$



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 like *-um*, *-a:*, *-ta:n* 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:

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 43 | <i>vara-ve:ṅṭum</i> | <i>varava: ve:ṅṭum</i> |
| 44 | <i>cettup po:ṅa:ṅ</i> | <i>cetta:p po:ṅa:ṅ</i> |
| 45 | <i>paṭittukoṅṭirunta:ṅ</i> | <i>paṭittukkoṅṭa: irunta:ṅ</i> |

etc.

-um

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 46 | <i>vara - ve:ṅṭum</i> | <i>varavum ve:ṅṭum</i> |
| 47 | <i>cettup po:ṅa:ṅ</i> | <i>cettum po:ṅa:ṅ</i> |
| 48 | <i>paṭittukoṅṭirunta:ṅ</i> | <i>paṭittukkoṅṭum irunta:ṅ</i> |

etc.

ta:ṅ

- | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|
| 49 | <i>varatta:ṅ ve:ṅṭum</i> |
| 50 | <i>cettuta:ṅ po:ṅa:ṅ</i> |
| 51 | <i>paṭittukkoṅṭuta:ṅ irunta:ṅ</i> |

oṅṅum

- | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|
| 52 | <i>vara oṅṅum ve:ṅṭa:m</i> |
| 53 | <i>cettu oṅṅum po:kaville</i> |
| 54 | <i>paṭittukoṅṅoṅṅum irukkavillai</i> |

Note that *ta:ṅ* and *oṅṅum* can be considered as 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 combination.

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

- 55 *ma:malar koyyaya:ñum po:vaḍ*
 'I 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:ñ* 'came he' etc. In Tamil a type of interrogation is made by adding the verb *cey do*' to the infinitive as in:

- 56 *avan̄ varava: ceyta:ñ*
 'Did he come?'

similarly we can have

- 57 *avan̄ varavum ceyta:ñ*
 'He came too'

- 58 *avan̄ varatta:ñ ceyta:ñ*
 'Indeed he came'

- 59 *avan̄ vara onrum ceyyavillai*
 'He did not come at all'

This is because even such single unit is expressed as

- 60 *varutal ceyta:ñ*
 'He did the action of coming'

61. *po:kaḷ ceyta:n*

'He did the action of going'

etc.

It is true that certain auxiliaries like *aṭṭum* as in

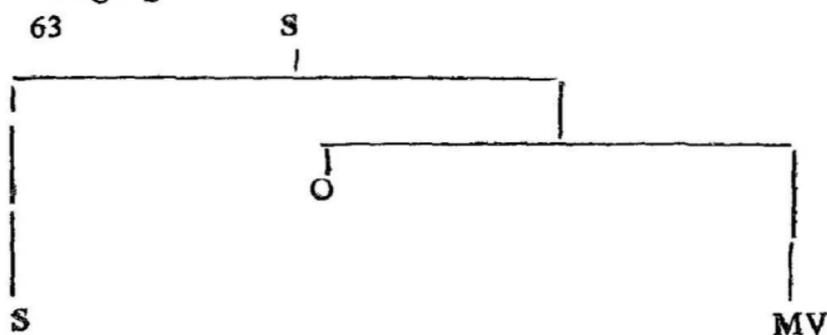
62 *varattum*

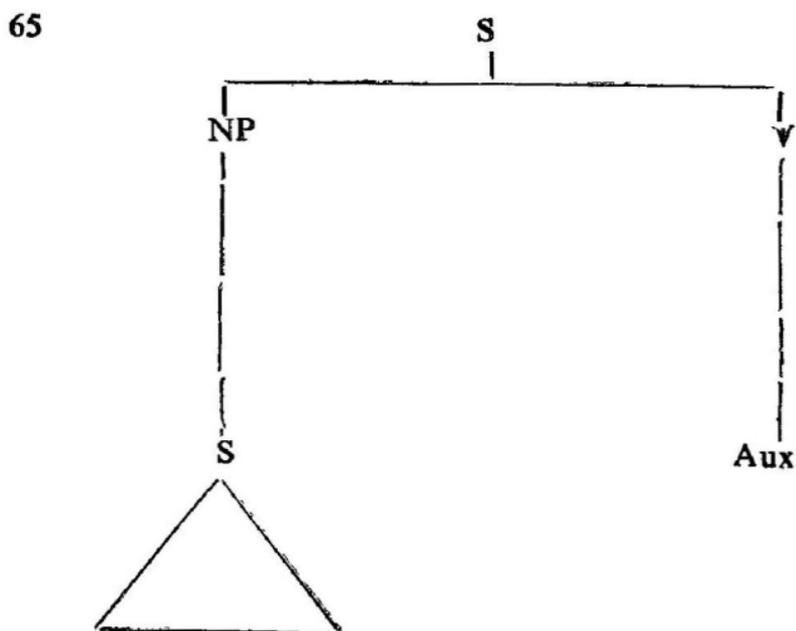
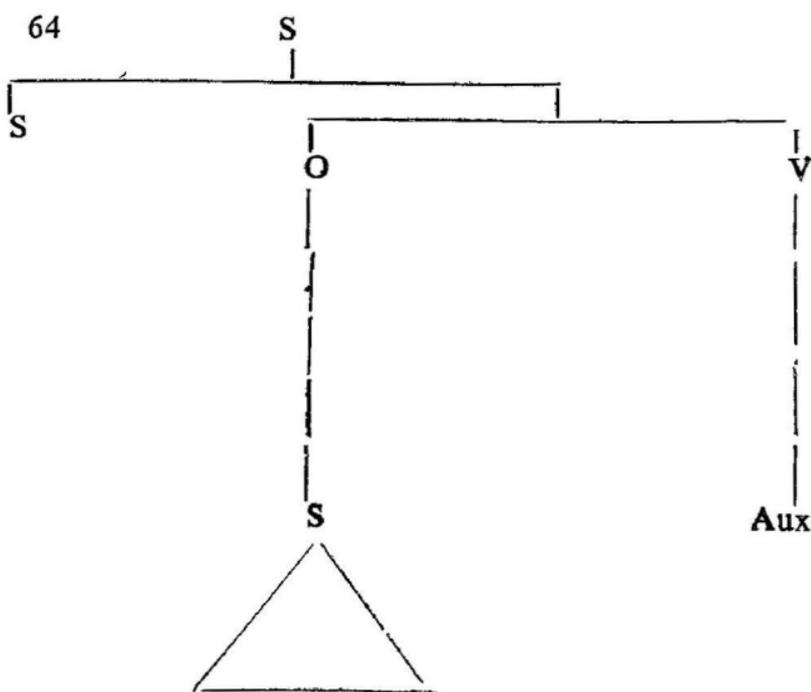
'Let him come'

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.

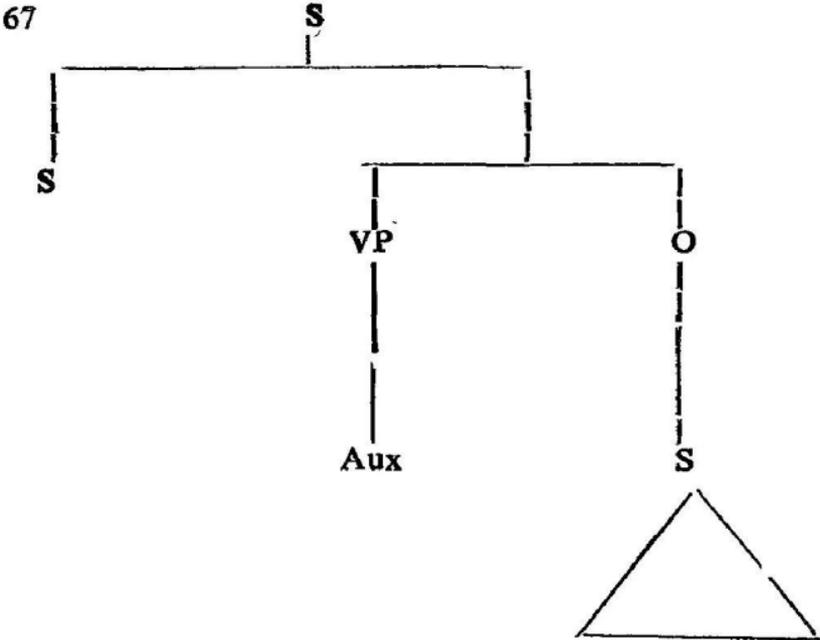
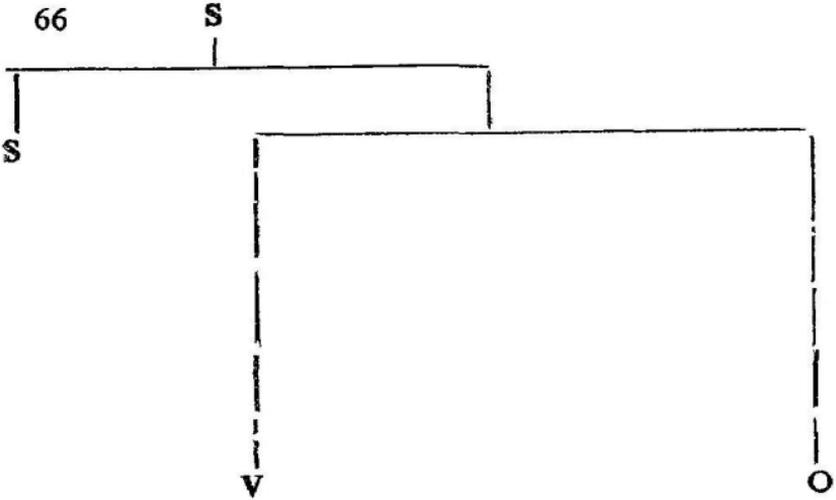
It is well known (Ross, 1969) that in all SOV languages V as a main verb occurs normally at the end of the sentences. In all these languages it is found that the auxiliaries always occurs after the main verbs. Here the sentences with the main verbs are used as a kind of *complementation* and the auxiliaries always occur after it. But in SVO languages the verb occurs before O 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 as a main verb in the deep structure.

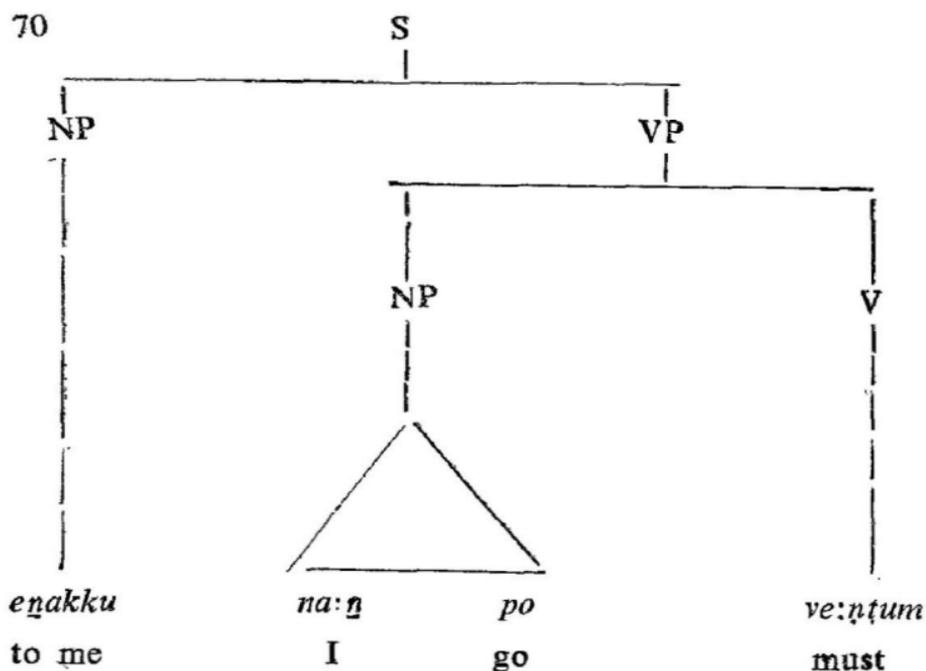
SOV languages





SVO languages





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

- 71 *na:ṅ ra:maṅaiyum kaṅṅaṅaiyum pa:rtte:ṅ*
 'I saw Raman and Kannan'

which has come from :

- 72 *na:ṅ ra:maṅaip pa:rtte:ṅ*
 'I saw Raman'
- 73 *na:ṅ kaṅṅaṅaip pa:rtte:ṅ*
 '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 as main verbs.

74 *na:n a:ṭavum pa:ṭavum ve:ṇṭum*
‘I must dance and also sing’

75 *na:n varavo: po:kavo: ve:ṇṭum*
‘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 as 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 like *a:m*, *aṭṭum* etc. which are not conjugated when they occur as auxiliaries.

- | | | |
|----|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 76 | <i>aruḷ</i> | ‘grace’ |
| 77 | <i>vantarūḷ</i> | ‘graciously come’ |
| 78 | <i>aruḷiṇa:r</i> | ‘graced’ |
| 79 | <i>vantarūḷiṇa:r</i> | ‘graciously came’ |
| 80 | <i>aruḷi</i> | ‘having vouchsafed’ |
| 81 | <i>vantarūḷi</i> | ‘having graciously come’ |
| 82 | <i>aruḷum</i> | ‘be gracious’ |
| 83 | <i>vantarūḷum</i> | ‘please come graciously’ |
| 84 | <i>aruḷiṇ</i> | ‘if gracious’ |
| 85 | <i>vantarūḷiṇ</i> | ‘if (someone) graciously
comes’ |
| 86 | <i>aruḷiṇa:l</i> | ‘if (someone) graces’ |

- 87 *vantarūḷina:l* 'if (someone) graciously comes'
- 88 *ve:ṇṭum* 'need'
- 89 *po:kave:ṇṭum* 'need to come'
- 90 *ve:ṇṭi irukkiṛatu* '(it) is necessary'
- 91 *po:kave:ṇṭi irukkiṛatu* '(it) is necessary to go'
- 92 *paṇam ve:ṇṭiyatu*
irukkiṛatu 'money is necessary'
- 93 *po:kave:ṇṭiyatu*
irukkiṛatu 'it is necessary to go'
- 94 *ve:ṇṭuma:ṇa:l* 'if necessary'
- 95 *po:kave:ṇṭuma:ṇ:l* 'if it is necessary to go'

It is true that several of the auxiliaries denote various kinds of meanings like aspects, moods, possibility, potentiality, permission etc. are expressed by certain auxiliaries and therefore they are called modals. Similarly various aspects like perfective, completive, progressive etc. are expressed by certain other auxiliaries and hence they are called aspects. There are many other notions like reflexive, disgust, self, benefactive etc. and they are also shown by certain other auxiliaries in Tamil. The latter notions according to some can also be brought under aspects.

In all these we find 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 meaning 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

kind of connection between the meanings of the main verbs and the auxiliaries of the same form. The commensness is very clear in certain cases though it may not be that much clear in certain other cases.

It is well known that *ve:ṅṭum* as a main verb denotes the meanings 'necessary, need, require, want, request etc. and this can be seen in sentences like.

96 *na:ṅ unkaḷai ve:ṅṭukire:ṅ*
'I request you'

97 *eṅakkup paṅam ve:ṅṭum*
'I need money'
'Money is necessary for me'

etc. and the Tamil Lexicon lists the following meanings:

- 1) to want, desire
- 2) to beg, entreat, request
- 3) to listen to with eagerness
- 4) to buy, purchase
- 5) to be indispensable, to be necessary

(T. Lexicon p. 3825)

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:ṅṭu*'. The difference between the main verb and the auxiliary lies in the fact that the latter always needs a sentence as its complement whereas the former needs nouns like *paṅam* etc. '*na:ṅ po:ka, na:ṅ po:tal,* etc. are considered as sentences.

98 *eṅakkup paṅam ve:ṅṭum*
'I need money'

99 *enakkup po:ka ve:ṅṭum*

'I need to/must go'

100 *ni: po:ka ve:ṅṭum*

'You need to/must go'

It is true that if *ve:ṅṭum* as in (98) is used as a main verb and the grammarians do not generally call it 'obligatory mood' though there is not much difference in semantics of *ve:ṅṭum* whether it is used as a 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 meanings 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 has listed the following meanings.

1) to come into existence

2) to happen, occur

3) to be done, finished, completed, exhausted

4) to be fit, proper, agreeable, congenial or friendly forms

5) to prosper, to flourish

6) to be

7) to be like, equal

(T. Lexicon p. 201)

101 *anta ka:riyam a:kum / a:ka:tu*

'That piece of work will (not) be done'

- 102 *kaliya:ṇam a:kum/a:ka:tu*
‘The marriage will (not) take place’
- 103 *eṇakku atu a:kum/a:ka:tu*
‘That is (not) suitable for me’
- 104 *itu nallavaṇukku a:kum/a:ka:tu*
‘It is (not) good for good man’
- 105 *anta ka:riyam a:yiṛṛu/a:ccu*
‘That piece of work was over (completed)
- 106 *eṇṇa:le anta ka:riyam a:kum*
‘That piece of work will be done’

The above meanings show a kind of connection between them and the meanings of the auxiliary *a:m* viz. probability, possibility, permission, suggestion, capability (Annamalai, 1974, Rajasekharan Nair, 1975) and completion (as in *vanta:ccu*).

The meaning of possibility is gotten from (2) Here *a:ku* means ‘takes place’ and it is to be noted that the future tense generally denotes probability only and not certainty.

- 107 *avaṇ va: a:kum*
‘He comes shall take place’ →
- 108 *avaṇ varal a:kum → avaṇ varala:m*
‘He may come’

Similarly the meaning of permission is gotten from (4) Here *a:kum* means ‘suitable’ ‘alright’ etc. and the sentence,

- 109 *ni: po:kala:m*
‘you may go’

is connected with

110 *ni: po: a:kum*

'you go - alright for me' →

ni: po:kala a:kum → *ni: po:kala: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' this type of expression. But it is not uncommon to have

111 *enakku ni: po:kala:m*

'As far as/I am concerned you can go'

112 *avanukku ennamo: teriyatu*

'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

113 *unakku anke po:kala:m; a:na:l enakkup*

po:kakku:ta:tu

'It is alright for you to go there, but I should not go'

The completive meaning is used in sentences like

avan vant:accu (38) 'He has come' (completive)
which is derived from

114 *avan va* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a:ccu \\ a:yirru \end{array} \right\}$ 'He come over' →

115 *avan vant* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a:ccu \\ a:yirru \end{array} \right\}$ 'It is gotten from (3)'

It is true that it may not be very easy to connect the meanings of the auxiliaries with these of the corres-

ponding main verbs of the same form. Yet it cannot be straight away rejected the hypothesis that they are in some way related. If we accept the fact that in 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 like *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 capability. In old Tamil *val* alone is found and this can be seen in *Ainkuṟunu: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.

116 *na:n anta ve:loiyaḷ muṭitte:n*

'I completed that work'

117 *enna:l anta ve:lai* { *mutintatu*
muṭiyum }

'That work got/will get completed by me'

118 *ve:ṟe a:ra:leyum muṭiya:tu*

'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 *enna:* 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 *enakku* 'to me' as in

119 *enakku ceyyamutiyum* 'I can do'

as sentences like

120 *enakku anta katavv tirakkum*

121 *enakku anta ve:li mutiyum*

'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 predicted and therefore they are derived by certain transformational rules like agreement transformation. Similarly certain auxiliaries that we find are predicted 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 *aru:* 'be gracious 'vouch-safe' denotes reverence and it is found in sentence like /

122 *aracar vantarulīna:r*
 'The king has visited graciously'

123 *po:ppa:ṅṅavar colliyarulīna: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

124 *aracar va :- Past*
 'The king came'

125 *po:ppa:ṅṅavar 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

126 *aracar vantarulī - Past*

127 *po:ppa:ṅṅavar colliyarulī - Past*

to which an agreement transformation applies and as the result we get

128 *aracar vantarulīna:r*

129 *po:ppa:ṅṅavar colliyarulīna:r*

This is also true with many other auxiliaries denoting reflexive, accidental (without our making), etc.

It is well known that in Tamil reflexive is expressed by the auxiliary *koḷ* as in

130 *kaṅṅaṅ kuṅṅikkonṅa:n*
 'Kannan cuffed himself'

- 131 *avan aṭittukkoṅta:ṅ*
 'He beat himself'

where the occurrence of *koḷ* 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 like

- 132 *kaṇṇan₁ kaṇṇanai₁ kuṭṭi* - Past

kaṇṇan₁ cuff. - Past *Kannan₂*

- 133 *avan₁ avanai₁ aṭi* - Past

he₁ beat - Past *him₁*

where we do not have the auxiliary *koḷ* and it is added by *Reflexivization transformation* which gives

- 134 *kaṇṇan₁ kaṇṇanai₁ kuṭṭi - koḷ* - Past

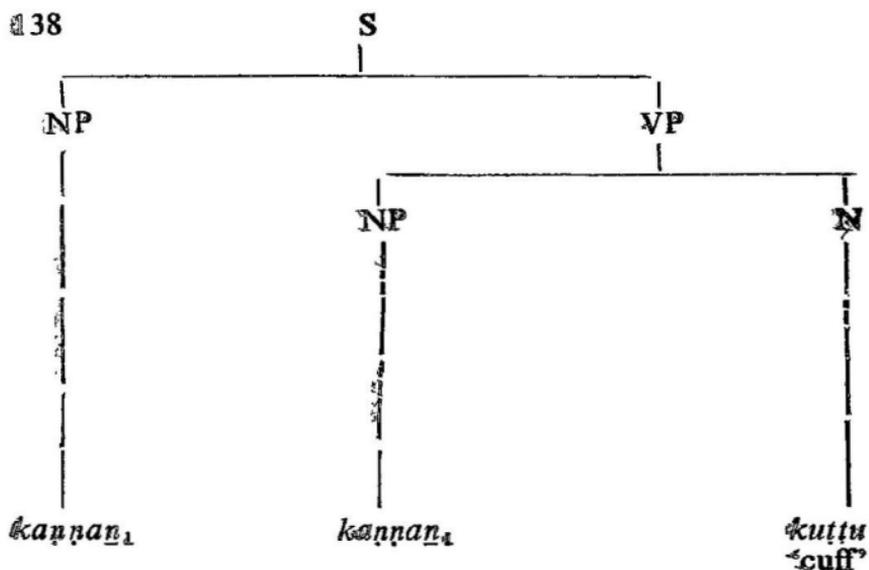
- 135 *avan₁ avanai₂ aṭi - koḷ* - Past

Many other transformations like *agreement transformation*, *verbal participialization transformation* etc. take place and finally we get

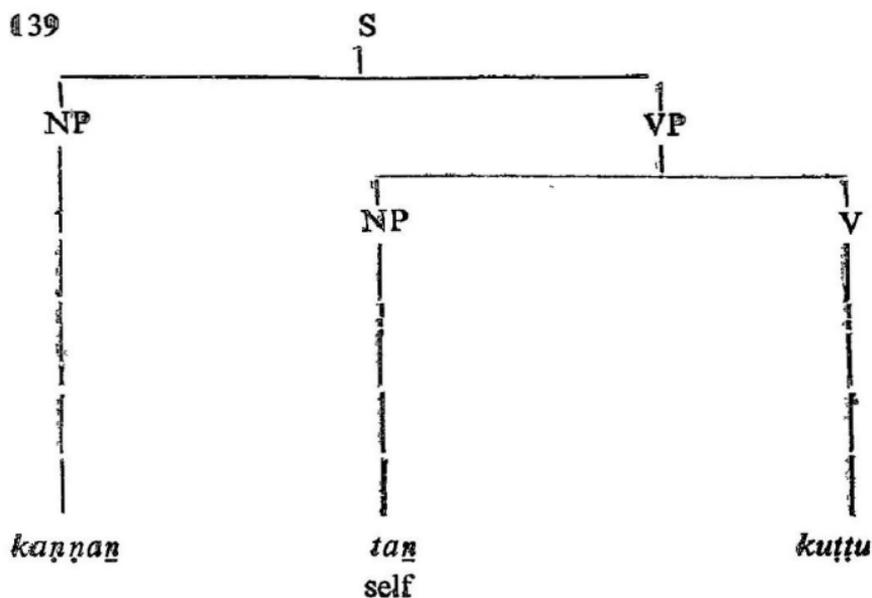
- 136 *kaṇṇan₁ kaṇṇanaik₁ kuṭṭikkoṅta:ṅ*

- 137 *avan₁ avanai₁ aṭittukkoṅta:ṅ*

Finally *Equi-NP deletion transformation* takes place and as the result (130), (131) are gotten.



⇓



Appendix

<i>aṭi</i>	down
<i>aruḷ</i>	be gracious
<i>a:m</i>	may, probability, possibility, capability, suggestion
<i>al</i>	not (negative)
<i>a:yirru</i>	completive
<i>itu</i>	completive, certainty
<i>iru</i>	perfective, stative, suppositional, durative
<i>il</i>	negative
<i>uḷ</i>	perfective etc.
<i>oli</i>	riddance, contemptive
<i>kil</i>	to be able, capacity
<i>ku:ṭum</i>	probability etc.
<i>koṅṭiru</i>	durative, progressive
<i>kol</i>	reflexive
<i>cey</i>	causative
<i>takum</i>	appropriative
<i>tallu</i>	riddance, impatience, etc.
<i>tolai</i>	riddance, contemptive

<i>niḻ</i>	stative
<i>paḷu</i>	passive
<i>paṇṇu</i>	causative
<i>pa:r</i>	attemptive
<i>peru</i>	passive
<i>po:</i>	completive
<i>po:tu</i>	completive, (improper)
<i>ma:ttu</i>	negative
<i>muti</i>	capacity
<i>vaḻ</i>	capacity
<i>va:</i>	durative (habituality)
<i>viḷu</i>	completive
<i>ve:ṇṭuru</i>	obligative
<i>vaṭ</i>	causative, future benefactive

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THE BENEFACTIVE VOICE IN TAMIL

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Tamil makes use of the auxiliary verb *kotu* to signify the benefactive voice¹. As a main verb *kotu* means 'give' and naturally there is a semantic connection between the full verb *kotu* and the corresponding auxiliary. When a conventionally recognized favour is done to somebody through an action, the verb that stands for that action is said to be in the benefactive voice. The following Tamil sentence will illustrate this.

1) *A B-kku pencil ci:v-i(k)-kōtu-tt-a:n*

(A) (B-to) (pencil) (sharpen-past adv. - give-past-he)

'A did a favour to B by sharpening (his) pencil'

The verb *ci:v-i(k)-kōtu* in the above example is in the benefactive voice, the voice therein being signalled by the

1 Voice is defined in *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (College Edition) as "a set of categories for which the verb is inflected in some languages as Latin and which is typically used to indicate the relation of the verbal action to the subject as performer, undergoer or beneficiary of its action."

auxiliary *koṭu*. When this auxiliary verb is added to the main verb, the latter is transformed into the corresponding past verbal participle. Here the agent who does the act of 'sharpening' (*ci:vu*) is A and the one who is benefitted by this act is B. If there was no benefactor for B, then B would have to do the act by himself and the voice involved here will be termed as 'self service'. This voice is conveyed in Tamil by the auxiliary verb *koḷ* which literally means 'receive'. Here is an example for this.

- 2) *B ta:n-e: pencil ci:v-i(k)-koṇ t-a:n*
(he-emph.)

'B sharpened the pencil by himself (without getting it done through an external agency)'

The verb *koḷ* 'receive' is egodirectional and *koṭu* non-egodirectional. When an act is egodirectional the benefit goes to self and when it is otherwise an outsider is benefitted.

Sentences (1) and (2) above embed sentences (3) and (4) below, respectively in their deep structures.

- 3) *A B-in pencil-ai(c) ci:v-in-a:n*
(B-poss.) (pencil-acc.)
'A sharpened B's pencil'

- 4) *B tan pencil-ai(c) ci:v-in-a:n*
(his)
'B sharpened his own pencil'

In sentence (1), A sharpened B's pencil and this benefit was given to B and in sentence (2), B sharpened his own pencil and this benefit was received by B himself. We will be mainly concerned in this paper with the auxiliary

verb *koṭu* signifying the 'benefactive' voice. The main constraint that is involved here is that the verb in the embedded sentence should not be intransitive. Thus sentences like

- 5) **A B-kku aḷu-tu-koṭu-tt-a:n*
(weep-past adv.)

'A did a favour to B by crying'

- 6) **A B kku naṭa-ntu-koṭu-tta:n*
(walk-past adv.)

'A did a favour to B by walking'

are impossible in Tamil. We will try to give an explanation as to why this constraint is needed in Tamil. When the voice auxiliary *koṭu* is used in Tamil, it is not only the favour but also some object that reaches the recipient. Thus, in the sentence

- 7) *A B-kku veṟṟilai mati-ttu(k)-koṭu-tt-a:n*
(betel leaf) (fold-past adv.)

'A did a favour to B by preparing the betel roll'

in addition to receiving the benefit of A's preparing the betel roll for him, B also receives the object betel roll. It is very important here that the object reaches B. If A merely prepares the betel roll for B and keeps it with himself without handing it over to B, sentence (7) would not be used. The donor thus gives two things. One is the labour (*śram da:n*) and the other is the object itself (*vastu da:n*)². Since the object requires a transitive verb, an intransitive verb is ruled out in the embedded sentence.

2 It is my colleague G. Srinivasa Varma who tried to convince me that the object's reaching the recipient is to be taken for granted in this voice construction in Tamil and I am very much indebted to him.

Sentences (1) and (2) were given as examples for benefactive and self-service voices. All Tamil benefactive verbs with the auxiliary *koṭu* can have a corresponding self-service verb but not vice versa. In other words, a self-service verb need not have a corresponding benefactive verb with the auxiliary *koṭu*. Thus a sentence like

- 8) *paiyan ta:n-e: caṭṭai po:t-tu(k)-koṇ-t-a:n*
 (boy) (shirt) (put on-past adv.)

‘The boy put on the shirt by himself (with no external assistance)’

cannot have the following as its corresponding benefactive sentence.

- 9) **amma: paiyan-ukku caṭṭai po:t-tu(k)-koṭu-tt-a:l*
 (mother) (boy-to)
 ‘Mother dressed the boy up’

The auxiliary verb *koṭu* will be replaced here by *viṭu*, which literally means ‘leave’.

- 10) *amma: paiyan-ukku caṭṭai po:t-tu-viṭ-t-ā:l*

is the accepted sentence. The benefactive voice in Tamil is thus expressed by the auxiliary *koṭu* in most instances and by *viṭu* in some instances. The distribution between *koṭu* and *viṭu* can be stated as follows. The auxiliary *viṭu* is used when the recipient himself undergoes a change of state, whereas *koṭu* is used when the object undergoes a change. Look at the following pairs of examples.

- 11) a) *na:n-e: še:y-paṇṇ-i(k)-koṇ-t-e:n*
 (I-emph.) (shave-perform-past adv. - receive-past-I)
 ‘I did the shaving myself (without being shaved by a barber, etc.)’

- b) *ba:rbar en-akku ŝe:v-paṇṇ-i-viṭ-ṭ-a:n*
 (barber) (me-to)
 'The barber shaved me'

- 12) a) *na:n-e: caṭṭai tai-ttu(k)-koṇ-ṭ-e:n*
 (stitch-past adv.)
 'I stitched the shirt on my own (without getting it done by a tailor, etc.)'

- b) *taiyalka:ran en-akku caṭṭai tai-ttu(k)-koṭu-
 (tailor) tt-a:n*
 'The tailor stitched the shirt for me'

In sentence (11) (b), the recipient, I, undergo some change of state, whereas in (12) (b) it is the object, cloth, which undergoes the change. Here are some further examples for the recipient undergoing a change of state.

- 13) *amma: en-akku talai va:r-i-viṭ-ṭ-a:ḷ*
 (head) (comb-past adv.)
 'Mother combed my hair'
- 14) *amma: makaḷ-ukku pu:-vai-ttu-viṭ-ṭ-a:ḷ*
 (daughter-to) (flower-put-past adv.)
 'Mother inserted flower in the daughter's hair'
- 15) *amma: makaḷ-ukku poṭṭu vai-ttu-viṭ-ṭ-a:ḷ*
 (tilak) (put-past adv.)
 'Mother applied tilak to the daughter'

Malayalam uses only one auxiliary verb whose basic meaning is 'give' in the two situations discussed above.

Thus a Malayalam sentence corresponding to (9) above is acceptable in that language.³

- 16) *amma makan-ə śarṭ iṭ-tu-koṭu-ttu*
 (mother) (son-to) (shirt) (put on-past adv.-give-past)

The fact that Malayalam has two forms for this auxiliary, viz. *koṭu-* and *taru-* depending upon whether the recipient is plus third person or minus third person is not very important here. This distribution among the two variants can be found even in the main verb meaning 'give'.

The benefactive auxiliary for the main verb *eḷutu* 'write' in Tamil is *koṭu* whereas the same cannot be used as an auxiliary for the main verb *paṭi* 'read'. Thus for the 'self-service' sentence

- 17) *avan leṭṭar-ai(t) ta:n-e: paṭi-ttu(k)-koṇ-ṭ-a:n*
 (he) (letter-acc.) (read-past adv.)

'He read the letter himself (without asking some one else to read it for him)'

we cannot have a corresponding benefactive sentence with the auxiliary *koṭu*. The sentence

- 18) **avan leṭṭar-ai en-akku paṭi-ttu(k)-koṭu-tt-a:n*
 'He did a favour to me by reading the letter for me'

is not acceptable. Tamil uses the auxiliary verb *ka:ṭtu* (lit. 'show') in this instance, even though Malayalam sticks on to *koṭu-/taru-*. Sentence (18) can be refined now as

3 I am extremely grateful to N. Rajasekharan Nair who supplied me all the Malayalam forms that are relevant for the present study, sat patiently with me for long hours and also discussed with me intelligently.

19) *avan leṭṭar-ai en-akku paṭi-ttu(k)-ka:ṭt-in-a:n*

When one writes on a paper, the object, paper, undergoes a change of state, whereas when a letter is read it does not undergo the same. We have already seen that Tamil uses the benefactive auxiliary *kotu* only when the object undergoes a change of state. Since in sentence (18), the object, letter, does not undergo any change of state, it is not acceptable.

When 'hunger', 'thirst', etc. are alleviated or when a 'fight', 'quarrel', etc. are patched up, Tamil makes use of the verb *ti:r* to convey this idea. When one alleviates his own thirst, it is expressed as follows.

20) *avan tan ta:katt-ai(r) ti:r-ttu(k)-koṇ-ṭ-a:n*
 (thirst-acc.) (alleviate-past adv.)

'He got his thirst alleviated'

When two people patch up their own quarrel, it is expressed as below.

21) *avarkaḷ tankaḷ caṇṭai(y)-ai(t) ti:r-ttu(k)-koṇ-ṭ-a:rkaḷ*
 (they) (their) (quarrel acc.) (patch up-past adv. receive-past-they)

'They patched up their own quarrel'

Sentences (20) and (21) both involve 'self-service' voice. The corresponding benefactive sentences do not contain the auxiliary *kotu*, in contradistinction to Malayalam which makes use of the verb *kotu-|taru-* in this instance. In such situations, Tamil employs the auxiliary verb *vai* (lit. 'place'). Examples (22) and (23) below are the corresponding benefactive sentences for (20) and (21) above.

22) *X avan ta:katt-ai(t) ti:r-ttu-vai-tt-a:n*
 'X alleviated his thirst'

23) *X avarkaḷ caṅṅai(y)-ai(t) ti:r-ttu-vai-tt-a:n*
 'X patched up their quarrel'

When 'annihilation' happens to be the benefactive act, Tamil, thus employs the auxiliary *vai* rather than *koṭu*, *viṭu* or *ka:ttu*.

The basic difference between Tamil and Malayalam as far as the benefactive voice is concerned is that Malayalam uses only one auxiliary verb, viz. *koṭu-|taru-* in all instances, whereas Tamil can employ *koṭu*, *viṭu*, *ka:ttu* or *vai*, as the situation warrants. There is also another difference between Tamil and Malayalam. The auxiliary verb *koṭu* is used in Tamil only with transitive main verbs and only in the benefactive sense, whereas in Malayalam it is used with intransitive verbs also and that too in several senses.

One meaning in which Malayalam uses auxiliary *koṭu-|taru-* with the intransitive verb is 'obey' or 'yield'. A photographer may utter the following statement in Malayalam.

24) *ṅa:n fo:ttō: eṭu-ttu. avan at-inə nin-nu-ta-nnu.*
 (I) (photo) (take-past) (he) (that-for) (stand-
 past adv.-give-past)

'I took a snap and he posed for that'

Other examples in the meaning of 'obey'/'yield' are *kiṭa-nnu-koṭu-ttu* 'lay down', *vaḷa-ṅṅu-koṭu-ttu* 'bent one's body', *iru-nnu-koṭu-ttu* 'sat (and posed for a picture)', *ni:ṅ-ṭu-koṭu-ttu* 'elongated', *ma:r-i(k)-koṭu-ttu* 'gave room', etc. Even though Tamil also uses expressions like *vaḷai-ntu-koṭu*, they are used more in an idiomatic and abstract

sense and hence we will not consider *koṭu* here as an auxiliary, except perhaps from a historical point of view.

The second meaning in which the auxiliary *koṭu-/taru-* is used in Malayalam is 'accomplish a task which is inaccomplishable from the point of view of the speaker'

Example:

- 25) *avan aṅṅu miniṭ-koṅṅa oru mail o:ṅ-i(t)-ta-nnu*
 (five) (minute-in) (one) (mile) (run-past adv.
 give-past)

'He ran one mile distance in five minutes'

In this meaning this auxiliary can occur with transitive main verbs also.

Malayalam uses the auxiliary verb *koṭu-/taru-* in the sense of 'expressing an insult' also.

Example:

- 26) *X a:(y)-a:l-uṅṅe puṅṅatt-a tupp-i(k) koṭu-ttu*
 (X) (that-person poss.) (back-on) (spit-past adv.
 give-past)

'X spat on his back in an insulting manner'

When an object is sent from A to B, in Malayalam A would simply say

- 27) *ṅa:n B-kkə aya-ccu*
 (B-to) (send-past)

whereas if A is sure that B has received it, he would say

- 28) *ṅa:n B-kkə aya-ccu-koṭu-ttu*
 (send-past adv.-give-past)

The auxiliary verb *koṭu-/taru-* is used here to imply that the object sent has reached the consignee.

The use of the auxiliary *kotu* in all these four meanings - and perhaps there are some more additional meanings to this auxiliary - is very strange for Tamil speakers. As stated earlier, Tamil uses the auxiliary *kotu* only in the benefactive sense.

When the benefactive voice is involved, the benefactor normally does an action as a substitute for the benefitted person. But in a sentence like

- 29) *appa: paiyan-ukku paṭṭa:cu va:ṅk-i(k)-kotu-it-a:r*
 (father) (boy-to) (crackers) (buy-past adv.-give-
 past-he)

'Father bought crackers for (his)-boy'

the existence of the auxiliary *kotu* does not necessarily indicate that the father did the act of buying in place of his son but rather that the crackers were given as a gift. When it is given as a gift what is the status of the verb *kotu*? Is it an auxiliary or a main verb? We feel that *kotu* is a main verb here. The verbal participle *va:ṅk* does not have any significance. When crackers are given as gift, (29) is not significantly different from sentence (30) below.

- 30) *appa: paiyan-ukku paṭṭa:cu kotu-it-a:r*
 'Father gave crackers to (his) boy'

When the father did the act of buying, instead of his son buying the same, (29) is not very different from (31).

- 31) *appa: paiyan ukku paṭṭa:cu va:ṅk-in-a:r*
 (buy-past-he)

'Father bought crackers for (his) boy'

Sentence (29), thus, gives importance to 'buying' in its first reading and to 'giving' in its second reading. In its

second reading, one does not care very much about the source of the article, i.e. as to whether it was procured from somewhere or not.

Another sentence which involves such an ambiguity is

32) *A B-kku paḷam pari-ittu(k)-koṭu-tt-a:n*

(fruit) (pluck-past adv.)

‘A plucked the fruit for B’

In one reading, A did the act of plucking when B could not do the same for some reason or other. In the second reading A gave the fruit (plucked from the tree) as a gift to B.

Among the four major Dravidian languages, Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada make use of the auxiliary *koṭu* (lit. ‘give’) to indicate the benefactive voice. Telugu uses the auxiliary *pettu* (lit. ‘put’) instead of an auxiliary verb with the literal meaning ‘give’. In all these Dravidian languages, thus, benefactive is manifest in the verb as a voice, whereas in languages like English it is manifest as a case.

AUXILIARY VERB IN TOLKA:PPIYAM

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0:0 *Tolka:ppiyam* is the earliest extant work now available in Tamil. It is a treatise on Tamil grammar. It was written by *Tolka:ppiyar*. If one goes through the book *Tolka:ppiyam*, one can infer that there were many grammatical treatises, available before *Tolka:ppiyam*. *Tolka:ppiyam* contains 1610 sutras, divided into three parts namely *Eluttatika:ram* 'Part on Phonology and Morphophonemics', *Collatika:ram* 'Part on Morphology and Syntax' and *Porulatika:ram* 'Part on Prosody and Poetics'. The date of this work is before the second or third century B.C.

1:0 The Tamil word for verb is *vinai* which means 'action'. *Tolka:ppiyar* defines the verb that which does not take case-suffixes and denotes time.¹ In *Tolka:ppiyam* we are able to find the various kinds of classification of verbs, such as (a) *terinilai* 'the verbs in which tense is explicitly known, vs *kurippu*, 'the appellative verbs which are able to show tense implicitly'², (b) those verbs belonging to *uyar-*

1 *Tol(ka:ppiyam). Col(latika:ram). Ce:na:(varaiyam)*
Kalakam, Madras, Su:(tra). 198

2 *Tol(ka:ppiyam). Col(latika:ram). Ce:na:(varaiyam)*
kalakam, Madras, Su:(tra). 200.

tiṇai 'human', those belonging to *akṛiṇai* 'non-human' and those belonging to *viravuttiṇai* 'both human and non-human'³, (c) *muru* 'finite' and *eccam* 'non-finite',⁴ (d) *uṭṭaṇpa:tu* 'affirmative' and *etirmaṇai* 'negative',⁵ But *Tolka:ppiyam* does not speak explicitly anything about the concept of the important grammatical category called auxiliary which are the source of creating new meanings for verbs. Even the latter grammarian *Nannu:lar* also does not speak anything about the concept of auxiliary verbs. This does not mean that there were not auxiliary verbs available in Tamil language even in the time of these grammarians.

2:0 Auxiliary verbs might have been existed in the spoken language of that time or they might not have been fully developed in literary languages of those days. Dr M. Israel thinks that some of the expletives, noted by *Tolka:ppiyar* as *acaiṇilaikkilāvi* 'one of the seven kinds of particles called *itaiccol*' (*ciṇ (iciṇ), ika, ikum*) (Tol. Col. 274, 275) should be considered as Old auxiliary verbs.⁶ Prof. T. P. Meenakhisundaram says that *icaiṇiṇais* 'sound-fillers or meter-fillers' also another kind of particles were probably the auxiliary verbs. He observes as follows: 'Their (sound-fillers) meaning has been completely lost; therefore, they are used as the longer variants of any word

3 *Tol(ka:ppiyam), Col(latika:ram), Ce:ṇa:(varaiyam)*. Kalakam, Madras, Su:(tra). 201

4 *Tol(ka:ppiyam), Col(latika:ram), Ce:ṇa:(varaiyam)* Kalakam, Madras, Su:(tra). 427

5 *Tol(ka:ppiyam), Col(latika:ram), Ce:ṇa:(varaiyam)*. Kalakam, Madras, Su:(tra). 432, 433.

6 Israel, M., *Ilakkāṇa a:yuvu-viṇaiccōl*, Madurai, 1976, pp. 91-92.

whenever available, for the sake of rhythm. See the particle of *icainiṛai* -ar- in *uḷḷinar aro: uḷḷinaro:* 'they thought'. See *kurai* in *collaruṅkuraittu* 'it is difficult to explain'. These were probably the auxiliary verbs and suffixes of an earlier age.⁷

3:0 According to the interpretation, given by Dr. S. Agesthalingom for the sutra "*itu ceyal ve:ṇṭum eṇṇum kiḷavi, iru vayiṅ nilaiyum poruṭṭa:kunme:, taṅpa:-la:num piraṅpa:la:num*" (728), *Tolka:ppiyam* speaks of *ve:ṇṭum* which functions as an auxiliary verb (as in *vara ve:ṇṭum* 'one must come', *o:taveṇṭum* 'one must run'). By studying this sutra carefully one can say that *Tolka:ppiyam* was able to understand the unique feature of the construction where the verbal noun of a verb and *ve:ṇṭum* function as well-knit single unit (which we now call modal or auxiliary)⁸

4:0 Further the language of *Tolka:ppiyam* itself shows the usage of certain auxiliary verbs such as *paṭu*, *ve:ṇṭum*, *poru*, *koḷ*, *koṭu*, *iru*, *ku:ta:*, *i* and *a:kūm*. Let us focus our attention to these auxiliary verbs one by one.

4:1 *paṭu*: The usage of the auxiliary verb *paṭu* with the passive significance is the predominant feature in *Tolka:ppiyam* language. This *paṭu* denotes the passivity when it is annexed to the infinitive of the verb. *Um* can occur as an optional item in between the infinitive form of the main verb and the auxiliary *paṭu-*. *-um-* occurs in

7 Meenakshisundaram, T. P., *History of Tamil Language*, Poona, 1975, pp. 77.

8 Agesthalingom, S. A., A note on '*itu ceyal ve:ṇṭum*' Seminar on Grammatical theories in Tamil, A. Nagar, 1974.

the following three cases: *collavumpatume*: (951) *kaṭiyavum paṭa*: (1281) *puṇarkkavumpatume*: (1599). The latter two have the textual variation, viz. *kaṭiyavum pera*: (1281) and *puṇarkkavum perume*:. As far as the frequency of the occurrences of the main verbs is concerned the root *en-* 'to say' stands first, *col* 'to say' comes next; then the roots *kol* 'to have', *kaṭi* 'to remove', *puṇar* 'to agree', *uḷ* 'to think' occur once each.

- a) *en-* 'to say': *ena* + *paṭu* 'it was said or called as,
- as finite verb *enappatum* (1361, 1382, 1393, 1443,
1459, 1465, 1492, 1496,
1540, 1541, 1557, 1603)
- as Relative participle
- enappaṭṭa* (164, 637)
- as Verbal participial noun
- ta:yenappatuvo:l* (1070)
vinaiyenappatuvatu (683)
mutal enappatuvatu (950, 963)
kuṭiyenappatuvatu (1076)
kaṭpenappatuvatu (1088)
eḷuttenappatupa (1)
collenappatupa (643)
iṭaiyenappatupa (734)
peyarenappatupavai (645)
- b) *Col* 'to tell' *co(l)la* + *paṭu* 'It was told'
- as Finite verb *colappatume*: (1519)
- as Relative participle
- collappaṭṭa* (1013; 1203)
colla + *um* + *paṭu me*:
- as Finite verb *collavum paṭume*: (951)

- c) *koḷ* 'to get' *koḷa + paṭu* 'it was got'
as Negative Finite verb
koḷappaṭa: (1167)
- d) *kaṭi* 'to remove' *kaṭi + um + paṭu*
as Negative Finite verb
kaṭiyavumpāṭa: (1281)
- e) *puṇar* 'to agree' *puṇarkka + um + paṭu'n*
as Negative Finite verb
puṇarkkavum paṭume: (1599)

4.2.1. *ve:ṇṭum*: It occurs always with verbal noun and denotes the meaning 'must', 'should' and functions as an important auxiliary verb.

- | | | |
|---|------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>niṟṟalve:ṇṭum</i> | 'must stand' <i>E(luttu)</i> 34, 192,
268, 327. 391, 445.' |
| 2 | <i>mikutaive:ṇṭum</i> | 'must be doubled' E 115, 206,
338. |
| 3 | <i>keṭutalve:ṇṭum</i> | 'must be dropped' E. 116, 189,
433, 469, 475. |
| 4 | <i>uytal ve:ṇṭum</i> | 'should be escaped or omitted'
E. 200 |
| 5 | <i>po:ṟṟalve:ṇṭum</i> | 'should be safeguarded' E. 157,
401, C(ol) 112, 455. |
| 6 | <i>a:talve:ṇṭum</i> | 'should become' E. 289. |
| 7 | <i>maṇṇalve:ṇṭum</i> | 'should exist' E. 424. |
| 8 | <i>peṟalve:ṇṭum</i> | 'should get' E. 459. |
| 9 | <i>kiḷattalve:ṇṭum</i> | 'must tell' E. 235. |

10	<i>ceyalve:ṅṭum</i>	'must do' E. 238
11	<i>ninaiyalve:ṅṭum</i>	'must think' C. 288
12	<i>ottalve:ṅṭum</i>	'should be similar' P(oru) 279
13	<i>oriyalve:ṅṭum</i>	'should know' P. 362
14	<i>uṅṅartalve:ṅṭum</i>	'should feel' P. 451
15	<i>talā:alve:ṅṭum</i>	'should embrace' P. 635
16	<i>uṅṅarttalve:ṅṭum</i>	'should be taught' P. 656

The commentators usually take *ve:ṅṭum* as full verb and give the meaning 'to desire'. They bring the subject, 'the author (desires that.....) whenever necessary. In Arsens grammar *ve:ṅṭum* is treated as an auxiliary verb to express necessity or urgency, and have the meaning 'must'.⁹ Dr. Agesthalingom explains the nature of *ve:ṅṭum* as an auxiliary verb and establishes that it is a two place predicate. By his new interpretation to the sutra '*itu ceyal ve:ṅṭum*' we can say that *Tolka:ppiyar* was able to understand this uniqueness.¹⁰ In Modern Tamil *ve:ṅṭum* occurs only with infinitive forms which are historically derived from verbal nouns. (eg) *ni: po:ka ve:ṅṭum* 'you should go'. This type of constructions starts even from the Sangam age: *Valara ve:ṅṭum* (puram 339-11) *Varukeṅa ve:ṅṭum* (puram 207-6) *Ceyyave:ṅṭumo:* (kali 107-12).

4.2.2 *ve:ṅṭa* : 'need not' 'not necessary' occurs once with *kiḷattal* and behaves like an auxiliary verb *colle: kiḷattal veḷippaṭu ve:ṅṭa* (783). "It is not necessary to give the meaning of the roots easily known". This is the

9 Arden, A. H. A Progressive Grammar of Tamil Language, Madras, 1969, pp. 240.

10 Agesthalingom, S. 'A note on *itu ceyal ve:ṅṭum*' *Ilakkaṅa a:yukkaṭṭuraikal* - 1, Annamalainagar, 1974.

translation given by Dr. P. S. Subramaniya Sastri for this sutra. "We need not or it is not necessary for us to say the explicitly known words - *uriccol*."¹¹ This should be the correct translation. This idea is represented in *Ce:na:varaiyar's* commentary also.

“வெளிப்பட்ட உரிச்சொல் கிளந்ததனாற் பயனின்மையின்
கிளக்கப்படா”

(சேனாவரையம். சூ 298 உரை)

'Since there is no use in saying, widely known words (*uriccol*) need not be mentioned here'. The Modern Tamil form of this type is *infinitive + ve:ṇṭa:m; po:ka ve:ṇṭa:m* 'you need not go'.

4.2.3. *Ve:ṇṭi*: also may be taken as the auxiliary verb in the following constructions with the meaning for the sake of 'in order to'

terital ve:ṇṭi 'for the sake of knowing' P. 63

ko:ṭal ve:ṇṭi 'in order to take' P. 145.

maṇuttal ve:ṇṭi 'in order to reject, refuse'
P. 156.

kuṛipparital ve:ṇṭiyum 'even for the sake of understanding his intention' P. 157.

varaital ve:ṇṭi 'in order to marry' P. 105.

These constructions may be replaced by the infinitive form of the respective main verbs such as *teriya* 'to know', *koḷḷa* 'to take' *maṇukka* 'to reject' etc.

4.3. *Peṇu*: We have already seen the occurrence of *peṇu* in the passive significance during the discussion of *paṭu peṇu* form. Further *paṭu* occurs in the construction

11 Subramaniya Sastri, P.S. *Tolka:ppiyam Collatika:ram*, Annamalainagar, 1946, pp. 218.

muṭiyavum peṟume: (infinitive + *um* + *peṟum*) (கைக்கிளை தானே வெண்பாவாகி; ஆசிரிய இயலான் முடியவும் பெறுமே) (Cey. Su: 424) in the sense of 'may end'. The Modern Tamil auxiliary form for this construction is *muṭiyala:m* 'may end'.

4.4.1 *Koḷ*: The auxiliary form *koḷ* usually occurs with verbal participle form of *Ceytu* type. The meaning of this form is reflexive.

<i>talaipayarittukkoḷiṇum</i>	(985) 'having got back by oneself'
<i>ti:ṭtukkoḷḷutaḷ</i>	(Ilam.)
<i>taḷi:ikko:ṭal</i>	(1119) 'embracing by oneself'
<i>uyttukkoṇṭu uṇartal</i>	(1610) 'having thought over' (by oneself)
<i>terintukoṇṭu</i>	(1610) 'having known' (by oneself)

With the same pattern (i.e. *Ceytu* + *koḷ*) *koḷ* also gives the meaning 'to occur'.

eṇṇe:ka:ram itaiyittukkoliṇum (713) 'If it occurs incessantly but used at intervals'

4.4.2 *Koḷ* occurs with epicene plural past finite verb form and gives the meaning 'to take, to accept'.

<i>vakuttaṇar koṇmin</i>	(1370) 'accept (II pl.) after discussion'
<i>rerintaṇar koḷale:</i>	(780) 'let them accept after proper understanding' (Opt.)
<i>uṇarntaṇar koḷale:</i>	(781) 'Let (they) understand (Optative)
<i>vakuttaṇar ko:ṭal</i>	(1610) 'accepting after classification'

Even though the forms of the main verb appear as epi. pl. finite verb forms, the function of those forms is only that of verbal participle of *ceṅtu* type. These finite verbs do not agree with the subjects. Therefore the grammarieans usually call these constructions as *muṟṟeccattoṭar* 'finite verbal participial construction'.

4.5. *koṭu* : 'beneficial' occurs as auxiliary in the construction *a:kkik koṭattarkanṇum* (1096) 'she prepares a ground' The meaning 'give' of *koṭu* has been lost.

4.6. *iru* : 'past perfect' occurs as an auxiliary verb in the construction *vantirunta kiḷavaṇai* "the hero who had come" (1096). But *Nacciṇa:rkkiṇṇiyar* splits this unit *vantu* as having come and *irunta* having seated outside'. In that case, this is not an auxiliary verb.

4.7. *ku:ṭa* : 'Prohibit' occurs as an auxiliary verb in the following sutra of *Collatika.ram*:

viṇaiyir ro:ṇṇum pa:laṟi kiḷaviyum

peyarir ro:ṇṇum pa.laṟi kiḷaviyum

mayankal ku:ṭa: iammarā piṇave:

(Col. 11)

"The gender-number suffix which occurs in the verb (predicate) and that which occurs in the noun (subject) should not disagree with each other; they should conform to usage". Here *ku:ṭa:* occurs with the verbal noun form of the main verb *mayankal* 'mixing or confusing together' which acts as the infinitive form and gives the meaning 'should not'. The gender number suffix of the subject and the gender number suffix of the predicate should not be confused; i.e. they should agree with each other in a sentence. The Modern Tamil form for this type is *mayankakku:ṭa:tu*. Here the suffix *-tu* lost its gender number function. For the construction *mayankal ku:ṭa:*

ḷampu:raṇa:r gives the following meaning அவை விரரதல் பொருந்தா. 'they should not agree the mixing' *Teyvaccilaiya:r* also follows him தம்முள் மயங்குதல் பொருந்தா. *Naccina:rkkiniyar* and *kalla:ṭar* support this view. ஒன்றோடொன்றை மயங்கச் சொல்லுதல் பொருந்தா. *Ce:ṇa:varaiyar* simply says மயங்கா, மயங்கற்க 'they don't come together with confusion'.

The *ku:ṭa:* occurs with this meaning in another sutra also *peyarinnum toḷilinum piri-parai ella:m mayankal ku:ṭa:*, (Col. 50)

4.8 *i:* 'causal'. In the sutram *ammake:ṭipikkum* 'the particle *amma* is used to invite the attention of the hearer'. Here *ke:ṭipikkum* is the causal verb. According to Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram this causal suffix *-i* was originated from the Old auxiliary *i:* which occurs the root + p suffix.¹² This type of form occurred in *Akana:nu:ru* also *ceṇṇi:* peruma (verse 46)

4:9 *a:kum* :

Can we take the verb *a:kum* in the following construction as auxiliary verbs?

a) *kuṛaiyata:kum innen ca:riyat* (635)

b) *maṇṇa:ta:kum' viyaṅko:ṭkiḷavi* (711)

c) *taḷḷa:ta:kum tiṇaiyuṇar vakaiye:* (992)

Here *a:kum* occurs with the Negative finite verb forms such as *kuṛaiya:tu*, *maṇṇa:tu*, *ṭaḷḷa:tu*. Can we consider the above form are the stylistic variations of these finite verbs? The commentaries are as follows:

12 Meenakshisundaram, T. P. *History of Tamil Language*, Poona, 1965, pp. 111.

1. குறையாதாகும். குறையாது வந்து முடியும் (இளம், நச்சி.)
2. மன்னாதாகும் நிலைபெறுதாம் (சேன.)
3. தள்ளாதாகும் தள்ளாதாய் வரும் (நச்சி.)

In 1 and 3 we may take *a:kum* as an auxiliary with meaning 'to come'; in 2 *a:kum* as an auxiliary with the emphatic meaning. In Modern Tamil we are able to find the difference between *Vantaru - vantata:m*. Can we say this difference is kept in between *man̄na:tu* and *man̄na:ta:kum*. This type of form is found in *Tirukkural* also '*paṇiyuma:m eṇṇum perumai*'. (Kural. 978). The idea of considering *kuṛaiya:tu man̄na:tu* and *taḷḷa:tu* verbal as verbal participial nouns could not be brought here because the forms with addition of the case signs should be ungrammatical; **kuṛaiya:tai*, **man̄na:tai*, **taḷḷa:tai*

5. Conclusion:

1. *Tolka:ppiyam* does not speak anything explicitly the modern concept of Auxiliary verb.
2. This does not mean that auxiliary verbs were not available in the language of *Tolka:ppiyar's* period. We could not deny that the seeds of modern development of the auxiliary verbs were found in *Tolka:ppiyam*. There were many attempts among the scholars of Tamilology to trace out these seeds which were found not only in *Tolka:ppiyam* period but also in pre *Tolka:ppiyam* period.
3. The modern interpretation of the sutra '*itu ceyal ve:ṇṇum*' given by Dr. S. Agesthialingom explains the *Tolka:ppiyar's* recognition of the auxiliary verb (in the indirect way) and his rare wisdom and

thought in finding out the subtle difference between function of full; and auxiliary verbal forms of *Ve:ṅṅum*.

4. See the Table (Appendix)
5. Even though *Tolka:ppiyam* classified the verb into *terinilai* and *kuṟippu* auxiliary verbs can occur only with *terinilai* roots which are able to take tense markers and show tense explicitly. So we can consider this feature also one among the many features which differentiate the *kuṟippu* from *terinilai*.

6.1 Let me take this opportunity to place two theoretical questions before this scholarly audience. We used to speak always only about auxiliary verbs. Can't we think about auxiliary nouns? Generally the definition of auxiliary verbs gives emphasis on two points. 1. The verbs which are capable of occurring as auxiliary verbs should also come as full verbs. 2. The auxiliary verb should add the shade of meaning to the main verb by loosing its original meaning at that context. *pa:r* 'see' *avaṅ pa:rtta:ṅ* 'he saw'. Here *pa:r* occurs as full verb. In the construction *paṭittuppa:r* 'try-reading' *pa:r* gives the meaning 'try'. So *pa:r* is considered as an auxiliary verb.

Let us take the noun *iṅam* 'place' in Tamil. '*avaṅ anta iṅattai va:ṅkiṅa:ṅ*' 'he bought that place'. Here *iṅam* functions as a full noun. *enṅiṅam paṅam illai*. (Lit) 'money is not found with me' i.e. 'I have no money'. Here what is the difficulty in calling this kind of nouns as auxiliary nouns? (at least for Tamil). This noun *iṅam* adds the meaning to the main noun *eni-* 'oblique I' i.e. 'with me' by loosing its original meaning 'place'.

6.2 Certain words of this *ṅam* type viz. *muṅ* 'before' *piṅ* 'back' *ka:l (ai)* 'at that time' may be added to verbs while certain auxiliary verbs *koṅtu* are added to the nouns. *Caṅṅai po:ttukkoṅtu po:na:n* 'he went after wearing the shirt (by himself)'. *koṅtu* occurring as auxiliary verb can be added to the noun such as *katti* 'knife'. '*kattikoṅtu veṅṅina:n*' 'He cut with a knife'. Even though the first category is mentioned in *Tolka:ppiyam* itself, the second category is found only in Modern Tamil. Whether it is necessary for us to think this kind of linguistic items - auxiliaries occurring both with the noun and the verb? Can we call them as auxiliary nominal verbs or auxiliary verbal nominals?

Auxiliary Verb in Tolka:ppiyam

Sl. No.	Auxiliary verb	Pattern of the main verbs	+ Auxiliary Verb	Meaning	Occurrence
1	<i>paṭu</i>	Infinitive + (um)	+ <i>paṭu</i>	Passive	<i>enappaṭum</i> (1361)
2	<i>ve:ṇṭum</i>	Verbal Noun	+ <i>ve:ṇṭum</i>	must	<i>nirral ve:ṇṭum</i> (34)
	<i>ve:ṇṭa:</i>	Verbal Noun	+ <i>ve:ṇṭa:</i>	need not	<i>piḷattal ve:ṇṭa:</i> (766)
	<i>ve:ṇṭi</i>	Verbal Noun	+ <i>ve:ṇṭi</i>	in order to	<i>terital ve:ṇṭi</i> (Poru. 63)
3	<i>peru</i>	Infinitive + um +	+ <i>peru</i>	passive	<i>muṭiyavumpeṇume;</i> (Cey. 424)
4	<i>koḷ</i>	Ceynu verbal participle	+ <i>koḷ=</i>	reflexive	<i>terintu koṇṭu</i> (1610)
		epicene pl finite verb	+ <i>koḷ-</i>	accept	<i>vakuttanarkoṇṭin</i> (1370)
5	<i>koṭu</i>	Ceynu verbal participle	+ <i>koṭu=</i>	beneficial	<i>a:kkiḷkoṭuttal</i> (1096)
6	<i>iru</i>	Ceynu verbal participle	+ <i>iru-</i>	part perfect	<i>vanirunta</i> (1096)
7	<i>ku:ṭa:</i>	Verbal noun	+ <i>ku:ṭa</i>	'prohibit'	<i>mayanḷakku:ṭa:</i> (Col. 11)
8	<i>i:</i>	Stem (Root + p -)	+ <i>i: i</i>	causal	<i>ke:ṭpikṅm</i> (761)
9	<i>a:kum</i>	Negative verbal participle	+ <i>a:kum</i>	to come	<i>talla:ṭa:kum</i> (992)
				emphatic	

AUXILIARIES IN TAMIL

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1. What is an auxiliary verb?

At the outset I would like to state that all auxiliary verbs were historically main verbs in Tamil. By auxiliary verb we mean the verb which has an auxiliary function. We can define the auxiliary verb more clearly on semantic and syntactic principles.

1.1 Semantic Definition:

An auxiliary verb does not denote any action by itself, whereas the main verb denotes an action by itself. For example, *paṭṭu viṭṭe:n* 'I have read' consisting of *paṭi* a main verb and *viṭu* an auxiliary verb denotes only one action namely, 'read'. The auxiliary verb *viṭu* does not denote any action by itself but it marks the aspect of the action denoted by the main verb *paṭi*.

1.2 Syntactic Definition:

It is not possible to insert any word between a main verb and an auxiliary. Note the following sentences.¹

1 Agesthalingom, S. "A Syntactical Treatment of 'Must' in Dravidian" in *Third Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics*, Annamalainagar, 1972

1.2.1. *avar paṭittu viṭṭa:r* 'he has read'

1.2.2. **avar paṭittu uṭane: viṭṭa:r*

Any main verb in Tamil can be treated as a substitute for the question *eṇṇa cey*, whereas an auxiliary verb by itself cannot be a substitute for *eṇṇa cey*. The following sentences might clarify this fact.

1.2.3.(a) *avar eḷuti viṭṭar* 'he has written'

1.2.3.(b) *avar eṇṇa ceytu viṭṭa:r* 'what has he done?'

1.2.3.(c) **avar eḷuti eṇṇa ceyta:r?*

The principles of insertion and substitution enable us to identify the auxiliary verb in a sentence though there are certain problems.

1.3. Problematic Items :

Consider the following sentences :

1.3.1. *kaṇṇan cirittuk koṇte: irukkira:n*
'Kannan is laughing'

1.3.2. *kaṇṇan cirittuk koṇtuta:n irukkira:n*
'Kannan is laughing, indeed'

1.3.3. *eṇṇa:l paṭikka muṭiya:tu* 'I can't read'

1.3.4. *eṇṇa:l paṭikka ippo:tu muṭiya:tu*
'I can't read now'

In 1.3.1. and 1.3.2. the particles *e:* and *ta:n* are inserted. In 1.3.4. we find a word inserted. Let us examine a few more sentences in order to understand the problem better.

1.3.5. *na:n paṭikka muṭiya:tu* 'I can't/won't read'

1.3.6. **na:n paṭikka ippo:tu muṭiya:tu*

1.3.7. *na:n paṭikkave: muṭiyə:tu* 'I can't read at all'

1.3.8. *ni:nkaḷ iṅku vara ve:ṅtum*
‘you must come here’

1.3.9. *ni:nkaḷ iṅku varatta:ṅ ve:ṅtum*
‘you must come here’

Note that 1.3.6. is ungrammatical whereas 1.3.4. is not. When we carefully examine 1.3.1. through 1.3.9. we understand that the particles such as *e:* and *ta:ṅ* can be inserted between a main verb and an auxiliary verb. As already observed, it is not possible to insert a word between the main verbs and the auxiliaries except *muṭi*. The following sentences confirm this.

1.3.10.(a) *avar uṅkaḷai maṅantu po:ṅa:r*
‘he has forgotten you’

1.3.10.(b) **avar uṅkaḷai maṅantu uṭṅe: po:ṅa:r*

1.3.11.(a) *avaḷ tu:nki viṭṭa:ḷ* ‘she has slept’

1.3.11.(b) **avaḷ tu:nki ip̄p̄o:tu viṭṭa:ḷ*

1.3.12.(a) *avar atai eṭuttuk koṅṅa:r*
‘he took it for himself’

1.3.12.(b) **avar atai eṭuttu ip̄p̄o:tu koṅṅa:r*

Note that the sentences prefixed (a) are grammatical while those with (b) are not. Among all the auxiliaries why *muṭi* alone functions in two different ways? Is it an auxiliary verb or not? In order to answer these questions, 1.3.3. through 1.3.7. might be carefully examined. In addition to these sentences, 1.3.13. and 1.3.14. may also be considered.

1.3.13. *eṅṅa:ḷ muṭiya:tu* ‘I cannot’

1.3.14. **nam mutiya:tu*

It appears that *muti* allows insertion of a word only when it functions as a main verb. As a main verb *muti* occurs freely as in 1.3.13. However it needs further study.

1.4. There are a few problems as seen above nevertheless we are able to recognize and define the auxiliaries. In the rest of this paper I would like to classify the auxiliaries and deal with the order and occurrence of the auxiliaries along with the other relevant issues.

2. Classification :

The auxiliary verb occurring after the main verb might be structurally classified into four types. In accordance with their functions they may be classified as aspectual auxiliaries, modal auxiliaries, voice auxiliaries and balizing auxiliaries.

1 Conj. pp + Aux. 3 Vb. st. + Aux.

2 Inf. pp. + Aux. 4 GN + Aux.

2.1. Conj. pp. + Aux.

Certain auxiliary verbs such as *iru*, *viṭu*, *po:* and *koḷ* occur after the conjunctive participle i.e., the participles belonging to *ceytu* pattern.

2.1.1. *avar vantirukkīra:r* 'he has come'

2.1.2. *avar vantu viṭṭa:r* 'he has definitely come'

2.1.3. *avar iṭantu po:na:r* 'he has passed away'

2.1.4. *avar eḷutik koṇṭa:r* 'he has written for himself'

The auxiliary verbs occurring after conjunctive participles mark the various aspects of the main verb. We will deal with the aspectuals in the section 4.

.2. nf. pp. + Aux.

The auxiliary verbs such as *ve:ṅtu*, *muṭi* and *po:* occur after infinitival participle.

2.2.1. *ni:ṅkaḷ ippo:tu pa:ta ve:ṅtum*
‘you must sing now’

2.2.2. *na:n po:ka muṭiya:tu* ‘I cannot go’

2.2.3. *rayil varap po:kiṇatu*
‘the train is going to come’

The auxiliary verbs occur after infinitival participle mark modality and voice. We will deal with them in section 5 and 6.

2.3. Vb.st. + Aux.

The auxiliary verb *paṭu* occurs after certain verb stems. When we examine the meanings of the sentences involving *paṭu* after the verb stems, it appears that Vb.st. + *paṭu* marks what may be called middle voice. However, it needs further examination.

2.3.1. *avan aṭi paṭṭa:n* ‘he got beaten’

2.3.2. *avan utai paṭṭa:n* ‘he got kicked’

2.3.3. *avan piṭi paṭṭa:n* ‘he got caught’

2.3.4. *avanukku aṭi paṭṭatu* ‘he got hit’

2.3.5. *avan enniṭam aṭi paṭṭa:n*
‘he got beaten by me’

2.3.6. *avan enniṭam utai paṭṭa:n*
‘he got kicked by me’

2.3.7. *avan enniṭam piṭi paṭṭa:n*
‘he got caught by me’

It must be clearly stated that the structure of the passive sentences is basically different from that of the sentences 2.3.1. through 2.3.7.¹ Note that 2.3.4. is different from 2.3.1. and 2.3.5.

2.4. GN + Aux.

The verbs *uṇṭu*, *illai* and *a:* occur after the gerundial nouns (GN). The former two occur after factive gerunds while the last one occurs after non-factive gerunds.²

2.4.1. *avar iṅku vantat- uṇṭu* 'he has come here'

2.4.2. *avar iṅku vantat- illai* 'he never came here'

2.4.3. *avar iṅku varuvat- uṇṭu*
'he used to come here'

2.4.4. *avar iṅku varuvat- illai*
'he is not used to come here'

2.4.5. *avar kavaṇama:kap paṭikka- la:ṇa:r*
'he started to read attentively'

2.4.6. **avar kavaṇama:kap paṭikka- la:kiṇa:r*

2.4.7. **avar kavaṇama:kap paṭikka la:va:r*

2.4.8. **avar iṅku varal uṇṭu*

2.4.9. **avar iṅku varal illai*

2.4.10. *ni:ṅkaḷ uḷḷe: varala:m* 'you can come in'

1 Agesthalingom, S. "Passive in Dravidian" in *Dravidian Linguistics*, Annamalainagar, 1969

2 Kothandaraman, P. A Contrastive Analysis of Tamil and Telugu - A Transformational Approach (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Annamalai University), Annamalainagar, 1969

The verbs *uṇtu*, *illai* and *a:* in the sentences 2.4.1. through 2.4.10. do auxiliary function. At present it is not clear to me whether they mark aspects or something else.¹ The auxiliary verbs may signify several meanings. In such cases they are named according to their predominant meanings.

3. Order and Occurrence :

The main verb can be optionally followed by an aspectual auxiliary or modal auxiliary or by both. When it is followed by both, the order of occurrence would be as follows :

Main Vb. + Asp. Aux. + Mod. Aux.

The aspectual auxiliary is always preceded by a conjunctive participle, whereas the modal auxiliary is always preceded by an infinitival participle. It must be mentioned here that the auxiliary *paṭu* which marks voice and not modality, is also preceded by the infinitival participle. It is worth mentioning that certain auxiliary verbs cannot occur with certain main verbs. Such restrictions are not dealt with in this paper (e.g.* *cettukkoṇṭa:r*).

4. Aspectuals :

As already stated (see 2.1.) the aspectual auxiliaries occur after conjunctive participle. It may be recalled here that the auxiliaries are named according to their predominant meanings.

1 It is true that *varala:m* is analysed as *vara-la:m* and *la:m* is treated as modal suffix. It is an historical fact that *varala:m* contains *varal-a:m*. When we have other gerunds before auxiliary verbs, *varala:m* may also be analysed as a gerund plus auxiliary verb which is historically true.

4.1. Progressive :

The auxiliary that marks progressive aspect is *koṇṭiru*. In fact *koṇṭiru* contains two verbs namely, *koḷ* and *iru*. When marking progressive aspect they are treated as a single unit for they always occur together.

4.1.1. *avar paṭittuk koṇṭirunta:r* 'he was reading'

4.1.2. *avaḷ eḷutik koṇṭirunta:ḷ* 'she was writing'

4.2. Perfective :

Perfective aspect is marked by the auxiliary *iru* meaning 'be'.

4.2.1. *kaṇṇan inku vantirukkira:n*
'Kannan has come here'

4.2.2. *na:n avaraip pa:rttirukkire:n*
'I have seen him'

4.3. Definitive:

Definitive aspects marked by *viṭu* which means 'leave' as a main verb.

4.3.1. *kaṇṇan inru vantu viṭuva:n*
'Kannan will definitely come today'

4.3.2. *kaṇṇan intap puttakattaip paṭittu viṭṭa:n*
'Kannan has definitely read this book'.

4.4. Trial :

The auxiliary verb *pa:r* marks what might be called trial aspect.

4.4.1. *na:n antap pe:na:va:l eḷutip pa:rtte:n*
'I tried writing with that pen'

4.4.2. *na:n ve:kama:ka nañantu pa:rtte:n*
‘I tried walking fast’

4.5. Demonstrational :

The demonstrational aspect is marked by *ka:ttu* which means ‘show’.

4.5.1. *na:n avanukku ełutik ka:ttine:n*
‘I taught him how to write’

4.5.2. *na:n avarukkuk ka:r o:ttik ka:ttine:n*
‘I showed him how to drive a car’

4.6. Reflexive :

The auxiliary verb *koł* marks the reflexive aspect.¹

4.6.1. *avar na:n conñatai ełutik koñta:r*
‘he wrote for himself what I said’

4.6.2. *avar cañtai po:ttuk koñta:r*
‘he put on the shirt for himself’

1 In certain sentences *koł* functions as an intransitive marker corresponding to which we find *koțu* or *vițu* as transitivizer.

e.g., *karrukkoł* ‘learn’
karrukkoțu ‘teach’
ni: tuñi kañtikol ‘dress yourself’
avanukkut tuñi kañti vițu ‘dress him’

Note the following sentences:

(a) *na:n avañitam karrukkoñte:n*
‘I learnt from him’

(b) *avan enakkuk karrukkoțutta:n*
‘he taught me’

At present we are not able to say whether any voice element is involved here.

4.7. Reciprocal :

The auxiliary verb *koḷ* marks reciprocal aspect too. In such cases the subject will be in plural.

4.7.1. *avarkaḷ aṭittuk koṇṭa:rkaḷ*
‘they were beating each other’

4.7.2. *avarkaḷ ka:talittuk koṇṭa:rkaḷ*
‘they loved each other’

4.8. Accidental :

The auxiliary verb *po:* marks the accidental aspect. When occurring as a main verb *po:* and *cel* mean ‘go’. The verb *po:* functions as an auxiliary verb marking accidentality, whereas *cel* cannot do the auxiliary function.

4.8.1. *kaṇṇa:ṭi uṭaintu po:yirru* ‘the glass broke’

4.8.2. *maram viḷuntu po:yirru* ‘the tree fell’

4.9. Contemptive :

The contemptive aspect is marked by *tolai* meaning ‘go away’ or ‘lose’.¹

4.9.1. *avan eḷutit tolaitta:n*
‘he wrote with contempt’

4.9.2. *avan paṭittut tolaitta:n*
‘he read with contempt’

1 When occurring as a main verb *tolai* can be *tanviṇa i* or *piṇaviṇai*. When it is *tanviṇai* it belongs to the 4th conjugation. When it is *piṇaviṇai* it belongs to the 11th conjugation. Regarding the conjugation, *tolai* as an auxiliary behaves the same way.

4.9.3. *avan enko: po:yttolainta:n*
 'he has gone somewhere'

4.10. Preservative :

The preservative aspect is marked by *vai* meaning 'put' or 'keep'.¹

4.10.1. *enakku oru tikkaṭ va:ṅki vai*
 'buy me a ticket and keep it'

4.10.2. *enakku oru itam poṭṭu vai*
 'keep a place for me'

In addition to the ten aspects given above, we may find a few more aspects in Tamil. All aspectual verbs take tense and person-number-gender (PNG) markers.

5. Modals :

As already mentioned (see 2.2.) the modal auxiliaries are preceded by the infinitival participles. The modal auxiliaries have to be divided into two classes.

1) those which agree with the surface subject.

e.g., *avan pa:ṭap po:kiṛa:n* 'he is going to sing.'

2) those which do not agree with the surface subject:

e.g., *na:n eḷuta ve:ṅṭum* 'I must write'

5.1. Modal auxiliaries agreeing with the surface subject.

The auxiliary verbs of this class take tense and PNG markers as they do when they are main verbs.

1 I wish to acknowledge with thanks that the term preservative was suggested by Miss Mabel Hume who a student of mine in 1975.

5.1.1. Inceptive :

Inceptive mode is marked by *po:* which originally means go. Note that the aspectual auxiliary *po:* signifies accidentalness (see 4, 8).

5.1.1.1. *rayil varap po:kiratu*
'the train is going to come'

5.1.1.2. *kaṇṇaṇ ippo:tu pa:ṭap po:kira:r*
'Kannan is going to sing now'

5.1.1.3. *avaḷ avañai e:ma:ṭṭap po:kira:l*
'she is going to cheat him'

5.1.2. Attemptive :

The auxiliary verb *pa:r* which originally means 'see', marks attemptive mode.¹

5.1.2.1. *na:y kaṭikkap pa:rkkiratu*
'the dog attempts to bite'

5.1.2.2. *tiruṭaṇ tappikkap pa:rttaṇ*
'the thief attempted to escape'.

5.1.2.3. *avaṇ avalai e:ma:ṭṭap pa:rttaṇ*
'he attempted to cheat her'

5.1.2.4. *avaḷ e:ma:ṭṭap pa:rtta:l*
'she appeared that she will be cheated'

5.1.3. Declerative :

The declerative mode is marked by *iru* or *uḷ* meaning 'be'.

1 In colloquial Tamil *teri* 'be seen' can substitute for *pa:r* when functioning as auxiliary verb. It appears that *pa:r* is used from the agent's points of view and *teri* from the speaker's point of view.

5.1.3.1. *avar na:lai inku vara irukkiṛa:r*
‘he is to come here tomorrow’

5.1.3.2. *na:lai antak ku:ṭṭam naṭakka irukkiṛatu*
‘the meeting is to take place tomorrow’

5.1.4. Negative :

The auxiliary *ma:ṭṭu* marks the negative mode. In modern Tamil *ma:ṭṭu* has ceased to be a main verb. However, when we examine the morphological and syntactic behaviour of *ma:ṭṭu* we understand that it was a main verb.

5.1.4.1. *avaṅ vara ma:ṭṭa:n* ‘he won’t come’

5.1.4.2. *avaḷ pa:ṭa ma:ṭṭa:l* ‘she won’t sing’

It might be noted here that *ma:ṭṭu* occurs only when the subject is a human noun.¹

5.2. Modal auxiliaries which do not agree with the surface subject :

Unlike the modal auxiliaries in 5.1., the auxiliary verbs such as *ku:ṭu* and *ve:ṇṭu* do not agree with the surface subject.

5.2.1. Probabilitative :

The probabilitative mode is marked by the auxiliary verb *ku:ṭu* meaning ‘join’²

1 Scholars such as *maṟaimalai aṭikaḷ* have used *ma:ṭṭu* as a main verb. For them Inf + *maṭṭuve:n* ‘I can’ is grammatical.

2 The negative form *ku:ṭṭu* which morphologically corresponds to *ku:ṭum* seems to have undergone some semantic change. To illustrate, *avar varak kú:ṭum* means ‘he may come’, but *avar varak ku:ṭa:tu* means ‘he should not come’

5.2.1.1. *iṅṅu maḷai varak ku:ṭum*
 'it is possible that it would rain today'

5.2.1.2. *iṅṅu avar varak·ku:ṭum*
 'it is probable that he would come today'

5.2.2 Obligatory :

The modal auxiliary that marks the obligatory mode is *ve:ṅṅu* meaning 'need' or 'request'.

5.2.2.1. *ni:ṅkaḷ vara ve:ṅṅam*
 'you must come'

5.2.2.2. *na:ṅ oru kaṭitam eḷuta ve:ṅṅum*
 'I must write a letter'

5.2.3. Capabilitative :

The auxiliary verb *muṭi* and *iyal* mark the capabilitative mode.¹

5.2.3.1. *eṅṅa:l pa:ṭa muṭiyum* 'I can sing'

5.2.3.2. *avaṅṅa:l eḷuta muṭiyum* 'he can write'

5.2.3.3. *eṅṅa:l ni:nta iyalum* 'I can swim'

5.2.3.4. *avaṅṅa:l pa:ṭa iyalum* 'he can sing'

5.2.4. Factual negative :

The factual negative is marked by *illai* which is never conjugated in modern Tamil.

5.2.4.1. *avaṅṅ vara villai* 'he did not come'

1 Colloquially *va:y* can substitute for *muṭi* and *iyal*.

e.g., *eṅṅa:l vara va:ykkum* 'I can come'

eṅṅa:l vara va:ykka:tu 'I cannot come'

5.2.4.2. *avaḷ vara villai* 'she did not come'

5.2.4.3. *ātu tuṅka villai* 'it did not sleep'

There are a few more auxiliaries such as *ne:r* 'happen' and *va:y* 'be obtained' which might be treated here.

6. Voice :

The passive, middle and causative voices also make use of the auxiliary verbs.

6.1. Passive :

It is an established fact that there is passive voice in Tamil.¹ Apart from the necessary syntactic adjustments, the passivity involves the use of the auxiliary verb *paṭu*.

6.1.1. *avaṅ aḷaikkaṭṭaṭṭaṅ* 'he was invited'

6.1.2. *puṭṭakam acciṭṭaṭṭutu*
'the book was printed'

6.1.3. *ko:valaṅ pa:ṇṭiyaṅa:l kollaṭṭaṭṭaṅ*
'Kovalan was killed by the Pandiya king'

6.2. Middle Voice :

As already mentioned in 2.3. the auxiliary verb *paṭu* occurs after the verb stem in certain sentences. Though these sentences look like passive, really they are not passive sentences. Here, I would like to suggest that the voice found in these sentences might be called middle voice.

6.2.1. *kaṅṅaṅ aṭiṭaṭṭaṅ* 'Kannan got beaten'

6.2.2. *ra:maṅ utaipaṭṭaṅ* 'Raman got kicked'

1 See note 1 on page 64

6.2.3. *kannan unkalal atipatta:n*
 'because of you Kannan got beaten'

6.2.4. *ra:mən unkalal uvaipatta:n*
 'because of you Ramən got kicked'

6.2.5. *kannan unkalal ennitam atipatta:n*
 'Kannan got beaten by me because of you'

6.2.6. *na:n unkalal kannanai atitte:n*
 'I beat Kannan because of you'

6.3. Causative

The auxiliary verbs *vai* 'put', *cey* 'do' and *paṇṇu* 'make' (though less common than the other two) are involved in causative voice.

6.3.1. *na:n avanaic cirikkā vaitte:n*

6.3.2. *na:n avanaic eirikkac ceyte:n*

6.3.3. *na:n avanaic cirikkap paṇṇine:n*
 'I made him laugh'

6.3.4. *avan ennal ciritta:n*
 'he laughed because of me'

7. Residual Problems

We are confronted with a few interesting problems which need further study.

7.1. The Auxiliary Verb *itu*

It is curious to note that *itu* occurs after conjunctival participle in certain cases and after verb stems in certain other cases. Note the following.

7.1.1. *avar intap paṇiyaic ceytiṭṭa:r*
 'he did this work'

7.1.2. *avaḷ eṇ viruppampo:l naṭantiṭṭa:ḷ*
‘she behaved as I like’

7.1.3 *avaṅ maṇuṇoḷi ku:ṇiṭṭa:n*
‘he replied’

7.1.4. *avar itarkuṇ paṭil ku:ṇiṭṭaṭ te:vai illai*
‘there is no need for him to answer this’

In sentences 7.1.1. and 7.1.2. *itu* is added to the conjunctival participles whereas in 7.1.3. and 7.1.4. it is added to the verb stems. It is more common to use *itu* in the infinitive form. For example, we can have plenty of forms such as *kaṇṭiṭa*, *ke:ṭṭiṭa ninriṭa*, *ceṇriṭa* and *pa:ṛṭṭiṭa* on the one hand and *ku:ṇiṭa*, *pe:ṇiṭa*, *eḷutiṭa* and *paḷakiṭa* on the other. The main verbs belonging to the 5th conjugation do not change into conjunctival participles before *itu*, while the other verbs do. At present we are not able to explain why the verbs behave in two different ways before *itu*. It may be noted here that the verb stems belonging to the fifth conjugation and the conjunctival participles of the other verbs have some similarity in their phonological structure.

e.g.,	<i>eḷutu</i>	‘write’
	<i>ceytu</i>	‘having done’
	<i>o:ṭṭu</i>	‘drive’
	<i>ke:ṭṭu</i>	‘having heard’
	<i>paṭuttu</i>	‘cause to suffer’
	<i>paṭuttu</i>	‘having lain’

Maybe, such similarity was responsible for the two different behaviours of the main verbs before *paṭu*. Those who employ *itu* seem to think that it marks politeness. I think that *itu* might be considered an aspectual auxiliary rather than a modal one.

7.2. GN + Aux.

As observed in 2.4. the auxiliary verbs *uṇṇu*, *illai* and *a*: occur after the gerundial nouns. It is not clear to me whether they mark aspect or mode or something else.

7.3. Can an aspect follow another aspect?

It is already observed that a modal auxiliary can follow an aspectual auxiliary. Normally an aspect does not follow another aspect; but, we can have sentences like 7.3.1. and 7.3.2. in Tamil where we find two or three aspects occurring together.

7.3.1. *na:ṇ paṭittukkoṇṭiruntu tolaittu viṭṭe:ṇ*
‘I was reading’

7.3.2. *avan eṭutip pa:rttuk koṇṭiruntu tolaittu viṭṭa:ṇ*
‘he had been trying to write’

It occurs to me that they are not regular and common. If they are to be considered regular and common, the order and occurrence of the auxiliaries have to be carefully re-examined.

7.4. Can a modal follow another modal?

Normally a modal auxiliary follows an aspectual auxiliary or a main verb but not another modal auxiliary; but, there are sentences such as 7.4.1. and 7.4.2. in Tamil where a modal follows another modal.

7.4.1. *na:ṭaikku eṇṇa:l naṭakka muṭiya veṇṭum*
‘I wish I should be able to walk tommorrow’

7.4.2. *eṇṇa:l ippo:tu naṭakka muṭiya villai*
‘I am not able to walk now’

This problem also needs further study.

7.5. Negatives

The negative forms corresponding to the aspects and modals we discussed above are rather complicated and they are not dealt with here.

7.6. Auxiliary verbs as verbalizers

The auxiliary verbs such as *cey* 'do' *paṇṇu* 'make' and *paṭu* 'suffer' function as verbalizers when added to nouns.

The following sentences will make the situation clear.

7.6.1. a) *avan ka:talitta:ṅ*

7.6.1. b) *avan ka:tal ceyta:ṅ*
'he loved'

7.6.2. a) *avan kouṟa:ṅ*

7.6.2. b) *avan kolai paṇṇina:ṅ*
'he killed'

7.6.3. a) *avan ko:pitta:ṅ*

7.6.3. b) *avan ko:pappatta:ṅ*
'he got angry'

Note that the sentences prefixed with (a) and (b) in 7.6.1., and 7.6.2., and 7.6.3. are synonymous. It is not possible to treat *cey*, *paṇṇu* and *paṭu* as main verbs for the relationship between the verb and the preceding noun is obscure: At present these verbs might be called verbalizing auxiliaries which also need a detailed study.

8. In this paper I have presented only a brief outline of the auxiliaries in Tamil. I am fully aware that there are much more serious problems than those we have discussed here. I think a study of this kind is essential for

a deeper study of auxiliary verbs and I hope this paper will enable us, at least, to understand certain problems and to handle them with a proper background.

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AUXILIARY VERBS IN TAMIL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PROGRESSIVE AND DURATIVE

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1.1. Traditional scholarship does not seem to entertain any definite view on auxiliary verbs in Tamil. Arumuga Navalar in his commentary to *Nannu:l* has just touched this problem. A brief study of auxiliaries is noted to have been attempted by T. P. Meenakshisundaram (1965:215-216). Earlier, Agesthalingom (1964) has made a general survey of this bewilderingly complex area within the taxonomic framework. Though not a formalised one, the contributions of Pope (1911), Arden (1942), etc. in this regard cannot be underestimated. Schiffman's approach to this problem reflects a new trend in the study of auxiliary verbs in Tamil (1972 & 1973). His entire analysis of auxiliaries however is not accessible to us.

1.2. To go back to Arumuga Navalar, the expressions *viṭu* and *oḷi* denote Definitiveness (i.e., *tuṇivu-p poruḷ*) in his opinion. He observes that the meanings Reflexive (i.e. *taṟporuṭṭu-p poruḷ*) and Passive (i.e. *ceyappa:ṭṭu vīnai-p poruḷ*) are conveyed by *koḷ* and *viṭu* & *ṇi* respectively. The forms *iru* and *itu* in *eḷuntirukkiṇṇa:n* and *uraittiṭṭukiṇṇa:n* are treated as semantically empty suffixes (i. e. *pakuti-n poruḷ vikutikaḷ*) by him. (*Nannu:l*, *su:tram* 140 Commentary).

This is quite true since the complex bases *eḷantiru* and *uraittū* are semantically identical with the simple bases *eḷu* and *urai* respectively. However, in constructions like *pa:ṛṛirukkiṇṇa:n*, and *paṭṭirukkiṇṇa:n* the expression *iru* is grammatically a significant one. What is more interesting is that the expressions *viṭu & oli, koḷ* and *paṭu & un* are identified as suffixes by Arumuga Navalar. Though he has not advanced any specific argument in support of his observation, one cannot reject his treatment together since the expression *kiṇṇu* which is considered to be a present tense marker is fully capable of taking care of the semantics of the auxiliaries *koṇṭiru* and *va:*. This we will elaborate later.

2.1. The phrase Auxiliary Verb (*tuṇai vṇai*, in Tamil) is a consequence of western influence in the study of Tamil grammatical system. It has now very little chance to survive for two reasons. First, the base of the lexical verb after which the auxiliaries occur is now treated as to belong to Noun category (Kothandaraman R, 1973, 1975 and 1976). One may possibly venture to use the term Auxiliary Noun in the place of Auxiliary Verb following the assignment of nominal status to the verbal bases. In that case, auxiliary verbs too are entitled to be treated as nouns. This terminological shift however is not our primary concern. Secondly, the semantics of the auxiliaries is shared by certain other expressions which in the opinion of structuralists are not auxiliaries. We have cited an instance above where the semantics of the auxiliaries *koṇṭiru* and *va:* is shared by the suffix *-kiṇṇu*. Will the advocates of auxiliaries allow the expression *kiṇṇu* to enjoy the status of an auxiliary verb? It is an unconceivable one within the taxonomic framework, since in the opinion of non-transformationalists an auxiliary

expression is generally supposed to be a verb because of its formal similarity to the lexical verb. It is this unfortunate supposition which has successfully prevented us from looking into the problems connected with the auxiliaries a fresh.

3.1. Let us now consider the grammatical status of the constituents that precede the auxiliaries. Complex sentences in Tamil must include a verbal participle of *ceytu* or *ceya* or *ceyin* type. The fact that auxiliaries occur after the forms of *ceytu* and *ceya* type does not mean that sentences with such instances are analysable into complex ones. Schiffman's observation that "... it is difficult to claim that sentences with aspect markers are the result of conjunction" is quite a valid one. (1972:73) This testifies that the forms of *ceytu* or *ceyya* type noticed before the auxiliaries are not verbal participles but simply the positional variants of the verbal bases. Consequently the forms *ceytu* and *ceyya* noticed in constructions like *ceytirukkīṟa:n* and *ceyya irukkīṟa:n* will be treated as unanalysable morphologically defined alternants belonging to nominal category. It is noteworthy that Arumuga Navalar treats the particle *-tu* in *ceytu* that occurs in the construction *ceytukoṇṭa:n* as an instance of *ca:riyai* i.e. Empty morph (Nannu:l. su:tram. 244, See the commentary).

4.1. As regards the terminology, we use the term *Aspect* in the place of Auxiliary Verb in the present analysis following Schiffman. One reason why we prefer the term *Aspect* here is that it not only includes the so-called auxiliaries but also embraces those expressions which are partially semantically identical with the auxiliaries. Such wider coverage enables us to relate the auxiliar-

ies and non-auxiliaries on semantic grounds. This is achieved through manifestation rules which realise a particular semantic unit, into different phonological versions. (see 39(3)).

5-1. Is aspect a semantic category or grammatical category? After a considerable deliberation, Schiffman concludes that "When we examine a system like that of Tamil in detail or some of the systems found in some American Indian languages, one despairs of ever finding a universal definition of aspect as a grammatical category" (1972:67). We may approach this problem from a different angle. The semantics of the aspect marker is radically different from the semantics of the lexical verb though the forms in either case are similar. In deciding the grammatical category of the aspect we may simply set aside the arguments based on semantics, for we consider the semantics of the bound forms such as tense markers case markers etc., are isolatable before they are transformationally combined with a semantically empty element which is usually *a:ku* in Tamil. Since verbal bases are treated as nouns, the expression *a:ku* also, though semantically empty, automatically assumes the nominal status. It is because of its semantically empty character, the expressions *a:tal a:l/ a:kai-y-a:l, a:yin/ a:na:l* etc., inflected from the base *a:ku* assume different meanings namely cause, conditional etc. One could easily recognise the nominal status of the expressions *a:tal* and *a:kai* occurring before *-a:l*. Since *a:tal* and *a:kai* are semantically empty they associate with the semantics of the following suffix *-a:l*. And yet we are inclined to assign the nominal status to these desemanticized expressions simply because they look like the nominals of *cey^htal* and *cey^hkai* type. We can take this situation into consideration in deciding

the grammatical status of aspects. The expressions which convey the aspectual notions are similar in form to the lexical verbs which are treated as nominals. What is significant in the case of these expressions is that they have in most cases suffered only a semantic extension and not loss. If we could treat *a:ku* occurring in *a:tal a:l*, *a'kai-y-a:l*, *a:yin* etc., as to belong to nominal category, why can't we assign the same grammatical status to the aspect markers, also which behave exactly like a lexical verb in the matter of inflection and derivation? We consider that a semantic extension or loss need not affect the categorial status of an expression. It is with this conviction we treat the aspectual markers as to belong to noun category.

6.1. Aspects in Tamil are classifiable into two types namely temporals⁴ and Non temporals. Temporals aspects are sub-classifiable into Restrictives and Non-restrictives. Restrictive aspects⁴ are restricted to a particular tense. The aspect markers *a:na:r*, *a:yirru* and *po:kiṛa:r* noticed in the following sentences fall under Restrictive aspects :

- 1) *avar pe:cal-a:na:r*
- 2) *avar vant-a:yirru*
- 3) *avar vara-p po:kiṛa:r*

Non-restrictive aspects are capable of occurring in all tenses. They are of two types namely *ceya-* aspects and *ceytu-* aspects. Aspect markers which occur after forms of *ceya* type fall under the former type. The latter type takes care of those aspects which occur before the forms of *ceytu* type. The aspect markers *pa:r* (Attemptive), *iru* (Contemplative), *paṭu* (Passive) etc., occur after forms of *ceya* type. Aspect markers which occur after forms of *ceytu* type are *va:* (Durative), *koḷ* (Reflexive), *koṇṭiru*

(Durative/Progressive), *tolai* (Contemptive) *viṭu* (Definitive), *po:* (Definitive), *pa:r* (Experimentative), *vai* (Anticipative), *iru|uḷ* (Perfective / Suppositive / Acquiantative). etc The expression *a:yiṛṛu* in (2) seems to be a Definitive aspect. The expressions *a:yiṛṛu* and *viṭu* seem to differ in respect of choosing the subject NP. In (2), the subject of *a:yiṛṛu* seems to be *avar vantū* (?) 'his coming', whereas in *avar vantū v:tta:r*, the subject of *viṭta:r* is *avar*. This view is however subject to revision in the light of the additional evidence. The Definitive aspect *po:* occurs only after intransitive (?) mostly denoting a state which is different from the earlier one. Expressions such as *aḷintu*, *aṇaintu*, *kiḷintu*, *aṟuntu*, *tolaintu*, *uṭaintu*, *kuṟaintu*, *vaḷaintu*, *nekiḷntu*, *veḷuttu*, *civantu*, *putaintu*, *taṇintu*, *citaintu*, *muṟintu*, *vaṭintu*, *curuṅki*, *kacaṅki* etc. occur, before the aspect marker *po:*. The Definitive aspect has however a tendency to freely vary with *viṭu*.

6.2. The expression *uṇ* (Cause Passive) which we have not referred to above occurs only after the verbal base. Mostly it occurs in past and rarely in future. Consider the example, *maturai kaṇṇaki-y-a:l eri-y-uṇṭatu/eri-y-uṇṇum*.

6.3. The expressions *aṭṭum* (*aṭu-* 'to do' (Hortative) *a:m* (Permissive / Possibility / Reportive / Assumptive) and *ku:ṭim* (Possibility) noticed in the following examples are treatable as Non-temporal aspects.

4) *avar pa:t-aṭṭum*

5 (a) *avar pa:ṭal-a:n* (Permissive/Possibility)

(b) *avar o:r amaiccar-a:m* (Reportive)

(c) *na:n-ta:n appa:v-a:m. ni: amma:-v-a:m*
(Assumptive)

(d) *avar pa:ta-k ku:ṭum*

Schiffman treats these expressions under modal, because they are tenseless (1972:54). Is tense specification an essential condition to decide whether a particular expression is modal or aspect? We leave this problem for further study.

With the foregoing general survey of aspects we will now pass on to the Progressive and Durative aspects.

7.1. Progressive sharply differs from Durative. Progressive denotes the continuity of an act at a particular time segment without any break, whereas Durative is an action performed either at regular intervals or an action habitualised.

7) *murukan maruntu kuṭittu-k-koṭṭirukkinṛa:n*

8) *murukan maruntu kuṭittu varukinṛa:n*

While sentence (7) underlies progressive notion, the one in (8) denotes the durative one. Though the expression *koṭṭiru* in (7) denotes progressive aspect, it is quite capable of taking care of the durative aspect also. Consider the following example.

9) *na:nku na:ṭkaḷa:ka maḷai peytu koṭṭirukkinṛatu*

7.2. Sentence (9) is a progressive one if it is interpreted in terms of (10) and will be considered durative in terms of (11).

10) *na:nku na:ṭkaḷa:ka maḷai (viṭa:mal) peyukoṭṭiruk-kinṛatu*

11) *na:nku na:ṭkaḷa:ka maḷai (viṭtu viṭtu-p) peytu-koṭṭirukkinṛatu*

Sentence (9) is semantically identical with (12) specified above in the light of the interpretation of the former in terms of (11).

12) *na:nku na:ika:ka ma:ai peytuvarkinratu*

7.3. The expression *koṅṭiru* when it is interpreted as durative is replaceable by *koṅṭuva:* without any semantic dislocation. As a result, sentences in (13) and (14) look semantically identical.

13) *ku:ṭatal niti otukkuma:ru ke:ṭṭu-k-koṅṭirukkinrom*

14) *ku:ṭatal niti otukkuma:ru ke:ṭṭu-k-koṅṭu
varukiro:m*

8.1. *kinṭu - An Aspect Marker* : The particle *kinṭu* in simple finite constructions is treated as a present tense marker in traditional and taxonomic analysis. What does this present mean has never been explained. Strictly speaking an action which is supposed to be in an action under progress in reality. Therefore we cannot distinguish the true present from progressive. It is because of this reason sentences (15) and (16) look semantically identical.

15) *kaṅṅan rayil-ai-p piṭikka ve:kama:ka o:ṭukinṭa:n*

16) *kaṅṅan rayil-ai-p piṭikka ve:kama:ka o:ṭikkoṅṭi-
rukkinṭa:n*

8.2. Identification of the present in (15) with the progressive in (16) enables us to equate *kinṭu* with *koṅṭiru* on semantic grounds. However, the aspectual function of *kinṭu* cannot be restricted to progressive only. In fact, the semantics of *kinṭu* is an amazingly complex one. Consider the following sentence.

17) *appa: na:ṭaikku re:ṭiyo:-v-il pe:cukinṭa:r*

Sentence (17) is capable of receiving the following interpretations.

18) *appa: na:laiikku re:tiyo:-v-il pe:ca p po:kinra.r*

19) *appa: na:laiikku re:tiyo:-v-il pe:ca p pe:ca-v-irukkinra:r*

The paraphrases available in (18) and (19) clearly show that *kinru* in (17) is interpretable in terms of contemplative aspect. We will leave this aspect aside as it does not fall within the scope of the present paper.

8.3. A third interpretation of *kinru* is durative. This interpretation makes it possible to treat the sentences in (20) and (21) as semantically identical ones.

20) *kaṇṇan iraṇṭu a:ṇṭukaḷ-a:ka maturaiyil
vacikkinra:n*

21) *kaṇṇan iraṇṭu a:ṇṭukaḷ-a:ka maturaiyil vacittu
varukinra:n*

With reference to the interpretation of the sentence in (19) into (11), we may now conclude that the sentence in (22) below is not semantically a deviant from (21).

22) *kaṇṇan iraṇṭu a:ṇṭukaḷ-a:ka maturaiyil
vacittukkoṇṭirukkinra:n*

8.4. In relative clause constructions, the particle *kinru* is in free variation with *um*. Interestingly, these free variants in such constructions are capable of receiving progressive and durative interpretations. Consider the following constructions.

23) (1) *o:ṭum rayil*

(2) *o:ṭukinra rayil*

(3) *o:tikkoṅṅirukkum rayil*

(4) *o:tikkoṅṅirukkinṅa rayil*

Constructions marked in (23) are semantically identical. It may be noticed that the particle *um* in 23 (a) corresponds to *koṅṅiru* in (c) and (d) in (23) besides *kinṅu* in 23 (b). This correspondence assigns the progressive status to the particle *um*.

8.5. At this juncture it is to be pointed out that the particle *um* and *kinṅu* as aspectual markers, denote the tense also side by side. This is the situation which is obtained in (a) and (b) in (23). In constructions 23 (c) and (d) these particles denote the tense notion only since the aspectual notion is conveyed by the proceeding expression *koṅṅiru*. This we may generalise that the particles *um* and *kinṅu* are simply tense bearers when they occur after aspectual marking and elsewhere they denote both tense and aspectual meanings.

8.6. We noticed the progressive function in the particle *um* in 23(a). The situation is something different if we take the following constructions into consideration.

24) (a) *maturaiyiḷ tamil̄-p paṅikkum me:ri*

(b) *maturaiyiḷ ta:niḷ-p paṅikkinṅa me:ri*

(c) *maturaiyiḷ tamil̄ p paṅittuvarum me:ri*

(d) *maturaiyiḷ tamil̄-p paṅittuvarum me:ri*

(e) *maturaiyiḷ tamil̄-p paṅittukkoṅṅirukkum me:ri*

(f) *maturaiyiḷ tamil̄-p paṅittukkoṅṅirukkinṅa*

me:ri

All the six constructions noticed in (24) are semantically identical. With reference to the construction in (c) & (d) in 24 the remaining constructions therein are interpreted.

table as to underlie the durative aspect. This testifies that *um* in 24 (a) is semantically different from the *um* in 23 (a) in that the former denotes the durative and the latter, progressive.

9.1. The foregoing observations now enable us to determine the expressions which have progressive and durative force. The expressions *koṇṭiru* (7), *kinṟu* (15) and *um* (23 a) stand for the progressive aspect. The durative aspect is taken care of by the expressions *va:* (8) *koṇṭiru* (9) and (11), *koṇṭuva:* (14), *kinṟu* (20) and *um* (24 a). This enumeration is however subject to revision. There are certain other expressions which are quite capable of embracing the aspects under discussion.

10.1. Consider the following sentences :

- 25) (a) *ma:tavi naṭantukoṇṭe: paṭikkinṟa:!*
 (b) *ma:tavi naṭanta vaṇṇam paṭikkinṟa:!*
 (c) *ma:tavi naṭantaṭaṭi paṭikkinṟa:!*
 (d) *ma:tavi naṭantava:ru paṭikkinṟa:!*

Sentences specified in (25) being semantically identical are double progressive in character. The first progressive is marked by the expressions *koṇṭe:*, *vaṇṇam*, *ṭaṭi* and *a:ru* and the second one simply by *kinṟu* which usually occurs in the matrix sentence. *kinṟu* as a second progressive does not generally seem to be in complementary distribution with *koṇṭiru*. When sentences in (25) are converted into relative clauses, the second progressive freely varies with *-kkum*, an alternant of *um*. Notice the following examples.

- 26) (a) *naṭantu koṇṭe: paṭikkinṟa ma:tavi*
 (b) *naṭantukoṇṭe: paṭikkum ma:tavi*

10.2. A double-durative similar to double progressive is quite possible. Consider the example in (27).

27) *ma:tavi paṭattil naṭittukkoṇṭe: kallu:riyil*
paṭikkina:

In (27), the first durative is marked by *koṇṭe:* and the second one by *kinru* in the matrix sentence. Considering the fact that the sentence in (28) below is semantically identical with (27), we may conclude that the second durative is expressible by *va:* along side *kinru* under a different morphological condition.

28) *ma:tavi paṭattil naṭittukkoṇṭe: kallu:riyil*
paṭittuvarukinra:

It is not clear whether the phrase *naṭittukkoṇṭe:* noticed in (27 & 28) is replaceable by *naṭittavaṇṇam*, *naṭitt paṭi*, and *naṭittava:ru* without affecting the semantics of the former. Similarly whether *koṇṭiru* will assume the function of second durative is not answerable at a single stroke.

11.1. In the light of the foregoing observations the expressions *koṇṭe:*, *vaṇṇam*, *paṭi* and *a:ru* referring to first durative also will have to be brought under the progressive and durative aspects in addition to what we have already enumerated.

12.1. One may possibly suspect whether the expression *koṇṭe:* noticed in (25) - (28) has anything to do with the Reflexive aspect. This suspicion seems to be quite untenable, since the other expressions namely *vaṇṇam*, *paṭi* and *a:ru* do not have any reflexive trace. Further, sentences such as those specified below one not considered to be semantically identical.

29) *pa:mpu vaḷaiyīl nuḷaintukoṇtu tavaḷaiyāi*
viḷunkukinṛatu (Reflexive)

30) *pa:mpu vaḷaiyil nuḷaintukoṇte: tavaḷaiyāi*
viḷuṅkukinṛatu. (Progressive)

However we cannot altogether reject the possibility that *koṇte:* as a first progressive is inherently a reflexive too in view of the sematic identity noticed between the sentences marked in (31) below.

31) a) *ma:tavi tanakkul pe:cikkoṇtu naṭanta:!*
 b) *ma:tavi tanakkul pe:cikkoṇte: naṭanta:!*

Sentence 31 (a) appears to be an ambiguous one since it is also interpretable in terms of (32) besides 31 (b).

3) *ma:tavi tanakkul pe:cikkoṇtu piṛaku naṭanta:!*

Sentence (32) is clearly a reflexive one whereas the one in 31(b) seems to be a reflexive oriented progressive since it is one of the interpretations of 31(a). This raises a fundamental question whether is there a true progressive without a reflexive base. This is really a ticklish question. If the answer is in negative, then sentences of the type marked in (7) will have to be treated as complex ones. This will place us in an awkward position. The reality is that the notion of progressive is derivable neither from *koṇtu* nor from *iru* but from the combination of *koṇtu* and *iru*. However, the problem of reflexive in first progressive namely *koṇte:* will have to be examined in a much more wider context.

13.1. One of the consequences of the present analysis is that what are usually considered tense morphemes by traditionalists and structuralists are not simple so. Earlier,

we have pointed out that the so-called present tense marker *kinṭu* has the force of denoting the aspectual notion besides tense. (see. 8.5).

This we may extend to the other tense morphemes also.

13.2. Consider the following sentences.

- 33) a) *me:ri ne:ṛṛu muḷutum na:val patitta:ḷ*
 b) *me:ri ne:ṛṛu muḷutum na:val paṭittukoṇṭi-
 runia:ḷ*
- 34) a) *me:ri intiya:vil iraṇṭu a:ṇṭukaḷ tamil-p patitta:ḷ*
 b) *me:ri intiya:vil iraṇṭu a:ṇṭukaḷ tamil-p
 paṭittu vanta ḷ*

The members of the pairs available in (33) and (34) are semantically identical. This means that the past morpheme in (a) in (33) and (34) underlie the progressive and durative notions respectively in addition to specifying tense. In (b) versions *-nt-* however, specifies only past notion since the aspectual notions are denoted by the expressions *koṇṭiru* and *va:*. A similar situation is noticed in respect of the future tense marker also. Notice the following sentences.

- 35) a) *na:ḷaikkū inne:ram na:n tiye:ṭṭaril paṭam
 pa:rppē:n* (Progressive)
 b) *nā:ḷaikkū inne:ram na:n tiye:ṭṭaril paṭam
 paṭittukoṇṭiruppe:n*
- 36) a) *aṭutta va:ram mutal va:riya:r ko:yilil urai
 nikaḷttuva:r* (Durative)
 b) *aṭutta va:ram mutal va:riya:r ko:yilil urai
 nikaḷttivaruva:r.*

The member of the pairs in (35) and (36) are semantically identical. The progressive and durative notions obtained

in (b) versions in (35) and (36) are taken care of by the future markers in (a) versions therein. In (b) versions the future markers are however devoid of these aspectual meanings since they are taken care of by separate aspect markers.

13.2. The predicate *urai nikaḷttuva:r* in 36 (a) is also interpretable as Contemplative i.e., *urai nikaḷtta-p-po:kinṇa:r urainikaḷtta-r-irukkinṇa:r* in addition to durative. In that case the tense marker in 36(a) will embrace the Contemplative aspect. A discussion over this aspect is quite out of place here and hence we leave it without any further remarks.

13.3. In all the examples cited above with regard to the semanticity of the tense markers, it is not clear whether the additional meaning attributed to the tense markers is inherent or derived from the contexts-i.e. Time Adverbs etc. For instance if it is going to be argued that the Durative meaning noticed in the tense marker *kinṇ* in (20) is derivable with reference to the time adverb *iraṇṇu a:ṇtukalāka* therein, then the same shall hold good with respect to the durative in (21) also in view of the fact that (20) and (21) are semantically identical. However in (21), the time adverb need not be a contextual factor to obtain the Durative meaning. We cannot posit two different sources for (20) and (21) for obvious reasons. This is the same problem with respect to the NPs in (23). It is not our contention that *ceyyum* type of adjectival participles consistently denote a particular meaning. It may be progressive in one instance, habitual in another instance contemplative in a third instance and so on. Again here we face the problem whether the Progressive in 23 (1) is an inherent one or a contextually derived one. If Progressive in 23 (1) is a contextual one, then the other instances in (23) also should

be obtained from the same context. In actuality at least in (3) and (4) in (23) this is not the case. If context is to be considered meaning supplying agent, then the whole grammatical description will be much more complex and uneconomical. For instance we have to cite manner and time adverbs as the contexts for the Progressive and Durative meanings in *kin* that occurs in (15) and (20) respectively. At the moment we are not clear whether in the determination of certain grammatical meanings contexts are to be relied upon.

13.4. We have to face yet another problem in regard to the additional meanings conveyed by the tense markers. As an instance we will consider the past morphemes. Notice the following examples.

- 37) (1) *kaṇṇan ne:ru murukanai-p pa:rtta:na:?*
 (2) *illai pa:rttiruntal murukan avanukku-p
 koṭuttiruppa:n*

It may be noticed that the construction *pa:rttirunta:l* in 37(2) is a past perfect conditional one. All the past verbs while being converted into conditional assume the past perfect forms. This offers the clue that simple past are entitled to be treated as past perfect constructions. The perfect notion in such constructions is denoted by the past markers. Does this mean that even the so-called auxiliaries in past contain the perfect meaning? We leave this problem for further study,

14.1. We have so far discussed various problems connected with Progressive and Durative aspects without making any reference to the derivational complexities. Schiffman derives aspects adopting the methodology proposed by McCawley and his associates. 1973:37 & 38).

Adjunction transformation brings closer the constituents *o:tu*, *kinɾ* and *a:n* without dislocating their order. This transformation ultimately results in the structure in (15):

To derive the sentence in (16), first occurrence of *a:ku* in (38) is right-copied first, to be followed by progressive and Tense shifting separately and (-Hon Masc) copying. The resulting structure following these transformation is as follows.

- 41) (Hon. Masc) *o:tu a:ku* + Prog *a:ku* + Pre *a:ku*
+ (-Hon. Masc)

Lexicalization rules convert (41) into (42).

- 42) (-Hon. Masc) *o:tu* + *koṇṭiru* + *kinɾ* + *a:n*

Following the Adjunction transformation, (42) is subjected to the following sandhi rules.

- 43) 1) *o:tu* > *o:ṭi-k/-koṇṭiru*
2) *kinɾ* > *kkinɾ/koṇṭiru*

The feature (-Hon.Masc) represents a masculine noun graded as non-honorific. In the present analysis we make a difference between lexicalization rules and sandhi rules. Lexicalization rules intervene transformations. Sandhi rules are formulated after all the transformations are over. All the lexicalized items are dominated by the NP node as they are basically derived by making the expression *a:ku* to absorb the semantic constituents such as Prog, Tense etc.

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ON THE SO-CALLED AUXILIARY VERB "PAAR"

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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

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- 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. Ilakkana 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. Surein, 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 transformations which map the semantic structures before lexical insertions are made.

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"
- 2) *Kaṇṇan pinnaiyai-k-keetṭu-p-paarttaan*
"Kaṇṇan asked Pinnai and tried"
- 3) *Kaṇṇan pinnaiyai-k-keetka-p-paarttaan*
"Kaṇṇan tried to ask Pinnai"

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"
 - 5) *nii atai-t-tuukki-p-paar*
"you lift and see it"
 - 6) *nii eeri-p-paar*
"you climb up and see"
 - 7) *nii pooy-p-paar*
"you go and see"
- (4a) *nii atai eṭuttu-p-paar*
"you take it and try"
- (5a) *nii atai-t-tuukki-p-paar*
"you lift it and try"
(lift it and do a trial)
- (6a) *nii eeri-p-paar*
"you climb up and try"
(Climb up and do a trial)

(7a) *nii pooy-p-paar*

“you go and try”

(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 *ate* and insert it in between *etuttu* and *paar* in (4) it is not possible to insert like that in sentences (4a) and (5a) because the semantic structure of *paar* in these sentences do not permit such insertion. 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 *muyarci cey*⁴ “try”.

8) *naan eluti-p-paartteen*

“I wrote and tried”

9) *naan eluti-muyarci 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 semantics structure may be unmarked at the lexical level. Herein come the Pre-lexical

4 It may be pointed out here that *cey* functions in Tamil, in some cases as a verbalising marker. This is one of the characteristic features of Tamil verb system: See also in examples *puuci* : *puucal cey*; *muyal* : *muyaral cey* ; *kaatali*; *kzatal cey*; *oota muyarci cey* etc.

transformations after which 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 (4) - (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. *keel* 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 by doing the action itself. Whereas in (3) 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

5 However there is the other meaning of "about" also to the word *paar* in examples like *keelkappaarttan* etc. which is not discussed here.

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 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 verb⁶.

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.

6 For a treatment of these see Schiffman, *op. cit.*

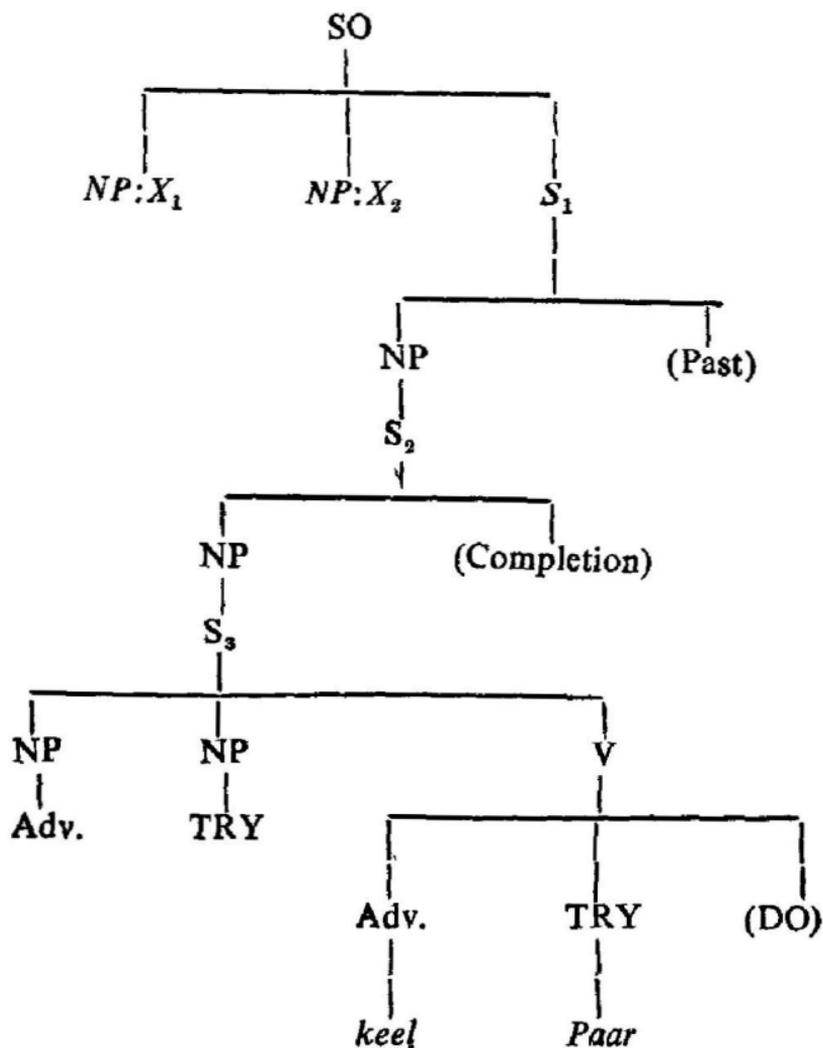


Fig. 1 Semantic Structure of Sentence (2)

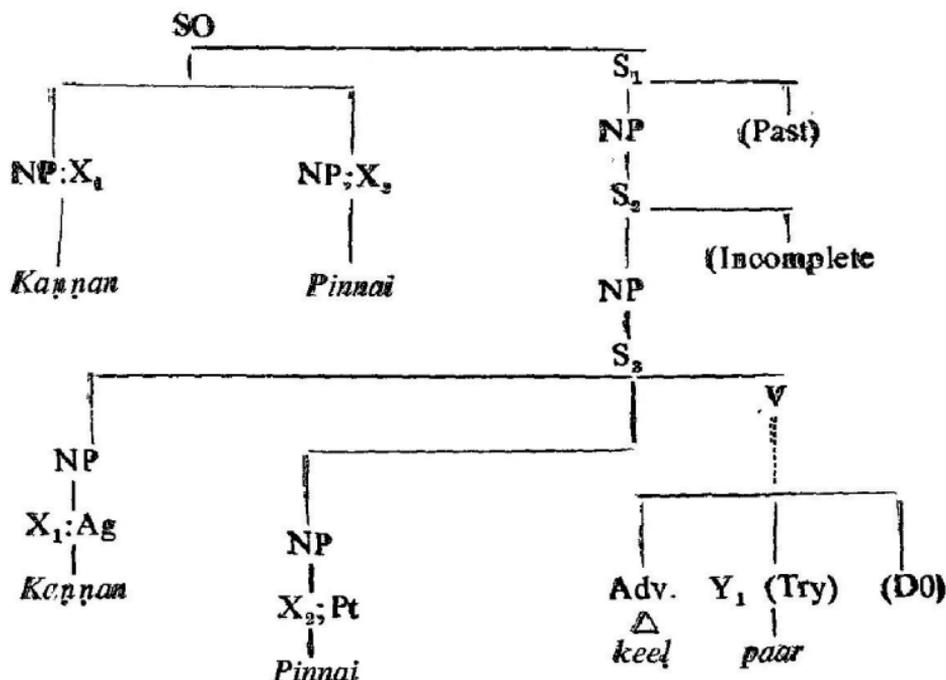


Fig. 2 Semantic Structure of Sentence (3)
(Ag = Agent; Pt = Patient; YI = Verb)

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 represent 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'.

7 McCawley, D. James, *Prelexical syntax in Semantic syntax* (Ed) Pieter A.M. Seuren, Oxford Readings in Philosophy, Oxford University Press, London, 1974.

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

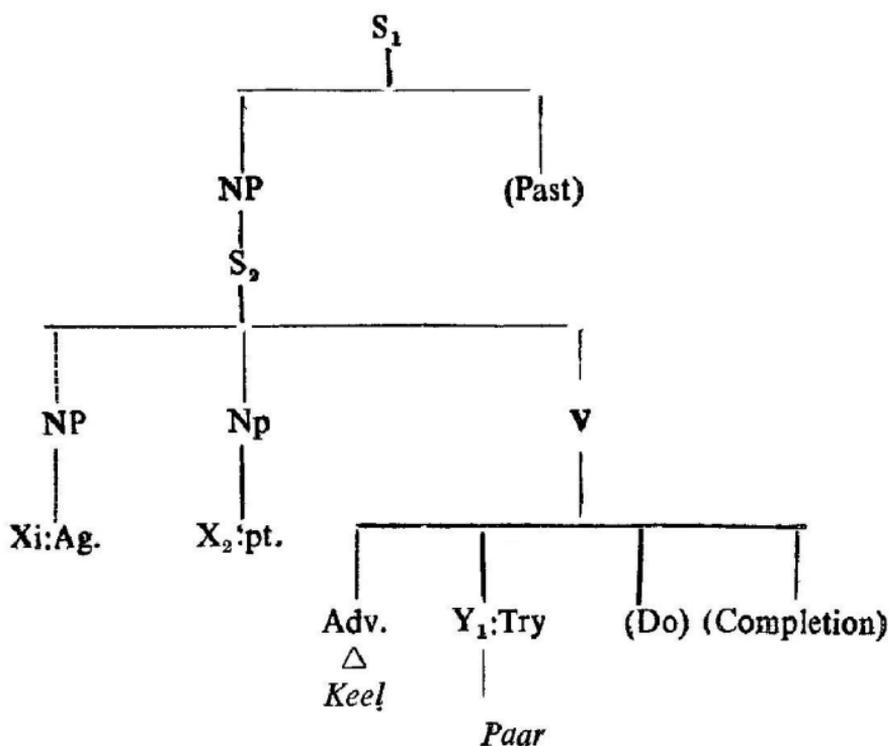


Fig. 3 Output of first application of 'predicate raising'

Fig. 3 will become as following after the second application of the rule.

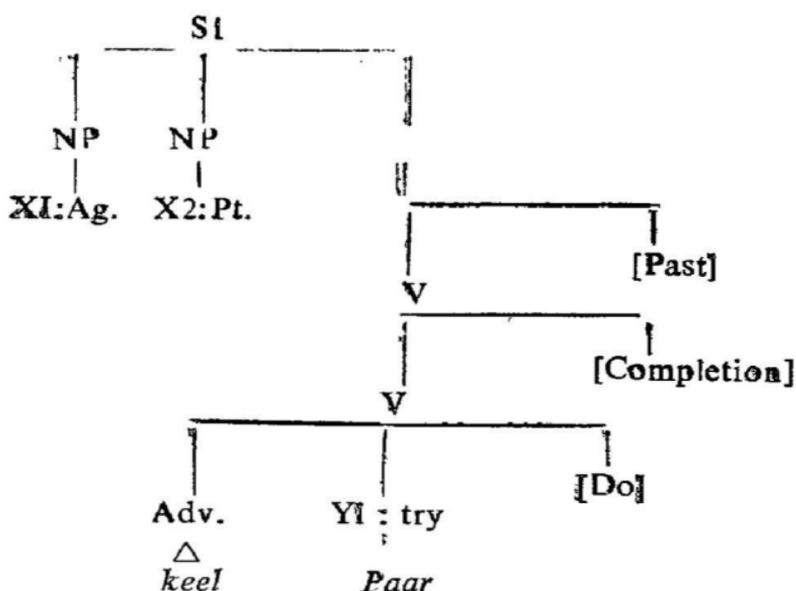


Fig. 4 Final output of 'predicate raising'

The redundant NPs found in Fig. 1 will be removed by the what are called tree pruning principles (eg. equi-NP deletion rule) In the same manner sentence (3) also could be arrived at.

We know that Tolkaappiyar distinguishes four types of grammatical categories viz. *peyar* 'noun', *vinai* 'verb', *itai* and *uri* 'noun and verb attributes' though he brings both *itai* and *uri* under noun and verb categories'. The statement that both *itai* 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-markers⁹. A complete reinterpretation of Tolkaappiyam chapters on *itai* 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* 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.

9 Israel, M. op. cit.

THE AUXILIARY “*viṭu*” IN TAMIL

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In course of time, each and every language is changing. A number of changes can be noticed in all the aspects of a language, when one compares the earlier period of a language with the later period of the same. The verbal system of Tamil is not an exception to this fact. A number of Auxiliary verbs giving subtle meaning changes have come into existence in the course of the history of Tamil. The auxiliary verbs are historically derived from the main verbs. As in many other languages, in Modern Tamil also, they function as main verbs as well as auxiliaries side by side. The present paper deals with only the auxiliary functions of *viṭu*.

The auxiliary verb *viṭu* is used in the following four different meanings.

- 1) ‘completive’
- 2) ‘definitive’
- 3) ‘other-effective’ and
- 4) ‘sequential’

I. *viṭu* as the completive auxiliary

viṭu meaning 'leave', let, forsake is used to denote the sense of completeness of an action. When it combines with the past participle of a verb, it expresses the meaning of both completeness and certainty. Consider the examples below.

- 1) *avan ceytu viṭṭa:n* 'he has done'
- 2) *avaḷ paṭṭitu viṭṭa:l* 'she has read'
- 3) *aru po:y viṭṭatu* 'It has gone'

The above examples indicate that the action of doing, reading and going are complete and certain.

The verb *po:* with the meaning "go" is used as the completive auxiliary. The auxiliary *viṭu* can be substituted by the auxiliary *po:* when it denotes the meaning of completeness and certainty. In certain contexts, the past forms of *po:* and *viṭu* are in free-variation. Consider the following sentences.

- 1) *avan ceytu viṭṭa:n* 'he passed away'
avan ceytu po:n:n 'he passed away'
- 2) *pa:nai uṭaintu viṭṭatu* 'the pot has broken'
pa:nai uṭaintu po:yirru 'the pot has broken'
- 3) *na:n marantu viṭṭe:n* 'I have forgotten'
na:n marantu po:ne:n 'I have forgotten'

The auxiliary *viṭu* occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs. The auxiliary *po:* comes always with the intransitive verbs and it may possible for us to interpret it as denoting action without anybody's effort.

'*viṭu*' with transitive verbs

- 1) *avaḷ pa:ṭi viṭṭa:l* 'she has sung'

2) *avaṅ muṭittu viṭṭa:n* 'he has finished'

'*viṭu*' with 1. transitive verbs

1) *avaṅ vantu viṭṭa:n* 'he has come'

2) *avaḷ tu:nki viṭṭa:l* 'she has slept'

The auxiliary *po:* can occur along with the auxiliary *koṇṭiru* which denotes the continuous action. But *viṭu* cannot occur with *koṇṭiru*.

1) *avaṅ cettup po:y koṇṭirunta:n* 'he was dying'

2) *paḷankaḷ aḷuki po:y koṇṭitrukkiṇṇaṇa*
'the fruits are rotting'

In certain contexts, the auxiliary verbs *viṭu* and *po:* can occur side by side in which *po:* precedes *viṭu*, consider the following sentences.

1) *ca:ppa:ṭu ti:rntu po:y viṭṭatu* 'the food was over'

2) *na:n maṅantu po:y viṭṭe:n* 'I have forgotten'

The verb *a:ku* meaning 'become' when added to the past participle of the main verb, denotes completion of action.

1) *avaṅ paṭitta:yīṇṇu* 'he has read'

2) *avaḷ ceṅta:yīṇṇu* 'she has done'

The past tense forms of the verbs *a:ku* and *viṭu* give the completive meaning and so they are in free-variation.

1) *avaṅ po:y viṭṭa:n* 'he has gone'

2) *avaṅ po:ya:yīṇṇu* 'he has gone'

3) *avaḷ paṭittu viṭṭa:l* 'she has read'

4) *avaḷ paṭitta:yīṇṇu* 'she has read'

In certain contexts, the verb *a:ku* denotes the notion of finality also. In the sentence *paṇam vanta:yīṇṇu* 'money

has come' it is implied that the speaker expected the money and it came finally.

Eventhough *viṭu* and *a:ku* are similar in denoting the meaning of completeness, they differ from each other in certain respects.

2. *viṭu* can express concord

1) *avaṅ vanta viṭta:ṇ* 'he has come'

2) *avaḷ vanru viṭta:l* 'she has come'

On the other hand *a:ku* does not express the NP - VP concord.

1) *avaṅ ceṭta:yirru* 'he has done'

2) *avaḷ ceṭta:yirru* 'she has done'

3. *viṭu* can be passivized

1) *avaṅ ve:lai ceṭtu viṭta:ṇ* 'he has done the work'

2) *ve:lai avaṅa:l ceṭyappattu viṭṭatu*
'the work has been done by him'

But the verb *a:ku* cannot be passivized. In some contexts, the auxiliaries *viṭu*, *po:* and *a:ku* occur in free-variation with some verbs like *viṭu* 'dawn' and *ma:ru* 'change'.

1) *poḷutu viṭintu viṭṭatu* 'It has dawned'

2) *poḷutu viṭintu po:yirru* 'It has dawned'

3) *poḷutu viṭinta:yirru* 'It has dawned'

The verb *po:tu* meaning 'put' is used as the completive auxiliary in certain dialects (especially in the Gounder dialect). In this respect *viṭu* and *po:tu* are in free-variation.

- 1) *avan tu:nki viṭṭa:n* 'he has slept'
avan tu:nki po:ṭṭa:n 'he has slept'
- 2) *avan ceytu viṭṭa:n* 'he had done'
avan ceytu po:ṭṭa:n 'he had done'

4. *viṭu* as the definitive auxiliary

The future form of *viṭu* gives the meaning of definiteness when it combines with the past participle of the main verb. The speaker expects that the action will surely take place. Certain adverbs like *niccayam* 'surely' and *katta:yam* 'definitely' can occur with the definitive auxiliary *viṭu*.

- 1) *avan niccayam vantu viṭuva:n*
 'he will come definitely'
- 2) *aval katta:yam patittu viṭuva:l*
 'she will definitely read'

In certain contexts, the auxiliary *viṭu* can be substituted by *po:* when it denotes the meaning of definiteness.

- 1) *viḷa: muṭintu viṭum* 'the function will be over'
viḷa: muṭintu po:kum 'the function will be over'
- 2) *pa:l kettu viṭum* 'the milk will be spoilt'
pa:l kettu po:kum 'the milk will be spoilt'

5. *viṭu* as the other-affective auxiliary

The verb *viṭu* conveys the 'other-affective' meaning also. Here the action is done for others not for speaker. The verb *koḷ* conveys the 'self-affective' meaning. Here the result of the action goes to the speaker. Consider the following sentences.

- 1) *avan talai ci:vikkonṭa:n* 'he combed the hair'
- 2) *avan enakku talaici:vi viṭṭa:n*
'he combed my hair'

¹⁸⁷ In the first sentence, we can notice that the speaker did the action for himself and not others. The second sentence implies that the speaker did the action for another and not for himself. So the verb *viṭu* gives the meaning of 'other-affective' when it occurs with transitive verbs.

- 1) *na:n kuḷantaiyai kuḷippa:ṭṭi viṭṭe:n*
'I gave a both to the child'
- 2) *na:n avalukku puṭavai katti viṭṭe:n*
'I wore the saree for her'

The verb *koḷ* gives the meaning of 'self-affective' when occurs with intransitive and transitive verbs.

3. 1) *avan taraiyil paṭuttuk koṅṭa:n*
'he slept on the floor'
- 2) *aval putu puṭavai kattiṭṭi koṅṭa:n*
'she wore a new saree'

The auxiliary *viṭu* can occur in the progressive when it gives the meaning of 'other-affective'.

- 1) *avan talai ci:vi viṭṭu koṅṭirunta:n*
'he was combing the hair' (of some one)
- 2) *aval caṭai piṅṅi viṭṭuk koṅṭirunta:n*
'she was plaiting the hair' (for some one)

viṭu as the sequential auxiliary.

The auxiliary *viṭu* is used in yet another meaning namely sequential *viṭṭu*, the verbal participle form of the

The Auxiliary viṭu in Tamil

verb *viṭu*, when added to the verbal participle form the main verbs besides conjoining the two sentences gives the meaning of 'sequential'.

1) *avaṅ paṭittu viṭtu tu:nkina:n*
'he slept after reading'

2) *avaḷ kuḷittu viṭtu ca:ppiṭṭa:n*
'he ate after his bath'

The first example implies that the action of 'reading' takes place first and then the action of 'sleeping'. The second example implies that the action of 'bathing' occurs first and then the action of 'eating'.

The auxiliaries *viṭu* and *koḷ* give different meanings in the same environment. Consider the following sentences.

1) *avaṅ ca:ppiṭṭu viṭtu vanta:n*
'he came after taking food'

2) *avaṅ ca:ppiṭṭuk koṅṭu vanta:n*
'he came eating on the way'

In the first sentence *viṭtu* the verbal participle form of the verb *viṭu* indicates the completion of the first action of 'eating' before the second action of 'coming'. In the second sentence, *koṅṭu*, the verbal participle of *koḷ* denotes that the action of 'eating' and 'coming' took place simultaneously.

The sequential *viṭu* and the completive *viṭu* can occur in the same construction.

1) *appa:ennai iṭṭivittu po:y viṭṭa:r*
'father scolded me and went away'

2) *avaṅ paṭittu viṭtu tu:nki viṭṭa:n*
'he read and then slept'

Sequential *viṭṭu* and the progressive *koṇṭiru* can occur in the same construction.

- 1) *avaṅ ca:ppittu viṭṭu ennai etirppa:rttukkoṇṭirunta:ṅ*
'after taking his food, he was expecting me'
- 2) *avaḷ paṭittu viṭṭu elutik koṇṭirunta:l*
'she was writing after she had finished reading'

The verbal participle form *koṇṭu* also gives the 'sequential meaning in certain contexts.

- 1) *avaṅ na:ṅ conṅa pa:tankaḷai poṭittukkoṇṭu vanta:ṅ*
'he came after he had read all the lessons
which I had asked him to read'

In addition to the meanings mentioned above, the auxiliary *viṭu* gives the following meanings also.

1. Causal meaning

- 1) *avanukku kalya:ṅam ceytu viṭuvataṅku e:ṅpa:tu*
naṭakkiraṭu
'arrangements are being made to get him
married'

2. Finish

- 1) *na:ṅ iruṭṭuvataṅku munpu ca:ppittu viṭa*
virumpukire:ṅ
'I wish to finish my meals before it gets dark'

3. Send

- 1) *avaṅ ra:manai varumpati enṅiṭam colli viṭta:ṅ*
'he has sent word through me to ask Raman
to come'

Notes

The past form of the auxiliary *viṭu* is used to denote future action in response to some one waiting impatiently

For the arrival of the speaker. In this context, the speaker gives an answer like the following sentences.

- 1) *avan vantu viṭṭa:ṅ koncam iru*
‘he is coming; wait a minute’
- 2) *avaḷ kiḷampī viṭṭa:ḷ; koncam iru*
‘she is getting ready; wait a minute’

It is true that we find concord in *viṭu* expression.

But it is not so in the case of *a:yiṛru*. Why is this distinction? I presume that in the former importance is given to the agent whereas in the latter importance is attached to the action. This can be seen clearly in the following sentences.

The sentence *avaṅa:kave: vantuviṭṭa:ṅ*
‘he came himself’ is grammatical.

The sentence *avaṅa:kave: vanta:yiṛru*
is ungrammatical

When the adverb of time *oru veḷai* ‘perhaps’ occurs in the construction in which the auxiliary *viṭu* also occurs, *viṭu* gives the meaning of ‘probability’, consider the following sentences.

The sentence etc. *oru ve:ḷai avan vanta:lum vantuvīṭuva:n* ‘perhaps, he might come after all’ is grammatical. The sentence *oru ve:ḷai avan vantuviṭuva:n* ‘perhaps he will surely come’ is ungrammatical.

AUXILIARY VERB *paṭu* IN TAMIL
ILLUSTRATION OF A SYNTACTIC CHANGE

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0. *Starting :*

My interest in this paper is to show a type of syntactic change with special reference to the so called passive constructions or auxiliary verb '*paṭu*' involving constructions in Tamil. When comparing '*paṭu*' constructions of written Tamil with those of Kanyakumari Tamil, we arrive at some interesting shift in the usage of '*paṭu*' constructions. I take written Tamil '*paṭu*' constructions as basic, while explaining the shift. Written Tamil '*paṭu*' constructions are backed by some semantic factors. Eventhough Kanyakumari Tamil differs from written Tamil, what we consider as crucial semantic factor behind '*paṭu*' constructions is found unaltered in both the dialects.

Different types of '*paṭu*' elements are found in Tamil. Obviously different '*paṭu*' constructions are also found. We conceive of here 2 types of '*paṭu*' elements.

i) Lexical element '*paṭu*' which is an independent and polysemous verb :

maram paṭṭatu 'The tree became lifeless'

avan kaṇṇil paṭṭa:n 'He appeared on (my) eyes'

avaṅkai paṭṭatu 'His' hand touched'

(-volition)

2. Non lexical '*paṭu*' elements: auxiliary verb '*paṭu*'

Eg. *ve:dnai paṭu* 'subjected to worries'

a:ccaryappaṭu 'wonder at'

The impetus for this article comes from a short note regarding the *paṭu* usage in Kanyakumari Tamil given by Prof. Agesthalingom in his 'Passive in Dravidian' (1969) and also from another article by the same author namely 'Auxiliary verbs in Tamil' (1964). My interest here is to find out the semantic unity of '*paṭu*' constructions both in written Tamil (WT) and in Kanyakumari Tamil (KT). '*Paṭu*' passive constructions were prevalent in written Tamil. Modern Tamil dialects show passive constructions in some restricted environments.

1. *Paving the way* :

In this section I will explain some relevant factors so that it will be easy later for us to explain the difference between Kanyakumari Tamil usage and 'written Tamil usage.

(WT LT)

1. I take first of all two types of verbs.

a. One is the intransitive verb. Intransitive constructions have under it a verb and an argument. The Noun or NP attached to the intransitive verb is called THEME. For convenience we call intransitive verbs as THEMATIC VERBS. The relation between Theme and Thematic verb is called Thematic relation.

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{Intr} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} + N \\ + \text{Theme} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{avan iranta:n} \\ \text{'He died'}$$

b. The other is the Transitive verb. Transitive constructions have a lexicalized Transitive verb or a Transitive verb formed out of an Intransitive verb plus a transitive marker and two Nouns as arguments. The arguments are THEME and AGENT. The relation between verb and arguments in Transitive constructions is presented as follows :

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + V \\ + \text{Intr} \\ + \text{cAUSE} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{Noun} \\ + \text{Theme} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{Noun} \\ + \text{Agent} \end{array} \right]$$

ra:man ra:vananai konna:n
 'Raman killed Ravana'

ra:man ra:vananai ca:kavaytta:u
 'Raman made Ravana die'

c. Now let me introduce 'Theme Hierarchy'.

i) In a sentence involving an intr. verb and an argument, the argument will be Theme and the verb Thematic.

avan iranta:n 'He died'

2) In a sentence involving a Tr. verb and 2 arguments, one argument will be Theme and the other will be agent.

avan avalai konna:n 'He killed her'

avan (Agent)

avaḷ (Theme)

kol (verb)

3) Some times a sentence with a Tr. verb can show 3 arguments, one is Theme; the second Agent and the third will be Agent₂ or causer.

avan avaḷai koṇṇa:n 'He killed her'

kol (verb)

avaḷ (Theme)

avan (Agent)

ya:ro: oruvar (Agent₂ (causer) Abstract)

The last or the third type causer₂ is here conceived of because Kanyakumari Tamil needs such a presupposition of a second Agent and that will be explained later.

2) Now let me make reference to 2 types of major sentence forms.

i) Finite sentential form

ii) Non finite sentential form.

Non finite sentential forms are attributed to the Nominal and verbal phrases of a higher sentence (of complementation). The non finite verbal forms may be a participial construction or any other partial representation of finite sentential forms. We can say that non finite forms can be derived from finite forms through some structural operation. (of Transformation).

For example, from a finite sentential form like

kriṣṇaṅ vanta:n

'Krishna came'

we can derive non-finite relative participial constructions like

i) */vanta kṛṣṇaṅ/* 'Krishna who came'

ii) */vanta-van/* '(He) who came'

and verbal Noun like

/Kṛṣṇaṅ vantatu/ Krishna's coming etc.

From a finite sentential sequence like */ra:maṅ ra:vaṇaṅ-ai koṇṇa:ṅ/* 'Raman killed Ravana' we can derive relative participial constructions like,

i) */ra:vaṇaṅai koṇṇa ra:maṅ/* 'Ra:ma who killed
Ra:vaṇa'

ii) */ra:vaṇaṅai koṇṇa-van/* (He) who killed
Ra:vaṇa

iii) */ koṇṇa-van/* (He) who killed
(Ra:vaṇa)

iv) */koṇṇa ra:maṅ/* Rama who killed
(Ra:vaṇa)

and verbal participial constructions like

i) */ra:maṅ koṇṇatu/* 'The act of Raman
killing'

ii) */ra:maṅ ra:vaṇaṅai koṇṇatu/* 'The act of 'Rama's
killing Ravana'

etc. without violating the verb and its immediately related Noun.

3) In the above paragraphs we have told that one can derive a non finite form from a finite sentential forms. Another type of derivation conceive of here is the derivation of one finite sentential form from another finite sentential form through a process by name '*patu* addition'. This was named as 'passivization' in traditional and modern grammatical treatizes. Once a sentence is passivized it

can be subjected to processes of derivation of relative participial constructions. We are concerned in this paper only with passivization and further derivations in general.

In order to explain the process namely 'passivization' we take written Tamil examples, since written Tamil is considerably older. After having explained written Tamil passive and constructions, we will pass on to a comparison of written Tamil and Kanyakumari Tamil passive usage. Then we will talk about the shift in 'paṭu usage'.

2 Written Tamil paṭu constructions:

In written Tamil, a transitive construction like /*Ra:maṅ ra:vaṇṇai, koṇṇa:n*/ 'Ra:ma killed Ra:vaṇa' and a 'paṭu' auxiliary involving variant of the abvoe construction like /*ra:vaṇṇ ra:maṅ:a:l kollappaṭṭa:n*/ 'ra:vaṇa was killed by ra:ma (?)' are felt to be synonymous. We for convenience assume that a 'paṭu form' can be derived from a transitive construction in written Tamil. Based on the observation of the surface differences between the two Transitive constructions, we can posit. Some of the structural changes that are to be accounted if we derive 'paṭu' form from the other basic form. The surface changes we notice are

- i) Shifting of the surface syntactic relationship of Nouns and the verb

<i>ra:maṅ</i>	→	<i>ra:maṅ-a:l</i>
(+subj)		(+Instru)

- ii) Modification of the verbal form.

kōl → *koll-a* (paṭu)

- i, ii). Dropping of case suffix of surface object

ra:vaṇṇai → *ra:vaṇṇ*

- iv) Addition of gender number markers maintaining agreement with thematic Noun.

ra:vaṇaṇ kollappatt — GN

A 'derivational history' of *paṭu* constructions in written Tamil can be presented as follows:

1) *ra:maṇ iRanta:ṇ* → *

'Rama died' (+ *paṭu*)

2) *ra:maṇ ra:vaṇaṇ-ai koṇṇa:ṇ* ⇒ (+ *paṭu*)

'Rama killed ravana'

ra:vaṇaṇ ra:maṇa:l kollappatta:ṇ ⇒ (order chase)

ra:maṇa:l kollappatta:ṇ ra:vaṇaṇ ⇒ (Relativization)

ra:maṇa:l kollappatta ra:vaṇaṇ ⇒ (Inst. del)

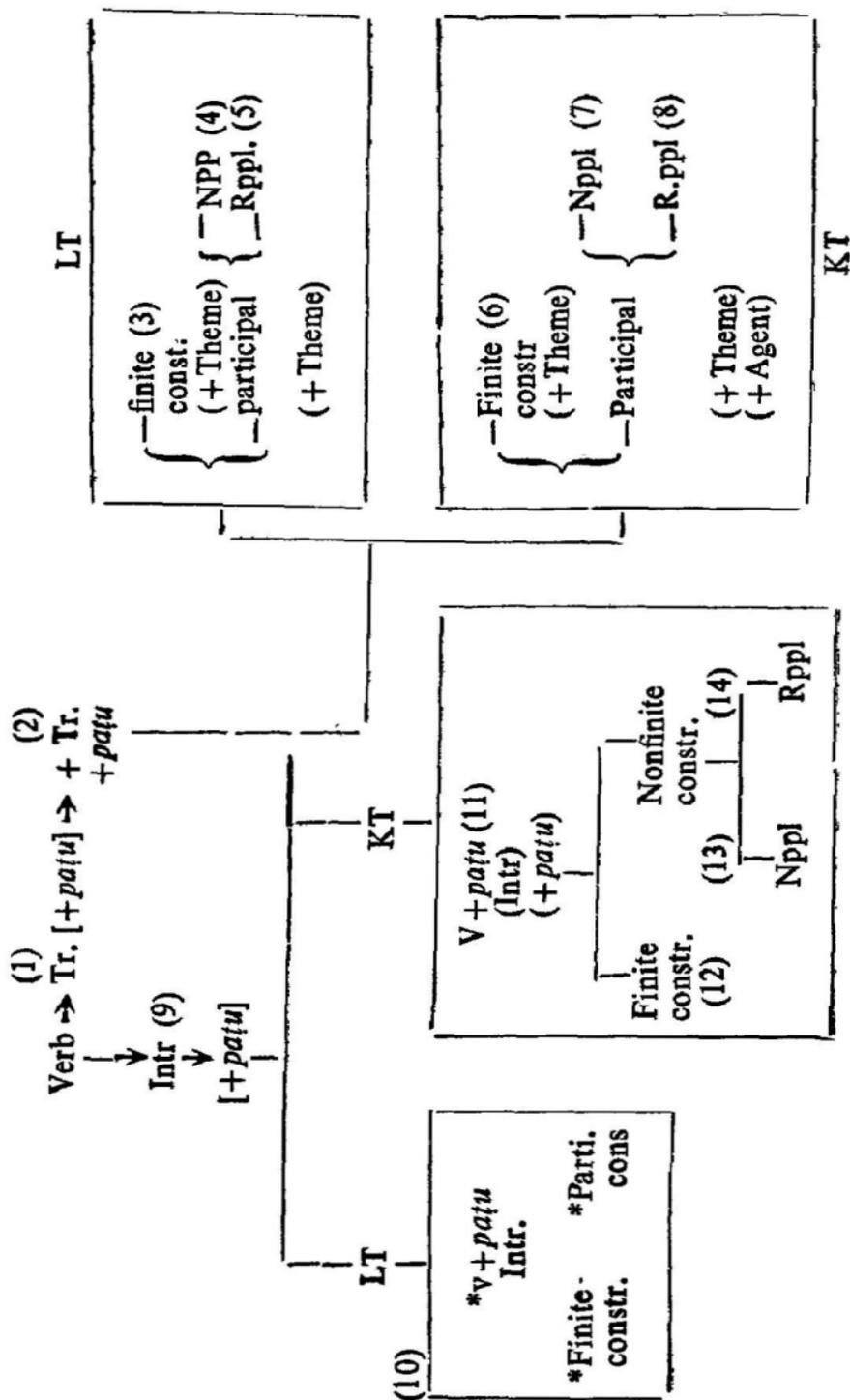
kollappatta ra:vaṇaṇ ⇒ (GN. addition)

kollappatta-vaṇ

3) Comparison of written Tamil and Kanyakumari Tamil

i) Now let me give examples from WT and KT for *paṭu* constructions and try to show how a shift in the usage of *paṭu* occurred in KT in the syntactic environment.

A diagram can be in order



- 1) *Kollu* /ra:maṅ ra:vaṇaṅ-ai koṇṇa:ṅ/ 'Rama killed Ravama'
- 2) *kollappaṭu*
kollappaṭṭa:ṅ
- LT 3) (+Theme) /Ra:vaṇaṅ ra:maṅa:l
kollappaṭṭa:ṅ/ 'Ravana was killed by Rama'
- LT 4) *kollappaṭṭavan*
(+Theme) /Ra:maṅa:l kollappaṭṭavan/ 'He who was killed by Rama'
- LT 5) *kollappaṭṭa*
ra:vaṇaṅ
(+Theme) /Ra:maṅ-al kollappaṭṭa ra:vaṇaṅ/
- KT 6) **kollappaṭṭa:ṅ*
(+Theme) */ra:vaṇa ra:maṅa:l kollappaṭṭa:ṅ/ 'Ravana was killed by Rama'
- KT 7) *kollappaṭṭavan**
*(+Theme)
(+Agent) /ramaṅa:l kollappaṭṭavan/ 'He who was called 'by Rama'

/kollappaṭṭavan/
'One who usually kills'
- KT 8) *kollappaṭṭa*
*Ra:vaṇaṅ**
*(+Theme)
(+Agent) /ra:maṅa:l kollappaṭṭa ra:vaṇaṅ/ 'Ravana who was killed by Rama'

/kollappaṭṭa ravaṇaṅ/
'Ravana who usually kills'
- 9) *naṭa* /avaṅ naṭanta:ṅ/ 'He walked'
- LT 10) **naṭakkappaṭu*
- 11) **naṭakkappaṭu*

12) **natakkappaṭṭa:n*

13) *naṭakkappaṭṭavan* /*avan anju man'kku*
 (+ Theme) *natakkappaṭṭavan*/'
 (Presupposes 'He' who walks usually by
 abstract causer) 5 o'clock'

14) *naṭakkappaṭṭa* /*anju man'kku naṭakkappaṭṭa*
ra:man *ra:man*/'
 (+ Theme)
 (Presupposes 'Rama' who walks usually by
 abstract causer) 5 o'clock'

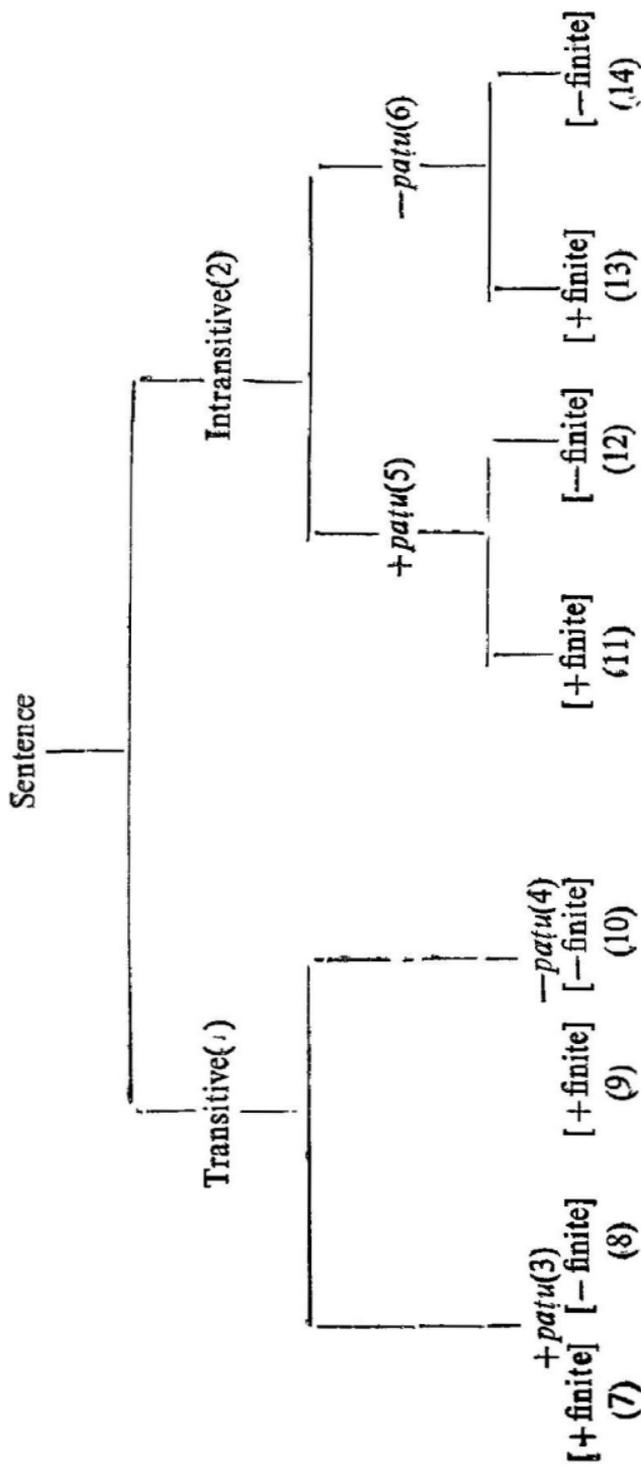
ii) Let me use configurations such as (+finite) (+*paṭu*) (+Theme) (+Tr) (+Intr) in the form of components to make differences between KT and LT clear.

Now let us see some of the relevant sentences.

LT

KT

- 1 /*ra:man vanta:n*/ /*ra:man vanta:n*/
 (+ Intr) (-*paṭu*) (+ fin) (+ Theme) 2.6.13.
- 2 /*vanta ra:man*/ /*vanta ra:man*/
 (+ Intr) (Tr) (-*paṭu*) (- fin) (+ Theme) 2.6.14.
- 3 */*ra:man varappaṭṭa:n*/ * /*ra:man varappaṭṭa:n*
 (+ Intr) (+*paṭu*) (+ fin) (+ Theme) 2.5.11.
- 4 */*varappaṭṭa ra:man*/ /*varappaṭṭa ra:man*/
 (Intr) (+*paṭu*) (- fin) (+ Theme) 2.5.12.
- 5 /*ra:man ra:vaṇaṇai* /*ra:man ra:vaṇaṇi koṇṇa:ṇ*/
koṇṇa:n/
 (+ Tr) (-*paṭu*) (+ fin) (+ Agent) 1.4.9.



- 6 *|ra:vaṇṇai koṇra ra:maṇ|* *|ra:vaṇṇai koṇṇa ra:maṇ*
 (+Tr) (—*paṭu*) (—fin) (—Agent) 1.4.10.
- 7 *|puli koṇṇa ya:ne|* *|puli koṇṇa ya:ne|*
 (+Tr) (—*paṭu*) (—fin) (+Theme)
- 8 *|ra:vaṇṇ ra:maṇa:l* **|ra:vaṇṇ ra:maṇṇa:l*
kollappaṭṭa:ṇ| *kollappaṭṭaṇ|*
 (+Tr) (+*paṭu*) (+fin) (+Theme) 1.3.7.
- 9 *|ra:maṇa:l kollappaṭṭa* **|ra:maṇa:l kollappaṭṭa*
ra:vaṇṇ| *ra:vaṇṇ|*
 (+Tr) (+*paṭu*) (—fin) (Theme) 1.3.8.
- 10 **|kollappaṭṭaṇ ra:maṇ|* *|kollappaṭṭa ra:maṇ|*
 (+Tr) (+*paṭu*) (—fin) (+Agent) 1.3.8.

3) Is a natural constraint of '*paṭu*' constructions in Tamil since '*paṭu*' constructions always refer to an agent, but agent is not present in (3).

4) (10) are specific features of KT.

In (4) the focussed Theme is the Theme of in the Tr. verb.

In (10) the focussed Theme is the Agent of the Tr. verb.

We may say that both 4 and 10 refer to Theme only.

For convenience we may call them as Theme₁' and Theme₂.

4.10 are acceptable in KT

8, 9 are specific cases of LT where focus is on Theme₂.

(Theme of Tr. verb)

8, 9 are not found in KT.

From the above we may find a sort of 'complementary distribution' of *paṭu* constructions in LT and KT. The major difference between KT and LT can be presented as follows:

LT	KT
1 Uses both + finite and non finite forms of <i>paṭu</i> constructions (8, 9)	* Uses only non finite forms of <i>paṭu</i> constructions (4, 10)
2 Will not show ' <i>paṭu</i> ' element in the intr. constr. shows ' <i>paṭu</i> ' with Tr. constructions (*3 *4) (8, 9)	Shows ' <i>paṭu</i> ' element in both Tr. and Intr. constr. (4) (10)
3 <i>paṭu</i> constr. talk about theme. Theme here is Theme of Tr. constr.	Talks about Theme only Theme have is theme of Intr. constr. and Agent of Transitive constr.
4 Presupposes agents Agent here are concrete and may be named as causer ₁	Presupposes 'abstract. Agents here are second causes.
5 Focusses on surface object of Tr. constr.	Focusses on surface subject of in tr. and Transitive constr.

The shift in the 'use of *paṭu*' can be explained as follows.

For explaining the shift let us look back the above chart of LT and KT difference. Let us look into the first and second difference.

When 'paṭu' occurs in the non-finite form of the Intr. verb it specifies the Theme:

ra:manṅ naḍanta:n ⇒ * *ra:manṅ natakkappaṭṭa:n* ⇒
natakkappaṭṭa ra:manṅ ⇒ *natakkappaṭṭavanṅ*

Non finite constructions like *[natakkappaṭṭavanṅ]* implies the involvement of an agent. The agent may be an abstract one like MIND, WILL or ENVIRONMENT. Observe the following:

dinamum natakkappaṭṭavanṅ 'He who walks usually daily' Repeated actions or regular actions according to me are controlled by some Agent or Causer. It need not be an agent like human agent. It can be an abstract agents like WILL, ENVIRONMENT. It may be the 'will' which controls a man to do his activities regularly and repeatedly. So in the intransitive use of *paṭu* in KT also we find the involvement of an agent. The involvement of an agent is shown by the comparison of the following constructions.

<i>dinamum natakkuvanṅ</i>	'He who walks daily'
<i>dinamum natakkappaṭṭavanṅ</i>	'He who usually walks daily and is controlled by something'

If we look at the non-finite form of the transitive constructions' in KT even the so called Agent of Tr. construction appear to function as Theme. This is a peculiarity.

<i>kolluxavanṅ</i>	'one who kills'
<i>kollappaṭṭavanṅ</i>	'one who usually kills'

'One who usually kills' is interpreted as follows. One who kills and the killing is controlled by some agent that

is why we give the meanings 'usually' for the construction *[kollappattavan]*. The implication is that there is an agent which is abstract and that is actually influencing the agent who kills someone.

Lit. Tamil uses *paṭu* auxiliary just to focus surface object of transitive constructions. KT uses *patu* auxiliary just to focus surface subject of intr. and Tr. constructions. Even though the shift is drastic with reference to the surface structure of Tamil (shift from object to subject) it does not violate the semantic restrictions required generally for the occurrence of *pātu* namely the 'Agent' in Tamil constructions. This may be taken as a syntactic change without violating the semantic requirements of *paṭu* constructions.

iii) We can explain the difference between KT and LT in terms of derivational history also.

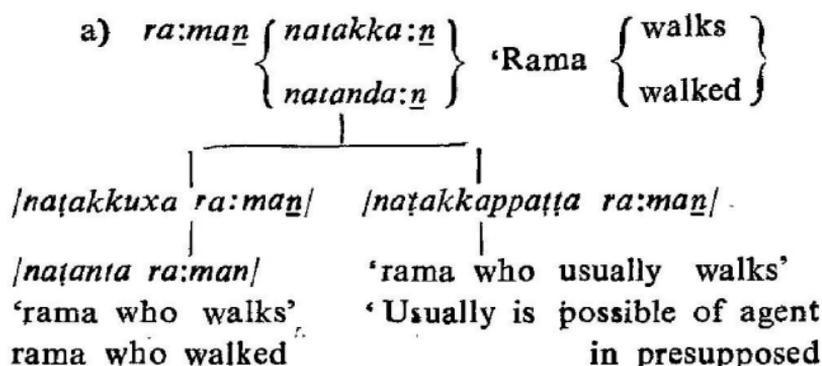
- 1) LT. *ra:man ravaṇan ai koṇṇa:n* ⇒
 (Trāns) *ra:maṇa:l kollappaṭṭa:n ra:vaṇan* ⇒
kollappaṭṭa:n ra:vaṇan ⇒
kollappaṭṭa ra:vaṇan ⇒
kollappaṭṭa - vaṇ

This type of Der. History is not shown by KT.

2) 'KT

- (Intr) a) *ra:man natanda:n* ⇒
natakkappaṭṭa ra:man ⇒
natakkappaṭṭa-vaṇ

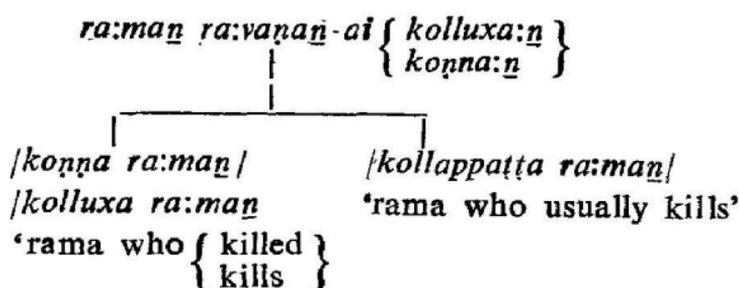
In LT this type of constr. is not found. As a native speaker of KT, I feel the presence of an abstract agent who controls the action of *[ra:man]* in the above sentence. Contrast the following constructions:



b) Tr.

$ra:man ra:vaṅaṅ-ai kkoṅṅaṅ \Rightarrow$
 $kollappaṭṭa ra:man \Rightarrow$
 $kollappaṭṭa-vaṅ$

Here ' $|kollappaṭṭa|$ ' goes with $|ra:man|$ (the agent) as against the LT situation where $|kollappaṭṭa|$ goes with the surface object namely $|ra:vaṅaṅ|$. The presupposition of abstr. agent is necessary here also since as a native speaker I feel the presence of an agent.



Usually is here interpreted in different ways $|kollappaṭṭa|$ can be interpreted as

- 1) Presupposing an abstr. agent
- 2) Presupposing objects which are innumerable in number.

4) Claims : I may make some large claims with specific reference to dialectology and synchrony-diachrony dichotomy:

i) Many dialectal studies concentrated mainly on studying dialectal variations at the level of phonology and morphology. Very little had been done on the analysis of syntactic differences. From the result of the comparison of LT and KT we may make a large claim that syntactic diversity of one and the same constr. may have some semantic unity. The major sem. aspects of *paṭu* constructions such as the notion of Theme, focus, presupposition of agent are not violated in both the dialects. A shift in surface syntactic str. is fairly apparent when we compare surface str. involving the auxiliary '*paṭu*' in both the dialects. The claim is that dialectal variation is manifested through the difference in the adoption of different surface syntactic structures and the language unity (among dialects) is maintained through the adoption or use of essential semantic requirements in all the dialects.

ii) Another claim is withref. to Historical changes. The claim is that changes in the syntactic str. at least in some instances occurs superficially without violating underlying semantic unity.

M (Semantics)	M
↑	↑
Syntax ₁	syntax ₂
at t ₁	at t ₂

iii) Another thing to be discussed with ref to '*paṭu*' is as follows: '*paṭu*' auxiliary occurs with Nouns and infinitive form of the main verb.

kollappaṭu 'subjected to kill'
accaryaṭu 'wonder at'

From the behaviour of '*paṭu*' we could infer that infinitive form of a verb and Nouns are related to each other in some aspects. We do not know how they could be established as closely related. Semantically speaking both of them stand to represent a 'situation'. Synonymous constructions involving infinitive and Noun can be presented. (of Agesthialingom 1969 B).

- LT 1) *maḷay peyya kuḷam niRai* { yum }
 (rain-fall-tank-filled up) { ntatu }
- maḷay peyyumpo:tu kuḷam niRai* { ntatu }
 { um }
- 2) *avan var-a muyanRa:n*
avan varuvatukku muyanRa:n
 'he to come tried'

iv) *paṭu* element is defined as an auxiliary. But its behaviour is just like a main verb. We can easily equate it with higher predicates like 'CAUSE' NEg etc. It will be explained in generative semantics that cause is a higher predicate 'Cause' is the one which converts surface intr. verbs into surface Tr. verbs. We may very well think that a semantic prime manifested in the form of surface '*paṭu*' element converts a surface Transitive into surface intransitive verb.

If what we have stated is correct, then we have to define clearly different types of intransitive verbs. They may be

- 1) Intransitive proper
 /ca:vu/ 'die'

- 2) Transitive based intransitive
 /kollappaṭu/ 'subjected to kill'

3) Noun based intr.

|a:ccaryappaṭu| 'subjected to wonder'

The general assertion we make is that 'paṭu' auxiliary converts surface transitive verbs into intransitive verbs, where as CAUSE converts surface intransitives into surface transitives.

1) Intr + CAUSE → Transitive

ca:ku + CAUSE → *kollu*
(die) 'kill'

2) Trans + paṭu → Intr

kollu + *paṭu* → *kollappaṭu*
'kill' 'subjected to kill'

So *paṭu* is thought of as an Intr. verb 'paṭu' may be thought of as a change of state verb also. Change of state verbs semantically require agents also. Agent may be syntactically present or absent.

When we say 'The door opened' we feel the involvement of an agent. It may be a natural agent or human agent. 'paṭu' element requires an agent. If it is abstract in the syntactic environments where 'paṭu' occurs then we have to presuppose an agent. With regard to the presupposition, one can equate 'paṭu' verb with verbs like *|kiṭai|* '(obtain)' *|vil|* (Tr) 'sell'

In comparison with literary Tamil, Kanyakumari Tamil shows a semantic shift with regard to 'paṭu' construction. We have already discussed the semantic shift in this dialect in the body of this paper. Since *|paṭu|* occurs only in participial constructions and requires the presupposition of an abstract agent the semantic domain of *paṭu*

also incorporates the habitual meaning¹. As we are right now concerned only with semantic shift in Kanyakumari Tamil, the other side issues like 1) the exclusive occurrence of /*patu*/ element in participial constructions alone and not in other constructions and 2) the conveyance of habitual meanings of /*patu*/ element are not discussed. The on-going research will throw more light on these issues.

Acknowledgement :

I am deeply indebted to Prof. H. M. Nayak for the encouragement he had given in writing this paper.

My thanks are due to Mr. V. Balasubramanian, for having given suggestions.

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1 I am thankful to Dr. E. Annamalai and K. Balasubramaniam for bringing this point to my notice.

PERFECTIVE ASPECT IN TAMIL

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0. *Introduction*

Aspect and mood in Tamil had not been discussed by grammarians for many centuries. Only recently aspectual and modal auxiliaries in Tamil have been analysed. This paper intends to throw light upon the perfective aspect as found in Tamil. It tries to study the meaning of the perfective aspect, the structure of the construction conveying perfective aspect, the identification of the perfective aspectual markers, and the effect of social factors on employing auxiliaries conveying perfective aspect.

1. *Meaning of the perfective aspect*

Discussing present perfect, *Otto Jespersen* says, "The perfect which is composed by means of the present of an auxiliary, is itself a kind of present tense and serves to connect the present time with the past."¹ The present perfect connects a past occurrence with the present state as having results or consequences bearing on the present moment. According to him it is a kind of retrospective present.

1 *Otto Jespersen 1931 Modern English Grammar Part IV, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London.*

When one utters a present perfect construction, it does not necessarily require either the result or the consequence of the past action. In spite of the significant result/consequence of the action done, using simple past/present and not perfective constructions can be found in speech. For example,

S.1 *intar pe:na estu* 'how did you get this pen?'

S.2 *appa: kututta:r* 'father gave'

In the above example though we find the presence of the result of a past action, at the time of speech event, perfective construction is not found, (using *iru* auxiliary as in normal case).

Consider another example,

S.3 *na:n unka pe:re ke:trukke:n, a:na: ippo marantw po:ccu*

'I have heard your name, but now I have forgotten'

Here *iru* is used as an auxiliary. But we do not have any result/consequence referred to.

Now I am going to argue that the use of *iru* here denotes only perfective aspect. The following is my argument.

First I like to define perfective aspect. As far as my observation goes perfective aspect is the completion of an action which is followed by another action (found explicitly or implicitly in the utterance) which is related to the preceding one and which is significant according to the speakers in the context of speech.

In Tamil *iru* is the auxiliary denoting perfective aspect. The tense of *iru* is in accordance with the time

of the action-2. When the action-2 is in past time, */iru/* takes non-past tense markers.

In S.3 which I have given above, the action represented by */kē:/* 'hear' (action-1) is completed. Now the speaker wants to know again what has been forgotten or he wants to express his excuse for not remembering the heard one or something like that (action-2). In this case the action-2 is implicit. In S.2 there is only one action that of giving (*/koṭu/* 'give). There is only an object which is the consequence of the action performed. Contrary to this if we had */koṭuttirunta:r/* '(he) had given' we come across two actions as in the case of S.3. Here the action-2 may refer losing, spending, etc. whatever had been given. In this case also the action-2 is implicit.

There are occurrences in which one could find that the action-2 is expressed explicitly.

S.4 *koṭuttirunta:r celava:yittutu*
'he had given, but it is spent'

S.5 *vantiruppa:r po:ve:m*
'(he) would have come, let us go'

According to Dale² the use of perfective aspectual auxiliary (i.e. */iru/*) indicates that the subject of the main verb is (or was, or will be, depending on the tense of */iru/*) somehow in the existence at the time of the speech event, and that the event represented by the main verb took place at some time prior to the state referred to by */iru/*. By saying 'somehow in existence' Dale has tried to account successfully for the abstract notion of perfective

2 Dale, I.R.H. 1975 'Tamil Auxiliary Verb' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, SCAS, University of London.)

aspect and to connect that notion with the meaning of *|iru|* 'to be' as a main verb.

But it is not the subject, which is 'somehow in existence', but the action which took place prior to the state referred to by *|iru|*. See the following example.

S.6 *enakku neraya taṭave talaye valiccirukku*

'I have suffered from head ache, many times'

Here there is no subject. Even then perfective aspect is found. Therefore it can be said that conveying the completion of the significantly (according to the speaker) related action (action-1) prior to the action (action-2) alone is perfective aspect.

2. Structure of the Tamil verbal construction conveying perfective aspect.

In Tamil the auxiliary which denotes the perfective aspect is *|iru|*. It occurs after a verbal participle form. This verbal participle form may be either a single main verb or combined with one or more aspectual auxiliaries.

S.7 *vantirunta:ṅ* 'he had come'

S.8 *vantuvittirunta:ṅ* 'he had come definitely'

S.9 *vantu tolaccu* 'he had come definitely
vittirunta:ṅ and unwantedly'

The study of possible combinations of auxiliaries in Tamil is very interesting. But it is not the point of our discussion. Here the point that should be noted is that *|iru|* can occur with verbal participle forms alone.

One peculiarity with regard to the auxiliary denoting perfective aspect is that it can occur in double, within a

morphological construction. The second one can occur only with non-past tense marker. For example,

S.10 *na:n inke vantiruntirukke:n*

'I have had come here'

S.11 *na:n inke vantiruntiruppe:n*

'I will have had come here'

S.12* *na:n inke vantiruntirunte:n*

After the *[iru]* either tense marker or infinitive can occur. So we have the structure as follows.

verbal participle form + (perfective aspectual auxiliary₁) + perfective aspectual VP auxiliary + { tense marker }
 { infinitive marker }

where (perfective aspectual auxiliary₁) → ∅ / — Past tense

All sorts of constructions that can be had in any other verbs after tense marker and infinitive marker, are possible here also

3. Various meanings of *[iru]* and identification of perfective aspect

The auxiliary *[iru]* not only stands to represent perfective aspect in Tamil, but also wider range of meanings as noticed by Harold F. Schiffman. He attributes to the auxiliary verb *[iru]*, the most complexity in the range of underlying meaning and says that there are at least three meanings, viz. stative, perfective and suppositional³.

3 Harold F. Schiffman 1969 A Transformational Grammar, of Tamil Aspectual System. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis University of Chicago).

According to Arden⁴ the compound tense formed by using */iru/* has some times the force not of a plu perfect but of an imperfect past-tense (i.e. past continuous). Besides functioning as an auxiliary verb, */iru/* acts as a main verb also with the meaning 'to be'. Now the question is how to differentiate perfective aspectual auxiliary from the rest. In other words we have to find out those characteristic features of */iru/* denoting perfective aspect from those denoting the main action, or the so called stative aspect or the so called suppositional aspect.

3.1 */iru/* denoting perfective aspect and main action.

/iru/ as an auxiliary occurs after the verbal participle form of a verb, as seen already in section-2. The occurrence of */iru/* as a main verb (representing 'to be') causes a confusion only when it is conjoined with another verb. As the conjoining is made by adding */iru/* after the verbal participle form of the other verb, the resultant construction becomes identical with that of the perfective construction. For example the following two sentences,

S.13 *avan vanta:n* 'he came' and

S.14 *avan irukka:n* 'he is'

when conjoined become

S.15 *avan vantirukka:n* 'he came and remains'

The present perfective construction of */va:/* 'to come' is also similar to this in the shape. viz.

S.16 *avan vantirukka:n* 'he has come'

4 Arden, A.H. 1941 *A Progressive Grammar of the Tamil Language*, The Christian Literature Society, Madras.

Hence the confusion arises in understanding. The test to differentiate */iru/*, the auxiliary from that */iru/* in coordination is done by changing the order of the two verb forms. When */iru/* is an auxiliary verb, the order can not be changed. For example

S.17 *na:n amke po:y irukke:n ni:yum vantaṭu*
 'I will go and remain there, you too come there
 The change of order as given below is possible.

S.18 *na: amke irukke:n po:y ni.yu:m vantaṭu*
 But in the following construction

S.19 *na n cinna vayacile ḍillikku po:virukke:n*
 'I have visited Delhi in my childhood'

S.20 *na:n cinna vayacile ḍillikku irukke:n po:y*
 is not possible.

Moreover */iru/* denoting perfective aspect can not occur in imperative mood. As a main verb conjoined with another verb it can occur in imperative mood.

S.21 *ni: amke po:yiru* 'you go and remain there'

3.2. */iru/* as perfective aspect and stative/durative aspect markers.

According to Schiffman in stativeness, the result of action, remains (Schiffman, H. 1969). He does not explain his statement further. As far as my thinking goes here the result means the resultant state of the action. He gives the following sentence as an example for */iru/* denoting stativeness.

S.22 *so:mu ukka:ntirunta:n*
 'Somu had remained sitting'

Here the resultant state of action remains for a while.

But in spite of this explanation, his contention does not cover all possibilities. For example /ca:/ 'to die' gives a static result. But *ceṭtirunta:ṇ* is not possible with the aspectual similarity as found in verbs like *okka:ntrunta:ṇ* 'he was sitting', *paṭutirunta:ṇ* 'he was lying' etc. As I observe, stativeness means the 'motionlessness' in the Process of performance. So only these verbs which denote the actions which have stative aspect. This argument goes further with the verb selected and not with the auxiliary /iru/ and thus denies the claim that /iru/ has stative aspectual meaning 'also. This is established not only by the fact that /iru/ does not mean any stativeness. When it occurs with the other verbs which do not have a motionless process of performance, but by another fact also. The fact is that verbs denoting an action of motionless process of performance can convey stativeness even without /iru/.

S.23 *are maṇi ne:ram okka:raṇum*
as well as

S.24 *are maṇi ne:ram okka:ntirukkaṇum*
means 'one has to wait for half an hour'

S.25 *romba ne:ram ka:kka vaikka:te*
as well as

S.26 *romba ne:ram ka:ttrukka vaikka:te*
means 'do not make (one) out for a long time'

The quality of motionless process of performance very often gives to the verb concerned a kind of 'durativeness' as it gives a kind of stativeness to it. S.23 and S.25 can be expressed as follows which give the same meaning as that of their own viz.

S.27 *are maṇi ne:ram okka:niukkittirukkaṇum*

S.28 *are nani ne:ram ka:ttukkittirukka vaikka:te*
 where *kittiru* (*koṅṭiru*) is the durative marker.

Probably such instances might have influenced Arden to say "The compound tense formed by using */iru/* has sometimes the force not of a plu perfect; but of an imperfect past tense." But by the above examples it seems that the progressive aspect conveyed by such constructions is due to the property of the verb concerned and not due to the auxiliary */iru/*.

However the stative or the durative aspect is not the main problem as far as this paper is concerned. The point of our discussion in this paper is concerned with the fact that there is a construction with */iru/* auxiliary which expresses a non-perfectual meaning and differentiating this construction with that of the perfective aspect. This can be done easily by using the above observations.

i) The so called stative or durative */iru/* can come only with the verbs which denote the actions of motionless process of performance. */iru/* denoting perfective aspect can occur with any verb ii) Even without */iru/* constructions conveying the stativeness or durativeness can mean what they mean with */iru/*. This is not possible when */iru/* conveys perfective aspect. Here when */iru/* is removed the meaning changes. Constructions with */iru/* conveying stative aspect can mean durative aspect also. Whereas constructions with */iru/*, which mean only perfective aspect cannot convey in anyway the durativeness. So to convey durative aspect the auxiliary *|koṅṭiru|* (*|-kittiru* *-ṅṭru-* / *|-ṭṭru-* etc) has to be used obligatorily.

For example,

S:29 *vamirunta:ṅ*

'he had come'

S.30 *vantukkittirunta:n* 'he was coming'

Another phenomenon which differentiates */iru/* of perfective aspect is that it can not come in the imperative mood. But it can come in other aspects.

3.3. */iru/* conveying perfectual aspect and the so called suppositional aspect.

suppositional aspect conveys an inference about the completion of an action.

S.31 *maṇṇu i:rama: irukku maḷe pe:ṇcirukku*
'The earth is wet, there has been raining'

S.32 *itukkulle avan poyiruppa:n*
'by this time he would have gone'

In the above two examples the supposition is conveyed by the non-past tense marker found with */iru/* and not by auxiliary */iru/*. */iru/* shows the only the completion of action that takes place before another action. This is the reason why we have suppositional meaning even without */iru/*.

For example

S 33 *veḷiyile:rntu ya:rum verle: namakkuḷḷiye ta:n
titan irkka:n*
'Nobody came from outside, the thief is among ourselves'

S.34 *ma:nam mappā: irukku. maḷe varum*
'The sky is cloudy, today there will be rain'

Here we have supposition even without */iru/*. Hence it is proved that */iru/* has no suppositional meaning.

4. Sociolinguistic study of perfective aspect in Tamil

4.1. Significance of the sociological study of language.

Language is not simply a means of communicating information. It functions as a very significant social indicator also. Therefore to understand the social meaning and the effect of social factors and the speech behaviour is as necessary as to understand the grammatical meaning and to identify the grammatical entities are. Otherwise, the learning of a language will be incomplete. Because until that time while a person's social standing will be assessed in terms of the ways in which two speech behaviour measures upto what the dominant culture considers the marks of educational speech, it will be important to understand the linguistic indicators of social meaning in any given community⁵. So after studying meaning, structure and identification of perfective aspect, it is proper to study the social implications in employing auxiliary verbs /iru/ to convey perfective aspect.

4.2 Variations found in conveying perfective aspect

Eventhough theoretically many complex sentences are possible (as pointed out in Sec. 2) the more one construction is complex the more it is avoided in actual use. For example generally not more than one aspectual auxiliary is employed than before the perfective aspectual auxiliary. But in the basic perfective construction itself.

i.e. main verb + /iru/ + { tense
infinitive marker } + ...

variations were found in the speech behaviour of various social groups. Employing auxiliary verbs to denote perfective aspect requires the realization of effectiveness that can be had in the speech by expressing the completion of the action-1 before the action-2, takes place. This reali-

5 Mc David, R.I. Dr. 1966 Dialect Differences and social Difference in an Urban society' *'Sociolinguistics'* (ed.) William Bright, Mouton & Co. The Hauge.

zation is highly complicated in negation, complementation and relativization. So the use of perfective aspect in these three syntactic formations shows variation.

4.3. Testing

4.3.1. Method

Data elicitation was done by sampling social variables, age group, caste, educational status and economic status. On the basis of this sampling, informants were selected to represent different social groups. In the elicited data many variations have been noticed and all such variations are conditioned by the social factors. To find out the effect of social structure on the speech behaviour the above mentioned social parameters were taken into consideration. In each testing one such parameter was kept as variable and others as constants. Thus the effect of each social factor in isolation, on the linguistic behaviour could be measured. Each of these social parameters were divided into three divisions.

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|
| 1 | Age | 26-40, 41-55 and 56 and above (in years) |
| 2 | Social status | Ayyar (Brahmin), Vellala (a non-Brahmin forward caste) and Paraya (Harijan) (Ayyar = Ay, Vellala = Ve, Paraya = Pa) |
| 3 | Educational status | Primary (= P), Secondary (= S) and Higher (= Hi) |
| 4 | Economic status | Low income group (LIG; below Rs. 300/- pm.
Middle income group (MIG; below Rs. 750/- pm. |

High income group (HIG: above
Rs. 750/- pm.

[Region (Chidambaram South Arcot), sex (male) were
constant].

Short interviews were conducted with informants. The data collected from the interviews clearly show the effect of social factors on the use of perfective constructions in the syntactic operation viz. negativization, relativization and complementation. All these distinctions found in the speech behaviour, are discussed below.

4.3 2. Perfective construction and negativization

Perfective aspect in negativization is complex because it tries to denote the completion of not having performed the action-1 when there is no action-1, how can there be action-2? Actually here not performing an action itself becomes action-1. Due to this complication people with primary education employ simply past negative form. On the contrary, people with higher and secondary education use perfective aspect even in negation. For example referring to a person who had passed his M.A. in the year nineteen seventyfive and then entered a job. I asked the informant - Why he did not enter any job in seventy-three itself? The informant with primary education said.

S.35 *appalla:m avan emye: pa:s paṇṇule*
'in those times he did not pass his M.A.

The informants with secondary and higher education replied.

S.36 *appalla:m avan pa:s paṇṇiyirukkule*
'in those times he did not passed'.

Other social factors seem to have no effect in this regard.

4.3.3. Perfective aspect and relativization:

4.3.3.1. Social status as a social factor: When there is subject-predicate relation between the noun and the verb, relativization of the perfective construction takes place in the speech behaviour of Ayyar in the SG (ie. Social Group) (41-55, LIG. Primary). That means in this SG caste is a significant social factor as far as this Linguistic variable is concerned.

4.3.3.2. Age as a social factor: The young age (25-40 years) as a social factor seems to have an effect to make relativizing the noun which had object relation with the verb in present tense, be possible, in the SG (Ay, MIG, Secondary). Also in the Speech of the informant with middle age (40-55) relativizing the construction with Dative-Predicate relation is not found in this SG.

4.3.3.3. Income as a social factor: Belonging to MIG also has an effect to bring out a linguistic change in SG (41-55, Ve, primary) viz. relativizing the noun which has object relation with the verb in past tense.

4.3.3.4. Educational status as a social factor.

Educational status of social groups seems to have greater effect in the use of perfective constructions. As far as the relationships except subject-predicate relation between the noun and the verb are concerned no relativized perfective construction is found in the speech behaviour of the informant with primary education in the selected social group i.e. SG (41-55, Vellala, HIG). In the same social group in the speech behaviour of the informant with

secondary education it is found to be possible to relativize the perfective constructions which have the relations of subject-predicate (Present alone) result predicate (Present alone) and Dative-Predicate (both Present and Past). The social factor higher education is found to have an effect on this group to relativize any perfective construction as it done by any in the case of simple verbs.

4.3.4 / Perfective aspect and complementation

4.3.4.1. Educational status as a social factor.

In the speech behaviour of the informant with primary education in the social group of vellalas of 41-55 years with high income, in the complementation process of a perfective construction, either a complementatizer is used or simply the participate form of the main is used, avoiding *|irukra|* or *|ir nta|* which are the participial forms of *|iru|* the auxiliary implying perfective aspect, For example,

S 37 *avan conna enra ceyti*

'the news that he told'

(or)

S 38 *avan conna ceyti* 'the news that he told'

For the informant representing the people with higher education in that group, participle form of whole perfective construction is possible. For example,

S.39 *avan colliyirukkra ceyti*

'the news that he has told'

S.40 *avan colliyirunta ceyti*

'the news that he had told'

The informant with secondary education in that group employes participle form of whole present perfective construction when it is in present. As far as past perfect

is concerned he avoids participial form¹ of the perfective construction. Instead, in such places he uses either a complementizer or a simple past form of the main verb as in S 37 and S 38.

4.3.4.2. *Economic status as a social factor.*

Economic status is the other social factor which has an effect with this linguistic variable. The complementation is found to be possible for MIG, in the social group selected for testing i.e. SG (Vellala, 41-55 years, Primary).

5. *Observations :*

The analysis presented here may help language teaching (especially as a second language) as effectively as possible. In the process of language learning, it becomes obligatory on the part of the learner to know the context in which a particular form is used, the structure of that form and also the realization of the usages in the speech behaviour or writing system of the language concerned. So when one linguistic entity is taught its grammatical/lexical meaning, structure and social meaning have to be made clear to the user in order to have an efficient communication and mutual understanding and so on. Otherwise one may not be so efficient and effective to his language use. Having this view in mind this paper has tried to bring forth the use of perfective aspectual system in Tamil.

It is to be mentioned here in this regard that all the sociolinguistic correlations* have not been exhaustively studied in his paper. However, it seems to be the case that some more social values can be found out in the use of the perfective system, if a thorough sociolinguistic study is made. If such a research work is carried out

having in mind all social factors, it may be form a complete and more useful study of the Tamil perfective aspectual system in use.

Colophon

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ANALYSIS OF AUXILIARIES IN TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS (FROM 900 to 1050 AD)

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Introduction

In the history of any language the changes in its various systems are inevitable in the course of time. Auxiliary verb system is also not an exception to this phenomenon. Auxiliary verbs are the second members of compound verbs which add new shades of meanings to the main verbs. The existence of auxiliary verb system as a living force in Tamil is particularly evident in its modern stage. The system of compounding an auxiliary verb with a main verb has developed in Tamil with the changes in the history of that language. The auxiliary verbs are treated as main verbs historically. That means the verbs which are originally main verbs have come to be used as auxiliary verbs in order to add a slight change of meaning in the expression made by the main verbs. In Tamil more and more main verbs have come and are coming into existence as auxiliary verbs as time goes by. For instance recently a new auxiliary verb-*itu* has been added in Tamil auxiliary verb system as in the expressions *vantiṭuve:ṇ* 'I will come' *ceyṭiṭte:ṇ* 'I did etc.' This will be more clearly evident when one makes a historical study of the auxiliary verbs in Tamil comparing the different stages of it. Since the inscriptional stage is also one of

the different stages of Tamil, the aim of the present paper is to make a study of auxiliary verbs found in inscriptional language.

For the sake of mere convenience the auxiliary verbs found in inscriptions are classified into the following three main categories on the basis of their structure and function, not on the basis of their characteristic features.

The general phenomenon is that the tense is expressed in the auxiliary verb, not in the main verb. Under the first category, the auxiliary verbs which do not take tense and added with the infinitive form of the main verb are grouped. These auxiliaries express necessity, capacity, possibility etc. The auxiliaries are obligatory ones, since the deletion of these auxiliaries is not possible.

2. The second category includes those auxiliaries which are used to express different aspects of tense called past perfect, present perfect, past continuous etc. traditionally. They themselves are not tenses but taking tense suffixes they express different aspects of tenses. The function of these auxiliaries are somewhat optional since they can be deleted and the time adverb can be used for its function. For instance '*ne:rru varai nanra: kappattiruk koṅṅirunta:n*' 'he was studying well until yesterday' can be substituted by '*ne:rru varai nanra:kappattita:n*', as the time adverb '*ne:rru varai*', itself expresses duration and the durative auxiliary verb *koṅṅiru* is deletable. However this aspect of these auxiliaries needs still much more study.

3. Under the third group, certain auxiliaries are added to the main verbs to give some shades of meaning.

For instance *vantu vittu:n* 'he came' expresses some intensiveness than *vanta:n* eventhough it does not change the meaning of the main verb entirely.

According to the above classification the inscripational auxiliaries are dealt with one by one in the following pages.

I Group

The auxiliaries *ma:ttu*, *ve:ṇṭum* and *kaṭavu* are coming under the first group. Auxiliary - *ma:ttu* gives the meaning of negation and the auxiliaries *ve:ṇṭum* and *kaṭavu* give the meaning of obligation.

Negation

The auxiliary -*ma:ttu* is available in inscriptions for negation. This auxiliary is added to the infinitive form of main verbs and gives the meaning of negation. The structure of this is as follows.

Inf + *ma:ttu*

Eg. *iṭama:ttu:tu*

'being not to put' SII VI. 344-2

nirka ma:ttu:tu

'being not to stand' SII VI. 344-2.

iḷakka ma:ttu:tu

'being not to loss' SII VII. 465-21.

Obligatory

Ve:ṇṭum and *kaṭavu* are the auxiliaries available in inscriptions for the usage of {obligatory meaning. This auxiliaries are added to the infinitive forms of main verbs and give the obligatory meaning. The structure of this is given below.

Inf + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ve:ṇṭum} \\ \textit{Kaṭavu} \end{array} \right\}$

ve:ṅtum

ve:ṅtum auxiliary is found to be rare in Tamil inscriptions. It is added after infinitive forms and gives the obligatory meaning.

Eg. *iḷiccittara ve:ṅtum*

‘one must get and give’ SIL XIII 83.5

kaṭava

katavu comes under the meaning ‘must’. This auxiliary is added after the infinitive forms of main verbs and gives the obligatory meaning. This auxiliary is more frequently used in inscriptions.

Eg. *koḷḷa kkaṭava:r*

‘They must have’ SIL V. 790-9

aṭṭakkatava

‘They must give’ SIL V. 719-2

aḷakkakkatava

‘They must measure’ SIL V. 1375 10

ka:ṭṭakkatava:r

‘They must show’ SIL V. 1375-10

erikkakkatavā:r

‘They must burn’ SIL XIII 113-17

kuṭukkakkatava:r

‘They must give’ SIL XIII. 121-4

ka:ṭṭuvikkakatavo:m

‘We must cause to show’ SIL XI I 49-12

II Group

The second group consists of the auxiliaries *iru*, *niḷ*, *kiṭa*, and *var*. The auxiliaries *iru* and *niḷ* give the

perfective meaning, *kiṭa* gives the stationary meaning and *var* gives the habitual continuative meaning.

Perfective

The auxiliaries *iru* and *nil* give the perfective meaning. These auxiliaries are added after the verbal participle forms of the main verbs and give the meaning of perfective. The structure of the perfective is as follows.

$$VP + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} iru \\ nil \end{array} \right\}$$

iru

- Eg. *ku:ṭi iruntu*
 'having assembled' SII XIII 76-6
- vi:ṭṭiruntu* •
 'having seated [oneself] SII V. 633-7
- eḷuntiruntu*
 'having got up' SII XIII. 165-7.

-*nil*

- Eg. *ni:r ni:kki niṅṅa nilam*
 'The land which was dried' SII XIII 92-9
- ka:ṭu niṅṅa pu:ṅkaḷal aḷal*
 'The victory of a person wearing the floral anklet who stood waiting. SII V. 465-31

Stationary

The auxiliary verb *-kiṭa* gives the stationary meaning. It occurs with the verbal participle form of the main verb *veṭṭ-* 'cut or inscribe' and it gives the meaning of 'Stationary'. The structure of this is as follows.

VP + *kiṭa*

Eg. *veṭṭikkitaṅta taṅikkal*

'The single stone which had been inscribed'
SII XIII 125-9

kallil veṭṭikkitaṅta viḷakku

'The lamp which had been cut in stone'
SII 170-3

Habitual continuative

The auxiliary *-var* gives the meaning of habitual continuative under the second group. This auxiliary is added to the verbal participle forms of the main verbs and gives the meaning of habitual continuative. The structure of this is as follows.

VP + *var*

Eg. *uṇṭu varum nilam*

'The land by means of which one eats' SII
XIII 170-15 3rd

ceytu varum

'One who does' SII XIII. 170-13 8th

iṛuttu varukiṅṅa nellu

'The paddy which comes as levy from the land'
SII VIII 217-16

ceytu varukiṅṅa

'One who does' SII VIII 745-6

III Group

Under the third group are found the auxiliary verbs *koḷ*, *aruḷ*, *kuṭu*, *vay*, *cey*, *paṭu* and *peṛu* which are added to the main verbs to give some shades of meaning. Prof. Dr. S. Agesthalingom says in his article 'Auxiliary verbs

in Tamil' that the auxiliary verb /aru:/ comes under the honorific meaning. These auxiliaries give different meanings as Reflexive, Honorific, Benefactive, Causative and passive.

Reflexive

The auxiliary *koḷ* gives the reflexive meaning. It is added to the verbal participle forms of main verbs and give the reflexive meaning. The structure of this is as follows.

VP. + *koḷ*

Eg. *aṟuttukkoṇṭu*

'having cleared themselves' SH XIII 100-2

paṟittukkoṇṭu

'having snatched to oneself' SH V. 465 23

kuṟuttukkoṇṭa

'who gave to themselves' SII VIII 521-25

veṭṭuvittukkoḷla

'to cut for themselves' SII V. 633-24

ceyvittukkoḷ

'Do for yourself' SII XIII. 76-22

aḷittukkoṇṭa

'Who destroyed oneself' SII XIII. 115-1

Benefactive

Harold F. Schiffman has quoted that Ramanujam has stated that /kuṭu/ and /tā:/ could be used benefactive meaning. In inscriptions -*kuṭu* auxiliary is found to convey benefactive meaning. This auxiliary is added to the verbal participle forms of the main verbs and gives the benefactive meaning. The structure of this is as follows.

VP + *kuṭu*Eg. *kalveṭṭikkūṭutto:m*

'We inscribed the stone' SII V. 991-4

paṇittukkuṭutto:m

'We ordered' SII. XIII. 114-20.

veṭṭuvittukkuṭutto:m

'We caused to inscribe' SII. XIII 106-5.

ceytu kuṭutta

'Who did' SII. XIII 1407-11.

vaittukkuṭutta

'Who kept' SII. V. 1369-9.

na:ṭṭikkūṭutta ellaikkal

'The boundary stone which was set'

SII. 164-31.

Causative

-*vay* and -*cey* are the auxiliaries used to give the causative meaning under the third group. These auxiliaries are added after the infinitive forms of the main verbs and give the causative meaning. The structure of this is as follows.

$$\text{Inf} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vay} \\ \text{cey} \end{array} \right\}$$
-*vay*Eg. *uṇṇavaytta*

'Who caused to eat' SII. XIII. 110-7.

ceyya vacca

'Who caused to do' SII. XIII. 123-3.

eriyā vaytta

'Who caused to burn' SIL. XIII. 154-7.

-*cey*

Eg. *uṇṇacceya*

'Who caused to eat' SIL. XIII. 131-7.

niṅkacceya

'Who caused to stand' SIL. XIII. 52-6.

uṇṇacceyē:n

'I caused (someone) to eat' SIL. XIII. 74-42.

Passive

-*paṭu* and -*peru* are the auxiliaries found in inscriptions for passive meaning. -*paṭu* and -*peru* are coming after the infinitive forms of the main verb and gives the passive meaning. The structure gives the passive meaning. The structure of this is as follows.

Inf + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{paṭu} \\ \textit{peru} \end{array} \right\}$

-*paṭu*

Eg. *cuṭṭappaṭṭa...nilam*

'The land which was mentioned' SIL. 76-14.

ku:rappaṭum nilam

'The land which is mentioned' SIL. 83-4.

-*peru*

Eg. *ka:kkapperuvatu*

'Which is to be protected' SIL. 114-15.

a:ra:yapperra

'Which was scrutinized' SIL. XIII. 214-2.

vettuvikkapperuvatu

'Which will be inscribe' SII. 50-12.

Conclusion

This paper may have several inadequacies due to shortage of time. However, it is put forth to the world of Dravidian Linguistic scholars. The study of auxiliaries will prove to be very useful one. More and more extensive study and analysis of inscriptional language will surely bring to light more and more details in this field.

Colophon

I express my gratitude and sincere thanks to my guide Professor Dr. S. Agesthalingom and our Reader N. Kumaraswami Raja for their valuable suggestions and corrections. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to my colleague M. Sushila for her valuable suggestions to present this paper.

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SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION REFLECTED IN THE USE OF ASPECTUAL AUXILIARIES IN TAMIL

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1. *Introduction*

1.0. In recent years, there has developed an approach to linguistic research¹ which focuses upon *language in use* within the speech community, aiming at a linguistic theory adequate to account for the data. This now trend in research sphere is based on the fact that there is a clear-out and systematic co-variance between *speech variation* and *social variation* i.e., *speech behaviour* and *social structure* which are intimately related. Both language and society are hetero-geneous in nature and hence the interrelationship between speech and other social behaviour is an extremely complex one. Even in the midst of this *complexity* and *heterogeneity*, social-linguistic researches claim the patterned co-variations between speech behaviour and social structure. No two individuals use language in precisely the same way and some people use language in ways obviously very different from those of others. The co-variance² of linguistic and sociological phenomenon can be thought of as taking place along two *major*

1 Labov, W. 'Language and Social Context' in *Socio-linguistic Patterns*, UPP, Philadelphia, 1972.

dimensions viz. 1. *the dimension of social differentiation:* the social caste, age, sex, education of individual and 2. *the dimension of social context and the social situation* in which the individual is involved in social interaction (inter group and intra-group). The present study is carried out following the former dimension.

Moving from country, to country region to region social class to social class, caste, to caste we find changes occurring in language use.² In a broader sense, it may be stated that because of these *regional* and *social* variations there exists many habitual varieties of a language set off from other such varieties by a complex of features like those found in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. In the same way there exists a clear co-variance between the use of auxiliary verbs and social factors also. The auxiliary verbal constructions in Tamil, has a complicated texture both in morphological and syntactical levels³. Attention has been focused in this paper which tries to

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- 2 Labov, W. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, CAL, Washington, D.C., 1966.
 Trudgill, P. *The Social Differentiation of Norwich English* CUP, London, 1974.
 Wolfram, W A. *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*, CAL, Washington, D.C. 1968.
 Karunakaran, K. 'Caste System and Linguistic Variation: Tamil Situation' *Dravlingpex*, 8.3., Washington, 1976.
 Gnanam, M. 'A Sociolinguistic Description of Chidambaram Saiva Vellala Speech' (Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, A.U. 1975).
- 3 Agesthalingom, S. 'Auxiliary Verbs in Tamil', *Tamil Culture* 11: 272-79, 1964.

present an account of the 'social differentiation' as reflected in the use of aspectual auxiliaries.

1.1. Auxiliaries

Verbal phrase shows the relation between the topic of the discourse, and the speaker, the hearer, other features of the discourse situation and what is addressed about the topic. A great part of flexibility and delicacy of implying this relation is mainly conveyed by the use of the auxiliary verbs. As the name implies auxiliary verbs are verbal in form. Auxiliaries are of two types viz. 1. *Aspectuals* and 2. *Modals*. The surface syntactic constituent which adds aspectual notions to the verb has sometime been referred to as an aspectual auxiliary. The constituents usually called models express semantically the notions of *possibility, potentiality, permission, obligation*, etc. In the present study attention has been focused on the social differences as reflected in the use of aspectual auxiliaries in the speech of various social groups who live in a Tamilnadu village.⁴

1.2. Aspectual Markers

There are a fair number of aspectual markers, each of which is somewhat complex semantically, so that in addition to the nuances of aspect, they may add notions such as *reflexive, annoyance, disgust, perfect, finality, passive* and others. Thus we have aspectual markers in written Tamil viz. i) *|-iru-|* 'perfect, stative, suppositional'; ii) *|-vitu-|* 'definitive'; iii) *|-ko!-|* 'reflexive,

4 K. M. Irulappan, 'Dialect Differences and Social Stratification in a Tamilnadu Village' (Ph.D. Thesis Field Notes, Annamalai University.)

self-benefactive'; iv) *[-kontiru-]* 'durative', etc.⁵ Each of these aspectual markers is homophonous with lexical verbs in the language which do not have the semantic nuance of the corresponding aspectual. The inventory of post-verbal aspectual markers varies from one speech variety to the other.

1.3 *Sampling, Data elicitation and Method of Analysis*

1.3.1 *Sampling*

Bhuvanagiri, a village situated in Chidambaram Taluk (South Arcot District) has been selected as the field for this study which describes the dialect differences and social stratification. This village which has a population of 14,811 is diversified predominantly by different social factors such as *religion, caste groups and castes, education, age, occupational groups, income groups, etc.* In the present analysis, however, social factors such as *caste, education* and age group alone are considered as the major *social variables*. Of these, the social variable *caste* is classified into two viz. 1) Mudaliyar and 2) Yadavar, the variable *education* is sub-classified into four groups viz. 1) *Primary level* (1st to 5th standard), 2) *Secondary level* (6th to 8th standard), 3) *Higher Secondary level* (9th to 11th standard) and 4) *College level* and the social variable age group has three sub-groups viz. 1) *Young* (25-40), 2) *Middle* (41-55) and 3) *Old* (56 and above). It is observed that speakers with College level education are not found in the middle and old age-groups. Sampling, which is a major pre-requisite, is done for the present study, with the above said major social factors in mind. On the whole

5 H. Schiffman, 'A Transformational Grammar of the Tamil Aspectual System' (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago), 1969.

Twenty informants representing the above mentioned social factors have been selected for the elicitation of the data.

1.3.2 *Data elicitation*

Data for the present analysis have been elicited (tape-recorded) using a questionnaire prepared exclusively for this purpose, from each of those informants selected. The questions administered cover a wide range of socio-cultural activities, and also related to informants' socio-linguistic background, the dialect area under investigation and the attitudes (social and linguistic), aspirations, ambitions of the informants and so on. The material elicited in this way is considered as a *genuine sample* which could reflect the speech behaviour of different social groups of the area.

1.3.3 *Method of analysis*

All those aspectual auxiliary usages found in the data are collected separately and the same have been analysed in the light of the socio-linguistic frame work and the analysis has been presented as follows: *Part-I*: Introduction, *Part-II*: Structural Description, *Part-III*: Study of Variation, *Part-IV*: Variations in specific usages, *Part-V*: Variable Rules and Observations.

II. *Structural Description*

2.0. Aspectuals are formed in Tamil by the addition of one or more auxiliaries to the verbal participle forms of the main verbs.

Main Verb + Auxiliary₁ + (Auxiliary₂) + ...

2.1. *Perfective*

The use of */-iru-/* as an auxiliary indicates that the subject of the main verb is (or was or will be, depending

on the tense of *[-iru-]* somehow in the existence at the time of the speech event and that the event represented by the main verb took place at some time prior to the state referred to by *[-iru-]*⁶. Perfective aspect is denoted by auxiliary forms *[-iru-]* and *[-ru-]*.

Eg. 1) *-iru-* : *paṇṇi-iru-kke*
 'have made-you'

2) *-ru-* : *vaccu-ru-kka:nka*
 'have put-they'

2.2. Definitive

The contrast between *[-kiṭu-]* and *[-viṭu-]* is clearer when these auxiliaries occur between the clauses of a sentence rather than sentence finally and is manifested as contemporaneity versus sequentiality. When *[-viṭu-]* occurs in this position, on the other hand, the event or the state of the first clause is understood to precede in time that of the second. There are as many as fifteen forms which denote the auxiliary *[-viṭu-]* that convey the definitive meaning.

Eg 1) *-viṭu-* : *purakkapittu-vitu-va:nka*
 'definitely will neglect-they'

2) *-viṭ-* : *paṇṇi-viṭ-ṭa*
 'which was done definitely'

3) *-vuṭ-* : *veṭṭi-vuṭ-ṭu*
 'having definitely cut'

4) *-iṭu-* : *po:y-iṭu-tu*
 'definitely goes-it'

6 Dale I. R. H. 'Tamil Auxiliary Verb, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, SOAS, University of London) 1975.

- 5) -tu- : *aleccu-tu-va:nka*
'definitely will-invite-they'
- 6) -ta- : *toṭtu-ta-ṇum*
'definitely one must touch'
- 7) -it- : *solli-it-ta:nka*
'said definitely-they'
- 8) -t- : *poteccu-t-tu*
'having buried definitely'
- 9) -iru- ; *a:y-iru-tu*
'definitely becomes-it'
- 10) -ri:r- : *ku:ṭṭ-ri:r-va:nka*
'definitely will broom-they'
- 11) -ru- : *vaccu-ru-va-nke*
'definitely will put-they'
- 12) -ra- : *koṭuttu-ra-ṇum*
'definitely one must give'
- 13) -ri- : *ku:ṭi-ri-ccu*
'definitely increased-it'
- 14) -ir- : *po:y-ir-ccu*
'definitely went-it'
- 15) -r- ; *vantu-r-a:tu*
'definitely will not come-it'

2.3 Reflexive

In the case of reflexive *[-kiṭu-]* indicates that the events or states described by the two clauses occurred or were in existence at the same point or in the same period of time. There are as many as *twentyone forms* which denote the auxiliary *[-koḷ-]* that convey the reflexive meaning.

- Fig. 1) *-kkoḷ-* : *tī:ttu-kkoḷḷ-a*
 'to solve for myself'
- 2) *-kkiṭ-* : *vaccu-kkiṭ-tu*
 'keeping for myself'
- 3) *-kkeṭ-* : *kaṭṭi-kkeṭ-anum*
 'must marry oneself'
- 4) *-kkūṭ-* : *vaccu-kkūṭ-tu*
 'keeping for oneself'
- 5) *-kkūtu-* : *aḷaccu-kku-tu-vā:ṅka*
 'will invite they themselves'
- 6) *-kkitu-* : *a:y-kkitu-vā:ṅka*
 'will become they (themselves)'
- 7) *-kiṭ-* : *ma:ṭṭi-kiṭ-uccu*
 'get entangled itself'
- 8) *-kiṇ-* : *sa:ṭṭi-kiṇ-u*
 'closing oneself'
- 9) *-kṇ-* : *'kettu:kṇ-a:kka*
 'if one learns (oneself)'
- 10) *-koṇṭ-* : *purincu-koṇṭ-a*
 'if one understands oneself'
- 11) *-kku-* : *patuttu-kku-vom*
 'will lie-we ourselves'
- 12) *-kki-* : *sutti-kki-na:*
 'if roll oneself'
- 13) *-kka-* : *paṇṇi-kka-ṇum*
 'must make oneself'
- 14) *-kko-* : *solli-kko-ṇṭa:-ṅka*
 'spoke they themselves'

- 15) *-kke:-* : *se:ttu-kke:-ṅ a:nka*
‘pined they themselves’
- 16) *-kk-* : *purincu-kk-a*
‘to understand oneself’
- 17) *-ṅt-* : *eṭuttu-ṅt-u*
‘taking oneself’
- 18) *-iṅt-* : *katti-iṅt-ra*
‘whom one marries oneself’
- 19) *-uṭ-* : *sencu-uṭ-ṭu*
‘doing oneself’
- 20) *-iṭ-* : *paṅṅi-iṭ-ṭa:*
‘if make oneself’
- 21) *-ṭ-* : *eṭuttu-ṭ-ṭu*
‘taking oneself’

2.4 Durative

Sentence finally, the contrast between continuous and completive has been rendered less obviously by the use of the auxiliary */-kittiru-|* as a continuative and the addition, now most frequent use of */-kiṭu-|* as a self-affective. There are as many as sixteen forms which denote the auxiliary */-kittiru-|* to convey the durative meaning.

- 1) *-kkittiru-* : *vaccu-kkittiru-kvom*
‘are keeping-we’
- 2) *-kkittiru-* : *soḷli-kkitt-e: -irukka:nka*
‘are saying continuously-they’
- 3) *-kkitturu-* : *nesu-kkittu-ta:n-iru-kku*
‘are weaving anyhow-they’

- 4 -*kkuttiru*- : *neneccu-*kkutt*-e:-*ira*-*kren**
 'am thinking over continuously-I'
- 5 -*kke;iru*- : *sencu-*kke;iru* *ppa:ru**
 'will be doing-he'
- 6 -*kkiṇiru*- : *nesu-*kkiṇ*-*iru*-*kken**
 'am weaving-I'
- 7 -*kkiṇiru*- : *pa:ttu-*kkiṇ*-a:-*iru*-*ntom**
 'were looking-me'
- 8 -*ṇiru*- : *vantu-*ṇ*-e:-*iru*-*kkum**
 'will be coming continuously-it'
- 9 -*ḱiru*- : *paṇṇi-*ḱ*-*iru*-*kkraṭu**
 'being in the act of making'
- 10 -*iṭṭuyiru*- : *po:y-*iṭṭuyiru*-*ḱka:nka**
 'are going-they'
- 11 -*ṇṭiru*- : *sencu-*ntu*-*ta:n*-*iru*-*ppom**
 'will be doing somehow-we'
- 12 -*iṭṭuiru*- : *paṇṇi-*iṭṭu*-*ta:n*-*iru*-*kken**
 'am making somehow I'
- 13 -*iṭṭiru*- : *po:y-*iṭṭ*-e:-*iru*-*ḱka**
 'to be going continuously'
- 14) -*iṭṭuiru*- : *natuntu-*iṭṭu*-*ta:n*-*iru*-*kkum**
 'will be going on somehow-it'
- 15) -*ṭṭru*- : *koṭuttu-*ṭṭru*-*ḱka:nka**
 'are giving-they'
- 16) -*iṭṭru*- : *solli-*iṭṭru*-*ḱka:nka**
 'are saying-they'

III Study of Variation

3.0 The main purpose of this study is to investigate the pattern of co-variation⁷ between the various social variables⁸ and the aspectual auxiliary usages as reflected in the speech behaviour of rural folk. The variation in the aspectual auxiliaries are of two types viz. 1) Variation in their phonemic shape and 2) Variation in specific usages. It is found that a particular aspectual auxiliary is represented by different forms and they are also found in different usages (for details please see parts IV and V). But these variations can be conditioned by the social parameters. For example, the definitive aspectual auxiliary /-viṭu-/ is found to have fourteen representations other than /-viṭu-/. Variations are studied by keeping one variable constant at a time. This process is repeated until each one of these variables gets its turn of being treated as a constant.

IV Variations in specific usages

4.0. Alternation is made here to present the use of auxiliaries in different constructions. For example perfective auxiliary is found to occur in past, present, future, verbal participle, relative participle, negative conditional and probability constructions. In the same way the other auxiliaries denoting definitive, reflexive and durative are also found to occur in various constructions of these types. The following study gives an account of such specific usages. However, it is to be mentioned here that,

7 Fasoln, Ralph, W. 'Two Models of Socially significant Linguistic Variation' *Language*, 46: 551-63, 1970

8 Wolfram, W.A. and Fasoln, R.W. *The study of Social Dialects in American English*, Holt, New Jersey, 1972.

it may be possible to show various other usages as well as to fill up the existing gaps, if a different questionnaire is used for data elicitation. All the usages are correlated with the three variables via, 1. *caste*, 2. *educational* and 3. *age* in that order (Mudaliar-young-primary; Mudaliar-young-secondary etc.)

V *Variable rules and observations*

5.0. *Variable Rules*

Those variations that are found as specific usages in the use of aspectual auxiliaries can be explained by a set of rules known as 'Variable rules'. These rules show the social differentiation reflected in the use of aspectual auxiliaries. There are altogether twenty three rules which cover all those variations found.

'Variable rules, are classified into two types viz. 1. *General rules* (those rules applicable and common to all the social classes concerned) and 2. *Specific rules* (those rules common to one or more intra-social groups).⁹ Rules are ordered as follows: 1. Rules applicable to both the caste groups, 2. rules which explain the variations found in a single caste, age-group, and educational level and 3) rules that operate to describe the variations found within the caste (plus the combination of age group and educational level)

9 The term 'intra-social groups' refer to the various sub-groups that come under each social group classified on the basis of the social variables that are considered for this study.

5.1. General Rule

5.1.1. Aspect →	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Perfect present} \\ \text{Definitive } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Past} \\ \text{Future} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{Reflexive V. P.} \\ \text{Durative present} \end{array} \right] / (+ \text{common})$
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<i>pa:ttu-ru-kke:n</i>	'have seen-I'
<i>erantu-t-ta:nka</i>	'definitely died-they'
<i>koṭuttu-ru-vom</i>	'definitely will give-we'
<i>payantu-t-tu</i>	'having feared oneself'
<i>ke:ttu-ttu-kkom</i>	'have asked-we'

5.2 Specific Rules

5.2.1. Aspect → (Definitive- Imperative)	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{Mudaliyar} + \text{M} + \text{H. S.} \\ + \text{Yadavar } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{M} + \text{H.S.} \\ + \text{O} + \text{P} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$
<i>iruntu-ru</i>	'be definitely'

5.2.2. (Reflexive- Negative)	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{Mudaliar } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ++ \text{YH. S.} \\ + \text{O} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{P} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \\ + \text{Yadavar} + \text{Y} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ \text{C} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$
<i>vantu-kr-a:tu</i>	'not coming onself'

5.2.3. Reflexive- Oblative	/	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Mudaliyar} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +S \\ +Y+H.S. \end{array} \right\} \\ +\text{Yadavar} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +Y+C \\ +M+H.S. \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$
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pa:ttu-kka-ṇum

'one should see oneself

5.2.4. (Reflexive- Permissive)	/	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Mudaliyar} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +M+H.S. \\ +C+P \end{array} \right\} \\ +\text{Yadavar} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +Y+H.S. \\ +C \\ +M+P \\ +H.S. \\ +O+P \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$
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seytu-kka-la:nka

'one may do oneself'

5.2.5. (Durative-R.P.)	/	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Mudaliyar} +Y+S \\ +\text{Yadavar} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +Y+C \\ +O+P \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$
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naṭantu-ṭru-kra

'one which is going on'

5.2.6. (Definitive-V.P.) <i>poteccu-ṭ-ṭu</i>	/	(+ Mudaliyar) 'having hurried definitely'
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5.2.7. (Definitive-Present) <i>koṭuttu-r-ra:nka</i>	/	(+ Yadavar) 'definitely give-they'
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5.2.8. (Future-reflexive) <i>paṭuttu-kku-ve:n</i>	/	(+ Middle) 'will get lie-myself'
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5.2.9 { { Reflexive }
 { Durative } Past } \ (+ Old)

kevnuccu-t-te:n 'definitely took care of-I'

pe:si-tru-nta:nka 'were speaking-they'

5.2.10. (Durative future) / (+ Primary)

pa:ttu-kkiṭru-ppén 'will be looking at-we'

5.2.11. (Definitive conditional) / (+ Secondary)

aṭiccu-t-ta: 'if definitely (someone) beat'

5.2.12 [Reflexive conditional
 Reflexive emphatic
 [Durative oblativ]] / [+Mudaliyar
 +Y
 +Primary
 +Secondary]

[Perfective Negative]
 [Reflexive conjunctive]
 [(Perfective conditional)]

seytu-t-ta: 'if definitely (someone) does'

paṇṇi-t-te: 'doing (participle)'

ke:ttu-tru-kkaṇum 'should be hearing'

ke:t-ru-kkama:tte 'won't be hearing-you'

pa:ṭiccu-kkiṭt-um 'also reading'

puṭuccu-rn-ncu-ṇa:kka 'if someone had liked'

5.2.13. [Reflexive-probability] / [+Mudaliyar +M]
 [Durative-V. N.]
 [(Perfective-V. P.)] / [(+Primary)
 (+Secondary)]
 [(Durative-emphatic)]

paṭuttu-kka-la:m 'may someone get lain'

paṇṇi-kiṭ-ratu 'doing oneself'

pe:si-ṭrū-ntuṭṭu 'was taking-someone'

iḷuttu-ṭṭuyiru-nta:ta:n 'only if (someone) was pulling'

5.2.14. $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Definitive-V, N.} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Perfective-Probability} \\ \text{Definitive-emphatic} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{Mudaliar} \\ + \text{O} \\ + \text{Higher} \\ \text{Secondary} \end{array} \right]$

sencu-r-ratu 'definitely doing'

vaccu-ru-kkala:m 'may (someone) have kept'

varappaṭu-tti-iṭ-ṭuta:n 'only having memorised definitely'

5.2.15. $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Definitive-Probability} \\ \text{Definitive-Oblative} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{Mudaliar} + \text{S} \\ (+ \text{O} + \text{P}) \end{array} \right]$

iruntu-r-la:m 'may remain definitely'

po:y-ir-ṇum 'should go one definitely'

5.2.16. (Durative infinitive) $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{Mudaliyar} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{Y} + \text{S} \\ + \text{M} + \text{H.S.} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

vantu-ṇṭru-kka 'someone is coming'

5.2.17	[(Durative conditional) (Durative probability) (Reflexive - V.N.)]	/	[+ Mudaliyar (-O+H. S.) [+Y+P] [+O+S] (-Young)]
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seytu-ṭru-nta: 'if someone was doing'

sutti-kkiṭru-kkala:m 'one may be wandering'

kattu-kk-ratu 'the act of learning'

5.2.18 (Perfective past) / (+ Yadavar-M)

Sencu-ru-nta:nka 'had done-they'

5.2.19. (Perfective-R. P.) / (+ Yadavar + M)

sencu-ru-kkra 'that which someone has done'

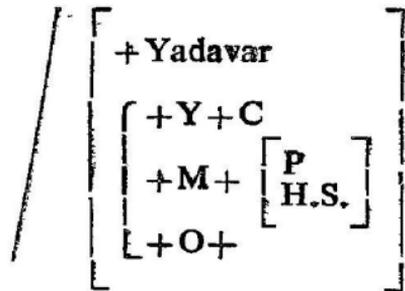
5.2.20.	[Perfective future Reflexive infinitive (Durative - V. P.)]	/	[+ Yadavar + O (+Primary)]
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vaccu-ru-ppa:nka 'will have-they'

vaccu-kk-a 'to have oneself'

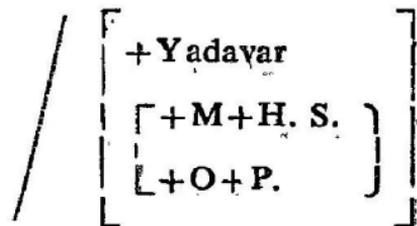
pa:ttu-kkiṭru-ntu 'someone was looking it'

5.2.21. (Definitive - R.P.)

*vantu-t-ta*

'someone who came definitely'

5.2.22. (Reflexive - R.P.)

**putincu-kon-t-a*

'understanding oneself'

6 Observations

The study of variation shows that not all aspectual usages are found to be common in the speech of all informants. There are, however, many variations and these can be correlated with those social parameters based on which the study is made. Usages like perfect present, definitive past and future, reflexive V.P., durative present are common with all the informants.

Some of the common usages may show variations and some of the variations might not be there if a different questionnaire is administered. But the questionnaire administered in this study includes various aspects of social life and so the data elicited represents fairly genuine sample; hence the following observations could be made from the study.

Social indicators: Of the nine social indices six have distinct indicators. In the first major variable caste both the indices show distinctness. In the variable age group the *middle* and *old* groups have characteristic features. The social indices *primary level* and *secondary level* have distinct indicators in the educational level. Future reflexive is a characteristic feature to the *middle* age group and reflexive and durative past to the *old* age group. Durative future is a characteristic social marker to the *primary educational level* and definitive conditional to the *secondary educational level*.

Abbreviations

C	...	College level
Ct.	...	Constant
H.S.	...	Higher Secondary level
M	...	Middle age group
O	...	Old age group
P	...	Primary level
R.P.	...	Relative Participle
S	...	Secondary level
V	...	Variable
V.N.	...	Verbal Noun
V.P.	...	Verbal Participle

Colophon

I express my whole hearted thanks to my Professor S. Agesthalingom who has kindly permitted me to undertake this work and also I express my sincere thanks and gratitude to my supervisor Dr. K. Karunakaran for his valuable suggestions. I wish to record my deep sense of gratitude to my revered teacher Mrs. T. M. Kameswari, who was kind enough to go through the manuscript and offered many vital suggestions and encouragements to this paper.

SOME ASPECTS OF AUXILIARIES

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0. The study of auxiliaries is obviously a rich field of enquiry which requires much more fundamental and demanding work to be done. Even in the case of well-studied languages like English, German etc., results that are currently accessible are proved to be inexplicit by present-day theoretical developments. The preliminary attempt to catalogue the nuances of auxiliaries is still in progress, often resulting in the identification of new ones, the problem being left over to the systematic description of the relation between the different nuances. Some of the suggested nuances with reference to certain verbs are so hazy that they are seldom contrasted with the related ones either syntactically or semantically such a difficulty often arises from the inconsistent adoption of terminologies and definitions. The inconsistency, of course, is not merely in the analyses, but in the system itself, the underlying fact being that there is no one: one relation between the auxiliaries and their underlying semantic notions. It implies that within a language and between languages notions of tense, aspect, mood and voice are manifested in various syntactic categories, including, among others, auxiliaries and conversely, a particular auxiliary may refer to different notions of the above four categories.

The terms *tense*, *aspect*, *mood* and *voice* which are, as a rule, the concerns of auxiliaries are made use of by various people without their being ever defined or distinguished from one another. And almost all discussions (syntactic and semantic) about auxiliaries are intertwined with this problem. An attempt is made in this paper to define and distinguish the four categories and identify their relationship with auxiliaries, with briefly discussing the following issues about auxiliaries :

- i) What is the status of auxiliaries in a grammar?
- ii) Why should only a few among the thousands of verbs in languages develop into auxiliaries?
- iii) Why should languages adopt an auxiliary system while there are other grammatical means to serve the same semantic purpose?

1.0. Such terms as *tense*, *aspect*, *mood* and *voice* are syntactically rather than semantically oriented. Traditionally, they have been used as the sub-categorization features of the syntactic category, auxiliary. However, the semantic information underlying the above sub-categorization features would avail for a more desirable definition and classification.

1.1. *Tense*

Time is a universal concept with three divisions viz. present, past and future in relation to which, as a rule, events (actions, states and processes) are related to sentences. The above time relations are syntactically reflected in different tense forms, time adverbs, adjectives etc. English has only two tenses which are plausibly referred to as present tense and past tense. 'There is no obvious future tense in English corresponding to the time/tense parallel

for present and past. Instead there are a number of possibilities of denoting future time' (Quirk, et al. 1972, p. 87) One among those possibilities being the use of the modal auxiliaries 'shall' and 'will' which have futurity as one of several meanings. Nevertheless, these should not be mistaken for temporal auxiliaries. The development of tense markers to denote all the three tenses in Tamil is a later innovation old Tamil maintaining past/non-past distinction alone, despite the threefold time distinctions being felt as far back as Tolkaappiyam (Tol. col. 199). Many of the tribal languages of Dravidian origin show only past/non-past distinction. Languages, generally, tend to adopt morphological tenses to denote time distinctions. Tense may be rightly considered as a pro-adverbial form in a verb. An inquiry can be treated as verbs, but I do not intend to dwell on this problem at this stage except for mentioning that McCawley (1971, p. 99) proposes that tenses are not features but are themselves underlying verbs. Kothandaraman, R. (1973, p. 280) has also referred to this problem stating that tense suffixes not only denote the time notion, but also are capable of functioning as verbals. Theoretically, one may assume that there must be atleast one language or a few languages where the temporal notions manifest in auxiliary construction.

Tense in Tamil, apart from indicating an earmarked time notion, may stand for other time notions and notions of aspect and mood as illustrated below:

- 1 a) *avaṅ inṟu varukīraṅ*
'he comes today'
- b) *avaṅ naalāi varuvaṅ*
'he will come tomorrow'

The notion of aspect is characterised by various types of relations between events and point or points of time as they manifest themselves to the speaker. Points of time are not just the mathematical dots, as they are often graphically represented for the sake of understanding and do practically have dimensions. The various types of relationship referred to above include primarily 'inception', 'duration' and 'completion' of events. Delicate distinctions within each type will give rise to many more types of relationships, as for instance 'duration' can be distinguished into progressive when the event is continuous and 'habitual' when it is repetitive, and 'completion' into 'completive' when the completion of an event is visualized in reference to its occurrence point and 'perfective' when the same is projected onto another point of time (time focus). The notion of aspect is distinguished from the notion of tense on the basis of the semantic criterion that the former lacks the feature 'direction' (t^+ , t^0 , t^-) while the latter has it. However, their constant association blurs this distinction between them.

The semantic features of aspect manifest themselves in aspectual auxiliaries, adverbs of manner, etc., and interestingly, they are identifiable with the features of certain classes of verbs too. For instance, 'progressiveness' is an inherent property of all 'non-actional' verbs, such as *var* 'to grow', *aḷi* 'to deteriorate', *iru* 'to be' and adverbs such as *toṭarntu* 'continuously', *nīṭṭa kaalomaaka* 'for a long time', 'inception' is that of verbs such as *poo* 'to start' / 'to go', *toṭanku* 'to begin', *muyal*, *paar* 'to try' and of adverbs such as *mutalil* 'at first', and 'completion' is that of verbs such as *muṭi* 'to complete' *niṭuttu* 'to stop', *viṭu* 'to leave off' and of adverbs such as *kataiciyaaka* 'finally'. The selection of *koṇṭiru*, a stative verb as the

'progressive' aspect is relatable to the above fact. If we could pick all verbs related to 'inception', 'duration' and 'completion' and identify their semantic features, it would make it possible to pinpoint the various semantic features of aspect and show their difference from one another. No proposals concerned with the formal criteria can be successful unless they are related to the semantic criteria thus arrived. I do not propose to list and give the nuances of all the aspectual auxiliaries in Tamil, because it would not be fruitful unless the above suggested study is undertaken. At present, I could give only a semantic clue to decide which is aspectual and which is not all the semantic features related to aspectual auxiliaries should be factual i.e. they amount to assumptions of fact.

1.3. Mood

The notion of mood is characterized by the psychological attitude of the speaker toward an event. The different semantic features of the notion of mood manifest themselves in modal auxiliaries, sentential adverbs, etc. The notion of mood is clearly distinguished from the notions of tense and aspect by its non-factual nature. One of the notable characteristics of modal auxiliaries would be the association of 'futuraity' with them. The reason for this is that the semantic features of modal auxiliaries and futurity both share the common property of being non-factual. However, future is not always non-factual, nor do modal auxiliaries denote futurity in all environments. Futurity is effected only when the notion of mood is operated on (event + time) and not when it is in the environment of (event + time + aspect) as illustrated in (6) a and (6) b.

- 6) a. *kaṇṇaṅ oru kaṭṭurai eḷutakkuuṭum*
'Kannan may write an article'

b. *kaṇṇaṅ oru katturai eḷutiyiṅkkaḱ kuuṅum*
 'Kannan might have written an article.'

As in the Case of the features of aspect discussed under 1.2. the semantic features of mood can be identified with the features of the verbs like *niṅai*, *eṅṅu* 'to think', *viṅṅu* 'to wish', *nampu* 'to believe', *etiṅṅaṅ* 'to expect', *veṅṅuṅum* 'to need' etc. To have a precise understanding of the underlying features of the modal auxiliaries we have to investigate the semantic structure of these predicates. Therefore, we can assume the possibility of tracing the meanings of modal auxiliaries from the meanings of certain class verbs.

1.4. *Voice*

The notion of voice is characterized by an event being focussed or highlighted by the speaker on the agent or patient whether they are affected by that or not.

1.4.1. *Passive Voice*

The notion of passive is characterized by focussing the event on the sufferer and this manifests in the auxiliary *paṅu* in Tamil, *BE + EN* in English in addition to the syntactic rearrangement of the agent and the patient. Contextually, passive is related to many other motivations like agent suppression, agent unknown, etc.

1.4.2. *Reflexive Voice*

The notion of reflexive involves the focussing of the event on the agent as affected by it and this is reflected in the auxiliary verb *koḷ* or the reflexive pronoun *taṅṅ* in Tamil and only in reflexive pronoun in English. When the same focussing is done to a plural agent the members of the agent are mutually affected by the event and this

property (reciprocity) is also marked by the same markers as above.

1.4.3. Causative Voice

The notion of Causative involves highlighting the agent as causing the patient to do the event and this property is reflected in the auxiliaries *vai*, *cey* and *paṇṇu* in Tamil.

The underlying semantic features of the notion of Voice are identified with the semantic properties of the verbs *paṭu* 'to suffer', *koḷ* 'to receive', *peṟu* 'to have/'to receive', *cey* 'to do', *vai* 'to place'/'to keep' and *paṇṇu* 'to make', etc.

1.5. Negation

Negative predication can operate with reference to the event on time, notions of aspect, mood and voice and it cannot be subsumed under any one of the above categories. Negation is counterfactual by nature and this may be semantically related to verbs such as 'pretend'.

- 7) a. He pretends to be an honest man means
b. He is not an honest man.

Negation is reflected in auxiliaries, adverbs, adjectives, etc. In Tamil, it is reflected in the verbs *illai*, *alla* and *maṭṭu* and the morpheme *-aa(t)-*

2.0. I have argued with the help of a few illustrations that the semantic features of auxiliaries are identifiable with the features of verbs. If this fact could be established for all auxiliaries, which I have not attempted, it can be, undoubtedly, proved that semantically there is no difference between auxiliaries and main verbs. The differences in

the syntactic level could be explained through transformations. The structural dichotomy of MV + Aux and MV + MV is analogical to that of subordination and coordination. This would lead to yet another theoretical question, if both of them were semantically identical why should they be expressed in two different ways? The phenomenon of neutralization that we discussed under 1. 1. is related to the question we raised above. Thus, any kind of theorizing involves the cropping up of questions one after another, which must not, however be deterrent.

2.1. Another interesting problem to arise in this regard is why it is that only a few of all verbs come to function as auxiliaries. Probably, the reason is that the user has identified only as many features as are expressed through the existing auxiliaries. The choice of one verb in preference to another synonymous verb for the function of auxiliary may depend on the relative frequency of their occurrences, as for instance, *poo* 'to go' is preferred to *cēl* 'to go'. The use of the following classes of verbs may also serve as a clue to the preference, spoken of above.

- 1) Copula
Ta. *aaku*; Ma. *aanə*; Ka. *aagu*; Te. *avu*, 'to be'
- 2) Verbs denoting existence
Ta. *iru*, *u!*; Ma. *iri*, *u!*; Ka. *iru*, *u!*; Te. *uṅ/un* 'to be'
- 3) Verbs denoting possession
Ta. *peru*, *ko!*; Ma. *ko!*; Ka. *ko!*; Te. *konn* 'to have'
- 4) Verbs denoting 'give'
Ta. *taa*, *koṭu*; Ma. *koṭukkukà*, *taruka*; Ka. *taa*, *koṭu*; Te. *te*, *ivvu*.

- 5) Verbs denoting 'do'
Ta. *cey*; Ma. *ceyyuka*; Ka. *maadu*; Te. *ceeyi*
[*ceyi*] and
- 6) defective verbs,
Ta. *veenṭum*; Ma. *veeṇam*; Ka. *beeku*; Te. *kaavaali*
'to need'

2.2 The last issue for discussion is concerned with the reasons for adopting the auxiliary constructions in preference to the synonymous constructions involving adverbs, verbs, etc. In this connection we should recall the earliest stages of languages as of Tamil, where the auxiliary constructions were rarely adopted, except for a few instances of *taru* 'to give' *varu* 'to come', etc. The system acquires precision when features related to predicates are accommodated in predicates themselves. Moreover, auxiliaries are more capable of expressing the required meanings in an economic way than the equivalent constructions dovetailed with a limited number of semantic features each. This stands comparison with the mechanical advantage spoken of in the realm of sciences.

3.0. I have managed just to pin point the possibilities of a semantic approach to the problem defaulting with respect to the syntactic analysis making use of that approach.

Colophon

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AUXILIARIES IN TAMIL

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1.0 Auxiliary in Modern Tamil is discussed in this paper. There are different types of auxiliaries like Aspect and Modal. In this paper Aspectual auxiliaries alone are discussed.

1.1 Aspect is a verbal form expressing action or being in respect of its inception, duration or completion¹.

2.0 The common aspectual auxiliaries are *vay*, *iru*, *pa:r*, *po:*, *va:*, *viṭu*, *aṭi*, *po:ṭu*, *a:ku*, *koḷ*, *koṇṭiru*, *koṭu*, *ka:ṭṭu*, *teri*, *cey*, *paṇṇu* and *paṭu*. This list, however, is not exhaustive.

2.1 Auxiliaries like *cey*, *paṇṇu*, *teri* and *paṭu* occur after infinitives. The auxiliaries *a:ku*, *koḷ*, *koṇṭiru*, *koṭu* and *ka:ṭṭu* occur after verbal participles. The rest occur after both the constructions. Except a few like *vay*, *iru*, *va:* and *po:* all the auxiliaries do not occur after negative verbal participle.

3.0 Verbal participle + Auxiliary

3.1 *a:ku*

This mainly occurs as past neuter finite form. When preceding another auxiliary. It can also co-occur with any one of the following auxiliaries *viṭu*, *ve:ṇum* and *iru*.

1 The concise Oxford Dictionary

- Eg. 1) *avar vanṭa:ccu* 'he came'
 2a) *ava ca:pṭa:ytuṭṭu* 'she finished eating'
 b) *na:n po:ya:kaṇum* 'I have to go'
 c) *inne:ram avar* 'By this time he would
tu:mkiya:yirukkum have slept'

It normally denotes completion or an expected result of an action.

koḷante oruvaḷiya: tu:ṅkiya:ccu

'The child slept at last'

In the following instance it expresses an emphatic meaning,

ni; enna conna:lum avan na:ṭakattukku po:ya:va:n

'whatever you say he will definitely go to drama'

3.2. *koḷ*

The spoken forms are mainly *kittu* or *ṅtu*. This auxiliary expresses many meanings depending on the context.

The reflexive meaning is expressed in the following instances.

avan tanneye: nontukkittā:n

'He blamed himself'

anta koḷante ata:kave: ca:pṭukkum

'The child will take his food himself'

What is denoted here is that the agent by itself does the action when the agent and the patient are being identical.

In certain other instances the agent and the patient may be different and in that case it gives a reciprocal meaning.

avanka ottare ottar ittiṅkitta:mka

‘They were scolding each other’

There are instances where the agent is not involved in the action as actor but enjoys the benefit of the action.

avan [tanokka:ka] oru kaṭṭil ceytukitta:n

‘He made a coat for himself’

This sentence is, however ambiguous, expressing two meanings:

- 1) The agent himself is involved in the action
- 2) He gets it done by some other agent.

This sentence can be disambiguated by inserting *ta:ne:*, a reflexive pronoun before *ceytukitta:n*

Sometimes *ko!* denotes [-benefit] too as in this sentence:

na:n unakka:ka itay eṭuttukkaṇe:n

‘I take this for your satisfaction’

Simultaneous occurrence of two actions is also expressed by *ko!*.

Eg. *ninnukoṇṭu pa:tiṅa:*

‘she sang standing’

This meaning can be ascertained by putting *paṭi*, [an expression which denotes simultaneity in such constructions] in the place of *ko!*

ninnopaṭi pa:ṭina:

Depending on the other verbs with which it is in construction it expresses meaning such as continuity and request.

Progressive meaning is expressed when *koḷ* occurs before the verb *va:* or *po:*

aṇayil veḷḷam ku:ṭikkoṇṭuvantatu

'The level of water in the dam was raising'

velay e:ṭikoṇṭu po:ccu

'The prices have gone up'

koḷ occurs after the verb *ke:l* [hear] and forms an idiom to denote request.²

mantiriyay pe:cumpaṭi ke:ṭṭuukoṇṭo:m

'We requested the Minister to deliver his speech'

3.3. *koṭu*

The meaning of the main verb *koṭu* is 'to give'. Naturally, when this occurs as auxiliary it indicates that the benefit of the action goes to other than the agent [ie] to the indirect object.

ravi kuma:ruṭaya taleyet taṭavik koṭutta:n

'Ravi cared the head of the Kumar'

3.4. *ka:ṭtu*

This auxiliary normally gives the meaning 'to exhibit' or 'to demonstrate'

2 In these dialects *paṭu* is used with all the verbs.

avar ravikku naṭiccuka:ṭna:r
 'He demonstrated his acting to him'

In the following instances it expresses the meaning 'to blame' and 'to show contempt' respectively.

na:n kalya:ṇattukku varale:ṇṇu (ella:rṭe:yum
collikka:ṭna:)
 'She blamed me for not attending (her) marriage'

4.0. Infinitive + Auxiliary.

4.1. *Cey* and *paṇṇu* express a causative meaning. In certain caste dialects like Brahmin dialect *paṇṇu* is common than *cey*. On the other hand this also freely varies with *vay*, another aspectual auxiliary.

4.2. *teri*

This auxiliary is used in a few dialects like Brahmin dialect and in such dialects it varies with *pa:r* meaning accidental occurrence of an action.

Eg. *viḷatterinca:n* 'He was about to fall'

4.3. *paṭu*

paṭu as a main verb has the meaning suffer, experience etc. As an auxiliary this is normally used as a passive marker in written Tamil. But in certain spoken dialects³ (Brahmin dialect and Kanyakumari regional dialect) this is used in a different sense.

3 Caldwell and Agesthalingom have noted the habituality meaning alone.

In these dialects *paṭu* in the participial noun ^{nar} and relative participle form denotes two meanings: habituality and progressiveness.⁴

The utterance *avan ca:ṭappattavan* is ambiguous in the way it expresses both the meanings mentioned above. Only from the context the ambiguity is solved.

- Eg. *tu:nkappattavane tontaravu paṇṇa:te* (progressive)
 'Don't disturb him sleeping'
ava nanna: paṭikkappattava (habituality)
 'She is good in studying'

5.0. The auxiliaries which occur both after verbal participle and infinitive are : *vay*, *pa:r*, *iru*, *po:*, *va:*, *viṭu*, *po:*, *po:ṭu* and *aṭi*.

5.1. *vay*

As already mentioned *vay* indicates a causative meaning after infinitives. It may be assumed that this *vay* is a modified form of the causative suffix *-vi* found in Written Tamil. However, this assumption has to be supported by a larger number of evidences.

The infinitive forms of certain verbs like *paṭi* (to read) when followed by *vay* give an idiomatic meaning, in addition to causative meaning.

avanṭa:n enṇay paṭikka vacca:n
 'It is he who arranged for my education'
 (*paṭikkavoy* = to educate)

4 *va:* as auxiliary would have the same meaning as *po:* in the above construction.

vay, when it occurs after verbal participle expresses not only the meaning of future benefit but also disgust or dissatisfaction.

avanukku amme po:ttu vaccirukku

'[It is a pity that] he is ill with small pox'

In the following instance, *vay* varies with *tole* [an aspect auxiliary denoting disgust].

ki:le viluntu vaccirukka:n

'[It is a pity that] he has fallen down'

After the verb *e:ttu* and *toṭamku*, *vay* denotes idiomatic meaning.

koṭi e:tti vacca:r

'He hoisted the flag'

ku:ttatte toṭamki vacca:r

'He inaugurated the meeting'

5.2. *pa:r*

When it occurs after verbal participle it denotes testing of an action [ie] an action is performed to ascertain something.

avan uppu po:tuma:ṇṇu ca:ptup pa:tta:n

'He tested whether there was enough salt'

But when *pa:r* is added to infinitive it denotes attempt [ie] here *pa:r* denotes only the initiation of the action. This difference can be verified by placing a negative sentence after infinitive + *pa:r* construction.

*avan̄ oru maṇi vare paṭikkap patta:n̄ a:n̄a:
muṭiyale*

'He tried to read up to one O'clock but he couldn't'

The negative construction cannot follow the verbal participle + *pa:r* construction and hence it is ascertained that *pa:r* after infinitive and after verbal participle cannot give the same meaning viz. 'trial',

When the subject is an animate one, then it expresses not the trial meaning but the meaning of expectation.

Eg. *avan̄ukkuampaḷam ku:ṭap pa:kkutu*
'It is expected that his pay would increase'

In certain infinitive + *pa:r* constructions like
ca:kappa:tta:n̄

We do not know whether there is the agent's intentional involvement in the action. Some-times context may come to our help

Eg. *tu:kkuppo:tṭu ca:kappa:tta:n̄* [intentional]
pa:mpu kaṭiccu ca:kāp pa:tta:n̄ [unintentional]

In the Brahmin dialect *pa:r* is replaced by another auxiliary viz. *ter* to denote the unintentional meaning.

Eg. *avane taḷḷap pa:tte:n̄* (intentional)
avane toḷḷat terince:n̄ (unintentional)

5.3. *Po:*

Like *pa:r*, *po:* also denotes the initiation of an action when it occurs after infinitive. But *po:* expresses a force in doing the action which is not the case in the case of *pa:r*.

Eg. *aṭikkap pa:tta:n*
*aṭikkap po:na:n*⁵

Moreover 'po:' as auxiliary denotes more definiteness in the happening of the action

Eg. *vele e:ṛappa:kkutu*
vele e:ṛappo:kutu
niccayama: vele e:ṛappo:kutu
niccayama: vele e:ṛappa:kkutu

The above statement can be ascertained by having the adverb *niccayama:* in the above sentence.

While describing undesirable event *po:* is used after verbal participle.

pa:l koṭṭippo:ccu

It is to be noted that in the above sentence, the real agent of the action is not expressed and thus it ascertains the statement.

But there are instances violating this statement :

avaṇ maḱiḷntu po:na:n
 'He felt very happy'

eṇakku intattuṇi rompap piṭiccu po:ccu
 'I like this cloth very much'

5.4. *viṭu*

This occurring after infinitive expresses the meaning 'to allow'

5 "Though some scholars seem to think *-viṭu* and *-poṭu* are somewhat in free variation, it appears that *-poṭu* always occurs only with transitive verbs (Agesthalingom 1964, p. 275).

avaṇet tu:mka viṭu
 'Allow him to sleep'

When it occurs after verbal participle, it normally denotes the completion and definiteness of an action.

5.5. In Southern dialects the auxiliary *viṭu* varies with *po:tu* in certain constructions. It varies with *po:tu* not only after transitive verbs but also after intransitive verbs.⁶

Eg. *kuḷiccuṭṭu - kuḷiccuppo:ṭṭu po:na:n*
 'He went after taking bath'

The auxiliary *po:tu* need not be used only when describing 'malevolent' action; in other instances also it is used.

Eg. *ca:pṭuppo:ṭṭu po:aṇ:n*
 'He went after taking food'

5.6. *aṭi*

The usage of this auxiliary is not quite common in the language. However we find rare examples like *to:kkaṭi* (to defeat), *maṛakkaṭi* (to make one to forget)

In the above instances it gives a meaning equivalent to 'cause.....to'.

6.0. *viṭu*, *a:ku* and *po:*

These auxiliaries occurring after a verbal participle denote the completion of an action. However, there is some difference between their meanings.

To the answer implied question,

kaṇṇaṇ tu:ṅkaṛa:na:?

The reply will be either *tu:nkiviṭṭa:n* or *tū:nkiya:ccu*. Here the auxiliaries helped to give the implied answer. On the other hand *tu:nkippo:na:n* not being the possible reply *po:* differs from them.

Similarly there is a difference of meaning between *viṭu* and *a:ku* as is clear in the following pair of sentences.

avane konnutṭe:n

avane konna:ccu

The first sentence denotes unexpectedness while the second premeditation. As constructions supporting the above observation the following pair can also be cited.

avane konnutṭe:nnu varuttama:yirukku

**avane konna:ccunnu varutama:yirukku*

Colophon

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AUXILIARY - A COMPARISON

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Introduction

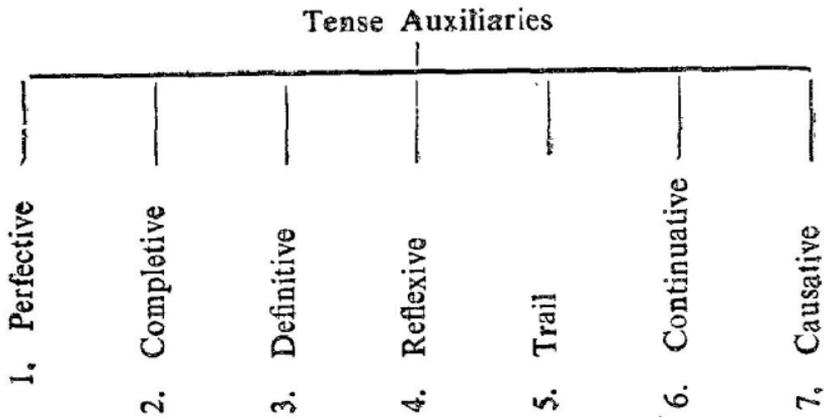
Auxiliary verbs are those which modify the meaning of the main verb. In this paper I have compared the Auxiliary verbs in my dialect (Kerala Brahmin Tamil Dialect), and the Auxiliary verbs found in Tamil Folksongs. I have taken data for Folksongs from (1) *tamilar na:ttup pa:talkal*” by N. Vanamamalay (2) “*na:ttuppurappa:tal-kaḷ*” by R. Alakappan and (3) “*ta:la:ttukkaḷ aynu:ru*” by R. Alakappan. Folksongs consists of mixture of dialects (including the standard dialect) as they are collected from various parts of the country and so it is taken here for the purpose of comparison.

Complex verbs are derived by adding the Auxiliary verbs to the main verbs. They are classified into two types viz., 1) Tense Auxiliaries and 2) Modals (tenseless Auxiliaries).

Auxiliary verbs which take tense are added to the verbal participle and infinitive form of the main verb. Auxiliary verbs which do not take tense and are added to the infinitive form of the main verb are called as Modals.

Tense Auxiliaries :

Tense taking Auxiliaries are of seven types according to their difference in meaning. These are

1. *Perfective :*

Both in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and in Folk-songs “*iru*’ is the verb representing the perfective meaning. When this is added to the verbal participle form of the main verb this gives the perfect meaning of the action of the main verb.

Structure : $MV_{VP} + iru$

Example :

- 1) *ava_n colliyirunta_n*
‘He had told’
- 2) *ava vantirunta*
‘She had come’
- 3) *na_n ke:t_tirukke_n*
‘I had heard’

- 12) *ceṭikku taṅṅi viṭṭa:ya:ccu*
 'I have watered the plant'

"a:ccu"

- 13) *ava po:ya:ccu*
 'She has gone'

- 14) *na:n vanta:ccu*
 'I have come'

- 15) *ḍulacikku taṅṅi viṭṭa:ccu*
 'I have watered the thulasi plant'

"po:ccu" is the verb used in Tamil Folksongs to represent the completive meaning.

Structure : MV_{VP} + po:ccu

- 16) *ka:ñcu po:ccu*
 'It has shrivelled' 12-4

- 17) *muṭiñcu po:ccu*
 'It has been finished' 418-3

3. Definitive

"viṭṭu" is the verb representing the definitive meaning in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect. When this is added to the verbal participle form of the main verb, this shows certainty in the action of the main verb.

Structure : MV_{VP} + viṭṭu

- 18) *ava po:yitṭa:*
 'She has gone' (def.)

- 19) *na:n sollitṭe:n*
 'I have said' (def.)

- 20) *avan va:ṅkiṭṭa:ṅ*
 'He has purchased (it)' (def.)
- 21) *eṅ poṅṅu tu:ṅkiṭṭa:*
 'My daughter has slept' (def.)
- 22) *avar vantutṭa:r*
 'He has come' (def.)

Definitive meaning is represented by two verbs viz. "viṭu" and "po:tu" in Tamil Folksongs. "po:tu" is not used in my dialect. Both the verbs are in free variation and when these are added to the verbal participle form of the main verb, certainty in the action of the main verb is expressed.

Structure : $MV_{VP} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} viṭu \\ po:tu \end{array} \right\}$

- 23) *tu:ṅki viṭṭe:ṅ*
 'I had slept' 303-12
- 24) *pu:cai muṭittu viṭṭe:ṅ*
 'I have finished worship' (def.) 11-120
- 25) *kaḷḷaṅ koṅṭu po:yitṭa:ṅ*
 'thief has taken it' 53-10
- 26) *avar e:ri viṭṭa:r*
 'He has ascended' 227-22

po:tu"

- 27) *na:ṅ uḷutu po:ṭṭe:ṅ*
 'I have finished ploughing' (def.) 8-5
- 28) *na:ṅ virrup po:ṭṭe:ṅ*
 'I have sold (it)' (def.) 25-13

Verbs representing the definiteness in the action of the main verb also shows the completeness in the action of the main verb.

4. Reflexive :

The verb “*ko!*” represents the reflexive meaning in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and also in Tamil Folksongs. “*kiṭu*” is also used in Tamil Folksongs to represent the reflexive meaning which is not used in my dialect. When this is added to the verbal participle form of the main verb gives the reflexive meaning.

Structure : MV_{VP} + *ko!*

- 29) *ni: aticcukko:*
‘You strike yourself’
- 30) *ni:ya: pe:cikko:*
‘You speak to yourself’
- 31) *avan aticcun̄ta:n̄*
‘He beat himself’
- 32) *na:n̄a: nen̄accun̄te:n̄*
‘I thought (it) myself’
- 33) *na:n̄e: ceñcukkuve:n̄*
‘I will do (it) myself’
- 34) *ni: vaḷiccu vaḷiccu nakkikko:*
‘You coupe it up and lick it yourself’ 54-8
- 35) *na:n̄ aṭakkik koṇte:n̄*
‘I controlled myself’ 60-32
- 36) *na:n̄ ciluvay varaintu koṇte:n̄*
‘I crossed myself’ 304-1

“*kiṭu*”

- 37) *na:ṇ vaḷiccuḱiṭte:ṇ*
 ‘I have couped it up for myself’ 50-6
- 38) *avaṇ vaccuḱiṭta:ṇ*
 ‘He kept (it) for himself’ 188-2

5. Trial

“*pa:r*” is the verb representing the trial meaning both in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and in Folksongs. When this is added to the verbal participle form of the main verb gives the meaning ‘to try’ or ‘attempt’.

Structure : MV_{VP} + *pa:r*

- 39) *na:ṇ paṭiccup pa:tte:ṇ*
 ‘I tried to read it’
- 40) *avaṇ pe:sippa:tta:ṇ*
 ‘He tried to speak’
- 41) *na:ṇ nenaccup pa:tte:ṇ*
 ‘I tried to think’
- 42) *na:ṇ anta pustakatta avaṅkiṭta ke:ṭṭup pa:kkare:ṇ*
 ‘I shall try to ask him for that book’
- 43) *ni:ṅka va:ṅkip pa:ruṅko:*
 ‘you try to buy’ 221-2

6. Continuative:

Verb representing the continuative meaning in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect is “*koṇṭiru*” and when this is added to the verbal participle form of the main verb shows the action of the main verb is continuous. There is no

specific verb to represent the continuative meaning in Tamil Folksongs.

Structure : $MV_{VP} + kōṭṭiru$

- 44) *ni: varumbo:tu na:n e[utitirunte:n*
‘I was writing when you came’
- 45) *avaṅ ca:ptuntirukka:n*
‘He is eating’
- 46) *na:y tu:ṅkiṅṅirukku*
‘Dog is sleeping’
- 47) *ava vantuntirukka:*
‘She is coming’
- 48) *na:n avaloṭṭa pe:sitirukke:n*
‘I am speaking with her’

7. Causative :

The verb representing the causative meaning is “vey” in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and when added to the infinitive form of the main verb, it gives the causative meaning.

Structure: $MV_{Inf} + vey$

- 49) *na:n avala pa:kka vecce:n*
‘I made her look’
- 50) *avaṅ ra:maṅa paṭikka vecca:n*
‘He caused Rama to read’
- 51) *avaṅ iṅjina o:ṭa vecca:n*
‘He made the engine to run’
- 52) *ava re:ḍiyo:va pa:ṭa vecca:*
‘She made the radio to sing’

- 53) *na:n ayaḷa aḷa vecce:n*
 'I caused her to weep'

Three verbs "vay", "viṭu", 'paṇṇu" gives the causative meaning in Tamil Folksong and when they are added to the infinitive form of the main verb gives the causative meaning.

Structure : $MV_{Inf} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vay} \\ \text{viṭu} \\ \text{paṇṇu} \end{array} \right\}$

"vay"

- 54) *poṅka vacce:n*
 'I caused it to boil over' 335-2
- 55) *utka:ra vaytta:r*
 'He was made someone to sit' 175-10

"viṭu"

- 56) *ka:ya viṭte:n*
 'I arranged for it to dry' 119-5
- 57) *kaniya viṭte:n*
 'I caused the fruit to ripen' 119-6

"paṇṇu"

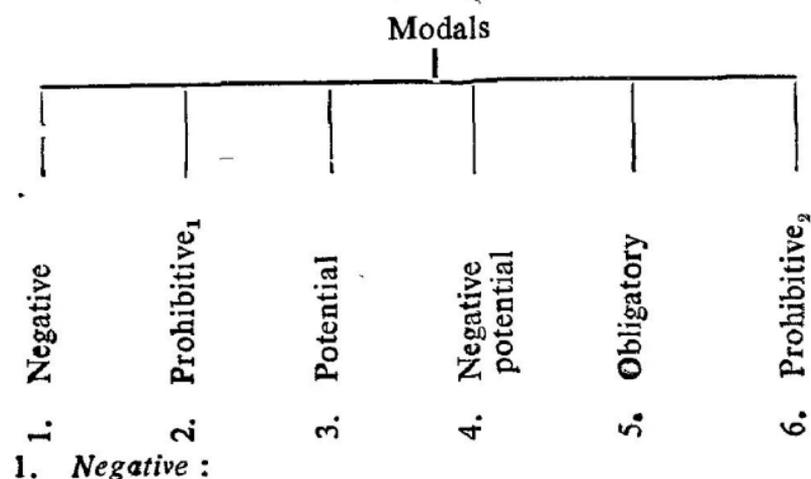
- 58) *atu ku:ttum a:ṭap paṇṇuma:m*
 'It will make others also to dance'*

Modals :

Auxiliary verbs, which do not take tense and added to the infinitive form of the main verb are called as

* "Na:ṭṭuppa:ṭalkal" by R. Alakappan, page - 32, line 5 to 6.

modals. Modal Auxiliaries are of six types according to their meaning. These are



“*ma:ttu*” represents the negative meaning in both Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and in Tamil Folksongs.

Structure : $MV_{Inf} + ma:ttu$

59) *na:n vara ma:tte:n*
‘I won’t come’

60) *ava pe:ca ma:tta:*
‘She won’t speak’

61) *avan o:ta ma:tta:n*
‘He won’t run’

62) *inime: ke:kka ma:tte:n*
‘I won’t ask hereafter’

63) *connacol tavara ma:tte:n*
‘I won’t breaking words’ 11-79

64) *ta:li kututta:lum va:nka ma:tte:n*
‘I won’t take even if you give the marriage badge’ 182-5

- 65) *kacce:rikkum vara ma:tte:n*
'I won't come to the assembly' 182-9
- 66) *co:lacco:ru tiñka ma:tte:n*
'I won't eat the maize food' 185-1

2. Prohibitive₁ :

Verb representing the prohibitive₁ meaning is "(ve:)ñta:m" in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and when this is added to the infinitive form of the main verb gives the prohibitive₁ meaning.

Structure : $MV_{Inf} + (ve:) \text{ñta:m}$

- 67) *ni: varañta:m*
'You must not come'
- 68) *ava po:kañta:m*
'She must not go'
- 69) *ava: pa:kkañta:m*
'They need not see'
- 70) *avaḷa aṭikkañta:m*
'You must not beat her'
- 71) *avan ke:kkañta:m*
'He must not ask'

Verb representing the prohibitive₁ meaning is "(ve:)ñta:m" in Tamil Folksongs and when this is added to the infinitive form of the main verb, it gives the prohibitive₁ meaning.

Structure: $MV_{Inf} + ve:\text{ñta:m}$

- 72) *canta:natta piṭikka ve:ṅṭa:m*
 ‘(You) need not catch Santanam (personal name)’
 233-7
- 73) *kalaṅka ve:ṅṭa:m*
 ‘(You) need not worry’ 106-24
- 74) *irumpa: uruka ve:ṅṭa:m*
 ‘You need not melt like iron’ 147-37
- 75) *po:ka ve:ṅṭa:m*
 ‘(One) need not go’ 130-28
- 76) *po:ṭa ve:ṅṭa:m*
 ‘(One) need not put’ 186-5

3. Potential meaning :

Verb “*muṭiyum*” represents the potential meaning in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and when this is added to the infinitive form of the main verb, it gives the potential meaning.

Structure: $MV_{Inf} + muṭiyum$

- 77) *avaṅa:la ke:kka muṭiyum*
 ‘It is possible for him to hear’
- 78) *eṅṅa:la aṅke:ntu pa:kka muṭiyum*
 ‘It is possible for me to see from there’
- 79) *ata ceyya muṭiyum*
 ‘It is possible for (one) to do it’
- 80) *avaṅa:la bassu piṭikka muṭiyum*
 ‘It is possible for him to catch the bus’
- 81) *anta pa:ṭatta naṭatta muṭiyum*
 ‘It is possible to teach the lesson’

There is no specific verb to represent the potential meaning in Tamil Folk songs.

4. Negative Potential

Verb “*muṭiya:tu*” represents the negative potential meaning in both the Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and in Tamil Folksongs. When this is added the infinitive form of the main verb, it gives the negative potential meaning.

Structure : $MV_{Inf} + muṭiya:tu$

- 82) *avaḷa:la pe:ca muṭiya:tu*
‘It is not possible for her to speak’
- 83) *po:ka muṭiya:tu*
‘It is not possible for one to go’
- 84) *avaṇa tiruṭa muṭiya:tu*
‘It is not possible for one to correct him’
- 85) *avaḷavu du:ram naṭakka muṭiya:tu*
‘(It) is not possible (for one) to walk that much distance’
- 86) *colla muṭiya:tu*
‘It is not possible (for one) to say’ 232-8
- 87) *taṅka muṭiya:tu*
‘It is not possible (for one) to stay’ 373-5
- 88) *kunta muṭiya:tu*
‘It is not possible (for me) to sit’ 373-11.
- 89) *taṭukka muṭiya:tu*
‘It is not possible (for me) to prevent it’ 342-22

5. Obligatory

‘(ve:) *ṇam* is the verb representing the obligatory meaning in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and when added

to the infinitive form of the main verb, gives the obligatory meaning.

Structure : $MV_{Inf} + (ve:) \eta am.$

- 90) *ni:varaṇam*
‘You have to come’
- 91) *na:ṇ vi:ttukku po:kaṇam*
‘I have to go home’
- 92) *avan aṅke:ye: irukkaṇam*
‘He has to be there itself’
- 93) *na:ṇ pariṭcaikku paṭikkaṇam*
‘I have to study for the examination’

Verb representing the obligatory meaning in Tamil Folk songs is ‘*ve:ṇum*’ and when added to the infinitive form of the main verb gives the obligatory meaning.

Structure : $MV_{Inf} + ve:ṇum.$

- 94) *pa:l kuṭikka ve:ṇum*
(You) have to drink the milk’*
- 95) *po:ka ve:ṇum*
‘(One) has to go’ 291-19
- 96) *eṇṇit tarave:ṇum*
‘It has to be counted and given’ 277-4
- 97) *eṭukka ve:ṇum*
‘(It) has to be taken’ 291-17
- 98) *maḷay peyya ve:ṇum*
‘It has to rain’ 17-8

* *taala:ttukkaḷ aynu;ru* by R. Alakappan -page 52, line 13.

- 99) *attai makan ca:ka ve:ṇum*
'Aunt's son has to die' 194-17
- 100) *se:raṇum*
'(One) has to reach' 13-10
- 101) *muḷunkiraṇum*
'(One) has to swallow (the food)' 59-16.

Standard form *ve:ṇtum* representing the obligatory meaning takes tense in some circumstances.

anta ve:laiyaic ceyya ve:ṇṭiyirukkiratu
'That work has to be done'

aṅke poka ve:ṇṭiyirukkiratu
'I have to go there'

In such situations, the modal Auxiliary '*ve:ṇtum*' take another Auxiliary *iru* 'to be'

6. Prohibitive₂ :

Verb representing the prohibitive meaning is '*paṭa:tu*' in Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect and when added to the infinitive form of the main Verb gives the prohibitive₂ meaning.

Structure : $MV_{Inf} + paṭa:tu$

- 102) *na:ya atikkappaṭa:tu*
'(You) should not beat the dog'
- 103) *atukka:ka aḷappaṭa:tu*
'(You) should not weep for that purpose'
- 104) *iṅkalla:m varappaṭa:tu*
'(You) should not come anywhere here'.
- 105) *ni: ciṇimā;kku po:kappaṭa:tu*
'(You) should not go to the cinema'

- 106) *ava pa:tappata:tu*
 'She should not sing'

Verb '*ku:ta:tu*' represents the prohibitive meaning in Tamil Folksongs and when added to the infinitive form of the main verb gives the prohibitive meaning.

Structure : $MV_{Inf} + ku:ta:tu$

- 107) *sollavum ku:ta:tu*
 '(one) should not say'.

The following table gives the list of Auxiliary verbs (tense Auxiliaries and Modals) with their meanings.

Tense Auxiliaries

Structure : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} MV_{Inf} \\ MV_{VP} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Aux. verb.}$

meaning	Kerala Brahmin Tamil dialect	Folksongs
1 Perfective	<i>iru</i>	<i>iru</i>
2 Completive	* <i>a:ya:ccu</i> <i>a:ccu</i>	<i>a:ccu</i> <i>po:ccu</i>
3 Definitive	<i>vi:tu</i>	<i>vi:tu</i> <i>po:tu</i>
4 Reflexive	<i>ko:l</i>	<i>ko:l</i> <i>ki:tu</i>
5 Trial	<i>pa:r</i>	<i>pa:r</i>
6 Continuative	<i>(ko)ntiru</i>	—
7 Causative	<i>vey</i>	<i>vay</i> <i>vi:tu</i> <i>pannu</i>

* Refers to that form which is peculiar to Kerala Brahmin dialect.

Mark Lester 1971 *'Introductory Transformational Grammar of English'*.

Santhi G. 1972 Descriptive analysis of Kerala Brahmin Tamil Dialect', unpublished M. A. Dissertation.

Vanamamalay N. *'Tamiḷar na:ṭṭup pa:ṭalkaḷ*

AUXILIARY VERBS IN SANGAM LITERATURE

R. SRINIVASAN

Kerala

In the Sangam classics, the following auxiliary verbs are found.

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1) <i>aar</i> | 9) <i>taku</i> |
| 2) <i>iṭu</i> | 10) <i>taa</i> |
| 3) <i>iru</i> | 11) <i>ṇil</i> |
| 4) <i>ii</i> | 12) <i>paṭu</i> |
| 5) <i>ai</i> | 13) <i>maru</i> |
| 6) <i>kuṭṭ</i> | 14) <i>vaa</i> |
| 7) <i>koḷ</i> | 15) <i>viṭṭe</i> |
| 8) <i>ceḷ</i> | |

Individual auxiliaries :

aar 'to fill'

In Sangam literature forms like *aṇṇaantu*, *allaantu*, *eemaantu*, *cemmaantu*, *maalaantu*, etc. are found. M. Elayaperumal thinks that they are complex verbal stems formed by the verbal bases *aṇ*, *al*, *eem*, *cem* and *maal* etc. with the addition of the auxiliary 'aar' 'to fill'. He cites the presence of forms like *eemaarṇtanam*, *eemaarppa* etc. to support his derivation. According to him, the above forms must have been derived from the following reconstructed forms *aṇṇaarṇtu*, *allaarṇtu*,

eemaarntu, *cemmaarntu* and *maalarntu*¹. In course of time, the 'aar' must have fused with the main verbs and disappeared as an auxiliary verb without any trace. The following is the meanings of the above cited forms.

<i>annaantu</i>	(<i>naR.</i> 10-1)	'having become straight' perfective
"	(<i>kuRa.</i> 307-7)	'having looked upon' possibility
"	(<i>puRam.</i> 47-8)	'having been proud' ability
"	(<i>puRam.</i> 54-3)	'having been proud' ability
<i>allaantu</i>	(<i>naR.</i> 55-8)	'having distressed' - perfective
"	(<i>kuRa.</i> 143)	'having been rejoicing' ability
"	(<i>paRi.</i> 12-71)	'having become whirl' perfective
"	(<i>akam.</i> 32-15)	'having suffered' habitual continuous
"	(<i>akam.</i> 107-12)	'having suffered' habitual continuous
<i>eemaantu</i>	(<i>puRam.</i> 198-8)	'having desired' habitual possibility
<i>eemaarntanam</i>	(<i>naR.</i> 49-6)	'having guard' possibility

1 Elayaperumal, M. - *Cañka ilakkiyañkañil aakaara iRRu vinaiyañkañ*, pp. 9-11. *Keralap -palkalaikkakat tamil-ttuRaip pañaiya maanavar manRa aantu veliyiitu* - Vol. I, 1972.

eemmaantu (*puRam.* 161-19) 'having superiority'
honorific

maalaantu (*poRu.* 95) 'wake up from sleep'
completive

vilumaantanar (*naR.* 320-10) 'attained goodness-they'
completive

itu 'to place'

The auxiliary verb 'itu' is also found in Sangam Literature. In *paripaatal* and *kalittokai*, the auxiliary verb 'itu' has become well established.

etaiyitu (*pari.* 13-59) 'having put in between'
Completive (or) perfective

nencitantittu (*kali.* 101-24) 'having tored open-chest'
Completive (or) perfective.

Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaranar states that the auxiliary verb 'itu' in Sangam classics has developed in uses like the passive.²

In the above instances, the auxiliary verb 'itu' is combined with the main verbs *itanu* and *itaippatu* and is used with the completive (or) perfective meaning.

iru 'to remain'

The auxiliary verb 'iru' is joined with the main complex verb 'kaivitu'.

kaivittirukkumoo (*kali.* 114-18) can I abandon? eagerness

2 Meenakshisundaram, T. P. - *A History of Tamil Language*, p. 117

In this way, this auxiliary can be connected with the main verbs (*pul - kali*, 92-39 -), [*pey (kali*. 41-3; 43-4)] and [*valampattuttu (puRam*. 152-6)], etc.

pullaatirunṭaaḷ (kali. 92-39) has not been embracing-she
'past negative continuous perfective'

peytirūvaam (kali. 41-3) will pour-we
'perfective (or) future completive'

peytirūvaam (kali. 43-4) will pour-we
'perfective (or) future completive'

valampattuttiruntoon (puRam. 152-6) he, who is with victory
'perfective'

ii 'to give'

Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri makes a special mention of the root 'ii', which is used as an auxiliary mainly in *kalittokai*.³

Eg. *vaṅṭinku collukutiṅṭaayee* 'tell you'
(*kalittokai* Vol. 2. 420-19 E. V. Anandarama Aiyar's Edition).

paakan vaṅṭiṅṭaankol
(*kalittokai* Vol. 2. 429-10 E. V. Anandarama Aiyar's Edition).

In these two examples, '*collukutiṅṭaayee*' and '*vaṅṭiṅṭaankol*' only mean *colluvaayee* and *vaṅṭaan* respectively.

The auxiliary 'ii' is also used in combination with another auxiliary 'taa' in *Kalittokai*.

Eg. *vaṅṭiṅṭaṅṭaay* (*Kali*. Vol. 2. 583-4 E. V. Anandarama Aiyar's Edition).

3 Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S. - *History of Grammatical theories in Tamil*. p. 152

Dr. V. Sp. Manickam thinks that 'ii' must be the oldest verb which was first used as auxiliary in Tamil⁴. It is found appended with the following verbs in Sangam Literature.

<i>alaittiivaayoo</i>	(kali. 69-15)	will you slap? 'ability'
<i>alaatiimoo</i>	(naR. 13-2)	will not cry-you 'Future negative notion of waiting'
<i>irun_{ti}imoo</i>	(puRam. 319-9)	will remain-you 'notion of waiting'
<i>irantiivaay</i>	(kali. 59-9)	will be going 'future continuous perfective'
<i>ukuttiivaayoo</i>	(kali. 69-19)	will you cause to go? 'ability'
<i>uraittiiyin</i>	(kali. 111-23)	If you have told 'conditional perfective'
<i>uraittiivaar</i>	(kali. 73-14)	will say-he 'future perfective'
<i>ula_{in}tiyaay</i>	(kali. 95-14)	will not distress - you 'future perfective'
<i>ka_{ti}ntiivaar</i>	(kali. 73-10)	one who will detest 'future perfective'
<i>talaip_{pe}ytiim</i>	(ain. 86-4)	will become one and enjoy the delight - you 'future perfective'
<i>mat_{ti}it_{ra}i</i>	(kali. 14-17)	will have estimation 'future perfective'
<i>maRavaatiimee</i>	(ain. 473-5)	do not forget - you 'imperative'

4 Manickam, V. Sp. - *A Study of Tamil Verbs*, p. 18

<i>maRavaatiimee</i> (<i>naR.</i> 323-11)	do not forget - you 'completive'
<i>maRaiyaatiimee</i> (<i>ain.</i> 370-4)	do not hide - you 'completive'
<i>van̄tiittantaar</i> (<i>kali.</i> 86-28)	has come in the front - he 'definitive'
<i>van̄tiittantaay</i> (<i>kali.</i> 96-4)	have come - you 'definitive'
<i>van̄tiimee</i> (<i>akam.</i> 80-13)	will you come ? 'completive'
<i>van̄tiimee</i> (<i>akam.</i> 218-22)	will you come ? 'completive'
<i>van̄tīmoḥ</i> (<i>naR.</i> 156-6)	will come - you 'perfective'
<i>van̄tīyaay</i> (<i>kali.</i> 114-5)	will come - you (please) request'
<i>varuttaatiimee</i> (<i>naR.</i> 193-9)	do not make pain - you 'completive'
<i>varaatiimee</i> (<i>naR.</i> 336-11)	do not come - you 'disgustive'
<i>viṭaatiimoo</i> (<i>kali.</i> 143-26)	leave me - not 'request'
<i>viraiyaatiimee</i> (<i>ain.</i> 364-4)	do not hurry - you' 'completive'

Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyam also says that in Sangam texts there occur a number of past adverbial participles with the structure, verb base followed by *iii* and past adjectival participles with the structure, verb base followed by 'iii' which in turn is followed by the adjective marker 'ya' (the y in it is the glide).

Examples (past adverbial participles):

<i>aRii</i>	'having known' (<i>aRi</i> 'to know')
<i>kaḷiii</i>	'having cleansed' (<i>kaḷu</i> (<i>vu</i>) 'to cleanse')
<i>taḷiii</i>	'having embraced' (<i>taḷuvu</i> 'to embrace')
<i>iriii</i>	'having kept' (<i>iru</i> 'to be')
<i>ceriii</i>	'having inserted' (<i>ceruku</i> 'to insert')
<i>tarii</i>	'having given' (<i>taru</i> 'to give')
<i>veriii</i>	'having feared' (<i>varu</i> (<i>vu</i>) 'to fear')
<i>kaṭaiiii</i>	'having driven' (<i>katai</i> 'to drive')
<i>icaiiii</i>	'having sounded' (<i>icai</i> 'to sound')
<i>tuḷaiiii</i>	'having stirred' (<i>tuḷai</i> 'to stir')
<i>ninaiiii</i>	'having thought' (<i>ninai</i> 'to think')
<i>koḷiii</i>	'having taken' (<i>koḷ</i> 'to take')
<i>niRuviii</i>	'having established' (<i>niRuvu</i> 'to establish')
<i>uṇiii</i>	'having eaten 'drunk' (<i>uṇ</i> to eat or drink)

While most of these forms are intransitive or transitive depending on the base, some of them (Eg. *iriii*) carry

the transitive meaning although the underlying bases are intransitive.

P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri supposes the first 'ii' of such forms to be identical with the verb 'ii' 'to give' and the second 'i' be the past suffix; since there is no 'ii' in verbs ending in 'ai' the participles of those verbs, according to him, have transitive meaning only because of the context⁵.

L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar opines the 'ii' as an auxiliary verb (identical with the verb 'ii' 'to give') and calls it a causative - producer and a help verb⁷.

But P. S. Subrahmanyam thinks that 'ii' cannot be considered to be an independent verb used as an auxiliary since an auxiliary is never added directly to the verb base⁸. But auxiliary verbal forms are added to verbal nouns, similar or equal to verbal bases (like *ati*,) to form complex verbal stems.

However in the above cited examples, the 'ii' is added to the verbal participles mainly. They must be considered as auxiliaries by the definition.

ai 'that which does an action'

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- 5 Subrahmanyam, P. S. - *Dravidian Verb morphology*, (A comparative study) pp. 9-10.
- 6 Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S. - *History of Grammatical theories in Tamil*, p. 152.
- 7 Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V. - *Morphology of the old Tamil verb*, (Anthropos 33.747-781) p. 754.
- 8 Subrahmanyam, P. S. - *Dravidian Verb Morphology*, p. 10.

nayattakavee (aiñ. 413-4) 'way of desire'
'possibility'

taa 'to give'

The auxiliary verb '*taa*' is added with the main verb *aṇai*.

aṇaitara (aiñ. 373-3) 'to reach' 'completive'

This auxiliary is also found annexed with the following verbs in Sangam Literature.

iḷitaru (aiñ. 220-2) will be descend
'future possibility'

iḷitaru (aiñ. 233-2) will be descend
'future possibility'

uyttara (aiñ. 362-4) to drive
'completive'

uRutarum (aiñ. 236-2) which will touch
'future completive'

uRaitaru (aiñ. 189-1) which will stay
'future completive'

eḷutaru (aiñ. 218-4) which will rise
'future completive'

kaviḷtantu (aiñ. 45-1) having shoneforth
'past perfective'

tiritara (puRam. 175-7) to go
'completive'

tiritaru (tirumurugu. 1) which will move
'future completive'

tiritaru (aiñ. 314-3) which will wander
'future completive'

tiritaru (aiñ. 355-4) which will wander
'future completive'

<i>tiritaru</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 30-3)	which will move 'future completive'
<i>tiritarum</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 27-14)	which will move 'future completive'
<i>tiritarum</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 309-14)	which will move 'future completive'
<i>tiritarum</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 370-26)	which will move 'future completive'
<i>tiritarum</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 373-37)	which will move 'future completive'
<i>niRRaṅtoon</i> (<i>akam.</i> 48-14)	stood - he 'definitive'
<i>paṭartaru</i> (<i>aiñ.</i> 289-2)	which will settle 'future completive'
<i>paattaru</i> (<i>aiñ.</i> 288-4)	which will spread 'future completive'
<i>paaytara</i> (<i>aiñ.</i> 40-4)	to jump 'completive'
<i>pukutaṅtu</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 319 8)	having entered 'perfective'
<i>pukutaṅtu</i> (<i>kali.</i> 105-32)	having entered 'perfective'
<i>pukutaṅtu</i> (<i>akam.</i> 86-18)	having entered 'perfective'
<i>pukutaṅtu</i> (<i>akam.</i> 102-13)	having entered 'perfective'
<i>pukutaṅtaar</i> (<i>kali.</i> 34-23)	entered - he 'perfective'
<i>pukutantoon</i> (<i>akam.</i> 56-12)	entered - he 'perfective'

<i>pukutarvaay</i> (<i>kali.</i> 98-1)	will you enter ? 'perfective'
<i>pukutaru</i> (<i>aiñ.</i> 400-6)	will be entering 'future continuous perfective'
<i>puRantanta</i> (<i>aiñ.</i> 25-1)	he, who protected passive
<i>puRantaṅta</i> (<i>akam.</i> 35-1)	he, who protected passive
<i>puRantaṅtu</i> (<i>akam.</i> 389-8)	having protected perfective
<i>puRamtaravee</i> (<i>aiñ.</i> 428-4)	to give protection completive
<i>puRamtarum</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 122-3)	he, who will protect future perfective
<i>peyartaṅteenee</i> (<i>aiñ.</i> 118-4)	have returned - I 'self benefactive'
<i>peyartaṅteenee</i> (<i>aiñ.</i> 355-3)	have returned - I 'self benefactive'
<i>peyartaṅteenee</i> (<i>akam.</i> 26-21)	have gone - I 'self benefactive'
<i>pootaṅtu</i> (<i>kali</i> 84-14)	having departed 'definitive'
<i>pootaṅtu</i> (<i>naR.</i> 80-4)	having come 'completive'
<i>pootaṅtu</i> (<i>pari.</i> 16-26)	has gone - he 'completive'
<i>pootaṅtaan</i> (<i>kali.</i> 39-4)	has gone - he 'definitive'
<i>pootarum</i> (<i>aiñ.</i> 446-4)	will be going 'continuous perfective'

<i>maRutaru</i> (<i>ain.</i> 329-3)	which will whirl - it 'continuous perfective'
<i>viṭuttanta</i> (<i>kali.</i> 103-55)	have allowed to come 'definitive'
<i>viḷṭarum</i> (<i>ain.</i> 411-3)	which will allow to fall 'future perfective'

It is to be mentioned here that P. S. S. Sastri thinks that 'taa' is largely used as auxiliary in Sangam classics without any special sense'. But the above examples show that this auxiliary is used to distinguish several subtle meaning differences.

nil 'to stand'

The auxiliary verb *nil* is combined with the main verb *vaa* and *koḷ* respectively.

<i>vaaraa ninRanaḷ</i> (<i>ain.</i> 397-3)	has come-she 'perfective'
<i>koṇṭu ninRatuwee</i> (<i>ain.</i> 165-4)	has stood-it 'perfective'

paṭu 'to do'

The auxiliary verb 'paṭu' is connected with the verbal nouns *uRaital*, *kaippaṭatal*, and *meempaṭatal*, etc.

<i>uRaiyappaṭṭool</i> (<i>ain.</i> 370-3)	she who stayed with 'passive,
<i>kaippaṭukkappaṭṭaar</i> (<i>kali.</i> 65-16)	they who were caught 'passive'
<i>meempaṭṭanal</i> (<i>ain.</i> 76-2)	she who has excellence 'passive'

9 Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S. - *History of Grammatical theories in Tamil*, p. 153.

maru 'to desire'

The auxiliary verb '*maru*' is joined with the verbal noun, '*kaam*'

kaamarum (*puRam.* 218-2) which will be having desire-
'future continuous'

kāamaru (*puRam.* 334-1) which will be having desire-
'future continuous'

kaamaru (*puRam.* 351-11) which will be having beauty
'exclamation'

naccinaarkkiniyar derives the form '*kaamaru*' from *kaam* + *maru* → *kaamaru*.

Alternatively it can be derived from *kaam* + *varu*. The resultant form *kaamaru* might be due to assimilation: *kaam* + *varu* > *kaam* + *maru* > *kaammaru* > *kaamaru*

Among the auxiliaries, the form '*maru*' is less frequent than the form *varu*, which shows that it might be a later form¹⁰

vaa 'to come'

Dr. P. S. S. Sastri has mentioned that the auxiliary '*vaa*' is largely used in Sangam classics without any special sense¹¹. But it is to be noted that the auxiliary '*vaa*' is annexed with the following main verbs in Sangam classics with varying shades of meaning.

alam varu (*puRam.* 51-1) which will go round
'future possibility'

10 Elayaperumal, M. - *Tamil molica cintaniakal*, p.

11 Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S. - *History of Grammatical theories in Tamil*, p. 152.

<i>alam varu</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 58-26)	which will go round 'future possibility'
<i>alam varu</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 98-19)	which will go round 'future possibility'
<i>alam varu</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 285-15)	which will go round 'future possibility'
<i>alam varu</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 363 2)	which will go round 'future possibility'
<i>alam varu</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 383-18)	which will go round 'future possibility'
<i>alam varu</i> (<i>ain.</i> 375-4)	which will be whirling 'perfective'
<i>alam varum</i> (<i>akam.</i> 162-11)	which will be whirling 'perfective'
<i>alam varum</i> (<i>akam.</i> 237-11)	which will be whirling 'perfective'
<i>alam varum</i> (<i>akam.</i> 361-3)	which will be whirling 'perfective'
<i>ulam varum</i> (<i>akam.</i> 397-15)	which will wave 'perfective'
<i>ulam varuvooree</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 51-11)	they who (were) confused 'ability'
<i>ulam varuvooree</i> (<i>puRam.</i> 207-11)	they who (were) 'confused 'ability'
<i>kaanvata</i> (<i>ain.</i> 418-2)	which will see 'eagerness'
<i>uyalvaru</i> (<i>ain.</i> 72-2)	which will swing 'possibility'
<i>viṭu</i> 'to let go'	

The auxiliary verb 'viṭu' is also found in Sangam Literature.

maaRiviṭu (*kali.* 61-24) has to change - it
'definitive'

In this instance, the auxiliary verb 'viṭu' is annexed with the main verb 'maaRu'. This auxiliary may be added with other main verbs also.

Behaviour of the auxiliaries :

In the Sangam texts, the auxiliaries as the constituent of a complex verb are conjugated just like the main verbs. The following conjugations of the auxiliaries are found in the Sangam Classics.

First Person Singular

peyartanteenee (*aiṅ.* 26-1) have gone - I
'self benefactive'

Second Person Singular

iruṅṅimoo (*puRam.* 319-9) will remain - you
'notion of waiting'

Second Person Plural

alaippeyṅim (*aiṅ.* 86-4) will become one and enjoy
the delight - you
'future perfective'

Third Person Masculine Singular

uraittiivaar (*kali.* 73-14) will say - he
'future perfective'

Third Person Feminine Singular

vaaraa ninRanaḷ (*aiṅ.* 397-3) has come - she
'perfective'

Third Person epicent Plural

viḷumaa(r)ntanar (*naR.* 320-10) attained goodness - he
‘completive’

Third Person neuter singular

koṇṭu niRatuvee (*aiñ.* 165-4) has stood - it
‘perfective’

Imperative *ukuttiivaayoo* will you cause to go
(*kali.* 69-19) ‘ability’

Infinitive

aṇaitara (*aiñ.* 373-3) to reach
‘completive’

Verbal Participle

vāṇṭimee (*akam.* 218-22) will you come ?
‘completive’

Conditional Verbal Participle

uraitiūyin (*kali.* 111-23) If you have told
‘conditional perfective’

Negative Verbal Participle

pullaatiruntaal (*kali.* 92-39) has not been embracing-she
‘past negative continuous perfective’

Relative Participle

alam varum (*akam.* 162-11) which will be whirling
‘perfective’

Frequency of the Auxiliaries with the main verbs

List I

Sl. No.	Auxiliary	The main verbal forms with which the auxiliary is joined	Frequency
1	aar	<i>aṇṇ + aar > aṇṇaa(r)ṇtu</i>	4
		<i>all + aar > allaa(r)ṇtu</i>	5
		<i>eem + aar > eemaa(r)ṇtu</i>	2
		<i>cemm + aar > cemmaa(r)ṇtu</i>	1
		<i>maaḷ + aar > maaḷaa(r)ṇtu</i>	1
		<i>viḷumam + aar > viḷumaa(r)ṇ</i>	
		<i>tanar</i>	1
		—	
		14	
		—	
2	iṭu	<i>iṭaṇtu + iṭu > iṭaṇtiṭtu</i>	1
		<i>iṭaiṭpatu + iṭu > iṭaiṭiṭtu</i>	1
			—
		2	
		—	
3	iru	<i>kaiviṭu + iru > kaiviṭtir</i>	
		<i>ukkumoo</i>	1
		<i>pullu + iru > pullaatiruntaal</i>	1
		<i>pey + iru > peytiruvaam</i>	2
		<i>valampaṭuttu + iru > valampaṭut-</i>	
<i>tiruntoon</i>	1		
		—	
		5	
		—	
4	ii	<i>alai + ii > alaittiivaayoo</i>	1
		<i>aḷu + ii > aḷatiimoo</i>	1
		<i>iru + ii > iRuṇtiimoo</i>	1
		<i>iRa + ii > iRaṇtiivaay</i>	1

Sl. No.	Auxiliary	The main verbal forms with which the auxiliary is joined	Frequency
		<i>iri + tana tiritaru</i> , etc.	1
		<i>nil + taa</i> > <i>niRRantoon</i>	1
		<i>patar + taa</i> > <i>paṭartaru</i>	1
		<i>paay + taa</i> > <i>paaytara</i>	1
		<i>paar + taa</i> > <i>paattara</i>	1
		<i>puku + taa</i> > <i>pukutaṅtu</i> , etc.	9
		<i>puRattal + taa</i> > <i>puRantanta</i>	5
		<i>peyorṅtu + taa</i> > <i>peyartaṅteenee</i>	3
		<i>poo + taa</i> > <i>poottantu</i>	5
		<i>maRu + taa</i> > <i>maRutaru</i>	1
		<i>viṭu + taa</i> > <i>viṭuttanta</i>	1
		<i>vīl + viiḷtarum</i>	1
			—
			46
			—
11	<i>nil</i>	<i>koḷ + nil</i> > <i>koṅṭu ninRaiṅvee</i>	1
		<i>vaa + nil</i> > <i>vaaraa ninRanaḷ</i>	1
			—
			2
			—
12	<i>paṭu</i>	<i>uRai + paṭu</i> > <i>uRaiyappaṭṭool</i>	1
		<i>kaippaṭu + paṭu</i> > <i>kaippaṭukkappaṭṭaar</i>	1
		<i>meem + paṭu</i> > <i>meempaṭṭanaḷ</i>	1
			—
			3
			—
13	<i>maru(m)</i>	<i>kaam + maru</i> > <i>kaamaru</i>	1
14	<i>vaa</i>	<i>alam + vaa</i> > <i>alam varu</i>	10
		<i>ulam + vaa</i> > <i>ulam varu</i>	3
		<i>kaaṅ + vaa</i> > <i>kaaṅvara</i>	1
		<i>tuyal + vaa</i> > <i>tuyalvaru</i>	1
			—
			15
			—

Sl. No.	Auxiliary	The main verbal forms with which the auxiliary is joined	Frequency
15	<i>viṭu</i>	<i>maaRu+viṭu</i> > <i>maaRi viṭu</i>	1
		Total frequencies	120

1. Among the auxiliaries in Sangam Literature, the auxiliary '*taa*' has the maximum frequency, i.e. it contains with nineteen different verbal forms with forty six total occurrences.

2. The auxiliary '*ii*' comes next combining with seventeen different verbs for twenty four times.

3. The auxiliary '*aar*' combines six different verbs with fourteen occurrences.

4. The auxiliary '*vaa*' combines fifteen times with four different verbs whereas '*iru*' combines five times only with four different verbs.

5. The auxiliary '*paṭu*' has three occurrence with three different verbs.

6. The auxiliaries *iṭu*, *ai*, *cel* and *nil* occur once with two different verbs.

7. The remaining auxiliaries *kuur*, *koḷ*, *taku*, *maru* and *viṭu* have only one occurrence (each).

The above statement will show that the relative use of these auxiliaries in the language of Sangam Period. It seems that *taa*, *ii*, *aar*, *vaa* and *paṭu* are most popular while *iṭu*, *cel* and *nil* were emerging more popular.

Frequency of the main verbs with Auxillaries

List II

Seril. No.	Main verb with which an auxiliary is joined		Auxiliary			Frequency
	Verbal base	Actual form	Base	Actual form	Frequency	
1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	<i>aṇ</i>	<i>aṇ-</i>	<i>aar</i>	> <i>aa(r)ṇtu</i>	4	
2	<i>al</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>aar</i>	> <i>aa(r)ṇtu</i>	5	
3	<i>alam</i>	<i>alam</i>	<i>vas</i>	> <i>veru(m)</i>	10	
4	<i>alai</i>	<i>alai-</i>	<i>ii</i>	> <i>iivaayoo</i>	1	
5	<i>alu</i>	<i>ala-</i>	<i>ii</i>	> <i>iimoo</i>	1	
6	<i>aṇai</i>	<i>aṇai-</i>	<i>taa</i>	> <i>tara</i>	1	
7	<i>iṇantu</i>	<i>iṇant-</i>	<i>iṭu</i>	> <i>iṭtu</i>	1	
8	<i>iṭaiṇṇatu</i>	<i>iṭaiy-</i>	<i>iṭu</i>	> <i>iṭu</i>	1	
9	<i>iru</i>	<i>irunt-</i>	<i>ii</i>	> <i>iimoo</i>	1	
10	<i>ili</i>	<i>il-</i>	<i>taa</i>	> <i>taru</i>	2	
11	<i>iṇantu</i>	<i>iṇant</i>	<i>ii</i>	> <i>iivaay</i>	1	

12	<i>iRai</i>	<i>iRai-</i>	<i>kuur</i>	>	<i>kuurum</i>	1
	<i>iRai</i>	<i>iRai-</i>	<i>kol</i>	>	<i>koṭṭanan</i>	1
13	<i>uku</i>	<i>ukutt-</i>	<i>ii</i>	>	<i>iivaay</i>	1
14	<i>uy</i>	<i>uytal-</i>	<i>cel</i>	>	<i>cellaatu</i>	1
	<i>uy</i>	<i>uyi-</i>	<i>taa</i>	>	<i>tara</i>	1
15	<i>urai</i>	<i>uraitt-</i>	<i>ii</i>	>	<i>iiyin</i>	1
16	<i>ulam</i>	<i>ulam-</i>	<i>vaa</i>	>	<i>varum</i>	3
17	<i>ulai</i>	<i>ulaint-</i>	<i>ii</i>	>	<i>iivaay</i>	1
18	<i>uRu</i>	<i>uRu</i>	<i>taa</i>	>	<i>tarum</i>	1
19	<i>uRai</i>	<i>uRai</i>	<i>paa</i>	>	<i>tarum</i>	1
	<i>uRai</i>	<i>uRaiyap</i>	<i>patu</i>	>	<i>paṭṭoḷ</i>	1
20	<i>eḷu</i>	<i>eḷu</i>	<i>taa</i>	>	<i>tarum</i>	1
21	<i>eem</i>	<i>eem-</i>	<i>aar</i>	>	<i>aarṇanam</i>	2
22	<i>oḷi</i>	<i>oḷital-</i>	<i>cel</i>	>	<i>cellaatu</i>	1
23	<i>kati</i>	<i>katint-</i>	<i>ii</i>	>	<i>iivaar</i>	1
24	<i>kavil</i>	<i>kavil-</i>	<i>taa</i>	>	<i>taṇṭu</i>	1
25	<i>kaaṇ</i>	<i>kaaṇt-</i>	<i>ai</i>	>	<i>aippaay</i>	2
	<i>kaaṇ</i>	<i>kaaṇ-</i>	<i>vaa</i>	>	<i>yara</i>	1
26	<i>kaam</i>	<i>kaa-</i>	<i>maru</i>	>	<i>maru (m)</i>	1

1	2	3	4	5	6
27	kaippaṭu	kaippaṭukkapp	paṭu	> paṭaar	1
28	kaivitu	kaivitt-	iru	> iṭukkumoo	1
29	koḷ	koṭu-	ṇil	> ṇinRatuvee	1
30	cem	cemm-	aar	> aa(r)ṇtu	1
31	talaippey	talaippeyt	ii	> iim	1
32	tiri	tiri-	taa	> tara	9
				> tarum	
33	tuyal	tuyal-	vaa	> varum	1
34	ṇayattal	ṇayat-	taku	> takavee	1
35	ṇil	niR-	taa	> taṇtoon	1
36	paṭar	paṭar-	ṭaa	> tarum	1
37	paay	paay-	taa	> tara	1
38	paar	paat-	taa	> tarum	1
39	puku	puku-	taa	> taṇṭaar	
				taṇṭu	
				taṇṭooy	9
				ṭaru	

40	pullu	pullaat	iru	tarvaay	1
41	puRattal	puRan	taa	irun ^{aa} al tan ^{aa}	5
				tan ^{tu}	
				taravee	2
				tantum	3
42	peytal	peyt-	iru	iruvaam	5
43	peyartal	peyar-	taa	tan ^{teen}	1
44	poo	poo-	taa	tan ^{ta}	3
45	matil	matitt-	ii	iit ^{ai}	1
46	maRa	maRa-	ii	vaatiimee	1
47	maRu	maRu-	taa	tarum	1
48	maRai	maRaiyaat-	ii	iimee	1
49	maal	maal-	aar	aa(r)ntu	1
50	maaru	maari-	vi ^{tu}	vi ⁱⁿ	1
51	meem	meem-	pa ^{tu}	pa ^{ana} al	1
52	varuttu }	varuttat-	ii	iimee	1
53	varaatal	varaat-	ii	iimee	1
54	valampattin	valampattit-	iru	irun ^{toos}	1

1	2	3	4	5	6
55	<i>vaa</i>	<i>vaṅt-</i>	<i>ii</i>	> <i>iittantaar</i> <i>iittantaay</i> <i>iimee</i> <i>iimoo</i> <i>iyaay</i>	6
	<i>vaa</i>	<i>vaaraa</i>	<i>nil</i>	<i>ninRanaḥ</i>	1
56	<i>viṭu</i>	<i>viṭaa-</i>	<i>ii</i>	> <i>imee</i>	1
	<i>viṭu</i>	<i>viṭu</i>	<i>taa</i>	> <i>taṅṭa</i>	1
57	<i>viraiṅtu</i>	<i>viraiyaat-</i>	<i>ii</i>	> <i>iimee</i>	1
58	<i>vilumam</i>	<i>vilum-</i>	<i>aar</i>	> <i>aa(r)ntanar</i>	1
59	<i>viḷ</i>	<i>viḷ</i>	<i>taa</i>	> <i>tarum</i>	1
Total frequencies					120

The main verbs *iRai* (*kol* and *kuur*), *uy* (*cel* and *taa*), *uRai* (*taa* and *patu*), *kaan* (*ai* and *vaa*), *vaa* (*ii* and *nil*) and *viṭu* (*ii* and *taa*) occur with two different types of auxiliaries. The other main verbs are found combined with only one type of auxiliary. In the total occurrences, the verb *alam* tops the list (with nine occurrences), followed by *tiri*, *puku* (with nine occurrences), *vaa* (with six occurrences), *al*, *puRattal* and *poo* (with five occurrences), *aṇ* (with four occurrences), *ulam*, *peyartal*, *maRa* (with three occurrences), *ili*, *eem*, *kaan* and *peytal* (with two occurrences) and the remaining forty four main verbs (with each one occurrence).

Classification

The auxiliary verbs in Sangam Literature can be classified as follows according to their structure :

- 1 Joined with the verbal participle of 'ceya' pattern
uRaiyappaṭṭol (*aiṇ.* 370-3) she, who stayed with
'passive'
- 2 Joined with the verbal participles :
 - alaatiimoo* (*naR.* 13-2) will not cry - you
'Future negative notion of waiting'
 - iruṇtiimoo* (*puRam.* 319-9) will remained - you
'notion of waiting'
 - kaṭṭiivaar* (*kali.* 73-10) one who will detest
'future perfective'
 - vantiimee* (*akam.* 218-22) will you come ?
'completive'
 - viraiyaatiimee* (*aiṇ.* 364-4) do not hurry - you
'completive'

3 Joined with the verbal nouns :

- iRai kuurum* (*aiñ.* 142-2) 'have the act of staying'
'necessity and propriety'
- kaaṅvara* (*aiñ.* 418-2) which will see -
'eagerness'
- kaamaru* (*puRam.* 334-1) which will be having desire
'future continuous'
- tuyalvaru* (*aiñ.* 72-2) which will swing
'possibility'

4 Joined with another auxiliary verb :

- kaiviṭṭirukkumoo* (*kali.* 114-18) can I abandon?
'eagerness'
- vanṭiittantaay* (*kali.* 96-4) have come - you
'definitive'
- valampaṭuttiruntoon* he, who is with victory
(*puRam.* 152-6) 'perfective'

Meaning :

A close study of the auxiliaries shown that the use of auxiliaries was mainly intended to distinguish subtle nuances of meaning differences. The following meanings are conveyed through the use of auxiliaries in Sangam Literature.

- 1 'ability'
alaittiivaayoo (*kali.* 69-15) 'will you slap'?
- 2 'completive'
maRavaatiimee
(*naR.* 323-11) 'do not forget-you'
- 3 'completive or perfective'
iṭaiyiṭu (*pari.* 13-59) 'having put in between'

- 4 'conditional perfective'
uraittiyin (*kali.* 69-19) 'If you have told'
- 5 'continuous perfective'
pootarum (*aiñ.* 446-4) 'will be going'
- 6 'definitive'
vantiittantaay (*kali.* 96-4) 'have come-you'
- 7 'disgustive'
varaatiimee (*naR.* 336-11) 'do not come-you'
- 8 'eagerness'
kaiviṭṭirukkumoo
 (*kali.* 114-18) 'can I abandon?'
- 9 'future complete'
paṭartaru (*aiñ.* 289-2) 'which will settle'
- 10 'future continuous'
kaamaru (*puRam.* 334-1) 'which will be having desire'
- 11 'future continuous perfective'
yukutaru (*aiñ.* 400-6) 'will be entering'
- 12 'future negative notion of waiting'
aḷaatiimoo (*kali.* 69-15) 'will not cry-you'
- 13 'future perfective'
matittiittai (*kali.* 14-17) 'will have estimation'
- 14 'future possibility'
iḷitaru (*aiñ.* 220-2) will be descend
- 15 'habitual continuous'
alla(r)ntu (*akam.* 32-15) 'having suffered'
- 16 'habitual possibility'
eemaantu (*puRam.* 198-8) 'having desired'

- 17 'honorific'
cemmaa(r)ntu
 (puRam. 161-19) 'having superiority'
- 18 'imperative'
maRavaatiimee (ain. 473-5) 'do not forget you'
- 19 'necessity'
iRaikōṭṭanar (ain. 40-3) 'has the act of staying-~~he~~'
- 20 necessity and propriety'
iRaikuurum (ain. 142-2) 'have the act of staying'
- 21 'notion of waiting'
iruṅṅiimoo (puRam. 319-5) 'will remain - you'
- 22 'passive'
uRaṅṅappāṅṅool (ain. 370-3) 'she, who stayed with'
- 23 'past perfective'
kavilṅṅantu (ain. 45-1) 'having shone forth'
- 24 'past negative continuous perfective'
pullaatiṅṅuntaal (kali. 92-39) 'has not been embracing
 she'
- 25 'perfective'
pukutarvaay kali. 98-1) 'will you enter ?'
- 26 'possibility'
aṅṅaa(r)ntu (kuRu. 307-7) 'having looked upon'
- 27 'request'
viṅṅaatiimoo (kali. 143-26) 'leave me - not'
- 28 'self benefactive'
peyartaṅṅeenee (ain. 118-4) 'have returned - I'

AUXILIARIES IN MALAYALAM

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The term auxiliary in its wider sense includes all roots and affixes attached to the verbs. However, the present paper is limited to the study of auxiliary verbs i.e., verb roots which are used as auxiliaries. The auxiliary verbs in Malayalam are all homonyms of the ordinary verbs. For example, the auxiliary verb *[-iri-]* is a homonym of the verb *[iri-]* 'to sit'. Compare sentences 1 and 2.

1) *avan irumma*

1 2 3

he sat'

1 2, 3

2) *avan vammirumma*

1 2 3 4 5

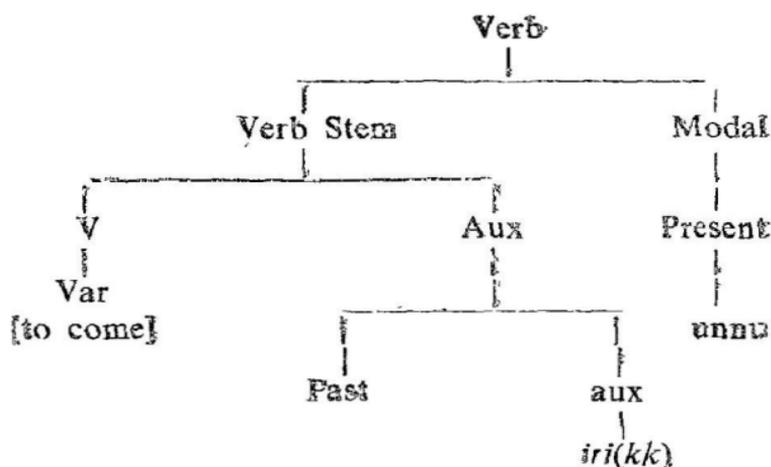
'he came and' sat or 'he had come'

1 2, 3 4, 5 1 3,4,5 2

Sentence 2 has at least two semantic interpretations. If *[-iri-]* is a main verb, sentence 2 means 'he came and sat' and otherwise (i.e., if it is an auxiliary) the meaning of the sentence is 'he had come'. This example shows that the meaning of *[-iri-]* greatly differs according to its use as auxiliary and as main verb. Sentence 1 is not

ambiguous since *[-iri-]* is clearly a main verb in this sentence.

The auxiliary verb is added to the past or future tense form of the main verb. But the deep structural tense of the main verb is that which occurs after the auxiliary. In other words, the surface structure of a verb with auxiliary is 'V + {^{past}_{future}} + aux + Modal' where 'V' represents the main verb and Modal includes all tenses and moods deeply connected with the main verb. Figure 3 below shows the deep structure of the verb *[vannirikkunnu]* 'has come'



1. *-iri-*

The auxiliary *[-iri-]* has a wide range of distribution and possible semantic interpretations. It occurs with all the categories of main verbs such as intransitive, transitive, causative, passive etc., and can be preceded by both past tense and present tense. It can be followed by almost all the modals in Malayalam. It also occurs in combination with other auxiliaries like *[-kol/-]* as in

/koṭṭiri/ continuous (1.3). Unlike other auxiliaries /-iri-/ can occur twice, one after another in a single verb phrase (1.1.6).

1.1. When preceded by past tense and followed by present tense it indicates that the action denoted by the main verb was completed sometime ago.

Example :-

3) *maḷa peyṭirikkunn̄*
 1 2 3 4
 'it (rain) has rained'
 1 3,4 2

The meaning of this sentence can be paraphrased as 'it rained sometime ago and now it has been stopped'.

1.1.1. In addition to the meaning 'completive' the same surface structure sometimes indicates a kind of 'stative' notion. See the following sentence for example.

4) *raḷagoopaakan vanniṭṭikkunn̄*
 1 2 3 4
 'Rajagopal has come'
 1 3,4 2

This can be paraphrased as 'Rajagopal came a while ago and he is still here'. Sentence 3 also has a similar paraphrase 'it rained a while ago and the state of completed rain still continuous'. Since the stative notion may or may not be indicated by sentence 4, it is ambiguous.

1.1.2. The time gap mentioned in the semantic interpretations of the above sentences ranges widely. In sentence 4 Rajagopal's coming was only a few minutes

ago, but in sentence below (5) the forecast (*Pravacanam*) can be interpreted as occurred even several months ago.

5) *ikkollam bhakṣyakṣaamam unṭaakum ennu oru*

1 2 3 4 5 6

jolsyan pravaccirikkunnu

7 8 9 10

‘an astrologer has forecast that there will be a

6 7 9,10 8 5 4

famine this year’

3 1 2

1.1.3. It is fascinating to note the semantic difference between sentences 6 and 7

6) *ikkollam bhakṣyakṣaamamam unṭakkum ennu oru*

1 2 3 4 5 6

jolsyan pravaccirunnu

7 8 9 10

‘an astrologer had forecast that there would be

6 7 9,10 8 6 4

a famine this year’

3 1 2

The surface difference between sentences 6 and 7 is that the main verb (*pravaci-*) ‘to forecast’ is in the present tense in sentence 6 and in the past tense in sentence 7. That is sentence 6 is uttered when it is known whether a famine has really occurred or not. If it is yet to see whether there will be a famine or not, sentence 7 occurs.

1.1.4. When the auxiliary */-iri-/* is followed and preceded by past tense it has more than one possible interpretation. Compare the following sentences.

7) *innale maḷapeytu*

1 2

'yesterday it rained'

8) *innale maḷapeytirunnu*

1 2 3

'yesterday it had rained'

1 3 2.

These sentences differ in their meaning. Sentence 9 can be paraphrased as 'it rained yesterday and it was effective'. The auxiliary */-iri-/* in this context indicates the notion 'effective'. The following sentence also has this kind of interpretation.

9) *aso:kan enna oru cakravartt iintya bhariccirunnu*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'an emperor called Asoka had ruled India'

3 4 2 1 7 6 5

The same surface structure can indicate continuity also. This is clear from sentence 10 which has two semantic interpretations one of which is identical with that of sentence 11.

10) *innale n̄a:n vannappo:ḷ maḷa peytirunnu*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'yesterday when I came it had rained'

1 4 2 3 7,8 5,6

'yesterday when I came it was raining'

1 4 2 3 8 5,6,7

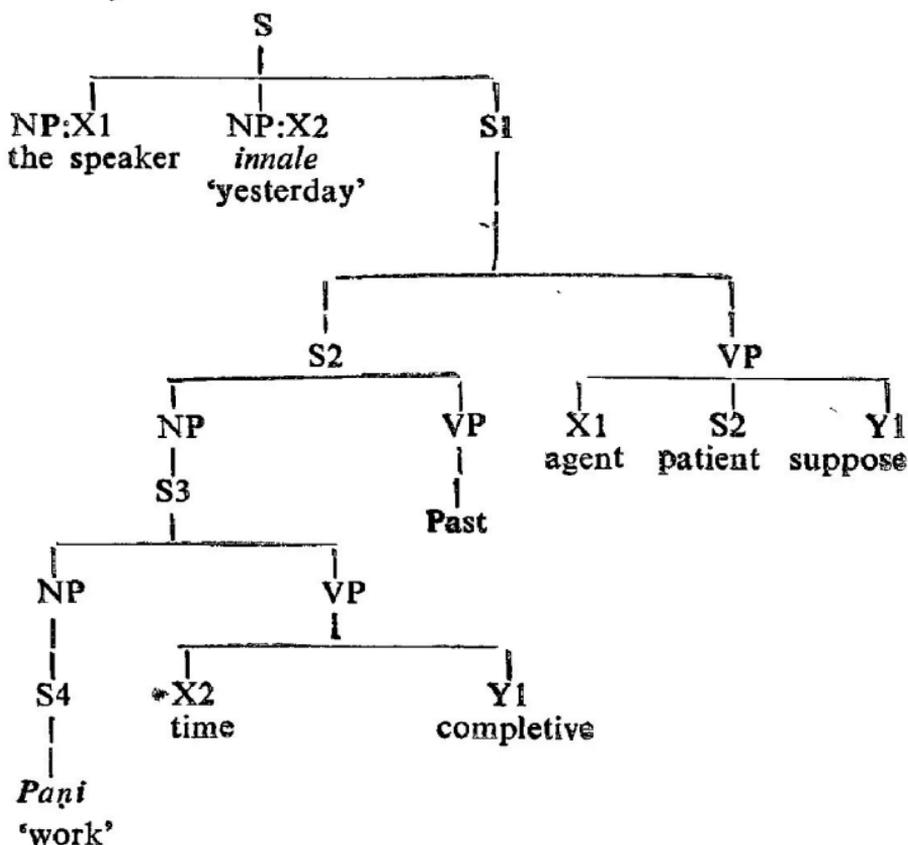
11) *n̄a:n vannappo:ḷ maḷa peytukoṅṅirunnu*

2 4 5 6 7 8

The auxiliary */iri/* in sentence 11 may indicate 'completive', 'effective' or 'continuous'.

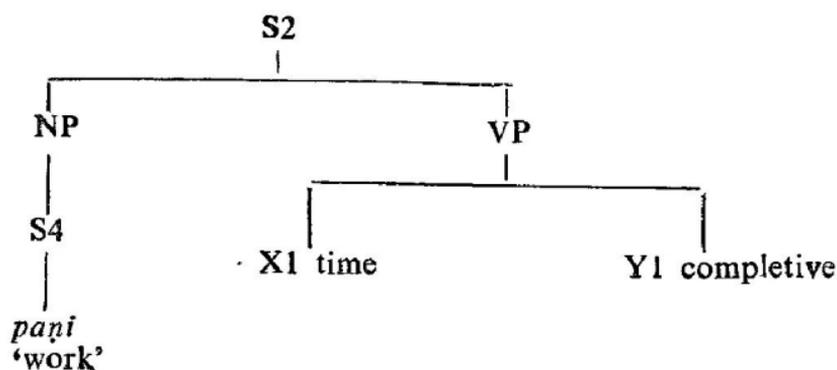
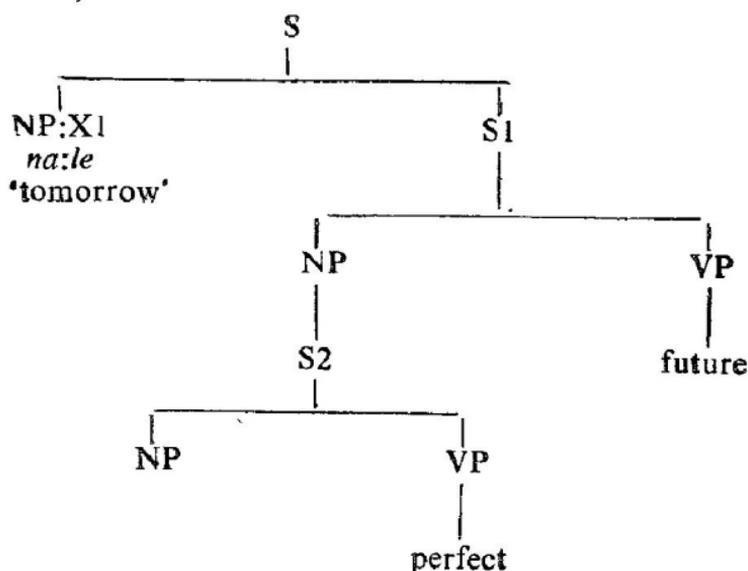
tuent is realized as /-irikkum-/ and completive as /ti:r + past/. If /innale/ 'yesterday' and 'past' is figure 16 are replaced by /na:le/ 'tomorrow' and 'future' the same will represent one possible semantic structure of sentence 14 i.e., the meaning 'I suppose that the work will be completed tomorrow.' The other semantic interpretation of sentence 14,

15)



i.e., 'the work must have completed tomorrow' can be represented something like figure 16. In this case the 'completive' is realized as /ti:ru/ and 'perfect' as /past + iru/.

16)



1.1.6. It has been stated that the auxiliary *[-iri-]* can occur twice one after another. In the example below (17) the first *[-iri-]* means 'perfect' and the second 'suppose'

17) *maḷa peytirunnirikkum*

1 2 3 4

'I suppose that it had rained'

4 3 1,2

It is fascinating to note the following sentence in which */-iru-/* occurs thrice, the first is the main verb */-iri-/* 'to sit' the second 'perfect' and the third 'suppositional'.

- 18) *aya:l irunnirunnirikkum*
 1 2 3 4
 'I suppose that he had sat'
 4 1 3 2

1.1.7. The past perfect and suppositional optionally take a morpheme */-a:y-/* before the auxiliary in the surface structure. eg:

- 19a) *vannirunnu - vanna:yirunnu* 'had come'
 b) *vannirikkum - vanna:yirikkum*
 'I suppose' (someone) has come'

1.2. When the auxiliary */-iri-/* occurs after future tense it indicates a sense of 'expectation'.

- 20) *enikku paṇam vara:n irikkunnu*
 1 2 3 4

This sentence can be paraphrased as 'I expect' (4) some money (2) to come (3) to me (1).

The auxiliary */-iri-/* in this context can be replaced by */-uṇṭu-/* sentence 21 is semantically identical with 20.

- 21) *enikku paṇam vara:n uṇṭu*

In the sentence below (23) */uṇṭu/* is added to */irikkunnu/*. Here they are different auxiliaries (See also 13.)

- 22) *enikku paṇam vara:n irikkunnuṇṭu*

1.3. The auxiliary */-iri-/* along with */koṇṭu/* i.e. */koṇṭiri/* indicates a continuous action. eg:

23) *ṅa:n pathiccukoṇṭirikkunnu*

1 2 3

'I am studying'

1 3a 2 3b

24) *bassu o:ṭikkoṇṭirikkunnu'*

1 2 3

'the bus is running'

1 3a 2 3b

25) *vima:nam paṛannukoṇṭirikkunnu*

1 2 3

'the plane is flying'

1 2a 2 3b

1.3.1. The form */koṇṭu/* mentioned above is morphologically the past tense form of the auxiliary */-koḷḷ-/* (5). However it is not feasible to regard */koṇṭiri/* as */koḷḷ (+past)+iri/*, because the meaning of the compound is not similar to the combination of the meanings of the auxiliaries */-koḷḷ-/* and */-iri-/*. Nevertheless, it is also not feasible to regard */koṇṭiri/* as a single form since */koṇṭu/* and */iri/* may sometimes occur discontinuously eg:-

26) *ṅa:n eppo:lum pathiccukoṇṭu alla irikkunnatu*

1 2 3 4 5 4

'I am not always studying'

2 4a 5 2 3 4b

The */iri/* in */koṇṭiri/* is deleted in verbal participles.

27) *oruvan pa:ṭṭu pa:ṭikkoṇṭu naṭākkunnu*

1 2 3 4

'One man walks singing songs'

1 4 3 2

2. *Po:k*:

The auxiliary */po:k/* also has a wider range of distribution. It can be preceded by both past tense and future tense.

2.1. When preceded by past tense it indicates (a) completion of an action or (b) an unfortunate event. eg:-

28) *ka:ppi taṇuttupo:yi*
 'coffee cooled completely'
 1 2 3

29) *paḷam ci:ñṅupo:yi*
 1 2 3
 'the fruit rottened completely'
 1 2 3

30) *ṅa:n kaḷḷam parañṅupo:yi*
 1 2 3 4
 'I told a lie unfortunately'
 1 3 2 4

31) *kaḷḷan satyam parañṅupo:yi*
 1 2 3 4
 'the thief told a truth unfortunately'
 1 2 3 4

Sentence 30 and 31 are interesting. Telling a lie is unfortunate for me while telling the truth is unfortunate for the thief.

2.1.1. In sentences 28 to 31 the auxiliary */-po:k-/* expresses an event not only 'complete' or 'unfortunate' but also 'unexpected'. The coffee was not expected to become cool, but it happened unexpectedly. Similarly the

thief usually does not tell the truth. Therefore, the thief telling a truth was unexpected.

The notion unexpectedness is sometimes not indicated. In the following sentences, for example, the auxiliary *[-po:k-]* indicates events 'unfortunate', but not 'unexpected'.

32) *nara avale visvasiccupo:yi*
 1 2 3 4
 'I believed her unfortunately'
 1 3 2 4

33) *ramaswami jo:likku ape:kšiccupo:yi*
 1 2 3 4
 'Ramaswamy applied for a job unfortunately'
 1 3 2 4

In these sentences the auxiliary indicates that the action already took place had some evil consequences.

2.2. Now, see the following sentences.

34) *ra:ghavan pari:kšayil jayikka:te po:yi*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'Raghavan could not pass the examination'
 1 5 4 3 2

35) *mo:tiram ka:na:te po:yi*
 1 2 3 4
 'the ring went without seeing'

36) *avanu vidyakaḷ to:nna:te po:kattē*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'he may not remember the tricks'
 1 5 4 3 2

In these sentences, *[pari:kšayil jayikkuka]* 'to pass the examination' etc., are not unfortunate events. But,

the negations of them, i.e., not to pass etc., are clearly unfortunate. The auxiliary *[-po:k-]*, therefore, occurs with the negative participles in these sentences. The following sentences is unusual.

- 37) *avan pari:kṣayil to:lkka:te po:yi*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'he could not fail in the examination'
 1 5 4 3 2

This sentence indicates that the speaker expected that he would fail in the examination, but he passed and that it was unfortunate on the part of the speaker [The English translation given is not accurate].

The following sentence also may be noted. The auxiliary in this sentence indicates an event which is 'unexpected', but not 'unfortunate'.

- 38) *avan pari:kṣyil jayiccupo:yi*
 1 2 3 4
 'he passed in the examination unfortunately'
 1 3 2 4

2.3. When preceded by future tense the auxiliary *[-po:k-]* has the meaning 'about to'. Note that this is quite different from the meaning of *[-po:k-]* when it is preceded by past tense.

- 39) *ñā:n vi:lā:n po:yi*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'I was about to fall'
 1 5 4 3 2

- 40) *vanci maṛiya:n po:yi*
 1 2 3 4
 'the boat was about to turn upside-down'
 1 5 4 3 2a 2b

41) *nā:n va:yiṅka:n po:kunnw*

1 2 3 4 5

'I am going to read'

1 5 4 3 2

2.4. The auxiliary *[-pō:k-]* is replaced by *[-var-]* after future tense in sentences which have no agent. Compare the following sentences.

42) *enikku charddikka:n varunnw*

1 2 3 4 5

'vomiting comes to me'

2,3 4,5 1

43) *nā:n charddikka:n pō:kunnw*

1 2 3 4 5

'I am going to vomit'

1 5 4 3 2

3. *-no:kk* :

This auxiliary also occurs with all categories of verbs and can be preceded by both past tense and future tense. It indicates a successful trial after past tense and a failure after future tense. eg. :-

44) *aya:l o:ṭi no:kki*

1 2 3

'he tried to run' (successful)

1 2 3

45) *aya:l o:ṭa:n no:kki*

1 2 3

'he tried to run' (not successful)

1 2 3

Sentence 45 means 'he could not run though he tried' and sentence 44 indicates that his attempt to run

was successful. But it does not indicate how far his effort (attempt) to run was successful. He could run, but, the sentence does not clarify whether he could win or not. See the following sentences.

- 46) *aya:l o:ti no:kki; omma:m samma:nam kittukayum*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

ceyru

8

'he tried to run and got the first prize'.

1 3 2 7 6 4 5

- 47) *aya:l o:ti no:kki; pakṣe: po:li:suka:r pinna:le*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

o:ti piṭiccu

7 8

'he tried to run; but the police caught him

1 3 2 4 5 8

running after him'.

7 6

4. /-ku:ṭ-/

This auxiliary also can occur with all the categories of verbs and can be preceded by both past and present tenses. However, the use of this auxiliary is very much restricted in modern Malayalam.

4.1. The auxiliary /-ku:ṭ-/ is mainly used in modern Malayalam after past tense and before the negative particle /-a:-/ In this context it means 'possibility' 'probability' or 'permission'.

- 48) *ninna:l atu paraṅṅu ku:ṭa:*

1 2 3 4 5

'you must not tell it'

1 4 5 3 2

- 49) *prame:ha ro:gi pañcasara upayo:giacu ku:ta:*
 1 2 3 4 5 6
 'diabetic patient must not use sugar'

4.2. Very rarely */-ku:t-/* is used in the sense of 'completive' also. eg. :-

- 50) *a:pattu vanmu ku:ri*
 ? 2 3
 'misery came' (completive)
 1 2

4.3. When preceded by future tense */-ku:t-/* indicates willingness in certain dialects of Malayalam. This occurs only with negative (*illa*) or simple future. eg. :-

- 51) *enikku vara:n ku:rukayilla*
 1 2 3 4
 'I am not willing to come'
 1 4 3 2

- 52) *ninnalkku pathikka:n ku:tumo:?*
 1 2 3
 'are you willing to learn?'
 1 3 2

5. */-koll-/*

This auxiliary which occurs only before non-past in modern Malayalam has a vast range of meaning.

5.1. When it follows past tense and precedes present tense it indicates the notion 'humble' if the subject of the sentence is first person.

- 53) *na:n ariyiccu kollunnu*
 1 2 3 4
 'I inform humbly'
 1 2,4 3

54) *nāññiḷ ape:kṣiccu kollunnu*

1 2 3 4

'we request humbly'

1 2,4 3

5.1.1. When *[-koll-]* is preceded by past tense and followed by any modal other than present tense it indicates self-reponsibility'.

55) *nā:n paṛaññu kollam*

1 2 3 4

'I shall say responsibly'

1 4 2 3

56) *kuññira:man eṭuttukollanam*

1 2 3 4

'Kunjirama must take responsibly'

1 4 2 3

57) *avaḷ pa:ṭikkollum*

1 2 3 4

'She will sing responsibly'

1 4 2 3

5.2. When preceded by future tense the auxiliary *[-koll-]* indicates 'suitability'. eg:-

58) *i: pe:na eḷuta:n kollum*

1 2 3 4

'this pen is suitable to write'

1 2 4 3

59) *i: kaṭala:su eḷuta:n kollum*

1 2 4 3

'this paper is suitable to write'

1 2 4 3

- 60) *avane viśvasikka:n koḷḷa:m*
 1 2 3
 'it is suitable to believe him'
 3 2 1

5.2.1. These sentences may be compared with the following:-

- 61) *i: pe:nakoṇṭu eḷuta:n paṛṛum*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'It is possible to write with this pen'
 5 4 3 1 2
- 62) *i: kaṭala:sil eḷuta:n paṛṛum*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'It is possible to write on this paper'
 5 4 3 1 2
- 63) *avane viśvasikka:n paṛṛum*
 1 2 3
 'it is possible to believe him'
 3 2 1

Sentences 61-63 have the underlying structures similar to those of the following.

- 64a) *atu (#i: pe:na koṇṭa eḷutukka #) paṛam*
 'it (#to write with this pen#) is possible'
- 65a) *atu (#i: kaṭala:sil eḷutukka #) paṛṛm*
 'it (#to write on this paper #) is possible'.
- 66a) *atu (# avane viśvasikkuka #) paṛṛam*
 'it (# to believe him#) is possible'.

The auxiliary */-paṛṛ-/* in this context can be replaced by */sa:dhi-/* without any change of meaning. Sentence 64 for example, is semantically identical with 61.

67) *i: pe:nakoṇṭu eḷuta:n sa:dhikkum*

The auxiliary *|-koḷḷ|* has a number of allomorphs the distribution of which is as follows:

- 1) *-o:* occurs words finally after consonants.
eg:- *vann-o:-, -um, kaṇṭ-o:* etc.
- 2) *-o:ḷ-* occurs after a consonant and before a vowel. eg:-
vann-o:ḷ-um, kaṇṭ-o:ḷ-um etc.
- 3) *-kko:-* occurs words finally after a vowel. eg:-
no:kki-kko:, a:yi-kko: etc.
- 4) *-kko:ḷ* *-koḷḷ-* occurs in free variation elsewhere.
o:ṭi-kkoḷ-um no:kki:kkol-um
o:ṭi-kkoḷḷ-um no:kki kkoḷḷ-um

6. *-kaḷa-*

This auxiliary which occurs only after past tense indicates 'completion' 'surprise' 'ease' and 'disinterestedness'.

6.1. *Completion:*

- 68) *avar śatrukkale to:ḷpiccukaḷaṅṅū*
 1 2 3 4
 'they defeated the enemies completely'
 1 3 2 4
- 69) *ṅa:n vya:karaṇam maṅannukaḷaṅṅū*
 1 2 3 4
 'I forget the grammar completely'
 1 3 2 4

6.2. *Surprise:-*

70) *hanuma:n samudram ca:ṭikkaḷaṅṅū*
 1 2 3 4
 'Hanuman jumped over the ocean'
 1 3 2

71) *i: kuṭṭi pustakam muḷuvan va:yiccukaḷaṅṅū*
 1 2 3 4 5 6
 'this boy read the whole book'
 1 2 5,6 4 3

6.3. *ease:-*

72) *kaḷḷan o:ṭikkaḷaṅṅū*
 1 2 3
 'the thief ran with ease'
 1 2 3

6.4. *Disinterestedness:-*

73) *vi:ṭṭile:kku poykkaḷaya:m*
 1 2 3 4
 'I shall go home'
 3 2 1

7. *-e:kk-*

This auxiliary which occurs only after past tense also has a wide range of meaning.

7.1. When followed by present tense this auxiliary indicates 'contempt' and 'perfect'.

74) *avan vanne:kkunnu*
 1 2 3
 'he has come, I dislike'
 1 3a 2 3b

7.2. When followed by future tense it indicates 'doubt' if the subject is third person.

78) *stri:kaḷ vanne:kkum*

1 2 3

'women may-come'

1 3 2

7.3. The auxiliary *[-e:kk-]* indicates 'disinterested self-responsibility' in the following contexts.

a. If the subject is first person and the modal is *[-a:m/]*.

76) *ñā:n paraññe:kka:m*

1 2 3

'I shall say' [paraphrased as 'I shall take the responsibility to say, though I am not interested']

The sentence may be compared with the following:
[see also 5.1.1].

77) *ñā:n paraññukol(a:m*

1 2 3

'I shall say' [paraphrased as 'I shall take responsibility to say and I am actually interested in it']

b. In imperative sentences also the auxiliary *[-e:kk-]* indicates 'disinterested self-responsibility' eg:-

78) *ni: paraññe:kku*

1 2 3

'you may say' [on your own responsibility I am not interested]

7.3. In verbal participles when followed by past tense /-e:kk-/ indicates a kind of disinterestedness as shown by the following sentences.

- 79) *avan paṛaṅṅe:ccu po:yi*
 1 2 3 4
 'having said be went without waiting for the
 2 1 4
 result'
 3

8. -ti:r|kaḷi

These two auxiliaries which are always preceded by past tense indicate 'completive'

- 80) *ṅa:n pathiccu ti:rṅnu|kaḷiṅṅu*
 1 2 3 3
 'I completed study'
 1 3 2

9. -iṭṭuṭu

This auxiliary also occurs only after past tense. This indicates both 'perfect' and 'expectation' eg:-

- 81) *encini:yar vanniṭṭuṭu*
 1 2 3
 'engineer has come [as expected]
 1 3a 2 3b

This sentence may be compared with 80 in which the auxiliary /-iri-/ is used in the sense of 'perfective' only. If the engineer was expected to come sentences 79 occurs and otherwise sentences 80.

- 82) *encini:yar vannirikunnu*
 1 2 3
 'engineer has come'
 1 3 2

9.1. The meaning 'expectation' is lost in relative participle and verbal participle transformations.

- 83) *vanniṭṭuḷḷa*
 '(he) who has come' (relative participle)
vanniṭṭu
 'after having come' (verbal participle)

It may be noted that *uṇṭu* has been lost in the verbal participle transformation. But it is never lost in finite verbs (i.e., *vanniṭṭu* can never be a finite verb).

The difference between sentences 82 and 83 may also be noted.

- 84) *aya:ḷ vannuṇṇaṅṅa*
 1 2 3
 'he came and said'

- 85) *aya:ḷ vanniṭṭu ṇṇaṅṅa*
 1 2 3 4
 'after having come he said'
- 3 2 1 4

9.2. It is doubtful whether *-iṭṭuṇṅu* can be split into *iṭṭu + uṇṅu*. They never occur discontinuously. However, *uṇṅu* can be replaced by *illa* as in *iṭṭilla* and they (*iṭṭu* and *illa*) can occur discontinuously.

- 86) *vanniṭṭuṇṅu* 'has come'
vanniṭṭilla 'has not come'
vanniṭṭe:illa 'has never come'

10. -var|po:r-

These auxiliaries which occur only after past tense indicate 'habitual'. eg. :-

- 87) *o:ṇam ke:raḷattile de:ṣi:ya ulsevama:yi a:cariccu*
 1 2 3 4 5
varunnu/po:runnu
 6 6
 'onam is celebrated as a national festival in
 1 5 3 4
 Kerala'
 2

10.1. The auxiliary *[-var-]* indicates the notion 'gradual' also.

- 88) *intyayīl janasankaya vardhiccu varunnu*
 1 2 3 4
 The population gradually increases in india'
 2 4 3 1

11. *koṭu/taṛ*

These auxiliaries which are in complementary distribution indicate the meaning 'for someone sake'. eg. :-

- 89) *ra:man kuṭṭikku a:naye ka:ṇiccu koṭuttu*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'Raman showed the child an elephant for the
 1 4 2 3
 sake'
 5

11.1. The morphemes *[koṭu]* and *[taṛu]* are differentiated as follows: if the dative in the above example *[kuṭṭikku]* 'for the child' is third person, *[koṭu]* is used and otherwise *[taṛu]*. Compare sentences 87 with the following.

13. -vīṭ-

This has the following meanings.

13.1. *Closing*

95) *avane siḱṣīccu vīṭtu*

1 2 3

'[someone] punished him [and] closed [the matter]

2 1 3

14. *uṇṭu*

This auxiliary occurs only after present tense in Malayalam. It indicates emphasis.

96) *a:na varunnuṇṭu*

1 2 3

'the elephant comes really'

1 2 3

The present tense together with emphasis sometimes indicate the notion 'continuity' also. Sentence 94, for example, means 'the elephant is coming really'. But this notion is absent in sentence 95.

97) *ñā:n naṭṭe po:ṭunnuṇṭu*

'I go tomorrow really'

1 3 2 4

14.1. It may be noted that the other auxiliaries already discussed do not occur after present tense. The structure of the auxiliary *uṇṭu* is, therefore, differ greatly from them. The auxiliaries *ka:ṇum* *irikkum* and *a:yirikkuka* which will be described below, also have the deep structure different from those already described. These auxiliaries including *uṇṭu* occur after the tense of the main verb while others occurrence of *uṇṭa* after present

tense can be thus explained Sentence 97, for example, is from 98 and not from 99.

98) *n̄a:n na:le po:kunnu+uṇṭu*
[I go tomorrow + really]

99) *n̄a:n na:le p̄o:k+uṇṭu+Present̄*
[I go tomorrow + emph + present]

15. *ka:ṇum/irikkum*

These two auxiliaries which are added to the past tense of the main verb indicate 'supposition'. eg:-

100) *ra:man vannuka:ṇum/irikkum*
 1 2 3
 'Rama came, I suppose'
 1 2 3

15.1. The auxiliary [*a:yirikkum*] [*a:y+irikkum*] which indicates 'supposition' can occur after any modal except interrogative and imperative. eg :-

101) *vanna:yirikkum* 'come, I suppose'
varunna:yirikkum 'comes, I suppose'
vuruma:yirikkum 'will come, I suppose'
varaṇama:yirikkum 'must come, I suppose'
vara:ma:yirikkum 'can come, I suppose'

The interrogative [*-o:*] occurs after the auxiliary [*a:yirikkum*] and imperative never occurs with [*a:yirikkum*]
eg :-

102) *vanna:yirikkumo:* whether he came, I doubt'

15.2. The past tense fore [*a:yirunnu*] does not occur with present tense. When it occurs with past tense it indicates a past event which was useless'. eg:-

103) *avaḷ vanna:yirunnu*
 I 2 3
 'she came, but it was useless'
 I 2 3

104) *ñā:n avane kaṇṭa:yirunnu*
 I 2 3 4
 'I saw him, but it was useless'
 I 3 2

With other verb forms [*a:yirunnu*] indicates an event which did not realize. eg:-

105) *ñā:n avane ka:ṇuma:yirunnu*
 I 2 3
 'I would have seen him [but did not]'
 I 3 2

106. *avaḷ varaṇama:yirunnu*
 I 2
 'she must have come [but she did not]'
 I 2

16. It has been stated already, that the auxiliary verbs in Malayalam are all homonyms of the ordinary verbs and they have different meanings when they are used as auxiliaries and as main verbs. We have so far discussed the meanings of the verbs used as auxiliaries. The meanings of these verbs when they are used as main verbs are given below.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| 1. <i>iri</i> | 'to sit' |
| 2. <i>po:k</i> | 'to go' |
| 3. <i>no:kk</i> | 'to look' |
| 4. <i>ku:t</i> | 'to join' |
| 5. <i>ko:l</i> | 'to hit' |

6.	<i>kaḷa</i>	‘to leave’
7.	<i>e:kk</i>	‘to hit’
8.	<i>ti:r</i>	‘to finish’
9.	<i>kaḷi</i>	‘to finish’
10.	<i>iṭ</i>	‘to put’
11.	<i>uṇṭu</i>	‘is’
12.	<i>var</i>	‘to come’
13.	<i>po:v</i>	‘to come near’
14.	<i>koṭu</i>	‘to give’
15.	<i>tar</i>	‘to give’
16.	<i>vaykk</i>	‘to put’
17.	<i>viṭ</i>	‘to leave’
18.	<i>ka:n</i>	‘to see’

17. There are some compounds of which both the verbs show semantic changes. Such verbs are not considered in this paper. They can be better treated as separate lexical item.

eg:-

kaṇṭupitṭkkuka ‘to discover’ or ‘to invent’

(*ka:n*- ‘to see’ + *piṭi* ‘to hold’)

paraṇṇukōṭukkuka ‘to teach’

(*para*- ‘to say’ + *koṭu* to give’)

koṇṭuvarika ‘to bring’

(*koḷḷ*- ‘to get’ + *var*- ‘to come’)

paraṇṇuviṭuka ‘to send’

(*para* ‘to say’ + *viṭu* to ‘leave’)

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AUXILIARIES IN MALAYALAM DIALECTS

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Auxiliary verbs are defined as the 'verbal forms used after a principal verb in a verb phrase to express the mood, tense or aspect of the action denoted by the principal verb'. An auxiliary verb has no meaning of its own. It becomes meaningful only when it follows a main verb. Among the various types of auxiliaries in Malayalam, only the verbal forms which could be used as a main verb as well as an auxiliary verb alone are considered in this paper. Thus *pooyi* is treated as an auxiliary verb since it is used as a main verb in *ñaan pooyi* 'I went' and as an auxiliary verb in *peena kañāññu pooyi* 'pen is lost'.

Two auxiliaries *cama-* and *arul-* among the sixteen auxiliaries listed by A. R. Raja Raja Varma (Raja Raja Varma, 1968) are excluded from this discussion since these two forms are not used in the spoken language. In the written language also, the usage of these two forms as auxiliaries are very rare. *pet-* 'to be involved' (Panikkar, 1973) is also not treated as an auxiliary here because it occurs after a noun like *ištappetu* 'to like', *paatu petu* 'to work hard' etc. As a main verb, its usage is more frequent only in the southern dialect of Malayalam as in.

enRe kaalil oru muļļu pettu

'A thorn stuck in my leg'

ninakku aṭi peṭum 'you will get blow' etc.

Hence only the auxiliaries which occur after a verbal participle marker or a purpose denotative are discussed in this paper. The first category has a high frequency whereas the second has got a low frequency (see the sentence No. 36 in the table below). After examining the verbal forms in various contexts, the following twenty forms which are given in the table are recognized as the auxiliaries. The meanings of the main verbs and the auxiliary verbs are also given in the table. The examples for each are given separately.

Table showing the auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verb	Meaning of principal verb	Meaning of auxiliary verb
1 <i>iṭ-(iṭ-)</i>	to put	completion of the previous action, after, certainty request. Eg. S. 1-4
2 <i>iri</i>	to sit	state, perfectness, definiteness, doubtfulness Eg: S-85
3 <i>kiṭa-(-aṭa)</i>	to lie	State Eg: S.9
4 <i>kala</i>	to leave, to throw away	indifference, easiness, adventure. instruction Eg: S. 10-13
5 <i>kaṭi</i>	to be completed	completed action, Eg: S. 14
6 <i>tiṭ-</i>	to be completed	completed action Eg: S. 15
7 <i>kuṭ (-uṭ)</i>	to join	completed action, unexpected Eg: S. 16-17

Auxiliary verb	Meaning of principal verb	Meaning of auxiliary verb
8 <i>paRR-</i>	to stick to happen	completed action, unexpected Eg: S. 18-19
9 <i>koṭ-</i>	to give (to indirect object III person)	willingness, Eg: S.20
10 <i>tar-</i>	to give (to indirect object I and II person)	willingness, Eg: S.21-22
11 <i>koḷ-</i>	to hit, to receive	consent, respect, responsibility, continuity, result of hardwork. Eg: S. 23-27
12 <i>pook-</i>	to go	result, unexpected event carelessness, surprise Eg: S. 28-31
13 <i>poor-</i>	to come	custom, habit, Eg: 32-33
14 <i>var-</i>	to come	custom, habit, unintentional Eg: S.34-36
15 <i>vay- (va-)</i>	to place	possibility, easiness, completion of the action, emphatic Eg: S.37-40
16 <i>viṭ-</i>	to leave to release	completion, request, to send a message, Eg: S. 41-44
17 <i>aka-</i>	to become	completion or perfect Eg: S.45
18 <i>kaaṇ-</i>	to see	doubt, Eg: S.46
19 <i>aaṇ-</i>	to be	emphasis, Eg: S.47-48
20 <i>ul-</i>	to be	existence, Eg: S 49

Examples

- 1 *kataku puuttiittu poo* (completion of the previous action)
'You (sg.) go after locking the door'
- 2 *avan kallu taaḷe iṭṭiṭṭu pooyi* (completion of the previous action or after)
'he went after putting the stone down'
- 3 *ootiṭṭu prayoojanamilla* (certainty)
'There is no use in running'
- 4 *vanniitumoo nii*¹ (request-only in literature)
'will you come?'
- 5 *muṇṭu veḷutirikkanu* (state)
'dhoti is clean'
- 6 *avan pooyirikkunnu* (present perfect)
'he has gone'
- 7 *avan pooyirunnu* (past perfect)
'he had gone'
- 8 *avan vannirikkum* (doubtful past and definite future)
'he might have come', 'he will definitely come'
- 9 *avar oraḷe piṭiccaṭakkaṇu* (state)
'They caught hold of one man'
- 10 *namukku unṭu kaḷayaam* (indifference)
'let us eat our food'
- 11 *avan ootiṭṭaḷaṇṇu* (easiness)
'he ran away'
- 12 *avan puliye konnu kaḷaṇṇu* (adventure)
'he killed the tiger'
- 13 *'nii ootiṭṭaḷa* (instruction)
'you run'
- 14 *avan cooRu unṭu kaḷaṇṇu* (completed action)
'he finished eating rice'

- 15 *avan̄ cooRu uṟṟu tiirnnu* (completed action)
'he finished eating rice'
- 16 *avan̄ pariṭṣayil kaṭannu kuuṭi* (completed action)
'he somehow managed to pass the examination'
- 17 *aññane vannu kuuṭi* (unexpected)
'it so happened'
- 18 *avan̄ pariṭṣayil kaṭannu paRRi* (completed action)
'he somehow managed to pass the examination'
- 19 *aññane vanuu paRRi* (unexpected)
'it so happened'
- 20 *ñaan̄ avan̄u oru pa:ṭham paRaññu koṭuttu* (willingness)
'I taught him a lesson'
- 21 *avan̄ enikku oru paṭṭham paRaññutannu* (willingness)
'he taught me a lesson'
- 22 *ñaan̄ ninakku oru paṭṭham paRaññu tannu* (willingness)
'I taught you a lesson'
- 23 *niññal poonnoḷuu (poon̄u + koḷḷuu)* (consent)
'you may come'
- 24 *ñaan̄ apeetsiccu koḷḷunnu* (respect)
'I request'
- 25 *ñaan̄ ceytooḷaam (ceytu + koḷḷaam)* (responsibility)
'I can do'
- 26 *avan̄ ceytoonṭirikkunnu (ceytu + koṇṭu + irikkunnu)*
(continuity) 'he is doing'
- 27 *paatupattu avan̄ poñnikkoṇṭu* (result of hardwork)
'he became well off by dint of his hard work'
- 28 *avan̄ pariṭṣayil tooRRu pooyi* (result)
'he failed in the examination'
- 29 *avan̄ pariṭṣayil jeyiccu pooyi* (unexpected event)
'he unexpectedly passed the examination'

- 30 *avan kuliyil viṅṅu pooyi* (carelessness)
'he fell into the pit'
- 31 *avan vaa poḷiccu ninnu pooyi* (surprise)
'he stood opening his mouth (in surprise)
- 32 *valluurkkaavil aāṅṅu tooRum utsavam naṅattippoorunnā*
(custom)
'festival is (used to be) celebrated in *valluurkkaavu*
every year'
- 33 *avan moosṭiccu poorunnu* (habit)
'he used to steal'
- 34 *valluurkkaavil aāṅṅu tooRum ulsavam naṅatti varuṅṅu*
(custom)
'festival is (used to be) celebrated in *valluurkkaavu*
every year
- 35 *avan moosṭiccu varunnu* (habit)
'he used to steal'
- 36 *enikku cirikkaan vannu* (unintentional)
'I was about to laugh'
- 37 *avan vanneeykkum* (vannu + vaykkum) (possibility)
'he may come'
- 38 *ṅāaṅ vanneeykkaam* (vannu + vaykkaam) (easiness)
'I will come'
- 39 *avan vanneecu* (vannu + vayccu) pooyi (completion of
the preceding action)
'having come, he went'
- 40 *ṅāaṅ aṅṅane paRaṅṅu vayccu* (emphatic)
'I said so'
- 41 *avan aṅṅane ceyttuṭṭu* (ceytu + viṭṭu) (completion)
'He did so'
- 42 *iṭṭuutum* (iṭṭu + viṭum) (completion)
'will put'

- 43 *nii atu paRaṅuutu* (*paRaṅu + viṭu*) (request)
 'you say that'
- 44 *saaRu tannuuṭṭu* (*tannu + viṭṭu*) (message)
 'Sir sent it'
- 45 *avaṅ vannaayi* (completion or perfect)
 'he had come'
- 46 *aval vonnu kaaṅum* (doubt)
 'she might have come'
- 47 *nii vannaṅu* (emphasis)
 'You come'
- 48 *nii pooyaṅu* (emphasis)
 'you go'
- 49 *avaṅ vannittuṅtu* (existence)
 'he has come (and still he is there)'

From the list given above, it can be observed that some of the auxiliaries are synonymous in some contexts. The observations about the synonymous auxiliary verbs and the dialect differences are noted below:

1. 2. *kali-*, (5) *tiir-*, (6) can be considered as two synonymous auxiliaries which indicate a completed action. Thus the following two pairs of sentences in which *|kali|* and *|tiir-|* are used as main verbs and auxiliary verbs mean the same.

ari tiirnnu (as main verb)

'rice is finished'

ari kaliṅṅu (as main verb)

'rice is finished'

maṅṅa tinnu tiirnnu

'mango is finished by eating or the eating of the mango is finished'

maan̄ña iiunu kaḷiññu
 'eating of the mango is finished'

In *maan̄ña tinnu tiirnnu*, 'tiirnnu' indicates the exhaustion of mango on the completion of the verb tinnu'

An examination of the other sentences will reveal that these two auxiliaries are not mutually substitutable in all the contexts. See the following sentences.

ñaan vannu kaḷiññu 'I came' * *n:aan vannutiutiirnnu*
avan pooyikkaḷiññu 'he went' * *avan pooyittiirnnu*

Regarding the use of *tiir-* and *kaḷi-*, a regional restriction can also be observed' *kaḷi-* has a high frequency in the northern area of Kerala. It is possible for *kaḷi-* to follow *tiir-*, but the reverse order is not possible.

jooli tiirnnu kaḷaniññu
 'work is finished'
 **jooli kaḷiññu tiirnnu*

2. Three auxiliaries *koṇt-*, *it*, and *vay-* are mutually substitutable in the following sentences

naṭannoṇṭu vannu, *naṭanniṭṭu vannu* and *naṭanneccu*
vannu

which mean: 'came, having walked'

Of these three sentences, the first one has got a high frequency in the Northern most dialect of Malayalam.

3. *irikkum* (3) and *kaaṇum* (18) are two synonymous auxiliaries in some contexts indicating doubtful past, when it is used after a VP.

vannirikkum / *vannukaaṇum*
‘might have come’

This meaning will not be altered even if we add *aayirikkum* with these. Thus:

vannirikkum / *vannirikkumaayirikkum*
‘might have come’

vannukaaṇum / *vannukaaṇumaayirikkum*
‘might have come’

irikkum indicates the doubtful past as well as the definite future. *avaṇ vannirikkum* can mean both ‘he might have come’ and ‘he will definitely come’

The verbal phrase *aayirikkum* (*aayi* + *irikkum*) indicates doubt in all the tenses.

vannaayirikkum ‘might have come’ Past tense
varikayaayirikkum Present tense
varumaayirikkum – Future-tense

kaaṇ – can only be used in past doubtful tense, not in all the tenses.

vannaayirikkum (*vannaarikkum*)
‘might have come’

pooyaayirikkum (*pooyaarikkum*)
‘might have gone’ etc. are the regional variations of *vannukaaṇumaayirikkum* and *pooyikkaaṇumaayirikkum* (see observations.8)

4. In the southernmost dialect of Malayalam (Kanyakumari district of Tamilnadu) the V. Ps are followed by *aayi* to make the verb presentperfect. This structure can

be compared with the forms of Paniya, a tribal language of Kerala,

<i>Southernmost variety of Malayalam</i>	<i>Paniya</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
VP + Vb (aux) Pr. T	VP + Vb (aux) pr. T	
Vb (aux) = aayi	Vb (aux) = <i>ula</i>	
<i>pooyaayi</i>	<i>pooyula</i>	Has gone
<i>nannaayi</i>	<i>bantula</i>	Has come
<i>ittayi</i>	<i>ittala</i>	Has put

5. The peculiarity of adding an emphatic-*um*, with the auxiliary verb *vay* can be observed in the Cochin dialect.

<i>Standard dialect of Malayalam</i>	<i>Cochin dialect of Malayalam</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
VP + Vb (aux)	VP + Vb (aux) +	
Vb. P. T	<i>um</i> + Vb. P. T.	
<i>pooyittu vannu</i> (<i>pooyeecu vannu</i>)	<i>pooyeescum vannu</i>	came, having gone there
<i>kanṭittu vannu</i> (<i>kanṭeecu vannu</i>)	<i>kanṭeecum vannu</i>	came, having seen

Another variation is VP + Vb (aux) + *um* + Vb P.T >
VP + -*um* + Vb(aux) + Vb.P.T

pooyummiecu vannu (*pooyi + um + vaccu + vannu*)
'came, having gone'

6. The occurrence of -*aṇu* after a tense marker is observed in Cochin dialect and Southern dialects of Malayalam.

Standard dialect of Malayalam	Cochin dialect of Malayalam	Meaning
V.N + aaṇu	Vb + aaṇu	
pa Rayukayaaṇu	paRayunneeṇu	(he) tells
varikayaaṇu	varunneeṇu	(he) comes

Southern dialect of Malayalam

nii paRa	nii paRañṇaaṇu	you tell
nii paṭhikku	nii paṭhiccaṇu	you learn

7. *kita-(ata)* is an auxiliary verb found in the Northern colloquial dialect of Malayalam which can substitute *iri-* in the standard dialect. It became notable dialect feature, due to its high frequency of usage. Another noted feature is its consistent use in the present tense. Examples:

Dialect form	Standard form	Meaning
VP + Vb (aux) Pr. T	VP + Vb (aux) Pr. T or P.T.	
sahaayiccaṭakkaṇu (sahaayiccu + kiṭa- kkaṇu)	sahaayiccirikkunnu (sahaayiccu + iri- kkunnu)	'has helped'
ventatakkkaṇu (ventu + kiṭakkaṇu)	ventukitakkunnu/ ventirikkunnu (ventu + kiṭakkunnu/ ventu + irikkunnu)	'has become cooked'
oru jiippu vannaṭakkaṇu	oru jiippu vannirikkunnu	'a jeep has come'
ninRe achan etra koticcaṭakkaṇu	ninRe achan etra koti-ccirunnu	'how much your' father craved'
ooppaḷu teRRiddha riccaṭakkaṇu	ceecci teRRiddhari- cciri- kku u	'sister has' misunderstood

8 In Cannannore and Calicut, *aakunnu* (17) and *aayirunnu* (17) become *aannu* (*poovaannu*) and *eenu* (*pooveenu*) respectively. Other differences are noted below

<i>Std. dialect</i>	<i>Cannannore</i> present perfect	<i>Calicut</i>	<i>Eranad</i> (Muslim)
<i>irikkunnu</i> (2)	3 <i>ikkini</i>	<i>ikkinnu</i>	<i>ikkiru</i>
<i>iunnirunnu</i> (2)	<i>ineeni</i> past perfect	<i>aarnnu</i>	<i>iinu</i>
<i>irikkum</i> (2)	<i>ikkum</i> (past doubtful)	<i>ikkum</i>	<i>ikkum</i>
<i>kaḷā</i> (4)	<i>aaḷa</i>	<i>aḷa</i>	<i>kaḷa aḷa</i>

9. The number of auxiliary verbs in a sentence may differ from dialect to dialect. Thus

VP + VP(aux)¹ + VP (aux)² + VP (aux)³ + Vb
(aux) F.T >

VP + VP(aux)² + Vb (aux) F.T

VP (aux)¹ = *iṭṭu* VP (aux)² = *uṭṭu*

VP (aux)² = *aayi*

vanniṭṭuṭṭaayirikkum > *vannaarikkum* (< *vannaay-irikkum*)

'might have come'

Thus two VP (aux)s are deleted in the dialect spoken in the central part of Kerala.

Notes

1 *n* = dental nasal *ṇ* = alveolar nasal

2 The number within the brackets refers to the serial number of the auxiliary verb in the table.

3 The *ini* in the Northern dialect of Malayalam which occurs only after a VP, is treated differently by different

scholars. In the Malayalam Lexicon (Kunjan Pillai, 1970) it is described as 'a suffix of past tense in certain parts of North Malabar', and it is equated with other past tense forms in the following examples.

Vannini = *vannu* 'came'
pooyini = *pooyi* 'went'

Such treatment is not at all possible since the past tense marker *-nn-* is already there in *vannini*. If we treat this *ini* as a past tense marker, we should have to state that this 'past tense marker' is occurring after another past tense marker, which is impossible.

Abbreviations

aux	=	auxiliary verb
F.T	=	Future tense
Pr T	=	Present tense
P.T.	=	Past tense
S	=	Sentence
Vb	=	Verb
VP	=	Verbal participle

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THE MODAL VERB *ve:ṇam* IN MALAYALAM

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1. This paper attempts to unraval the semantic structure of modal sentences which contain *ve:ṇam* as the modal verb. Before attempting to analyse the peculiarities of this modal verb, it will be useful to mention its functions as a main verb and its syntactic relations. As a main verb it mainly expresses the meaning 'necessity' in all its occurrences.'

1 *enikkə ca:ya ve:ṇam*
'I need tea/Tea is necessary for me'

2 *ceṭikkə veḷḷam ve:ṇam*
'The plant needs water' /
'Water is necessary for the plant'

Since the sentences (1) and (2) express a 'necessity' meaning they can be paraphrased as,

3 *enikkə ca:ya a:vaṣyamuṇṭə*
'I need tea'

4 *ceṭikkə veḷḷam a:vaṣyamuṇṭə*
'The plants need water'

The intensity of the 'necessity' meaning differs according to various concepts used.

5 *ji:vikkunṇariṇə o:ksijen ve:ṇam*

'Oxygen is necessary for living' (obligatory). The above sentences may mean that oxygen is obligatory for living'

2. The modal system of Malayalam is essentially a problematic area to explain and it requires more attention. The traditional grammarians (Gundert, 1851; Mathen, 1863; Phrabhu, 1904; A. R. R. Varma, 1895) have said very little about the formation and the various meanings of the modal verb *ve:ṇam*. The explanations which we get from such grammars are also messy. Gundert, Mathen, and Varma consider this as a defective verb. According to Varma *uṛaṅṅuka ve:ṇam* 'sleeping is necessary' is a full sentence, while in *uṛaṅṅaṇam* where the subject is understood, i.e. only a dative subject is possible. The above may not be true.

ṅa:n uṛaṅṅaṇam 'I must sleep'

avaḷ uṛaṅṅaṇam 'She must sleep'

etc. also are possible

3. The modal verb *ve:ṇam* is semantically complex and it is not easy to disentangle the distinct modality features realised by the modal verb and its syntactic convergence. First, let us see some of general properties of this modal verb.

(1) It can occur with all the aspectual auxiliaries.

6 *ṅiṅṅaḷ atə ceytu taraṇam*
'You must do it for me'

7 *ṅiṅṅaḷ atə ceytu ṅo:kkaṇam*
'You must try to do that'

- (2) It can come after the modals *kali-* and *a:k-* and not with *-aṭṭe* and *-e:ne*.

8 *ninnalkkə atə ceyya:n kaliyaṇam*
 'You must be able to do that'

9 *avan varakaya:kaṇam*
 'He must be coming'

10 * *avan varaṇam aṭṭe*
 'He come-must-perm'

11 * *avan varaṇam e:ne*
 'He come-must-prob'

(3) Sentence (10) will give some idea about the past action and (11) gives a non-past meaning.

12 *avanə ceyaṇama:yirunṇu*
 'He had to do'

13 *avanə ceyyaṇam*
 'He must do'

Sentence (11) is negated by replacing *ve:ṇam* by *ve:ṇṭa*.

14 *avanə ceyyaṇṭa*
 'He need not do it'

Whereas, sentence (10) can be negated in two ways as given below:

15 *avanə atə ceyyaṇama:yirunṇilla*
 'Doing was not necessary for him'

15b *avanə atə ceyyaṇṭa:yirunṇu*
 'Doing was not necessary for him'

It is interesting to note that in (15a) the negative marker negates the whole proposition whereas in (15b) the form *ve:ṇṭa* negates the action of the main verb only.

(4) *ve:ṇam* behaves differently from main-verb and it has certain qualities which other auxiliaries lack. There is no tense distinction for *ve:ṇam* and in order to give a distinction in tense *var-* or *[a:y]iru* is added to the modal.

16 *enikkə uṛaṇṇaṇam*
'I need to sleep'

17 *enikkə uṛaṇṇe:ṇtiyirikkun_{nu}*
'I have to sleep' [pa.]

18 *enikkə uṛaṇṇe:ṇtiyir_{unnu}*
'I had to sleep' [pa.]

19 *enikkə uṛaṇṇe:ṇtiyirikkum*
'I may have to sleep' [Fu.]

Here the tense distinction is maintained by the addition of *[a:y]iru* and an aspectual meaning is also involved here.

(5) *ve:ṇam* occurs after the infinitive of the main verb

(*vara-ve:ṇam* > *varaṇam*)

4. *ve:ṇam* as a main verb:

(1) Ross (1968) has convincingly explicated that auxiliaries are mainverbs in the deep level in English and claims that this phenomenon is universal. In the light of this hypothesis we can analyse the auxiliary verbs of Malayalam and it is inferred that the above said theory holds good to Malayalam also. We get certain verb compounds where it is difficult to separate the verbs, because the fusion is rigid. Hence, we are tempted to think that the second member of such compounds are only suffixes and they may not have any verbal status. For example *varaṇam* 'should come' *varaṭṭe* 'let some one

come', *vaṇne:ne* 'would have come' etc. are verbal compounds which contain two verbs. The second members here (*-ṇam*; *-aṭṭe*; *-e:ne*) seem to get the status of suffixes. Historical evidences show that these are contracted forms of some main verbs. Consider the following sentence.

- 20 *avan varaṇam*
'He must come'

The above sentence can be expanded as'

- 21 *avan vara/varuka ve:ṇam*
'He must come'

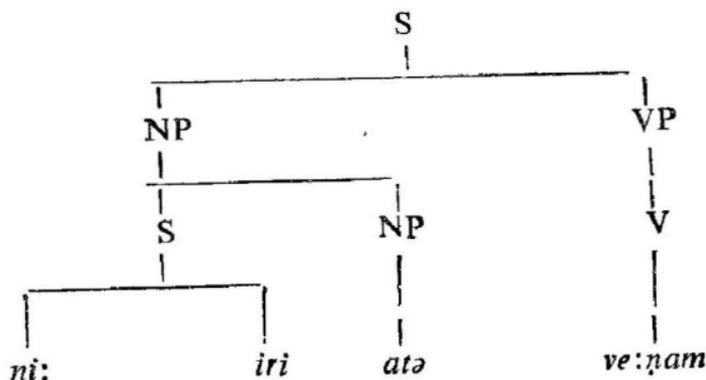
If we conjoin the sentences (22) and (23) we get a full verb.

- 22 *ni: irikkaṇam*
'You should sit'

- 23 *ni: cirikkaṇam*
'You should laugh'

- 24 *ni: irikkukayum cirikkukayum ve:ṇam*
'You should sit and laugh'

The sentence (23) can be represented as



Auxiliary verbs can be treated as grammatical category just like other grammatical categories and in the deep level they function as main verbs. The above three diagram proves the fact that the modal verb *ve:ṇam* is a main verb in the underlying structure. Hence we can bring all the modals of the language and group them as a separate class of verbs under main verbs.

(2) Agesthalingom (1976) has amply illustrated that the various nuances which emerge from a modal or aspect can be related to the meaning of the main verbs. A main verb may have a number of meanings in its occurrence and among them a few will be predominant. Hence some of the meanings are extended to that verb when it functions as an auxiliary verb. It has to be noted that unless a related meaning of the main verb is attributed to the auxiliary verb, such a verb cannot be selected in a verbal compound. This hypothesis works very well in the case of Malayalam auxiliary verbs. This evidence itself clearly explicate that the auxiliary verb is a main verb not only in form but also in meaning.

(3) It is also interesting to note that the same syntactic constraint is maintained to a verb whether it occurs as a main verb or auxiliary. A dative noun phrase is essential in a sentence where *ve:ṇam* is present.

25 *enikkə oru pe:na ve:ṇam*

'I need a pen'

26 *enikkə kaḷikkaṇam*

'I must play'

All the above three evidences help us to confirm the notion that auxiliary verbs are really main verbs in the deep level and there can not be such category called modal verbs or auxiliary verbs in the underlying structure.

A modal verb is a surface realization of different nuances inherent in the higher predicate in the deep structure. The higher predicate which underlie *ve:ṇam*, may have the following nuances.

(1) necessity (2) desirability (3) wish (4) obligation and (5) inferential.

All the above suggested meanings are closely related and hence it is very difficult to distinguish them by giving syntactic evidences. Modality may be expressed in various ways and each language may have its own ways of expressing them. Malayalam uses the grammatical category, modal auxiliary (*-a:m*, *-aṇam*, *-e:ne*, *-atte*, *-kalyum* etc.) to express various types of modalities. The nuance ejected from a modal verb show the 'attitudes of the mind of the speaker towards the content of the sentence'. That is, *ve:ṇam* is added to express the personal view of the speaker about the situation.

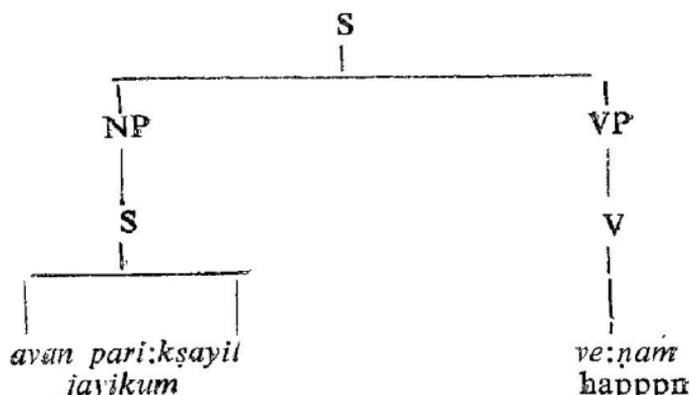
We get a unitary meaning for the verb *ve:ṇam* in all its occurrences. In addition to this common meaning, what Ehrman (1968) calls 'BASIC MEANING', each occurrence will have some other nuance(s). This can be evidently noticed in the modal constructions where we use the verb *ve:ṇam*. The basic meaning can be something like "the predication is required by some aspect(s) of the state of the world".

When the modal *ve:ṇam* is used in a sentence, the speaker asserts that the actor is bound to complete the event. While the speaker asserts that that action is imminent, in his view point, the action should happen. If the action is not taking place it may be due to some unpredicable reasons and the speaker is not concerned with it. Consider the following sentence:

- 27) *avan pari:kṣayil jayikkaṇam*
 'He must pass the examination'

Here the event is imminent, according to the speaker. i.e. he should pass the examination.

The semantic representation for the above sentence can be as follows :

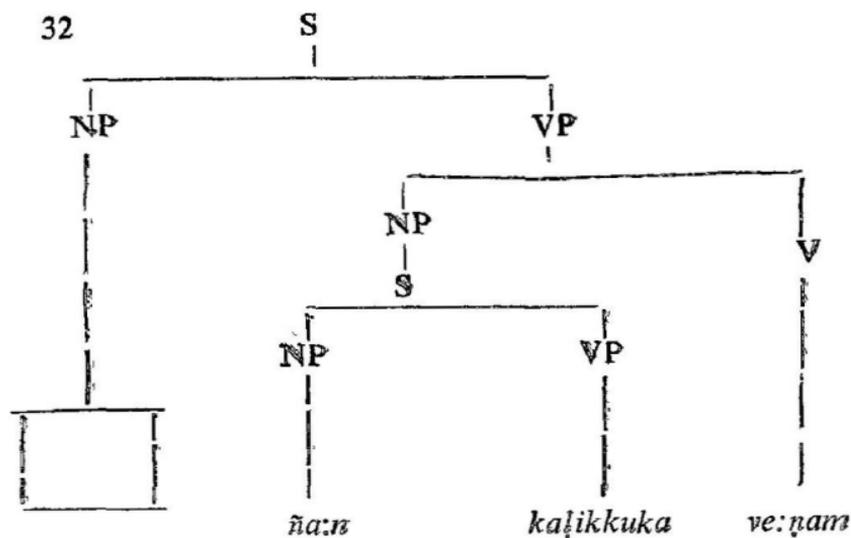


The speaker needs 'his passing the examination'. The actor, according to the speaker is committed to fulfill the task. In addition to these a 'wish' from the speaker's side is also expressed by the above modal sentence.

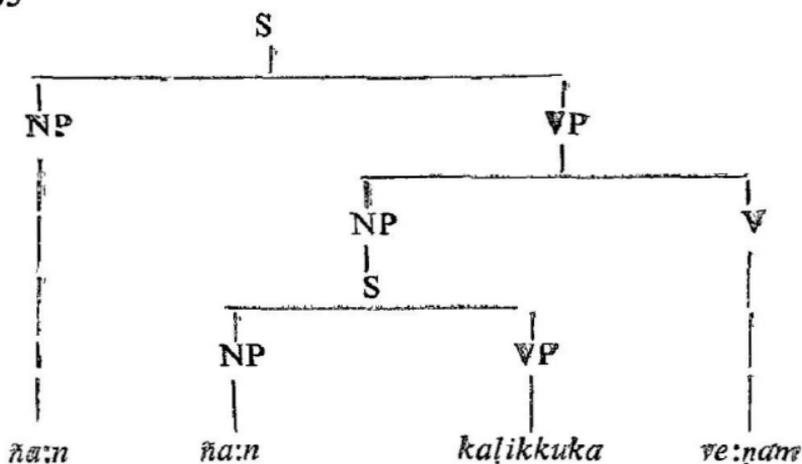
The sentence (26) consists of a (1) a 'propositional component', which represents the content of the sentence and (2) a 'modal component', which denote the speakers' personal view about the content of the sentence. In this sentence *ve:ṇam* is an element of the modal component which gives the illocutionary potential of the sentence, See the deep components of sentence (26),

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| a. Propositional component: | <i>avan pari:kṣayil jayikkum</i>
'He will pass the exam.' |
|-----------------------------|--|

In order ^{to} differentiate the meaning changes in (30) and (31) we have to set up the underlying structure as:



33



(30) is represented in (32) and (31) in (33). In the configuration (32) the NP stands for 'some one' and hence we get the meaning 'obligation'. The same NP takes only *ñā:n* 'I' in (33). Hence we can explain the meaning differences.

The meaning of *ve:ṇam* differs according to the social status of the speakers. If a superior person (socially etc.) utters *varaṇam* '(you) must come' it will be a 'command' whereas the same is uttered by a lower person to a superior person then it will be a 'request'. In both the cases we get the 'necessity' meaning and 'command' and 'request' are additional meanings.

34 *ni: varaṇam*

(34) has three readings (a) you must come; (b) you should come; (c) you need come. If the sentence is uttered with more force we get a 'compulsion' meaning, if a less force less compulsion, and no compulsion. The negative sentence

35 *ni: vare:ṇa*

gives three negative meanings. But the less compulsion meaning can be negated as,

36. *ni: varaṇamennilla*

'You need not come'

The *ve:ṇam* also has the inferential meaning. The speaker alone will be the experiencer for the inference. He gets the inference from the situation.

37 *avan na:lə maṇikkulḷa basil po:yi atukoṇṭə
pattu maṇikkə erṇa:kuḷattə ettiyirikkanam*

'He started in the 4 O' Clock bus. So he might have reached Ernakulam by 10 O'clock'.

The speaker inferred this by taking the time of the travel of the actor.

38 *paṣuvina a:yiram ru:pa kittāṇam*

'One must get thousand rupees for the cow'

In sentence (38) the speaker has some idea about the price of the cow in normal days. So he infers.

- 39 *train i: ŝte:ŝanil nilkaṇam*
 'The train must stop at this station'

Here the speaker knows already that every day the train stops at that station. The inferential meaning can not be negated with *-ve:ṇṭa*. For that *ennilla* is used.

- 40 *train i: ŝte:ŝanil nilkkanamennilla*
 'The train need not stop here'

There is another type of 'inferential modality' which says something about the universal facts.

- 41 *su:ryanə pṛaka:ŝam uṇṭa:yirikkaṇam*
 'The sun must have light'
- 42 *ka:kakkə kaṛuppə niṛam uṇṭa:yirikkaṇam*
 'The crow must have the black colour'

In order to infer these the speaker should know the universal facts.

When one blesses by saying,

- 43 *ni: nallavana:kaṇam*
 'You must become good'

it may mean only the 'wish' of the speaker.

ve:ṇam when used with the past auxiliary verb *irunṇu*, it expresses that the action is not performed. See the following sentences :

- 44 *avan avṭe po:ke:ṇṭiyirunṇu*
- 45 *avan avṭe po:ke:ṇṭata:yirunṇu*

- 46 *avan avite po:kāṇa ma:yirunṇu*
'He should have gone there'

All the above sentences are semantically identical and they presuppose that the act is not fulfilled i.e. 'he did not go'. On the contrary a negative sentence.

- 47 *avan avite po:ke:ṇṭiyirunṇilia*
'He should not have gone there'

may presuppose that 'he has gone'. The negative sentence presupposes an event which is already taken place.

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AUXILIARY VERB *untā* IN MALAYALAM

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0. This paper tries to throw light upon the importance of the auxiliary verb *untā* in Malayalam.

1.1. Many of the different shades in the time and manner of actions are expressed in Malayalam with the help of auxiliary constructions with *untā*. A few are exemplified below:

- 1) *avan̄ erana:kulattā po:yī*
'he to Ernakulam went' i.e.
'He went to Ernakulam'.

This sentence expresses simple past.

- 2) *avan̄ erana:kulattā po:yittuntā*
/po:y - (√) itt - untā/
'he to Ernakulam has gone' i.e.
'He has gone to Ernakulam'

- 3) *avan̄ erana:kulattā po:yittuntā:yirunnu.*
/po:y - (v) itt - unt - a:y - irunnu/
'he to Ernakulam had gone' i.e.
'He had gone to Ernakulam'

- 4) *avan̄ erāṇa:kuḷattə po:yittuṇṭa:kum¹.*
 /po:y - (v) itt - uṇṭ - a:kum/
 'he to Ernakulam might have gone'. i.e.
 'He (most probably) might have gone to Ernakulam'.

1.2 A construction which may be compared with (3) avoids *uṇṭə*

- 3 a) *avan̄ erāṇa:kuḷattə po:yirunnu*
 Similarly (4) a below may be compared with (4)
- 4 a) *avan̄ erāṇa:kuḷattə po:yirikkum*

The sentences (3) a. and (4) a. seem to mean actions in the near past.

1.3. By placing *uṇṭə* with different words of (2) meaning shades can be changed.

- 2 a) *avan̄ uṇṭə erāṇa:kuḷattə po:yittə*
 'He has gone to Ernakulam'.

The sentence implies that the speaker did not expect this action from the "subject".

- 2 b) *avan̄ erāṇa:kuḷattə uṇṭə po:yittə*

This sentence implies that subject's going to 'Ernakulam' is unexpected.

- 2 a) may be changed into interrogative.
- 2 c) *avan̄ uṇṭo: erāṇa:kuḷattə po:yittə?*
 'Has he gone to Ernakulam'

1 One may compare the following sentence with (4). *avan̄ erāṇa:kuḷattə po:yittuṇṭa:kum* 'He might have gone to Ernakulam; not sure'

This sentence connotes the doubt of the speaker of the "subjects" fitness to perform the action and nearly negates the action. Similarly the interrogation from (2) b. i.e. (2) d. below implies that the subject might have gone somewhere else, not to Ernakulam.²

2 d) *avan eraṇa:kulaṭṭuṅṭo: po:yittə?*

2.1. *uṅṭə* — negative → *illa*. 'When it occurs as main verb.

5) *avan ivite uṅṭə*
'he here is' i.e. 'He is here'

5 a) *avan ivite illa*
'he here is not' i.e. 'He is not here'

Similarly restrictive particle, *e..u*, added to *uṅṭə* gives *uḷḷu*:³

6) *ka:ttil a:ṇa uṅṭə*
'in the forest elephant is' i.e.
'There is elephant in the forest'

6 a) *ka:ttil e a:ṇa uḷḷu*
'The elephant is there only in the forest'

2 Constructions like (2 c. and (2)d. are prevalent even in proverbs: *paṅṭuṅṭo: pa:ṇan po:ite pu:tṭi?* 'Has the bard ploughed the land ever before'.

3 From sentence, *avan varaṇam*, 'He should come,' we get *avane: vare:ṇtu:* 'He alone need come'. This shows that forms like *-aṇam* in *varaṇam* etc. are just auxiliary verb *ve:ṇṭum*. This fact is more evident when two *aṇam* type of verbs are co-ordinated. Eg:-

avan varaṇam + avan uṅṇaṇam → *avan varukayum*
uṅṇukayum ve:ṇam
ve:ṇṭum > ve:ṇam > — aṇam

- 6 b) *ka:ttil a:naye: ullu*
 'The elephant alone is present in the forest'

2.2.1. Similiar is the realisation of *untə* when it occurs in auxiliary construction.

- 7) *avan ma'aya:lam pathiccittuntə*
 'He has studied Malayalam'
- 7 a) *avan malaya:lam pathiccittilla*
 'He has not studied Malayalam'
- 7 b) *avane: malaya:lam pathiccittullu:*
 'He alone has studied Malayalam'
- 7 c) *avan malaya:lame: pathiccittullu:*
 'He has studied Malayalam only'
- 7 d) *avan malaya:lam pathiccitte: ullu:*
 'He has only studied Malayalam'

2.3.1. But when restriction is added to non-restrictive sentences where there is no *untə* auxiliary, *untə* seems to crop up.

- 8) *kaṇṇaṇ innale vannu*
 'Kannan came yesterday'
- 8 a) *kaṇṇane: innale vannullu:*
 'Kannan alone came yesterday'
- 8 b) *kaṇṇaṇ innaleye: vannullu:*
 'Kannan came only yesterday'
- 8 c) *kaṇṇaṇ innale varikaye: ceytullu*
 'Kannan came yesterday and that is all'

In order to account for this we should have some rule of the sort shown below ;

Subject Δ restriction + adverb + verb stem - past tense

—> subject -e: + adverb + verb - past tense + *uṅṭe-u:*

Restriction may be added to any word in the sentence. In (8)a. it is added to the subject and in (8)b. to the adverb. In (8)c the restriction is added to the verb. This requires a special rule.

verb stem - past Δ restriction \rightarrow verb stem - *uka* - e:
+ *cey* - past tense + *uṅṭa* - u:

It is evident that the auxiliaries *cey* and *uṅṭe:* are semantically empty and are added only for the sake of syntactic rules.⁴

2 3.2. In the case of future tense the rules are very much similar to that of the past.

Subject Δ restriction + adverb + verbstem - future \rightarrow
subject -e: + adverb + verb stem -*uka* + *uṅṭa* -u:.

The following sentences are examples.

9 *kaṅṅaṅ iviṭe varum*
'Kannan will come here'

9 a) *kaṅṅaṅe: iviṭe varukayullu:*
'Kannan alone will come here'

9 b) *kaṅṅaṅ iviṭeye: varukayullu:*
'Kannan will come here and that is all'

4 -*cey* is added even when verbs are used in co-ordination.

Eg. *kaṅṅaṅ vannu* 'Kannan came' + *kaṅṅaṅ uṅṭu* 'Kannan ate' \rightarrow

kaṅṅaṅ varukayum uṅṅukayum ceytu.

Often *varuka(y)uḷḷu*: shortens to *varuḷḷu*. Then instead of verbstem - *uka* + *uṇṭə* - *u*: the use of verbstem - *u*: is quite common. Thus we have three variants viz. *varukayulḷa*:, *varuḷḷu*: and *varu*: with identical significance. These three are regional and stylistic variations.

2.3.3. In present tense also restrictive particle requires the addition of *uṇṭə*. Thus we have sentences of the following type.

10 *kaṇṇaṇ ivite varunnu*
'Kannan comes here'

10 a) *kaṇṇane: ivite varunnuḷḷu*:
'Kannan alone comes here'

10 b) *kaṇṇaṇ ivite varukaye: ceyyunnuḷḷu*:
'Kannan comes here and that is all'

In present tense there is a problem. The restrictive verbs corresponding to *varunnu* and *varunnuṇṭə* are identical.

11 *kaṇṇaṇ ivite varunnuṇṭə*
'Kannan is coming here'

11 a) *kaṇṇane: ivite varunnuḷḷu*:
'Kannan alone is coming here'

Compare (11)a. with (10)a.

The nullification between *-unnu* type and *-unnuṇṭə* type of verbs takes place in negative sentences also.

12 *ṅa:ṇ varunnu -neg* → *ṅa:ṇ varunnilla*
'I do not come'

13 *ṅa:ṇ varunnuṇṭə -neg* → *ṅa:ṇ varunnilla*
'I am not coming'

2.4. Negative formation of restrictive verb requires another rule.

verbstem - past tense + *uṅṭə - u:* + neg →
negative verbal participle + *uṅṭə - u:*

8 *kaṅṅaṅ innale vannu*
'Kannan came yesterday'

8 a) *kaṅṅaṅe: iṅna'e vannuḷḷu:*
'Kannan alone came yesterday'

8 b) *kaṅṅaṅe: innale vara:te uḷḷu:*
'Kannan alone did not come yesterday'

2.5 1. (8)a., b., and c. are restrictive sentence formed out of (8) Now another type of restrictive sentences can be formed by the use of *ma:tram*.

8 A) *kaṅṅaṅ ma:tram innale vannu*

8 B) *kaṅṅaṅ innale ma:tram vannu*

8 C) *kaṅṅaṅ innale varuka ma:tram ceytu*

(8)a. and (8)A. have a subtle difference. (8)a. means that Kannan alone came and nobody else came. (8)A. means that Kannan alone came inspite of the absence of others. Similar is the difference between (8)b. and (8)B same is the case with (8)c. and (8)C.

2.5.2. Now see the following sentences

8 A' *kaṅṅaṅ ma:trame: innale vannuḷḷu:*

8 B' *kaṅṅaṅ innale ma:trame: vannuḷḷu:*

8 C' *kaṅṅaṅ innale varuka ma:trame: ceytuḷḷu:*

(8)A' means that Kannan alone came though many others also were expected. This implication of the unfulfilment of expectation is present in (8)B' and (8)C'.

3 It is hoped that even this fragmentary treatment will bring out various functions of auxiliary verbs in Malayalam. All suggestions made in this paper are tentative.

MODAL AUXILIARIES IN TELUGU

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0. The function of an auxiliary verb in any language is to express the mode, tense or aspect of the action denoted by the main verb of a sentence. An Auxiliary verb in Telugu, however, normally expresses either the mode or aspect of the action denoted by the main verb. In Telugu, as in the other Dravidian languages, tense is mainly expressed by tense suffixes; but it may be associated as a secondary feature with some auxiliaries as will be pointed out below. The following discussion will make clear that in Telugu, as in other languages, there are restrictions on the use of auxiliaries depending on the base of the main verb.

An auxiliary verb in Telugu is invariably attached to one of the two forms of the main verb : (i) the infinitive (the suffix is *-an* in Old. Te. and *-a* in Mod. Te. the latter has the variant *-an* before the interrogative particle *a*: and the emphatic particle *e*: and the verb *iccu* 'to give') and (ii) the past adv (erbial) part (iciple) (the suffix is *-i*). An exception to this general rule is the construction in which the auxiliary *po*: 'to go' follows the neg (ative) adv. part. of *le*:- 'to be not', which itself usually follows the infinitive of a main verb. An auxiliary verb in Telugu is a syntactically bound form since nothing can be inserted between it and the main verb and since the

two cannot be separated by pause in normal speech; the particle of emphasis, however, may occur after the main verb when it is followed by certain auxiliaries but not all.

All the auxiliaries in Telugu may be divided into two main classes on the basis of the form of the main verb to which they are attached (see Appendix). Thus, the auxiliaries that are attached to the past adv. part of a main verb may be called *Class I* auxiliaries and those that are attached to the infinitive of a main verb may be called *Class II* auxiliaries: the modal auxiliaries, which we are going to discuss in this paper come under this class. Sequentially class II auxiliaries can follow those of Class I and in such cases the Class I auxiliary will become part of the main verb; in other words the class II auxiliary will be in immediate constituency with the whole unit consisting of the main verb and the class I auxiliary.

In the more common versions of transformational grammar, the auxiliary (AUX) is considered to be one of the basic constituents of a sentence, the other two constituents being the noun phrase (NP) and the verb phrase (VP). The following rule serves to expand the auxiliary constituent in a transformational grammar of English (T - tense; M-modal),

AUX — T (M) (have + en) (be + ing)

However, in a recent paper entitled, "Auxiliaries as Main Verbs" John Robert Ross (*Studies in Philosophical Linguistics; Series One*, ed. William Todd, 1969:77-102) convincingly shows that auxiliaries behave like main verbs and that they belong to the same major category as verbs. He argues that an auxiliary must be immediately dominated

by VP and that the other constituent of the VP is a noun phrase, which may later be expanded into a sentence. The evidence from Telugu supports the main conclusions of Ross: in Telugu, all the verbs that function as auxiliaries can function also as main verbs and the difference in the meaning of a verb when it is used as a main verb and when used as an auxiliary is very slight; this is particularly true when we take all the stages of the language into consideration. The modal auxiliaries in any language serve to indicate the attitude of the speakers towards the events they are reporting. "The so-called modal auxiliaries are related to mood: that is, their purpose is to signal hypothetical situations: possibility, necessity, ability, obligation, intention, permission, assertion" (so Yeshinoby Hakutani, "English Modal Auxiliaries: A Reconsideration" *Linguistics* 90 (1972), 11-19 p. 11.) Although the usage in Modern Telugu is taken as the basis for this study the use of auxiliaries in Old Telugu is also considered particularly when there is remarkable difference between the two stages of the language.

1. *Vaccu*

The corresponding form in Old Te. is *Vaccunu* 'he/she/it/they (neut.) will come' which is the 3rd person sg. and neut. pl. future-cum-habitual form of *vaccu* 'to come' (the tense suffix is *-unu* and it is not followed by personal suffixes). When it is not used as an auxiliary, this form like the other forms with the other person-number-(gender) suffixes of this tense has the subjunctive sense in Modern Telugu: 'he/she/it/they (neut.) would have come'. In its usage as an auxiliary in Modern Telugu the initial *V* of *vaccu* is lost.

ceruvule: idaccu.

One can swim in a tank.

banḡilo kanna bassulo: tondaraga: vellaccu.

One can travel quickly by a bus rather than by a cart. The first sentence may be expanded by adding the clause *ka:ni samudramle: idaḡam kudaradu/evanu: i:da le:ru* 'but it is not possible to swim in the sea/nobody can swim in the sea'. This indicates that the first sentence may be paraphrased as follows using the verb *kuduru* 'to be possible'.

ceruvulo: i:daḡaḡam kudurutundi.

'It will be possible (for somebody) to swim in a tank'

This is further evidence that *vaccu* has the sense "possibility" in addition to the other senses.

Although a declarative sentence with *vaccu* (but without *bahuda:*) expresses both the senses, "permission" as well as "probability", these two are distinguished in the corresponding negative and interrogative sentences even at the surface level.

1) *vaḡu ninnu cu:ḡaḡa:niki re:pu ra:vaccu*

a) He may (probably) come to see you
tomorrow

b) He is permitted to come to see you
tomorrow

1 a) *va:ḡu ninnu cu:ḡaḡa:niki re:pu ra:ka povaccu*
He may not come to see you tomorrow.

1 a a) *va:ḡu ninnu cu:ḡaḡa:niki re:pu osta:ḡa:?*
Will he come to see you tomorrow?

- 1 b) *va:ḍu ninnu cu:ḍa:niki re:pu ra: ku:ḍadu.*
 He should not (i.e., is not permitted to) come
 to see you tomorrow.
- 1 b) *va:ḍu ninnu cu:ḍadaniki re:pu ra:vacca:?*
 May/can he come to see you tomorrow?

In Old Telugu the auxiliary *vaccunu* is used only in the sense of "possibility" and the agent is always in the dative case (see also 5):

sami:ru ni:ku baṭṭa vaccine ?

Is it possible for you (pl.) to catch hold of the wing?

2. *gala. galugu* 'to be able to'

In Modern Telugu it is always syntactically bound to the infinitive form of a main verb, which preceds it. The form *gala* is different from all other verbs since it takes the personal suffixes directly without first taking the tense suffix. Since no tense suffix is added to *gala* it expresses "capacity" or the "ability" of the agent to do the notion denoted by the main verb without reference to any particular time. On the other hand, when reference to any particular point in time is needed, *galugu* is used and it is followed by the particular tense suffix, which, in turn, is followed by a personal suffix.

In Old Telugu the corresponding form *kalugu* means 'to be, have, (money, etc.) to be possessed, be born' and *kala* is the non-post adjectival participle of it. According to the native grammarians, the construction.—Infinitive of a verb + *kala* + *vā:ḍu* 'he' | *adi* 'she, it' | *va:ru* 'they (hum.)' | *avi* 'they (neut.)' (these are followed, where necessary, by suffixes of 1sg., pl, 2sg, and pl.) has future meaning.

But in the literature this construction is very rarely used to express future tense. Thus, in Nannaya's *Maha-bha:ratamu* (which is the first literary work in Telugu and belongs to the 11th century A.D.) there are only ten instances of this construction and among these only two have future meaning while the other eight have the sense of 'capacity' *ce:van galava:ramu* (1.7.32. 2.1.238) 'we (excl.) will do': contrast *o:rvā galare* (1.3.38 1.7.205) 'Can (people/others) control/defeat?', *ni:kun i galavā:dan e:nu* (2.2.174) 'I can (rather than' will') give you (sg.)' and so on. On the other hand, constructions like *eruka gala maha:tmulu* (1.5.110) 'great people who have wisdom' and *dhoraṇi gala ra:julu* (1-7-27) 'the kings that are there on the earth' are more numerous than the previous type. A comparison between the two types will make it clear that the constructions of the type *ce:van gala va:ramu* originally mean 'we (excl.) are (there) to VERB'. The construction *ka:van gala:varamu* (3 3.384), in fact, must be interpreted to mean 'we (excl.) are (here) to protest' according to the context. The sense of 'capacity' and, rarely, of 'future time' must be later developments from this original sense. Further, it is interesting to note that Nannaya uses constructions of the structure. Infinitive + *unna* (past-present adjectival participle of *uṇḍu* 'to be') + noun/pronoun which are similar to the constructions with *kala* and which, like the latter, refer to future actions, eg. *ninnu bo:rilo:n o:rvaga:n unna vi:rundan* (1. 7. 202) 'I am the hero who is to (i.e., will) defeat you (sg) in the battle', *ra:jasuyamun ... onarimpan unna yamanandanu yatnamu* (2. 1. 243) 'the efforts of the son of Yama, who is to (i.e., will) perform the *Ra:jasu:ya* sacrifice! This construction helps us to perceive more fully the connecting link between the original sense of *kala*, i.e. 'to be' and its latter developments, i.e. 'futurity' and 'capacity'

In Modern Telugu *gala* functions as a verbal adjective with the sense 'that has / have' and is in free variation with *unna*, e.g.

ḍabbu $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{gala} \\ \textit{unna} \end{array} \right\}$ *vaḷlu* 'those that have money'

In Old Telugu, besides *kala*, *kalugu* and *kalinina* are also used as verbal adjectives; although *kaligina* is past adjective in form, it is not confined to past tense in sense. Similarly, in Modern Telugu *gala* and *galigina* mean the same in the constructions in which they occur after the infinitive of a main verb, e.g.

va:ḍu ceyya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{gala} \\ \textit{galigina} \end{array} \right\}$ *pani* 'the work that he can do'

However, *gala* refers only to actions that are non-past.

Although the auxiliary *gala* means 'capacity', it is possible to make subdivision of the meaning as 'capacity in general' and 'capacity at a particular time'. When the meaning is 'capacity in general', the sentence with it may be paraphrased by a sentence with *cE:tan-avunu* or *occu(nu)* 'it is known' (the latter literally means 'it comes') the agent being in the dative case and the verb in the verbal noun form, e.g.,

ne:nu ka:ru naḍapa galanu

I can (i.e., know how to) drive a car.

na:ku ka:ru maḍapaḍam cetan-avunu

I know how to drive a car.

When the meaning is 'capacity at a particular time' the sentence with it cannot be paraphrased as in the above way but can be paraphrased by a sentence with *kudurutundi*

'it will be possible' or *vi:k(u) avutundi* the agent being in the dative case and the verb in the verbal noun form (which is optionally followed by the dative suffix), e.g.

mi:ru ippudu pa:ḍa galara:?

mi:ku ippudu $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pa:\dot{d}a\dot{d}am \\ padadaniki \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kudurutunda? \\ vil(u) avutunda:? \end{array} \right\}$

Is it possible for you (pl.) to sing now?

But not **mi:ku ippudu pa:dadam cE:tan-avun:a?*

As mentioned earlier, when 'capacity' is associated with a particular time, *galugu* is used with the proper tense suffix *gala* P (ersonal) S (uffix) may be substituted for *galugu-T(ense) S -P.S.* in the case of present and future tenses without much difference in meaning.

ninna na:ku jvaram le:du kānaka, ne:nu badiki veḷḷa
galigEnu

Since I had no fever yesterday, I could go to the
school

ivvEḷa na:ku jvaram taggindi kānaka ne:nu badiki veḷḷa
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} galugutunna:nu \\ galanu \end{array} \right\}$

Since I have no fever today, I am able to go the
school

tondaraga: nadiste:, manam ravlu ekka $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} galugutam \\ galam \end{array} \right\}$

If we walk quickly we can catch (lit., climb) the train

In negative sentences the auxiliary *le:-* 'to be not' is used in the place of *gala. galugu. le:-*, which is used only in the negative, is a defective verb, (The negative suffix *-a-* is replaced by *mere* after it and other verbs that have stem alternants of the shape (C)V-.)

cinna pillaiḥ ca:ḥa: du:ram nadava le:ru.
cinna pillalaki eala du:ram nadavadam oE:ta ka:du.
 Young children cannot walk a long distance.

va:ḍu ippudu pa:ṭha:lu cadava le:du.

va:ḍiki ippuḍu pa:ṭha:lu $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cadavadam} \\ \text{cadavadaniki} \end{array} \right\}$ *kudaradu.*

He cannot read the lessons now.

When the mode is associated with a particular point in time *IE ka*, which is the negative adverbial participle of *le:-* is followed by the inflected forms of the auxiliary *po:* 'to go', which series to carry the proper tense (and person) suffixes.

ne:nu ninna jvaram valla ka:le:ji:ki vella IEka po:ya:nu.
 Because of fever, I could not go the college yesterday.

gontukalo: neppi valla ne:nu annam ina

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{IEka po:tunna:nu.} \\ \text{le:nu.} \end{array} \right\}$

Because of pain in the throat, I am not able to eat
 (food).

re:pu rayllu nadavaka po:te:, ne:nu medra:su vella

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{IEka pa:ta:nu.} \\ \text{le:nu.} \end{array} \right\}$

If trains do not run tomorrow, I will not be able to go to Madras.

3. *ca:lu* 'to be able be sufficient'.

In Old and Modern Telugu it is used as a main verb; in Old Telugu, however, it is used also as an auxiliary to denote 'capacity' or 'ability' and thus corresponds to Modern Telugu *gala*, *galugu* (*kala*, *kalugu* as auxiliaries

are comparatively rare in Old Telugu). *ca:lu* is used both in the affirmative and in the negative.

ca:lav(u) atani bogadan

You(sg.) will not be able to praise him.

sainyam antavunu mardimpangan e: ja:ludun

I will be able to kill the whole army.

vi:du kaviya ja:lene ni: payin?

Could he attach you (sg.)?

It is interesting to note that in the Telugu dialects of Tamilnadu, negation in the future is expressed by adding the negative forms of the auxiliary *ca:lu* to the infinitive of a main verb:

ne:nu re:pitiki ra: ja:la.

I will not come tomorrow

In Old Telugu besides *ca:lu*, *o:pu* 'to be capable of', *ne:rcu* 'to learn', *po:lu* 'to resemble', and *vaccu* 'to come' are also used as auxiliaries to indicate 'capacity'. The following are the examples:

o:pu

ninn a:jin o:rvaga:n op:ar (u) orul.

The enemies can not defeat you (sg.) in the war.

e:lu di:ni: ju:dan o:pudun?

How can I see this?

ne:rcu:

jara:sandhud e:lu brodukaga ne:rcun?

How can J. live?

ikkuma:rula rakalmpa ne:ranu.

I cannot protect these boys.

po:lu:

dharmuv erunga vī:nikim bo:lune? Can he know about the *dharma*?

po:ra ripulaku bratukanga bo:ladu.

The enemies can not survive the war.

vaccu:

po:ra braduka vaccune narunakuṅ ?

Can Arjuna survive the war?

ti:ra ra:d anṛta:bha:ṣaṅamunan aina pa:pābhayamu.

The sin that one gets by telling a lie cannot be got rid of.

orulu vinivunun erunga ra:ni vacanambulu.

The words which cannot be understood by others although they have heard them.

In the case of *no:lu* and *vaccu*, only the 3rd neut. sg. forms (both affirmative non-past and negative) are used as auxiliaries and the agent is always in the dative case. (*ra:ni*, which is the neg. adv. part. of *vaccu* is also used as auxiliary). 4. (Mod. Te.) *-ali*, (Old Te.) *valayunu* (from *vālayu* 'to be desired, wanted').

In Old Telugu *valay-unu* 'it is desired, wanted', which is the 3rd person sg. and neut. pl. non-past form and *valas-eru* 'it was desired, wanted', which is the corresponding past form are used as auxiliaries after the infinitive of a verb, e.g. *palukan valayunu* '(one) must tell'. *palukan valasen* 'it became necessary (for one) to tell'. Much rarely the forms of the verb occur independently also as

in *valayun e:ni* 'if it is necessary', *valayun ama:tyulu* 'the ministers who are required' and so on.

The original construction: Infinitive of a verb + *valayunu* contracted into a single word in Modern Telugu and *valayunu* became *-a:li*. The *V* is retained in cases where the main verb has the alternant of the shape (C)V, e.g. *va:-va:li* '(one) must come' *iv-va:li iyy-a:li* '(one) must give'. The form is invariable for person, number and gender. In Modern Telugu **valiyu*, which is the equivalent of Old *valayu* is not used without a main verb; when there is no main verb it is always preceded by *ka:-*, which is the infinitive of *avu* 'to be, become', e.g. *na:ku ni:l̥lu ka:va:li* 'I want water' corresponding to Old. Te. *na:kun ni:ru valayunu*.

There is one important difference between the two stages of the language regarding the case of the agent of sentences with this auxiliary. While in Old Telugu the agent can be either in the nominative or the dative case, in Modern Telugu it always occurs in the nominative, e.g.

(Old Te.) *manakun/manamu ce:ya valayunu.* }
 (Mod. Te.) *manam ceyya:li* }

We (incl.) must do

In Old Telugu the negative 3rd neut. sg. form of *valayu* is *valayadu* or *valadu* 'it is not necessary/wanted' and the corresponding form in Modern Telugu is *oddu*. These are also used as auxiliary in the prohibitive sense. In Modern Telugu it is commonly used only with the pronouns of the 2nd person (sg. and pl) and the 1st person inclusive but in Old Telugu it is used with the nouns and pronouns of the 3rd person also as in *visvasimpaga: valavadu buddhimantulu* 'wise people must not believe'.

(Old Te.) *manakan/manam ind unḍa valadu.*

We (incl) must not stay in this.

(Mod. Te) *manam indule:undedu.*

This auxiliary has two different senses (i) 'obligation' or 'necessity' and (ii) 'inference'. A sentence with this auxiliary may be interpreted as having the 'inferential' sense only when the agent is in the 3rd person. The distinction between the two senses is drawn even at the surface level in negative sentences and sentences that refer to past time although it is neutralised in sentences referring to future time.

(i) 'Obligation'.

ne:nu re:pu ba:jaruki vella:li. I must go to the market tomorrow.

When obligation is to be expressed in combination with a particular point of time, the auxiliary *occu* 'to come, happen', which serves to carry the tense markers and the 3rd neut, sg. marker *-di* is added to *valisi*, which is the past adv. part. of **valiyu*.

me:m/ma:ku ninna baja:ruki vella valisi occidi.

It became necessary for us (excl.) to go to the market yesterday.

dabbu IE:kapo:vadam va:lla va:llu/vallaki illa ammeyya valisi osto:ndi.

Because they have no money, it is becoming necessary for them to sell away (their) house.

va:na kuriste: manam/manaki praya:ṇam ma:neyya

{ *valisi ostundi.* }
{ *(ma:neyy)-a:li.* }

If it rains, we (incl.) must stop the journey. It is clear from the last sentence that *-a:li* and *vālisi ostundi* means the same. The deep structure of the sentence must be similar to the underlying structure of the following sentence, which is a bit uncommon but grammatical:

*va:na kuriste:, manam/manakī praya:nam ma:ne:se:
avasaram ostundi.*

If it rains, it will be necessary (lit., necessity will come) for us to stop the journey.

In sentences in which *occu* is present the agent is either in the dative or in the nominative case; but when *occu* is deleted the agent occurs only in the nominative case. But, still the subject in such sentences is not the agent noun alone but the whole phrase with the infinitive of the main verb. This will also be clear from a comparison of the sentences with *-a:li* with the corresponding negative sentences as in the following:

(nuvvu) ḍabbu ivva:li (You (sg.) have to/must give
the money.

nuvvu ḍabbu ivv(a) akkar(a) le:du.

You (sg.) do not have to/need not give the money.

The first one of the above sentences seems to be derived from an underlying sentence like:

nuvvu ḍabbu icce: akkara/avasaram undi/ostundi.

Finally, we must note the special use of *valisindi*, which is the past 3rd neut. sg. form of the auxiliary *valiyu*, after the infinitive of a main verb. It indicates the obligation that was not carried out by the agent to perform the action denoted by the main verb.

va:ḍu ninna ve||a valisindi.

He ought to have gone yesterday.

For emphasis, the auxiliary *uṇḍu* 'to be' may be added to the main verb, which in that case, assumes the past adv. part. form: *va:ḍu ninna vellī uṇḍa valisindi*. He ought to have gone yesterday. The negative sentence that corresponds to both of the above contains the negative adv. part. (suffix *-akunda:*) of the main verb followed by *uṇḍu*:

va:ḍu akkadiki vellakunḍa: uṇḍa valisindi.
He ought not to have gone there.

(ii) 'Inference' :

As noted earlier, in sentences that contain this auxiliary with 'inferential' sense the *agent* must always be a 3rd person noun or pronoun.

va:ḍu re:pu $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ra:val:i \\ bahuda: oṣṭa:ḍu \end{array} \right\}$
He $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{must come} \\ \text{will probably come} \end{array} \right\}$ tomorrow.

As indicated by the above sentence, the auxiliary in this sense may be replaced by the future tense form of the main verb combined with *bahuṣa:* 'probably'. The corresponding negative sentence contains the simple future negative, as in

va:ḍu re:pu(bahuṣa) ra:ḍu
(probably) he will not come tomorrow.

Although both the auxiliaries *-a:li* and *vaccu* mean 'possibility' (in one of their readings each), the possibility is stronger in the case of *-a:li*.

When the inference is with regard to past present actions, the past or the present adv. part. of the main verb is followed by *uṇḍ -a:li*.

va:du i: pa:tiki inṭiki occi uṇḍa:li

He must have reached (lit., come) home by now.

vaiḍu ippuḍu annam tiṇṭu: uṇḍa:li.

He must be eating (food) now.

In this construction, the future tense forms of *uṇḍu* with the proper personal suffix may be used instead of *uṇḍa:li*. The corresponding negative sentences contain the future negative forms of *uṇḍu* (*uṇḍ-a-ḍu* 'he will not be', etc.) in the place of *uṇḍa:li*. In this construction, the personal pronouns may also occur as agents; but, then, the inference is concerned with the agent rather than with the action, eg,

nuvve: iṭuvanṭi pani ce:si uṇḍa:li.

It is you (sg.) who must have done such a work.

The personal pronouns are often followed by the emphatic particle in this construction.

Like its Modern counterpart, *valayunu* of Old Telugu has 'inferential' sense also, e.g.,

mundaṭam burembu galuga va'avun (Bha:ratamu, 1.6.184)

There must be a town (in the area) before (u)

mi:ralu ve:ṣadha:rula ka:valayun (ibid., 2. 1. 183)

I infer that you (pl.) are persons in a different garb.

Inference with reference to past time is expressed in Old Telugu by adding *ka:valayun* 'it must be' to the past tense form of the main verb.

kacuṇḍu ... asurulace:ta nihatuṇḍ ayyen ga:valayun (ibid., 1. 3. 115)

K. must have been killed by the demons.

5. *ku:ḍu* 'to join, come together; be proper'.

As an auxiliary it means 'to be proper'. In Old Telugu both the 3rd neut. sg. non-past form, i.e. *ku:ḍu-nu* and the corresponding negative form, i.e. *ku:ḍ-a-du* are used. The agent in sentences with these may be in any person, number or gender. (It is interesting to note that in Nannaya's usage it occurs as an auxiliary only very rarely; *ku:ḍun* occurs only once (*talapa gu:ḍune* (3. 1. 76) 'is it proper (for one) to think (like this)?' and *ku:ḍadu* also only once and, that too, as an independent verb (*ku:ḍadu na:ka* (1. 6. 230) 'without thinking that it is not proper'. Although the more common meaning of *ku:ḍadu* is 'lack of propriety' it is used also to indicate 'absence of possibility'.

(i) 'Lack of propriety':

vidya:rdhulu mE:ṣṭa:rni tiṭṭa ku:ḍadu. Students should not scold the teacher. The sense of 'prohibition', 'which may be an extension of this also is common for this auxiliary, as in

(Old Te.) *ra:jagṛahambu kaṇṭen abhira:mamuga:n ilu gaṭṭak gu:ḍadu*

(one) should not build a house that is more beautiful than the king's residence.

sigareṭṭu ekkuvaga: ka:lca ku:ḍadu.

(One) should not smoke (lit., burn) too many cigarettes.

(ii) 'Absence of possibility':

mabbu le:du ka:batti ivvEla va:na { *ra:ku:ḍadu* }
 { *ra:ka-po:vaccu* }

Since there is no cloud formation, it may not rain (lit. rain may not come) today.

avadyamu geltum ananga ra:du

It is not possible to say that we (incl.) will win

ervarik erugan agune ni: caritambul

Is it possible for anybody to know your (sg.) acts ?

gambhi:ro:dadhi garamulan i:dan ga:du

It is not possible (for anybody) to cross a great ocean by swimming with hands

The following are the auxiliaries that are added to the past adverbial participle of a main verb and thus constitute Class I : 1) *ve:vu* 'to throw' (when used auxiliarily, it denotes 'completion' or swiftness': *tin (t-v)e:yu* 'to finish eating'), 2) *po:(vu)* 'to go' (it is used with many intransitive verbs instead of *ve:yu* and denotes 'completion' or 'swiftness': *marici-poo(vu)* 'to forget', 3) *konu/kunu* 'to buy' functions as the reflexive auxiliary : *eṇḍu-kunu* 'to cook for oneself' -*vaṇḍ-i-konu* (the change of *i* to *u* is due to assimilation to the vowel in the next syllable); the auxiliary *ve:yu*, if used, precedes the reflexive auxiliary: *amm(t-v)e:su-kunu* 'to sell away (for one's own benefit)' 4) *peṭṭu* 'to put, serve (food)' (when used auxiliarily, it indicates that the agent carried out the action denoted by the main verb with a view to help somebody else : *eṇḍi-peṭṭu* 'to be kind enough to cook'. 5) ('debt) to become cleared, (hunger, desire, etc.) to be satisfied' (when used auxiliarily, it denotes 'certainty' or 'inevitableness' of the action denoted by the main verb; it is used only in association with the future-cum-habitual tense or the obligative : *ce:si-ti:rata:du* 'he will certainly do'. *ce:si-ti:ra:li* '(One must do without fail)'). 6) *uṇḍu* 'to be' (only the future tense forms of it are used auxiliarily and they convey the belief or assertion of the speaker that the agent of the main verb has carried out the action denoted

by the main verb : *vade i; pani ce:si-uṅṅa:tḍu* 'he alone must have done this work'). 7) *occu* 'to come' is used as the carrier of tense for the modal auxiliary *valayu* 'to be necessary' and it is added to *valisi*, which is the past adv. part of *valayu* : *ne:nu/na:ku veḷḷavalisi- occindi/ostoondi/ostundi* 'it was/is/will be necessary for me to go'.

Note that there will be no pause between the main verb form and the auxiliary; pause can, however, occur between the two verbs only when the second verb is not used auxiliarily : contrast

adi oṅḍi-peṭṭindi

'she was kind enough to cook' and

adi oṅḍi peṭṭindi

'she cooked and put/served'

Apart from the modal auxiliaries, which are discussed in the main body of this paper, the auxiliaries that come under Class II (those that are added to the infinitive of a verb) are the following: 1) *iccu* 'to give' (when used auxiliarily it means 'Let or allow to': *ceyyan: I* 'Let/allow (somebody) to do!'). 2) *poo(vu)* 'to go (when used auxiliarily after an infinitive it means 'to be about to', *ra:d bo:diunna:ḍu* 'he was about to come': it serves also as the carrier of tense and person-number markers after the construction-Infinitive of a verb + *le:ka* (negative adv. part. of the negative verb *le:-* 'to be not'): *ceyya-leka-po:ya:nu* 'I was not able to do'). 3) *paḍu* 'to suffer, fall' functions as the passive auxiliary (it is very rarely used in speech but is used occasionally in writing): *ceppa-baḍin(a)di* 'it was said'. 4) Transitive auxiliaries, i.e. those that serve to form the transitive counterparts of some intransitive verbs: i) *peṭṭu* 'to put' (it is added to a few nouns) *bhaya-peṭṭu* 'to frighten', *sukha-peṭṭu* 'to

make (another) happy'): ii) *ti:vu* 'to take out' (*viḍa-divu* 'to make separate'): iii) *po:vu* 'to pour' (*a:ra-bo:vu* 'to spread paddy, etc. in the sun'): iv) *ve:yu* 'to throw' pad (*a-veeyu* 'to throw down, make to fall'): and v) *koṭṭu* 'to beat, hit' (*ceḍa-goṭṭu*) 'to spoil'. *ra:la-goṭṭu* 'to make (fruit, leaves) to fall down'. The compound verbs formed thus can take the other types of auxiliary, e.g. *ceḍa-goṭṭi-ti:ra:li* 'One must certainly spoil', *ceḍa-goṭṭi-galanu* 'I can spoil'. For further details on the non-modal auxiliaries, see P. S. Subrahmanyam, *An Introduction to Modern Telugu* (Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1974).

AUXILIARIES IN TELUGU

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We define an auxiliary as that element of the verb phrase which has membership in a closed 'system'. This definition excludes the lexical verbs which have membership in open 'set' and includes suffixes and the auxiliaries proper.

The structure of the Telugu verb phrase may be represented as follows :

1. a) Finite: Lexical (aux_1) (aux_2) aspect aux \emptyset GNP
(tense + asp) GNP
aspect
- b) Non-finite : Lexical (tense + aspect)
(Aux_1)

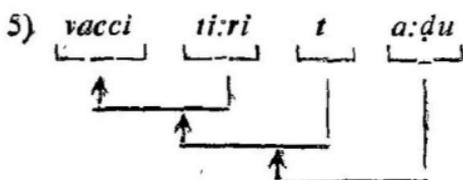
We need to clarify the concepts of 'aspect' and 'tense' as used in this paper. We have shown it elsewhere that 'be' and 'have' in English are better treated as 'tense' carriers and the so called past tense suffix is better treated 'perfect' aspect (Prakasam 1970 : 62-66; 1976a). Same treatment was suggested there for Telugu verbals. We shall take only one example to show that the 'aspect' treatment of what usually others call tense categories is more satisfying syntactically as well as semantically.

- 1) He bought it yesterday
- 2) He has bought it recently
- *3) He has bought it yesterday
- 4E) If I bought it before 5 tomorrow, would it be alright?

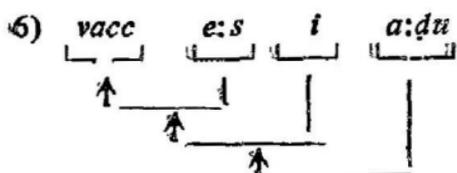
T) *ne:nu re:pu aydu gaṇṭalaku kanna:n- anukonḍi,*
pharava:le:du gada:?

Sentences (4E) and (4T) have so-called 'past' forms occurring with 'future' (=tomorrow) adverbs. This incompatibility is eliminated if we treat the verbal forms under consideration as 'perfective' forms. Similarly the unacceptability of (3) is well explained if we say that 'has' is a tense marker showing 'unspecific' present (non-past): the 'unspecific' tense does not tolerate 'specific' yesterday. Both in Telugu and English, according to this approach, the tense auxiliaries take aspect suffixes and cumulatively express the tenseness of the verb phrase.

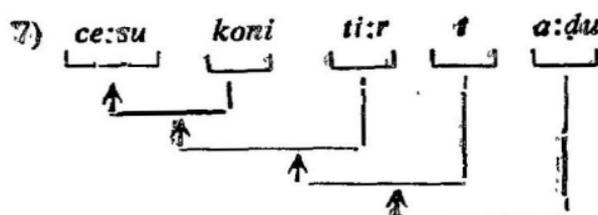
First we shall deal with the two suffixal systems of the Telugu verb phrase: the aspectuals can occur twice - once with the tense auxiliary and the other with the lexical verb or the 'lex + aux' complex. We say 'lex - aux' complex because the aspect is in immediate constituency with the whole complex preceding it, not just with the adjacent element (Subrahmanyam 1973:2).



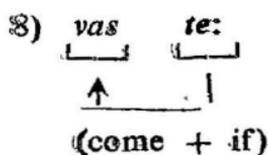
(come + surely + non-perfect + IIImsg)



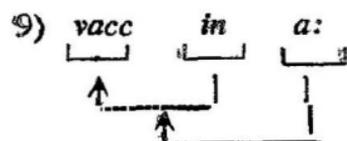
(i + a: ---> ac)
 (come + completive + perfect + IIImsg)



(do + self + surely + non-perf + IIImsg)



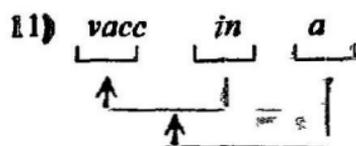
(come + if)



(come + perf + concessive)

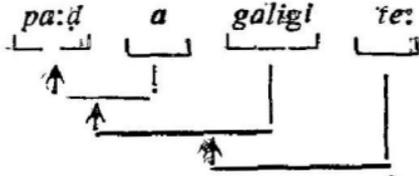


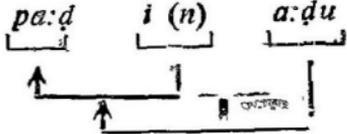
(come + when)

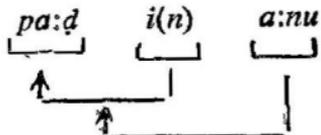


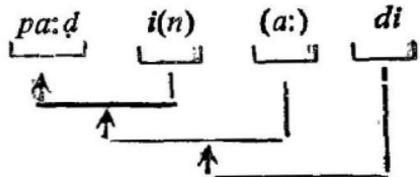
(come + perf + relativizer)

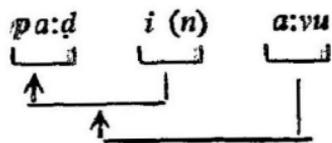
- 12) \underbrace{vacc} $\underbrace{e:}$
 ↑
 (come + non perf. relativizer)
- 13) \underbrace{vacc} \underbrace{i}
 ↑
 (come + perfect)
- 14) \underbrace{vas} $\underbrace{tu:}$
 ↑
 (come + nonperfect)
- 15) $\underbrace{pa:d}$ $\underbrace{a\dot{d}am}$
 ↑
 (sing. + Marked infinitive)
- 16) $\underbrace{pa:d}$ \underbrace{a}
 ↑
 (sing. + unmarked inf.)
- 17) $\underbrace{pa:d}$ \underbrace{i} $\underbrace{un\ \dot{t}e:}$
 ↑
 ↑
 ↑
 (sing. + perf + tense + if)
- 18) $\underbrace{pa:d}$ \underbrace{t} \underbrace{un} $\underbrace{\dot{t}e:}$
 ↑
 ↑
 ↑
 (sing. + nonperf. + tense + if)

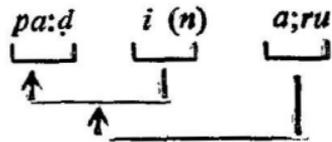
19) $pa:d$ a $galigi$ $te:$

 (sing. + infinitive + capability + if)

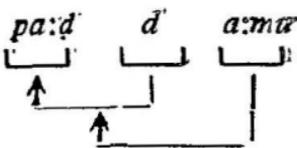
20) $pa:d$ $i(n)$ $a:du$

 (sing. + perf. + III msg.)

21) $pa:d$ $i(n)$ $a:nu$

 (sing. + perf. + I sg.)

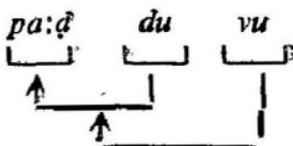
22) $pa:d$ $i(n)$ $(a:)$ di

 (sing. + perf. + III nm. sg.)

23) $pa:d$ $i(n)$ $a:vu$

 (sing. + perf. + II sg.)

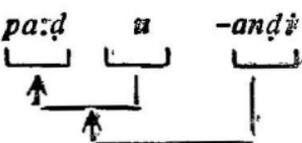
24) $pa:d$ $i(n)$ $a:ru$

 (sing. + perf. + II & III plural)

25) a. $pa:d'$ d' $a:ma'$


(sing. + 'shall' + I pl. (incl.))
ru

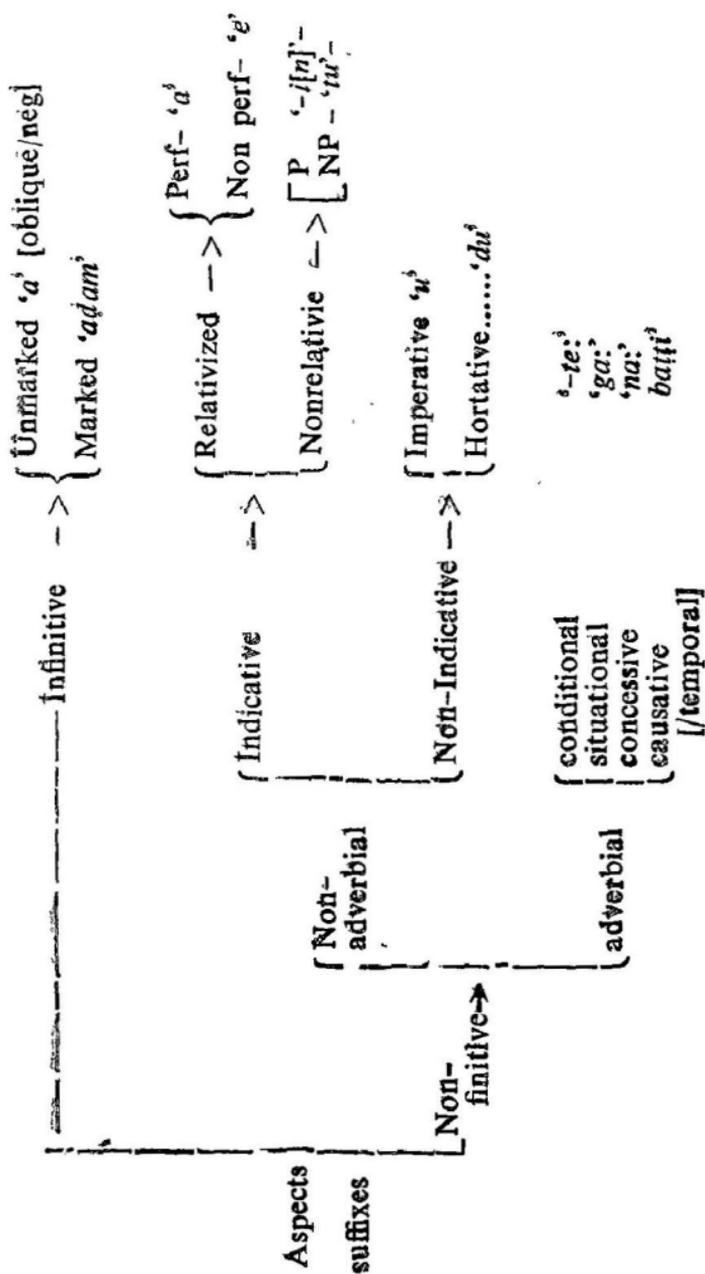
b. $pa:d'$ du vu


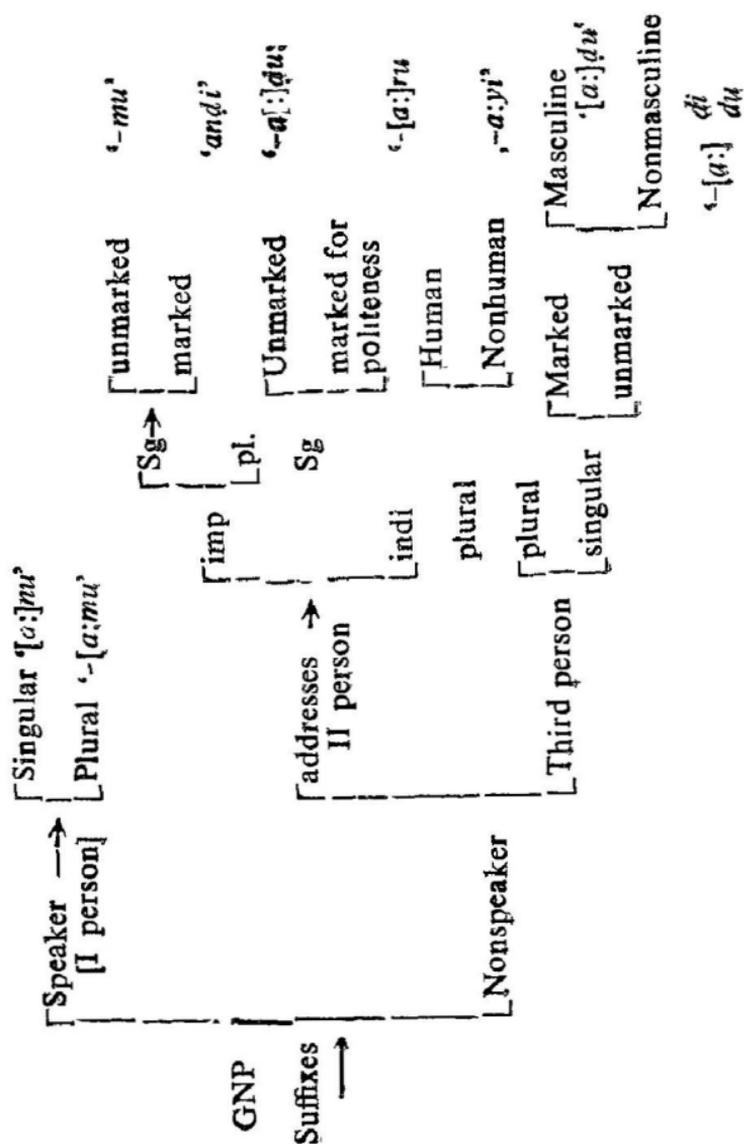
(sing. + 'may' + H { sg. }
 { pl. })
(mu)

26) $pa:d'$ u $-and'$


(sing. + imperative + { II sg.
 { polite plural } })

We can systemicize the two suffixal auxiliaries as follows :





Time is referrable only to 'states' where the ever-escaping present can be included. On the other hand actions or processes are to be considered with reference to their 'completion' or 'non completion' (yet to begin/end, or yet to cease occurring). Hence our decision to treat a 'be' verb as the tense carrier *-uṇḍu*. But this is to oversimplify the phenomenon. *Uṇḍu* has several functions to perform (see for details Bhaskara Rao 1972: 162-205; and also Arden 1937:171-192). Let us take the two syntactic functions it performs:

- i) Main Verb.
- ii) Tense carrier.

In either case in some dialects this verb has a three-way tense distinction and in some a two-way tense distinction:

Non future	past	<i>uṇṇae:nu</i> <i>uṇṇini etc.</i>	<i>unna:nu</i>
	pres.	<i>unna:nu</i>	
Future		<i>uṇṇa:nu</i>	<i>uṇṇa:nu</i>

When it occurs as the main verb in some cases it refers to the 'existential' or 'attributively equational':

- 27) a. *dayya:lu tappakuṇḍa: unna:yi* (absolute)
(ghosts certainly are (exist))
- b. *profesaruga:ru ba:rṣa:pulo: unna:ru* (locative)
(professor bar-in is)

- c. *a:yana le ru* (absolute)
(He is not)
- d. *a:yana iṅṭlo: le:ru* (locative)
(He at home is not)
- 28) a. *atanu tama:ṣa:ga. uṅṭa:ḍu* (attributive)
(he funnily is [behaves/looks])
- b. *atanu jaḍjiga! unna:ḍu* (role specifying)
(He judge (as) is)

uṅḍu' acquires several shades of meaning in dative constructions (for details see Prakasam 1975). For example:

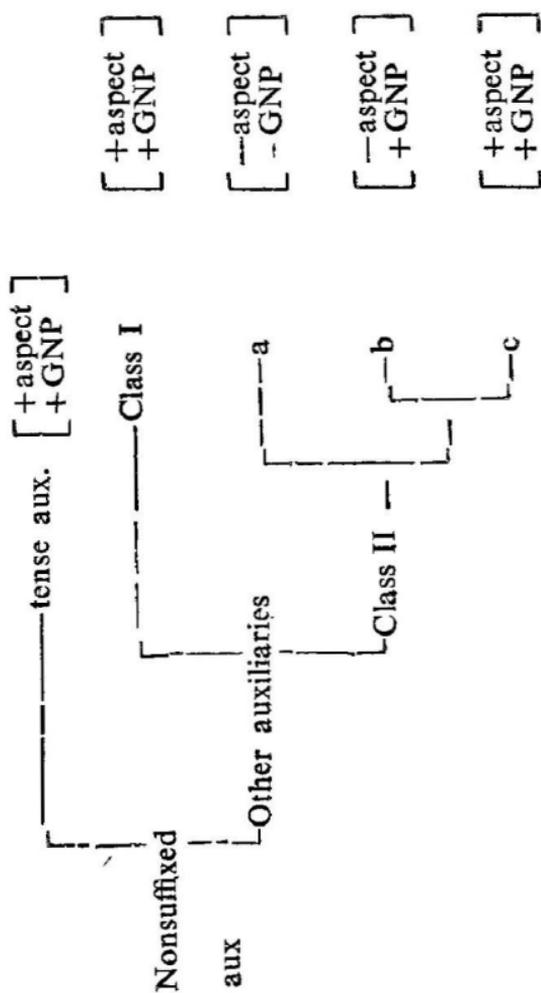
- 29) a. *na:ku ko:ranga: undi*
(temporary state of mind).
(to me angry [like] is)
- b. *a: u:riki ro:ḍḍu undi* (possessive)
(to that village road is)
- c. *ataniki jwaranga: undi* (non-specific illness)
(to him fever [like] is)
- d. *ataniki caliga: undi* (physical)
(to him chill [like] is)
- e. *ataniki ha:yiga: undi* (mental)
(to him pleasant [like] is)
- f. *atanu ha:yiga: unna:ḍu* (mental)
(He pleasantly is)
- g. *ataniki iddaru pillalu unna:ru* (kinship possession)
(to him two kids are)
- h. *atani daggara reṅḍu ka:ru unna:yi*
(alienable possession)
(with him two two cars are)

'-a' ending forms. Subrahmanyam (1973) has discussed some of these items in great detail. We will not cover that ground again. The items of class II(b) are listed separately because they can take GNP markers. The items of class I and class (IIc) take 'aspect' suffixes. This difference can be diagrammatized as follows:

As regards the relationship between the auxiliaries and the parallel main verb forms, we have already stated '*undu*' easily yields us a 'single' morpheme treatment. The auxiliaries of class I and also (IIc) seem to tolerate such a treatment. It should not be accidental that both these

+ aspect

items share + GNP privilege. The other classes (IIa, IIb) do not seem to favour that treatment.



We shall now go back to the 'aspect' system. Here we have considered the perfective '-i' of the finite verb and the nonfinite verb and the perfect-relative as one and the same form. Similarly '-tu' the nonperfective suffix of both nonfinite and finite forms is considered one form. This is the treatment we find in Lisker (1963) too, though he calls them past and present-future suffixes. But Krishnamurti and Sivananda Sarma (1968) treat them as separate forms:

- i) past (a) Finite : 'EE' (ae:)
 (b) Non-finite : '-i'
- ii) future/habitual (a) Finite: *ta*: - *tun*
ta: - *ṭun*
 (b) Nonpast: *tu*:/*ṭun*
 participle

Similarly Venkateswara Sastry and Krishnamurti (1975) have the following forms:

- i) Past (a) Finite ; *in/na/aç*
 (b) Nonfinite : -*i*-
- ii) Present/future (a) Finite : *ta*
 (b) Nonfinite : *tu*:

It is quite clear that the phonic-semantic similarity between the finite and the nonfinite forms is ignored in these books. Besides this they also ignore the cross-dialectal relationship. They do give different dialectal forms which certainly serve the pedagogical requirements. Let us take just an example to show how an underlying representation can lead us to different surface realizations :

Underlying forms

Surface forms

33) *ta:gv-in-a.ḍu* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +a: \\ +n \end{array} \right\}$ Dialect
 1 ———> *ta:gina:ḍu*

(drink) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -n \\ +a: \end{array} \right\}$ Dialect
 2 ———> *ta:gae:ḍu*

(v: unspecified vowel) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -a: \\ +n \end{array} \right\}$ Dialect
 3 ———> *ta:giṅḍu*

Similarly the perfective forms of short disyllabic verbs (-neither a long vowel, nor a long consonant) is present in them can be treated as follows:

34 *paḍv + in + a:ḍu* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +a: \\ +n \end{array} \right\}$
 1 ———> *paḍina:ḍu*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -a: \\ +n \end{array} \right\}$
 2 ———> *paḍiṅḍu*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +a: \\ -n \end{array} \right\}$
 3 ———> *paḍḍa:ḍu*

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i- > \emptyset \\ c- > cc \end{array} \right\}$

The long (vocalically, consonantly or nasally) disyllabic verbs have regular perfect — formation:

35 *ma:nv* — *ma:ni(n) (a:) ḍu*
 (to give up)

36 *tannv* — *tann-i (n) - (a:) ḍu*
 (to kick)

- 37 *bonkv* — *bonk-i(n) - (a:) du*
(to tell a lie)

These three length - phenomena share several properties to be grouped into a system of morpheme-level prosodies (See Prakasam 1976). We may also note here that short disyllabic formatives are very few in Telugu.

We shall now briefly talk about full lexical verbs which are reduced to auxiliary status both phonologically and semantically when they are used as 'intensifiers' (See Prakasam 1972:83).

- 38) *cu:ci* *vellu* = pay a visit:
 po:
 ra:
(seeing go
 come)
- 39) *ceppi* *ca:vu* }
 e:duvu } = speak out!
(saying die
 cry)
- 40) *velli* *po:* = go away
(going (go))
- 41) *velli* *ra:* ≡ go (you can go!)
 poy
(going come)
- 42) *vell* *osta:* = I take leave of you
(going I'll come)

In these examples the second place verbs lose their 'content' either partially or completely. Phonologically they lose their 'major stress' due to them as lexical verbs.

The auxiliaries of class I are certainly more frequently used but Historically their 'fate' must have taken the same course as of the items given here.

To sum up we have the following cline of auxiliary items occurring with the lexical verbs in the structure of the Telugu verb phrase.

Most auxiliary	[-Suffixes [-Class III(a) [-Class II(b) [-Class II(c) [-Class I [-Unḍu [Reduced [-Lexical verbs	{ aspectual { concordial (GNP) { -aspect } { -concord } { -aspect } { +concord } { +aspect } { +concord } { +tense } { +aspect } { +concord } { +tense } { +aspect } { +concord } { +tense } { -major stress } { desemanticized }
Least Auxiliary		

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AUXILIARIES IN COIMBATORE TELUGU

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This paper presents a study on the use of auxiliary verbs in Coimbatore Telugu.¹ A comparative statement showing auxiliary verbs used in *Modern Telugu*² and that of *Coimbatore Telugu* is also given at the end of the paper. The various meanings expressed by the auxiliary verbs discussed are also taken note of.

Auxiliary verbs occur after (i) verbal participle forms of the main verbs (ii) infinitive forms of the main verbs and (iii) dative forms of the verbal nouns. For example,

ce:suḍuvu 'do it' (def.)

tinaddu 'don't eat'

occinduku ka:du 'cannot come' etc.

All the three types of auxiliary verb formations have been discussed below separately.

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- 1 This study is based on my own speech behaviour, but I have checked the data with a few other speakers who live in that area.
 - 2 Modern Telugu represents the speech behaviour in use in the coastal districts of Andhra and it is being widely used in modern literature, mass media etc.

1. Auxiliaries which occur after verbal participles

These are referred to as *aspects* and those that occur after infinitives and verbal nouns as *modals*. The structure of a complex verb thus formed will be as follows :

MV_{VP} + Aux₁ + (Aux₂) + and

MV_{Inf} + Aux₁ + (Aux₂) +

VN_d

1. *Aspects* : The following formations are found possible with the VP of the main verbs.

1.1. *Perfective Aspect*

uṇḍu is the auxiliary that occurs after the verbal participle forms of the main verbs and it can be conjugated for tense. In the following three examples this aspect conveys the *stative* meaning.

- 1) *va:ḍu occi unna:ḍu*
'He had come'
- 2) *va:lḷu ra:si uṇḍa:ru*
'They have written'
- 3) *sa:radi tini uṇṭuḍu*
'Sarathy would have eaten'

Perfective aspect occurs in the sense of *expectation* also when it occurs before the auxiliary (v)a:la which denotes 'must'. Look at the following examples :

- 4) *sa:radi sku:lnuṇḍi ippuḍu occuṇḍa:la*
'by now Sarathy must have come from the school'
- 5) *va:ḍu i:ve:laku ku:ḍu tinuṇḍa:la*
'by now he should have eaten (food)'

uṇḍu also occurs after the negative verbal participles in constructions such as

- 6) *va:ḍu tinakuṇḍa uṇḍa:ḍu*
'without eating he is' (he has not eaten)
- 7) *ne:nu akkaḍa po:kuṇḍa unna:nu*
'without going there I was' (I did not go there)
- 8) *adi ikkaḍa ra:kuṇḍa uṇḍu*
'without coming here. she will be' (she may not come)

uṇḍu also denotes the meaning *probably* or *indefiniteness* as found in the following constructions.

- 9) *va:ḍu cu:si uṇṭuḍu*
'He might have seen'
- 10) *ne:nu cadivi uṇḍa:nu*
'I have read'
- 11) *nuvvu akkaḍa poyyi uṇṭuvu*
'You (sg.) might have gone there'

It is also possible that *uṇḍu* can occur after the VP of *uṇḍu*. The following example illustrates this.

- 12) *va:ḍu occi uṇḍi uṇṭuḍu*
'He might have had come'

Here the perfective auxiliary *uṇḍu* occurs in the *suppositional* sense.

1.2. *Completive aspect*

There are two auxiliaries viz. *peṭṭu* and *eyyi* ((v)e:yi) to denote completive aspect and they occur after the VP of the main verbs.

- 13) *va:ḍu ra:si peṭṭina:ḍu*
'He wrote' (he completed writing)

- 14) *va:ḍu ra:se:sina:ḍu*
 'He wrote'

Apart from the completive sense, the auxiliary *pettu* denotes 'try to' (*make an attempt*) also as found in the following constructions.

- 15) *nuvvu va:ḍi daggira ceppi pettu*
 'you (sg.) try to tell him' (about something)

It is also found that the auxiliary verb *cu:ḍu* conveys this sense.

- 16) *va:ḍi daggira ceppi cu:ḍu*

But the other auxiliary *eyyi* (< *ve:yi*) cannot occur in free variation when the aspect denotes the meaning 'try to' (make an attempt). But both the auxiliaries occur in free variation when they denote the *completive* sense as noted earlier.

1.3. *Definitive Aspect*

uḍuvu is the auxiliary verb added to the VP of the main verb to form definitive aspect. eg.

- 17) *nuvvu re:pu occuḍuvu*
 'you (sg.) come to-morrow (def.)'
 18) *da:nni tini uḍisina:nu*
 'I ate it' (def.)

There is another auxiliary verb *avvu* 'to become' that occurs after the VP of the main verb to denote *definitive* sense.

- 19) *va:ḍu occi ayndi*
 'he has come' (def.)

Both these auxiliaries *avvu* and *uḍuvu* also denote *completive* sense as noticed in the constructions given below.

- 20) *ne:nu a: pani ce:siuḍisina:nu*
 'I have completed doing that work'
- 21) *ne:nu a: bokkunu cadivayndi*
 'I have completed reading that book'

The auxiliary *uḍuvu* is also found to occur in the sense *other effective* (which means the result of the action performed goes to the other person) in the sentence,

- 22) *ne:nu sa:radiki cokka ve:si uḍisina:nu*
 'I helped Sarathy to wear shirt'

The auxiliary verb *ve:y* denotes the meaning 'sequential' also in addition to the one expressed above. For example in the sentence,

- 23) *nuvvu pariccaku cadive:si ra:*
 'You (sg.) come prepared for the examination'

The same meaning can also be expressed by the auxiliary *ke:*

- 24) *nuvvu pariccaku caduvuko:ni ra:*

1.4. Reflexive aspect

Reflexive aspect is formed by adding the auxiliary *ko:* (*kun*) to the VP of the main verb and it is conjugated in all tenses.

- eg. 25) *nuvvu tinuko:*
 'You (sg.) eat for yourself'

- 26) *va:ḍu paṇḍu kunna:ḍu*
 'He lied down for himself'

- 27) *sa:radi ta:gu kuṇṭa:ḍu*
 'Sarathy drinks for himself'

Reflexive verbs frequently denote that the action is performed for the benefit of the subject or that it is

performed by the free will and choice of the subject³. It also expresses the *sequential* sense. The following examples show this distinction.

28) *va:l̥lu illu kattukunna:ru*
 'They built a house for themselves' (Benefactive)

29) *va:ḍu pariccaku caduvuko:ni occina:ḍu*
 'He came prepared for the examination' (sequential)

This meaning of sequential type is also expressed by the verb *ve:yi* as noted earlier.

1.5. Durative aspect

Durative aspect is formed by adding the auxiliary *uṇḍu* after the VP of the verb *ko:*, the reflexive auxiliary.

MV_{VP} + *ko:*VP + *uṇḍu*

30) *va:ḍu cu:suko:ṇḍa:ḍu*
 'He is looking'

31) *ne:nu va:suko:ni unna:nu*
 'I was writing'

32) *sa:radi ceppuko:ni uṇḍu*
 'Sarathy will be telling'

The negative durative is formed by adding the auxiliary verb *le:du* after the infinitive of the verb *uṇḍu* as found in the constructions cited below.

33) *va:ḍu occuko:ni uṇḍa:ḍu*
 'he is coming' (durative/affirmative)

3 Arden, A.H. (1955), *A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, CLS Madras.

- 34) *va:du occuko:ni unḍadu*
 'He is not coming' (durative - negative)

But in the case of future, the affirmative form is

- 35) *va:du occuko:ni unḍudu*
 'He will be coming'
- 36) *va:du occuko:ni unḍudu*
 'He will not be coming'

1.6. Trial aspect

cu:du is the auxiliary that denotes the meaning trial when it occurs after the VP of the main verb as given in the following examples.

- 37) *navvu aṅṅi cu:du*
 'You (sg). try to touch'
- 38) *va:du tini cu:tta:du*
 'He tries to taste'
- 39) *ne nu ra:si cu:sina:nu*
 'I tried to write'

1.7. Demonstrational aspect

su:pu is the auxiliary verb added to the VP of the main verbs to form demonstrational aspect.

- 40) *va:du da:nni ra:si su:pina:du*
 'He demonstrated the writing of it'
- 41) *na:nu terisi su:pina:nu*
 'I demonstrated the opening'

1.8. Benefactive aspect

This type of auxiliary formation is done by adding the auxiliary verbs *uḍuvu* and *pettu* to the VP of the main verbs.

ne:nu sa:radiki cekkā ve:si uḍisina:nu (22)
 'I helped Sarathy to wear the shirt'

Here the result of the action performed goes to the other person. *pettu* is also added as found in constructions like, as

42) *va:ḍu na:ko:saram icci pettina:ḍu*
 'He gave something for the benefit of myself'

to form benefactive aspect.

Here also the result of the action performed goes to the other person i.e. the meaning conveyed by the construction is that of doing an action for the benefit of someone

1.9. Probability aspect

po:vu is the auxiliary added to the VP of the main verb to form this aspect and expresses the probability sense.

43) *adi pagili po:vu*
 'It may get broken'

44) *va:ḍu cacci po:vu*
 'He may die'

This auxiliary is also found to convey the *completive sense* as found in the following example,

45) *a: ka:riyam naḍici poyyindi*
 'that matter is over'

46) *a: illu ka:li poyyindi*
 'that house is burnt completely'

4 Bhaskara Rao, P. (1976). 'Verbal compounding in Telugu', *Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics-V*, Annamalainagar.

This type of construction is found to occur only in past time.

2. Modals

The following formations are found possible with the infinitive and verbal noun (dative) forms of the main verbs.

2.1. prohibitive

prohibitive is expressed by adding the auxiliary *ku:ḍadu* to the infinitive form of the main verb and conveys the meaning 'should not or must not'. It is used impersonally illustrated below.

- 47) *ne:na akkaḍa pe:ku:ḍadu*
'I should not go there'
- 48) *nuvvu ikkaḍa ra:ku ḍadu*
'You (sg.) should not come here'
- 49) *va:ḍu a: paṇi ceyyaku:ḍadu*
'He should not do that work'

Prohibitive₂ is represented by the auxiliary (v) *addu* when added to the infinitive of the main verb. But this type of prohibitive is often used when the subject is in the second person. This auxiliary gives to the infinitive to which it is attached, the force of a negative imperation and may be rendered in English as 'don't.'. The following sentences illustrate this.

- 50) *nuvvu ra:vaddu*
'You (sg) don't come'
- 51) *ni:ru da:nmi ca davaddaḍa*
'You (pl) don't read that'

However, it is also found in constructions such as

52) *ne:nu akkaḍḍikki ra:vadka:?*
 'Should I not come there?' and

53) *va:ḍu iṅṅṅi ra:vadda:?*
 'Should he not come to the house?'

Mostly (v)addu is used in the *interrogative* type of sentences when the subject is in the first or third person as mentioned above.

2.2. Potential

Potential is formed in two ways : i) by adding *muḍiṅṅu* to the infinitive form of the main verb and ii) by adding *avvu* to the verbal noun (dative form of the main verb), and it conveys the *capability or ability* to do an action.

2.2.1. Potential

$MV_{inf.} + muḍiṅṅu$

54) *na:valla po: muḍiṅṅu*
 'I can go'

2.2.2. Potential₂

$MV_{Vd} + avvu$

55) *na:valla ce:sinḍuku avvu*
 'I can do'

56) *na:valla tine:da:niki avvu*
 'I can eat'

2.3. Negative potential

This is expressed in two ways: i) by adding *muḍiyadū* to the infinitive of the main verb and ii) *ka:du* to the dative form of the verbal noun of the main verb as in

the case of *potential affirmation*. This conveys the meaning *inability*.

2.3.1. Negative potential

MV_{Inf.} + *mudiyadu*

57) *sa:ra:di valla tina muḍiyadu*

'Sarathy can not eat'

2.3.2. Negative potential₁

MV_{VNd} + *ka:ḍu*

58) *va:ḍi valla poyyinduku ka:ḍu*

'He cannot go'

2.4. Probabilitative

This is formed by adding the auxiliary (*v*)*accu* to the infinitive forms of the main verbs and expresses the *probability* sense.

eg. 59) *sā:ra:di tinaccu*

'Sarathy may eat'

60) *nuvvu po:vaccu*

'You may go'

This auxiliary conveys other meanings such as *possibility* and *permissive* also.

61) *va:ḍu i:boddu iṅiki ra:vaccu*

'there is a possibility of his coming home today'
(possibility)

62) *sasi re:pu sku:luku po:vaccu*

'Sasi may go to school tomorrow' (permissive)

2.5. *Obligative*

(v)a:la is the auxiliary added to the infinitive forms of the main verbs to form *obligative type* of modal and it conveys 'obligation/necessity'.

63) ne:nu akkaḍa ra:va:la
'I must come there'

64) va:ḍu i:boddu u:riki po:va:la
'He must go to his place to-day'

This auxiliary verb takes tense markers as found in the following sentences and it is followed by *uḍu*.

65) ne:nu akkaḍa ra:va:lcindi uḍa:yi
'There is a necessity for my coming there'

In the corresponding negative usage, we find the auxiliary verb *le:du* occurring after (v)a:lcindi as in the following constructions.

66) nuṅvu akkaḍa ra:va:lcindi le:du
'There is no necessity for you (sg) to come there'

Sometimes this auxiliary form is also followed by *ayndi* (< avvu) and *paḍindi* (< paḍu).

2.6. *Past Negative*

le:du is the auxiliary verb which denotes past negative when it occurs after the infinitive form of the main verb and it conveys the meaning 'did not'.

67) sasi ninna cadava le:du
'Sasi did not read yesterday'

68) ne:nu cinima:ku po: le:du
'I did not go to the cinema'

2.7. *Causative*

peṭṭu is the auxiliary verb added to the infinitive of the main verbs to form *causative type*.

69) *biḍḍaku ku:ḍu tina peṭṭu*
'Feed the child'

70) *da:nni nilapa peṭṭu*
'Cause to stand/it'

2.8. *Habituality (negative)*

-le (<le:du) is the auxiliary added to the VN forms of the main verbs to form 'habituality' (negative)

71) *va:ḍu ippuḍanta: carigga: cadive:lle*
(*<cad've:dile:du*)
'New a days he is not in the habit of studying'
(habitual or custom)

72) *ne:nu akkaḍa poyye:lle (< poyye:di le:du)*
'Now a days I am not in the habit of going
there' (habitual or custom)

2.9. *Permissive*

-(a)ni and *-(v)accu* are the two forms added to the infinitive forms of the main verbs to form *permissive type*.
-(a)ni occurs only when the subject is the third person.

73) *va:du po:ni*
'Let him go/he may go'

74) *sa:radi sinima: cu:ḍenli*
'Let Sarathy see the film/Sarathy may see the
film'

But the auxiliary verb *(v)accu* is impersonal.

- 75) *ne:nu cu:ḍaccu*
 'I may see'
- 76) *nuvvu tinaccu*
 'You (sg.) may eat'
- 77) *adi cadavaccu*
 'She may study'

2 10. Negative Potential

Negative potential is also expressed by *le:kapo:* when it is added after the infinitive form of the main verbs and it conveys the meaning 'inability'.

- 78) *ne:nu da:nni ceyyale:ka po:tini*
 'I was not able to do it'
- 79) *nuvvu ceyyale:ka po:te na: ḍaggira ceppu*
 'If you are not able to do it, tell me'

3. Comparative Statement showing the auxiliary verbs used in MT (Modern Telugu) and CT (Coimbatore Telugu):

Aspects	MT. forms and meanings expressed	CT. forms and meanings expressed
1	2	3
1 Perfective	<i>uṇḍu</i> perfective, stative, probability, dubitative question, hypothetical condition, belief or assertion.	<i>uṇḍu</i> stative, expectation, suppositional, probability or indefiniteness.

	1	2	3
2	Completive	<i>ve:yu, po:vu</i> completive, intension, swiftness	<i>peṭṭu, eyyi (> ve:yi)</i> completive, try to (make an attempt)
3	Definitive	—	<i>uḍuvu, -vuu, ke:, ve:yi</i> definitive, completive, other effective, sequential
4	Reflexive	<i>konu, kunu</i> reflexive	<i>ke: (<kun) ko:ni,</i> <i>uṇḍu</i> reflexive, sequential
5	Durative	<i>uṇḍu</i> durative	<i>uṇḍu</i> durative, won't
6	Trial	<i>cu:ḍu</i> try to	<i>cu:ḍu</i> try to
7	Demonstrational	— —	<i>su:pu</i> demonstrate
8	Benefactive	<i>peṭṭu</i> benefactive	<i>uḍuvu, peṭṭu</i> benefactive
9	Probability	— — —	<i>po:(vu)</i> may, completive
10	Decisive	<i>ti:ru(a:li)</i> certainly	—
11	Intensive	<i>po:vu</i> about to, intensified state of action.	—

3.2. *Modals*

Modals	MT. forms and meanings expressed	CT. forms and meanings expressed
1 Prohibitive ₂	<i>ku:ɖadu</i> should not, must not	<i>ku:ɖadu</i> should not, must not
2 Prohibitive ₂	<i>vaddu, oddu</i> don't	(v) <i>addu</i> don't
3 Potential ₁	<i>galugu</i> capability or ability	<i>muɖiɲju</i> capability or ability
4 Potential ₂	<i>gala</i> capability or ability	<i>avvu</i> capability or ability
5 Negative Potential ₁	<i>le:ka po:</i> not able to	<i>muɖiyadu</i> inability
6 Negative Potential ₁	<i>le: (PT)</i> cannot	<i>ka:du</i> inability
7 Probabil- tative	<i>vaccu</i> may, negative probability	<i>v(accu)</i> possibility, proba- bility, permission
8 Obligative	<i>a:li(valayu)</i> obligation, necessity inference	(v) <i>a:la,</i> (v) <i>a:lcindi (uɳɖu)</i> (<i>le:du</i>) obligation, necessity, need not
9 Past negative	<i>le:du</i> did not	<i>le:du</i> did not
10 Causative	—	<i>peɳtu</i> cause to

1	2	3
11 Habitual (negative)	(VN) <i>le:du</i> not used to	- <i>le</i> (< <i>le:du</i>) not used to
12 Permissive	<i>vaccu</i> Probability, possibility, permission	-(<i>a</i>) <i>ni</i> , -(<i>v</i>) <i>accu</i> permission, let, may
13 Negative potential	————	<i>le:kapo:</i>
14 Counter factive	<i>valasindi</i> an activity not taken place	————

My interest in the study of linguistic variation prompted me to write this paper, but due to various reasons. I could not proceed on those lines. However, if such a study (which includes many dialects of Telugu, especially those spoken in Tamilnadu) is made in future, it may be of interest to notice variations as reflected in the language use. I feel that this study is not exhaustive also.

Colophon

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AUXILIARY VERBS IN OLD AND MODERN TELUGU

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An auxiliary verb may be defined as a verb that is used in a verb phrase as an adjunct to another verb. Almost all the verbs used as auxiliaries in Telugu function also as main verbs in other constructions. When a verb functions as an auxiliary it expresses a shade of meaning which is different from its basic meaning.

The auxiliary verbs occur only after infinitives both in Old and Modern Telugu.

Meaning of these verbs when they are used as auxiliaries after the infinitives with examples

Verbs and their meanings

	Old Telugu	Modern Telugu
1 <i>iccu</i> 'to give'	'Let' or 'allow to' Eg: 1) <i>irani(n)bo:vancinan</i> <i>ma:dhavunḍu, balade- vu(n)ḍun alguduru</i> MBh. 1—8—199. 2) <i>i:rathambulato:(n)- be:vanimnu</i> MBh. 3—3—287 'Let (us) go with these chariots'	'Let' or 'allow to' Eg: 1) <i>va:nni cu:danivvandi</i> 'Let/allow him to see' 2) <i>va:ṇṇi to:paliki ra:nivvu</i> 'Yon (sg) allow him to come in' 'Let him come in'
2 <i>vaccunu</i> 'he/she/it will come' vaccu 'to come' (Mod. Tel.)	'Possibility' or 'Capacity' 'Possibility' Eg: 1) <i>Sami:ru mi:kunbaṭṭa vaccume?</i> "Is it possible for you (pl) to catch hold of the wind?"	Permission, Probability and 'Possibility' 'Permission' Eg: 1) <i>va:ḍ re:pu vaḷaccu</i> 'He may go tomorrow' 'Probability'

1

2

3

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>2) <i>avasyam gelutumanāgaradu</i>
'It is not possible to say that we
(incl) (pl) will win'
'Capacity'</p> | <p>2) <i>va:ḍu re:pu ra: vaccu</i>
'He may come tomorrow'</p> |
| <p>3) <i>o:va(n)ga: vaccune nimunetti</i>
<i>magava: rikin MBh. 6—3—300</i>
Can any type of man defeat
you (sg.)?</p> | <p>3) <i>re:pu va:ḍu raḥke yo: vaccu</i>
'He may not come tomorrow'
'Possibility'</p> |
| <p>4) <i>orulu viniyyunū ṣṭungarāni</i>
<i>vacanambulu MBh. 1—6—144</i>
'The words which can not be
understood by others although
they have heard them'</p> | <p>4) <i>dhanavantulu ca:la: iḷḷu</i>
<i>kattaccu</i>
'Rich people can build
many houses'</p> |

Note: In Old Telugu the auxiliary *vaccunu* is used only in the sense of 'Possibility' or 'Capacity' but in Modern Telugu it has three different meanings namely 'Permission', 'Possibility and 'Probability'.

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3 *agu* 'to be completed'

'Possibility'

'Possibility' or 'Capacity'

avu and negative form *kadu* are used only with the combination of *ce:ta*,

Mod, Tel, *avu*, Eg: 1) *ewarike:ru(n) g apune ni:*

caritambul? MBh. 3—1—326

'Is it possible for anybody to know you (sg) acts?'

Eg: 1) *na:ku ka:ru naḍapaḍane*

cetanavunu

'I know how to drive a car'

2) *gambhi:ro:dadhi(n)garambulan i:(n)danga:du* MBh. 1—8—204.

'It is not possible (for anybody) to cross a great ocean by swimming with hands'

2) *na:ku ra:yaḍam/ra:ya ḍa:niki*
cetakadu

'It is not possible for me to write'

4 *canu* 'to go'

'Propriety'

Eg. 1) *viprasatiki nu:ru ve:(n)ḍa(n) jan*

varamalu MBh. 2—2—263

'It is proper for a Brahmin woman to ask hundred boons'

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2) *va:ralanu S'a:simpanga alavadana(n)*
ga janade ni:kun MBh. 3-1-383
 'Can't you control them? (i.e.
 prevent or prohibit them from
 saying so)

5 *paḍu* 'to fall'

It functions only as a passive auxiliary
 Agent + *ce:(ta)n*.

This passive auxiliary is seldom used
 in speech but occasionally it occurs
 in writing.

Eg. 1) *akhilabhu:patula ce:naḷu*
su:ḍa(n)raḍi MBh. 2-2-244.
 'Having been seen by all the
 kings (while I was going)'

Eg. 1) *kinda ivvabaḍḍa:yi*
 'It was given below'

2) *orula ce:tan je:yanbaḍḍa je:si*
na:kun ba:takambu le:du
 MBh. 1-6-275
 'Since it was done by others, I
 have no sin'

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6 *po:vu* 'to go'

'about to'

Eg. 1) *bhu:ri nagambupay(n' po:vangan-bo:yinan* MBh. 3--1--287.

'When I was about to go to the top of the hill'.

'about to'

Eg. 1) *va:du ceyyaba:tunnaḍu*

'He is about to do'

2) *me:m raylu ekkabo:tunna:m*

'we (exc.) (pl.) are about to get into the train'.

It serves also as the carrier of tense, person-number, markers after the construction infinitive of a verb I ka. (negative adverbial participle of the negative verb *le*: 'to be not')

Eg. 1) *ne:nu ra:lE:ka po:tunna:nu*

'I am not able to come'

2) *ne:nu ra:lE:ka po:ya:nu*

'I was not able to come'

3) *va:du ra:lE:ka po:ya:du*

'He was not able to come'

to ask hundred boons

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- 7 *tagu* 'to be suitable'
 'to be proper'
 Eg. 1) *savatiki ne:neiṣu varapuḍambu seyandagun, oru-1-193.*
 'How can I serve my husband's second wife'
 2) *durmatulanu ... dharmasthin o:va(h) dagune MBh. 3-1-239.*
 'How can virtue (rightousness) tolerate these evil minded ones?'
- 8 *kalugu* 'to be to have and *Future*
kola its non-past Eg. 1) *ce:yangla va:ramu MBh. 1-7-32.* 'We (excl) (pl) will do'
 participle
 2) *ni:kun i:(n)gala va:(n)ḍane:nu MBh. 2-2-174.*
 'I will give you' (Future + capacity)
 'Capacity'
- The corresponding form is *galugu, gala*. It is not used as a main verb and it is used only as an auxiliary verb and it means 'capacity'
- gala* followed by personal endings is used only in the sense of 'capacity'. This can be used in future or habitual and in the past or present or a particular point in the future.

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Eg. 1) *orva(n) galare?* MBh. 1-3-38
 'Can (people) control/subdue?

3

galugu is used when it is followed by the respective tense markers and personal markers.

Eg 1) *ne:nu ceyyagalapnai*

'The work that I can do'

2) *ne:nu ka:ru naḍapagalamu.*

'I can drive a car'

3) *i:ro:ju na:ku pari:kṣa le:du
 kanaka ne:nu sinima:ku vīḷḷa
 galugu tunnamu galana*

'Since I have no examination today, I am able to go to the picture'

4) *tendaraga: naḍiste: mananam
 bassu ekka galugutam
 galam*

'If we walk quickly we (excl)
 (pl) can catch the bus'

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To express the negation or the absence of capacity we use the negative auxiliary *le*: 'to be not', in the place of *gala*, *galugu*.

Infinitive + *le*: + P. S.

Eg. 1) *cinna pillatu ca:la:du:ram
nodavaleru.*

'You g children cannot walk
a long distance'

When the mode is associated with a particular point of time *leka* which is the negative adverbial participle of *le*: is followed by the inflected forms of the auxiliary *po*: 'to go' which serves to carry the proper tense and person suffixes.

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Eg. 1) *va:ḍu ninna jvaram valla*

pari:kṣaki veḷḷa lEka poyāḍu

'Because of fever, he could not go to the examination yesterday'

2) *ka:lle: ga:yam valla ṇe:nu*

naḍava lE:ka po:tunna:nu le:nu

'Because of wound in the leg, I, am 'not able to' walk'

3) *re:pu bassu ra:kapo:te, ne:nu*

u:riki veḷḷa lE:ka po:ta:nu temu

'If the bus does not come tomorrow, I will not able to go to my native place'

Note: It is now preserved only in the Telugu dialects of Tamil Nadu and is used only in the negative.

Capacity or ability

9 *ca:bu*

'to be sufficient'

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Eg. 1) *sayyanantanyun mardim panga(n)* Eg. 1) *ne:nu ceyya:ja:la*

'I will be able to kill the whole army'
'I cannot do'

2) *ve:du kavijanjalene ni:payin*

'Could he attack you (Sg.)?'

2) *ne:nu re:patiki ra:ja:la*

'I will not come tomorrow'

3) *ca:lavatann(n) bogedān MBh.*

2-2-41

'you (Sg.) will not be able to praise him'

Note: This auxiliary is used both in affirmative and in the negative senses.

10 *ne:nu*

'Capacity' or 'ability'

'to be enable of' Eg. *ne:nu eddiyum je:yano:pan MBh.*

3-2-228

'I cannot do you anything'

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2) *eṭṭu di:ninju:ḍano:pudun?* MBh.

3-4-53

'How can I see this?',

'Capacity' or 'ability'

11 *parcu*

'to govern'

Eg. 1) *ikkumarula raksimpane:ranu*

MBh. 1-6-259

'I cannot protect these boys'

2) *e:nu derapi se:ya ne:rtu* MBh.

7-2-5

'I can make a way (to enter army)'

12 *po:lu*

'to resemble'

'Capacity' or 'ability'

Eg. 1) *dharmuvezunga vi:nikinbo:lune?*

MBh. 2-2-22.

'Can he know about the

Dharma?'

2) *po:riripulaku braḍḍkanga(n)*

bo:ladu MBh. 3-1-396

'The enemies cannot survive the war

3

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<p>13 <i>valayunu</i> 'Must' <i>valayu</i> 'it is desired', wanted'</p>	<p>Mod. Tel. (<i>a:li</i>) <i>valayunu</i> 1) <i>Obligation or necessity</i> 2) <i>Inference</i> is the non-past 3rd person sg. 1) 'Obligation' or 'necessity' and neut. pl. and its correspond- ing form in the past-tense in <i>valasenu</i></p>	<p>It is not used as a main verb 'must'</p> <p>1) <i>Obligation or necessity</i> 2) <i>Inference</i> Eg. 1) <i>mannam ceyya:li</i> 'We (incl.) (pl.) must do' 2) <i>ne:nu pa:va:li</i> 'I must go'</p> <p>Eg. 1) <i>a: padayainanu dharmuva pra:puga rakṣimpa valayun</i> MBh. 1-6-221. 'even though it is dangerous according to Dharma we must give protection'</p> <p>2) <i>varia nirvahimpa valayu(n) batiki</i> MBh. 2-1-51. 'The king must arrange for proper communication'</p>

3) *manaku viśe:ṣa bhakti(n) je:ya*
valayun

M . 3--1--68.

'We (incl.) (pl.) must pay him due attention'

Note: *valayunu* is rarely used as a main verb even in Old Telugu.

1) *valayune:ni* MBh, 2--248

'If it is necessary'

2) *valayunama:tyul(u)* MBh. 2--1--48

'The ministers who required'

3) *manaku viśe:ṣa bhakti(n) je:ya*

valayun MBh. 3--1--68

'We (incl.) (pl.) must pay him due attention'

Note: *Valayunu* is rarely used as a main verb even in Old Telugu.

3

Eg. 1) *valoyune:ni* MBh. 2--2--48.

'If it is necessary'

2) *valayunama:tyul(u)* MBh. 2--1--48

'The ministers who required'

The Negative 3rd person *it is used in the Prohibitive sense* *it is used in the Prohibitive sense*

neut:sg. form of valayu is valavadu or valadu. it is not necessary' *or it is not wanted'*

Eg. 1) *ni:vu ma:to:da ra:valavadu* MBh. 1--6--214
'you (sg.) should not come along with us'

Eg. 1) *nuvvu ma:to: ra:oddu*
'you (sg.) should not come along with us'

2) *i:satyavatim orutaki:valavadu* MBh. 1--4--184
'you should not give this Satyavati to others'

2) *mariam indule: unḍoddu*
'We must not stay in this'

Mod. Tel. The corres-ponding form of *oddu*

3) *mananu/manakun indunḍa valavadu*
'We must not stay in this'

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Note : It can be seen from the above examples that in Old Telugu the agent of the sentence can be either in the nominative or the dative case whereas in Modern Telugu it always occurs only in the nominative.

Valisi past

adverbial

participle of

Valayu.

Valisi occurs before the auxiliary *occu* followed by the P.N.G. marker *di* which carries the tense and 3rd person neut. sg. marker when it expresses obligation in combination with a particular point of time.

Eg. 1) *me:m/manaku ninna ui:riki
vel!a valisi occindi*

'It become necessary for us
(excl) (pl) to go to our native
place yesterday'

2) *bassu lE:ka po:vadam valla
va:(!aki|va:llu praya:nam
ma:neyya valisi osto:ndi*

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'because there is no bus,
they have to stop their
journey'

in sentences in which *occu* is present
the agent is in the dative or in the
nominative case, but when *occu* is
deleted the accent occurs only in the
nominative case.

Eg, 1) *navvu annam tina:li*

'You (sg) have to/must eat
food'

We also note the special use of
valisindi which is the past 3rd person
neut. sg. form of the auxiliary
'*valiyu*' after the infinitive of a main
verb, where it indicates the obligation
to perform the action denoted by

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the obligation to perform the action denoted by the main verb which has not carried out by the agent.

Eg. 1) *vaḍu ninna ceppa valisindi*

'He ought to have told
yesterday'

The auxiliary verb *undu* 'to be' occur before *valisindi* to express an action in the past which was obligatory.

Eg. 1) *va:ḍu ninna ceppi unḍa
valisindi*

'He ought to have told
yesterday'

The corresponding negative sentence is formed by affixing the negative

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adverbial participle suffix *akuṇḍa* to the infinitive of the main verb.

Eg. 1) *va:ḍu ninna(atanito: ceppakuṇḍa unḍa valisindi*

'He ought not to have told (him) yesterday' (He ought to have restrained from telling him yesterday)

2) 'Inference'

Eg. 1) *mundatanburambu galuga valayun*
MBh. 1-6-184

2) 'Inference'

The agentive noun must always be a 3rd person noun or pronoun.

There *must* be a town (in the area) which is before us'

Eg. 1) *ba:bu re:pu ra:va:li babus'*
a: osta:ḍu

'Babu must come, will probably come tomorrow'

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2) *mirahu vesa dharula kavalayum*

MBh. 2—1—183

‘I infer that you (pl) are persons
in disguise’

Inference with reference to the past time
is expressed by adding *ka:valayun* is must
be’ to the past tense form of the main
verb.

Eg. 1) *kacuṇḍu...asurula ce:ta*
nihatunḍoyyen ga:valayun MBh. 1-3 115
‘Kaca must have been killed by the
demons’

2) *vc:ḍu re:pu rava:li bahus**a: osta:du*

‘He must come tomorrow

The corresponding negative sentence
contains the simple future.

Eg. 1) *va:ḍu re:pu (bahus’a’) raa ḍu*
(probably)

‘He will not come tomorrow’

When the inference is with regard to
to the immediate past or present
actions the past or the present ad-
verbial participle of the main verb is
followed by *uṇḍa:li*

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Immediate past

Eg. 1) *va:ḍu ippuḍu/i:pa:ṭiki aman
tini uṇḍa:i*

'He must have eaten food
now'

Present

Eg. 1) *va:ḍu ippuḍu amam tiṇṭu.
uṇḍa:i*

In this construction, the future tense of *uṇḍu* with the appropriate personal suffix may be used instead of *uṇḍa:i*. The corresponding negative sentences contain the future negative forms of *uṇḍu*.

Eg. *uṇḍ-a-ḍu*

'he will not be' in the place of
uṇḍa:i

The personal pronouns may also occur as agents but then the influence is concerned with agent rather than the action.

Eg. *va:ḍe: ituvānti paṇi ce si unḍla:li*
 'It is he who must have done
 such a work'

14 *ku:ḍu*
 'to join'

'to be proper'

Eg. *tala(n) pa(n) gu:dune MBh. 3-1-76*
 'It is proper (for me) to think
 (like this)'

'to be proper'

Note: In Old Telugu both the 3rd person neut. sg. non-past form *ku:ḍunu* and the corresponding negative form *kud-a-du* are used as auxiliaries but in Modern Telugu only the negative form is used. The agent in sentences with these may be in any person, number or gender.

15 *ku:ḍ-a-du*

'Lack of Propriety'

Eg. *ra:jagṛhambu kaṇṭen abhira:man*

'Lack of Propriety'

Eg *pillalu peddalanu tiṭṭa ku:ḍadu*

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uga:n ilu gattiq(n) gu:dadu
 'children should not scold the
 elders'

MBh. 4--1--123

'(one) should not build a house that is
 more beautiful than kings residence'

Transitive auxiliaries

Those that serve to form the transitive counterparts of some intransitive verbs
 in Old and Modern Telugu.

1) *pettu* 'to put'

Eg. *bhaya paḍu* — *bhaya pettu* 'to frighten'

sukhapāḍu — *sukha-pettu* to make (another) happy'

kastapāḍu — *kasta-pettu* to make (another) 'unhappy'

2) *ti:yu* 'to take out'

Eg. *sa:gu* — *sa:ga-di:yu*

'to lengthen'

arugu — *araga-di:yu*

'impair by rubbing or friction'

viḍu — *viḍa-di:yu*
 'to make separate'

3) *po:yu* 'to pour'

Eg. *a:ru* — *a:ra bo yu*
 'to spread paddy'
eṇḍu — *eṇḍa-bo yu*
 'to keep (paddy) in the sun'

4) *Vaicu* 'to fall'

(Mod. Tel.) *Veyu* 'to throw'

Eg. *Old. Tel. Modern Telugu*

paḍu-paḍa-vaicu paḍa-ve:yu 'to throw down'

5) *koṭṭu* 'to beat'

ceḍu

— *ceḍa-goṭṭu*

'to spoil'

ra:lu

— *ra:la-goṭṭu*

'to make (fruits, leaves) to fall down'

po:yu-

— *po:-goṭṭu*

'to lose'

6) *tro:yu* (Mod. Tel.) *to:yu*

'to push'

paḍu-paḍa-dro:yu paḍa-to:yu 'to cause to fall'

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The following auxiliaries are added to the past adverbial participle of a main verb in Old and Modern Telugu.

Verbs and their Meaning of these verbs when they are used as auxiliaries after the past adverbial participle of a main verb

meanings

Old Telugu

Modern Telugu

1 *konu* 'to buy'

it functions as the reflexive auxiliary.

it functions as the reflexive auxiliary.

Eg. 1) *va:(n)ḍu tiṭṭu konenu*

Eg. 1) *va:ḍu tiṭṭu konna:ḍu*

'He scolded himself'

'He scolded himself'

2) *va:(n)ḍu vaṇḍu konenu*

2) *va:ḍu oṇḍu konna:ḍu*

'He cooked for himself.

'He cooked for himself'

2 *po:vu* 'to go'

'completion' or 'swiftness'

'completion' or 'swiftness'

maracu-maraci-po:vu

taggu-taggi-po:vu

'to forget'

'to decrease'

ceḍu- ceḍi-po:vu

niṇḍu-niṇḍi-po:vu

'to become spoiled'

'to fill up'

eṇḍu- eṇḍi-povu

pagulu- pagili-po:vu

'to dry up'

'to break'

3

'completion' or 'swiftness'

occi-ve:yu

'to come quickly'

kotti-ve:yu

'to beat quickly'

icci-ve:yu

'to give quickly'

pettu denotes that the agent carried out the action denoted by the main verb with a view to help somebody-else.

Eg. *onḍi-pettu*

'to be kind enough to cook'

(for some one)

Certainty or inevitableness

Eg. 1) *vaṇḍi ti:ra:li*

'(one) must cook without

fail'

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3 *vaicu* 'to throw' 'completion' or 'swiftness'

Mod. Tel. *veyu campī-vaicu*

'to finish killing'

tini-vaicu

'to finish eating'

paḍa-vaicu

'to finish throwing'

4 *pettu* 'to put'

5 *tiru:* 'to become cleared'

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6 unḍu 'to be'

'belief' or 'assertion'

Eg. va:(n)ḍu unḍe ka.valayū

'He must be there'

2) cāpiti:ra:li '(one) must tell
without fail'

'belief' or 'assertion'

Eg. va:ḍe: i:ḍabbu ti:si unḍa:ḍu

'He alone must have taken
this money'

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AUXILIARY VERBS IN NANNAYA

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Auxiliaries are a small category of verbs which apparently occurs in a wide number of languages, but seems to resist any precise formulation. They seem to perform varied functions in different languages. One may find these verbs in construction with main verbs. Auxiliaries are subordinative constituents to the main verbs. Even the identification of this category seems to pose several problems. The purpose of this paper is to identify such category in Old Telugu based on the data collected from Nannaya's Telugu rendering of Mahabharata. This is the oldest available literary work of considerable length composed in the first half of the 11th century, (Around 1040 A.D.), during the period of Eastern Chalukyas. It is hoped that this study would reveal certain characteristics of Telugu auxiliaries in general and Old Telugu auxiliaries in particular. It would at least be a meagre contribution towards the history of Telugu language.

As we are all aware of, there are certain limitations in this sort of work; we can only be sure of the presence of certain auxiliaries when we find their occurrence but cannot say anything about the non-occurring auxiliaries of non-occurring instances of the observed auxiliaries. This limits many of the generalisations sought in this study.

This study is mainly based on the concordance prepared for the above work and the original work of the poet has been consulted frequently. I, however, cannot claim exhaustiveness, because of my heavy reliance of the concordance which may have its own shortcomings. I should also state at this point that the observations in this study may not be applicable to the language of that period because the literary tradition would be somewhat different from the contemporary use. However, certain patterns observed in this work may have relevance to the use of language in general.

The following characteristics have been found for the auxiliary verbs that occurred in Nannaya's work.

- 1) They occur distributionally with the main verbs; present participle, past participle, infinitive and negative.
- 2) All the auxiliaries have been used as non-auxiliary verbs also.
- 3) More than chance frequency to use Greenberg's phrase the difference in meaning is discernible in their independent use and auxiliary use.
- 4) They show certain peculiar features like non-occurrence in certain constructions, and having or not having inflections.

Depending on the sentence structure of a language, auxiliaries may precede or follow the main verbs. But not all the verbs which precede or follow may not function as auxiliaries. That is why it is very difficult to identify the auxiliaries, particularly in Telugu. In Telugu auxiliary verb generally follows the main verb. In modern Telugu the auxiliary verb is an immediate constituent of the

main verb and nothing can be inserted in between, except a couple of particles like 'u:' (also) and *e:* (emphatic) as in *ceyyanu:waccu* 'one can also do' and *ceyyane:ku:ḍadu* 'one should not have done'. But in Nannaya we find sometimes the auxiliary verb constitutes as discontinuous I.C.S. A particle, a word, a phrase or even a clause can be inserted in between the main verb and auxiliary. This would be due to the literary tradition. This does not mean that people of Nannaya's period used the auxiliary verb as discontinuous I.C.S., since it would be highly impossible in conversational or colloquial language.

Therefore the verb which follows the main verb may be recognised in four ways:

- a) that the verb is also an independent one,
- b) or it may be a compound verb [sabdapallava],
- c) it is added to the main verb, without any change in its meaning;
- d) it is added with a meaning which is different from the meaning of the verb as a main verb.

Of all these verbs, it is difficult to identify that, which of them are auxiliaries. And, here, I would like to discuss them with their usages as main and auxiliary from the data collected from Nannaya's work.

There are two main criteria to identify the auxiliaries. One is distributional and the other is functional.

Distributional Criteria:- As it is said above, the auxiliary verb may precede or follow the main verb. In Telugu we find most of the auxiliaries occurring in post-verbal position, which may be discontinued by a word, phrase or clause. But there are also some verbs which

strictly precede the main verb that their occurrences is only pre-verbal. Thus we can say that:

- a) auxiliary verbs follow the main verb which is infinitive i.e. Main verb + auxiliary.
 - b) auxiliary verbs follow the main verb which is a present or past participle, i.e. Main verb [participle] + aux.
 - c) auxiliary may follow a verb which is negative one.
 - d) auxiliaries are attached to a stem which may be an extended one already by another auxiliary verb i.e. V + aux₁ [aux₂].
 - e) auxiliaries may also precede the main verb.
- a) auxiliaries may also precede the main verb.

eg. *agu*: "to be appropriate", 'possible'

e:mi so:yanga nagu

what to do appropriate

= what is appropriate to do?

List of the verbs that occur after infinitives.

1	<i>iccu.</i>	'to let'
2	<i>valatu</i>	'to want'
3	<i>o:du</i>	'capable'
4	<i>o:pu</i>	'ability'
5	<i>kaagdu</i>	'to start'
6	<i>kanu/ka:ncu</i>	'to be able'
7	<i>kala</i>	'to be able'
8	<i>ku:du</i>	'to be appropriate'
9	<i>canu</i>	'to be appropriate'

10	<i>tagu</i>	'to be appropriate'
11	<i>toḍagu</i>	'to begin'
12	<i>ne:rcu</i>	'to be able'
13	<i>paḍu</i>	'passivizer'
14	<i>peṭtu</i>	'transitivizer'
15	<i>po:vu</i>	'about to [do]'
16	<i>pancu/panucu</i>	'to command'/'despatch'
17	<i>valayu</i>	'shall'
18	<i>pu:nu</i>	'to undertake'

Most of these verbs, can also have their negative counterparts. As:

	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Negative</i>
1	<i>agu</i>	<i>ka:du</i>
2	<i>iccu ~ i:n</i>	<i>i:ka</i>
	<i>valatu</i>	<i>olla ollaka</i>
4	<i>o:pu</i>	<i>o:paka</i>
5	<i>kanu ~ ka:nu</i>	<i>ka:nka</i>
6	<i>kala ~ kalugu</i>	<i>le:ni le:du</i>
7	<i>canu</i>	<i>canadu</i>
8	<i>tagu</i>	<i>tagadu</i>
9	<i>ne:rcu</i>	<i>ne:ra ne:raka</i>
10	<i>paḍu</i>	<i>paḍaka</i>
11	<i>po:</i>	<i>po:ka</i>
12	<i>vaccu</i>	<i>ra:ni</i>
13	<i>valayu</i>	<i>valadu ~ valavadu</i>
14	<i>konu</i>	<i>konaka</i>

The above mentioned auxiliary verbs have negative counterparts whereas the rest can only occur as positive ones or some times in interrogative sentences. These are:

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) <i>o:du</i> | 4) <i>pettu</i> |
| 2) <i>ku:du</i> | 5) <i>pancu ~ panucu</i> |
| 3) <i>toḍagu</i> | 6) <i>pu:nu</i> |

(b) Auxiliary verbs that occur after present or past participles:

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1 <i>uṇḍu</i> | 'to be' |
| 2 <i>konu</i> | 'reflexive' |
| 3 <i>vaccu</i> | 'continuity' |
| 4 <i>erugu</i> | 'to know' |

1) *ellava:ru cu:cucuṇḍa (n)* 1—6—26

e.g. every one seeing be
= While every one is seeing

cu:cu 'to see' is the root, from which is derived the present participle by the addition of 'cu' - the particle.

2) *konu*:

eg. *okka paṇḍu onaraga go:nci koniye* 1—7—11
one fruit clearly saw himself
= (He) himself saw one fruit clearly.

ka:ncu is the root. The particle *-i* is added, which yields *ka:nci* - (the participle) to which is attached the reflexive 'konu'. All the verbs which occur with the auxiliary - *konu* are formed by the particle - *i*.

3) *vaccu* :

This has only one usage in Nannaya's work which is preceded by a verb in participle.

eg. *okkokka putruṇḍa ka: janmincucu vaccina*
1—8—145 one one son be born continuity

In the above sentence the verb *vaccu* functions to mean continuity. The meaning is, from the context, in their dynasty each one got a child (Continuously).

4) *erugu* :

As a main verb it means 'to know'. This occurs both in positive and negative as a main verb. But as an auxiliary this has only negative forms,

Eg. *ye:nennaḍu cu:ci viniyuneruga*
I ever see hear not
= I never have seen or heard

cu:civiniyu neruga is a clause which would be separated as '*cu:cieruga*' and '*viniyeruge*', which have the meaning of 'did not see' and 'did not hear' respectively.

cu:cu + i and *vinu + i* are the stems of the main verbs.

5) *pettu*

na:kondaga vaṇḍi paṭṭumu
to me cook
Please cook for my sake

The sentence gives the meaning that some one asking another to cook for him, (benefactory). *Vaṇḍu* is the verb and *vaṇḍi* is the participle of *vaṇḍu*.

(c) Auxiliaries that occur after negatives:

There are two processes to derive negative meaning from a predicate. One is, the auxiliary verb is used in negation. This is a general process in the language. The other way is that the main verb would be a negative one, to which a positive auxiliary is added. For example if we say *ce:yoku:ḍadu*. This means that 'It should not be done'. But the other process, motly used in literature is ;

ce:yaka + uṇḍu

'do not do' 1—6—100, 1—7—267.

ce:yaka is the negative of *ce:yu* and *uṇḍu* is added to it. In modern language this '*uṇḍu*' is not used.

Interestingly, only - *uṇḍu* occurs after the negative verbs and no other verb is found. Thus *uṇḍakuṇḍu ce:yugakuṇḍu, tirugakuṇḍu erungakuṇḍu* etc. are found in Nannaya. 1—7—106, 1—7—150, and 1—5—186.

(b) Auxiliaries which are attached to the extended stems.

It is very difficult to identify which verbs are stems (that is, are formed by the auxiliary) and which are not. For example '*indu visvasinciyuṇḍu valadu*' is a sentence and *visvasinciyuṇḍu valodu* is predicate. But in this, '*uṇḍu*' is not an auxiliary, but it functions as a main verb. *Visvasinci* is separated from *uṇḍa valadu*; these two function as separate i.e. independent verbs. But in the sentence as,

putramo:hamcuna campani:no:paka 1-- 4—152

son affection to kill let unable

(he) is unable to let (some one) to kill (some body)

because of the affection as a son (towards him). In this sentence, *campan + i:n + o:paka* is one verb; and *i:n* and *o:paka* are auxiliaries which follow 'Campu', the main verb.

o:paka can also be attached directly to the main verb *campu*, which derives '*campano:paka*', but these two differ in meaning. In *campano:paka* the subject is the actor but in *campani:nopaka* the subject is in causative position. That is, the actor is some one else and the subject is in the causal relation to the actor.

- 2) *ju:dambu katambuna bhe:dambu ga:kuṇḍa ne:radu*
 2—2—157
 = Because of gambling, it is not possible
 not to have differences.

In this sentence *ka:kuṇḍane:radu* is one verb.
ka:ka + uṇḍa + ne:radu
 V aux₁ aux₂

ka:ka is the negative derived from 'agu', '*ka:kuṇḍu*' means 'not to be occur', But *ka:kuṇḍane:radu* is a double negation used to mean the positive (i.e. affirmative)

That is 'it is not possible not to occur' = It will occur

- 3) *viḍuva - ne:raka - unna* → *viḍuvane:rakunna* 1-2-76
 leave unable be = 'It unable to leave'

viḍucu 'to leave' '*viḍuvane:raka*' means unable to leave and *unna* denotes the state of the verb; that (some one) is unable to leave,

- 4) *erunagakunḍavalayu* 1-8—165
erungaka - uṇḍa - valayu

The verb *eragu* means 'to know' *erugaka* 'not known', *erungakuṇḍa* is the state of not to be recognised by anyone and '*eranguṇḍavalayū*' gives emphasis to *uṇḍu* by which the verb means that 'no one should know' (or recognise)

- 5) *tanaka:ryamorumatambana nonarimpaga - ne:ranagune ? 2—2—149*
 one's own work on other's to do is it possible
 wish
onarimpaga + ne:ran + agw

onaruu = to do, is the root, from which is derived *onarimpaga*, by the addition of *-incu* suffix. This is followed by *-ne:ru* 'able' and *agu* 'possible', which gives the meaning that 'can it be possible to do ?'

- 6) *ettikonantecucunnanta 2—2—54*
 to carry in hands give about to do
 = about to give to carry in hands
ettikonan + ꞑccucum + unnan
 root aux.1 aux.2

- 7) *palukandaguga:du na:ka—1 —203*
 to speak appropriate not without saying
palukan + tagu + ka:du
 = Without saying that it is not appropriate
 speak.

- (d) Auxiliaries may also precede the main verb:
martyalo:kambunaku tirigivacci 1—8—300
 into the human world returned

So far we have observed the auxiliaries which occur in post-verbal position; but there are some verbs, which precede another verb but the first verb meaning differen

from its original (i.e. main verbal) meaning and the second one is retained as it is. For example, there is only one usage in Nannaya which is given above; *tirigivaccu tirugu* - means 'to wonder or roam' and *vaccu* 'to come' and *tiru:givaccu* means of 'to come back' or 'to return'.

Here, the function of *tirugu* is equivalent to the function of what is usually called an auxiliary. But, the present writer did not go into the deep investigation of the pre-verbal auxiliary and thus confines herself to the post verbal auxiliaries only.

So far, the above discussion of distributional criteria did not reveal any characteristic features in general about the auxiliaries not did it say much about the role or importance of auxiliaries in the grammar of a language.

Now let us turn towards the other criteria which is functional criteria.

Functional Criteria :

We can divide this as, 1) grammatical, 2) semantic categories. Even this division is arbitrary, since they are interrelated. Grammatical description includes semantics and semantic description cannot neglect the interference of grammar and thus they cannot be described purely on their own grounds.

1. *Grammatical function :*

Auxiliary verbs, when they follow a verb, change its grammatical function in the sentence, resulting another sentence different from the one which is derived from the absence of the auxiliary. It is very interesting to notice that in English passives and reflexives are formed by different processes: passives, by some addition of particles

to the main verb preceded by the forms of 'be' . . . and reflexives by pronominalizing the subject. In Telugu these two are derived by the addition of a verb as auxiliary.

(i) Passivization :- The verb is 'paḍu'. As a main verb, its meaning is 'to fall'

1) *nu:tiḷo: paḍu* 1-5-210

in the well fall = 'to fall in a well'

2) *nu:rc̄havo:yi paḍiyen tana radhambupay in*

3-1-165

unconsciously fell one's own chariot

= He fell unconsciously on his own chariot.

But, as an auxiliary *paḍu* gives the passive meaning.

eg. <i>viḍucu</i>	'to leave'
<i>viḍuvabaḍu</i>	'to be left'
<i>ce:yu</i>	'to do'
<i>ce:yabaḍu</i>	'to be done'
<i>jayincu</i>	'to conquer'
<i>jayimpabaḍu</i>	'to be conquered'

Whenever 'paḍu' occurs as an auxiliary the subject is in instrumental case.

eg. *bra:hmaṇula ce:ta viḍuvabaḍina* 3-3-90

brahmins by being left

= being left by brahmins.

The active voice version is like this.

bra:hmaṇulu viḍiciri = brahmins left

And it also indicates the impersonal sentences; as:

satsabhalandu meccabaḍune:? 1-7-50

in good meetings praise-passive- (question)

would (it) be praised in good meetings?

In *meccabaḍu*, the subject is completely unknown where as in active voice the subject is indicated in person suffix (as third person plural).

'*paḍu*' has also another important function which is verbalization.

(ii) Reflexivization: The reflexivizer auxiliary verb *konu* originally means 'to take'.

eg. *koḍuku javvanambu goni*
— taking the youth of 1—3—202 (his) son.

examples:

1	<i>ce:yu</i>	'to do'
	<i>ce:sikonu</i>	'to do oneself'
2	<i>ka:ncu</i>	'to see'
	<i>ka:nckonu</i>	'to see oneself'
3	<i>kattu</i>	'to tie'
	<i>kattukonu</i>	'to put on oneself'
4	<i>paṭṭu</i>	'to catch'
	<i>paṭṭukonu</i>	'to catch oneself'
5	<i>ko:ru</i>	'want'
	<i>ko:rukunu</i>	'to want (for oneself)'
6	<i>tuḍucu</i>	'to touch'
	<i>tuḍucukonu</i>	'touching oneself'
7	<i>ceppu</i>	'to tell'
	<i>ceppikonu</i>	'to tell oneself'
8	<i>kaḍugu</i>	'to wash'
	<i>kadugukonu</i>	'to wash oneself'

- 9 *ettū* 'to lift'
ettikonu 'to lift oneself'
 and so on.

Now let us observe these:

- 1) *okkapaṇḍonaraga:ncikoniye* 1-7-11
 one fruit (very well) saw himself
 = He himself saw a fruit clearly.
- 2) *okka hamsa battukoniye* 3-2-12
 one swan caught (her) self
 = (she) herself caught one swan.
- 3) *kaḍupu taḍivikonucu (gaṛṛana trencen).*
 stomach touching himself
 = Touching his own belly.
- 4) *nī:kiṣṭamu ceppikonumu* 1-2-117
 your wish tell (yourself)

The sentences 1-3 indicate the reflexivization and sentence 4 also show the same function. But this, according to the context, also has addition of meaning. That is, a person asking another to tell what he wants (from him). But generally, in Modern Telugu also *ceppikonu* has two meanings one, to tell (oneself) without asking any benefaction) i.e., (to narrate to oneself). And 'to tell' (asking the other help i.e. benefaction).

- 5) *pa:nea:lupuramu muṭṭikoniri* 1-6-66.
 (they) attacked pancalapura.

muṭṭadi is noun denoting 'attack', from which 'muṭṭi' the verb is derived which is used with 'cutti' 'round'. *cuttu muṭṭi* means 'to attack', 'to gherao'. There is another verb *muṭtu* 'to touch'. These two are two different morphemes with the same phonological representation

Though *mutti-konu* does not mean reflexivity as *ce:si-konu*, *ka:ncu:konu* etc., there is difference between 'mutti' and *muttikonu*.

e.g. *cuttumuttæ:ru* (they) attacked
cuttumuttikonna:ru (they) attacked

But a native speak can recognise the difference though it can not be made explicit.

Besides these, *-konu* also has the function of verbalizing as *pagoni* 'having envy' *vi:dkoni* 'having sent off' *to:dkoni* 'having taken with'.

(iii) Transitivity :- An auxiliary verb which changes an intransitive verb into a transitive verb thus having an important function in the grammar. In modern Telugu also the same verb is used for transitivity. The verb is *pettu* 'to put'.

Intransitive + *pettu* → Transitive

eg. *ce:ru* 'to reach'

ce:rabettu 'to drop'

ti:rambu

ce:rabettu 'at the bank dropped' 15-166

(The context is about Bhima's strength, that he alone carried ten Kauravas at a time and dropped them on the bank of the swimming pool).

tirugu 'to wander', 'to go round'

tirugabettu 'to make go round'

eg. *ne:tramul* eyes (acc) making go round

tiru ganga (with angry)

betu...

In these examples, if we say *ti rambu:ru* - it means that to reach the bank which is intransitive, in which the subject is the actor. But when it is transitivized by *-pettu* the actor and the person who achieves the action are two different persons.

2. Semantic function.

The auxiliary verbs, when they (follow) or added to the main verbs, add, modify or change the meaning of the main verb. That is why the function of an auxiliary has more relevance and importance in semantics than in other parts of the grammar. Now, let us examine the auxiliaries from its semantic point of view.

1 *agu*:

a) *agu* as main verb 'to become, to be, to happen'

eg. a) *ni: ko:rinayatla yagu*

you wish as happen

= It (happens) becomes as you wish

b) *agu* as auxiliary :

(i) *adharmuvu se yanganagune*

Is it appropriate to do *adharma* ?

(ii) *di niki ko:pimpanagune?*

Is it appropriate to be angry for this?

(iii) *ahhilalo:kambulu kananayye 3-3-120*

all worlds became visible

(iv) *veda:dhyayana sabdambulu vinanayyen*

3-3-120

= It became possible to hear the sounds

vedas

agu as a main verb has a concrete semantic function meaning 'to become', 'to happen', 'to be' - where the presence, of this verb becomes necessary. This can be seen in the example a(i). But when it is used with a noun as *dharmamagune*, *ucitamagune*, *pa:ḍiyagune* - all meaning 'whether it is good, or justice to be' - there is no apparent meaning. Its function can be equated with that of a linking verb like 'be' in English. In these sentences it does not make any difference in meaning even if we remove it from the sentence as: *dharmama :?* etc.

But *agu*, when it modifies a verb, means possibility and appropriateness. Even here also it is possible to derive the intended meaning without this. But there would be little difference between these two sentences

(v) *e:mi se:yanganagu?*

'What to do possible = What is possible to do?

This can be said as :

(vi) *e:mi se:tu* or *e:mi ce:yudu*

There is no difference in the deep structure of these two; but (vi) means the presense of the subject directly and in (v) the subject is indicated indirectly.

The negative of *agu* is *ka:du*, which functions both as main and auxiliary as well

Main verb:

(vii) *dharmambuga:du*, (neg. of *dharmamagu*)

(viii) *rajyambu susthirambu ka:du*
kingdom eternal not

Aux : *asueculaku ka:naga:du*
 to the impure visible not = (she is) not visible
 to the impure persons.

2 *iccu*:

iccu as a main verb has the meaning 'to give'

Auxiliary meaning of *iccu* is different from the main verb.

eg. i) *itani po:vaniccinan* 1—8—119

him to go let = to let him to go

(ii) *minnaka yunḍaniccune: ?* 3—2—384

quiet to be let = Does (he) let to be quiet ?

As a main verb *iccu* occupies predicate place in the sentence but as an auxiliary it has modal function.

The negative of *iccu* in Nannaya's usage is '*i:ka*'. (*iccu* has an allomorph *i:n* and *i:ka* is the negative of *i:n*)

(iii) *pa:ṇḍavulanonḍugaḍanuḍoni:ka* 1—2—28

Pandavas in no place be not let

= not letting Pandavas to be (in) no where.

3 *uṇḍu* :

Uṇḍu also has two different meanings as main and auxiliary verb. As a main verb it means to be, to live, to stay ?

eg. *na: yoddana yuṇḍumu*

= Be or live with me

ni.ku indu uṇḍane:la ?

— why do you stay here ?

Auxiliary :

As auxiliary *uṇḍu* means continuity after present participle and state after past participle and negative,

- eg. i) *ra:ḥyamu ce:ḥucenuṇḍe*
= He was ruling the country.
- ii) *prīyambu kō:ḥucunnudun*
= (I) always (continuously) wish your good.

Negative:

mṛgavadha do:ḥambu le:kunḍa
animal killing fault not to be (stative)
= not to be the fault of animal killing.

4 *o:ḍu:*

o:ḍu has two meanings in Old Telugu but only one is retained in Modern Telugu *o:ḍu* as a main verb means 'to be defeated and 'to fear' as:

- i) *parula noidincina balimika:ḍu 2—1—136*
others defeated strongman
= The strong man who defeated others
- ii) *lo:kaviruddhambulaku e:mu oḍudumu 1—4—102*
to be against to the world we fear
= We fear to be against to the general customs of the world.

The auxiliary meaning is an extended one to the main verb meaning. The auxiliary verb means to backout or to hesitate (may be due to fear some times).

- iii) *e:katamta nunnada:nāvanīyaḍugano:ḍi 1—4—148*
how are you to ask hesitate
(Some one) hesitate to ask her 'how are you'

- iv) *d:nimainavulu sara no:ḍuḍuru*
= Human beings backout to enter into it.

In these two sentences, *o:ḍu* means hesitation or stepback

- but v) *inuḍasta:driki e:gano:ḍade* 1—2—160
sun to set fear not (question)
= Would not the sun fear to set?
In this sentence the main verb meaning is retained.

5 *o:pu*

o:pu means 'to tolerate, to endure'

- eg. i) *vasude vuḍayo:punga;ni*
vasudeva (only) tolerates (but)
= Only Vasudeva can tolerate.

- but ii) *emi se:yano:pu?*
what to do can = What can be done?

- iii) *evva:ḍu ino:pu*
'who can give'

This indicates that *o:pu*, as an auxiliary means capability, both physical and psychological. So also in negation:

- iv) *palukulu vinano:pa*
'(I) cannot hear the words'

- v) *da:navuḷu sahimpano:paka*
'The demons cannot bear'

6 *kaḍagu:*

kaḍagu as a main verb means to venture, to get ready.

- eg i) *taḍayakaye:siti gaḍangi da:navulapayin*
 = Without delay I prepared and threw arrows on demons.
- ii) *kaḍagi vaccri*
 'venturing I came'

The same meaning can be employed in auxiliary usage also; but auxiliary verb modifies the meaning and it is extended.

- iii) *dharmajuḍu juḍon-a: dagaḍangen 2—2—172*
 Dharmaja gambling to play started
 = Dharmaja started to play gambling.
- iv) *avaniga: vagaḍagi 1—6—60*
 = (having) decided to protect the earth.

7 *kanu:*

kanu 'to see' / has another allomorph *ka:nu*. This changes into *ka:ncu kaṇti*, *ka:npa* and so on by inflection. The auxiliary verb completely differs in meaning from the main verb; though we can pull the original meaning with great effort. May be, the word first used with the original meaning which changed in process.

Main verb:

- i) *pavanaju kaniyen*
 'saw the son of wind'
- ii) *okkarakkasunganiri*
 'They saw one demon'

Auxiliary:

- iii) *iṭṭimaha:tmunaki:ga:nciti 1—1—96*
 = I am able to give to this Mahatma.

iv) *cu:ḍaga:ntu* 3—2—101
 'I am able to see'

v) *ni ka:raṇambuna canaya:nturu* 3—3—70
 = They are able to go because of you

Observe this poem.

maṇṭi harndehamaṇṭangaṇṭi numa:dhi:
suwasurakaṇṭakahaṇu
mukkaṇṭi karakanṭhu ju:dangaṇṭi kṛta:rithuḍanayt
gaḍupunyaṇuṇaṇ

Negative:

vi) *priyamu ce:yagaka:ṇpacu:ve* 1—6—286
 = (I am) unable to do good'

vii) *ju:damma:ḍaga ga:ṇpaṇa:ku* 2—2—138
 gamble to play unable for me
 = I am unable to play dice.

viii) *ṭanu:ju cu ḍaga:naka*
 'not being able to see the son'

8 *Kala:*

ka:la is derived from the verb *kalugu* 'to be, to happen'

i) *puṇya lo:kambulu kalige*
 heavens happen = 'He got heavens'

Auxiliary:

ii) *ni.kuni:galavā:ḍa*
 'I am able to give to you' 2—2—172

iii) *inniguṇambulu nennangagalavu* 2—2—121
 = You are able to count all these qualities

iv) *niṭuvangalare:?* 'can they stand'? 3—1—254
 (They can not stand')

9 *ku:ḍu:*

ku:ḍu as a main verb means to join and to be appropriate.

- eg. i) *bhu:miki vacci yudadhigu:ḍe*
 to earth come (and) into see join
 = (It) came to earth and joined the sea.

There is only one usage of this verb as auxiliary in Nannaya, which means appropriateness.

- ii) *itlu talapa gu:dune buddhin* 3—1—76
 like this to think appropriate in mind?
 = Is it appropriate to think like this in mind?

This question meaning results in negation which is **talapaku:ḍad*

This meaning is also found in the usage of main verb which is also negative.

- eg. iii) *koḍuku palku vini ku:ḍadu na:ka* 1—6—230
 son words heard not appropriate not saying
 = (though) having heard son's words, without saying that it is not appropriate.

Thus both auxiliary and main verbs have negation or negative implication. Affirmative forms of this in auxiliary use are absent.

10 *konu:*

konu means 'to take'

- eg. i) *ni:ku iccitin konuminka*
 'I gave you and take it now'

As an auxiliary *konu* has several functions as (a) self benefaction (b) reflexive (which occurs after *t*-ending stems) and (c) with certain verbs apparently with no discernible meaning.

(a) Self-benefaction:

- ii) *ni:kiṣṭaruceppikonamu*
 'tell your wish' (yourself)

Reflexive verb has a grammatical function, it reveals that the subject doing (something) for himself. though it may not have the semantic implication of self-benefaction. But *ceppikonu* is different from *anukonu*; *anukonu* is a reflexive verb, means to speak (to) oneself, and *ceppikonu* means 'to tell' to some one, asking to give favour i.e. self benefaction.

(b) Reflexive :

Reflexive verb in Nannaya is formed after past participle of the main verb. That is *konu* occurs after ending stems.

- eg *kaṭṭikonina*, *ce:sikonu*, *paṭṭikonu*, *ka:ncikoniye*,
ko:rikoniye, *tuḍucukonu* and so on.

(c) *konu*

konu also occurs with certain verbs which apparently have no discernible meaning for example *muṭṭikoniri* (see page No 15-16). This same is found in *ku ḍikoniri* (1-1-47) *ku:ḍi* 'to join' *ku:ḍikoniri* means 'to gather'.

Only two negative forms are found in two usages:

- 1) *da:nije:konani* 2-1-181
 'not taking into consideration'

- 2) *munu ve:dikonaka* 1—3—19
 'before not praying'

11 *canu* :

canu also has two meanings as a main verb i) to go,
 ii) appropriateness.

eg. i) *gaganambunakegasi canemu* 1—8—311
 = Flew in the sky and went.

ii) *niveddice:sina ni:ke canu* 1—1—140
 = It is appropriate for you only, whatever you do

Auxiliary :

iii) *sa: hasambittu se:yangajanune?* 3—3—55
 to dare like do appropriate question this
 = Is it appropriate (to do) to dare like this.

iv) *namminci campajanadu:* 1—5—56
 It is not appropriate to kill making them to
 believe
ma:ya: balambuna janadu campu 1—5—56
 It is not appropriate to kill deceiving them.

Both the sentences mean that it is not appropriate to kill (some one or something) (having) making them to believe, or by deceiving them.

Canu as auxiliary means 'appropriateness' both in positive and negative. But it also indicates 'ability', for which one usage is found.

v) *ewarikini janne wi:nin anawadya para:kramun
 a:kramimpagan* 1—7—207

To whom is it possible to conquer him, a
 great hero.

12 *toḍagu* :

toḍagu in Old Telugu has three functions: two as main and auxiliary verbs and the third as a case marker. As a main verb it means 'to attempt', and as an auxiliary it means 'to start commence'.

eg. i) *sīla: yuddhamunakundoḍangi* 3—1—119
'for the stone fight attempting'

That is, as a main verb *toḍagu* means that the decision to do some work has been taken but the work has not yet started.

ii) *tu:rpārūṅambu ka:doḍange* 1—6—216
east red to become started
= East started becoming red.

iii) *tapambu onarimpan doḍange* 1—5—116
= (he) started to do penance.

Later, successors of Nannaya used the auxiliary meaning 'to start or commence' in the main verb. This may be a semantic back formation. There is no negative for *toḍagu*.

13 *ne:rcu*:

ne:rcu as main verb means to know or learn (skill).

eg. i) *sukrabṛuhaspatulu ne:rcinayaṭṭa ne:rcē* 1—4—169
= (He) learnt as Sukra and Brihaspati (learnt)

ii) *eṭṭu buadukagane:rcun* 2—1—138
'how can (he) live?

iii) *ni:ko:rinavidhambu eṭṭuse:yane:rtu?* 3—2—338
how can I do as you wish?

Negative:

As a main verb:

- iv) *i: vidya yorulevvaru ne:raru* 1—5—211
 = This skill is not known to anyone
- v) *indundi putrula rakšimpa ne:ra* 1—5—146
 = I cannot protect sons, staying here.

14 *paḍu:*

As a main verb *paḍu* means 'to fall'.

- Eg. *dharitri mi:da paḍiyen* 3—1—198
 'fell on earth'
 But as an auxiliary it functions as passivizer.

15 *peṭtu:*

peṭtu as a main verb means 'to keep, place, pu., serve, give' etc.

- i) *ataniki oka pa:lu peṭṭumu* 1—7—224
 to him one part give = Give him one part.
 As an auxiliary *peṭtu* has three functions

1) It changes an intransitive to transitive.

- eg. *ce ru* (In Tr) *ce:rabeṭtu* (page No. 16)

2) It also changes a transitive into causative.

- eg. ii) *manuṣya ma:msambu to: naynan kuḍuvanbeṭṭumu*
 1—7—115
 man meat with even to eat give
 = give me (food) even with man's meat.

kuḍucu is a transitive verb means to eat. And *kuḍuvanbeṭtu* means that some one asking another to give him food.

That is the subject is in causal relation with the beneficiary

3) It also functions as benefactive

- iii) *na:kondaga vaṇḍipeṭṭumu* 1—6—187
 'please cook \ddot{a} for me' (see page no)

16 *po:*

po: 'to go' as main verb differs in meaning with auxiliary, usage. The auxiliary meaning is 'about to do' (something).

- eg. i) *so:mambi: bo:yina* 3—3—190
 'about to give a kind of wine'

Negative

- ii) *atikramimpakuṇḍanga bo:ka* (double negation)
 1—1—115
 = Not (about) to be ready to cross.

17 *vaccu:*

vaccu as a main verb means 'to come'

- eg. i) *nijagrumbunaku vaccen* 1—5—30
 'came to his own house'
 As an auxiliary *vaccu* means possibility and continuity.

- eg. ii) *e: yupa:yamuna nuḡraḡanamuna baḡayavaccu*
 3—1—36

What idea great forest to get possible
 = How (with what idea) is it possible to get in great forest?

- iii) *okkokka puṭruṇḍa ka: janmincucu vaccina*
 1—8—143
 = Being born one son in each generation i.e.

every father got a child in the dynasty (continuity process).

In negation it only means possibility

iv) *paḍayangra:ni* 1—4—153

'it is not possible to obtain'

v) *agni sikhayumbo:ḥe naṅṅaṅu da:yanuḥu:ḍ ara:niyatti*
3—2—91

fire like touch come near, to see not possible

This sentence describes about Damayanti, says that she is like a fire and that is why it is not possible to touch, to come near, and even to see her. In this 'rami' the negation, applies to all the preceding verbs.

18 *valayu:*

valayu means 'want' when it is used as a main verb.

eg. i) *ni: valasina vastuvul gonṅṅu* 1—5—200

— take the things (whatever) you want

But as an auxiliary it functions like a modal verb.

ii) *ni:va di:nin je:yavalayu* 1—6—140

you [only] this do should

= you only should do this.

Negative:

iii) *mi:ru indu masala valadu* 3—3—380

= you should not roam here [prohibition]

iv) *mi:ru e:ḍvaga:valavadu* 1—6—263

— you should not weep.

19 *pu:nu:*

pu:nu means 'to attempt' shoulder responsibility' and also this *pu:nu* is used with the word 'horse', regularly in literature (eg. ii)

eg. i) *salyuṅḍṅ raṅabha:rambu pu:nutaya* 1-1-51
 Salya the responsibility - shouldering of war
 = Salya shouldering the responsibility of war.

ii) *hayambula pu:nina* 'horses were tied' 1-6-142
 Auxiliary:

As auxiliary in means 'to promise, intend and undertake.

iii) *tana iṣṭambu ti:rpanbu:ni* 1-2-225
 his wish to fullfil (undertake)
 = (he) undertook to fullfil his wish.

20 *eṟugu:*

As a main verb *eṟugu* means 'to know'. It occurs only in negation as auxiliary, after past participle, *ī-*,

eg. i) *e: tolli cu:ciye:rungan*
 'I did not see before' 3-3-97

ii) *ennaḍu naṭṭi sabdamu viniyenerungan*
 = I never heard that sound.

21) *ca:lu*

ca:lu as a main verb means 'sufficient'.

eg. i) *di:ni bro:cuṭaye ja:lu* 1-7-102
 this protect sufficient
 = it is sufficient to protect this.
 But as an auxiliary it means ability.

eg. ii) *guṇo:nnati jeppaja:lu* 1-3-174
 good character tell able 'able to tell the good characters'

iii) *na:lgu parvamula vinangaja: li*

four cantos hear able

It can be heard in four cantos.

Negative:

There is also negative use of this verb as *ca:laka*. But this has an alternation as *ne:raka* in some copies.

eg. *da:ni vidicipo:vaga: ca:laka (neraka)*

= unable to go leaving it.

Both *ca:laka* and *ne:raka* mean the same thing.

So far we have discussed the use of auxiliary with semantic difference from the main verb. But there are some more verbs, which occur with the same (main verb) meaning after infinitive. This raises the question whether they can be considered as auxiliaries or not. Let us first observe these forms:-

1 i) *pancu~pancu:*

panucu or *pancu* means 'to send (for)' as in, *atani banicenu* 'sent him'. It is also to mean 'command'.

eg. i) *pari:kṣitu palikinjanīyīṇḍani panci* 1—2—195

— Sending (some one) to go and give (something) to Parikṣit.

ii) *tanayūṇḍu tallidaṇḍrulu panicina pani se:yaḍe:mi*

— If the son does not do the work commanded by the parents.

As an auxiliary also it means the same thing thus both the meanings are seen in both the usages.

eg. iii) *tana nirmimpa: bancina sabha* 2—2—134

— The auditorium which is commanded to build by him.

iv) *ma: ce:yabancina kratuvu* 3-3-213
 — The 'sacrifice' which is commanded to do by us.

v) *va:nitapamu cerupananice jalajananyana*
 1-5-165
 = He sent the woman to destroy his penance.

2) *valacu* : 'want' 'wish'

Main verb :

ellava:runu dharmara:ju ra: jyamba valaturu
 1-6-129
 = Everyone wants the rule of Dharmaraja.

Auxiliary :

ii) *yaya:ti caritambu vinavalatun* 1-3-99
 = I want to hear the story of Yayati.

Negative :

iii) *Ce:yanollaka* 2-2-317
 'I don't want to do'

3) *ko:ru:* 'to like, want'

Main verb :

i) *vinatago:re suputrulan* 1-2-3
 'Vinta wanted good sons'

Auxiliary :

ii) *cu:ḍaga go:ru cunnava:ru* 1-8-53
 'they want to see'

This verb does not have negative function.

4) *samakaṭṭu* ‡ 'to get ready to do'

Main verb :

- i) *e:munu samakatti mahā:yuddhombu ce:yucu*
 2—1—116
 = We too became ready to do the great war.

Auxiliary :

- ii) *vivahambu si:ya samakatti* 1—5—
 Became ready to do marriage.
 This also does not have negative function.

5) *vaycu*: 'to throw'

Main verb :

- i) *dayayu le:ka gangalo: vaycedu* 1—4—151
 = (you) throw (him) into Ganges with no mercy.

Auxiliary :

- ii) *vajrametti vayce va:savunḍu* 1—2—108
 = Vasava threw (his) weapon vajra.

6) *talacu* : 'to think'

Main verb :

- i) *hṛdaye:swari dalaci* 3—2—133
 = having thought about beloved.

Auxiliary :

- ii) *priyamonarimpaga dalaci* 1—3—165
 having thought to do favour (good).

7) *tagu* : 'appropriate'

e.g. Main verb :

- 1) *madi:ya putrikin dagupati* 1—7—69
 my (to) daughter appropriate husband
 = As appropriate husband to my daughter.

Auxiliary :

- 2) *a:nati i:ga dagune?* 1-4-223
 order to give appropriate
 = Is it appropriate to order like this?

The position of the verb does not mean whether it is an auxiliary or not. But since it is attached with another verb and cannot be separated into two different verbs, the function of the verb indicates the privilege of auxiliary. Historically, all the verbs might have been used as main verb with their original meaning, and the auxiliary meaning, that is the second meaning may be due to later developments. The evidence, that the traditional grammarians not defining the use of a verb as auxiliary also gives support in this hypothesis. In a recent paper Ross' discussion about 'auxiliaries as main verbs' (Ross : 1967) argues that all the verbs can be considered as main verbs even syntactically. But whether auxiliaries are identified through syntactic grounds or semantic grounds is the main question which is at present in disputes.

Classification of Auxiliaries

In Old Telugu there are many words to interpret one meaning. Literary tradition has more usage of morphemes than regular (common) communication. Therefore, the forms are listed below :

I. List of verbs which mean ability/capability.

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | <i>o:pu/o:paka</i> | (Page No. 2-122). |
| 2 | <i>kanu ~ ka:nu/kanaka</i> | (,, 22-23) |
| 3 | <i>kala ~ kalugu</i>
(no negation) | (,, 23-24) |
| 4 | <i>ne:rcu/nira</i> | (,, 27) |

II. Verbs which mean 'appropriateness :

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|------------------|
| 1 | <i>agu/ka:du</i> | (Page No. 17-19) |
| 2 | <i>ku:du</i> | (Page No. 24) |
| 3 | <i>canu/canadu</i> | (Page No. 2 -26) |
| 4 | <i>tagu/gagadu</i> | (Page No. 33) |

III Verbs which mean 'to start'

- | | | |
|---|---------------|------------------|
| 1 | <i>kaḍa u</i> | (Page No. 22) |
| 2 | <i>toḍagu</i> | (Page No. 26-27) |

IV Verbs to mean 'continuity'

- | | | | | |
|---|---------------|---|--------------|--------------------|
| 1 | <i>uṇḍu</i> , | 2 | <i>vaccu</i> | (Page No. 20 & 29) |
|---|---------------|---|--------------|--------------------|

V Verbs with original meaning:

- | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|---|------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------|
| 1 | <i>valacu</i> , | 2 | <i>samakaṭṭu</i> | (Page No. 31-32) | | |
| 3 | <i>vaycu</i> | 4 | <i>ko:ru</i> , | 5 | <i>talacu</i> : | (-do-) |
| 6 | <i>pan(cu)</i> | | | | | (-do-) |

VI Verbs which have grammatical function:

- | | | | |
|---|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | <i>peṭṭu</i> | (transitivizer) | (Page No. 16) |
| 2 | <i>konu</i> | (reflexive) | (Page No. 14-16) |
| 3 | <i>paḍu</i> | (passive) | (Page No. 13) |
| 4 | <i>po:vu</i> | (inceptive) | (Page No. 28) |

VII RESIDUE: Each one of the following verbs can be considered a class by itself.

- | | | |
|---|---------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | <i>iccu</i> | 'to let' |
| 2 | <i>pu:nu</i> | 'to undertake' |
| 3 | <i>valayu</i> | '(Modal) should' |
| 4 | <i>po:</i> | 'about to do' |
| 5 | <i>o:du</i> | 'to backout' (to hesitate) |

Auxiliary in Modern Telugu is inseparable from the main verb. But Old Telugu auxiliary can be separated by a particle of word, phrase or even clause, Auxiliaries may also precede the main verbs. And there is deletion of main verb when the auxiliary is repeated in both positive and negative in a sentence.

1) *iṭṭi sabdamu viniye: nerunga*

vini - eruga are the two verbs (main + aux.) which is separated by *ye:n* 'I'

2) *se:ya neṭṭagu—eṭṭuse:yanagu*

In between *se:ya* and *aguetṭu* the question marker is inserted.

3) *ceppa ne:la valase—e:lanceppavalase*

e:la is also a question element, inserted between the main and auxiliary verbs.

4) *cadivimpañṭu valase—iṭṭu cadivimpa valase*

—It should become to make them study, like this.

5) *iṭṭu se:yanuvldagaḍagen—uvida iṭṭu se:yagaḍugen*

All the above examples are of same type: the verbs are separated by either particles or question elements or some other words:

II There is another type to separate the auxiliary from the main verb. Here, the auxiliary is shifted to the left side.

eg. i) *eṭṭu ne:rtne:vananaka—eṭṭu po:vananakane:rtu*

ii) *canune a:kramimpagan—akarmimpagau canune*

(This *canune* is separated by a big clause from the main verb in the poem, and is collected from it, because it is unnecessary to quote the whole poem).

- iii) *tagune duirasthalunje— du:rasthalun je:yaga: dagune?*
- iv) *valavadu vi:niyintagudayan--vi:ni yinṭa kuḍuvan
valavadu*
- v) *calumugalgi gadange nappuḍu bra:hmanarthamu
se:yagan balamugagi appudu brahmanarthmu
seyagagadagen.*

III. *Deletion of Main verb:*

i: dagun dagadanu

This is interpreted as:

i:dagun and i:dagadu

And the Main verb of second form (negative) is deleted and it is attached with the positive one thus preserving the meaning of the deep structure.

Conclusion:

1) Though verbs may precede or follow the main verb (which is usually an infinitive), only the verbs which follow the Main verb are mainly considered for discussion in this paper.

2) Depending on the function of the verbs they are mainly classified into two categories. (1) Grammatical, (2) Semantic. The verbs are further sub-grouped by their semantic interpretation.

3) In Old Telugu, auxiliaries can also be separated from Main verb, there are mainly three way distinction.

4) Since there are some verbs which occur as auxiliaries but do not differ in meaning; it is assumed

historically all the verbs are used with their Main verbal meaning and the second meaning of the verb may be a latter development.

After this elaborated discussion also, still it is uncertain what exactly an auxiliary is.

References:

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AUXILIARIES IN LITERARY KANNADA

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1. *Introduction:*

There is a small group of verbs in English, as have^f be, shall, will, may, must which are known as auxiliaries, They help another verb to form the tense, voice, mode or aspect. In a strict sense of the term such verbs are not found in Kannada. But there are devices in Kannada to express them.

When two verbs in Kannada function as a unit, one as the main and the other as an auxiliary, either as a verb compound or verb thrase, auxiliary verb generally follows the main verb^t, completes the expression and fits it into the sentence with appropriate endings.

Auxiliary verbs and certain semantic content to modify the main verb at word level. The auxiliary verb is a constituent of the main verb and adds a new semantic dimension without radically altering the principal semantic content of the main verb.

Unlike English auxiliaries Kannada verbs which function as auxiliaries also function as main verbs.

1 In poetry auxiliary may also precede the main verb e.g. *a:gadu po:gal'* (*P. Bha: 1.95*) instead of *po:gala:gda*.

In this paper I have drawn examples mostly from Pampa *Bha:rata* (A. D. 942) the earliest extant great *Kavya* in Kannada.

1.1. In Kannada auxiliaries occur after (i) verb roots, (ii) infinitives, (iii) present continuous participles, (iv) past adverbial participles, (v) finite verbs.

i. Verb root + auxiliaries

<i>a</i>	<i>pugu-tar</i>	'to enter'
	<i>pugu</i>	'to enter',
	<i>tar</i>	'to bring'
	<i>po:-tar</i>	'to come out'
	<i>po:</i>	'to go'
	<i>agu-tar</i>	'to burst forth'
	<i>agu</i>	'to shed'
	<i>tolal-tar</i>	'to go found'
	<i>tolal</i>	'to revolve'
	<i>oge-tar</i>	'to be born'
	<i>oge</i>	'to come forth, to be born'
	<i>tiri-tar</i>	'to wander about'
	<i>tiri</i>	'to wander'
	<i>male-tar</i>	'to look fixedly'
	<i>male</i>	'to look fixedly'
	<i>dore-koḷ</i>	'to be obtained',
	<i>koḷ</i>	'to take'
	<i>pa:r-e:ḷ</i>	'to run away, 'to break forth',
	<i>pa:r</i>	'to run, to fly',
	<i>e:ḷ</i>	'to rise'

	<i>pe:s-e:l</i>	'to rouse disgust'
	<i>pe:s</i>	'to feel disgust'
d	<i>piḍi-vaḍu</i>	'to be seized or harassed'
	<i>piḍi</i>	'to hold'
	<i>paḍu</i>	'to suffer'
e	<i>naccu-vo:gu</i>	'to be trustworthy'
	<i>naccu</i>	'to trust, to believe'
	<i>po:gu</i>	'to go'
	<i>kaḍi-vo:gu</i>	'to be cut'
	<i>kaḍi</i>	'to cut'
f	<i>nurg-a:ḍu</i>	'to crush, to reduce to pieces'
	<i>nurgu</i>	'to be crushed'
	<i>a:ḍu</i>	'to play or move'
	<i>barduk-a:ḍu</i>	'to escape alive'
	<i>barduku</i> or <i>bardunku</i>	'to squeeze through'
	<i>muḷug-a:ḍu</i>	'to dive'
	<i>muḷugu</i>	'to sink, to dive'
	<i>eḷal-ikku</i>	'to suspend'
	<i>eḷal</i>	'to hang from'
	<i>ikku</i>	'to put'
fi.	Infinitives + Auxiliaries	
a	<i>kaḷeyalke-ti:rgum-o</i>	'Can it be removed?' hab. (hab. = habitual)
	<i>kaḷeyalke</i>	'for removing'
	<i>ti:r</i>	'to be possible'
	<i>paḍeyalke-ti:rgum-e</i>	'Is it possible to get or obtain?'
	<i>paḍe</i>	'to get, to obtain'

<i>karagalk-a:rtapud-</i> <i>illa</i>	'It is not getting dissolved'
<i>karagu</i>	'to be dissolved'
<i>a:ɾ</i>	'to be able'
b <i>enal-akkum</i>	'It can be said' hab.
<i>en</i>	'to say'
<i>akkum (<a:gu)</i>	'It will become or happen'
<i>enal-barkum</i>	'It can be said'
<i>bar</i>	'to come'
<i>enal-ve:ḍa</i>	'Don't tell'
<i>ve:ḍa</i>	'It is not desired'
<i>gelal-a:rtam</i>	'I could win'
<i>gel</i>	'to win'
<i>a:ɾ</i>	'to be able'
<i>tolagal-a:ren</i>	'I cannot go away'
<i>tolagu</i>	'to go away'
<i>meccal-a:ren</i>	'I cannot like'
<i>meccæ</i>	'to like'
<i>kudal-irpan</i>	'He is bent upon giving'
<i>kudu</i>	'to give'
<i>ir</i>	'to be'
<i>kolal-a:gadu</i>	'should not be killed'
<i>kol</i>	'to kill'
<i>agadu</i>	'It should not be'
<i>po:gal-a:gadu</i>	'should not go',
<i>Po:gu</i>	'to go'
<i>muṭṭal-a:gadu</i>	'It should not be touched',

<i>muṭṭu</i>	‘to touch’
<i>ariyal-ve: kum</i>	‘It must be known’, hab.,
<i>aṛi</i>	‘to know’,
<i>a:gal-i:ven-e?</i>	‘Am I going to allow (it) to happen?’
<i>a:gu</i>	‘to become, to happen,
<i>ḍi</i>	‘to allow, to let’,

l. sg. with interrogative particle *-e*.

<i>iral-i:ven-e?</i>	‘Am I going to allow to remain?’
<i>ir</i>	‘to be’
<i>baral-i:yade</i>	‘having not allowed to come’, neg.p.
<i>puṭṭal-ti:rdapuḍe?</i>	‘Is it possible to be born?’
<i>puṭṭu</i>	‘to be born’,
<i>ti:r</i>	‘to be possible’
<i>gelal-ba:radu</i>	‘It cannot be own’,
<i>gel</i>	‘to win’,
<i>bar</i>	‘to come’
<i>iral-ve:ḍa</i>	‘should not remain’,
<i>ir</i>	‘to be’,
<i>ve:ḍa</i>	‘not desired’

c <i>nila-ve: kum</i>	‘It must stand (permanently)’,
<i>nil</i>	‘to stand’,
<i>ve: kum</i>	‘It is desired’
<i>kaiko a-ve: kum</i>	‘(You) should accept’,
<i>kaiko </i>	‘to accept’

sogayisa-ve:ḍa? 'Is it not desired to look
pleasant or attractive?

sogayisu 'to look pleasant',

ve:da 'Is it not desired' (with interrogative particle-a)

iii. Present continuous participle + Auxiliaries

nurgutt-ire 'while being crushed'

nurgutt 'to be crushed'

ir 'to be'

no:ḍutt-ire 'while being seen',

no:ḍu 'to see'

baḷkutt-ire 'being frightened',

baḷku 'to be frightened'.

iv. Past adverbial participles + Auxiliaries

kond-appaṇ 'He will kill',

koḷ 'to kill',

appaṇ (<a:gu) 'to become', pres. 3. masc. sg.

a:d-apuḍu 'It will become',

a:gu 'to become'

usird-apper 'I am telling',

usir 'to speak, to tell',

be:ḍid-ape 'You are begging',

be:ḍu 'to beg'

(kond-apaṇ 'You will seize',

koḷ 'to take, to seize'

ka:did-apṭr 'You (pl.) will fight',

ka:du 'to fight'

kett-apuḍu 'It will be spoiled'

<i>keḍu</i>	‘to be spoiled’
<i>pe:lḍ-appen</i>	‘I will narrate’,
<i>pe:l</i>	‘to tell, to narrate’
<i>koṇḍ-attu</i>	‘It hit’
<i>koḷ</i>	‘to hit’ pas. 3 neu. sg.
<i>itt-attu</i>	‘It gave’
<i>i:</i>	‘to give’
<i>attu</i>	(< <i>a:gu</i> ‘to become’)
<i>aḷid-attu</i>	‘It got destroyed’
<i>aḷi</i>	‘to be destroyed’
<i>biḷḍ-attu</i>	‘It fell’
<i>bi:l</i>	‘to fall’
<i>be;ḍi-koḷḷim</i>	‘You beg or request’ 2 pl. imperative
<i>be;ḍi-koṇḍu</i>	‘having begged’ pas. p.
<i>a:g-irkum</i>	‘It would be’ hab.
<i>a:gad-irkum</i>	‘It won’t be’
<i>amard-irkum</i>	‘It is closely united’

v. Finite verbs + auxiliaries

<i>uṇṭ-akkum</i>	‘It must be’ hab.
<i>uṇṭu</i>	‘it is’
<i>akkum</i>	‘it will become’
<i>uṇṭu-ma:ḍu</i>	‘to create, to produce’
<i>uṇṭu</i>	‘It is’
<i>ma:ḍu</i>	‘to do’
<i>a:yt-a:gad-e</i>	‘It happened, Is it not’ (Yes. It definitely happened)
<i>a:gu</i>	‘to become’

<i>bandud-a:gad-e</i>	'It came, Is it not' (Yes. It came definitely)
<i>bar</i>	'to come'
<i>kaltuv-a:gad-e</i>	'They learnt' Is it not? (Yes. Definitely they have learnt)
<i>kal</i>	'to learn'
<i>paṅtuv-a:gāde</i>	'They ripened, Is it not ? (Yes. They ripened
<i>paṅ</i>	'to ripe'
<i>tappidan-illa</i>	'He never missed or failed'
<i>tappu</i>	'to miss or fail'
<i>illa</i>	'no'
<i>dān-il a</i>	'He never liked'
<i>ol</i>	'to like'
<i>sa:ldud-illa</i>	'It never sufficed'
<i>sa:l</i>	'to be sufficient'
<i>a:rtar-illam</i>	'They have could not'
<i>a:r</i>	'to be able'
<i>ke:ḷden-ill-a:gad-e</i>	'It should not be that I have not heard' i.e. Definitely I have heard
<i>ke:ḷ</i>	'to hear'
<i>illa</i>	'no'

2. Auxiliary verbs and their function

2.1. *a:gu* 'to become'. The verb *a:gu* functions as an auxiliary as follows :

A type of compound construction of present and past perfect tense stems of verbs are formed by adding the present-future and past stems of the verb *a:gu* to the

past stems of certain verbs. In this type of construction the verb *a:gu* functions as an auxiliary in forming a sort of present and past perfect stems other than the ordinary present-future and past stems of main verbs².

e.g. <i>pe:l̥d-appen</i>	'I will tell'
<i>pe:l̥</i>	'to tell or narrate'
(<i>pe:l̥ven</i> ³)	
<i>kond-appen</i>	'I will kill'
<i>kol</i>	'to kill'
(<i>kolven</i>)	
<i>be:ḍia-ape</i>	'You are begging'
<i>be:ḍu</i>	'to beg'
(<i>be:ḍuvai</i>)	
<i>keṭṭ-apudu</i>	'It will be spoiled'
<i>keḍu</i>	'to be spoiled'
(<i>keḍuvudu</i>)	
<i>biḷp-attu</i>	'it fell'
<i>bi:l̥</i>	'to fall'
<i>biḷdudu</i>	
<i>aḷid-attu</i>	'it got destroyed'
<i>aḷi</i>	'to be destroyed'
(<i>aḷidudu</i>)	
<i>itt-attu</i>	'it gave'
<i>i:</i>	'to give'
(<i>ittudu</i>)	

2 See *A Descriptive Grammar of Pampa Bha:rata* §§, 6.4.2 & 6.4.4

3 Ordinary present-future and past tense forms are given in brackets.

<i>koṇḍ-attu</i>	'it hit'
<i>koḷ</i>	'to hit'
<i>(koṇḍudu)</i>	
<i>akkum</i>	'it will become', hab.
<i>uṇṭ-akkum</i>	'it must be' (inference)
<i>aṛiyalk-akkum</i>	'It must be known' (assertion,
<i>a:gadu</i>	'it is forbidden', neg. 3. neu.sg.
<i>po:gal-a:gadu</i>	'should not go'
<i>kolal-a:gadu</i>	'should not kill'
<i>a:gad-e</i>	'Does it not happen', neg. 3. neu. sg.

with interrogative particle *-e*:

When 3rd person neuter singular negative form of the verb *a:gu* with interrogative particle *-e* is added to certain finite verbs it emphasizes the definiteness of the action of main verbs⁴.

e.g. *a:yt-a:gad-e* 'It happened', Is it not?
(Yes. It definitely happened)

kaltuv-agad-e 'They learnt', Is it not,
(Yes. Definitely they have learnt)

2.2. The verb *ma:ḍu* 'to do' is used for transitivity of the main verb.

e.g. *uṇṭu-ma:ḍu* 'to create, to produce',
ma:ḍu 'to do'

2.3. The verb *illa/illam* 'no', is used to denote negative.

⁴ See *A Descriptive Grammar of Pampa Bha:rataṣ*, 11.2 p. 186.

e.g. <i>oldan-illa</i>	'He never liked',
<i>a:rtar-illam</i>	'they could not'

2.4. The verb *ir* 'to be' is added as an auxiliary after continuous participle, past participle, negative participle and infinitive forms of verbs with *-al* suffix to denote the state of continuance of the action conveyed by the main verb.

<i>rgutt-ire</i>	'while being crushed',
<i>nurgutt(e)</i>	'being crushed', cont.p.
<i>no ḍutt-ire</i>	'while being seen,
<i>no:ḍutt(e)</i>	'seeing', cont.p.
<i>a:g-irkum</i>	'having become it continues in the same state'
<i>ag(i)</i>	'having become', pas.p.
<i>esed-irkum</i>	'It is shining or looking beautiful',
<i>esed(u)</i>	'having shone or looked beautiful', pas. p.
<i>amard-irkum</i>	'It is in the condition of closely united'
<i>amard(u)</i>	'having closely united with' pas. p.
<i>a:gad-irkum</i>	'It won't be',
<i>a:gad(e)</i>	'having not happened', neg. p.
<i>kuḍal-irpan</i>	'He is bent upon giving',
<i>kuḍal</i>	'to give', inf.

2.5. The verb *koḷ* 'to take' to seize' is added after certain verbs for reflexivization.

e.g. <i>be:ḍi-koḷḷim</i>	'You (pl.) beg or request'
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dore-kol 'to be obtained'

2.6. The verb *paḍu* 'to suffer, to incur' is added after certain verbs as an auxiliary for passivization.

e.g. *piḍi-vaḍu* 'to be seized or harassed, to be caught'

pe:lal-paḍu 'to be told'

pe:l 'to tell'

ma:ḍe-paḍu 'to be done'

ma:ḍu 'to do'

2.7. The verb *a:r* 'to be able' is used as an auxiliary in the sense 'can'

e.g. *gelal-a:rten* 'I could win'

gel 'to win'

tolagal-a:ren 'I cannot go away'

2.8. The verb *ti:r* 'to be possible' is used as an auxiliary to denote possibility of an action.

e.g. *paḍeyalke ti:rgum-e* 'Is it possible to get or obtain'

puṭṭal-ti:rdapud-e 'Is it possible to be born?'

2.9. The verb *ve:l̥kum* 'it is desired' is added to verbs as an auxiliary to denote 'should or must'.

e.g. *aṛiyal-ve:l̥kum* 'it must be known'

nila-ve:l̥kum 'it should stand'

kaikoḷa-ve:l̥kum 'it is desired that you should accept'

2.10. The verb *ve:ḍa* 'not desired' is added to verbs as an auxiliary to denote 'should not'.

e.g. <i>enal-ve:ḍa</i>	'you should not tell'
<i>sogayisa-ve:ḍa?</i>	'should it not look pleasant or attractive' (Yes. It should).

3. The following verbs :

<i>po:gu</i>	'to go'
<i>a:ḍu</i>	'to play or move'
<i>tar</i>	'to bring'
<i>e:l</i>	'to rise'
<i>ikku</i>	'to put'
<i>gey</i>	'to do'

are added to certain verb roots just to intensify the meaning⁵.

3.1. *po:gu* 'to go'

e.g. <i>naccu-vo:gu</i>	'to be trustworthy'
<i>naccu</i>	'to trust or believe'
<i>kaḍi-vo:gu</i>	'to be cut'
<i>kaḍi</i>	'to cut'

3.2. *a:ḍu* 'to play or move'

e.g. <i>aḷk-a:ḍu</i>	'to be digested'
<i>aḷku</i>	'to be digested'
<i>muḷug-a:ḍu</i>	'to dive'
<i>muḷugu</i>	'to dive'

3.3. *tar* 'to bring'

e.g. <i>sa:r-tar</i>	'to approach'
<i>sa:r</i>	'to approach'

5 See *A Descriptive Grammar of Pampa Bha:rata* p. 153

<i>pugu-tar</i>	'to enter'
<i>pugu</i>	'to enter'
<i>tiri-tar</i>	'to wander'
<i>tiri</i>	'to wander'
<i>oge-tar</i>	'to be born'
<i>oge</i>	'to come forth'
3.4 <i>e:l</i>	'to rise'
e.g. <i>pa:r-e:l</i>	'to run away, to break forth'
<i>pe:s-e:l</i>	'to rouse disgust'
3.5. <i>ikku</i>	'to put'
e.g. <i>e:lal-ikku</i>	'to suspend'
<i>e:lal</i>	'to hang from'
3.6. <i>gey</i>	'to do'
e.g. <i>male-gey</i>	'to act arrogantly'
<i>male</i>	'to oppose'

3.7. The verb *i*: 'to give' is added after infinitive forms of verbs with *-al* suffix to convey the sense 'to let, to allow'.

e.g. <i>a:gal-i:ven-e</i>	'Am I going to allow it to happen?' (No. Certainly not)
<i>baral-i:yade</i>	'Having not allowed to come'

3.8. The verb *bar* 'to come' is added to denote possibility or probability of the action.

e.g. <i>enal-barkum-e</i>	'Can it be said?'
<i>ariyal-barkum-e</i>	'Is it possible to know?'

3.9. The verb *ba:radu* 'not possible' is added to denote impossibility of the action denoted by the main verb.

e.g. <i>gelal-ba:radu</i>	'It cannot be won'
<i>gel</i>	'to win'
<i>ariyalke-ba:radu</i>	'It is impossible to know'
<i>ba:risal-ba:radu</i>	'It is impossible to prevent'

4. The following verbs :

<i>a:gu</i>	'to become'
<i>maḍu</i>	'to do'
<i>illa</i>	'no'
<i>ir</i>	'to be'
<i>koḷ</i>	'to take or to seize'
<i>paḍu</i>	'to suffer'
<i>a:r</i>	'to be able'
<i>ti:r</i>	'to be possible'
<i>ve:ḷkum</i>	'it is desired'
<i>ve:ḍa</i>	'it is not desired'
<i>po:gu</i>	'to go'
<i>a:ḍu</i>	'to play or move'
<i>tar</i>	'to bring'
<i>e:ḷ</i>	'to rise'
<i>ikku</i>	'to put'
<i>gey</i>	'to do'
<i>i:</i>	'to give, to let'
<i>bar</i>	'to come'

etc. function as auxiliaries in Kannada to express tense, voices, aspect and modality.

Colophon

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bahudu: A MODAL VERB IN KANNADA

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0. Modal verbs of Kannada language show a great semantic complexity. There are many modals in Kannada like *bahudu*, *ku:ḍadu*, *ba:radu*, *be.ku*, *be:ḍu*, *sa:dhya*, *sa:ku*, *a:gu*, *takkaddu*, *a:ru*, *ball*, etc. Many of the Kannada modals do not occur as main verbs. The behaviour of the modals differ from main verbs and other auxiliaries. The present study is confined to a single modal verb *bahudu*. It occurs always after the infinitive of either the main verb or the auxiliary¹.

- e.g. 1 *jaya manege ho:ga bahudu*
'Jaya may go to house'
- 2 *jaya manege ho:gira bahueu*
'Jaya might have gone to house'

0.1. The question of modals were not noticed in the history of Kannada language right from the days of the author of *kavira:ja ma:rga*, the earliest extant work on Kannada language to the middle of the present century.

1 There are instances in middle Kannada where it occurs after verbal participle Ex. *padaṭavtyoḷ paṣuḷeyam koṃḍu bahudu*. "Come, having killed the child in the deadly forest" [(Jaimini Bharata, 20, 24) Kittel, 1970, 1150] *bahudu* in the above sentence is a main verb.

T. N. Shrikantaiah discussed a few auxiliaries (Shrikantaiah 1972:130) under the title compound verbs and under the sub titles imperative mood, negative mood and contingent mood. He could notice two meanings for the modal *bahudu*, viz., probability and permission.

1. *bahudu* with present form and function is not found in Old Kannada. Modern grammarians trace this past verbal form from Old Kannada finite verb *barpudu* 'come-will-it', the third person, singular of the future. Old Kannada forms like *barpa*, relative participle of 'to come' *po:pa* relative participle of 'to go' were changed to the form *baha*, *ho:ha* in middle Kannada. This change is attested from 10th century onwards (Gai 1947:107). Around 19th century these changed forms disappeared and only two forms *bahudu* and *ahudu* 'yes' survived which are in use even to-day. Of these *ahudu* has undergone a further change (meta thesis) to have the present shape *haudu*.

The verb *bahudu* occurs as a finite verb in its older form in old Kannada texts. Even after its shape change it was used as main verb.¹ It seems that the 14th century is the transition period for the change in the function of this verb. Many occurrences of this verb as modal are noticed from literary texts like *Basava pura:na* (1400 A.D.), *Kuma:ra vya:sa Bha:rata* (1400 A.D.) *Da:sara pedaguḷu* (1500 A.D.), *Jaimini Bha:rata* (1550 A.D.) etc. (Kittel 1970:1158). In present day Kannada *bahudu* functions exclusively as a modal.

bahudu Can be derived as follows:

barpudu → *bappudu* → *bahudu* (like *appudu* → *ahudu*)

The paradigm of this verb *bahudu* as main verb in Middle Kannada with modern equivalents is as follows:

M. K.	N. K.	
<i>bahem (bahenu)</i>	<i>baruvenu</i>	'(I) will come'
<i>bahiri</i>	<i>baruviri</i>	'(you. Pl) will come'
<i>bahaṃ (bahanu)</i>	<i>baruvanu</i>	'(he) will come'
<i>bahar</i>	<i>baruvaru</i>	'(they) will come'
<i>bahudu</i>	<i>baruvadu</i>	'(it) will come'

(Kittel 1970:1158)

1.1. Probability meaning which is expressed by the use of this modal *bahudu* can also be expressed by other constructions.

e.g. 3 *avnu bara bahudu*

3 a *avanu banda:nu*
'He may come'

4 *avaḷu bareya bahudu*

4 a *avaḷu bareda:ḷu*
'She may write'

Many scholars called these suffixes *-e:nu*, *-e:vu*, *-i:ya*, *-i:ri*, *-a:nu*, *-a:ḷu*, *-a:ru*, *-i:tu* and *-a:vu* by the name contingent pronominal suffixes which occur only after past stems to give probability meaning.² The difference between the ordinary pronominal suffixes which occur after past and future stems and the contingent pronominal suffixes is noteworthy as the length which occurs in the initial vowel of these pronominal suffixes is responsible for the change of meaning. Though these contingent pronominal

2 This seems to be the unique feature of Kannada as attestations are not available for other Dravidian languages.

suffixes occur after past stem they give future meaning. According to Kittel (Ayyar, 1975 : 388) and *kaipidika:roru* (1969 : 380) this length can be derived from the Old Kannada present tense affix *-dapa-?*. *bandapan* → *bandahan* → *banda:nu* 'he is coming'.

As Kittel and others explained, if we take *-dapa-* as present tense affix it will be difficult to explain the *d* in the morph. It is better to take *-apa-* or *-appa-* as present tense affix; if so it will be easier to explain the whole change. *band + appan* → *band - apam* → *band - ahan* → *band - haan* → *band - aan(u)*.³ This present tense affix can be derived from the main verb *a:gu*.⁴ After this change in the form (*bandapan* > *banda:nu*) there was a diversion in meaning. In course of time as these forms used to give indefinite (fut.) meaning, to avoid the confusion the present participle marker of Old Kannada *-utt-* was employed in simple present tense constructions.

eg. 5 *avaḷu barutta:ḷe*
'She comes'

At this point the author believes that the length present in the contingent pronominal suffixes which is discussed above and which is responsible for the change of meaning from simple past to future indefinite to give probability meaning can also be considered as a modal.

eg. 6 *avaḷu tindaḷu*
'She ate'

3 As in *ir-p-en* > *i-pp-en* > *i-h-en* > *i:ne* 'I am' (Gowda, K.K. 1968; 59).

4 *-apa, aha* the relative present participle of *a:gu*, *no:ḷidapam, no:ḷida- apam*, "a having seen one he is" in the sense of the present.

- 7 *avaḷu tinda:ḷu*
'She may eat'

The sentences with contingent pronominal suffixes can also be paraphrased by the sentences with V + *bahudu* constructions.

eg. 8 *avanu ka:le:jige hattu gaṇṭege banda:nu*

- 8a *avanu ka:le:jige hattu gaṇṭege bara bahudu*
'He may come to the college by ten o'clock'

2. Six distinct but closely related meanings are noticed in the sentences with the past verbal form *bahudu*. They are permission, probability, feasibility, suggestion, possibility and willingness. It is true that the sentences with *bahudu* constructions are not vague but the difficulty lies in unveiling the different meanings. Note the following sentence.

- 9 *jaya o:ḍa bahudu*

This sentence can be interpreted as follows:

- 9a Jaya is permitted to run (perm)
9b Jaya might run (prob)
9c Jaya can run (feas) .
9d Jaya could run (sugg)
9e Jaya may possibly run (poss)

Only the probability, suggestion and feasibility meanings are possible in present perfect.

- 10 *jaya o:dira bahudu* (prob)
'Jaya may have run'
11 *jaya nu:ru mi:ṭra:daru: o:ḍira bahud:ttu* (sugg)
'Jaya could have run at least 100 metres'

- 12 *ka:l sariya:giddidre jaya:nu: o:ḍira bahudu* (feas)
 'If (Jaya's) leg was perfect, she could have
 also run

To bring out the semantic distinctiveness between the feasibility and possibility meanings consider the following sentence.

- 13 *jaya krikeṭ a:ḍa bahudu*

This can be interpreted in two ways.

- 13a *jaya:ge krikeṭ a:ḍuva sa:marthya vide* or

- 13b *jaya:ḷimḍa krikeṭ a:ḍalu sa:dhya* (feas)
 'Jaya is capable of playing cricket' and

- 13c *jaya krikeṭ a:ḍuva sa:dhyateyide* (poss)
 'There is possibility of Jaya playing cricket'

The subjects in the underlying sentences 13a & b of those which give feasibility meaning will be in dative or instrumental where the subject will be in nominative in other case 13c.

A further clarification can be brought among the meanings permission, feasibility, probability and possibility by negating the sentence 9.

- 9a a) *jaya o:ḍa ku:ḍadu*

'Jaya should not run'

- 9b b) *jaya:ḷimḍa o:ḍalu sa:dhya villa*

'Jaya is not capable of running'

- 9c c) *jaya o:ḍede tra bahudu*

'Jaya may not be running'

- 9d d) *jaya o:ḍal:kkillā*

Possibly, Jaya may not run'

These four meanings can also be kept distinct by testing with appropriate questions. The question,

14 *me:ṣṭre: mani:ge ho:ga bahud-?*

'Teacher, am I allowed to go home? will have the following answer.

14a *ho:ga bahudu*

'(you) are allowed to go'

And also consider the following questions and answers.

15 *i: ru:mē 20 jana hiḍsa bahude?*

'Can this room hold 20 persons?'

15a *hiḍsa bahudu*

'Can hold'

16 *jaya ha:ḷe bara bahude?*

'will Jaya come to-morrow?'

16a *bara bahudu*

'may come'

17 *jaya i: varṣa pa:sa:ga bahude?*

'will Jaya pass in this year?'

17a *cenna:gi bareoara pa:sa:ga bahudu*

'It (she) writes well, (she) may possibly pass'

The meaning willingness occurs with the first person subjects. It occurs in the sentence through which preference is expressed.

eg. 18 *na:nu beṅgaḷu:riga:dare bara bahudu*
'I shall come if it is for Bangalore'

19 *na:nu jaya:nna:dare maduveya:ga bahudu*
'I shall marry if (the bride) is Jaya'

- 20 *imtha ka:fi kuḍiyo:dakkimta ni:ru kuḍya bahudu*
 '(I prefer) to drink water than drinking this
 kind of coffee'

3. *bahudu* occurs always after the infinitive form of the verb. And the infinitive marker will be *-a*. Some other modals like *sa:dhyā*, *a:ru* etc. occur only after the verb with infinitive marker *-al*.

- eg. 21 *marā beḷeya bahudu*
 'Tree may grow'
- 22 *na:nu ho:galu sa:dhyavilla*
 'I can't go'
- 23 *avanu citra bareyal-a:ranu*
 'He cannot draw a picture'

bahudu takes interrogative and indefinite clitics (*bahude bahudo*:). The defective verb *alla* also occurs after *bahudu* constructions.

- eg. 24 *ni:nu: no:ḍa bahudalla?*
 'You may also see, may not you?'

bahudu also forms verbal noun and relative participle by taking another verb *a:gu*.

- eg. 25 *ra:manu o:ḍa bahuda:daranu*
 'Rama is capable of running'
- 26 *ra:manu o:ḍa bahuda:da huḍuga*
 'Rama is a boy who is capable of running'

bahudu will be preceded by two more verbs *a:gu* and *iru* to express perfection.

- eg. 27 *avanu: bandira bahuda:gittu*
 'He might have also come'

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AUXILIARIES IN KASABA

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0.0. Kasaba is one of the non-literary South Dravidian languages spoken by about 391 (according to 1961 Census Kasabas or Kasuvas, a jungle tribe inhabiting the comparatively level strip of jungle intervening between the base of the Nilgiris and the Moyar river (Masinigudi being the extreme south and west limit of Tamilnadu state in South India¹)

0.1. In Kasaba, apart from a few auxiliary verbs, the main verbs *o:ru* 'see', *soll* 'say' and *və:* 'place' and the defective verbs *be:ku* 'obligation' and *be:ḍa:* 'non-obligation' also function as auxiliary verbs². Some auxiliary verbs occur after the relative participle forms of the main verbs and some other occur after the infinitive forms of the main verbs³. They are discussed under

1 Chidambaranatha Pillai V. '*Tamil and Kasaba*' (A brief contrastive study), *Ayntaavatu karuttaranku Malar*, AIUTTA, Madras, 1973.

2 — *Descriptive Grammar of Kasaba*, unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, p. 373, 1975.

3 — *Ibid*, p. 374

different heads depending upon their performances with the relative or infinitive forms of the main verbs.*

1.0. The following auxiliary verbs occur after the relative participle forms of the main verbs,

1.1. Perfective :

There are two auxiliary verbs viz. *-irx-* and *keḍex* to denote 'perfective'. Of these two, *-irx* is used only for human nouns.

eg. *muxi-irx-ḍ-e:m* → *muxiyirḍe:mt*
'had immersed-we'

ta:ṭsi-irx-k-e → *ta:ṭsiyirkke*
'crossed' (Perfective-Adjective)

-keḍex- is used only for non-human nouns.

eg. *oḍi-keḍex-ṇḍ-e* → *o:ḍikedḍṇḍe*
'run' (Perfective-Adjective)

ṭe:nki-keḍex-ṇḍ-e → *ṭe:nkikedḍṇḍe*
'floated' (Perfective-Adjective)

1.2. Continuative

-kkirx- and *-kkikedex* are the two auxiliary verbs to denote 'continuative'. Among these two auxiliary verbs, the former is used only for human nouns and the latter is used for non-human nouns.

e g. *ba:ṇḍt-kkirx-ḍ-a:n* → *ba:ṇḍikkirḍa:n*
'was living-he'

It is under the impression that the non-phonemic changes which are taken place in the examples are understandable by the readers, they are not given here.

ʔi:ʔʔi-kkikeḡex-k-ḡ → *ʔi:ʔʔikkikeḡekkḡḡ*
 'is feeding-it'

1.3. Definitive :

-*tḡ*- is the only auxiliary verb to denote 'definitive'.

eg. *aʔa:ḡs-in-ḡ-id-e* → *aʔa:ḡsiḡe*
 'to shake definitely'

muḡikk-in-ḡ-tḡ-t-a:n → *muḡḡkkḡḡa:n*
 'hastened definitely-he'

1.4. Completive :

The auxiliary verb -*a:yx*- is used for 'completive'.

eg. *vand-a:yx-ḡ-jḡ* → *vand-a:yḡḡḡḡ*
 'had come (completely)'

1.5. Reflexive :

-*koʔ*-, -*kon*- and -*ko:* are the three auxiliary verbs to denote 'reflexive'. Of the three verbs, -*koʔ*. occurs before the past tense marker -*ḡḡ*-, -*kon* occurs before the non past tense marker -*k*- and -*ko:* occurs else-where. i.e. these three verbs function in complementary distribution.

eg. *ə:xi-koʔ-ḡḡ-e* → *ə:xikoḡḡe*
 '(I) weep for myself'

kenci-kon-k-e:m → *kencikonke:mḡ*
 '(we) begged humbly for ourselves'

ba:ḡḡ -ko: → *ba:ḡḡiko:*
 '(you[sg]) live yourself'

koyḡḡ -ko: → *koyḡḡḡko:*
 '(you[sg]) kill yourself'

16. Attempt or trial :

-o:ru- is the only auxiliary verb to denote 'the attempt or trial'.

eg. *po:yi-o:ru-in-a:n* → *po:yiyo:rina:n*

'(he) attempted or tried to go'

o:nki -o:ru-in-a:r → *o:nkiyo:rina:ri*

'(they [hum]) attempted or tried to attack'

2.0. The following auxiliary verbs occur after the infinitive forms of the main verbs.

2.1. Causative :

-soll- and -və:⁴ are the two auxiliary verbs to denote 'causative'. These two are in free variation with each other.

eg. *oleykke-soll-n-na:r* → *oleykkesonna:ri*

'(they [hum]) caused (some one) to call'

koḍa:xe-soll-in-e

'(I) caused (someone) to bring'

me:ykke-vəx-ḷ-iri → *me:ykkevəḷḷiri*

'(you [hon]) caused to graze'

2.2. Obligative :

-be:ku is the auxiliary verb to refer to 'the obligative

eg. *ukka:xe-be:ku*

'should have to sit'

4 *və:* has two stem alternants viz. *və:* and *vəx:* *və* occurs before Imperative singular, Imperative plural, permissive, and hortative suffixes. But *vəx* occurs elsewhere. *ḷ* (after *vəx-*) is the past tense marker.

aḍikke-be:ku

'should have to beat'

obbe-be:ku

'should have to agree'

2.3. Prohibitive:

-be:ḍa: is the only auxiliary verb to denote 'prohibitive'

eg. *naḍa:ṭṭe-be:ḍa:*

'should not conduct'

o:ṭṭixe-be:ḍa:

'should not make to run'

pa:kko-be:ḍa:

'should not make to move closely'

2.4. Potentiality and non-potentiality:

-a:x which occurs before the non-past tense marker *-x-* and *-a:* which occurs before the past-tense marker *-n* are the auxiliary verbs to denote 'potentiality' and 'non-potentiality' respectively.

eg. *ke:xe-a:x-xiḍ* → *ke:xeya:xixiḍi*

'(one) can scatter'

po:xe-a:x-x-iḍ → *po:xeya:xiḍi*

'(one) can go'

vi:xe-a:-n ele → *vi:xeya:nele*

'(one) could not fall'

ba:le-a:-n ele → *ba:leya:nela*

'(one) could not live'

3. Conclusion

The auxiliary verbs which denote 'the perfective' and 'the completive' alone have two separate auxiliary verbs depending on the actions performed by either human beings or non-human beings. None of the Dravidian languages except Kasaba has this special feature.

AUXILIARY VERBS IN *ku:vi*

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An intensive study and analysis of the role of auxiliary verbs in Dravidian languages will give us a clear picture of the structure as well as the function of compound verbs in them. There are two verb stems S_1 and S_2 in each compound verb construction, of which the first stem is the main carrier of meaning to be expressed, while the S_2 is the auxiliary verb stem which modified the meaning of the former in some manner or other.

The auxiliaries when they occur as members of the compounds usually indicate a different meaning from their original meaning as main verbs, i.e., they denote different grammatical meanings rather than their lexical meanings,

In all the Dravidian languages the auxiliary verbs play important roles by enriching them with different sub-ordinate verb constructions and by introducing various moods, aspects and voices of action in them. They are employed generally in conjunction with verbal participles, infinitives, verbal nouns, etc. for the purpose of expressing compound ideas.

A compound verb is finite or non-finite depending on the inflection of the final constituents. The final

constituent, i.e., S_2 of a compound nucleus enters into finite or non-finite inflection in the same way as a simple nucleus does. Thus in the compound verb which are compounded with different forms of other main verbs, are conjugated to tense, perfect, number-gender etc.

In *ku:vi* there are about ten auxiliary verbs which are often used to express different shades of meaning. As in other Dravidian languages in *ku:vi* also the auxiliary verbs are added to the various forms of the verbal participle, infinitive, verbal noun and occasionally root forms of the main verbs.

In the following pages an attempt is made to describe the function of the auxiliary verbs in *ku:vi* and the structure of the compound constructions in which they enter into constituents.

man- "to be" / *hil-* "to be not"

The occurrence of *man-* / *hil-* as an auxiliary verb has given rise to various types of aspects in the language.

In *ku:vi* there is only a two-way distinction of tense, i.e., past vs. non-past marked morphologically. But the use of *man-* / *hil-* has introduced the following tenses, viz., past perfective, past durative, non-past perfective and non-past durative. When the auxiliary verbs are added to the perfect participle form of the main verb, they denote perfect tenses and when they occur after durative participle forms, they denote durative tenses.¹

1 There are three types of verbal participles discussed in this paper: 1. Perfect participles, 2. Durative participles; The perfective participle of a verb is formed by adding *|-ha|* or its allomorphs *|-ja~ -ch~ -sa~ -a|* to the stem, whereas the durative participle

Past perfect tense

<i>e:vasi va:ha macesi</i>	'He had come'
<i>e:vasi kuga macesi</i>	'He had sat (down)'
<i>e:vasi va:ha hila?atesi</i>	'He had not come'

Non-past perfect tense

<i>e:di va:ha mane</i>	'She has come'
<i>e:vari kuga meneri</i>	'They have sat (down)'
<i>e:vasi va:he hila?ori</i>	'He has not come'

Past durative tense

<i>e:vari va:hi m:ceri</i>	'They were coming'
<i>e:vasi kugi macesi</i>	'He was sitting'
<i>e:vasi va:hi hila? atesi</i>	'He was not coming'

Non-past durative tense

<i>e:vvasi va:ha maneri</i>	'They are coming'
<i>e:vasi kugi manesi</i>	'He is sitting'
<i>e:vasi va:hi?hi:lo osi</i>	'He is not coming'

When *man-* 'to be' / *hil-* 'to be not' occurs after the durative participle followed by the clitic *-e*, it expresses a frequentative aspect.

<i>e:vasi hi:he manesi</i>	'He keeps on giving'
<i>e:vari ja:phe hila?ori</i>	'They never teach'
<i>i:neh?u?i kace mane</i>	'This dog always bites'

is formed by adding *|-hi|* or its allomorph *|-ji ~ -ci ~ -si ~ i|* to the stem. 3. Special type of verbal participles which occur in the causative and reciprocal voices, the formate of which is described under the auxiliary verb *ki-* "to do"

Continuative aspect can be expressed by combining the verbal noun form² of any stem taking the clitic-*e* with the durative or perfective participle form of the identical stem, followed by the auxiliary verb *man-* /*hil-* with appropriate suffixes.

i:neh?ur i:kacu?e kaci mane
'The dog often bites, continuously bites'

e:vasi hi:vu?e hi:hi manesi
'He is always giving'

e:vari venmbu?e venmba hilo?ori
'They have never listened to'

When *man-* occurs after the verbal noun with clitic *-e*, followed by the durative participle form of the same stem with clitic *-e*, it serves to express an iterative aspect.

e:vasi gospu?e gose manesi
'He is a confirmed, chain-smoker'

e:vasi ri:spu?e ri:se manesi
'He is an out and out beggar'

e:vari tinmbu?e tinje maneri
'They are out and out gluttons'

2 Action-based verbal noun

There are two types of verbal nouns in *ku:vi*. The first type in which tense is not marked is formed by the addition of the morpheme *-u* or its allomorphy to the simple verbal stem and is called action-based verbal nouns. The second type of verbal noun is formed by the addition of the suffix-*ayi* generally to the non-past verbal stems and rarely to the past verbal stems and is called tense-based verbal noun.

When the non-past non-masculine singular form of the auxiliary verb *man-* 'to be' occurs after the verbal noun form³ of the main verb, it serves to express the obligative mood of an action.

e:di gaḍi oṇḍa tinayi mane

'She must eat more rice'

ni:ṁ i: valka ve:ṇayi māne

'You must break these stones'

i:kokase oso tinayi mane

'This boy must take medicine'

ki- 'to do, to make'

Ku:vi has developed a new periphrastic type of transitive-causative which is being used much more frequently than the morphological type of transitive-causatives. The causative voice, involving an action caused by the actor, is expressed by adding the auxiliary verb *ki-* 'to do' to the special type of verbal participle formatives, formed by the addition of *vi-* or its allomorphs *-i*, *-mbi*, *-vi|-bi* to the verbal stems.

e:vasi i: kama kivi 'He caused to do this work

ki:tesī

kugi ki- 'to cause to sit'

venmbi ki- 'to cause to listen to'

ha:vi ki- 'to cause to die'

a:- 'to be' to become''

When the non-past non-masculine form of the auxiliary verb *a:-* "to be" is used after the infinitive form of the main verb, it serves to express the obligative mood of an action.

3 Tense - based verbal noun.

- na:nu ila vigali a:ne* 'I must that the house'
i kokasi tinjali a:ne 'This boy must take medicine'
ma:mbu ro: pu:ja kiyali a:ne 'We must offer puja'

When the plural form of the auxiliary verb *a:-* "to be" is used in conjunction with the special type of verbal participles as is used in the periphrastic causative, it gives rise to reciprocal voice in which a plural subject acts reciprocally.

- neska kacvi a:hi manu*
 'The dogs are biting each other'
ḍokra-ḍokri lagvi a:hi maneri
 'The husband and the wife scold each other'
kokari ku:pvi a:neri
 'The boys spit each other'
e:vari aspi a:hi maneri
 'They are holding each other'

a:ḍi 'to be able'

The auxiliary verb *a:ḍi* 'to be able' when occurs after the infinitive form of the main verb serves to express the potential mood.

- na:nu i: valka ve:cali a:ḍi?i*
 'I break this stone'
e:vasi joypuru hajali a:ḍinesi
 'He can go to Jeypore'
e:vasi kama kiyali a:ḍa?atesi
 'He could not do the work'

na:nu i: oṅḍa tinjatt a:ḍoṽo
 'I cannot eat this rice'

ku:ḍi- "must (not), shall (not)"

The third person non-masculine singular form of the auxiliary verb *ku:ḍi-* which occurs always in the negative, when added after the infinitive form of the main verb serves to express a prohibitive sense.

e:vasi pi:ka gosali ku,ḍe?e
 'He must not smoke'

ni:nu i: kama kiyali ku:ḍe?e
 'You must not do this work'

ma:re gaḍi oṅḍa tinjali ku:ḍe?e
 'We must not take too much rice'

hi:- "to allow, to permit"

The auxiliary verb *hi:-* which means "to permit" when added after the infinitive form of the main verb expresses the permissive mood in the language.

e:vaṅa?i: mi:yali hi:mu
 'Allow him to take bath'

ma:ro po:daṅi pa:cali hi:novi
 'We will allow the girls to sing'

ni:nu e:vaṅa?iṽ hajali hi:?anu
 'Do not allow him to go'

tuh- 'to put'

The verb *tuh-* is used as an auxiliary verb and when it is added to the verbal stem or perfective participle stem of the main verb, it denotes completeness when the tense

of the auxiliary verb is past, and certainty when the tense is non-past. Thus it serves to express a definitive aspect.

e:vasi koskaṇi ṛapa tintustesi

'He ate up all the chicken'

'buṛha e: nakati huturu baṛgatole ve:tustesi

'The old man beat the jackal with a stick'

e:vasi gostustesi

'He drank it (completely)'

po:da haja tuste

'The girl has gone already'

po:da haja tuhne

'The girl will certainly go'

ro: ne:cu e:di oṛpa tuste

'One day she made up her mind'

hal- 'to go'

When the auxiliary verb *hal-* "to go" occurs in conjunction with the perfective verbal participle, it adds the idea of finality, completeness, certainty, intensity, etc. to the meaning expressed by the main verb. Thus such a construction is used for expressing an intensity aspect.

e:vasi ha:ha hacesi

'He is dead (finality)'

e: kokari he:ḍa haceri

'Those boys are spoiled (Completeness)'

ra:cu ho:ḍa h:ne

'The snake will run away (Certainty)'

'pu:kaya bare sirha hacu

'All young fruits dried up'

koḍi- "to bring"

The auxiliary verb *koḍi-* "to bring" always gives a reflexive meaning when it is added to the verbal participle of the main verb. The reflexive involves the subject acting upon oneself.

e:vasi e: kama kiha koḍitesi

'He did that work himself'

na:nu venja koḍi?

'I ask myself'

nehzuṛi ta:nu ?e kaca koḍine

'The dog bites itself'

Thus the sub-ordinate compounds in which the auxiliary verbs are constituents can be summarised as belong to the following three sub-types:

I. Mood :

The psychological atmosphere of an action as interpreted by the speaker. Modality is best defined as designating the ability, possibility, probability, permission, necessity, obligation, etc.

1) Obligative :

- a) Verbal noun + man + non-past marker +
non-masculine singular

([stem + // .ayi //] + man- | n- | -e)

- b) infinitive + a: + non-past marker + non-
masculine singular

([stem + // ali //] + a:- | n- | -e)

2) Potential :

infinitive + a:ḍi + appropriate suffixes

([stem + // ali //] + a:ḍi- + suffixes)

3) Prohibitive :

infinitive + *ku:di* + negative marker + non
 masculine singular
 ([stem + // *ali* //] + *ku:di-* / ?a / e)

4) Permissive :

infinitive + *hi:-* + appropriate suffixes
 ([stem + // *ali* //] + *hi:-* + suffixes)

II. Aspect : The kind of action.

1) Perfective :

Perfect participle + *man-* /*hil-* + appropriate
 suffixes
 ([stem + // *ha* //] + *man-* /*hil-* + suffixes)

2) Durative :

durative participle + *man-* /*hil-* + suffixes.
 ([stem + // *hi* //] + *man-* /*hil-* + suffixes)

3) Frequentative :

durative participle + *e* + *man-* /*hil-* +
 appropriate suffixes
 ([stem + // *hi* + *e* //] + *man-* /*hil-* + suffixes)

4) Continuative :

verbal noun + *e* + $\frac{\text{durative participle}}{\text{perfective participle}}$
man- /*hil-* + appropriate suffixes
 ([stem + // *vu* + *e* //] + (stem + // *hi/ha* //]
 + *man-* /*hil-* suffixes)

5) Iterative :

verbal + *e* + durative + *e* + *man-* /*hil-* +
 suffixes

([stem + // *vu* + *e* //] + [stem + // *hi* + *e* //]
man-|hil-suffixes

6) Definitive :

$$\frac{\text{stem}}{\text{perfective participle}} + \textit{tuh} + \text{appropriate suffixes}$$
 (stem, stem + // *ha* // + *tuh* + suffixes)

7) Permissive :

perfective participle + *hal-* + appropriate suffixes
 ([stem + // *ha* //] + *hal-* + suffixes)

III. Voice the relationship of participant to the action

1) Causative :

special type of verbal participle + *ki* + appropriate suffixes
 ([stem + // *vi* //] + *ki-* + suffixes)

2) Reciprocal :

special type of verbal participle + *a:-* + tense + plural suffixes
 ([stem + // *vi* //] + *a:-* + suffixes)

3) Reflexive :

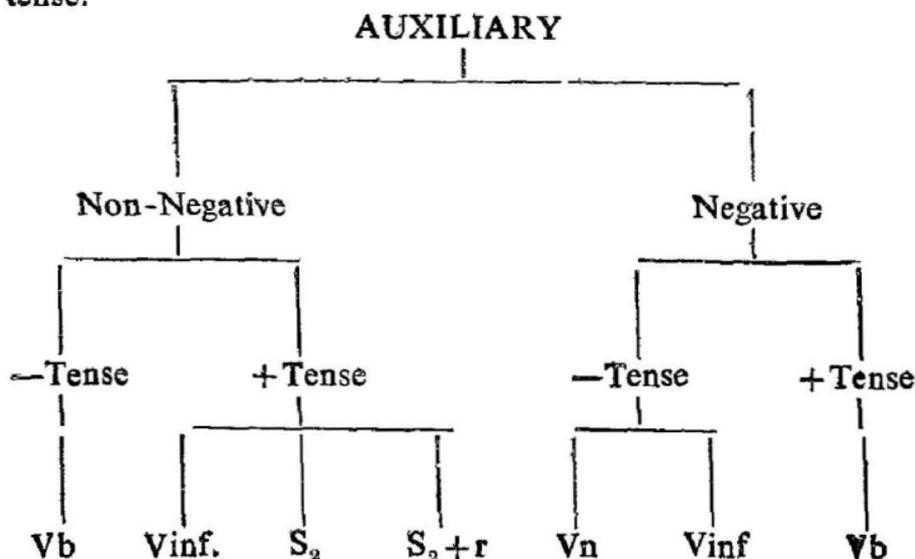
perfective participle + *koḍi-* + appropriate suffixes
 ([stem + // *ha* //] + *koḍi-* + appropriate suffixes)

AUXILIARIES IN KOTA

G. SUBBIAH

Like other Dravidian Languages, Kota also have the modals and Auxiliaries in its grammatical system. Historically the auxiliaries are main verbs. The Auxiliaries lose their meaning and function but carry on the meaning and function of the main verbs to which they are added. The present paper deals with the function and meaning of the auxiliaries found in the Kota.

The Auxiliaries in Kota are classified in two major heads as Non-Negatives and Negatives on the basis of the meaning. These two are further divided into two sub-groups on the basis of the presence and absence of the tense.



further classified into three groups on the basis of the structure of the main verbs to which they are added.

1.2.1. *a:g* "to be"

The auxiliary {-*a:g*-} adds to the infinitive of a main verb.

Str:- Vinf + *a:g* + Ten + PE₁

- e.g. 6) *java:ny gaṇḍa:le: kalk aṅla:pm oḷvadna:ḷ*
 'young' 'men' 'learn' 'desire' 'is'
avrk buk 'koṛlka:yko:
 'them-to' 'book' 'give-is'
 "As the youngmen are interested in learning
 (they) gave books to them".

1.2.2. The auxiliaries *ik-*, *oḷ*, *va:*, *o:r* are added after the gerundial marker {-*r*} which is added to the stem of the type {S₁ + Psf} -i.e. derived stem by adding the formative suffixes -*t*-; -*d*-; -*c*-; and *y*(-*i*-) to the verb stem (St.).

Str:- {S₁ + Psf} + ({-*r*}) + ({ *ik*
oḷ
va:
o:r }) + Ten + PE₁.

- e.g. 7) *ayn vado:tl av payl piṭ*
 'father' 'come-when' 'Mother' 'house-in' 'food'
aṛitko:
 'cook' 'is'
 "When father came, mother was cooking in the
 house"
- 8) *a pemog o:yṇa:rkatl naṛdroḷo:*
 'That woman' 'path-along' 'walk' 'is'
 "That woman is walking along the side of the
 path"

- 9) *u:n na:yn paervadko:*
 'This man' 'dog-Acc' 'bring' 'to home'
 "This man brought the dog"
- 10) *a:v kirero:co:*
 'cow' 'shouting' 'to go'
 "The cow went on shouting"
- 11) *ni: ku:v tidrolvioyo:?*
 'you' 'food' 'eat' 'is'
 "Will you (Sg.) be eating the food?"
- 12) *manj kardvi:l vep terdrvadko:*
 'curd' 'churn' 'butter' 'get' 'come'
 "While churning the curd, the butter is got"
- 13) *ni: mayna:d kukircroli:*
 'you' 'without talking' 'sit' 'is'
 "You (Sg.) are sitting without talking"

1.2.3. *o:g*

This auxiliary *o:g* 'adds to the stems of the type (S₁ + Psf.) where the gerundial marker {-r-} is optional.

Str :- (S₁ + Psf.) + ({-r-}) + *o:g* + Ten + PE₂

- eg 14) *enma:vd gict tolanjyro:g*
 'something' 'do' 'go away'
 'Go-away whatever (you) did'
- 15) *pa:b gumnul:k ukyro:ci:ko:*
 'Snake' 'bush-into' 'entered'
 'The snake entered into the bushes'

2. Negatives :

2.1. -Tense :

The auxiliaries here are divided into two groups on the basis of the structure of the main verbs to which they are added.

2.1.1. *a:r* 'to be able'

The auxiliary verb *-a:r*¹ is added to the verbal noun. The verbal noun is formed by adding (-1-) to the stems of the type (S₁ + Psf.). This auxiliary behaves like the {*ma:t̥tu*} in Tamil in expressing the negation in future. The structure of this auxiliary is :

Str :- (S₁ + Psf.) + 1 + *a:r* + Neg. + PE₂

The Personal endings (PE₂) are,

First person Singular	— {-e:n}
First person Plural	— {-e:m}
	— {-o:m}
Second person	— {-i:} & {-i:m}
Third person	— {-a:} & {-a:m}

The Neg. marker becomes zero in front of the long vowel.

1 In Kannada, the verb {*a:r*} is found in usage in the negative meaning. The Kittel's Dictionary gives the meaning 'to be able' for this verb {*a:r*} which is not at all used in the affirmative sense.

eg. *avanu i: kelasa ma:dala:ra*
 'he' 'this' 'work' 'doing-not-able-he'
 "He is not able to do this work"
avaḷu illi kannaḍa kaliyala:raḷu
 'she' 'here' 'Kannada' 'learning-not-able-she'
 "She is not able to learn Kannada here"

Neg > \emptyset / - & V:

- eg. 16) *a:m na:(k i:k vadla:ro:m*
 'we' 'tomorrow' 'here' 'not-come-we'
 "We are not able to come here tomorrow".
- 17) *ni:m ilan ko:ka:lk oyla:ri:mo:?*
 'you (pl.)' 'now' 'village' 'not-go-you?'
 "would you (pl.) not able to go the village?"
- 18) *indy may ocla:ra:*
 'today' 'rain' 'not-rain'
 "It will not be possible to rain to-day"

2.1.1. *i:n* 'to be'

This auxiliary $\{-i:n\}$ is added to the infinitive of any main verb and the personal endings are added after this auxiliary. This auxiliary expresses the meaning of "not able (refusal)" in the non-past. The structure of this auxiliary is

Str:- Vinf + *i:n* + Neg. + PE₂

Both, $\{a:v\}$ and $\{i:n\}$ express the tense non-past only and other grammatical categories are not found with these two negative auxiliaries except the Do-type interrogative.

- eg. 19 *ko:v pemogaL! unki:na:*
 'Kota' 'women' 'not able to drink'
 "Kota women will not drink"
- 20) *ni: adn geyki:ni:*
 'you (sg.)' 'that' 'not-able-do'
 "You (sg.) will not able do that",

2.2. + Tense

2.2.1. *a:y* 'to be'

This auxiliary {*a:y*}² is directly added to the verb stem (*S₁*) of any main verb. After the addition of this auxiliary, all the tense and the personal endings are added one after the other. The structure of this auxiliary is,

2 In middle Tamil - Satagopar's *Periyatiruvanta:ti* and Karikkal Peyammaiyar's *Arputatis* - also negative *ruvantati* are used with tense marker, especially with future. (M. Raghava Ayyangar's *Anthology of Tamil Research* 1964).

- eg. i) *ilaippaay ilaiyaappaay nencame: conne:n* (23): &
 ii) *ayarppaay ayaraappaay nencame: conne:n* (83)-
 - *Periyatiruvantati*
 iii) *aa:kaappoomennaaru moa!* - *Arputatiruvantati*

In Old Malayalam, similar negative structure is found. (L. V. Ramasamy Ayyar 1936). In Old Malayalam the {*a:y*} neg. has all the grammatical categories. But in middle Tamil, it is used to express the negation in future only.

- eg. i) *paraaṅṅū*
Krishna Gadha Ka:liya 1.87).
 ii) *ceyyaayīṅṅū*
 (Eluttassan's *Bha:ratam* - *Mahabha:ratam*
Kiḷippaattu)
 iii) *taaranoo taarumoo varaayumoo*
 (lilatilakam. 7.5)
 iv) *allayaaṅṅiṭtu* -
 Past Part *Krishna Gadha* 1.815)
 v) *vaadiidayunna* -
 Relative Part. (*Ramayanam Campu*)

Str :- Vb + Aux + Ten + PE₁

The personal endings (PE₁) are :

First Person Singular	— (-e:n)
First Person Plural	— (-o:m) & (-e:m)
Second Person	— (-i:) & (-i:m)
Third Person	— (-ko:)

vi) *toolaayvaan* -

Inf. Part. *Kannassa Ramayanam Baal.* 253)

In Tamil also this type of sentence is found but rarely :

cuvarkkam pukaappir enac copittaar

'Let you not enter the heaven'

In this phrase *Pukkaappir* (*puku* + *aa* + *pp* + *ir*) the future is preceded by the negative marker {-*aa*} (Naccinaarkkiniar's *Tolkappiyam Eḷuttatikaram* Commentary - M. Raghava Ayyangar's *Anthology of Tamil Research* 1964).

* In Old Kannada also such types of constructions are found. In "*Rannan sa:hasa bhi:ma vijayam*", the form *pugadir* "will not enter" is analysed as the verb base *pug-*, the negative suffix *-a-*, the future tense marker occurs after the negative suffix in the phrase. The poem 12. of *Soshtha:sva:sam* carries the form and is given below :

kurupaṭi ninna pokka toregal modala:giye

battutirpuvi:

varamumncmmumam kadaḍugum

pugadir tolagendu baggipan

tire negedattane:ka baka ko:ka

mara:lavihangam svanam.

This auxiliary {a:y} can be added after the auxiliary {-i:n}. This auxiliary {a:y} can be conjugated as other main verbs.

- eg. 21) *a:n* *apa:ʔn* *o:riða:ype:n*
 'I' 'that song' 'hear-not-I'
 'I did not hear that song'
- 2) *avan* *entol* *ka:c* *veyna:yko:*
 'he' 'me-with' 'money' 'ask-not-he'
 'He did not ask money with me'
- 23) *ni:* *kek* *gi:ya:ybi:*
 'you' 'work' 'do-not-you'
 'You (sg.) are not doing the work'
- 24) *aval* *ara:ʔn* *kerva:yko:*
 'she' 'pot' 'clean (scratch)-not-she'
 'She did not clean (scratch) the pot'
- 25) *avəʔ* *ara:ʔn* *kervki:na:yko:*
 'she' 'pot' 'clean (scratch)-not-she'
 'She did not clean the pot'
- 26) *u:n* *peʔ* *koŋa:yko:ko:*
 'he' 'wife' 'marry-not-he'
 'He does not marry'
- 27) *avʔ* *tap* *geya:ypo:l*
 'she' 'mistake' 'do-not-she'
 'She is the one who does not commit any
 mistake'
- 28) *ivʔ* *eno:r* *perva:ybd* *pemo:d*
 'she' 'me-with' 'born-not' 'woman'
 'This woman is the one who did/does not born
 with me'

Two types of analysis for this auxiliary verb are proposed here. i.e. in one type of analysis. the Neg. is considered as a verb, added after a verb stem and before the auxiliary verb {a:y}. This Neg. vowel {-a:} becomes zero before the auxiliary {-a:y}

$$-a: > \emptyset / . - \& a:y$$

This analysis treats Neg. as a main verb which added as an auxiliary and takes another auxiliary {a:y} after it. The structure of this analysis may be shown as follows:-

Str; Vb + Neg + Aux + Ten + PE₁

In the second analysis, the Neg. which is zero, is added after the tense and before the personal endings. The structure of this analysis is :

Str:- Vb + Aux + Ten + Neg + PE₁

But for both the analyses, we are not having at present any supporting evidences in any one of the Dravidian languages.

Colophon

I am much thankful to my colleague Mr. Lingadevaru Halemane who supplied this information while we were discussing about this paper. I am also much thankful for his valuable suggestions while revising this paper.

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K. V. Krishna Bhatta *rannan sa:hasa bhima vijiyam.*

AUXILIARIES IN IRULA

R. PERIALWAR

In Irula the complex verb stems consist of a main verb and one or more auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary verbs are added as in other Dravidian languages either to the verbal participle or to the infinitive form of the main verb. The complex verb forms with infinitive bases are called 'modals' and the forms with the verbal participle base 'aspects'.

Aspects:

There are a fair number of auxiliary verbs in Irula. These auxiliary verbs convey either aspectual notions or modal notions. The auxiliary verbs which come under aspect are such as perfective, reservational, demonstrational, Definitive, completive, accidental, finality, reflexive, reciprocal, durative and contemptive. These aspect verbs are homophonous with lexical verbs in the language. Some aspect verbs have no corresponding homophonous main verbs.

Perfective:

The verb *iru* can be used in two different ways. (1) as a main verb meaning to stay, to remain still, to stand, etc. and (2) as a verb meaning 'be' provided the subject is animate. If the subject is inanimate the verb *kaḍa* must be used. The word *kaḍa* has another meaning

'lying'. The auxiliary verb *iru* signifies perfective notion. Of all the aspectual markers *iru* has the most complex range of meanings underlying it. But in most of the cases it conveys perfective meaning. The various meanings of the words are not exhausted here. This auxiliary verb can optionally be deleted.

tinṛirukke|tinṛukke

'Have eaten-I'

pa:ttirunde:mu|pa:ttunde:mu

'Had seen-we'

ke:ttirundiri|ke:ttundiri

'Had asked - You (pl)'

na:pammu tinṛukke|tinṛirukke

'I have eaten the fruit'.

avaru co:ru tinṛukka:ru|tinṛirukka:ru:

'They have eaten the food'

Reservational:

Veyi occurs as a main verb meaning 'put, keep'. As an aspectual auxiliary verb *veyi* conveys the reservational notion. This auxiliary verb always occurs in the transitive verbs.

na:mu oru pammu vangivette:mu

'We bought a fruit'

ava oru pammu vangivekka

'She buys a fruit'

avaru oru bokku vangivetta:ru

'They bought a book'

Demonstrational:

Ka:ttu is the auxiliary verb which signifies demonstrational aspect.

na:mu paḍittu ka:ttuge:mu
‘We demonstrated how to read’

avaru ventendu ka:ttina:ru
‘They demonstrated how to read’

ava paḍi ka:ttina
‘She demonstrated how to read’

Definitive:

The verb *viḍu* is an aspectual auxiliary verb. Even though it gives completive sense it also gives definitiveness in completing an action; therefore it can be called definitive. Since *mudi* is called completive, the term definitive is preferred to mean *viḍu*. The verb *viḍu* has an alternant form *uḍ*. When we conjugate the aspectual verb form *uḍ* for neuter singular the expected form is *uṭṭudu*. But the attested form in Irula for neuter singular is *uḍuttu*. The auxiliary verb can optionally be deleted.

na: co:ru tinṛu viḍuge|tinṛuge
‘I have finished the eating’

na:mu ko:ru tinṛu viḍuge:mu
‘We have finished the eating’

ava co:rutinṛu|viṭṭa:ru|tinṛuṭṭaru
‘They had finished the eating’

ava co:ru tinṛuviḍuga|tinṛuga
‘They have finished the eating’

avaru co:ru tinṛu viḍuga:ru|tinṛuga:ru
‘They have finished the eating’

Completive :

The aspectual auxiliary verb *muḍi* conveys completive notion. The completive form of *muḍi* is *mu* which is used more frequently than *muḍi*. The latter one seems to be a contracted form of *muḍi*

na:ma coṟu tinṟu muḍikke:mu/mikke:mu

‘We have finished eating’

ava pammū tinṟu muḍikka/mikka

‘She has finished eating the fruit’

avaru coṟu tinṟu muḍikka:ru/mikka:ru

‘The have finished eating’

ni:mu co:ṟu muḍittiri/mittiri

‘You (pl.) had finished eating’

Accidental :

The auxiliary verb *po:* conveys the accidental notion. As an auxiliary verb it takes *-cu*. *-cu* is a suffix which signifies past tense and neuter singular. The verb instead of having a regular *-udu* and the past tense marker *-in-* has the suffix *-cu*. That is to say instead of *po:nudu* we have *po:cu*. One can analyse *po:cu* as *po:-cu*.

kamcu ki:ndu po:cu ‘Shirt got torn’

mara vi:ndu po:cu ‘Tree fell’

ra:mi cattu po:cu ‘Rami is dead’

pa:mbu cattu po:cu ‘Snake is dead’

Finality :

The auxiliary verb *a:* conveys finality notion. The auxiliary verb *a:* does not take any gender number suffix

other than *-cu*. The suffix *-cu* signifies past tense and Neuter singular. It might be noted here that the verb *a*: does not occur with any tense other than past.

<i>adu vanda:cu</i>	'It has come'
<i>ava vanda:cu</i>	'He has come'
<i>ava po:ya:cu</i>	'She has come'
<i>ra:ma po:ya:cu</i>	'Raman has gone'
<i>na: pammu tinza:cu</i>	'I have eaten the fruit'
<i>ni: ni:ru kuḍittacu</i>	'You have drunk the water'

Reflexive :

-on- is an auxiliary verb. It conveys reflexive and benefactive notions. The imperative is *-ko*. This auxiliary has a remote connection with the independent verb root found elsewhere in the language, namely *-kol* 'get'.

na: tinronge/tinroṇḍe

'I eat/ate for myself'

na:mu tinronge:mu/tinroṇḍe:mu

'We eat/ate for ourselves'

ni:mu tinrongiri/tinroṇḍiri

'You (pl.) eat/ate for yourselves'

ava tinronga/tinroṇḍa

'He eats/ate for himself'

avaru tinronga:ru/tinroṇḍa:ru

'They eat/ate themselves'

Reciprocal :

There is another auxiliary verb *-on-* which conveys the reciprocal notion. This auxiliary verb takes gender-

number suffixes according to the subject and it can be conjugated both for non-past and past tenses.

na:mu kelettonge:mu/kelettonde:mu
‘We abuse/abused each other’

ni:mu kelettongiri/kelettondiri
‘You (pl) abuse/abused each other’

avaru kelettonga:ru/kelettonda:ru
‘They abuse/abused each other’

Durative :

(K)onđiru is an auxiliary verb conveying durative notion. The auxiliary *konđiru* has another alternant *ođiru*.

na:mu pa:đi konđirukke:mu/pa:điyonđirukko:mu
‘We are/were singing’

avaru pa:đi konđirukka:ru/pa:đi konđirunda:ru
‘They are/were singing’

na:pa:điyonđirukke/pa:điyonđirunde
‘I am/was singing’

Contemptive :

The auxiliary verb *tole* conveys contemptive notion.

avaru po:vitolenda:ru ‘They have gone’

ni:po:yitole ‘You (sr) go away’

ni:mu po:yi tolendiri ‘You (pl) go away’

Modals :

Modal auxiliary verbs are classified into potential obligatory and prohibitive.

Potential :

The modal auxiliary verb *muḍi* conveys the potential notion. *Muḍi* occurs as a main verb both as transitive and intransitive but the intransitive *muḍi* occurs as a modal auxiliary verb as well whereas transitive *muḍi* does not. The modal auxiliary verb *muḍi* marks for 'possibility' *Muḍi* occurs as an irregular verb in modality.

As a main verb it behaves as a regular verb. It can be conjugated for both non-past and past tenses and it takes gender-number markers according to the subject. The conjugated form *muḍigidu* can be analysed as follows : *muḍi* is the verbal base, *-g-* non-past marker and *-udu-* neuter singular marker. In this language there is no present and future differences. So the non-past tense marker conveys the notions of both tenses according to the context

The modal auxiliary verbal form *muḍiya:du* conveys negative potential notion.

<i>ava maṇikka muḍigidu</i>	'He can speak'
<i>ava manikka muḍindadu</i>	'He could speak'

Obligatory :

Ve:ṇu, a variant of *ve:ṇḍu* occurs as a main verb. It has the meaning 'want', 'need' and 'be essential' etc. The followings items give above mentioned meanings. It is an irregular verb.

<i>nanukku pammu ve:ṇu</i>	'I want fruit'
<i>nanukku paṇa ve:ṇu</i>	'I want money'
<i>nanukku ga:li ve:ṇu</i>	'I need air/I want air'
<i>manucanukku ni:ru ve:ṇu</i>	'Water is essential for man'

manucanukku ga:li ve:ṇu 'Air is essential for man'
Ve:pu occurs as a main verb.

Oṇu always occurs after infinitives as a modal verb.

Ve:ṇḍu occurs in the forms such as verbal participle noun.

The following examples show the variants of this verb '*Ve:ṇḍu*'.

na: co:ṇu tingonu 'I should eat food'

po:ga ve:ṇḍiyava 'One who has to go'

na: po:ga ve:ṇḍi kaḍakkudu 'I need to go'

po:ga ve:ṇḍiya a:la
 'The man who must go'

ni:mu pa:ttu pa:dugonu
 'You should sing a song'

na:mu paḍikkoṇu/paḍikka ve:ṇu
 'We should study'

ni:mo: avano: varugeṇu
 'Either you or he should come'

It is an irregular verb or a modal and as a main verb. Both the main verb and the auxiliary modal verb do not take tense and gender number markers. But the participle nouns contain gender number markers

po:ga ve:ṇḍiyava 'One who has to go'

varuga ve:ṇḍiyava 'One who has to come'

As in the case of regular verbs, the categories such as verb participle can also be formed out of modal.

na: po:gave:ṇḍi kaḍakkudu

'I need to go'

ava varuga ve:ṇḍi kaḍakkudu

'He needs to come'

po:ga ve:ṇḍiya a:lu

'the man who must go'

varuga ve:ṇḍiya a:lu

'the man who must come'

The above sentences show that though the modal *ve:ṇu* is not conjugated for tense it has to be treated as a verb. The verb *ve:ṇu* has various other forms such as *ve:ṇḍi* (as VP) *ve:ṇḍiya* (as RP and PN etc.). This suggests that we have to choose *ve:ṇḍu* as the base form. Prohibitive :

Auxiliary verb *ve:na* signifies prohibitive notion. This is the negative form of *ve:ṇu/oṇu*.

ni: po:ga ve:ṇa 'Do not go'

ni:manikka ve:ṇa 'Don't speak'

ni: manikka ve:na 'Don't speak'

Conclusion :

This is not a complete study of modals and aspects. Only a brief sketch is presented here.

I am immensely grateful to my Professor Dr. S. Agesthalingom who has encouraged me to prepare this paper. I am also very much thankful to Dr. P. Kothandaraman who cheerfully discussed the problems and made many suggestions.

AUXILIARY VERBS IN KODAGU

R. BALAKRISHNAN

0. There are two types of auxiliaries in Kodagu with strict regular function. The first type of auxiliary is the modals and the second type is the aspects. One of the main differences is that those auxiliary verbs, which occur after the infinitive of the main verb are called modals and these compounds can be named as modal compounds, and those auxiliary verbs which occur after the verbal participle of the main verbs are called aspects and these compounds can be called as aspectual compounds. The main difference between the modal compounds and the aspectual compounds is that in modal compounds an auxiliary verb is used for indicating mood; i.e., manner or aspect of the action denoted by the verb with which it is used whereas in the aspectual compounds with reference to verbs, a category indicating whether the action or state denoted by the verb is viewed as completed or in progress as instantaneous or enduring, as momentary or habitual etc.

1. There are three types of modals used to denote (1) necessity or urgency, (2) potential and (3) prohibitive.

1.1. Necessity/urgency

-and- is added to various main verbs to express necessity or urgency.

- eg. 1) *na:nī ma:d-aṇḍ-u*
 'I must do'
- 2) *aṅṅ o:d-aṇḍ-a*
 'He must not read'
- 3) *na:kī koḍīkaṇḍ-iyē paṇa*
 'The money which must be given to me'
- 4) *adī na:nī ma:d-aṇḍ-iyadī*
 'That is what ought to do'

Here *aṇḍ-* is considered to occur after verb stem but it can be analysed as infinitive + *aṇḍ* as in the case of *ma:d aṇḍ*, *o:d aṇḍ* etc., where infinitive is represented by the stem itself. A similar instance is noticed in Tamil in expression like *ceytakka* 'things which have to be done' (*Thirukkural*-4t6), where the infinitive is simply marked by the verbal base *cey-* 'to do'.

1.2. Potential :

The auxiliary verb *-kayy-* is added to the infinitive of the main verb to express potential meaning.

- eg. 5) *na:kī ma:ḍo-kayyu*
 'I can do'
- 6) *na:kī ma:ḍo-kayya*
 'I cannot do'

Here *kayyu/kayya* is considered as an auxiliary because it is originally realised as infinitive + *kayy*, as follows

na:kī ma:ḍokī kayyu and
na:kī ma:ḍokī kayya.

And also this verb can be treated as a defective verb since it is conjugated in limited categories. For example

- 7) *na:kī kayyu*
'I can be able' (Positive form)
- 8) *aveṅgī kayya*
'He can't be able' (Negative form)
- 9) *ni:kī kayyuva: ?*
'Can you be able' (Interrogative)
- 10) *avakī kayyate ivēn ma:ḍici*
'As she is not able he did'
(Negative adverbial form)
- 11) *idī kayyatè paṇi*
'This is the work of not able to do'
(Negative adjectival form)
- 12) *avēn kayyatavēn*
'He is a man of inability'
(Participial Noun form)

1.3. Prohibitive :

The verb *-a:ga* is added as an auxiliary verb to infinitive form of a verb for designating the prohibitive mood.

- eg. 13) *nī:nī no:ṭokka:ga*
'You should not see'
- 14) *avēn bappək -a:ga*
'He must not come'
- 15) *ava naḍapək -a:ga*
'She should not walk'

It is to be noted that this *a:ga* can be compared with *a:g+a* 'it will not suit or fit or be proper', then this is treated under defective verb. This defective verb has another variant form *a:x-* which is used in the future positive construction as *a:x-u > a:ku* 'it is proper' in Kodagu.

2. There are three types of auxiliaries, need for aspectual compounds for designating the meanings perfective, completive and reflexive.

2.1. Perfective:

The auxiliary verb *-irī* is added to the past verbal participle of other verbs in order to show the perfective mood in Kodagu.

eg. 16) *na:nī ma:d-ir-uvī (ma:dī + irī + uv + i)*
'I will be doing'

17) *naṅga band-ir-uva (bandu + irī + uv + a)*
'We will be coming'

18) *naṅga tank-ir-tētī (tandu + iaī + t + ētī)*
'We have given'

2.2. Completive :

The completive mood is formed by the addition of the auxiliary verb *-īḍ* to the past verbal participle of the main verb.

eg. 19) *na:nī ēḍīt-itṭē (ēḍī + īḍ + t + ē)*
'I have taken up'

20) *nīṅga kēḍīṭṭira (kēḍī + īḍ + t + tira)*
You (pl.) have spoiled away

21) *ayṅga ma:dīṭṭī (ma:dī + īḍ + t + ētī)*
'They have done it.'

2.3. Reflexive

The reflexive meaning is given by adding the auxiliary verb *-o!* or *-a* to the past verbal participle of main verb in Kodagu. The variants *-o!* and *-a* are morphologically conditioned; the former occurs before the plural imperative marker *-i* and the past tense marker *-nd-* and the latter occurs before the singular imperative (realized as zero) and the non-past marker *-v-*.

- eg. 22) *nīnga nindoli (nindī-o!-i)*
 'You (pl.) stand (there)'
- 23) *na:nī tindēṇḍē (tindī + o! + nd + ē)*
 'I ate myself'
- 24) *nī:nī budda¹ (bu:!¹ + nd + a)*
 'You go to bed'
- 25) *nīnga o:diyavira (o:di + a + v + ira)*
 'You (pl.) will read yourself'

It may be noted that the verbal participle with *-o!* is also used to express a continuous action in Kodagu.

- eg. 26) *avēn no:tiyēṇḍī po:ci (no:ti + o! + nd)*
 'He went by looking'
- 27) *na:nī o:diyēṇḍippi (o:di + o! + nd + ippi)*
 'I will be feeding'

1 It is worth noting that in Kodagu *budda* 'go to bed' is derived from the verb root + past + reflexive, i.e., *bu:(!)* + *nd* + *a* (> *bu* + *dd* + *a*). Actual meaning of this form must be 'fell down yourself', but the meaning found in Kodagu is 'go to bed'. This change may be due to the extension of semantic change.

AUXILIARIES IN *Bettakurumba*

S. JAYAPAL

1.0. Auxiliary verb (Aux) is used with certain forms of main verb such as infinitive, participle etc. to express the distinctions of aspect and mood. As the name implies auxiliary verb is verbal in form and is also identical in phonological shape to the main verb.

1.1. In *Bettakurumba* (BK) the distinction between aspects and modals is shown through the presence of auxiliary verbs. Aspects are expressed by adding the auxiliary verbs with verbal participles (vb), whereas the modals are expressed by the affixation of auxiliaries with that of infinitive (Inf) of the main verbs.

2.0. In BK the following forms of main verbs are made use of to denote aspects and moods.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1) <i>a:g</i> | 'to become' |
| 2) <i>ku ~ ki</i> | 'to do' |
| 3) <i>ir</i> | 'to be' |
| 4) <i>uḍ</i> | 'to leave' |
| 5) <i>ti:</i> | 'to complete/to put' |
| 6) <i>be:ḍa</i> | 'prohibitive' |
| 7) <i>illa</i> | 'No' |

All the above mentioned forms are used as main verbs as follows.

- 1) *ni: kiriya:gey*
 1 2 3
 'You become small'
 1 3 2
- 2) *ni: endu paṇi ki:ley*
 1 2 3 4
 'You do work daily'
 1 4 3 2
- 3) *ni: alka irey*
 1 2 3
 'You be there'
 1 3 2
- 4) *ni: aḍane uḍey*
 1 2 3
 'You leave it'
 1 3 2
- 5) *adu appaṇiye on iṅgaḷiḷ iḍa*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'He finished that work within a month'
 1 5 2 4 3 4
- 6) *enka kurlaye ni:r be:ḍa*
 1 2 3 4
 'I don't want water to drink'
 1 4 3 2
- 7) *bumman ki:rdl illa*
 1 2 3
 'Bomman is not in the house'
 1 3 2

Among the above mentioned main verbs *a:g* 'to become' *ku~ki* 'to do' and *be:da* (prohibitive sense) are used as modals. *uḍ* 'to leave' *ir* 'to be' are used as aspects. Let us see in detail the functions of the above said main verbs as auxiliaries.

3.0. Aspects :

Aspect is nothing but a semantic category that indicates the durations, completion, or quality of the action or state denoted by the verb. Among the aspects there are three kinds.

- 1) Completive aspect
- 2) Perfective aspect
3. Progressive aspect

3.1. Completive aspect :

Completive aspect is defined as a category which denotes a completive action or state. In BK it is expressed by the addition of either past tense or future tense form of the main verbs *uḍ* 'to leave' or *ʒi:* 'to complete' or *a:g* 'to become' with the verbal participle form of the main verb to denote past completive aspect and non-past completive aspect respectively. The auxiliary is followed by the pronominal termination (PT).

- a) Past tense form of the verb *uḍ* 'to leave' as auxiliary:

Vb + Aux (past) + PT

Aux (past) = *uḍ* + *ʒ*

erjun + *uḍ* + *ʒ* + *i* > *erjuttʒi*

'(I) have thrown'

ʒordun + *uḍ* + *ʒ* + *i* > *ʒorduttʒi*

'(I) have opened'

- b) Verbal participle form of the verb *ud* as auxiliary:

vb + vb (Aux)

vb (Aux) = *uttun*

aldun + *uttun* > *alduttun*

'having wept'

oyrun + *uttun* > *oyrutun*

'having run'

- c) Past tense form of the verb *ji*: 'to complete' as auxiliary:

Vb + Aux (past) + PT

Aux (past) *ji*: + *d*

kijun + *ji*: + *d* + *i* > *kijunjid̄i*

'(I) finished it'

- d) Past tense form of the verb *a:gu* 'to become' as auxiliary:

Vb + Aux (past) + PT

Aux (past) *a:g* + *n*

jidun + *a:g* + *n* + *a* > *jid̄a:cca*

'(He) finished it completely'

- e) Verbal participle form of the verb *ji*: and past tense form of the verb *a:g* as auxiliaries:

Vb + Vb (Aux,) + Aux (past) + PT

Vb (Aux) = *jidun*

Aux (past) = *a:g* + *n*

kijun + *jidun* + *a:g* + *n* + *a* > *kijunjid̄a:cca*

'(Finally I) finished it completely'

3.1.2. Non past completive aspect

- a) Non-past tense form of the verb *uḍ* 'to leave' as auxiliary :

Vb + Aux (Non-past) + PT
 Aux (Non-past) = *uḍ* + Ø
erjun + *uḍ* + Ø + *iya* > *erjuḍiya*
 '(I) will throw it away'

ṭordun + *uḍ* + Ø + *iya* > *ṭorduḍiya*
 '(I) will open it away'

- b) Non-past tense form of the verb *ṭi*: 'to complete' as auxiliary:

Vb + Aux (Non-past) + PT
 Aux (Non-past) = *ṭi*: + Ø
kijun + *ṭi*: + Ø + *a* > *kijunṭi:va*'
 '(He) will finish it'

- c) Hortative :

The meaning of hortative is expressed by the combinatory structure of verbal participle and double auxiliaries *a:g* 'to become' and past tense form of the *ir* 'to be'. This occurs only with the third person.

Vb + Aux + Aux (past) + PT
 Aux = *a:g*
 Aux (past) = *ir* + *ḍ*
berḍun + *a:g* + *ir* + *ḍ* + *a* > *berḍigḍa*
 'let (him) write'

aḍun + *a:g* + *ir* + *ḍ* + *a* > *aḍigḍa*
 'let (him) weap'

3.1.2 1. Certainty:

The meaning of certainty is expressed by the combinatory structure of verbal participle, auxiliary *a:g* 'to become' and imperative suffix *-ey*.

bandun + a:g + ey > bandigeey
 'certainly (you) come'

kijun + a:g + ey > kijageey
 'certainly you do it'

ma:run + a:g + ey > ma:rageey

3.2. Progressive aspect:

In BK, structurally there is no difference between perfective aspect and progressive aspect. They are expressed by the same construction.

Progressive aspect is a category which indicates a continuing action or state. In BK, the simple verbs show the tense distinction as past and non-past. But when it gives the progressive meaning it shows all the three tenses i.e. past, present and future. Progressive aspects are expressed by adding either past or present or future tense forms of the main verb *ir* 'to be' to the verbal participles. Pronominal terminations are suffixed with the auxiliaries. Here the auxiliaries are responsible for both tense and progressiveness. Mention has to be made here that in BK, there is no equivalent form for the progressive auxiliary *konṭiru* which is widely made use of in Tamil.

3.2.1. Past progressive aspect:

Past progressive aspect is nothing but a category which is noting a verb aspect or other verb category that indicates the continuing action of the past. In BK past tense form of the auxiliary *ir* 'to be' is directly affixed with the verbal participle form of the main verb to denote past progressive aspect.

Vb + Aux (past) + PT
 Aux (past) = *ir* + *d*

ardun + *ir* + *d* + *a* > *ardidda* '(he) was beating'

ne:run + *ir* + *d* + *a* > *ne:ridda* '(he) was seeing'

3.2.2. Present progressive aspect:

The progressive aspect in the present tense is expressed by the combinatory structure of the verbal participle and present tense form of the auxiliary *ir* 'to be'. Here the present tense is denoted by the form *-o:d* and it is nothing but the stem alternant of *ir* which is used to denote the present progressive aspect and also it is used to denote the meaning of 'is' as in the English sentence 'where is he?'

<i>adu</i>	<i>eil</i>	<i>o:da?</i>	'where	<i>is</i>	he?
1	2	3	1	3	2

Vb + Aux + PT

Aux = *o:d*

bandun + *o:d* + *a* > *bando:da* '(he) is coming'

tindun + *o:d* + *a* > *tindo:da* '(he) is eating'

3.2.3 Future Progressive aspect :

The future progressive aspect is expressed by the structure of verbal participle plus the future tense form of the verb *ir* 'to be' and pronominal termination.

Vb + Aux (Future) + PT

Aux (Future) = *ir* + *p*

ardun + *ir* + *p* + *iya* > *ardippiya*

'(I) will be beating'

argun + *ir* + *p* + *a* > *argippa*

'(he) will be sleeping'

Eventhough in the surface level it seems that the structure of the aspects whether it is progressive or

completive is a combinatory structure of verb root, past tense marker and auxiliary the existence of verbal participle as such instead of a verb root plus past tense marker can be confirmed by the structure which will give the meaning of reflexiveness and emphasis (Em). This is the language in which the reflexiveness is expressed by the insertion of the oblique base (ob) of reflexive pronoun 'ta:n' in between verbal participle and auxiliary. And the emphasis is also expressed by the insertion of the emphatic suffix 'a:n' in between the verbal participle and auxiliary.

Reflexiveness :

Vb + Ob + Aux (past) + PT

Aux (past) = *ir + d*

ardun + tan + ir + d + a > arđunđanidđa

'(he) was beating himself'

me:jun + tan + ir + d + a > me:juđtanidđa

'(it) was grazing itself'

Emphasis :

Vb + Em + Aux (past) + PT

Aux (past) = *ir + d*

ardun + ta:n + ir + d + a > arđunđa:nidđa

'(he) was beating (emphatic)

me:jun + ta:n + ir + d + a > me:juđta:nidđa

'(it) was grazing (emphatic)

In addition to the above mentioned evidence for the existence of verbal participle as the underlying form in the structure of the aspects it can also be confirmed by the verbal participle forms of the following verbs.

Imperative		Verbal participles	
<i>o:ḍey</i>	run'	<i>oyḍṇ</i>	'having run'
<i>pa:ḍey</i>	'sing'	<i>payḍṇ</i>	'having sung'
<i>ku:ḍey</i>	'join' (In.Tr)	<i>kuyḍṇ</i>	'having joined'
<i>ku:ṭey</i>	'join' (Tr)	<i>kuyṭṇ</i>	'having joined'

Morphologically the verbal participles of the above given verbs apparently differs from that of corresponding imperative forms. The same verbal participle form with a slight phonological change can be seen in the structure which gives the meaning of progressive aspect.

Vb + Aux (past) + PT

Aux (past) = *ir* — *ḍ*

oyḍṇ + *ir* + *ḍ* + *a* > *oyriḍḍa*
'was running-he'

payḍṇ + *ir* + *ḍ* + *a* > *payriḍḍa*
'was singing-he'

So from all these examples the structure of the aspects has been confirmed as the combinatory structure of verbal participle, auxiliary and pronominal termination.

4.0. Modals :

Modal (Mod) auxiliaries can be defined as a set of categories for a verb used chiefly to indicate the attitude of a speaker towards what he is saying as permission, probability, capability, necessity etc. It is the closed class of verbs which may occupy the second position of verb phrase. It may also occupy the third position if it is preceded by another auxiliary.

4.1. Possibility, Probability, Permissive :

In BK, the meaning possibility, probability and permissive is expressed by the suffix *-ku*. The structure of this can be described as infinitive plus modal.

Inf + Mod

Mod = -ku

ki:l + ku > ki:lku

'may do' (possibility, probability, permissive)

o:dl + ku > o:dku

'may run' (possibility, probability, permissive)

ʔinl + ku > ʔinku

'may eat' (possibility, probability, permissive)

It can be said that this modal -ku is nothing but a main verb *ki:* 'do'. This statement may be confirmed by the free variation of -ku with -ki.

o:dku ~ o:dki

ʔinku ~ ʔinki

ki:lku ~ ki:lki

But this modal -ku will not occur with the I person when it denotes permissive meaning. It occurs with all the persons if it denotes either the meaning of probability or possibility.

navo ke:kou alka ba:rku

1 2 3 4

'I may come there tomorrow'

1 4 3 2

(possibility/probability)

ni:yi ke:kou alka ba:rku

'you may come there tomorrow'

(possibility, probability, permissive)

adu ke:kou alka ba:rku

1 2 3 4

'he/she/it may come there tomorrow'

1 4 3 2

(possibility, probability, permissive)

4.2. Capability:

The meaning of capability in the assertive sense is expressed by the modal *-a:ppa*. This modal can be considered as the future tense form of the verb *a:g* 'to become'. The structure of this is as follows.

Inf + Mod (Future)

Mod (Future) = *a:g* + Pa.

tinl + *a:g* + *pa* > *tinla:ppa* 'can eat'

no:dl + *a:g* + *pa* > *no:đla:ppa* 'can see'

po:gal + *a:g* + *pa* > *po:gala:ppa* 'can go'

navu tinla:ppa 'I can eat' (Nom)

1 2 1 2

enka tinla:ppa 'I can eat' (Dat)

1 2 1 2

ni:yi no:đla:ppa 'You can see' (Nom)

1 2 1 2

ninka no:đla:ppa 'You can see' (Dat)

1 2 1 2

ađu po:gala:ppa 'he/she/it can go' (Nom)

1 2 1 2

ađu:a po:gala:ppa 'he/she/it can go' (Dat)

1 2 1 2

4.3. Causative :

The meaning of causative is expressed by the affixation of auxiliary *cey* 'cause to do' with the infinitive form of the main verb.

Inf + Mod

Mod = *cey*

o:dl + *cey* *o:dl cey* 'cause to run'

ba:rl + *cey* *ba:rlcey* 'cause to come'

In BK the causative suffix *cey* is not used as main verb. The whole construction may be borrowed from Tamil.

5.0. Negative Auxiliary :

The meaning of negation is expressed by the markers *-l-* and *-il-*. The markers *-l-* and *-il-* occur in between past tense and pronominal terminations and infinitive and pronominal terminations to denote past and non-past negation respectively. These negative markers are nothing but the remnants of the main verb *-illa* 'no'. For example in order to express the meaning of "he is not Bomman" and "he will not come" the sentences used are "*adu bumman illa*" and "*adu ba:rlilla*". The *illa* in the first sentence negating the existence of a person called Bomman and the *illa* in the second sentence is negating the action of coming. So it seems that the *illa* in the first sentence behaves as a main verb with the common meaning of 'no' whereas the *illa* of the second sentence helps the infinitive form of the main verb *bar* 'to come' to complete its meaning. This is the same case when this negative marker occurs in between the past tense and pronominal termination to express the past negation. So these negative markers have been taken as auxiliary in the name of negative auxiliary.

5.1. Past negation :

The past negation is expressed by the following structure.

Root + Past + Aux + PT

Aux = i

bar + nd + l + i > bandli

‘did not come-I’

bar + nd + l + o > bandlo

‘did not come we/they’

5.2. Non. past negation

The negation in the non-past is expressed by the structure given below

Inf + Aux + PT

Aux = *il*

ba:rl + il + i > ba:rlili:

‘will not come-I’

ba:rl + il + o > ba:rlillo

‘will not come we/they’

ba:rl + il + a > ba:rlilla

‘will not come he/she/it’

5.3. Negative Conditional :

The negative conditional is expressed by the combinatory structure of infinitive double auxiliaries and conditional suffix (CS). The verbal participle form of the main verb *illa* ‘no’ and past tense form of the main verb *ir* ‘to be’ are behaving as auxiliaries. The structure of the negative conditional is given below.

Inf + Vb (Aux) + Aux (past) + CS

Vb (Aux) = *ildun*

Aux (past) = *ir + d*

ba:rl + ildun + ir + d + ani > ba:rl:l diddn

‘if (one) not comes’

5.4. Prohibitive:

The meanings of prohibition and needlessness are expressed by the structure infinitive plus modal *be:ḍa*.

Inf + Mod
 Mod = *be:ḍa*
no:ḍl + be:ḍa no:ḍlbe:ḍa
 ‘You should not/need not see’
tinl + be:ḍa tinlbe:ḍa
 ‘You should not/need not eat’

5.5. Impossibility

The meaning of impossibility is expressed by the structure infinitive and double auxiliaries. Here the infinitive form of the main verb *a:g* and *illa* are behaving as double auxiliaries.

Inf + Inf (Aux) + Aux
 Inf (Aux) = *a:g + l*
 Aux = *illa*
o:ḍl + a:g + l + illa > o:ḍla:glilla
 ‘can not run’
no:ḍl + a:g + l + illa > no:ḍla:glilla
 ‘can not see’
kurl + a.g + l + illa > kurla:glilla
 ‘can not drink’

Colophon

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AUXILIARIES IN *Paṇia*

S. JEAN LAWRENCE

As in other Dravidian Languages complex verb forms are also noticed in **Paṇia*. The complex verb forms are usually formed by the addition of auxiliaries to the simple verb forms. Of the fused, one is the principal verb and it is the nucleus and the suffixed one i.e., the auxiliary is non-nucleus. The auxiliaries are helping verbs. The addition of auxiliaries to the principal verb doesn't change the meaning, but gives various shades of meaning to the principal verb.

The purpose of this paper is to describe and explore the aspects and modals which are the major types of auxiliaries present in *paṇia*. In *paṇia* when the auxiliary is suffixed to the verbal participle form of the principal verb, it is called as aspect and when it is suffixed to the infinitive or stem of the principal verb, it is called as modal. The structures are as follows.

- 1 Vp + aux. — aspect
- 2 Inf. + aux. — modal
- 3 V. stem + aux. — modal

* *Paṇia paṇiṣe* is spoken by the tribes called *paṇias* living in the regions of Nilgiris and Waynad of Tamil Nadu and Kerala respectively. The present analysis is based on the data collected from *paṇias* of Nilgiris.

When the principal verb and the auxiliary fuses certain morphonemic changes are taking place and they are not dealt with here.

Aspect :

Aspect refers to the manner in which the verb of action is regarded or experienced. The choice of aspect is a comment on or a particular view of the action (Quirk et al - p. 90, 1972). It indicates the correspondence between the content of the utterance and reality i.e. indicating that the action (state, process) denoted by the stem of the verb is thought of actually taking place having taken place, or due to take place (Forsyth, J. p. 194, 1970).

In *pañiya* aspectual auxiliaries are occurring after the verbal participle of the principal verb. Aspects take tense (except one aspect) as well as gender and number. Aspects can be classified into simple and complex aspects on the basis of auxiliaries suffixed. Suffixation of a single auxiliary can be called as simple aspect (perfective, completive, trial etc) and when more than one auxiliary is added it can be called as complex auxiliary (progressive aspect). There are different types of aspects present in *Pañiya*. They are

- 1) perfective
- 2) progressive
- 3) completive
- 4) trial/attempt
- 5) reflexive

1) Perfective:

It is associated with time orientation. The verb *i'ɔ* 'be, sit' which is an alternative form of the verb *i/ɛ* 'sit

gives the perfective notion in *Paṇiā*, when suffixed to the verbal participle form of the principal verb. On the basis of tense markers added, perfective can be classified into three viz.

- a) past perfect
- b) present perfect
- c) future perfect.

a. Past perfect :

Past perfect has the meaning of past in the past.

na:nu innale (pa:nju-i-nd-e:n) pa:njinde:n
 (I yesterday (run [up] -aux- tense-G.N.) had run)
 "I had run yesterday"

na:nu aiyne innale kaṇḍa:yṅgu ayin a:ḍe
 (I he [acc.] yesterday saw when he there)

(iḷe:ccu-i-nd-a:n) iḷe:ḷe:ccinda:n
 (sit [vp] -aux-tense-G N.) had sat
 "He had sat there when I saw him yesterday"

b. Present perfect :

"The present perfect indicates a period of time stretching backwards into some earlier time. It is past with current relevance" (Quirk et al. p. 91, 1972).

aboḷu a:ḍe (bandu-i-kkinr-oḷu) bandikkinroḷu
 (She there (come [vp] -aux-tense-G.N.) has come)
 "She has come there"

abēn kurkene (a:ṭṭi-i-kkinr-om) a:ṭṭikkinrom
enraṇḍu ayin paranja:n
 (he fox-acc (drive [vp] - aux - tense - G.N.) has
 driven that he told)
 "He told that he has driven the fox"

c. Future perfect :

The future perfect indicates a period of time stretching forward into some future time of action (state, process). It is past with future relevance.

pakki malemene (maleñju-i-pp-æ:n-)
(Pakki deer-[acc]) (see [vp] -aux-tense G.N.)

maleñjippa:n enrañdu viga:riccen
(would have seen that thought I)
"I thought that Pakki would have seen the deer"

aboļu tuđi eđuttu-i-pp-oļu) eđuttippøļu
she drum (take [vp] -aux-tense-G.N.) would have
taken

"She would have taken the drum"

The perfective auxiliary *-i-* is also used as a part of progressive aspect.

2) Progressive :

"Performance of an action (state, process) over a certain period of time is expressed by the progressive aspect" (Forsyth J.P. 24, 1970). That is, it expresses the continuity of an action (state, process) but not the occurrence at a point, of time. The action is not located at a point, but it is durative.

In *Papiya* progressive aspect is expressed by the suffixation of the auxiliaries i) *-añdu+uł-*, ii) *-añdu+i-* to the verbal participle form of the principal verb.

The progressive aspect *-añdu + uł-* does not take tense marker, but expresses the sense of present perfective aspect i.e. the continuation of the action at the present time, though the present tense marker is not added. It

never expresses the past or future progressive aspect notion. The second type *-aṇḍu + i-* takes tense markers.

aben (baṇḍu-aṇḍu + uḷ - om) baṇḍandulom
 (he (come [VP] -aux₁ + aux₂ - G.N.) is coming)
 "He is coming"

*aben (baṇḍu-aṇḍu + i - kkinṛ - om) bandaṇḍik-
 kinrom*
 (he (come [VP] - aux₁ + aux₂ - tense - G.N.) is
 coming)
 "He is coming"

The progressive aspect can be classified into three viz. a) past progressive aspect b) present progressive aspect and c) future progressive aspect on the basis of tense marker added with and meaning expressed.

a. Past progressive :

The action (state, process) is described in progress from some unnoted or unmarked point in the past to some later point in the past which is also not marked.

na:nu (baṇḍu-aṇḍu + i -nd-e:n) bandaṇḍiṇde:n
 (I (come [VP] -aux₁ + aux₂ - tense - G.N. was
 coming)
 "I was coming"

*ba:lan (naḍaṇḍu - aṇḍu + i -nd-a:n)
 naḍaṇḍiṇḍ:nda:n*
 (Balan (walk [VP] -aux₁ + aux₂ = tense- G.N.)
 was walking)
 "Balan was walking"

b. Present progressive :

It indicates the continuity of the action (process, state) which started from some undesignated time, till the

speaker tells about it (and it may continue in the future also) When the action (state, process) is informed, it is in progress or it is going on.

pakkine kuḍiyen (baṇḍu-aṇḍu-i-kkinr-om-)
banduṇḍikkinnṛom
 (Pakki's father - in - law (come [VP] -aux₁- +
 taux₂-tense-G.N.) is coming)
 "Pakki's father-in-law is coming"

a:ḍe moṭṭe (kereṇu-aṇḍu+i=kkinr-om)
kereṇjaṇḍikkinnṛom
 (there boy (cry [VP] -aux₁+aux₂-tense-G.N.) is
 crying)
 "The boy is crying there".

pakkine kuḍiyen (bandu-aṇḍu+ul- m) baṇḍaṇḍuḷom
 (Pakki's father-in-law (come [VP] -aux₁+aux₂-
 G.N.) is coming)
 "Pakki's father-in-law is coming"

ayin moṭṭe (kereṇju-aṇḍu+ul-om) kereṇjaṇḍuḷom
 (that boy (cry [VP] -aux₁+aux₂- G.N.) is crying)
 "That boy is crying"

c. Future progressive :

It expresses the future continuity of an action (process, state) from some unexpressed point in the future to some later point which is also unexpressed.

na:nu ciluma (maleṇju-aṇḍu+i-pp-e:n)
maleṇjaṇḍippe:n
 (I movie (see [VP] -aux₁+aux₂-tense-G.N.) will
 be seeing)
 "I will be seeing movie"

pakki ciluma (maleñju andu+i pp. a:n)
malenjandippa:n

Pakki movie (see [VP] -aux₁+aux₂-tense-G.N)
 "Pakki will be seeing movie"

When this progressive aspect occurs with third person subject the sentence will be ambiguous. The above sentence may mean "Pakki may be seeing movie (at this time)" - here the process is taking place at the present time and not in the future. But when future time adverbs are added, it gives the future time notion. Thus the above sentence can be disambiguated

pakki na:le e:yu mañikku cilume
 (Pakki tomorrow seven time movie)
(mealeñju-añdu-i-pp-a:n) maleñjandippa:n
 (see [VP] -aux₁-aux₂-tense-G.N) will be seeing
 "Pakki will be seeing movie at 7 o'clock
 tomorrow"

3) Completive :

It indicates the completion of an action (state, process) and the speaker have the feeling that the action is over.

In Paṇia the verb *ka:y* 'dry' (*ayin ka:ñja:n* 'it dried up') is suffixed after the verbal participle form of the principal verb to express the completive notion. It also expresses the certainty of the action i.e. it indicates the definiteness of the action (state, process). It expresses the completive notion only when it occurs with past tense markers. But certainty is expressed both in the past as well as in the future tense.

aboļu (padiccu-ka:y-ñj-oļu) padiccuka:ñjolu
 she (study [VP] aux-tense -G.N.) studied
 "She studied" (completive/certainty)

mira:yen (bandu-ka:y-um- Ø (banduka:vum
 Old man (come [VP] -aux tense-G. N.) will come
 (certainty) "The old man will come"

Completive aspect is also expressed by the auxiliary
-ul when suffixed with the verbal participle form of the
 principal verb. It doesn't take any tense marker.

ayin a:ke (baḡunu-ul-om-) baḡuḡom
 He there (came [VP] -aux- G.N.) came
 "He came there"

aben ca:iye (paḡiccu-ul-om) paḡiccuḡom
 He a lot (study [VP] -aux- G.N.) studied
 "He studied a lot"

4) Trial/Attempt:

To express the sense of trying to do something (i.e.
 the action of trial or attempt) *-no:kku* is added after the
 verbal participle form of the principal verb. *no:kku* is
 homophonous with the main verb *no:kku* "see"

niyyu a:ḡe no:kku "You look there"
na:nu aḡe no:kkutte:n "I looked there"

But when it occurs as an auxiliary it helps to give trial
 or attempt meaning to the principal verb.

na:nu (evti-no:kku-tt-e:n) evtino:kkutte:n
 (I (write [vp] -aux-tense-G. N.) tried to write)
 "I tried to write"

aboḡu (pa:ḡi-na:kku-nḡ-oḡu-) pa:ḡino:kkunroḡu)
 (She (sing (VP) aux-tense-G.N.) try to sing)
 She tries 'to sing'.

-no:kku also gives the meaning of checking something.

na:nu ayine (eṅṅi-no:kku-tt-e:n) *ennino;kkutte:n*
 (I that (count [VP] -aux-tense G.N) counted)
 "I counted it (for checking)"

5) Reflexive

The meaning of doing something by oneself, i.e. the patient is the doer of the action (process, state) is expressed by the auxiliary *-koḷ* when suffixed with the verbal participle form of the principal verb.

ayine na:ne (evti koḷ-t-e.n *evtikonḍe:n*
 (it I (write [VP] -aux-tense-G-N) wrote myself)
 "I wrote it myself"

ayin (*curuṅgi -koḷ -um-*) *curuṅgikoḷḷum*
 (that (shrink [VP] -aux-tense -G.N.) shrink itself)
 "That will shrink itself"

Modals:

Mood can be defined as "a set of grammatical devices for 'marking' sentences according to the speaker's commitment with respect to the factual status of what he is saying" (Lyons, 1968). "It expresses certain attitudes of the mind of the speaker towards the content of the sentence" (Jespersen, p. 33, 1924) It reveals the speaker's personal feelings or views of the situation. It is the assessment of the situation or action or process. It indicates the attitude of the speaker about what he is saying. It differs from other auxiliaries. It neither takes tense nor takes gender and number. It is also not possible to suffix one modal with other.

In Paṅia modal auxiliaries are suffixed to the stem as well as to the infinitive form of the principal verb, *ku:ḍum*, *-a:m*, *-aṅam* and *-aṭte* are the modal auxiliaries present

present in *Paṇia*. The first one is suffixed to the infinitive and the rest are added to the stem of the principal verb.

1) Potentiality, Possibility, Permission, Probability :

In *Paṇia* the semantic categories such as potentiality, possibility, permission and probability are expressed by the auxiliary *-a:m* when it is suffixed with the stem of the principal verb. Here *-a:m* stands for different semantic categories.

aboḷu paṇi (cey-a:m) ceyya:m
 (She work (do [stem] -aux) may/can do)
 "She can/may do the work"

aben terka (tin-a:m) tina:m
 (he speedly (eat [stem] -aux) can/may eat)
 "He can/may eat speedly"

nivvu (po:-ga:m) po:ga:m
 (you (go [stem] -aux) may/can go)
 "You can/may go"

When the subject of the sentence is first person inclusive plural this auxiliary (*-a:m*) gives hortative meaning also

na:ma (po:-a n-) po:ga:m
 (we (inc) (go [stem] -aux) go let)
 "Let us go"

na:ma (tin- a:m-) tina:m
 we (inc) (eat [stem] -aux) eat let
 "Let us eat"

Potentiality possibility and probability meanings can also be expressed by suffixing the auxiliary *-ku:dam* to the infinitive form of the principal verb.

e:kku (tinuma:n-ku:ḍum) tinuma:ngu:ḍum
 (I (eat [inf] -aux) can/may eat)
 "I can/may eat"

kuṛkan ko:yine (kolluva:n-ku:ḍum) kolluva:ngu:ḍum
 (fox hen (kill [inf] -aux) can/may kill)
 "Fox may kill the hen"

2 Obligation/Necessity :

Both obligation and necessity meanings are expressed by the auxiliary *-aṇam*. There is no clear tendency to use one modal to the exclusion of the other in the case of the constructions which express obligation and necessity meanings.

niyyu (tin- aṇam) tinaṇam
 (you (eat [stem] -aux) must eat)
 "You must eat"

aben (Ka:ṛ - aṇam) ka:ṛaṇam
 he (climb [stem] -aux) must climb
 "He must climb"

ekku (no:kk-aṇam) no:kkaṇam
 (I (see [stem] -aux) must see)
 "I must see"

3 Hortative

Hortative expressions are attested in first and third persons only and not with second person. It reveals the meaning 'let something (action, state, process) happen'. In *Paṇia* it is expressed when by the auxiliary *-aṭṭe* when added to the principal verb.

It also gives permissive meaning. When the subject is in the first person we get the meaning of 'asking per-

mission' and when it is in third person it gives the meaning of 'giving permission'.

aben (bar-atte) barotte

(he (come [stem] -aux) let come)

"Let him come" (giving permission)

na:ñu (po:-atte) po:ḡatte

(I (go [stem] -aux) let go)

"Let me go" (asking permission)

In *Paniya* the auxiliary verbs are used to give different shades of meaning to the principal verb. A few of such auxiliaries are explained, although not fully, in this brief paper. So this is not an exhaustive and final study and this is only a fore runner to a detailed study.

Colophon:

I am immensely grateful to my guide Professor Agesthalingom who gave valuable suggestions and encouragement for the preparation of this paper. Also I am thankful to Dr. G. Srinivasa Varma and Mr. N. Rajasekharan Nair who have gone through the paper and gave valuable suggestions.

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AUXILIARIES IN *Ka:ṭṭuna:icka*

S. NATANASABAPATHY

This paper is intended to give a brief and broad description of the auxiliaries in *Ka:ṭṭuna:icka*, a tribal language of the Nilgiris, without reference to morpho-phonemics and without being logical in the matter of terms and categories used.

The auxiliaries, as found so far in this language, are verbs used to form either the aspects or moods of other verbs. So, on the basis of what they are used to form, they are classifiable into the aspectual and modal; and as there are different aspects and moods in use, several types can be established within each class.

Now, first to the aspectual class. "Aspects, John Anderson says, is concerned with the relation of an event or state to a particular reference point; it is located before, after, around or simply at a particular point in time." This definition is accepted with one qualification that it is not sufficiently broad to include a few sub-types to be recognized. The sub-types in this class are perfective, completive, progressive, trial, inceptive and reflexive.

The perfective :

The verb *iru* meaning 'to be' is used as an auxiliary to form the perfective aspect. It is added to the verbal participial form of another verb as follows.

VP + Aux + P.T.

Past perfect

eg. <i>avənt bandiddənt</i>	'He had come'
<i>na:nɪ kuyddeni</i>	'I had plucked'
<i>avənt ya:ntdənt</i>	'He had excreted'

Non-past perfect

<i>avənt bandiddəne</i>	'He has come'
<i>na:nɪ kuyddəne</i>	'I have plucked'
<i>avənt ỹa:ntdəne</i>	'He has excreted'

It is remarkable that the tense, in *Ka:ttuna:icka*, is not marked in finite constructions and that the verb *iru* 'to be', however, shows tense distinctions as follows,

<i>avənt a'li iddəne</i>	'He is there' (non-past)
<i>avənt allɪ iddənt</i>	'He was there' (past)

Pending the completion of the analysis, an explanation regarding its irregularity is reserved.

The Completive :

The lexical verb *biḍɪ* 'to leave' has developed into the auxiliary *[-biṭṭɪ]* 'completive'. The completive aspect indicates the completion of event at a particular point in time. The completive construction is as follows :

VP + Aux + P.T.

eg. <i>o:ybiṭṭənt</i>	'He went (definitely)'
<i>tandɪb'ṭṭənt</i>	'He gave (definitely)'
<i>bandɪbiṭṭənt</i>	'He came (definitely)'

Similarly, the verb *a:ḡɪ* 'become' has come to function as an auxiliary expressing both completion and finality.

This verb appears in the form of /-a:-/ when in the function of auxiliary. The structure is as follows :

VP + Aux + Neuter P.T.

eg. <i>avent banda:tt</i>	'he has come-finally'
<i>aveḷt banda:tt</i>	'she has come-finally'
<i>adt banda:tt</i>	'it has come-finally'
<i>avent kereta:tt</i>	'he has scratched-finally'
<i>aveḷt kereta:tt</i>	'she has scratched-finally'

Though the verbs *biḷt* and *a:gt* are alike in that they express completion, they are however different in that the former takes P.T. markers while the latter does not.

The Progressive :

The auxiliary /-idd/ prefixed by /-oṇ/ i.e. /-oṇidd/ gets added to the verbal participial form of another verb to denote continuous action. The progressive is not located at a point but is spread over a segment on the time dimension. The structure is as follows :

VP + Aux + P.T.

Past

eg. <i>beredoṇiddamṭ</i>	'I was writing'
<i>ma:ḍoṇiddamṭ</i>	'he was doing'

Non-past

<i>beredoṇidde:ne</i>	'I am writing'
<i>ma:ḍoṇiddane</i>	'he is writing'

The auxiliary verb /oṇiru/ can be traced to the combination of *koḷ* and *iru* though its meaning of duration does not correspond to the sum of the meanings of its parts, /-oṇ/ being used as reflexive auxiliary and /-iru/ as perfective auxiliary with other verbs.

The Reflexive :

The verb **koḷ* 'to purchase, to make one's own' represented as /-oŋ/ is often used with verbal participial form of another verb in reflexive meaning. The reflexive indicates that the action benefits or in some way directly affects its agent. The structure is as follows :

VP + Aux + P.F.

eg. <i>kaltoŋe:nt</i>	'I read it for my own sake'
<i>tinnoŋe:nt</i>	'I ate it for my own sake'
<i>ma:ḍyoŋe:nt</i>	'I did it for my own sake'
<i>o:gyoŋe:nt</i>	'I went for my own sake'

The Trial :

The verb *no:ḍu* meaning 'see' functions also as an auxiliary. Added to the verbal participial form of another verb, it imparts the meaning 'try' or 'attempt'. The structure is as follows :

VP + Aux + P.T.

eg. <i>ke:ḷino:ḍide:nt</i>	'I tried asking for'
<i>tored:ino:ḍidənt</i>	'he tried opening'
<i>mi:d:ino:ḍidənt</i>	'he tried bathing'

The inceptive :

The auxiliary verb indicating inception is *-o:gu* which may be related to the main verb *o:gu* 'to go'. This auxiliary has the peculiarity of being added to the infinitive of another verb. The structure is as follows :

* See Kittel - 1969 - pp. 524-525.

Inf. + Aux +₁ P.T.

eg. <i>ma:ḍalo:de:nī</i>	'I am going to do'
<i>a:ppalo:de:ni</i>	'I am going to become'
<i>eṇivalo:de:nt</i>	'I am going to join'

Now, to modal auxiliaries. Modality can be defined as that property of verb which expresses the possibility, probability, obligation, necessity or truth value of the proposition made. Modal auxiliary is one of the devices to show the speaker's assessment of probability, potentiality, desirability and obligation with reference to the predication. Accordingly the modal auxiliaries in *Ka:ṭṭuna:icka* can be put in the following sub-classes viz. permissive, obligative, hortative, potential, negative potential, negative injunctive, past negative, future negative and perfective negative. Speaking of the construction involving modal auxiliaries, as a rule the modal auxiliary is added directly to the infinitive or conjugated noun of another verb.

The permissive:

The auxiliary verb *bovdu* is added to the infinitive of another verb to indicate permission. This auxiliary however expresses capability also. And it is possible* to relate this auxiliary to Ka. *baruvudu* > Ka. N. *barodu*. In Kannada the verb *baruvudu* means 'coming' and the derivation of 'permission' from 'coming' has to rely on the derivation of *bahudu* expressing permission from *baruvudu* 'coming' for Kannada by Mr. C. Ramaswamy. The structure is as follows:

* In my personal discussions with Mr. C. Ramaswamy, it was suggested that it may be possible in Kannada to derive *bahudu* from *baruvudu*. As *Ka:ṭṭuna:icka* is closely related to Kannada, the same explanation may be extended to *Ka:ṭṭuna:icka* also.

Inf. + Aux.

eg. <i>o:ppa o:ga</i>	<i>bovdu</i>	'may go-someone'
<i>ma:ḍa</i>	<i>bovdu</i>	'may do someone'
<i>tiviya</i>	<i>bovdu</i>	'may dash someone'
<i>kere:</i>	<i>bovdu</i>	'may scratch someone'
<i>timba tina</i>	<i>bovdu</i>	'may eat someone'

The Obligatory:

The auxiliary expressing obligation is *a:kt*. The structure is as follows:

Inf. + Aux.

eg. <i>bara:kt</i>	'mus come-someone'
<i>barsa:kt</i>	'must cause to come'
<i>kere:kt</i>	'must scratch-someone'
<i>a:ga:kt</i>	'must become- someone'
<i>eṇe:ki</i>	'must join- someone'
<i>o:ga:kt o:ku</i>	'must go-someone'

The auxiliary *-a:kt* can be related to **be:ki* a verb meaning 'wanted'. The latter has evolved into the former through the loss of 'b' and the change of 'e' to 'a'. A similar process seems to have operated in *Tulu* and some dialects of *Kannada* which fact supports the relating of *a:kt* to *be:ki* in *Ka:ṭṭuna:icka*.

The hortative:

The auxiliary for hortative meaning is *-i*. It is added to the infinitive of another verb as follows:

Inf. + Aux.

eg. <i>barali</i>	'let come'
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<i>berivati bere:li</i>	'let write'
<i>tadṭippali</i>	'let prevent'
<i>kolali</i>	'let kill'
<i>be:yeli</i>	'let boil'

This auxiliary *-i* can be related to the main verb *i:* 'to give' or 'to allow'.

This functional mutation is there to be seen in standard Kannada and Telugu also.

The potential :

The auxiliary to express capability is *a:ppē|a:dādt*. It is construed with the infinitive of another verb as follows :

Inf. + Aux.

eg. <i>timbale a:ppē</i>	'I can eat'
<i>olale a:dādt</i>	'I can stitch'
<i>kuḍuppale a:dādt</i>	'can drink'
<i>kuḍuppale a:ppē</i>	'can drink'

This auxiliary can be related to the verb *a:gt* 'to become'

The negative mood :

There are two auxiliaries to express negative potential meaning viz. *|a:ppadille|* and *|kolle|*. They are construed with the infinitive of another verb as follows:

Inf. + Aux.

eg. <i>na:nt baral(e) a:ppadille</i>	'I can't come'
<i>na:nt baral(e) kolle</i>	'I can't come'

ni:ni olal(le) a:ppadille

'You can't stitch'

aveni kuḍuppal(e) a:ppadille

'He can't drink'

The auxiliary *a:ppadille* is analysable into *a:gt* and *il*, *il* being a defective verb meaning 'not to be' and occurring with conjugated nouns also, as will be obvious shortly.

The negative injunctive:

There are two auxiliaries to express negative injunction viz. *-baradt* and *e:ge*. The construction is as follows:

Inf. + Aux.

- eg. 1) *ningə tinnə baradt* 'you should not eat'
ningə o:ppe baradt 'you should not go'
ningə bare baradt 'you should not come'
ningə miyye baradt 'you should not bath'
- 2) *o:gəle:gə* 'you should not go'
nogəle:ge 'you should not laugh'
kuḍuppəle:ge 'you should not drink'

The auxiliary *baradt* can be related to the verb *bar* 'to come' and the auxiliary *-e:gə* to the verb *a:gt* 'to become', with the negative morpheme added to each verb.

The negative modal auxiliary for past, future and perfect:

The auxiliary *-ille/∼ile* is added to the conjugated nouns to express past, future and perfect negation. The structure is as follows.

Conjugated noun + Aux.

eg. <i>bantile</i>	'did not come-someone'
<i>barodille</i>	'will not come - someone'
<i>bandatille</i>	'have not come-someone'
<i>o:ttile</i>	'did not go-someone'
<i>o:ppadille</i>	'will not go-someone'
<i>o:dadille</i>	'have not gone-someone'

The auxiliary *-ille/~ile* may be related to the main verb *il* 'not to be'.

The prohibitive :

The auxiliary to express prohibition is *-be:ḍa:*. It is construed with the infinitive of another verb as follows :

Inf. + Aux.

eg. <i>barabe:ḍa:</i>	'don't come-you'
<i>kaliya be:ḍa:</i>	'don't read-you'
<i>gyalippa be:ḍa:</i>	'don't tear-you'

This auxiliary verb be related to the verb *be:kē* 'wanted'. The meaning 'need not' is also got from the prohibitive auxiliary form.

To sum up, 1) There are two classes of auxiliaries viz. the aspectual and modal. 2) The verb to which the aspectual auxiliary added is in the form of the verbal participle and that to which the modal auxiliary is added in the form of either infinitive or conjugated noun. 3) As a rule the aspectual auxiliaries occur with pronominal terminations whereas modal auxiliaries do not take other than neuter P.T. 4) The auxiliaries are traceable to main verbs, most of them to regular verbs and the rest to the irregular verbs and 5) There are a few exceptions to the observations marked viz.

- a) *bantile* 'did not come-someone'
 b) *ma:ḡal o:de:ni* 'I am going to do'

What is marked (a) apparently consists of the verbal participle of the verb *bar* + neg Aux. *ile*, which would violate the observation that modal auxiliary is added to the infinitive or conjugated noun of another verb. However, this is only an apparent exception, for, the *bant*-part is derivable from *banditt* 'it came' which is obviously a conjugated noun.

As to the exception marked, (b) this construction consists of Inf. + Aux. (inceptive) which violates the observation that aspectual auxiliary is added to the verbal participle. For the time being, this exception has to stay unexplained.

Colophone

I am very grateful to my guide Dr. K. Kushalappa Gowda for his valuable suggestions and guidance in bringing out this paper. My thanks are also due to Mr. C. Ramaswamy and Mr. S. Venugopal for having given comments on this paper. None of them is responsible for any short comings in this paper.

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AUXILIARIES IN SANSKRIT

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

*Auxiliary words are formally independent words which do not carry their independent meaning, but are used with other words to influence their meanings; the auxiliary verbs in English and Dravidian languages are used to show the modal or aspectual sense along with the other words referring to the main action of the sentence. As far as Sanskrit is concerned the auxiliaries play a very minor role, since special suffixes are added to the words themselves to indicate the modal or aspectual nature of the action. It is also difficult to consider the prefixes or *upasarges* in Sanskrit as auxiliaries, even though they are prefixed to verbal roots to alter the meaning; for here the change in meaning that takes place is very drastic, and it does not seem to be just influencing their meaning in a limited way. Of course according to the theoreticians, all the possible meanings are latent in the verbal roots themselves and the function of the prefixes is only to help in manifesting the desired meaning.*

In actual usage, however, we find that even in Sanskrit, finite verbs which normally express the general meaning of existence, such as *bhavati*, *vidyate*, *asti*, *variate*, *tiṣṭhati*, *a:ste*, etc. are often used along with the main action of the sentence, in their present or past participial or the (indeclinable) past participial form *s'atranta*, *sa:na-*

janta, *kṛdanta*, *ktava:nta* and *lyabanta*) for indicating the continuous or perfect senses respectively. *Pa:ṇini* does not call them auxiliaries; *ktava:nta* is ordained when the agent of the action of the main verb, and that of the participle are identical, and the action of the main verb takes place after that of the participle (*samanakartṛkayoh pu:rvaka:le*). But in cases where the final verb is one of those with the general meaning of existence, its role is minor and auxiliary. So also in the case of the present or even the past participles. *rodasi: vya:pya sthitam* (*Vikramorvas'i:ya* 1.1) 'standing', extending the earth and heaven' *gacchan a:si:t* (he was going). The copula, which is optional in Sanskrit, may also be considered as a sort of auxiliary verb.

The actual auxiliary verbs accepted by the grammarians as such are those of the periphrastic, called *anuprayo.as*, and ordained by *pa:ṇini* in *Su:tras* like *Kṛñca:nu-prayujyate liṭi*. Such periphrastic usages are very rare in Vedic literature.

Periphrastic aorists are found in the black Yajur Veda and are collected in a single *su tra* of *Pa:ṇini* 3.1.42.

(*Amantro*) *abhyutsa:daya:mprayanayam* - *cikaya:m ramaya:makah pa:vaya:mkriya:dvida:makranniti chandasi*. 'In sacred literature, but not in a *mantra* occur *abhyutsa:daya:m akah* etc'.

All but one of these have been traced.

<i>sbhyutsa:daya:m akah</i>	MS 1.6.5
<i>prayanayam akah</i>	MS 1.6.10, 1.8.5
<i>ramaya:m akah</i>	KS 7.7

<i>pa:vaya:m kriya:t</i>	MS 2.1.3
<i>vida:m akṛaṅ</i>	MS 1.4.7., TB. 1.3.10.3

Two other forms not mentioned in the list are

<i>ava:daya:m akah</i>	MS 1.8.4
<i>pratiṣṭha:paya:m akah</i>	MS 3.3.3., 3.3.9

The form *cikuya:m akah* has not been traced.

The formation of periphrastic perfects extended from these cases, and in classical Sanskrit these are the only forms normally found. An optional form of periphrastic imperative is sanctioned by *Pa:ṇinī: vida:mkurvantvanyataras ya:m* (*vida:mkurvantu* may optionally be used) *Fa:ṇinī's su:tra* sanctioning the periphrastic perfect is 3.1.39):

Kṛñca:nuprayujyate l'ti (In the perfect the form of *kṛ* is used as an auxiliary).

Though the normal meaning of *kṛñ* is the root *kṛ* 'to do', *ka:tya:yana* explains it as comprising *kṛ*, *bhu:* and *as*, in order to include such usage which had, perhaps, come into use by his time. This is done by resorting to the rather artificial method of *pratyaha:ra*, taking *kṛñ* to mean the roots mentioned in the sutras *Ṁ. 4.50* to *Ṁ 4.5*.

Patanjali, following *ka:tya:yana*, discusses the need for the term *anuprayujyate* in the *su:tra* and says that the purpose is twofold: to prevent the perfect form *kṛbhvss-tiyoge sampadyakartāri Rvih* and *kṛno dvitiya:* of *kṛ*, *bhu:* and *as* from being used before the form ending in *-a:m*, and to prevent any other word intervening between the form ending in *-am* and the perfect form of *kṛ*, *bhu:* or *as* immediately following it.

Later classical Sanskrit contains usages where there is timesis between the form ending in *-a:m* and the perfect form

tam pataya:m prothamam a:sa papa:ta pasea:t'

Raghuvams'a, IX 61.

ukṣa:m pracakrur snagarasaya ma:rgam.

Bhaṭṭi, III. 5

bibhaya:m pracaka:ra: sa:v ka:kutstha:d abhis'ankitah

Bhaṭṭi, VI. 2.

tan yojaya:m vidhivad a:sa samatabandbuh

Raghuvams'a XVI. 86.

prabhrams'aya.m yo nahuṣam cakara

Raghuvams'a XIII. 36

Bhoja, *Haradatta* and *Na:ra yanabhatta* accept such usages though *Patanjali* is not in favour of it and *Bhaṭṭoji* rejects it as wrong. The *Mukhabhu:ṣaṇa* says that in the perfect sense, *kar* is to be added after the *-am* suffix according to *Pa:ṇini's su:tra Kṛṇca:nuprayujyate liṭi*. The statement by some that there should not be any timesis, the intervening of a prefix or word between the *-am* and perfect form of *kṛn* is not authoratative for such uses are found in great poets (like *Bhatti* and *Kalidasa*) and are allowed by cultured readers.

Bhoja, *Haradatta* and *Na:ra:yaṇabhata* accept such usages even though *Patanjali* is not in favour of it and *Bhaṭṭoji* rejects it as wrong. The *Mukhabhu:ṣaṇa*¹ says that in the perfect sense, *kar* is to be added after the *-a:m* suffix according to *Pa:ṇini's su:tra kṛṇca:nuprayujyate*

1 Ed K. Kunjunni Raja, Adyar Library, 1973, p. 54.

liṭi. The statement by some that there should not be any timesis. the intervening of a prefix or word between the *-a:m* and perfect form of *kṛñ* is not authoratative. For such uses are found in great poets (like *Bhaṭṭi* and *ka:lida:sa*) and are allowed by cultured readers. Hence as in the case of Vedic language, even in classical Sanskrit and auxiliary verb may be used after the *-a:m* suffix, with or without any intervening word.

AUXILIARIES IN SANSKRIT

R. MAHADEVAN

1. An auxiliary is a word having no complete meaning in itself, but used in combination with or reference to another word which has a meaning of its own. These auxiliaries get into the verb sequences to bring forth subtle shades of meaning. Sanskrit has its own system of auxiliaries and it is the aim of this paper to analyse some of these which particularly belong to the category of verbs. As the very term implies, auxiliaries are functional and in Sanskrit they are a later development. Thus auxiliary in Sanskrit is not the main verb in a sentence, but supports or modifies the name to bring forth some extra sense which is not otherwise capable of being expressed by the verbal sequences themselves. In general, the range of meanings expressed by the auxiliaries are pertaining to a modification in the tense, mood or aspect besides expressing doubt probability, censure or capability.

2. The main item in Sanskrit falling under this category is the various forms of *bhu:* or *as* 'to be' (including *sma*) besides a few other items as may be seen below. Let us examine them one by one.

2.1. *sma*: This is added to verbs indicating present tense to give the meanings of the past. (c.f. *lat sme an.* III, 2, 118).

Examples :

a) (i) *om ityetaḍ anu kṛti ha sma va: apy osra:veyety
a:sra:vayanti* (T. up. 1. 16.3.)

(ii) *paura:h 'sataśo' bhidha:vantisma-*
'the citizens ran after in hundreds'

(iii) *kasmimśeinnagare awabha:vakṛpaṇo na:ma
bra:hmaṇah prativasati sma*
'A brahmin named s— lived in a town, etc'
sma need not always appear together with the verb.
mantra sma hitam a:caṣṭe
'he did well in counsel' etc.

b) *pura:* with *sma* :

Similar seems to have been the force of *pura:* with the present forms, but conveying the perfective sense.

ṣaptarṣin u ha sma vai pura:ṛkṣaity a:cakṣate-
the seven rishis have been formerly called 'bears'
(SB)

*tanma:tram api cen mahyam na dāda:ti pura:
bhavan* (MBh)

'if you have never before given me even a
particle'

c) *pura:* without *sma* :

(i) In this case, the aorist, the imperfect or the present may be used— *vasanti:ha pura: cha:tra: ava:tsur
avasan u:ṣur va:* 'here formerly dwelt pupils'. (*puri lun
ca:smel paṇ. III. 2.122. pura:sabdayoge bhū:ta:nadyatane
vibha:ṣava: lua sya:llaṣ na tu sma yoge. Sid. Kau.*)

But when *sma* is used with *pura:* only the present can be used.

yajati sma pura: 'he formerly sacrificed'

(ii) *va:vat* and *pura:* as *niratas* take the present form of the verb to mean the past and definiteness (e.f. *va:yat-pura:nipa:tavor laṣ pa:n* III. 2.122. -*nipatay eteu niścayas dvotavatah*).

ya:vat bhunkta 'he definitely ate'

pura: bhunkte 'he definitely ate'

d) *sma* with *pura:* in a habitual sense :

(i) *samhotram sma pura: ma:ri: samanam va:ava gacchati* (R.V. X. 86-10)

'formerly the woman used to go down to the common sacrifice or assembly'

(ii) *a:viṣṭah kalina: dyu:te ji:yate sma nalastada:*

(MBh)

'influenced by Kali, Nala used to win in the game of dice'

(iii) *yajati sma yudhishthirah* (MBh)

'Yudhishthira used to perform sacrifices'

e) *ha sma pura:* :

The same usage is common with *ha sma pura:*

na ha sma vai puraagnir aparaśuvrkṣan dahati (TS)

'formerly agni used not to burn what was not cut of with the axe'

Here, however, the *pura:* is much more usually omitted. *ha sma* alone expressing the same sense, especially with the present perfect *a:ha*.

etad dha sma va: a:ha nuradah (MS)

with regard to this Narada used to may'

etaḥ dha sma va: a:huh sanḍhilah (T. Af. 1.87.3)
 'The sandilas used to say thus'

atha ha sma a:ha a:rupah sva:yambhūvah
 (T. Af. I 108.7)
 'Aruna the self-born used to say thus'

pra:ṇe brahmeti ha sma:ha kauṣi:takh
 (K. BU. 2.1.)
 'Kausitaki used to say that prana is brahman'

2.2. *sma* in the imperative :

A subordinate clause with indicative subjunctive or (very rarely) optative may follow.

*yas tvam du:tam saparyati, tasya sma pra:vita:
 bhava* (RV. 1.12)
 'be the promoter of him who adores thee as a
 messenger'

2.3. *sma* with *ma:* :

a) With imperfect :- When *ma* and *sma* are used with the imperfect form of the verb with the temporal augment *a-* dropped, the resulting form conveys the imperative meaning. (vide *smettave lan ca Poṇ. III. 3. 176*)

ma: sma praruditam yuva:m
 'do not lament'

ma sma karot
 'do not do'

b) With aorist :- Here again *ma* and *sma* or even *ma:* is used with the aorist form of the verb with the temporal augment *a-* dropped to get the meaning of imperative (*ma:nj lup -Pa:n. III. 3. 175*).

- (i) *ma bhū:t ka:lasya paryayaḥ*
'do not waste time'
- (ii) *ma sma prati:pam gamah*
'do not be in conflict'

In certain rare cases the augment *a-* is retained.

- (iii) *ma: niṣa:da pratiṣṭha:m tvam agamah sa:śvati:h*
sama:h

'Nisada, may you not live for many years'

3.1. Forms of *as*, [*a:s* and *sīha*]: This adds a durative or progressive shade of meaning in the appropriate tense added to the given verb in the present participial form.

Present : *paṣu:na:m vadham kurvann a:ste*
'he goes on slaughtering animals'

Past : *tam pratipa:layan tasthau*
'he went on waiting for him'

Future : *grham gacchan bhaviṣyasi*
'you will be going home'

3.2. In this we can list various participial (active as well as passive) forms together with *as* in various tenses :

<i>gatosmi</i>	'I have gone'
<i>gata:vanasmi</i>	'I have gone'
<i>gatava:na:sam</i>	'I had gone'
<i>gatobhavat</i>	'he had gone'
<i>kariṣyama:ṇa as:it</i>	'he was to do'

kutaḥ sma ja:ta: jiva:ma (SU. 1)
'Where are we born and do live'

3.3. Without the forms of *as* etc., mentioned above, and with the addition of other verbs instead, we do not get this auxiliary function, but of two main verbs with the participial form of the verb carrying the meaning

‘while ——— + ing’.

a:si:no du:ram vrajati, śaya:no ya:ti tattvatah
‘staying he traverses distances lying he goes’

edanam bhunjane viṣam bhūkte
‘consumes poison while taking food’

gra:mam gaechan tṛnam sprṣati
‘touches the grass while going to the village’

4.1. The periphrastic or first future :

a) This is a devise in Sanskrit for immediate future (as against a general future) used with the forms of *as* in the second and first persons. In the III, the forms are the same as other *ṛ*-ending nouns *bhavita*, *karte*: etc.

*augha imah sarva:h praj:a nirvoḍha: tatas tva:
pa:rayita:smi* (SB)

‘The flood shall surely carry away all creatures
and I will assuredly rescue thee’

*praja:ya:m enam vijnatasmo yadi vidva:n va: juhoty
avidva:n va:* (Ait. Br.)

‘In his children shall we know him, whether he
offers sacrifice with or without knowledge’

katham tu bhavita:sy aika iti tva:m nṛpa śocimī
(MBh)

‘how shall you get on alone’, etc.

ayodhya:m śvah praya:ta:si kape bharatapa:lita:m
(Bhatti)

'Oh monkey! tomorrow you will go to Ayodhya,
ruled by Bharata'

b) With the futures if the participial forms are added, the meaning gets modified to probability.

gato vanam svo bhaviteti...

'that he would be going to the forest tomorrow'

nampra:ptah kīrtim atula:m bhaviṣyasi

'You would be getting immense glory.'

4.2. The periphrastic (or perfect) past:

In Sanskrit there are two types of perfect formations of which one is formed by reduplicating the verb root and the other by adding the perfect forms of the verb roots *kr*, *bhu:* and *as:* of which the latter comes within our interest and we may argue that this *kṛ* etc., are in an auxiliary function.

du:taiś tam a:na:ya:masur bharatam ma:tulalaya:t
(Ram)

'they brought back Bharata from his uncle's house
with the help of messengers.'

sah kuhayancakre

'he get astonished'

ra:vaṇah si:ta:m ka:maya:ncakre

'Ravana had passion for Sita.'

The formation of *kṛ* etc., was not always together with the main verb as can be seen from the following:—

mi:ma:maa:m eve cakre (SB)

'He investigated'

prabhramsāya:m yo nahuṣam caka:ra (Raghu.)
 'he smashed Nahusa'

ta:m pa:taya:n prathamam a:sa, papata pasca:t
 (Raghu. IX. 61.)
 'he made her fall and then fell afterwards.'

5.1. Other auxiliary items:

a) The present participle is used with the verbs *i* 'to go' *gam* 'to go' *car* 'to move', *a:s* to 'remain' and *stha:* 'to stand' as auxiliaries in a progressive/durative sense in the Veda.

- i) *viśvam anye abhicakṛṇa eti* (RV. ii 405)
 'the other (*pu:ṣan*) goes on watching the universe':
- ii) *vica:kaśac candrama: naktam eti* (RV. 1 24-10)
 'the moon goes on shining brightly at night':
- iii) *to śya gṛhah paśavah upamu:ria ma:na: i:yah* (SB)
 'his house and cattle would go on being destroyed'
- iv) *tvam hi eko vṛtra: carasi jighnama:nah*
 (RV. iii. 30-4):
 'for thou alone geest on killing the *vṛtras*':
- v) *to 'rcantah śramyantaś cerush* (SB)
 'they went on praying and fasting'
- vi) *ṛca:m tvah peṣam a:ste pupuṣva:n* (RV. X 71-11)
 'the one keeps producing abundance of verses'
- vii) *somam evetat pibanta a:sate* (TS)
- viii) *ucchvañcama:na: pṛthivī sutīṣhatu* (RV. X. 18-12)
 'they thus keep on drinking Soma';
- ix) *vitṛmha:na:s tiṣṭhanti* (TS)
 'they keep conflicting.'

x) *ananda: na:ma to loka:sta:n sa gacchati ta: dadat*
(KU 1.3.)

'giving on those he goes to the worlds called
ananda'

b) In a sentence, the imperfect is optionally used for the perfect when the particles *ke* and *naśvat* are used.

iti ha akarot (or) *caka:ra* 'so he did'

śaśvad akarot (or) *caka:ra* 'always he did'

(ii) With *ja:tu* or *ani* in a sentence the present may be used in the sense of the three tenses, (i.e. present, past and future) when censure is intended.

api ja:ya:m tyojasi, ja:tu gaṇika:m a:datse

'you abandon your wife and take a prostitute'

Where the senses of the other two tenses, viz., the past and the future are also possible

c) The simple future is also used when *uta* and *api* are used to indicate doubt.

uta daṇḍah paṭisyati 'will the stick fall?'

api dha:syati dva:ram 'will he close the door?'

d) The future is also used when *alam* is used in the sense of 'surety' or 'capability'.

alam ra:mah simham hanisyati

'Rama is sure or able to kill the lion'

e) *kṣipra* and its equivalents are used to denote hope and used along with future form. (*kṣipravacane iṅ Pa:n. III. 3.133.*)

vrastis cet kṣipram a:su tvaritam va: ya:syati,
si:ghram vapaya:mah
 'if shower were to come quickly, we would at
 once sow corn'

Colophon

Thanks are due to Dr. M.R. Ranganatha, my colleague for the discussions I had with him while writing this paper.

Abbreviations

Ait.Br.	Aitareya Brahmana
Bhatti.	Bhattikavya
K BU.	Kausitaki Brahmanopanisad
KU.	Kathopanisad
MBh.	Mahabharata
MS.	Maitrayani Sambhita
<i>Pa:n.</i>	<i>Pāṇini</i>
Raghu.	Raghuvamez
Ram.	Ramayana
RV	Rg Veda
SB.	Satapatha Brahmana
SU.	Svetasvatara Upanisad
T.Ar.	Taithireya Aranyaka
TS.	Taittiriya Samhita
T.Up.	Taittiriya Upanisad

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AUXILIARIES IN TAMIL AND HINDI

B. LAKSHMI BAI

Any meaningful approach to a comparison of auxiliaries in Ta(mil) and Hi(ndi) is possible only when we are sure as to what is it that should be considered as auxiliaries.

Chomsky considers aux(iliary) as a constituent of the predicate phrase which can be rewritten as Tense (modal) and aspect. The relevant rules given by him are the following:-

S → NP predicate phrase

Pred. Phr. → Aux VP (place) (time)

Aux → Tense (M) (Aspect)

Jacobs and Rosenbaum have argued that in Eng. even a sentence like (1) has an auxiliary element 'do' in the deep structure which is dropped in the surface structure.

1 The governor denied the rumours of his resignation.

They argue that in the interrogative, that is, in sentence (2) given below, there is present the element did which is moved to the beginning of the sentence in the same manner as are the modal auxiliaries can and may.

- 2 Did the governor deny the rumours of his resignation?

They postulate therefore that in Eng. even declarative sentences have auxiliary element in the deep structure which is deleted in the surface structure, if it does not happen to be a modal auxiliary.

For Jacobs and Rosenbaum as for Chomsky auxiliary is a deep structure phenomenon.

Ross, on the other hand, has tried to prove that Eng. *must*, *have*, *been being*, *be* etc. are all main verbs. If this is correct aux. cannot be a deep structure phenomenon. Hence two languages need not agree in having such an element in their grammar.

The next possibility is to take auxiliary as a surface phenomenon and see how the two languages Tamil and Hindi compare. Ofcourse even here we should have agreement as to what to call an auxiliary.

Many scholars who have worked on Indian languages have taken auxiliary as that main verb which can be affixed to another verb and which in such a situation loses its primary meaning. For examples in sentences (3) and (4) Tamil *viṭu* 'leave' and Hindi *lenaa* 'take' are used as auxiliaries.

Ta. 3 *avan en pustakattai kilittu viṭṭaan*
 he my book tear completeive
 'He tore off my book'

Hi. 4 *usne merii kitaab kharild lii*
 he my book buy reflexive
 'He bought my book for himself'

According to this criterion Ta. verbs like *viṭu* 'leave', *tolai* 'lose', *poṭu* 'drop', *poo* 'go', *vaa* 'come', *koḷ* 'contain' will malify as auxiliaries. Of the modals, *veeṇum* 'want' and *veeṇṭaam* 'not wanted' alone will be considered as auxiliaries for both *veeṇum* and *veeṇṭaam* can function as independent verbs as is shown in the following two sentences.

Ta. 5 *enakku paḷam veeṇum* 'I want fruits'
to me fruits wanted

Ta 6 *enakku paḷam veeṇṭaam*
to me fruits not wanted
'I do not want any fruits'

Further *veeṇum* and *veeṇṭaam* lose their primary meaning as in the following sentences.

Ta. 7 *naan pooka veeṇum* 'I must go'
I go must

8 *nii pooka veeṇṭaam* 'you need not go'
you go not necessary

Notice that as opposed to these, modals such as *-laam* 'may' and *ṭum* 'let' as in the following sentences cannot qualify as auxiliaries.

9 *nii pooka laam* 'you may go'
you go' may

10 *avan varaṭum* 'Let him come'
he come let him

-laam and *-ṭum* will not be considered auxiliaries for two reasons. Firstly, they have suffixal status. Secondly, unlike *poo* 'go' and *viṭu* 'leave' there is no such things as *-laam* and *ṭum* losing their primary meaning in some contexts.

According to the above criterion the treatment of Ta. modals *kuuṭaatu* 'should not' and *muṭiyum* 'can' as auxiliaries would also be questionable. Though *kuuṭaatu* and *mutiyum* differ from *-laam* and *tum* in the sense that the former are not bound yet they after from *poō* and *ritu* in the sense that *kuṭaatu* and *mutiyum* always call for other verbs in a sentence. They do not occur independent *kuuṭaatu* and *muṭiyum* can be used in a sentence alone only when a reference has already been made in the discourse as to what one 'should not' or 'could not do. In other words a sentence like (10) is meaningless when out of context.

Ta. 11 *avanaala muṭiyum* 'He can'
 he can

But the same sentence is good if it is clear from the context what action is it that one is referring to as possible for someone to do. For example, (11) is meaningful if it is preceded by sentence like (11).

Ta. 12 *ennaala naṭakka mutiyaatu*
 by me walk can not
 'I cannot walk'

It is obvious how arbitrary the above mentioned criterion is. For any deep structure postulated to correctly bring out the semantic structure of modal sentences must analyze modals as predicates of higher sentences whether they are full verbs in surface realization or have only suffixal status.

Moreover, within the same language different modal categories can be expressed differently. For example, prohibitive is expressed by a free form like *kuuṭaatu* in Ta. whereas modality of possibility or permission is expressed by such bound elements as *-tum* and *laam*.

An application of the above definition of auxiliary also leads to problem in Hindi. Take for examples, the modals *saknaa* 'can may' and *paḍnaa* 'have to'. Note that these modals would constitute predicates of higher sentence in deep structure but in their surface realization they are dependent upon other verbs as in the following sentences.

Ta. 13 *ab tum jaa sakte ho*
 now you go can
 'you can go now'

14 *mujhke jaanaa paḍegaa*
 me going necessary
 'I must go'

Secondly unlike other auxiliary verbs they do not change their meaning.

But *paḍnaa* and *saknaa* have several characteristics that a main verb has. For example *paḍnaa* carries the inflection for example *paḍnaa* carries the inflection for future tense eg. *paḍegaa* does the verb *jaanaa* eg. *jaayegaa*, *saknaa* carries person number gender agreement like most other verbs. Note for example the following sentences.

Hi. 15 *vo paḍhtaa hai* 'He reads'
 he reads

16 *vo paḍhtii hai* 'She reads'
 she reads

17 *vo jaa saktaa hai* 'He can go'
 he go can

18 *vo jaa saktii hai* 'She can go'
 she go can

There are other works on Indian languages in which aux. is not necessarily a verb. For example *yamuna kachru* treats a VP as consisting of main verb (MV) and an auxiliary component. She sets up the following auxiliaries for Hindi.

1) Passive marker *vaa + jaa*

19 *yahaa angrezii padhaayii jaatii hai*
 here English teach pass
 'Here English is taught'

20 *vo padh saktaa hai*
 he read can
 'He can read'

21 *vo padh cukaa* 'He finished reading'
 he read finished

2) *naa + hai*

22 *mujhe jaanaa hai* 'I have to go'
 to me going is

3) *naa + paḍ*

23 *mujhe jaanaa paḍegaa* 'I must go'
 to me go must

4) Aspect markers *-taa, -yaa* and *rahaa*

24 *ladkaa jaataa hai* 'The boy goes'
 boy goes

25 *ladkaa gayaa* 'The boy went'
 boy went

26 *mai khaa rahaa hu* 'I am eating'
 I eat progressive

5) *ho*

- 27 *vo caltaa hai* 'He walks'
 he walk is
- 28 *vo caltaa thaa* 'He walked'
 he walked was

Note that in this treatment *jaa*, *cuk*, *sak*, *paḍ*, *rahaa* and *hai* alone are verbs -*vaa*, -*naa* and -*taa* are suffixes.

Yamuna kachru's selection of the elements given above as auxiliaries in Hindi is arbitrary.

One wonders why the modals *cuk* and *sak* alone are included as auxiliaries. Why not *caahiye* 'ought'? Why is it that the aspect markers -*taa*, -*vaa* and -*rahaa* are included but not -*g*- the future tense marker? Why is it that the passive marker is an auxiliary but not the causative markers -*aa* and -*vaa*?

Further as was already pointed out she treats VP as consisting of two components main verb and auxiliary. She analyses main verb as consisting of a verb with an optional element - operator. The class of operators includes thirteen verbs some of which are the following *lenaa* 'take', *denaa* 'give', *lagnaa* 'to get attached to', *baiṭhnaa* 'sit'. These verbs when they function as operators as their primary meaning. For example *lenaa* with a main verb refers to an action oriented towards the doer of the action *lagnaa* with a main verb refer to the inception of an action. See for example the following sentences.

- Hi. 29 *usne kapḍe pahan liye*
 he clothes wear ref
 'He has worn his clothes'

Hi. 30 *vo khaanaa khaane lagaa*
 he food eat started
 'He started to eat'

What is the justification in treating these verbs separately as operator. Why are they not included in the auxiliary?

Again this choice seems to be arbitrary. In fact there are strong reasons to include these verbs also as part of the auxiliary set.

First of all what have been called operators cannot be treated as an element which the main verb can optionally select. Because as can be seen from the following sentences there are certain contexts in both Hi. and Ta. where the main verb alone should come and not the main verb+operator sequence. There are certain contexts in which a main verb+operator is preferred to the main verb alone. Examine the following sentences from Tamil and Hindi.

Ta. 31 *naankaḷ ettu maṇikke sapṭtu viṭukiroom*
 we eight o'clock eat complete PNG
 'We finish off eating as early as eight o'clock.'

32 *naankaḷ ettu maṇikke sapṭukiroom*
 we eight o'clock eat
 'we eat as early as eight o'clock'

33 *naankaḷ ettu maṇikku taan sapṭukiroom*
 we eight o'clock only eat
 'We eat as late as eight o'clock'

34 *naankaḷ ettu maṇikkutaan sapṭtu viṭukiroom*
 we eight o'clock only eat off
 'We eat off as late as eight o'clock'

- Hi. 35 *homlog aath baje hii khaate hai*
 we eight o'clock itself eat
 'We eat eight o'clock itself'
- 36 *hamlog aath baje hii khaate hai*
 we eight o'clock itself eat
 'We eat eight o'clock itself'
- 37 *hamlog aath baje hii khate hai*
 we eight o'clock only eat
 'We eat as late as eight o'clock'
- 38 *hamlog aath baje hii khaa lete hai*
 we eight o'clock only eat complete
 'We eat away as late as eight o'clock'

Notice that with the 'as early as' reading it is the main verb+operator sequence which is more preferable to the main verb alone. But with the 'as late as' reading it is the main verb alone which can come. Main verb+operator sequence cannot occur in this context.

Secondly, some of the verbs which she has characterized as auxiliaries cover semantically the same kind of phenomenon that some of the operators have. In such a situation calling of one as auxiliary and treating the other as operator has no basis. Notice for example that in Hi. the verb *lagnaa* when it follows the main verb denotes the inception of an action eg. (39) As opposed to this the verb *cuknaa* denotes the completion of an action eg. (40) But Yamuna kachru treats *lagnaa* as an operator whereas *cuknaa* is taken as an auxiliary.

- Hi. 39 *vo jaane lagaa* 'He started to go'
 he go started
- 40 *vo jaa cukaa* 'He finished going'
 he go finished

Structurally also *lagnaa* and *cuknaa* belong to the same position class. The two verbs cannot co occur as is obvious from the following non-sentences.

41 *vo jaa cukne lagaa*
 he go complete start

42 *vo jaa lag cukaa*
 he go start complete

We can therefore conclude that there is no need to maintain a dicotomy between operators and auxiliaries. The so called operators are also auxiliaries.

Schiffman treats the VP element in Ta. as consisting of v stem + Aux. The Aux. constituent is rewritten as

Aux — Tense, Modal

In this system auxiliary is a term used for different categories like tense, aspect and modal. These categories can be realized in a number of ways. For example, in Ta. not only such free forms as *veṇum* 'must' can represent a modal category but also such suffixes as *-laam* 'may' and *-ṭum* 'allow'.

In the present paper also we will take auxiliaries as those categories which are expressed in the verb construction. A category in question can be expressed by a full verb or by an affix or by a phonological process.

Let us now take up briefly the various categories that are present in Ta. and Hi.

A. Transitive and Causative;

In Ta. a number of verbs show intransitive vs. transitive contrast by way of either morpho-phonemic

alternation in the verb stem as for example in *tirumpu* 'to turn' (intr.) vs. *tiruppu* 'to turn' *tiruntu* 'to become alright', *tiruttu* 'to set right', or by addition of special transitive or causative markers to the intransitive stem e.g. *oṇar-ar-tu* 'It dries', *oṇar t artu* 'something is causing it to dry'.

The intransitive/transitive contrast does not operate in the case of all verbs. For example while we have in Ta *naṭa* 'to walk (intr.)', and *naṭattu* 'to walk some one (causative)' we do not have *viḷu* 'fall down' vs *viḷuttu* to make someone fall down.

Hindī like Tamil has intransitive and transitive (or first causative) contrasts as for example *khulnaa* 'get open', *girnaa* 'fall down', *giraanaa* 'to make fall down', which is expressed either by morphophonemic alternations in the stem or by the addition of the marker *-aa* to the intransitive stem. Besides these, Hi also has for a large number of verbs a third form, the second causative which is formed by the addition *-vaa* to the intransitive stem eg. *girvaon* 'to have someone make someone fall'.

B. Aspectual categories:

Unlike aspectual categories in other languages, aspectual categories in Indian languages include a wide range of phenomena. They indicate besides continuation, inception, completeness or suddenness of an action such categories as orientation of an action towards the doer of an action or towards others, malevolent character of an action, the unpleasant nature of an action and action done with future utility in mind etc.

Let us now briefly examine the aspectual categories in Ta. and Hi.

Ta. has the categories *viṭu-or-tu* 'completive', *poo* 'completive for change of state verbs', *pooṭu* 'malicious intent' *pooṭu* and *vey* 'future utility', *koḷ* or *ko* and *-ṇṭ* for 'reflexive', *tolai* 'disgust', *aaku* 'finality'.

All of these forms do not belong to one class. That is, a given verb can choose more than one of these aspectual categories on the basis of their co-occurrence possibilities we can classify the aspectual categories in Ta. in the following way.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{vey} \\ \textit{poo} \\ \textit{pooṭu} \\ + \textit{male} \\ \textit{pooṭu} \\ \text{(F. use)} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ko} \text{ NT} \\ + \text{ reflexive} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \textit{tolai} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{viṭu} \\ \textit{koṇṭu} \textit{ iṭu} \\ \textit{aaku} \end{array} \right\}$
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Any two items belonging to the same column constitute one set and cannot co-occur with any other member of the set. Thus a given verb cannot take simultaneously *vey*, *poo* and *pooṭu* or *viṭu koṇṭiru* and *aaku*.

This is obvious from the following non-sentences.

Ta. 43* *peenaa oṭencu pooy pooṭṭatu*

Pen broke completive malevalence

44* *naan viiṭu vaanki viṭtu koṇṭu irukeen*

I house having completive durative bought

There are also important restrictions on the main verbs with which these aspectual categories can go. Note, for example, that *poo* 'completive' can go with only verbs of change of state not with others as is clear from the following examples.

45 *kaakitam kiḷincu pooccu*

paper tore completive

'The paper got torn'

46 *kuruvii settu pooy viṣum*
 sparrow die completive compl.
 'The sparrow will die'

47* *koḷentai skuuliruntu van u poocu*
 child school from come completive
 'The child has come back from the school'

Similarly *po:tu* in the sense of malevolence can go only with verbs denoting malevolent acts *aḍii* 'beat' *kuttu* 'hit one with fist', *ṣutu* 'shoot at' *kollu* 'kill' etc.

Similarly all verbs cannot have reflexive counterparts. For example *sa:pṭu* 'eat' *kuṭii* 'drink' do not have reflexive forms. Further which of the verbs take the reflexive marker is not a matter which can be decided completely on the nature of the verbs. This seems to be highly idiosyncratic of the language in question. For example Hi. has reflexive and non-reflexive contrasts for such verbs as *khaanaa* 'eat', *piinaa* 'drink', *hasnaa* 'laugh' and *ronna* 'cry'. But in Ta. as mentioned earlier *saapṭu* 'eat' and *kuḍii* 'drink' do not have reflexive and non-reflexive contrasts.

The aspectual categories in Hi. are the following *leena* 'reflexive or self oriented action' *denaa* 'action oriented towards others' *jaanaa* 'completive', *paḍnaa* 'unexpected incidence' or sudden out bursts' *ḍaaḷnaa* 'malevolent action', *rahnaa* 'durative', *lagnaa* 'inception' *choḍnaa* 'future use' *baiṭhnaa* 'unthoughtful action', *cuknaa* 'finality'.

As in Ta. the aspectual categories in Hi. do not belong to single class. We can classify the Hi. aspectual categories in the following manner on the basis of the co-occurrence restrictions that hold between them.

Main verb	}	{	<i>lenaā</i> <i>denaa</i> <i>jaanaa</i> <i>rakhnaa</i> <i>paḍnaa</i> <i>baithnaa</i> <i>ḍaalnao</i>	}	{	<i>rahnaa</i> <i>lagnaā</i> <i>cuknaa</i>	}
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What the above formulas show is that a main verb can take *lenaā*, *denaa* or *jaanaa* with or without *rahnaa*, *lagnaā* and *cuknaa* following them, or the main verb can take one of the other verbs like *rakhnaa*, *paḍnaa*, *baithnaa*: or *ḍaalnaa*.

Hi differs from Ta. in a number of ways in the aspectual categories. In Ta. and reflexive verb takes a reflexive marker as opposed to a non-reflexive verb. In Hi. on the other hand, an action oriented towards the actor takes the marker *leenaā* and one oriented toward others takes *denaa*. See for example the following sentences.

Hi. 48 *maine haath aho liyaa*
 I hands washed
 'I have washed my own hands'

49 *maine uskaa haath dhulaa diyaa*
 I his hand got washed
 'I helped him wash his hand'

In Ta. the reflexive and completive can go together as for example.

Ta. 50 *naan pustakam vaanki-ṅḍu-ṭṭ.-een*
 I book bought refl. compl. PNG
 'I have bought the book'

In Hi. on the other hand, *leenaā* and *deenaā* seem to have the combined function of reflexive and non-

reflexive as well as the completive aspect. Notice that *denaa* and *denaa* cannot go with *jaanaa* the completive as is obvious from the following sentences.

Hi. 51* *vo khoa le gayaa*
he cat ref. completive

52* *usne ciṭṭhii likh dii gayii*
he letter write now completive reflexive

Similarly in Ta. the reflexive and durative do not go together. This may be due to the fact that in Ta. the reflexive and durative come from the same source *-koḷ*. Note, for example, the following sentences in Ta. can have either the reflexive meaning or durative but not both.

Ta. 53 *naan karikaay vaankiṇṭu irukkeen*
I vegetables having bought am
'I have bought some vegetables for myself'
or 'I am buying the vegetables'

In Hi. *rakhnaa* is used for referring to an action with future utility in mind.

Hi. 54 *maine kuch kavitaayee likh rakhii hai*
I some poems write
'I have written some poems'

lagnaa is used for the inception of an action as in sentence (55).

55 *mai ab acchii tarah paḍhnee lagaa huū*
I now good manner study started
'I have started studying well now'

baiṭhnaa in Hi. is used to refer to unthoughtful action.

For example :

56 *tum ye kyaa kar baiṭhe*
you this what do
'What have you done'

57 *bekaar mai unko ye ciṭṭhiṭ likh baiṭhaa*
unnecessarily - I to him this letter write
'I wrote this letter unnecessarily'

Hi. *ḍaalna* like Ta. *pooṭu* has malevolent connotation and occurs only with verbs denoting such an action.

For example :

58 *kutte ne use kaa ḍaalaa*
dog him bit
'The dog bit him'

59 *vo mujhe khaa ḍaallegii*
she me eat
'She will eat me up'

cuknaa shows the finality of an action or process.

60 *mai khaa cukaa huu*
I eat finished
'I have finished eating'

Passive:--

In formal Ta. the marker for passive is *paṭu* as in the following sentence.

Ta. 61 *ovvooru kuṭumpattirkum aṅntu aayiram ruupaaykaḷ*
each family five thousand rupees

koṭukka paṭṭana
given were

'Each of the families was given five thousand rupees'.

In informal Ta. in the past tense the past tense stem inflected for third neuter singular itself functions as a passive verb. See for example the following sentences.

62 *nettikutaan inta poṭavai vaankittu*
yesterday only this sari was bought
'This sari was bought only yesterday'

The past perfect and present perfect of the passive are formed by adding the third neuter past-tense stem and the third neuter present tense form of the verb *iru* respectively to the past participial form of the main verb. For example.

63 *avaal viiṭṭila frij vaankii irukku*
their house fridge bought is
'A fridge has been bought in their house'

64 *annikki viiṭṭila uppumaa paṇṇii iruntutu*
that day in the house upma made was
'That uppumma was made at our home'

The future passive is formed by adding to the present participial form of the verb the present neuter form of the verb *poo* as in sentence (65).

65 *aḍutta varusam frij vaanka poortu*
next year fridge buy future
'Next year fridge is going to the bought'

In the case of Hi. the passive is expressed by the verb *jaanaa*. Different forms of the verb *jaanaa* inflected for

tense and PNG category are added to the past tense form of the main verb.

Hi 66 *mohan ko pahlaa inaam diyaa gayaa*
 Mohan to first prize give passive
 'First prize was given to Mohan'

67 *mujhe duusraa inaam diyaa jaayegaa*
 to me second prize given was
 'I was given the second prize'

In Hi. the passive category can co-occur not only with the reflexive *lenaa* and the benefactive *aenaa* but also others. This is obvious from the following example.

Passive + reflexive

68 *ye tino makaan khariid liye jaayege*
 these three houses buy reflexive passive
 'These three houses will be bought'

Passive + benefactive

69 *ye saarii zamin baat dii jaayegii*
 This whole land distribute benefactive passive
 'This whole piece of land will be distributed'

Passive + durative

70 *bacco ko mithaaiyaa baatii jaarahii hai*
 children to sweets distribute passive durative
 'Sweets are being distributed to the children'

Passive + inceptive

71 *aajkal to yahaase phuul bhii bheje jaane lage hai*
 nowadays here from flowers also send passive
 inceptive
 'Nowadays flowers have also started to be sent
 from here.'

Passive + finality

72 *ye pahle hill kahaa jaa cukaa hai*

This already said passive finality

'This has already been said'.

In Hi. the passive cannot go with *rakhnaa* 'future utility', *paḍaa* 'sudden activity', *baithnaa* 'unthoughtful action' as can be seen from the ill formedness of the following sentences.

Passive + future utility

Hi. 73* *kuch kavitaayee likh rakhii gayii hai*

some poem write future use passive

'Some poems have been written and kept for future use'

Passive + suddenness

74* *sabko ek din kaa vetan diyaa jaanaa paḍaa*

To all one day's salary give passive sudden action

'One day's salary was given to all'

Passive + unthoughtful action

75* *ye kyaa kahaa jaa boitha*

this I what say unthoughtful

'What has been said'

As far as the order of passive with regard to other categories are concerned the passive form follows *lena*, *dena* and *ḍaalna* but precedes the other aspectual markers.

As distinct from Hi. the Ta. passive can combine only with the durative but not with other categories. For example,

Passive + Durative

- Ta. 76 *koḷantaikku ippoo amul taan kuḍuttuṅṅu irukku*
 child to now Amul alone give durative is
 'Right now only Amul is being given to the
 child'

Passive + Reflexive

- 77* *enka vittile frij vaanḱiṅṅu irukku*
 our house fridge bought reflexive is
 'In our house fridge is being bought for us'

Passive + completive

- 78 *enka vittile frij vaanḱii viṅṅatu*
 our house fridge having bought completive
 'In our house fridge has been bought'

Modalities :

Ta has the following modals *daam* 'may (permission), -*laam* 'may (possibility),' *veeṅum* 'must', *veeṅtaam* 'not necessary', *kuutaaru* 'should not' 'must not', and *-tum* 'allow'. In Ta. modals do not co-occur with tense categories. Nor do they take the gender-number, person categories.

- Ta. 79 *avan varalaam* 'He may come'
 80 *naan varalaam* 'I may come'
 81 *nii varalam* 'You may come'

Hindi has the following modals *saknaa* 'may (permission, possibility) *paḍnaa* 'necessitive' *hoogaa* 'obligation', *caatiye* 'ought, should', works on Hi. include *cuknaa* also as a modal. But semantically *cuknaa* cannot be grouped with other modals. Compare, for example, the following sentences,

- Hi. 82 *tum khaa sakte ho* 'you may eat'
you eat may
- 83 *tumko khaanaa caahiye* 'you should eat'
you eat should
- 84 *tum khaa chuke* 'you finished eating'
you eat finished

Note that it is only in the first two sentences that modality features are involved. Sentence (84) is like any other declarative sentence.

In Ta. we have two distinct sets of modal verbs one positive and the other negative.

For example-*laam* 'may', *veenṭaam* 'may not', *veṇṇum* 'must' *kuuṭaatu* 'must not'. Note the following examples for the use of these modals.

- Ta. 85 *nii pooka laam* 'You may go'
86 *nii pooka veenṭaam* 'You need not go'
you go need not 'Don't go'
87 *nii pooka veṇṇum* 'You must go'
you go must
88 *nii pooka kuuṭaatu* 'You must not go'
you go must not

As opposed to this Hi. gets the negative counterparts of the modal by placing the negative particle *nahii* 'not' before such modal verbs as *paḍegaa*, *caahiye* and *saknaa*.

For example.

- Hi. 89 *tumko jaanaa caahiye* 'You should go'
you go should

- 90 *tumko nahii jaanaa caahiye*
 you not go should
 'You should not go'

It has been said in works on Hi. that of the modals *paḍnaa* and *saknaa* can have different tense forms while the modals *caahive* and *h-gaa* cannot. But this does not seem to be correct. Although it is true that *paḍnaa* and *saknaa* have inflections for different tenses as in the following sentences it is only in sentences (91) and (93) that these verbs express a modality feature not in the other sentences.

- 91 *ab tum jaa sakte ho* 'you may go now'
 now you go can

- 92 *kal tum jaa sakte the*
 Yesterday you go could
 'You could have gone yesterday'

- 93 *tumko abhii jaanaa paḍegaa*
 you now go must
 'you must go now'

- 94 *tumko kal ghar jaanaa paḍaa*
 you yesterday home go had to
 'You had to go home yesterday'

Sentences (92) and (94) are declarative sentences and cannot be interpreted in the same way as sentences (91) and (93).

Tense and person number category:

There exists a number of works on tense system and features of agreement on verbs in Ta. and Hi. and therefore it is not advisable to repeat them here.

All that we should note here is that according to the way auxiliaries are defined here the tense markers and the markers showing agreement of the verb form the PNG with the noun must be included as part of the auxiliary system.

Other categories:

Besides the categories discussed so far. Ta. also expresses the categories of interrogation and quotation in the the verb. The marker for interrogation is the suffix *-aa* and that for quotation is *-aam*. For example.,

Ta. 95 *avan vanta n-aa* 'Did he come?'
he come PNG question

96 *avan vantaanaam* 'It is said he came'
he come PNG Quotative

The two categories can also go together as shown in (97).

97 *avan vantaanaamaa?* 'Is it said he came?'
come PNG Quot. Quest

As distinct from this Hi. expresses interrogation by intonation and by question words. For example.

Hi. 98 *tumne khaanaa khaa liyaa ?*
you food eat
'Have you eaten your food ?'

99 *kyaa tumne khaanaa khaayaa*
Question you food eaten
'Have you eaten your food'

Hi. expressess quotation by compound sentences as for example.

100 vo bolīaa haīk ki raam aayaa
 he says that Ram came
 'He says that Ram came'

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AUXILIARIES IN HINDI AND TAMIL

S. N. GANESAN

0. A comparative study of the auxiliary verbs in Hindi and Tamil not only brings out certain peculiarities of the auxiliary verbs in either languages with regard to their structure and function, but points out some such resemblances also which raise the problem whether this is just accidental or whether there is any historical reason behind it. The attempt here is only to compare the structures and functions of the auxiliaries in Tamil and Hindi and to bring out the similarities and differences. Just a reference is made to the historical development of the auxiliaries in Hindi also.

0.1. The auxiliary verbs in Hindi and Tamil can be classified under three groups according to their behaviour.

- i) Basic auxiliary verbs which function as secondary verbs in various tense forms of verbs.

Hi. *hai, tha:, hogai, ho, raha:*
(With their different forms)

Ta. *iru, koṇṭiru*
With TPGN markers

- ii) Modal Auxiliaries which occur with the main verb and preserve their semantic content.

Hi.	<i>saḱ</i>	'can'
	<i>euk</i>	'finish'
	<i>pa:</i>	'be in a position to'
Ta.	<i>muṭṭiyal</i>	'can'
	<i>muṭṭi</i>	'finish'
	<i>ve:ṇṭu/ve:ṇṭiyira</i>	'have to'

- iii) Explicators or Operators which can function independently as finite verbs, but also occur with other verbs, losing their meanings and show emphasis, intensification, suddenness, unexpectedness, unpleasantness etc.

Hi.	<i>ja:</i>	'go'
	<i>paṛ</i>	'fall'
	<i>le</i>	'take'
	<i>de</i>	'give'
Ta.	<i>po:</i>	'go'
	<i>viṭu</i>	'leave' etc.

(all losing the meanings given here when used with other verbs)

1.1. Basic Auxiliaries or Auxiliaries used in the formation of tense forms (including aspects).

1.1.1. In Tamil, the basic tenses are formed by adding the respective tense-marking bound morphemes, followed by the Person-Gender-Number (PGN) markers, which are terminal in the verbal phrase.

The periphrastic tenses are formed by adding the perfective or durative (progressive) markers to the adverbial participle, followed by TPGN markers. The auxiliary verb *iru* 'be' with TPGN is added for the perfective tenses

ja:ta: (M.sg.), *ja:ti:* (F.sg.) *ja:te:* (M.pl) *ja:ti:*
(F. pl) 'if had come/would have come'

ii) Perfect participle formed by adding *-a:*² (which changes into *-e:*, *-i:*, *-i:*) functions as the past indefinite (simple past) tense.

These also do not have auxiliaries.

1.5. Tenses from participles with auxiliaries.

Most of the tenses in Hindi are formed by adding auxiliaries or aspect verb + auxiliaries to either of the participles of the main verb. Both the imperfect participle and the perfect participle take all the tense forms of the auxiliary *hai*, (i.e., present, past, future, subjunctive and past conditional see 1.2 with the PGN modifications to form the various non-durative tenses.

The durative tenses (progressive tenses) are formed by adding *raha:* (perfect participle form of *rah*, changeable into *rahe* or *ratt:*) followed by the basic auxiliaries, *hai*, *tha:*, *ho:ga:* *ho*, *hota:* etc. The generative rules can be summarised as below:

$$\text{Verb Root} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ta: \\ -a: \\ raha: \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} hai \\ tha: \\ ho:ga: \\ ho: \\ hota: \end{array} \right\}$$

For convenience in comparison, some of the forms are given below:

2 *-a:* changes to *-ya:* by a morphophonemic change when it occurs with a verb root with final vowel.

Simple Present		Present Perfect		Present Durative	
M	F	M	F	M	F
Sg. <i>a:ta: hai a:ti: hai</i>		<i>a:ya: hai a:yi: hni</i>		<i>a: raha: hai a:rahi hai</i>	
Pl. <i>a:te:hai a:ti: hai</i>		<i>a:ye: hai a:yi: hai</i>		<i>a: rahe: hai a: rahi: hai</i>	
<i>mai a:ta: hu: a:ti: hu:</i>		<i>a:ya: hu: a:yi: hu:</i>		<i>a:raha: hu: a:rahi: hai</i>	
<i>tum a:te: ho: a:ti ho:</i>		<i>a:ye ho: a:yi: ho:</i>		<i>a: rahe:ho: a:rah : ho: hai</i>	
'come/comes'		'has/have come'		'is/am/are coming'	

By replacing *hai*, with the various forms *tha:*, *ho:ga:* *ho:* and *ho:ta:* (See section 1.2) the other tenses can be formed.

1.6. Comparison of Tamil and Hindi forms

A comparison of the verbal forms with auxiliaries in Tamil and Hindi will reveal some similarities and some differences.

(1) In both the languages, the different tenses of the verb 'be' (Hindi *ho:* Tamil *iru*) are used as auxiliaries. This verb can be used as copula also in both the languages. But in Tamil this can be often dropped.

Hi. <i>ayo:dhya me ek raja: tha:</i>	} 'There was a King in Ayodhya'
Ta. <i>ayottiyil oru aracan irunta:n</i>	
Hi. <i>vah bahut accha: tha:</i>	} 'He was very good'
Ta. <i>avan, mikavum nallavan (a:ka irunta:n)</i>	

The question may be raised whether this parallelism in construction is accidental or whether there is any historical reason. A sketch of the historical development

in a latter section will throw more light on this. (Section 1.7)

(2) For durative/progressive tense forms, double auxiliaries are used in both the languages.

Hi. *raha: hai* (i.e. Perfect participle of *rah* 'be, live' *hai*)

raha: tha:, raha: hoga:, raha: ho etc.

vah a:raha: hai 'he is coming'

vah a:rahi: thi: 'she was coming'

Ta. *koṅṭiru + TPGN* (i.e. adverbial participle of *kol* + *iru* + TPGN).

avan vantu koṅṭirukkīṛa:n 'he is coming'

avaḷ vantu koṅṭirunta:ḷ 'she was coming'

(3) In both the languages, the tense/aspect auxiliaries are used with the participles of the verb. But in Hindi the Perfect participle and the imperfect participle take the auxiliary whereas in Tamil it is the adverbial participle to which the auxiliaries are added

(4) In Tamil verbal forms (having auxiliaries or not), Person-Gender-Number (PGN) are denoted by separate markers and they are very regular. Auxiliaries show only the aspects and are followed by TPGN markers as in the formation of the simple tenses.

Present	Present Perfect	Present Duration
<i>varukīṛa:n</i>	<i>vantirukkīṛa:n</i>	<i>vantukoṅṭirukkīṛa:n</i>
'comes-he'	'has come-he'	'is coming-he'

But in Hindi, PGN representation is not so regular.

a) In the tenses with the Present Auxiliary (*hai, hai:, hu:, ho:* the person and number are shown by the

auxiliary, while the gender and number are shown by the participles of the verb, i.e. the auxiliary does not show gender and the participle does not show person. Number is shown by both.

b) In the tense forms with the past auxiliary (*tha:*, *the:*, *thi:*, *thi:*) gender and number are shown by both the auxiliary and the participle show gender and number. Person is shown by neither.

c) In the tenses formed with the presumptive auxiliaries (*ho:ga:*, *hō:ge:*, *ho:gi:*, *hō:gi:*, *hu:ḡa:*, *hū:ḡi:*, *ho:ge:*, *ho:gi:*) FGN are all denoted by the auxiliary. The participle of the verb shows gender and number which may seem redundant.

d) In the tenses with the subjunctive auxiliary (*ho:*, *hō:*, *ho:vū:*, *ho:vo:*), person and number are shown by the auxiliary and gender and number are shown by the participle of the verb.

e) In the tenses with the past conditional auxiliary, (*ho:ta:*, *ho:te:*, *ho:ti:*, *ho:ṭi:*) gender and number are denoted by both the auxiliary and the main verb but person is not shown by either.³

3 It is also to be pointed out that in case of transitive verbs used in the past tenses derived from the perfective forms, the verb is to be in concord with the object in GN, if the object has no explicit accusative marker, but is in the natural or impersonal form if there is the marker *-ko*. Since 1st and 2nd personal pronouns do not occur without accusative marker, the auxiliaries cannot have 1st and 2nd personal forms.

(5) In Tamil aspects can be assigned to the auxiliaries with definiteness. *koṇṇu* marks the durative/progressive tenses, and *iru* denotes the perfective tenses. The main verb remains in the adverbial participial form and is neutral with regard to aspect.

But in Hindi the aspective function is performed sometimes by the auxiliary and sometimes by the main verb.

The imperfect participle (usually called present participle) with the Aux. *hai* gives the Simple Present (Present Indefinite).

<i>a:ta: hai</i>	'comes-he'
<i>a:ti: hai</i>	'comes-she'

The imperfect participle itself functions as the Past contingent (contional, subjunctive) tense.

<i>a:ta:</i>	'if he had come, he would have come'
<i>a:ti:</i>	'if she had come, she would have come'

In the durative/progressive forms.

<i>a: raha: hai</i>	'is coming-he'
<i>a: rahe: hai</i>	'are coming-they' and
<i>a: raha: tha:</i>	'was coming-he'
<i>a: rahe: the:</i>	'weres coming-they'

the auxiliaries give the sense of the present and the past, while *raha:* shows the aspect.

But in the forms

<i>a:ya:</i>	'came-he'
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a:ya: hai 'has come-he'

a:ya: ths: 'had come-he'

the auxiliaries show the perfective sense.

Thus the assignment is difficult with regard to the auxiliaries. It seems that the participial forms and the auxiliaries are to be together taken and assigned the functions of tense and aspects.

1.7. Historical Development

The historical development of the verbal forms in Tamil and Hindi show some similarities. In both the languages, the basic tense forms have developed from original adjectival/participial constructions, especially of the type :

Participle + Auxiliary

In Hindi, the Aux. *hai* and its various forms are derived from the Skt. root *as* 'be' (III Sg. *asti* 'is')⁴ or from the Skt. root *bhu:* 'be, happen' (III Sg. *bhavati* 'is, happens'). The past Aux. *tha:* is derived from Skt. participial form *sthita*⁵ 'remaining, existing' or *bhavantaka*⁷ 'remaining, being' or *bhu:ta:*⁸ which existed, remained, happened' *ho:ga:* and *ho:* are usually derived from the forms of Skt. *bhu:*. In spite of the differences of opinion about the exact sources and the stages of development it is almost certain that these auxiliaries have developed from

4 Dhirendra Varma, (1973, Ed. 7. 1962). P 293

5 Bholanath Tivari (1966, Ed. 1933), p. 623

6 Dhirendra Varma, (1963, Ed. 1962), p. 294

7 Bhalanath Tivari (1866, Ed. 1973), p. 624

8 Devendra Kumar (1950), p. 97

a verb meaning 'be/remain'. It has been earlier pointed out that they function as copula verbs as well (1-6 [1]).

The imperfect and the perfect participles of the verbs in Hindi also have their origin in the participles of Sanskrit. Though there is difference of opinion here also about the origin and stages of development, all agree that the imperfect participle in Sanskrit and the perfect participle from a perfective form in Sanskrit.⁹

Coming to the verbal formations we note that:-

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| H. <i>vah ja:ta hai</i> | 'He goes'. is parallel to |
| (he-going-is) | |
| Skt. <i>sah ya:tah asti</i> | 'He goes' |
| (he-going-is) | |
| H. <i>vah gaya: hai</i> | 'He has gone' is parallel to |
| Skt. <i>sah gatah asti</i> | 'He has gone' |
| (he-gone-is) | |

H. *ja:ta:* = Skt. *ya:tah* and H. *ja:ta:* = Skt. *gatah* are participles functioning as adjectives and are in concord with the subject. These constructions are parallel to the adjective constructions.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| H. <i>vah susi:l hai</i> | 'He is good-matured'. |
| Skt. <i>sah susi:lah asti</i> | 'He is good natured' |

In Tamil also it is found that verbs with pronominal endings were formerly used as adjectival/participial nouns

vanta:n 'one who come' *ceyta:n* 'one who did' etc.

9 See :— Dharendra Varma Ibid. p. 295; Bholanath Tivari, Ibid. p. 618; Devendra Kumar, Ibid. p. 98

- Such uses are very common in Ancient Tamil works:-
- ve:narpa:nik kalanta:l men pu:ntirumukattal*¹⁰
 'the pretty face of her who joined in early
 summer'
- maññai po:l e:nki azuta:lukku*¹¹
 'to her who wept like pea hen'
- netuma:lukku aruḷ ceyta:nai*¹²
 'the one who showed grace to Vishnu'
- te:varkaḷukku amutu i:ṇṭa:nai*¹³
 'him who supplied the Devas with ambrosia'
- vempukinṇe:ni*¹⁴
 'me who feel sorry'

As such *avan vanta:n* may be considered parallel to *avan manitan* 'he is man' and *avan nalla:n* 'he is good' with the copula verb omitted in all cases. It seems that such participial uses of earlier periods later began to be used as finite verbs. If this is true, then

T. *avan po:na:n* (He gone) 'He went' must be parallel to Skt. *sah gatah* (asti) (he gone is) 'He went' in which case also the verb *asti* 'is' can be dropped, and also parallel to Hindi *vah gaya*: 'He went' where the auxiliary verb is actually absent

It may be pertinent to ask whether these are independent parallel developments, or has there been any mutual influence?

10 *Cilappatika:ram* VIII 125

11 *Cilappatika:ram* IX-23

12 *Te:va:ram*, 217.2

13 *Te:va:ram* 217-2

14 *Tiruva:cakam* 6-78

Secondly, neither Tamil nor Hindi had the durative and the perfective tense forms in early times. Sanskrit also does not have verbal sequences (verbs with auxiliaries) to show durative and perfective tenses. These tenses are later developments. Ancient European languages as Greek and Latin and even Modern German do not have such periphrastic tense forms. However, it is very common in Modern English. The present speaker has not been able to trace the exact source or the stages of developments of such forms in Hindi and Tamil. This needs more investigation.

2. Modal Auxiliaries

2.0. The Modal Auxiliaries in Hindi and Tamil show some differences in use. Though in both the languages, the modal verbs do not occur independently, their use with other verbs are not quite similar.

2.1. Potential Verb Hi. *sak* - Ta. *muṭi* 'can, be able to'

H. *sak* occurs with the root of the main verb, whereas T. *muṭi* as a potential auxiliary occurs with the infinitive. The subject is in the nominative case in Hindi, but in Tamil the subject can take the Nominative, Dative or Instrumental marker.

Hi. *mañ ja: sakta: hu:*
Ta. *na:n|enakku|enna:l po:ka muṭiyum* } 'I can go'

Hi. *vah ja:sakti: hai*
Ta. *ava!|ava!ukku|ava!a:l po:kamuṭiyum* } 'She can go'

Hi. *go:pa:l ja: sakta*

Ta. *go:pa:lan|go:pa:lanukku|go:pa:lan:a:l po:kamuṭintatu*
'Gopal could go'

2.2. Completive Hi. *cuk* - Ta. *muṭi* 'finish'

Hi. *cuk* is used with the root of the main verb whereas Ta. *muṭi* is used with the adverbial participle of the verb. The subject is in the nominative form in both. Very often the idea is expressed in Tamil by using the explicator 'viṭu'.

Hi. *laṅka: likh cuka: hai*
Ta. *paiyan ezutimutintaru/*
ezutivitta:n } 'The boy has finished
writing'

Hi. *mai kar:m kar cuka: hu:*
Ta. *na:n ve:lai eeytu muṭintaru/*
eeytu viṭte:n } 'I have finished doing
the work'

Hi. *naukar ja: cuka hai*
Ta. *ve:laikka:rarkaḷ cenru*
viṭta:rkaḷ } 'The servants have
gone'

2.3. Compulsive

Hi. *ho* 'have to', *par* 'haveto', *ca:hiye* 'must'

Ta. *ve:ṅṅiyiru* 'have to', *ve:ṅṅum* 'must'

The Hindi compulsive auxiliaries are used with the inflexible infinitive of the verb, which keeps concord with the object if there is no accusative marker with it, but remains in the impersonal form if there is the marker (Cf. 1.6.[4] [d] Footnote) In Tamil the compulsive auxiliaries are used with the infinitive of the verb and are in the impersonal form. The subject of the compulsive in Hindi takes the Dative marker *-ko*, but the subject of the Tamil compulsive can be in the nominative the dative case.

Hi. *usko a:j dilli: ja:na:hai*
Ti. *avon(ukku) mṛu tilli*
po:kave:ṅṅiyirukkṛatu } 'He has to go to Delhi
today'

- Hi. *tumhe(tumko) yah pustak khari:dhi: ho'gi:* (Concord with *pustak* - F)
 'you will have to buy this book'
- Ta. *ni: (enakku) inta puttakam va:nkave:ṅṅiyirukkum*
 'you will have to buy this book'
- Hi. *ham ko(hamē) roz vaha: ja:na: parṭa: hae*
 (Impersonal)
 'We have to go there daily'
- Ta. *na:nkaḷ tnamum aṅke: pō:kave:ṅṅiyirukkiratu*
 'We have to go there daily'
- Hi. *a:pko angre:zi: paṛhni: paṛogi:* (Concord with *angre:zi* - F.)
 'You will have to learn English'
- Ta. *ni:nkaḷ (uṅkaḷukku) a:nkilam paṭikkave:ṅṅiyirukkum*
 'You will have to learn English'
- Hi. *mujhe (mujhko) yah kaha:ni: paṛhni: paṛi:* (Concord with *kaha:ni* - F.) *mujhe is kaha:ni: ko paṛhna: paṛa:*
 (Impersonal)
 'I had to read this story'
- Ta. *enakku (na:n) inta katai(yal) paṭikkave:ṅṅiyiruntatu*
 'I had to read this story'
- Hi. *tumhē yah kaha:ni: paṛhni: ca:hiye* (Concord with *kaha:ni* - F) *tumhē is kaha:ni: ko:paṛhna: ca:hiye*
 (Impersonal).
- Ta. *ni: inta katai (vai) paṭikkave:ṅṅum*

It may be noted that the modal auxiliaries in Tamil are always in the impersonal form, and so these are to be distinguished from other verbs, namely main verbs and explicators.

3. Explicators or Operators

There is another set of auxiliaries in Hindi and Tamil used with main verbs to modify their meanings. These are often considered along with modal auxiliaries, but their behaviour makes it necessary to distinguish them from the modal auxiliaries. These are recently called Explicators or Operators.

The verbs frequently used so in Hindi are *ja:* 'go', *paṛ* 'fall', *ḍa:l* 'drop', *uṭh* 'get up', *baith* 'sit', *le* 'take', *de* 'give', *ma:r* 'kill' and *rakh* 'keep'.

In Tamil *po:* 'go', *viṭu* 'leave' and *koḷ* 'take, accept' are such verbs.

The explicators are different from modal verbs in that:-

i) they, unlike the modal auxiliaries can occur independently, and

ii) secondly, when they occur with the main verbs, they lose their original meanings and show intensification, emphasis, suddenness, unpleasantness etc.

The explicators in Tamil behave differently from modal verbs in taking the PGN markers also, which do not occur with modal verbs. A few examples of explicators are given below:-

Hi. <i>vah mar gaya:</i>	}	'He passed away'
Ta. <i>avan irantupo:na:n</i>		
Hi. <i>si:sa: tu:t gaya:</i>	}	'The bottle broke'
Ta. <i>putti utaintuvittatu</i>		
Hi. <i>kapra: phat gaya:</i>	}	'The cloth tore off'
Ta. <i>tupi kizintuvittatu</i>		
Hi. <i>usne kah ḍa:la:</i>	}	'He/she told out'
Ta. <i>avan/aval collivitta:n/!</i>		

- Hi. *yah phal tum le:le:*
 'you take (for yourself) this fruit'
- Ta. *intappuzattai ni: eṭuttukkel*
 'you take (for yourself) this fruit'
- Hi. *use abhi: de:do:*
 'Give it off immediately.'
- Ta. *atai ippozute: koṭuttuviṭu*
 'Give it off immediately.'

4. Some special Auxiliaries in Tamil

There are some defective verbs in Tamil like *-a:m* used as reportive or presumptive, *ku:ṭum* used as presumptive, which have no strict parallels in Hindi. The presumptive sense can be expressed by the presumptive tenses discussed earlier. The permissive and the presumptive sense of *-a:m* can be expressed by subjunctive future tense.

- Ta. *avan varala:m| varakku:ṭum*
 'He may come' (Presumptive)
- Hi. *vah ata: ho:ga:*
 'He may come' (Presumptive)
- Ta. *avaḷ vantirukkakku:ṭum|vantirukkala:m*
 'She might have come'
- Hi. *vah a:yi: ho:gi*
 'She might have come'
- Ta. *avarkaḷ ippozutu varala:m*
 'They may come now' (Permissive or Presumptive)
- Hi. *ve: ah a:yee:*
 'They may come now' (Permissive or Presumptive)

The negativizing auxiliaries in Tamil *ma:ṭṭ + PGN* (as in *ma:ṭṭe:n*, *ma:ṭṭa:n* etc) in the future and *ku:ṭa:tu*

'don't' in the imperative have also no parallels in Hindi, but their ideas are expressed by adverbial words as *nahi* 'no, not' and *mat* 'don't'.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be said that the comparison of the auxiliaries in Hindi and Tamil has theoretical importance being such a study can bring out prominently some features in the individual languages. The differences in forms and variation in use have importance in the context of bilingual study. The similarities especially in the case of the tense forming auxiliaries and the tense forms with them are of special since they may point to mutual influence or contact. However it is to be confirmed by studying more data in detail, whether the similar elements and processes are independent development with accidental similarity or mutually influenced or connected developments.

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A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF TAMIL AND HINDI AUXILIARIES

K. RAJESWARI

Verbs that are used to form tenses, moods and voices of other verbs are called auxiliary verbs. As is the case with all SOV languages, both in Tamil and Hindi, the auxiliaries mostly occur only after the main verbs. All auxiliaries, excepting a few modals like *-ttum* and *-la:m* in Tamil and 'sak' in Hindi, occur as main verbs. When these main verbs function as auxiliaries, they add to the aspectual meaning of the main verbs, show the delicate differences in their meaning or add to their meaning by indicating the speaker's mood, feeling, opinion or attitude. These main verbs almost lose their lexical meanings when they function as auxiliaries. However, it is interesting to note that in both the languages, defective verbs which function as auxiliaries retain their lexical meanings.

In Tamil, defective verbs that function as auxiliaries normally occur after infinitives or verbal nouns endings in *al*, *dar* or *ttal*. This type of verbal nouns can be replaced by infinitives before these auxiliaries without any changes of meaning and this usage of these verbal nouns is not quite common these days. In Hindi, an auxiliary occurs after the root of a main verb or its direct or modified infinitive or past conditional forms or after its past indefinite forms.

Examples

i. After a verbal noun

Ta. *a:ra mukama:na poruḷ ni:yaruḷal' ve:ṇṭum*
 'You should graciously reveal the purpose of
 your manifestation as a six-faced one.'

ii. After an Infinitive

Ta. *na:n̄ na:lai cenṇaikkup po:ka ve:ṇṭum*
 'I have to go to Madras tomorrow'
na:n̄ avarai aṅku cantikka muṭiyum
 'It will be possible for me to meet him there'

Direct :

Hi. *kal mujhe: madras ja:na: paRe:ga:*
 'I will have to go to Madras tomorrow'
tunko: acchi: tarah paRha: ca:hiye:
 'You should study well'
kal go:pa:lko: a:pse: milna: ca:hiye: tha:
 'Gopal ought to have met you yesterday'

Modified :

vaḥ ro:ne: laga:
 'He began to cry'
use: ja:ne: do:
 'Let him go'

iii. After a verbal participle

Ta. *itaik kuṭittu viṭu*
 'Drink this up'
avarhaḷ oru viṭṭaik kaṭṭik koṇḍa:raḷ
 'They built a house for themselves'

iv. After the root of a verb

Hi. *vah gir paRi:*
 'She fell down'

ve: pu:ch baiṅe: to:
 'If they spring that question on us'

v. After the past conditional

Direct :

Hi. *vah de:khta: rah gaya:*
 'He just stood gazing (He was stunned)'

Modified :

uṣa: kyo: hāsti: hai?
 'Why does Usha laugh?'

usse: hāste: nahī: ana:
 'He could not laugh'

vi. After the past indefinite form of a verb

Hi. *maīne: kha:ya: hai*
 'I have eaten'

mantri: maḥo:day padha:r cuke: hai
 'The honourable minister has arrived'

Both in Tamil and Hindi two or more auxiliaries are found to occur together in a sentence.

Ta. *avan paṇattai vaṅkiyil po:ṭṭu vaittirukkala:m*
 'He might have deposited the money in the bank'

Hi. *tum use ghasi:t liye: ja: rahe: ho:*
 'You are dragging it along'

In both the languages, there are some restrictions in regard to the order of occurrence of these auxiliaries and their immediate constituents.

For instance, in Tamil, the auxiliary *a:rambi* does not occur after verbs like *ke:ttaruḷ* 'be gracious enough to listen', *ceṇuppo*: 'die' and *a:rampi* 'begin'.

Similarly, in Hindi, while *karna*: occurs before *paR cha:hna*: does not occur before *paR*.

mujhe: vah ka:m karna: paRa:
'I had to do that job'

But not

use: gharse: ba:har ja:na: ca:hna: paRa:

In Tamil, the auxiliaries that show tense and person number-gender concord occur in the final position. In Hindi too the auxiliaries that show tense occur in the final position but in some instances they show only person-number concord and in some others, only number-gender concord. In Tamil, all modals excepting *ttum* and *la:m* take past and non-past tense suffixes. *ttum* and *la:m* connote futurity and occur either in the future tense after infinitives or in the presumptive past after the perfective stems of verbs.

In Hindi *ca:hiye*: connotes futurity and it has no present tense form at all. Its use in the past sense is indicated by the past finite form of *ho:* which follows it.

In Tamil, the negative auxiliaries occur in the final position of the verb phrase.

ni: vara ve:ṇṭa:m

'You need not come'

avaḷ vara ma:tta:ḷ

'She will not come'

eṇṇa:l pe:ca mutiyavillai

'I can't talk or I could not talk'

eṇṇa:l unkaḷ ke:ḷvikaḷukku viṭaiyalikka muṭiya:tu

'It is not possible for me to answer your questions'.

The negative particle in Hindi normally occurs before the auxiliary but it can occur either before or after the main verb. The negative particle *nā* at the end of a sentence functioning as a tag question (eliciting an affirmative or negative response) occurs after an auxiliary verb too.

ma' nahī: ja: sakta:|maī ja: nahī: sakta:

'I can't go'

tumne: yah ba:t suni: hai, na?

'You have heard this news, haven't you?'

Some auxiliaries like *sak*, *ja: ban* and *pa:* occur both in the affirmative and negative sentences. Some auxiliaries like *uṭh*, *kar* and *ḍa:l* do not occur in negative sentences.

Affirmative

mai yah ka:m kar saka:

'I could do that job'

yahā: laḱaRi: ke: khilaune: bana:ye: ja:te: hāi

'Wooden toys are made here'

kal ham unse: mil pa:ye:'

'We could meet them yesterday'

ma:li: ko: de:khte: hi:

do:no: laRke: calte: bane:

‘On seeing the gardener, both the boys made
away’

mai caũk uṭha:

‘I was startled’

ravi ro:z yaḥā: a:ya: karta: haI

‘Ravi is in the habit of coming here everyday’

ra:jne: us sa:p ko: ma:r ḍa:la:

‘Raj killed that snake’

Negative

māi vah ka:m kar na saka:

‘I could not do that job’

yaḥā: lakaRi: ke: khilaune: bana:ye: naḥi: ja:te:

‘Wooden toys are not made here’

kāl māi usko: de:kh naḥi: pa:ya:

‘I could not see him yesterday’

usse: ḥāste: naḥi: bana:

‘He could not laugh’

Both in Tamil and Hindi, the same auxiliary connotes different meanings when it occurs after different forms of the same verb and also depending on the attitude, feeling or opinion of the speaker as well as the lexical meaning of the other constituents that precede it.

nī: po:kave: ve:ṅṭa:m

'You need not go at all'

na:n̄ varatta:n̄ ve:ṅṭuma:?

'Is it absolutely necessary that I should come?'

In Hindi, pronouns, emphatic particles, negative particles as well as time adverbials intervene between the main verb and the auxiliary that follows it.

a:jkal a:pkō: ho: kva: gaya: hai?

'What has happened to you these days?'

In the above sentence, the interrogative pronoun *kya:* intervenes between the main verb *ho:* and the auxiliaries *gaya: hai*

ro: to: mai ab bhi: raha: hū:

'Even now I am crying'

(As for crying, I am doing it even now)

In the above sentence, the emphatic particles *to:* and *bhi:*, the pronoun *mai* and the time adverbial *ab* intervene between the main verb *ro:* and the auxiliaries *raha: hu:* Auxiliaries that show tenses and aspects of verbs

In Tamil, the finite forms of the verb *iru*, 'be' in the different tenses function as auxiliaries and help to form the compound tenses. These auxiliaries show tense as well as person, number and gender. (The simple tenses in Tamil are formed by affixing to verb roots the tense suffixes followed by the personal terminations).

Present

Ta. *paḍikkire:n* (*paḍi + kkiṛ + e:n*)

'I read'

Past

paḍitta:? - (*paḍi* + *tt* + *a:?*)
 'She read'

Future

paḍippo:m - (*paḍi* + *pp* + *o.m*)
 'We shall/will read'

Present imperfect

H_i. *paRhta: hu:* (*paRk* + *ta:* + *hu:*)
 'I read (mas.)'

paRhti: hu: - (*paRk* + *ti:* + *hu:*)
 'I read (fem.)'

Past imperfect

Vah paRhti: thi:
 'She was reading'

mai paRhti: thi:
 'I was reading'

The future tense is formed by affixing the future tense auxiliaries to the roots of the main verbs.

(*ja:* + future tense aux.)

mai ja:u:ga:|ja:u:gi:
 'I will go (mas./fem.)'

tum ja:o:ge:|ja:o:gi:
 'You will go (mas./fem.)'

a:p ja:e:ge:|ja:e:gi:
 'You will go (Hon. sg. or pl. mas./fem.)'

yah ja:e:ga:|ja:e:gi:
 'This one will go (mas./fem.)'

vañ ja:e:ga:/ja:e:gi:

'That one will go (mas./fem.)'

ye: ja:e:ge: /ja:e:gi:

'These will go (mas./fem.)'

ve: ja:e:ge:/ ja:e:gi:

'Those will go (mas. fem.)'

Perfect Tenses

Present Perfect

(Verbal participle stem + present tense, finite form of the aux. *iru*).

Ta. *ke:ñirukkire:n* (*ke:ñ + irukkire:n*)

'I have heard'.

Past perfect

(Verbal participle stem + future tense, finite form of the aux. *iru*).

vandiruppa:rhal - (*vand + iruppa:rhal*)

'They would have arrived'

vandirukkum - (*vand + irukkum*)

'It would have arrived'

Present perfect

(Past indefinite form of the main verb + present tense, finite form of the aux. *ho:*)

Hi. *gaya: hu:* - (*gaya: + hu:*)

'I have gone (mas.)'

gayi: hu: - (*gayi: + hu:*)

'I have gone (fem.)'

Past perfect

(Past indefinite form of the main verb + past tense, finite form of the aux. *ho*.)

kamala: kal yaḥa: a:yi: thi:

'Kamala had come here yesterday'

a:yi: thi: - (a:yi: + thi:)

'Had come (fem. sg.)'

ra:mne: mujhse: yah ba:t kahi: thi:

'Ram had told me this fact'

Presumptive perfect

(Past indefinite form of the main verb + future tense, finite form of the aux. *ho*.)

vah ba:har gayi: ho:gi:

'She might have gone out'

gayi: ho:gi - (gayi: + ho:gi:)

'Might have gone (fem. sg.)'

ranji:tne: yan tasvi:r de:khi: ho:gi:

'Ranjit might have seen this picture'

Progressive Tenses

Present Progressive

(Verbal participle + verbal participle stem of *kol*, that is, *koṇḍ* + present tense, finite form of the aux. *iru*.)

Ta. *vandukoṇḍirukkīraḍu*

'It is coming'

vandukoṇḍirukkīraḍu - (vandu + koṇḍ + irukkīraḍu).

Present Progressive

(Verb root + modified form of *rah* + present tense finite form of the aux. *ho*.)

Hi. *bacca: so: raha: hai*

'The baby is sleeping'

so: raha: hai - (*so: + raha: + hai*)

'Is sleeping' (mas.)

ra:dha: na:c rahi: hai

'Radha is dancing'

na:c rahi: hai - (*na:c + rahi: + hai*)

'Is dancing' (fem.)

laRke: khe:l rahe: hai

'The boys are playing'

khe:l rahe: hai - (*khe:l + rahe: + hai*)

'are playing' (mas. pl.)

ye: laRkiya: kaha: ja: rahi: hai?

'Where are these girls going?'

ja: rahi: hai - (*ja: + rahi: + hai*)

'Are going' (fem. pl.)

Non-past presumptive progressive

(Verbal participle + *koṇḍ* + the future tense finite form of the aux. *iru*).

Ta. *vaṭṭi vantukoṇḍirukkum*

'The train will be coming'

vantukoṇḍirukkum - (*vantu + koṇḍ + irukkum*)

(it 'will be coming')

(Verb root + modified form of *rah* + the future tense finite form of the aux. *ho*.)

Hi. *ga:Ri: a: rahi: ho:gi:*

'The train will be coming'

a: rahi: ho:gi: (a: + rahi: + ho:gi:)

'Will be coming' (fem. sg.)

It is interesting to note that in both the languages, the present imperfect and the present progressive forms of verbs denote the same meaning. But in Hindi, the presumptive present imperfective connotes a slightly different meaning from that connoted by the non-past presumptive progressive. For example

ga:Ri: a:ti: ho:gi:

'The train might be coming'

(The probability is less)

ga:Ri: a: rahi: ho:gi:

'The train may be coming'

(The probability is more)

Durative forms of verbs

(Verbal participle + *kaṇḍ* + *e*: (emphatic particle) + the finite form of the aux. *iru* in any tense).

Ta. *gi:ta: aḷutukoṇṭe: irunta:!*

'Geetha went on crying'

(Direct or modified conditional form of the main verb + the conditional form of the auxiliary *rah* + the finite form of *ho*: or the finite form of *rah* after the conditional form of the main verb).

Hi. *vah hasti: rahti: hai*

'She keeps laughing'

tum unki: prati:kṣha: karte: raho:

'You keep waiting for them'

kal ve: de:rtak ja:gte: rahe:

'Yesterday, they kept awake for a long time'.

Verbs denoting simultaneous actions

(Verbal participle form of some action verb + *koṇḍ* + *e:* + the finite form of some action verb).

he:ma: pa:ṛikkōṇṭe: vi:ṇai va:citta:ḥ

'Hema played the Veena, singing'

(Direct or modified past conditional form of some action verb + the finite form of *ho:* (happen) + the finite form of some action verb)

Hi. *ma:la: hasti: hui a:ti: hai*

'Mala comes laughing'

Inceptives

(Infinitive + the finite form of the auxiliaries *tuvangu*, *toṅangu* or *a:rampī* (begin))

Ta. *avaṅ aḷattuvankina:n*

'He began to cry'

aḷattuvankina:n - (*aḷa* + *t* + *tuvankina:n*)

'(He) began to cry'

a:tattoṅanku - (*a:da* + *t* + *toṅanku*)

'(You) begin to dance'

na:n ne:ṛru itai eḷuta a:rampitte:n

'I started writing this yesterday'

eḷuta a:rampitte:n - (*eḷuta* + *a:rampitte:n*)

'I started writing'

(Modified infinitive form of the main verb + the finite form of the aux. *lag*)

Hi. *vah ro:ne: laga:*
 'He began to cry'

ro:ne: laga: - (ro:ne: + laga:)
 'Began to cry' (mas. sg)

tum kab paRhne: lako:gi:?
 'When will you start studying?'

paRhne: lako:gi: - (paRhne: + lako:gi:)
 '(You) will start studying (fem.)'

ye: lo:g sabe:re: sa:t baje:

khe:lne: lagte: hai

'These people begin to play at seven o' clock in
 the morning'

khe:lne: lagte: hai - (khe:lne: + lagte: hai)

'Begin to play' (mas. pl.)'

Completives

(Verbal participle + the finite form of *viḍu* or *muḍi* finish or complete).

Ta. *viḷakku aṇaintu viṭṭatu*
 'The lamp is extinguished'

aṇaintu + viṭṭatu - (aṇaindu + viṭṭatu)
 'is extinguished' (neuter, sg)

tiruṭan o:ḍi viṭṭuva:ṇ
 'The thief will run away'

o:ṭi viṭṭuva:ṇ
 'will run away (mas. sg.)'

na:n antapputtakattaip paṭittu muṭitte:n
 'I finished reading that book'

paṭittu muṭitte:n
 'I finished reading'

(Verb root + the finite form of *cuk* [finish])

mai kha: cuki:
 'I finished eating'

kha: cuki:
 'finished eating (fem. sg.)'

ve: a: cuke: hai
 'They have come'

a: cuke: hai
 'have come' (mas. pl.)

Passive voice

(Infinitive of the main verb + the finite form of the auxiliary *paṭu*. The agentive subject of the verb in the passive voice is usually implied. When it is explicit, it occurs in the instrumental case).

Ta. *teruvai acuddap paṭuttukavarkaḷ taṇṭikkap*
paṭuva:rkaḷ
 'Those who litter the streets will be punished'

taṇṭikkap paṭuva:rkaḷ (taṇṭikka + p + paṭuva:rkaḷ)
 '(They) will be punished'

ne:rru oru putiya pa:tai amaikkap paṭṭatu
 'yesterday, a new road was laid'

amaikkap paṭṭatu - (amaikka + p + paṭṭatu)
 'was laid'

avan etirikaḷa:l kollappatta:n
 'He was kil'ed by the enemies'
etirikaḷa:l - 'by the enemies'

intap pa:lam kallu:ri ma:ṇav ṇv arkaḷa:l kaṭṭap
paṭukiraṭu
 'This brldge is being built by college students'

(Finite forms of the main verbs in the past indefinite tense + the finite form of the auxiliary *ja:* The agentive subject is normally implied when the accusative or the dative subject *ko:* occurs with some noun or pronoun before the passive form of the verb. When the agentive subject is explicit, it occurs in the instrumental case).

Hi. is ta:vi:r ko: kaṁsa: raṅṅ laga:ya: ja:e:ga:?
 'What colour will be given to this picture?'

a:pko: yah ba:t abhi: samaja:i: ja:e:gi:
 'This matter will be explained to you, right now'

isko: baRe: mahatva ka: viṣay samajha: ja:ta: hai
 'This is considered to be a matter of great
 importance'

yah pul cha:tro: se: bana:ya: gaya: hai
 'This bridge has been built by students'.

Causative verbs

(Infinitive form of the main verb + the finite form of the aux. *vai* (keep or put) or *sey* (do) or *paṇṇu* (make or do). Of these *vai* occurs with very great frequency. *paṇṇu* occurs only with certain verbs. The aux. *viḍu* also functions as a causative auxiliary when it occurs with certain intransitive verbs. Certain main verbs themselves are causative in connotation.

Ta. *uṣa: kuḷantaiyait tu:nka vaitta:l̥*

'Usha put the baby to sleep'

tu:nka vaitta:l̥ - (*tu:nka* + *vaitta:l̥*)

'(She) put (someone) to sleep'

avaṇaip paṭikka vai

'Educate him'

paṭikka vai - (*paṭikka* + *vai*)

'Educate or cause some one to study'

rame:ṣ kuḷantaiyai alaḥ ceykiṛa:n̄

'Ramesh makes the baby cry'

alaḥ ceykiṛa:n̄ (*ala* + *c* + *ceykiṛa:n̄*)

'He causes (makes) (some one) to cry'

mutalil avaṇait tu:nkap paṇṇu

'First, put him to sleep'

tu:nkap paṇṇu (*tu:nka* + *p* + *paṇṇu*)

'Put (some one) to sleep'

ra:ma: ni: e:n̄ kuma:raik katta vitukiṛa:y?

'Rama, why do you make Kumar howl?'

katta vitukiṛa:y (*katta* + *vitukiṛa:y*)

'You make (cause) (some one) to howl?'

pa:ṭṭi kuḷantaikkuc eo:ru u:ttukiṛa:l̥

'Granny feeds the baby'

u:ttukiṛa:l̥ (*u:ttu* + *kīṛ* + *a:l̥*)

'She feeds (causes someone to eat)'

Here the word *u:ttu* means 'feed'

In Tamil, single causatives are also formed by affixing the instrumental case marker *mu:lam* to the causative subject. But this usage is not very common. Double causatives

are formed by affixing *koṇḍu* to the second causative subject.

amma: uṣa:vaikkōṇḍu kaḷantaiyaṅ tu:ṅka vaitta:l
 'Mother made Usha put the baby to sleep'

Single causatives occur with single causative subjects.

Hi. *uma:ne: bacce:ko: sula:ya:*
 'Uma put the baby to sleep'
 (Uma caused the baby to sleep)
sula:ya: - (so: + sula: + ya:)
 (caused (someone) to sleep)

Double causative occurs with double causative subjects. (that is, the agent causes someone to cause another to do something for oneself or for someone else. The second causative subject is always in the instrumental case).

hamne; naukarse: us buRhiya:ko bhā:t khilva:ya:
 'We fed the old woman (with rice) through the servant'

khilva:ya: (khil + v + ay:a:)
 (We) caused someone to feed someone else

hama:re: adhya:pak ho:siyar cha:tro:se: du:sre:
cha:tro: ko: angre:zi: sikhva:te: hai
 'Our teacher makes the bright students teach English to the other students'

sikhva:te: hai - (Sikh + v + a: + te: hai)
 'He (hon.) causes (someone) to teach'

Capabilitatives

(Infinitive form of the main verb + finite form of *muti* in the third person, neuter singular with the agentive-

subject in the instrumental case to indicate capability and the agentive subject in the nominative case to denote possibility).

Ta. *eṇṇa:l anta ve:laiyaic ceyya muṭiyam*
 'I am capable of doing that job'

na:n na:lai uṇ vi:ttukku vara muṭiyam
 'It is possible for me to come to your house
 tomorrow'

(Main verb root + finite form of 'sak' in masculine or feminine singular or plural)

Hi. *gi:ta: acchi: tarah likh sakti: hai*
 'Geetha can write well'

mai kal sabha:me: bo:l saku:ga:
 'I will be able to address the meeting tomorrow'

Habitual Action

Finite forms of verbs in the simple present or future tense preceded by an adverb of frequency or finite forms of verbs in the non-past or past progressive tense preceded by an adverb of frequency denotes habitual action.

Ta. *sarala: tiṇanto:rum ko:yilukkup po:kiṛa:l|po:va:l*
 'Sarala goes/will go to the temple everyday'

munṇ^{ya} avan atikkaṭi inku vantu koṇṭirunta:n
 'Formerly, he used to come here often'

In Hindi too, imperfect finite forms of verbs preceded by some adverb of frequency denote habitual action.

Hi. *ham ro:z man^{dir} ja:te hai*
 'We go to the temple everyday'

Finite forms of the auxiliary *ka* occurring after the masculine, singular, past indefinite forms of main verbs indicate only habitual action

pahale: mai garam pani: me: naha:ya:karta: tha:
 'Formerly, I used to bathe in hot water'

lata: aksar madra:s ja:ya: karti: ha:
 'Lata is in the habit of going to Madras often'

ja:ya: is a variant of *gaya:*
tum roz mandir ja:ya: karo:
 'You be in the habit of going to the temple daily'

Past Conditional

(Past perfective stem of the main verb + the conditional suffix *a:l*)

Ta. *ni: ke:ṭṭirunda:l . .*
 'If you had asked . . .

ke:ṭṭirunta:l - (Ke:ṭṭirunt + a:l)
 'If (someone) had asked'

(root of the main verb + the past conditional suffix *ta:*
te: ti: or ti:)

Hi. *go:pa:l a:ta: ta:*
 'If Gopal had come'

a:ta: - (a: + ta:) (Mas. sg.)
uma: acchi: tarah puRhti: to;
 'If Uma had studied well'

paRhti: - (paRh + ti:) (fem. sg.)
ve: mujhse: pu:chte: to;
 'If they had asked me'

pu:chte: - (*pu:ch* + *te:*) (mas. pl.)

ham te:z dauRti: to:

'If we had run fast

dauRti: (*dauR* + *ti:*) (fem. pl.)

Subjunctive

(Infinitive of the main verb + *ttum* ('let' or may))

Indirect permission

Ta. *kuma:r na:lai vi:ttukkup po:hattum*
'Let Kumar go home tomorrow'

po:hattum - (*po:ha* + *ttum*)

'Let (someone or some persons or objects) go

Expressing a wish

na:tu celikkattum

'May the country prosper'

celikkattum - (*celikka* + *ttum*)

'May (something) prosper'

(Main root of the main verb + the stem of the future tense auxiliary)

Hi. *ye: laRke; kaḷ ghar ja:e:*

'Let these boys go home tomorrow'

ja:e: - (*ja:* + *e:*)

'Let (some persons or objects) go (pl.)

Auxiliaries that show subtle shades of meaning

When some main verbs like *viṭu* and *po:* in Tamil and *ja:* and *de:* in Hindi occur as auxiliaries they retain their lexical meanings so slightly as to be hardly perceptible. The subtle shades of meanings they connote

largely depend on the feeling, opinion or attitude of the speaker in a given situation. Therefore, while the speakers of the language can easily perceive these delicate differences by observing the gestures, tone and the facial expression of the speaker, a foreigner will not be able to grasp them unless he learns them consciously.

Some linguists like Schiffman have attempted to show that certain auxiliaries like *po:* are used only with particular connotations. For instance, he says that *po:* denotes change of state with pejorative result (Schiffman, F. Horold (1969). But when a number of examples are studied, it is seen that it does not always connote such a result. The connotation of a particular auxiliary of this type depends not only on the lexical meaning of the main verb with which it occurs but also on the subject noun or pronoun, besides the attitude of the speaker. Perhaps it will be more accurate to say that the auxiliary *po:* occurs mostly with the verbal participle forms of main verbs which have a depreciatory meaning.

For example, when a speaker who likes his coffee hot says, *ka:ppi a:rippo:ccu*, 'the coffee has become cold' *po:ccu* connotes change of state with pejorative result. But when a person who had been suffering from a raw wound for a long time says; '*puṇ a:rippo:ccu*', 'The wound is healed' *po:ccu* connotes change of state with satisfactory result.

Examples of a few auxiliaries which connote different shades of meanings are given below:

Examples to show the function of the Tamil auxiliary *viṭu* and its counterparts in Hindi with different connotations.

viṭu

1. Completion of action or process

Ta. *irutti viṭṭatu* (process)

'It has become dark'

avaṅ po:y viṭṭa:n (action)

'He has left'

ja:

Hi. *andhe:ra: ho: gaya:*

'It became dark'

vah cala: gaya:

'He went away'

2. Sense of relief

Ta. *vaṅṅi vantu viṭṭatu!*

'The train has arrived!'

Hi. *ga:Ri: a: gayi:!*

'The train has arrived!'

3. Speed

Ta. *o:ṭi viṭu!*

'Take to your heels!'

Hi. *bha:g ja:o:!*

'Take to your heels!'

4. Change of state with depreciatory result

Ta. *eṅ viṭṭak kaḍai ti:p piḍittu erintu viṭṭatu*

'My firewood depot caught fire and burnt out
completely'

Hi. *me:ri: lakaRi: ki: du:ka:n me: a:g lag gayi: aur*
vah jal gayi:
 'My firewood depot caught fire and it burnt out
 completely'

5. Change of state with beneficial result

Ta. *uḍane: adat karik kadaiya:ha ma:ṛṛi viḍungal*
 'At once, convert it into a charcoal depot'

Hi. *de:*
to:, jhaṭ use: ko:yale:ki: du:ka:nme: badal di:jiye:

6. Other affective

Ta. *jaya: tiṅanto:ṛum pa:ṭṭikkuk*
ka:lkai piṭṭu viṭukira:ḷ
 'Daily, Jaya massages granny's feet and hands'
de:

Hi. *ro:z jaya: na:ni:ke: ha:th*
pa:vki ma:lis kar de:ti: hai
 'Daily, Jaya massages granny's hands and feet'

7. Abruptness

Ta. *ra:m uḷḷe: nuḷaintavutaṅ ni: e:n eluntu veliye:*
po:y viṭṭa:y?
 'As soon as Ram entered in, why did you get up
 and go out?'
ja:

Hi. *ra:mke: andar ghuste:hi tum kyo: uthkar ba:har*
cale: gaye:?
 'As soon as Ram entered in, Why did you get
 up and go out?'

8. Suddenness

Ta. *tiṭi:reṅṅu u:rukkul veḷḷam nuḷaintu viṭṭatu?*
 'The flood waters entered into the town suddenly'

Hi. ja:

aca:nak ba:Rḥ ka: pa:ni ga:v

ke: andar ghus gaya:

'The flood waters entered into the town suddenly'

9 Imminent event

Ta. ja:kkiratai ! na:n intaveḍi kuṇṭaik ki:le:

po:ṭṭavutan vima:nam erintu aḷintu viṭum !

'Beware ! The moment I drop down this bomb,
the plane will catch fire and crash'

Hi jyo:hi: mai is bamko: ni:ce: gira:u:, tvo:hi: yah
hava:i: jaha:z jalkar kha:q ho: ja:e:ga: !

'As soon as I drop down this bomb, the plane
will catch fire and crash'

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PASSIVE AUXILIARY VERB IN TAMIL AND HINDI - A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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In the history of transformational grammar, the 'passive transformation' occupies a very important place. The passive construction has been one of the most problematic and controversial constructions. Modern linguistic theory has added little to our understanding of the meaning and function of the passive constructions. The purpose of the present paper is to present a summary of the treatments of the passive constructions in Tamil and Hindi by making a contrastive analysis of these two languages.

The first question to be faced by anyone who wants to make a study of passivization is 'what is passive?' Active and passive sentences maintain a very close relationship. In the passive, the subject and object of the active sentence are transformed into the object and subject respectively. Dealing with the passive, Jespersen describes the structural change as 'Here what was the object (or one of the objects) in the active sentence is made into the subject and what was the subject in the active sentence is expressed either by means of a prepositional group, in English with *by* (formerly *of*), in French with *par* or *de*, in Latin with *ab* etc; or in some languages

simply by means of some case form (instrumental, abfative).

The second question that arises is why an active sentence is passivized? In fact, the passive transformation makes the active sentence some more complicated adding very little meaning to it.

Active :

Raman paampaik konṛaan
 'Raman killed the snake'

Passive :

Paampu ramanaal kollappattatu
 'The snake was killed by Raman'

We find the passive sentence adding very little 'Semantically' to the basic active sentence. Robin Lakoff points out the same when she wants to ask "... why it (the passive) is so widespread when it apparently is so useless". She makes a suggestion that the important question to which linguists must address themselves is why passives exist at all. F. R. Palmer while speaking about the function of the passive constructions also says 'The most difficult question to be asked about the passive is why it is used rather than the active'. The passive constructions are prevalent mostly in written language i.e. memorandums, government documents, text books and newspapers. The reasons which the grammarians offer for the selection of passive voice are often vague. Evans and Evans regarded the passive voice as a 'sophisticated device' because it is used by educated people rather than the uneducated. James Sle states that the passive voice is selected for the sake of effective prose.

The structural change that results from applying passive transformation focuses the bearer's attention on the patient of the verb rather than the agent. Once the focus has moved to the patient, the agent can be optionally deleted. These two characteristic features of the passive, the shift of focus from the Agent to the patient and the deletability of the Agent, constitute the major reasons for selecting the passive constructions instead of the active constructions. These two features of passivity may be preferred because of various reasons such as the desire not to reveal the Agent, statement of a case in which the agent is unknown etc. However, in spoken language even for the sake of above reasons the passive is not used. In the cases where the agent is unknown or is not to be revealed also the active sentence is used rather than passive. The active sentences

kaṇṇanai yaaroo aṭittuviṭṭaarkal

'Some one beat Kannan'

avanai skuulil ceerittirukkiraatu

'Someone admitted him in the school'

are used instead of the passive sentences.

kaṇṇan aṭikkappattu viṭṭaan

'Kannan was beaten'

avan skuulil ceerkkappattirukkiraan

'He has been admitted in the school'

The passive transformation is made in both Tamil and Hindi by making use of the auxiliary verbs "paṭu" and 'jaa' respectively.

Auxiliary verb is the second member of a compound verb which gives a new shade of meaning to the action

denoted by the main verb. The auxiliary verb system in both of these two languages have a great history behind them. The auxiliary verbs are historically traced to main verbs. With the changes in the history of language, more and more main verbs enter into verb sequences as auxiliary verbs developing very subtle changes of meaning which could never have been dreamt of in the early periods of that language.

The system of compounding two words goes to very early Vedic periods in Indo-Aryan languages and to Old Sangam periods in Tamil.

uur katantaan

'He crossed the village'

nilaṅ katantaan

'He crossed the ground'

have been treated by Ceenaavaraiyer as compounds. Even Caldwell, the father of Dravidian Linguistics, makes a note that the Dravidian verb is as frequently compounded with a noun as the Indo-European. Dravidian people not only compounded together a noun and a verb, but they compounded two verbs together in order to express a new shade of action. *kaṅtu koṅtaan* '(he) saw' leading to *kaṅtu koḷ*, *vontu viṅtoan* '(he) arrived' leading to *vantu viṅtu*, *collavam patum* 'may be said' leading to *collappatu* are some examples of such compound expressions. From such compound expressions, there came into being a class of verbs which began to function as auxiliaries which supply necessary shades of meaning to the main verb. But the expressions like *vantu eytii* (Thiruvaasagam 1-21) "coming-attaining" are not to be treated as compound verbs. They are just the conjoining of two main verbs in which the first member is a part participle form.

As already stated, in Tamil the passive transformation is made by making use of the auxiliary verb '*paṭu*' which

as a main verb means 'experience'. Dr. Caldwell while dealing with the passive voice in his comparative *Grammar* has asserted that, "the Dravidian verb is entirely destitute of a passive voice properly so called, nor is there any reason to suppose that it ever had a passive." Caldwell was well aware of the existence of passive voice in the early Sangam works. But he called the passive constructions as phrases. In his paper, 'The passive voice in Tamil' Dr. Chidambaranathan Chettiyaar successfully rejected the assertion of Caldwell by citing the passive expressions like *e_luttēnappaipa* 'those which are told as letter' *collēnoppaipa* 'those which are told as word and *ēnoppaipa* '(he) will be counted' from Sangam Tamil works. He established on the basis of these historical linguistic evidences the importance of *paṭu* in the formation of passive voice.

As Greenberg has noted in his 'Universals of Language' that in languages whose basic order is SOV, if there is an auxiliary, it follows the main verb while in languages whose basic order is SVO if there is an auxiliary, it precedes the main verb, being SOV languages both in Tamil and Hindi auxiliaries always follow the main verbs. In Tamil, the structure of passive is constructed by adding the auxiliary verb '*paṭu*' with the infinitive form of the main verb. The tense of the sentence is expressed in the auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verb is in concord with the gender and number of the patient which is used as the subject. The agent of the sentence is used with the instrumental marker *-aal* and the patient is used without case marker. The passive construction is treated as complex structure in which the active sentence is embedded as a constituent sentence in the matrix sentence with the

verb '*patu*'. The tense of the auxiliary verb is decided by the tense of the main verb in the constituent sentence.

In Hindi, the passive structure is constructed by adding the auxiliary verb '*jaa*' with the perfective form of the main verb. As a main verb it means 'go'. In her paper 'Passive Resistance' Robin Lakoff states" — in language after language, the auxiliary verb chosen is a variant of have or be, as is true in English — but there is no known reason why these verbs are chosen, rather than say eat or go." It is interesting to notice that the Passive auxiliary verb chosen in Hindi is '*jaa*' with the meaning 'go'. Caldwell connects the Sanskrit passive particle *ya* with the Sanskrit *yaa* 'to go' which in its changed form as '*jaa*' has come to be used as the passive auxiliary in Modern Indo-Aryan languages. In Hindi also the passive construction constitutes a complex structure in which the active sentence is embedded as the constituent sentence in the matrix sentence with the verb *jaa*. The tense of the sentence is expressed in the auxiliary verb form. The tense of the auxiliary verb is decided by the tense of the main verb in the constituent sentence. Unlike Tamil in which only the auxiliary verb is in concord with the gender and number of the patient, in Hindi both the main and the auxiliary verbs are in concord with the gender and number of the patient. The agent is used with the instrumental marker *see* and the patient is used with no case marker. Contrary to this general rule, Hindi has also the system of using the case marker -*koo* with the patient, even in passive constructions. In such sentences, both the main verb and the auxiliary verb remain impersonal i.e. they are no more in concord with the gender of either patient or agent.

raam koo accaa laḍkaa kahaa jaathaa hai

'Ram is said to be good boy'

siitaa koo accii laḍkil kahaa jaatha hai
 'Sita is said to be good girl'

From the fact that passive constructions are embedded structures in the deep level it follows that the auxiliary verbs are main verbs not only historically, but transformationally also.

Besides the passive construction, the verb '*paṭu*' is found in certain other constructions also. It is well known that root prefixing materials are absent in Dravidian languages. In the absence of such a mechanism, Dravidian languages have developed a system of compounding a verb and a noun such as *veṭkappattaṅ* '(he) was ashamed', *akappattaṅ* '(he) was caught', *tunpappattaṅ* '(he) suffered', *aḷakupāṭu* 'be beautified' etc. *paṭu* functions as intensifier also in constructions like *paṭu moocamaakap peeciṅaṅ* 'he spoke very badly'. It functions as a main verb in sentences like '*naṅ conṅṅataik keeṭkaatataal iprootu paṭu* 'as you did not listen to me suffer now', *munpu ceṅṅataṅku iprootu paṭukiraṅ* 'for his action in the past, he is suffering now' etc. However its use as a main verb is not so frequent as it is as an auxiliary.

In Hindi, eventhough the verb '*jaa*' is not compounded with a noun as in Tamil, it functions as an auxiliary verb giving the meaning of completeness, intensiveness, and suddenness.

Completeness

Phal pak gaya 'the fruit ripened' *vah zamaanaa guzar gayaa* 'that time has passed away'

Intensiveness

kaṇḍa jal gayaa

'the cloth burnt'

kaidi bac gayaa

'the prisoner escaped'

Suddenness

<i>ciḍiyaa uḍ gayiī</i>	'the bird flew away'
<i>gaḍaa gir gayaa</i>	'the pot fell down'

In the contexts in which the meaning of completeness or intensiveness or suddenness and passivizing have to be indicated in Hindi, the main verb *dee* 'give' is used as the auxiliary verb to mean completeness or intensiveness or suddenness.

Thus in the following constructions, the verb *jaa* functions as the auxiliary verb expressing passivity and *dee* functions as the auxiliary verb expressing the meaning of completeness or intensiveness or suddenness.

syaam maar diyaa gayaa
'Shyaam was killed'

vah yoojanaa acaanak cooḍ dī gayiī
'suddenly that plan was given up'

The active sentences and the corresponding passive sentences using the verb *jal* 'burn' given below would further clarify this point.

usne: kapaḍaa jalaa:ya: (active)
'he burnt the cloth'

ussee kapaḍa jalaa:ya: gayaa (passive)
'the cloth was burnt'

usnee kapadee koo jalaa diyaa (with intensiveness)
'he burnt the cloth' (active)

ussee kapadaa jalaa diyaa gayaa
(passive, with intensiveness)

From this, a condition regarding the use of the auxiliary verbs to express completeness or intensiveness can

be stated, eventhough exceptions are found here and there. In the case of intransitive verbs *jaa* functions as the completive or intensive auxiliary verb whereas in the case of transitive verbs *dee* functions as the completive or intensive auxiliary verbs as *jaa* is needed for the function of passivizing. *jaa* in intransitive sentences and *dee* in transitive sentences correspond to the Tamil auxiliary verb, 'vitu'. Here one aspect can be noted that in Tamil also, there is an auxiliary verb *poo* which means 'go' and always goes with intransitive verbs alone.

avan marantu poonaaṅ 'he forgot'

**avan atittupponaaṅ* 'he beat'

As already stated there are exceptions regarding the use of the auxiliary verbs *jaa* and *dee*.

For example

Raam rooti koo khaa gayaa

'Ram ate' (with intensiveness)

instead of the regular form

Raam nee rooti koo khaa liyaa

Raam patra lik gayaa

'Ram wrote the letter' (with intensiveness)

instead of the regular form.

Raam nee patra lik diyaa

Even in such cases as the above ones, when the passivization transformation is applied, the regular completive auxiliary verb 'dee' alone is used.

raam see patra lik diyaa gayaa

'the letter was written by Ram'

(with intensiveness)

As *jaa* is used with the transitive verbs exceptionally, *dee* is also used with intransitive verbs in certain cases such as

raam cal diyaa 'Ram went away'

instead of

raam calaa gayaa

The passivization transformation does not prohibit the application of any other transformations such as relativization, negativization, conjunction etc.

Relativization and Passivization

erikkappaṭṭa maram
jalaayaa gayaa peeḍ

or

joo peeḍ jalaayaa gayaa vah
'the tree which was burnt'

Negativization and Passivization

Raam aṭikkappaṭṭavillai
Raam nahi: maoraa gayaa
'Ram was not beaten'

Conjunction and Passivization

In conjoining two passive sentences, one of the two passive auxiliary verbs is optionally deleted.

maram erikkappaṭṭatu
peeḍ jalaayaa gayaa
'the tree was burnt'

maram kariyaakkappaṭṭatu
peeḍ kooylaa kar diyaa gayaa
'The tree was made into coal'

These two sentences are conjoined as

maram erittu kariyaakkappattatu
peed jalaakar kooylaa kar diyaa gayaa
 'the tree was burnt and made into coal'

instead of,

maram erikkappattu kariyaakkappattatu
peed jalaayaa jaa kar kooylaa kar diyaa gayaa
 'The tree was burnt and was made into coal'

intak katai patikkappattukiratu
yah kahaanii padhii jaatii hai
 'this story is read'

intak kataai collappattukiratu
yah kahaanii sunaayii jaatii hai
 'this story is told'

These two sentences are conjoined as:

intak katai patikkavum collavum patukiratu
yah kahaani padhii aur sunaayii jaatii hai
 'this story is read and told'

It is very common to find the combinations of two auxiliary verbs following a main verb such as

avan taanee ceytu kontu vitta:n
 'He did himself'

The auxiliary verbs *patu* and *jaa* are also combined with other auxiliary verbs. In such combinations both in Hindi and Tamil generally the passive precedes the other auxiliary verbs.

inta veelai inree ceyyappata veertum
yah kaam aaj hil kiyaa jaana caahiyee
 'this work should be done today itself'

intap puttakam aṭṭa vaaram aṅṅappap paṭalaam
yah kitaab agalee hafree bheejaa jaa sakeegaa
 'this book may be sent next week'

In the case of the auxiliary verbs *muti* and *viṭu* in Tamil and *cuk* and *dee* in Hindi which express the completeness, the order of auxiliary verbs differ. In the case of *muti* the passive auxiliary verb follows *muti* instead of preceding, while in Hindi the passive auxiliary precedes the auxiliary *cuk*.

avaṅa:l intak katai eluṭi muṭikkappaṭṭatu
usse yao kahaṅṅii likhii jaa cukii
 'the story was written by him'

In the case of *viṭu* the passive auxiliary verb precedes it, whereas in Hindi, the passive auxiliary follows the auxiliary verb *dee*.

avaṅaal puttakam eḷutappaṭṭu vṛṭṭatu
ussee kahaṅṅii likh dii gayii
 'the book was written by him'

As already stated, the passive sentence is a complex construction involving embedding. As all the auxiliary verbs also involve embedding, in a sentence with a combination of two auxiliaries, the construction is more complex embedding two sentences in a main sentence. Thus in the sentences,

inta veelai ceṅṅappata ve:ṅṅum
yah kaam kiyaa jaana caaḥiyee
 'this work should be done'

veṅṅum and *caaḥiyee* are the VPs of the matrix sentence. These sentences embed the constituent sentences *inta veelai ceṅṅappaṭṭal*, *yah kaam kiyaa jaanaa* which in turn embed the active sentences *inta velaiyai ceṅṅal* and *is kaam koo karnaa* respectively.

Making a contrastive analysis of the auxiliary verbs in Dravidian and Modern Indo-Aryan languages, it is interesting to note that modern Bengali, Assamese and Oriya use the auxiliary verb *paḍ* which is similar to the Tamil *paṭu*, for passivization. Hindi also has an auxiliary verb 'paḍ'. But it is used to give the meaning of suddenness or compulsiveness.

accaamak vañ gir paḍaa
 'suddenly he fell down'

uskoo jaanaa paḍaa
 'he had to go'

However, in no way it expresses the passivity. It may be that modern Indo-Aryan languages like Bengali might have been influenced by Dravidian languages.

The use of the auxiliary verb system exists as a living force in both Indo-Aryan languages and Dravidian languages. It is particularly evident in their modern stage. The number of auxiliary verbs have been increasing in the past history of these languages and are increasing day by day. Undoubtedly, auxiliary verbs increase the beauty of the expression ascribing very delicate shades of meaning to the main verb at will. An extensive investigation in the Dravidian as well as Indo-Aryan fields will certainly bring to light some more details in this direction.

olophon

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AUXILIARY VERBS IN SRI LANKA TAMIL

A. VELUPPILLAI

The place of auxiliary verbs in Tamil is one of the problems which has not received the attention of traditional grammarians. It fell to the lot of the European authors of Tamil grammar even to point out the existence of such verbs in Tamil. G.U. Pope has made the following comment :

“In modern Tamil the use of the auxiliary verb is increasing, and ought to increase. As languages grow, they require auxiliary verbs to give greater precision. Tamil might vie with English in this respect, if its auxiliaries were fully brought into use”

Jules Bloch seems to feel that the diverse languages have enriched Tamil to some extent by various combinations introducing shades of aspect and tenses but generally without resulting in complete system. It has to be admitted that the plentiful use of auxiliaries in the Tamil language is modern development. It is also true that the Tamil language is trying to express concepts in European languages, especially English where auxiliaries are well developed.

Just because the grammarians have begun to treat of auxiliary verbs in Tamil from the beginning of the twentieth century only, it should not be assumed that

auxiliaries came to use in Tamil during the Modern Period only and that too, under the European influence. Auxiliaries were in use even in Old Tamil. The term 'auxiliary verb' is sometimes extended to cover the second member of both verbal and nominal compound verbs. In the former category, a second verb is added to the verbal base and in the latter category, a verb is added to either to a nominal root or a noun. The use of Compound verbs was very common in Early Old Tamil. Of course, this feature continues to exist even in Modern Tamil but not to the same extent.¹

Auxiliary verb proper, which is distinct in meaning from the main verb which is homophonous, occurs after verbal participles and infinitives in Tamil. Such auxiliary verbs existed in inscriptional Tamil - in considerable number even before the ninth century. It is interesting to note that auxiliaries, following participles, like *koL iru*,

Verbal compound verbs are relatively very few in inscriptional Tamil, (eg. *poa-tara* 'to proceed') and in Modern Tamil. Nominal compound verbs in which verbal bases are added to nouns to give them verbal significance were quite common in inscriptional Tamil. The verbal base *paTu* was found in forms like *aka ppaTta* 'which was included', *evvakai ppaTta* 'which were however classified', *puRappaTa* 'to go out', *aTippaTutu* 'having subdued' etc. Other verbal bases used thus include *iTu*, *aTanku*, *kaaN*, *koL*, *cey* and *paNnu*. All these are in use in Modern Tamil. The verbal bases, *cey* and *paNnu* are very productive especially when foreign words are used with verbal significance :

<i>abhisekam ceyu</i>	} having anointed
<i>abhisekam paNni</i>	

viTu and *aruL* which are found in Modern Tamil were already in existence as auxiliary verbs in that period. The Tamil language of that period was also experimenting with auxiliaries, of the same pattern, like *kuTu*, *nil* and *cey*. The Tamil language of the following centuries was experimenting with auxiliaries of the same pattern like *vaa*, *taa*, *kiTa* and *ozhi*. As for auxiliaries, following infinitives, *peRu* is very common in inscriptional Tamil. It has also experimented with *poo*, *cey*, *paNNu* and *kaaTTu*. So the use of auxiliaries cannot be considered a modern innovation in Tamil. The only distinctive feature is the increasing use of auxiliaries in Modern Tamil.

Recently some good studies have been made of auxiliary verbs in Tamil. Harold F. Schiffman has published his thesis '*A Transformational Grammar of the Tamil Aspectual System*' (1969). This work is an adequate treatment of the aspectual system of one dialect of Tamil. He had mentioned the possibility of the existence of other auxiliary verbs in other dialects of Tamil. S. Agesthalingom, who contributed a paper on Auxiliary verbs in Tamil to *Tamil Culture* (1964), has contributed another paper on 'A Syntactical Treatment of 'Must' in Dravidian' to a Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics - III, Annamalainagar, 1971. He had also quoted usages from Kanyakumari Tamil dialect. Therefore, it should be worth while to look into the use of auxiliary verbs in Sri Lanka Tamil. More than three million people in Sri Lanka speak Tamil. It is possible to classify Sri Lanka Tamil into dialects. The author of this paper hails from the northern part of Sri Lanka, the main habitat of Sri Lanka Tamils and speaks the Jaffna dialect of Tamil. The auxiliary verbs in Sri Lanka Tamil can be treated under two heads:- modals and aspects.

Modals

Examples

<i>ceyya-laam</i>	<i>/laam/</i>
'may do'	'may'
<i>pooka-veeNTaam</i>	<i>/veeNTaa /</i>
'ought not go'	'ought not, not necessary'
<i>pook-ooNum</i>	<i>/ooNum/</i>
'must go'	'must, want to'
<i>vara-kuTaatu</i>	<i>/kuTaatu/</i>
'should not come'	'must, not, should not'
<i>oo^ra-muTiyum</i>	<i>/muTiyum/</i>
'can run'	'can'
<i>paaTa-maaTTee_n</i>	<i>/maaTTen/</i>
'I will not sing'	'will not'
<i>naTakka-muTiyaatu</i>	<i>/muTiyaatu/</i>
'can't walk'	'cannot'
<i>paTikka-eelum</i>	<i>/eelum/</i>
'possible to study'	'possible'
<i>var-eelaatu</i>	<i>/eelaatu/</i>
'not possible to come'	'not possible'
<i>pooka-piTaatu</i>	<i>/piTaatu/</i>
'should not go'	'should not'

In all the above examples, the modal is suffixed to the infinitive of the verb. In most cases, except for *maaTT-veeNTum* and *muTi*, there is no indication of tense or person-number-gender. The modal *maaTT-* is inherently future and has only PNG marker but no tense markers. The positive and negative of *muTi* have tense

markers in forms like *oota-mutincatu* 'was possible to run' '*oota mutiyutu* 'is possible to run' and *mutiyalle* 'was not possible to run'. The modal *veentum* takes PNG marker only as in *pooka-v-eṭṭiyavan*. The modal *kuṭṭum* the positive of *kuṭaatu*, is found only in the literary dialect. Agesthalingom (1971) points out that *naan ceyyalaam*, 'I may do' and *eṇakku ceyyalaam* 'I am allowed to do' are found in his own Kanyakumari dialect of Tamil. The parallel forms in Sri Lanka Tamil are *naan ceyyeelum* 'I can do' and *eṇakku ceyyeelum* 'possible for me to do'. The first one gives the meaning 'I am capable of doing' and the second one gives the meaning 'I should be able to do'. He has given three expressions regarding *mutiyum* and has observed that *eṇṇale* is more common than *naan*.

naan pookamuṭiyum

'I can go'

eṇṇaalay pookamuṭiyum

'I (by me) can go'

eṇakku pookamuṭiyum

'It is possible for me to go'

These expressions, with the same meanings, are available in Sri Lanka Tamil and his observation is correct regarding Sri Lanka Tamil also.

Some more usages, which Agesthalingom (1971) pointed out for Kanyakumari Tamil and Malayalam as distinct from other dialects of Tamil in Tamilnadu, have their parallels in Sri Lanka Tamil.

eṇakku avan pookooṇum

'I want he must go'

eṇakku avan varooṇum

'I want he must come'

eṇakku avantaan pookooṇum

'I want he must go'

eṇakku avan pooveeṇṭaam

'I need he does not go'

The modal 'veeṇṭum' denotes tenses in the following examples :

naaṇ pookaveeṇṭi iruntatu

'I had to go'

naaṇ pookaveeṇṭi irukkīṇṭatu

'I have to go'

naaṇ pookaveeṇṭi irukkum

'I may have to go'

The modal expresses negatives in various ways :

naaṇ pookaat-irukka veeṇṭum

'It is necessary that I do not go'

eṇakku avan pookaat-irukkooṇum

'It is necessary that he does not go'

naaṇ kaliyaanattukku pookaveeṇṭaam

'I don't have to go for the marriage'

anta uuci anke irukkamuṭiyaatu

'That needle cannot be there'

The form *muṭiyaatu* can be considered a negative of 'veeṇṭum'.

The modal takes dative subjects as in the following:

Compare,

naan pookaat-irukka veentum

with

enakku avan pookaat-irukkoonum

'It is necessary for me that he does not go'

Compare,

with	<i>naan kaliyaanattukku ppoakoonum</i>	}	I should go to marriage'
	<i>enakku kaliyaanattu ppookoonum</i>		

Aspects

Examples

Aspects

avaray paattitten

'I definitely saw him'

viitu

'completive'

paattu kollunkoo

'watch after (it)'

kol

'self benefactive'

cinna vayacilay paticcu

vekkoonum

'should study at childhood'

vay²

'future utility'

avanay aticcu poottaanka!

'They beat him down'

pootu

'malevolence'

kaacu pooy-irukku

'The money has gone'

iru

'perfect'

kallan ooti irukkraan

'The thief had apparently
run away'

iru

'supposition'

atay ceytaaccu

'It was finally done'

aaku

'finality'

2 *vay* and *paṇṇu*, as auxiliary verbs, have causative significance when they follow the infinitive forms of the verb.

<i>pooy-tulay</i>	<i>tulay</i>
'Go and get lost'	'disgust'
<i>atay viṭṭu-taḷḷu</i>	<i>taḷḷu</i>
'Leave it away'	'riddance'
<i>naan caappittu-</i>	
<i> kkoṇṭirukkreen</i>	<i>koṇṭiru'</i>
'I am eating'	'durative'
<i>coorray poottukkuṭu</i>	<i>kuiṇu</i>
'Lay rice (for somebody)'	'benefactive'
<i>kaḷḷanay kaṇṭṭi-ttaa</i>	<i>taa</i>
'show (me) the thief'	'benefactive'
<i>maamaran kaaccu-</i>	
<i> kiṇṭantatu</i>	<i>kiṇṭa</i>
'The mango tree had put on fruits'	'perfect'
<i>atay ceyya paatten</i>	<i>paar</i>
	'try'
<i>paanaiyay uṭaikkap-</i>	
<i> paṭṭen</i>	<i>paṭu</i>
'I was about to break the pot'	'about'
<i>teer izhukkappaṭukutu</i>	<i>paṭu</i>
'The car is being drawn'	'passive'
<i>avan paṭikka-poonaan</i>	<i>poo</i>
'He was about to study'	'about'

The above list of auxiliary verbs are available in the spoken dialect of Sri Lanka Tamil. Of this list, except *paṭu* and *poo*, which follow the infinitive forms of the verb, all the others follow the past verbal participial

forms of the verb. The auxiliary verb *pootu* occurs only with transitive verbs unlike *viTu* which is of unrestricted use. Though both of them have 'completive' significance, I am inclined to agree with Harold Schiffman that *pootu* has also the added significance of 'malevolence'. But I have to differ from him and agree with Ramanujan in treating *kutu* and *taa* as aspect markers. In Sri Lanka Tamil, they are both productive as in *kaattikkutu* 'show', *poottikkutu* 'lay', *ceytuku* 'do', *collikkutu* 'teach', *kaattitaa* 'show', *poottitaa* 'lay', *ceytutaa* 'do' and *collitaa* 'teach'. The aspect marker *kutu* in Sri Lanka Tamil generally means 'benefactive' to the second person.

naan intiyaa pooy-irunteen
'I had been to India'.

In the above sentence, *iru* has the notion of lasting result.

potiyan paticcukkonnirunt-iruppaan
'The boy might have been studying'

Here, it is not possible to capture in translation, the reflexive and future significance.

naan vantitten 'I have come'
naan caappittitten 'I have eaten'

The aspect marker *viTu*, which retains its form intact in literary Tamil is generally represented by *itu* in spoken Sri Lanka Tamil.

The aspect marker *aaku*, which also denotes 'completive' meaning, has a wide variety of related meanings. In the presence of the modal *-oornum*, it is realised as *aaka-*

nii vanta:k-aornum
'You definitely must come'

maruntu kututta:k-ooṇum

'Medicine should be definitely given'

The marker *aaku* seems to have the meanings of 'definitely' and 'absolutely' in similar contexts. This marker is realised in the forms of *aayirru* in literary Tamil and *aaccu* in spoken Tamil in all the other contexts.

kooppi pooṭṭaaccu

'Coffee had been prepared'

puttakam muticcaaccu

'The book had been completed'

Nuances of finality and accomplishment are found in the above examples.

ellaa kkaṇakkum paattaaccu

'All accounts were checked'

Examples like this can be cited to have 'passive' nuance.

niinkaḷ vantaakooṇum

'You must definitely come'

niinkaḷ vantitooṇum

'You must come'

When these two sentences are compared, it becomes clear that *aaku* denotes expected result and *viṭu* is less definite in significance.

The aspect marker *koḷ*, in addition to 'self benefactive' and 'self oriented' meanings, has also the meaning of 'simultaneity' :

paṭukkailay paṭuttukkoṇṭu paṭikkakuṭaatu

'Lying in bed, (one) should not read.'

It is very difficult, to translate into English, the meaning of the aspect marker *vay* and the author of this

paper too, feels that Harold Schiffman has accomplished a break-through in suggesting 'future utility' as its meaning.

atay ippave paṭiccu vaṟppoom

'We will study that now itself' (for 'future utility').

The aspect marker *tulay* has the meaning of 'disgust' or 'impatience'.

avan cettu tulancaal, naan aarutalaay iruppeen

'If he dies (and be away forever), I will be in peace.'

The aspect marker *tallu*, has, in addition to 'completive', also, the meanings of 'riddance', 'irrevocability' and 'finality':-

atay kuṭuttu tallīneen 'I gave it way'

The aspect marker *kīṭa* takes all three tenses and resembles *iru* to some extent:-

viḷuntu kīṭantatu 'It had been fallen'

viḷuntu kīṭakkutu 'It has been fallen'

viḷuntu kīṭakkum 'It is fallen'

It is very productive in Sri Lanka Tamil and *puutte kīṭa* 'to flower', *nīrampikkīṭa* 'to be full' etc., in various tenses are possible.

The auxiliary verb *paar* occurs after verbal participle and infinitive of the main verb and means 'attempt' or 'try':-

ceyya paattaan }
ceytu paattaan } He had tried to do.

The auxiliary verb *paṭu* seems to have two unrelated meanings. Its use as a passive is well known and

commented by many scholars. Its usage in that sense is limited in the spoken Tamil of Sri Lanka. Its usage in the sense of 'about' is more common as in,

naaṅ varampaalay viḷappattē

'I was about to fall from the ridge'

The auxiliary verb *poo* means 'about' only when it is added to the infinitive of the main verb. When it is added to the verbal participles, it means 'change of state'.

potiyaṅ cetta poṅṅaṅ

'The boy died'

As Harold Schiffman points out, some verbs like *uṭaincupoo*, 'break', *aaṟipoo*, 'cool off', *aḷuki poo* 'rot', *mutti poo*, 'go to seed' and *kaancu poo*, 'dry off' have, in addition to the feature 'change of state', also the feature 'pejorative result'.

The aspect marker *koṅṟiru* which is 'durative' in significance, expresses negative in two ways :

naaṅ caoppittukkoṅṟirukkallay

'I was/am not eating'

naaṅ caappittukkoṅṟiruntirukkallay

'I am not continuing to eat'

The aspect marker *iru* is in a way the most complicated one partly because of the different senses in which it occurs and partly because it can occur twice or more in one sentence.

maḷai pencirukka

Either 'It has rained (but has now stopped)'

or 'It seems to have rained (indirect evidence)'

maḷai penciruntatu

'It had rained'

These three meanings can be termed as 'stative', 'suppositional' and 'perfect'.

naaṅ varaikkay tampi veliye pooyiruntiruppaan
 'When I came, brother had apparently gone out'

In this sentence, the first *iru* is 'perfect' while the second *iru* is 'suppositional'.

tampi inke paṭuttiruntirukkṛaan
 Either, 'Brother has remained lying here'
 or 'Brother probably remained lying here'

In the above sentence, the first *iru* means, 'stative' while the second *iru* means 'perfect or suppositional'.

A number of aspect markers occur together in the same sentence.

Few examples follow :

poṭṭiyānukku katai colli vayccukoṅṅirunteen
 'I was telling the story to the boy for future use'

veelaikkaaraṅ kaṅcai eṭuttuvayccirukkṛaan
 This sentence can have three meanings of *iru*.

The literary dialect of Sri Lanka Tamil have few forms not covered already. The auxiliary verb *vaa*, when added to the verbal participle, means 'habitual continuation'.

<i>vaaḷntu vantaan</i>	'He was living'
<i>vaaḷntu varukiraṅ</i>	'He is living'
<i>vaaḷntu varuvaan</i>	'He will be living'

The auxiliary verb *aruḷ*, when added to the verbal participle, denotes that the action of the verb is done by a reverential or respectful person.

Yooki vantaruḷina.r 'The Yogi had gracefully come'. The auxiliary verb *peru* like *paṭu*, gives 'passive' meaning when it follows the infinitive form of the main verb. But *peru* generally signifies something willingly accepted.

iraavaṇaṇ kaṭavuḷaal vaal aruḷapperṭaṇ

'Ravana was presented with a sword by the God'

The study of auxiliary verbs is very important for a study of Tamil language, especially Modern Tamil. There is scope to pursue this field of study in depth.

avaṇay paṭikka vaytten 'I caused him to study'

avaṇay oota paṇṇineen 'I caused him to run'

They are available in all three tenses.

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SYNTAX SEMANTICS AND TAMIL AUXILIARY VERBS

IAN R. H. DALE

In this paper, we shall be considering a set of Tamil forms which will initially be described in surface syntactic terms. We will outline a possible deeper syntactic structure to account for our observations. We will then examine some features of the semantic behaviour of these forms and will try to ascertain how far these are commensurate with their syntactic properties. We will assume that if such commensurability could be established, we would have strong evidence for the existence of a syntactic-semantic component in our overall grammar, rather than separate syntactic and semantic components. This issue is clearly relevant to evaluating the controversy within Transformational Grammar between "generative semantics" (as represented by, e.g., Bach 1968, Lakoff 1971, and McCawley 1971) and "interpretive semantics" (e.g., Chomsky 1970, Jackendoff 1972, Katz 1972). It is also relevant in assessing the merits of Reich's (1970) Network Grammar, as opposed to Lamb's (e.g., 1966) Stratificational Grammar, and to comparing most varieties of Systemic Grammar with Fawcett's proposal (Hudson 1976:7) as well as affecting the formulation of other linguistic theories.

But first, let us have a few words of introduction to Tamil auxiliary verbs. There are several of these, nearly

all of which can serve both as main and auxiliary verbs. As main verbs, these forms may occur as the sole verb of a sentence, as does *viṭu* 'let go' in 1, or as one of the verbs of a compound sentence, as *viṭu* does in 2.

1 *naaṅ ava kaiye viṭṭeen*
 I her hand let go (past) PN_g
 I let go of her hand

2 *naaṅ avare paattu, ava kaiye viṭṭeen*
 I him see her hand let go (past)PN_g
 Seeing him, I let go of her hand

As auxiliaries, these forms must occur as part of a verb phrase, as does *viṭu* in 3, where it is added to a main verb occurrence of *viṭu*.

3 *naaṅ ava kaiye viṭṭuṭṭeen*
 I her hand let go (*viṭu*) (past) PN_g
 I completely let go of her hand.

In this sentence, the underlying initial *vi-* of *viṭu* has been shortened to *u-*. This type of reduction characterizes most auxiliaries at the phonological level. The underlying presence of initial *vi-* is established by the existence of a more formal style in which 3 would appear as 4.

4 *naaṅ aval kaiye vittuviṭṭeen*
 I her hand let go (*viṭu*) (past) PN_g
 I completely let go of her hand.

As well as there being a phonological correlate to the syntactic distinction between auxiliaries and main verbs, so too is there a semantic one. The meanings of the auxiliaries are directly related to those of their corresponding main verbs but show a reduction of referential import and an increase of aspectual or other

“modal” meaning (in a broad sense). Thus, *viṭu* as a main verb may be glossed as ‘let go’, ‘let loose of’, but as an auxiliary, it indicates completion of the event represented by the main verb (within a clause) or sequentiality of two events (between clauses). The verb *iru* means ‘be’ as a main verb and is used as an auxiliary to form a rough equivalent of the English perfect tense. There two uses are exemplified by 5 and 6.

5 *appaa viiṭle irukkaar*
 father house-in be (pres)PNg
 Father is in the house

6 *appaa naakkaalile okkaantirukkaar*
 father chair-in sit (*iru*) (pres)PNg
 Father has sat in the chair

Although the verb *kiṭu* is not used as a main verb in spoken Tamil, its equivalent in written Tamil is used to mean ‘carry’ or ‘bear’ a meaning which can be related to the use of both spoken and written variants as auxiliaries between clauses to indicate simultaneity of the events represented in the clauses, as exemplified in 7.

7 *naaṅ kaṭiṅam eṟutikittu onkaḷe keeppeeṅ*
 I letter write(*kiṭu*) you listen(fut)PNg
 I will listen to you while writing a letter.

The main use of *kiṭu* as an auxiliary within clauses, however, is in the less clearly related meaning of ‘self-affective’, which is exemplified in 8.

8 *kaalele naaṅ tuṅi poṭṭukituveeṅ*
 morning-in I cloth put(*kiṭu*) (fut)PNg
 I will put my clothes on in the morning.

The combination of the auxiliaries *kiṭu* ‘simultaneous’ and *iru* ‘stative’ or ‘perfect’ gives *kiṭṭiru*, the continuous, which appears in 9.

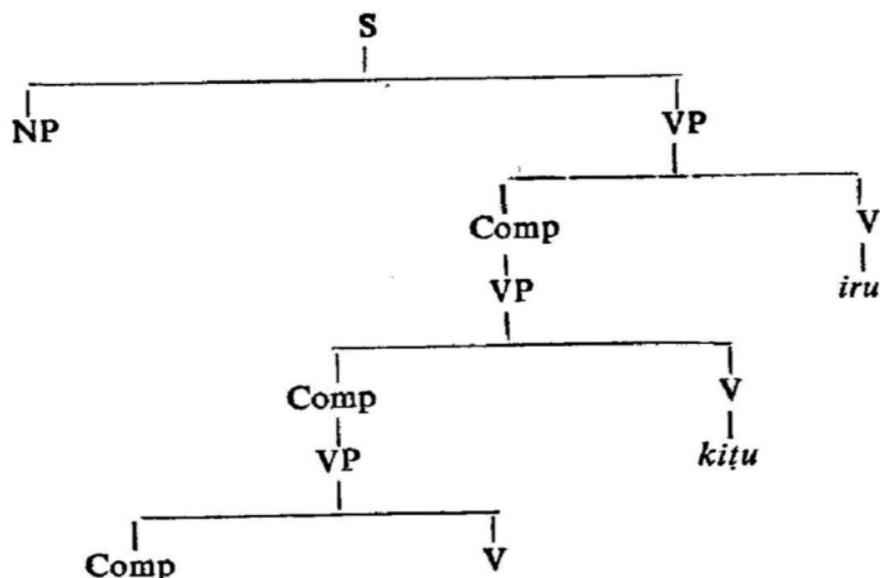
- 9 *kolanteka kaṭakkarele viḷeyaatikittiruntaanka*
 children sea-shore-on play(*kiṭṭiru*) (past)PNg
 The children were playing on the seashore.

Other verbs used as auxiliaries include *vaa* and *poo*, 'come' and 'go', which are also used, especially together with *kiṭu*, in a continuous sense (we might gloss such a construction with some such expression as 'coming on doing' or 'going on doing' something). Also, *poo* can be used to give the sense of undesirable completion of some action, *tole* 'lose' can also be used as a marker of disgust on the part of the speaker, *vai* 'keep' also may indicate the future utility of some action, and *aaku* 'become' can serve as a slightly different completive from those already mentioned

In discussing the syntactic and semantic parallels between the Tamil auxiliary verbs and their corresponding main verbs, it seems helpful in the first place to segregate the two types of phenomena and postulate two separate levels of description—the syntactic and the semantic—on which to deal with them. But as there are clear parallels between the two levels, it seems that there must be an interlevel structure capable of doing more than merely linking together the corresponding forms, as will be further explained below. In so far as parallel patterning of different levels suggests that they are mutually interdependent, the interlevel structure may be expected to make explicit this interdependence.

Let us examine, for example, the syntactic and semantic characteristics of *iru*, *viṭu* and *kiṭu*, both individually and in combination. The surface syntactic structure, atleast, is readily stated. As a main verb, *iru* occurs with a subject NP (and agrees concordially with this) and some locative, temporal or attributive complement

As an auxiliary, it occurs following the combining form of a verb and without the complements possible in its main-verb use. It still bears the appropriate PN_g markers to agree with the subject of the sentence, however. A similar syntactic difference exists between the main verb *viṭu* and the corresponding auxiliary. As a main verb, this form normally occurs with a subject NP and also an object NP (optionally in the accusative case). As an auxiliary, it occurs following the combining form of another verb and can no longer take the normal expansions of the main verb. A pattern which seems to cover both the main verb and auxiliary uses of these forms may be symbolized as NP+VP, where VP is made up of Complement+V. As a main verb, *iru* takes a variety of complements which may or may not be NP's; and the main verb *viṭu* takes nominal complements as well as some others. As auxiliaries, however, both take VP's as complements. In *kiṭu*, on the other hand, we have a form which occurs only with VP complements and thus only as an auxiliary, not as a main verb. As a self-affective auxiliary, it seems analysable in the same way as suggested for *iru* and *viṭu*. The interclausal auxiliary uses of *kiṭu* and *viṭu* seem to be amenable to an analogous treatment. Structurally, the auxiliary can be considered as belonging to the first of two temporally related clauses; the second being simply conjoined to the first one as in the case of conjoined clauses without auxiliaries. In the case of *kiṭṭiru*, the main verb VP would be the complement of *viṭu* and the whole VP thus formed would in turn be the complement of *iru*, as shown in 10.



This sort of analysis seems to account for the syntactic parallelism between auxiliaries and main verbs in a quite straightforward way. Given the suggested treatment of *kiṭṭiru*, for example, we would expect to find cases of just main verb *kiṭu* occurring as a constituent in the surface structure of some continuous sentences. And this is exactly what we do find in such sentences as 11, mentioned by Annamalai (1970: 136).

11 *naaṅ patrikke paṭicckkiṭṭum ṭiivii paattukkiṭṭum-irunteeṅ*

I newspaper read (*kiṭu*) - and television watch (*kiṭu*) - and - (*iru*) (past) PN_g

I was reading a newspaper and watching the television

Here two continuous sentences are joined but only the second *iru* is present in the resulting sentence.

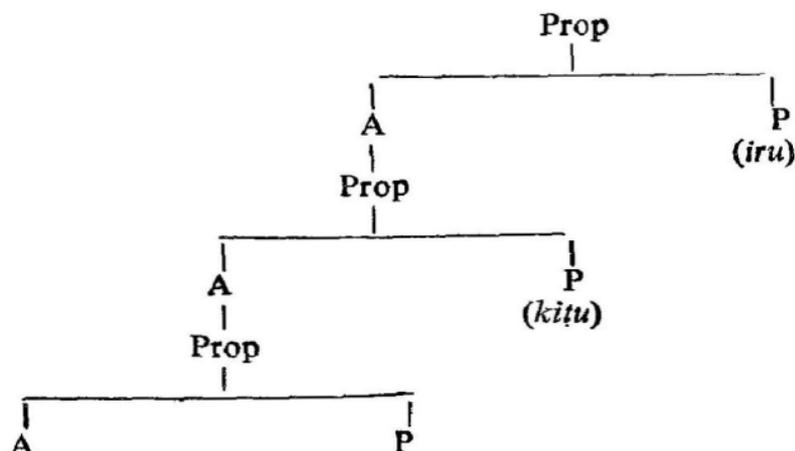
When we go on to consider semantic phenomena, we find an analogous situation. The meaning 'be' of the main verb *iru* may be seen to be semantically related to

its use as a 'perfect aspect', but we have so far left the exact structure of this relationship unspecified. If *iru* is taken to be an existential predicator, however, a parallel may be suggested between its use to predicate the existence of a particular argument (in which case, it is realized syntactically as a main verb) and its use in predicating the existence of an entire proposition (in which case it is realized as an auxiliary). This type of structuring would account for the element of 'pastness' that is sometimes noted to be present in auxiliary constructions involving *iru* (Dale 1976: 309-311). If the existence of some proposition is indicated, then the event predicated within it must have come into existence (i.e. happened) prior to the time at which it is said to be in existence. A similar analysis would seem suited to *viṭu* as well. On the one hand, *viṭu* indicates that one of its arguments releases (or is released by) the other. On the other hand, it indicates that some proposition is 'released' (i.e., completed). This approach seems equally valid for the inter-clausal as well as the sentence-final use of *viṭu*.

From what has been said above about the synchronic semantics of *kiṭu*, there has seemed to be no clear connection between its inter-clausal and sentence-final uses as 'simultaneous' and 'self-affective', respectively. It has been pointed out, moreover, that *kiṭu* does not occur on its own in spoken Tamil as a main verb, but only as an auxiliary. Nevertheless, comparison of the spoken forms with their corresponding written ones may provide an insight into the semantic development of this auxiliary and may suggest that in some other variety of the language, the parallel between *kiṭu* and *viṭu* may extend somewhat further than has been suggested thus far. In written Tamil, the equivalent of *kiṭu* is *koḷ* (and of

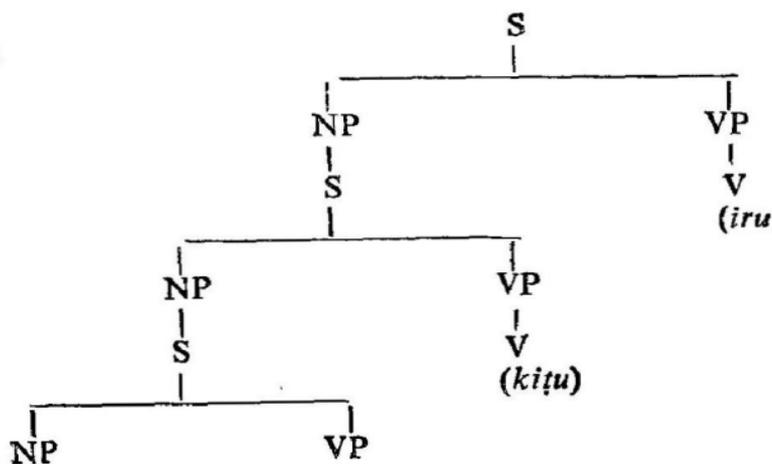
kittiru, *kontiru*). The auxiliary uses of the written forms do not seem distinguishable from those of the spoken ones. Unlike the spoken form, however, the written form occurs as a main verb, meaning roughly 'take' or 'receive'. It seems possible, therefore, to see the inter-clausal 'simultaneous' use of *kitu* as meaning, in effect, that the proposition of the first clause is 'taken over' temporally to that of the second clause. It may also seem that even the 'self-affective' use of *kitu* may have developed from such a main verb meaning if the main verb predication became thought of as 'received by' or 'affecting' the syntactic subject of the whole sentence. Whatever the merits of these speculations, however, the inter-clausal use of *kitu* is directly in opposition to the corresponding use of *vitu*, indicating that the actions of the two clauses are simultaneous, rather than sequential, as is indicated by *vitu*. Even if the 'self-affective' use of *kitu* is treated as an unexplained semantic intrusion, its propositional structure seems parallel to that for the corresponding auxiliary use of *vitu*.

As was the case on the syntactic level, *kittiru* appears at the semantic level to be a combination of *kitu* and *iru*. We might paraphrase the progressive in this connection as 'being in the act of doing something'. Here, 'being' represents *iru*, 'in the act of' represents the simultaneous (or contemporaneous) meaning of *kitu*, and 'doing something' represents the proposition embedded beneath both of these. It seems that, just as *kitu* may occur with two propositions to show that the action of one is being carried on at the same time as that of the other, it may also occur with an embedded proposition as the argument of an existential proposition. All this may be diagrammed as shown in 12, where Prop. indicates 'proposition', P 'predicate', and A 'argument'.



It may be noted at this point that the auxiliaries have so far seemed amenable to being analysed in exactly analogous ways at the proposed semantic and syntactic levels. This may seem to suggest that, instead of two separate levels, a continuum is involved, the bottom of which can be labelled 'semantics' and the top 'syntax', but with no firm line of demarcation within. By relabelling the nodes of 12 with the same category labels which we were using for syntax, we could produce a structure such as 13, which appears to describe semantic facts in the same terms as those used to describe syntactic facts in 10.

13



We could then claim that 13 is simply earlier in the 'derivation' of some sentence than 10, and could presumably 'derive' 10 from it by some operation, i.e., 'predicate raising', raising each lower predication (VP) into the complement slot of the next higher one in the tree. In other words, we could redraw 12 as the equivalent 13 and then state rules to convert 13 into 10. But to do this would be to claim that the structures of 12 are commensurable with those of 10— that semantic propositions are essentially 'the same thing as' syntactic sentences, that arguments are equivalent to NP's and so on. And it is far from clear that this is the case.

A model of linguistic description containing no distinct separation of syntactic and semantic levels would have difficulty in handling such a Tamil construction as *kattukiṭu*. This collocation is composed of *kal* 'learn' and *kiṭu*. It may be pointed out that, not only is there no perceptible semantic difference between *kal* and *kattukiṭu*, but *kal* does not occur in spoken Tamil without the attached *kiṭu*. There seem to be good grounds, therefore, for viewing *kattukiṭu* as being a semantic unity in colloquial Tamil and meaning simply 'learn'. If a predicate is equivalent to a VP then, *kattukiṭu* plus its complement must be viewed as a verb phrase and ought to occur embedded in *kiṭu* and *iru* predicates in the way that other VP's do. But this is not the case. Syntactically, *kanukiṭu* behaves as a collocation of *kal* and *kiṭu*. It cannot occur with *kiṭu* or *viṭu*, for example, and sentences like 14 are ambiguous between a meaning which would be expected to result in two *kiṭu*'s in the surface structure ('Little sister is learning to read') and one which would produce only one ('Little sister has learned to read').

14 *tankaacci patikka kattukittirukka*

little sister read learn (*kiṭu*) (*iru*) (pres) PNg
 Little sister is learning/has learned to read

It might be claimed that the extra *kiṭu* could be removed by a deletion transformation, but such a transformation would apply at most only to a very restricted group of verbs and possibly only to *kiṭu*. Other verbs may occur twice in succession, provided that at least one of the occurrences is a main verb. In the case of *viṭu*, as we have already noted, 3 is possible, where *viṭu* the auxiliary occurs in collocation with *viṭu* the main verb. And for *iru*, we may cite 15, where the auxiliary form occurs immediately following the main verb form.

15 *ammaa viṭṭe iruntirukkaaru*

mother house-in be(*iru*) (pres)PNg
 Mother has been in the house.

Within a separate syntactic level, however, the *kiṭu* of *kattukittu* would be treated as an auxiliary and the non-occurrence of **kittukittu* would be explained by the general syntactic constraint preventing a sequence of two identical auxiliaries.

Another argument in favour of separating the syntactic and semantic levels can be based on differing semantic structures which are realized by similar syntactic elements. In the case of *kiṭu*, for example, whatever the chain of historical development that has led to the current situation, the sentence-final meaning of 'self-affective' appears now to be semantically quite separate from the interclausal one of 'simultaneous'. In the case of *viṭu*, on the other hand, the same semantic element appears to be involved in the 'completive' sentence-final meaning as in the 'sequential' interclausal one. Thus,

though *kiṭu* and *viṭu* are exactly comparable in their structuring on the syntactic level (except for the capability of *kiṭu* to form compound auxiliaries) and though the syntactic structures of each type of occurrence are analogous to the corresponding semantic ones, the two syntactic *viṭu*'s must realize a single semantic element whereas the two *kiṭu*'s correspond to two separate syntactic entities. In the terms of a continuous derivation which dispenses with discrete semantic or syntactic levels, the substitution of *kiṭu* for 'self-affective' or 'simultaneous' and that of *viṭu* for 'completive/sequential' would presumably be handled by lexical insertion rules operating at various points in the derivation. Such a procedure, however, would not reflect the essential syntactic unity of *kiṭu* and its close syntactic parallelism with *viṭu*. As seen above, however, the semantic level of a bi-level account would show the semantic unity of the 'sequential' and the 'completive', and would indicate the operation of the contrast 'sequential/simultaneous'. It would also posit a separate notion 'self-affective'. On the syntactic level *kiṭu* and *viṭu* would be shown to be strictly parallel in their occurrences both interclausally and sentence-finally. At this level, the two forms would be seen to function similarly, regardless of the differing semantic structures which they represent. It would be left to the interlevel structure to indicate the exact ways in which the two levels of description fail to coincide.

The strict ordering and co-occurrence restrictions characteristic of syntactic phenomena but not of semantic ones also suggest that Tamil auxiliary verbs, at least, can be handled more satisfactorily within a modal of linguistic description containing discrete semantic and syntactic levels than one which combines the two into a semantic-

syntactic continuum. There seems no semantic reason, for example, to claim that 'continuous' is made up of 'simultaneous existence' rather than 'existence simultaneous'. The same point can also be made with respect to other auxiliary collocations, such as *kittuvaa*, *kittupoo*, *tolencuviṭu*, *pooyviṭu*, and *vecciru*. Again, there seems to be no synchronic semantic incompatibility between the notions 'self-affective' and 'completive'. Yet it is a fact that *kitu* and *viṭu* may not occur in the same clause. To maintain that syntactic structures are merely semantic ones in a different arrangement is to presuppose a linear ordering of semantic entities for which there is no semantic evidence. To handle syntactic restraints one-by-one as they occur throughout the course of a derivation is to ignore the complex syntactic relationships themselves.

Whereas it is the different natures of syntactic and semantic description that induce us to postulate separate levels on which to treat them, it is the similarities between the structures which appear to exist on these levels that indicate a close interdependency between them. Analogous treatments of certain of the auxiliaries were suggested above on independent grounds for each level. It was suggested, for example, that surface syntactic constructions involving auxiliaries could be represented best in semantic terms as involving one proposition functioning as the argument of another proposition. A surface combination of auxiliaries *kittiru*, was seen to involve three layers of propositions. Such parallelism of structure can hardly be accidental. It might be explained, of course, as showing the dependence of one level of structure upon the other. But in that case there would be difficulty in deciding which way the dependence could be said to run. It seems to make little sense to say that when a verb begins to be used syntactically

as an auxiliary it promotes the development of semantic embedding. Nor can it be said that semantic embedding necessarily brings about the formation of auxiliary verbal structures, since there are numerous other ways of giving syntactic expression to embedded semantic structures, in Tamil as well as in other languages. We may say, rather, that there is a mutual inter-dependence between the semantic and syntactic levels which encourages a certain amount of structural parallelism between them. Clearly, if one level is thought of as being mapped on to the other during the encoding and decoding of utterances, the greater the structural correspondence between the levels, the easier the mapping process will be.

In speculating about the types of interval structure that might be required in a complete description of Tamil auxiliary verbs, we may consider a type of interrelation between the syntactic and semantic levels which has been discussed recently by others from a syntactic viewpoint it has been referred to as 'syntactic compression' (Jacobs 1973), and from a semantic point of view as 'petrification' (Leech 1974: 226). Jacobs describes the effect of syntactic processes which work 'to create single clauses where there previously were more than one to bring into more direct contact material originally in separate clauses' (1973:236). It is the single-clause construction of 16 that, according to Jacobs, brings about the closer semantic association between the agent and the affected that exists in it, compared to 17.

16. Isabel fed her baby.

17. Isabel caused her baby to eat.

Leech, on the other hand, describes the semantic 'petrification' of forms derived by lexical rule from combinations of other forms. He points out, for example, that

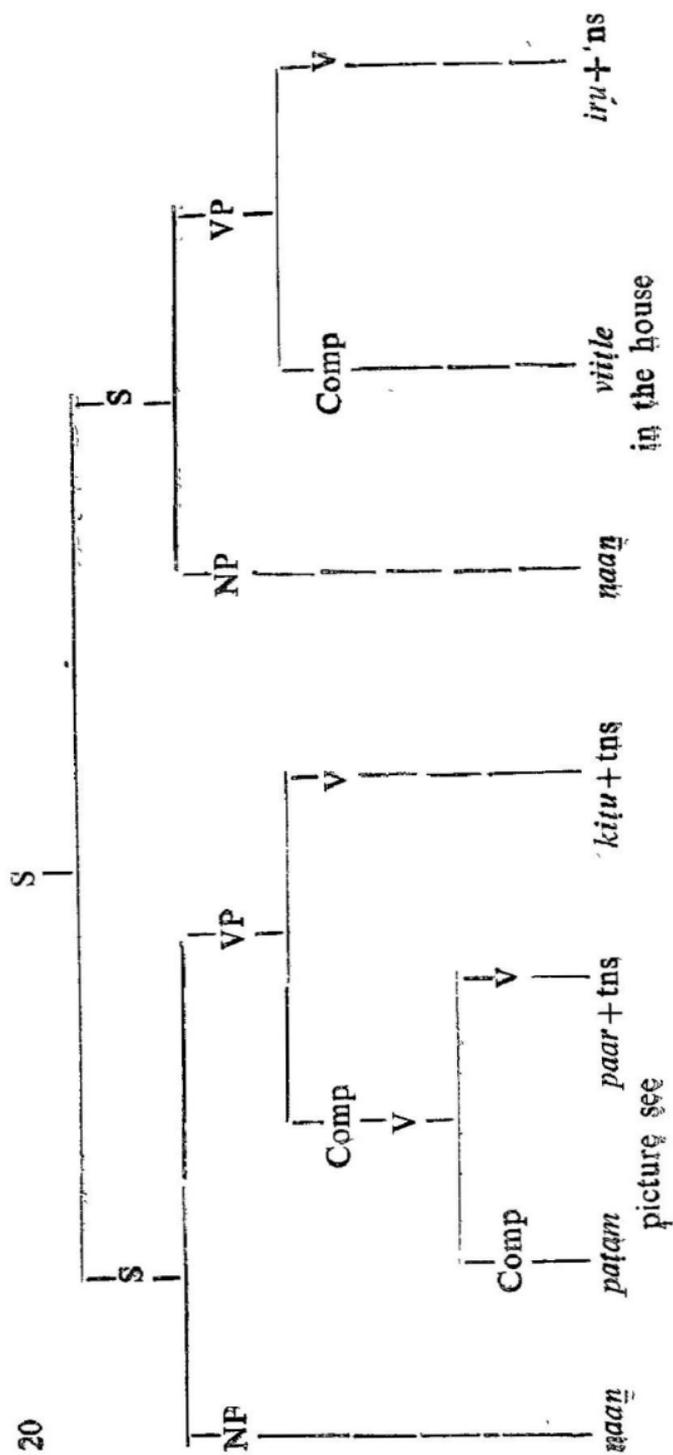
wheel-chair, which should mean just 'chair which has wheels', to judge from its constituents, has come in actual usage to mean 'chair for invalids which has wheels'. He defines *petrification* as 'The whole process by which an institutionalized lexical meaning diverges from the 'theoretical' meaning specified in a lexical rule (1974 : 226). Insofar as syntactic compression gives rise to forms with similarly institutionalized meanings, its semantic effects seem also to be aptly described by this term. We might say, for example, that *kill* means basically 'cause to die', but that the lexicalization of *cause to die* into the single word *kill* has petrified its meaning to the extent that the two expressions no longer mean quite the same thing.

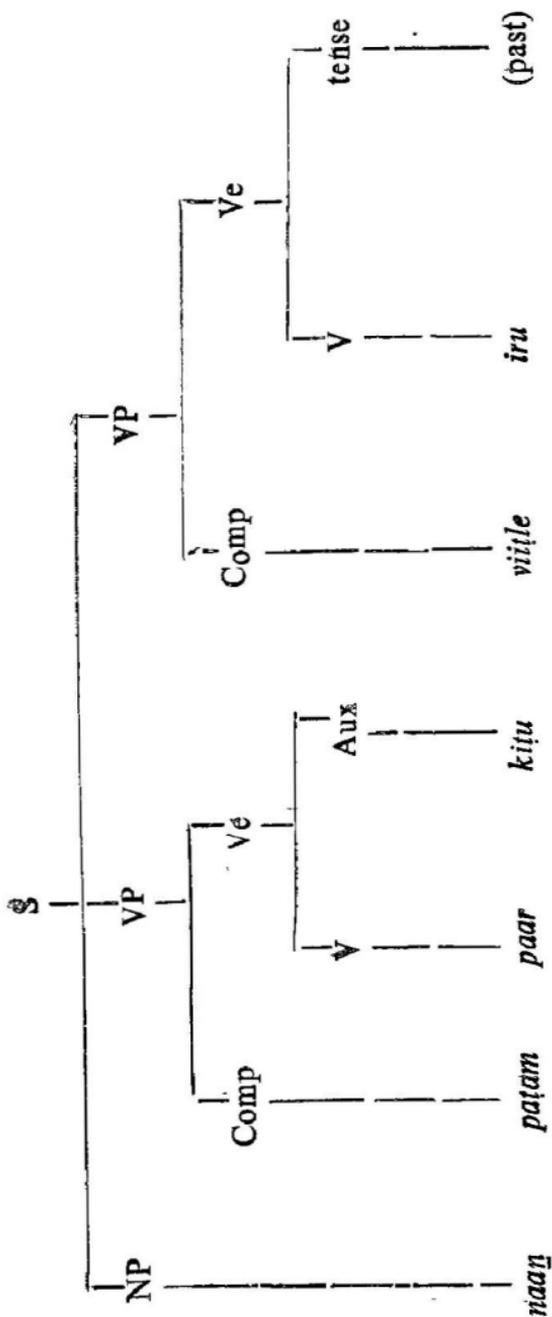
The auxiliary verbs of Tamil appear to instantiate this phenomenon. In the case of *kiṭṭiru*, for example, we can look at sentences such as 18 and 19.

- 18 *naaṅ paṭatte paattukiṭṭu viiṭṭe irunteen*
 I picture look(*kiṭṭu*) house-in (*iru*) (past)PNg
 I was in the house looking at the picture.

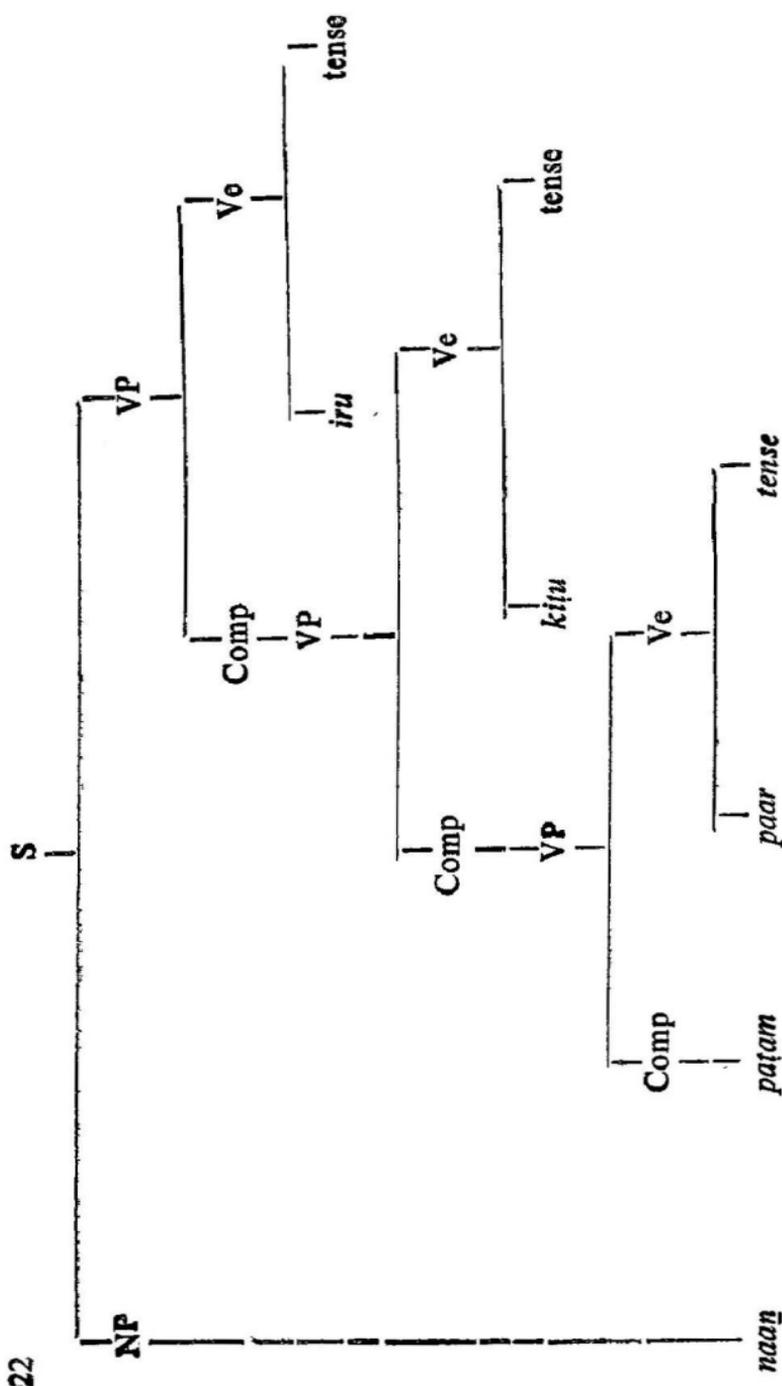
- 19 *naaṅ paṭatte paattukiṭṭirunteen*
 I picture look(*kiṭṭu*) (*iru*) (past)PNg
 I was looking at the picture.

In the first sentence, *kiṭṭu* unites its own clause with the following one, both in the deep and surface syntactic structures. Adopting one possible formalization, we might diagram the deep structure of 18 as something like 20 and then propose to derive the surface structure 21 from it by means of some such transformations as 'conjunction reduction' and 'predicate raising'.

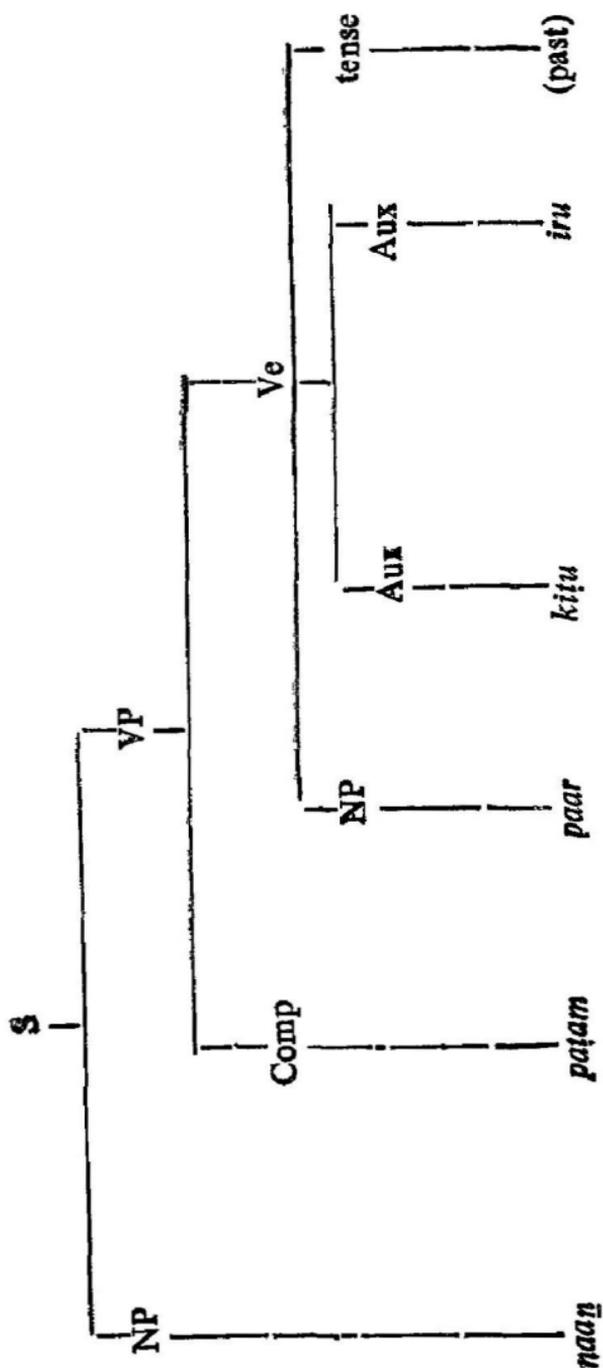




In the second sentence, however, the two surface clauses have been coalesced into one. Similar to 10, the deep structure of 19 might be represented as 32.



From this, we might expect to derive the surface structure 23 by successive applications of 'predicate raising' and then 'tense adjustment'.



This reduction of an underlying three clauses to one is a case of syntactic compression. Corresponding to the reduction of the *kittiru* structure from three clauses to one is the 'petrification' of its meaning. From its composite meaning of 'simultaneous-existential', the conventional unified meaning of 'continuous' may be said to have been institutionalized. Such interlevel dependencies as the relation between syntactic compression and petrification, then, seem to suggest the existence of interlevel structuring more intricate, perhaps, than the simple linking of corresponding elements at various levels which otherwise would have seemed sufficient.

In short, evidence has been presented in this paper to show that a linguistic theory capable of handling Tamil auxiliary verbs will possess two organizational properties. On the one hand, syntactic and semantic phenomena will be handled in separate components. On the other hand, these components will be linked by interlevel dependency rules capable of specifying the relationships of elements at one level with those at another in a natural way.

Note: This paper is a revised version of part of the author's Ph.D. dissertation (Dale 1976). An earlier version was also presented at the Third Annual Minnesota Regional Conference on Language and Linguistics on 14 May, 1977.

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Errata

Page	Line	Error	Read as
46	Foot-Note, 6	<i>a:yuvu</i>	<i>a:yvu</i>
47	Foot-Note, 8	Agesthialingom, S.A,	Agesthialingom, S.
54	1	விரரதல்	விரதல்
62	12	veauxiliaries	auxiliaries
..	13	rbalizing	verbalizing
69	7	<i>poṭṭu</i>	<i>po:ṭṭu</i>
73	head line	Tam	Tamil
79	2	auxilariary	auxiliary
80	9	treat mental	treatment
..	10	together	altogether
..	13	ater	later
81	3	upposition	supposition
..	5	a fresh	afresh
86	18	<i>kaṇṇan</i>	<i>kaṇṇaṅ</i>
114	10	both	bath
120	5	<i>ve:dṇai</i>	<i>ve:danai</i>
129	diagram	Transitive ()	Transitive (1)
135	28	anxiliary	auxiliary
140	7	<i>intar</i>	<i>inta</i>
150	13	contsants	constants
153	7	t done	done
..	11	complementatizer	complementizer
..	12	participate	participial

