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Third Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics

Editors
S. AGESTHIALINGOM
and
S. V. SHANMUGAM

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
ANNAMALAINAGAR
TAMILNADU, INDIA
1972

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Preface

This book is the collection of papers presented in the third seminar on Dravidian Linguistics conducted by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar between November 19 and 21, 1971. Professor S. Agesthialingom was the Director and Dr. S. V. Shanmugam was the Secretary of the seminar.

The proposal for holding the present seminar was first made in April 13, 1971 by Dr.K. Kushalappa Gowda, who was then the Director-in-charge of the Centre and invitations were sent to scholars all over India and abroad. Twenty five scholars agreed to contribute papers for the seminar. All the papers were duplicated and distributed to the participants in advance. This enabled them to follow the papers closely and to participate in the discussion effectively. Dr. M. Andronov (Moscow), and Dr. P. Kothandaraman (London) could not attend the seminar, but the summaries of their papers were presented. Most of the suggestions offered during the discussions have been incorporated in the revised versions of the papers that are presented here.

The seminar was inaugurated by Dr. S. P. Adinarayan, the Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University on 19th November 1971. Five sessions were held and each session was presided over by a chairman. Mr. S. Bhattacharya presided over the first session. Prof. S. Agesthialingom took the chair in the second session. The third was presided over by Dr. K. Kushalappa Gowda, the fourth by Dr. E. Annamalai and the fifth by Dr. C. Rama Rao.

We are grateful to Messrs K. Balasubramanian and R. Balakrishnan and Dr. K. Karunakaran for having helped us to bring out the book in the present form. We are also indebted to the University Grants Commission for the financial assistance.

Grateful acknowledgements are due to the authorities of the Annamalai University and its Vice-Chancellor, Dr. S. P. Adinarayan for their continued support to the various activities of the Department. M/s Azhahu Printers should be thanked for executing the printing of the work within a short time.

Annamalainagar,

20—3—1972

S. Agesthialingom

&

S. V. Shanmugam

Editors

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A SYNTACTICAL TREATMENT OF 'MUST' IN DRAVIDIAN

S. AGESTHIALINGOM
Annamalai University

In Dravidian, as in many other languages in the world, we find certain constructions which express modality. Modality is generally defined as designating the possibility, probability, obligation, necessity or truth value of the proposition. This is indicated generally by auxiliaries and this can be seen in many languages.[1]

In Dravidian languages also we find certain auxiliary verbs which denote modality.

1. Ta. *po:ka muṭiyum*
   Ma. *po:ka:n kaḻiyum*
   Ka. *ho:ga bahudu*
   Te. *veḷḷa-gala-nu*
   } '(I) can go'

[1] The author is deeply indebted to his colleagues especially to S. V. Shanmugam, N. Kumaraswami Raja, K. Kushalappa Gowda and K. Balasubramanian with whom he had long discussions. Many of the points that are discussed in this paper emerged from these discussions and the author is very grateful to these persons who have cheerfully spent several hours with him. It is needless to say that none of them is responsible for any of the short-comings of the paper.

2.	Ta.	*po:ka muṭiya:tu*	'(I) cannot go'
	Ma.	*po:ka:n kaḻiyattilla*	
	Ka.	*ho:galikke a:gadu*	
	Te.	*veḷḷa-le:-nu*	
3.	Ta.	*po:ka-la:m*	'(I) may go'
	Ma.	*po:ka:m*	
	Ka.	*ho:ga bahudu*	
	Te.	*veḷḷa vaccu*	
4.	Ta.	*po:kak ku:ṭum*	'It may be possible for (one) to go'
	Ma.	*po:ka:n kaḻiyum*	
	Ka.	*ho:ga bahudu*	
	Te.	*veḷḷa vaccu*	
5.	Ta.	*po:kak ku:ṭa:tu*	'should not/must not go'
	Ma.	*po:ka:n pa:ṭilla*	
	Ka.	*ho:ga ba:radu*	
	Te.	*veḷḷa ra:du*	
		veḷḷa ku:ḍadu	

These auxiliary verbs behave differently from the main verbs and other auxiliaries. They are generally tenseless and they do not take any gender-number marker (There are of course exceptions to this). In certain cases it is possible to have gender-number markers in participial nouns like *vara-ve:ṇṭiyavaṉ*, 'one who has to come'. As all the above examples suggest, all the modals occur only after the infinitive of the main verb

A modal can either be preceded or be followed by another auxiliary, but not by another modal (perhaps with the exception of *-a:m*).

6. Ta. **ceyya-muṭiya-ve:ṇṭum* '(I) can must do'
7. Ta. **ceyya-ve:ṇṭum ve:ṇṭum* '(I) must do'
8. Ta. **ceyya-muṭiya-la:m* '(I) can may do'

But the meanings that one might want to express by combining modals may be expressed by some other ways.

9. Ta. *ceyyak ku:ṭiyata:y iruttal ve:ṇṭum* 'it must be possible (for me) to do'

10. Ta. *ceyya ve:ṇṭiyatu avaciyam* 'it is obligatory that (I) must do'

11. Ta. *ceyyak ku:ṭiyata:y irukkala:m* 'it may be possible that (I) can do'

It is worth mentioning that generally the modals have more than one meaning.

12. Ta. *na:ṉ ceyyala:m*[2] } 'I may do' /
Ka. *na:nu ma:ḍa bahudu* } 'I am allowed / permitted to do'
Te. *ne:nu ce:yavaccu* }

13. Ta. *na:ṉ po:kamuṭiyum* }
Ka. *na:nu ho:ga bahudu* } 'I can go'
Te. *ne:nu veḷḷa galanu* }

14. Ta. *avaṉ po:yirukkamuṭiyum* 'it is possible that he went'

15. Ta. *po:ka:malirukka muṭiya:tu* '(I) cannot but go' (lit. 'not to be going is impossible')

[2] In the author's dialect (Tamil spoken in the Kanyakumari District) we find the following two expressions :

na:ṉ ceyyala:m 'I may do'
eṉakkuc ceyyala:m 'I am allowed to do'.

The former gives the meaning 'it is likely that I will do' and the latter 'I am permitted to do'. Regarding *muṭiyum* 'can', there are three expressions

na:ṉ po:kamuṭiyum 'I can go'
eṉṉa:le po:kamuṭiyum 'I (by me) can go'
eṉakkup po:kamuṭiyum it is possible for me to go'.

Of these three, the first two give the meaning 'can' and the third 'is possible'. *eṉṉa:le* is more common than *na:ṉ* 'I'.

16. Ta. *avaṉ varakku:ṭum*[3]
Ka. *avanu bara bahudu*
Te. *va:ḍu ra:vaccu*
} 'he may come'

Though these auxiliaries are discussed under defective verbs by Beschi (1848:66-67), Pope (1911: 97-98) and Arden (1969:239-47), only in Schiffman (1969: 8-14) these auxiliaries are treated as modals. He has pointed out that modals behave differently from other auxiliary verbs. However, his treatment of modals is very inadequate as he is more concerned with the aspectual system of Tamil. The modal 'MUST' is no exception to this. It is the purpose of the present paper to deal with its syntax and various meanings in various situations. Though the title of the paper suggests Dravidian in general, only the four literary languages, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu are taken into consideration[4]. The author does not claim that the findings are definitive and therefore many improvements have to be effected.

[3] *ku:ṭum* is not very common in colloquial Tamil though we find it in literary Tamil. Arden (1969: 242) gives two meanings for this, 'ability' and 'propriety' and the second meaning can be found in *itu nallavaṉ ceyyakku:ṭiya ka:riyam illai* 'this is not a thing which a good person is expected to do'. Pope (1911:81) is of the opinion that *ku:ṭum* can give the meaning 'can' and 'may' (possibility and permission).

[4] The author is very grateful to N. Kumaraswami Raja and K. Kushalappa Gowda who have supplied Telugu and Kannada forms respectively. He also acknowledges with thanks the help rendered by R. Sreeveeramanikantan Pillai and P. N. Ravindran who have cheerfully supplied the Malayalam forms and have spent several hours for discussion with the author.

It has been said that all the modals are only auxiliary verbs and the modal 'MUST' is not an exception. It is also used as a main verb in all the languages under consideration. Before going into the details of its use as a modal, let me give a very brief account of its use as a main verb.

As a main verb it is used in three different meanings, though the meanings 'necessary' and 'obligation' or 'indispensable' are very closely related. Consider the following sentences where *ve:ɳṭum*, etc. are used in the meaning 'necessary'.

17. Ta. *eṉakkup paṇam ve:ɳṭum* 'I need money'
Ma. *enikkə paṇam ve:ṇam* "
Ka. *nanage haṇa be:ku* "
Te. *na:ku ḍabbu ka:va:li* "

Compare these sentences with

18. Ta. *eṉakkup paṇam te:vai* 'money is necessary for me'
Ma. *enıkkə paṇam a:vašyam* "
Ka. *nanage haṇa agatya* "
Te. *na:ku ḍabbu avasaram* "

where the meaning 'necessary' is very clearly expressed and these (17) can be used in the place of (18). It is to be noted that *ve:ɳṭu* etc. are verbs whereas *te:vai* etc. are considered as nouns though they give almost the same meaning.

ve:ṇṭu is also used in the meaning 'essential' (obligation or indispensable) which can be seen in expressions like

19 Ta. *maṉitaṉukkuk ka:ṟṟu ve:ṇṭum* 'air is essential for man'
Ka. *manusanige ga:ḷu be:ku* "
Te. *manişiki ga:ḷi ka:va:li* "

20. Ta. *payirukkut taṇṇi:r ve:ṇṭum* 'water is essential for crops'

and this can be paraphrased as

21. Ta. *maṉitaṉukkuk ka:ṟṟu iṉṟiyamaiya:tatu*
'air is essential for man'
Ta. *maṉitaṉukkuk ka:ṟṟu illa:mal muṭiya:tu*
'it is impossible for man without having air'

Since *ve:ṇṭum* is ambiguous the meaning is very often explicated by adding certain adverbs like *avaciyam* 'indispensable'.

22. Ta. *eṉakkup paṇam avaciyam ve:ṇṭum*
'I need money very badly'
23. Ta. *maṉitaṉukkuk ka:ṟṟu avaciyam ve:ṇṭum*
'man needs air very badly'

Another possible meaning is 'like to have' and this can be seen in expressions like

24. Ta. *eṉakkup paṇam te:vaiyillai, a:ṉa:lum ve:ṇṭum*
'I don't need money, yet I like to have'
25. Ta. *eṉakkup paṇam te:vaita:ṉ, a:ṉa:lum ve:ṇṭa:m*
'I need money, yet I don't like to have'

ve:ṇṭu is used in literary Tamil in the meaning of 'like', 'desire' in sentences like

26. *ya:n ve:ṇṭuval* 'I desire'

but it is no longer used in this sense.

enakku ve:ṇṭa:m does not mean 'I don't like' (in that case we will use *enakku piṭikkavillai*); it means 'I don't like to have'. When we are shown several eye glasses in the shop (as we want to purchase one) we may say *atu ve:ṇṭa:m* meaning 'I don't like to have'.

Sentence like

27. Ta. *na:n ve:ṇṭikkoḷḷukiṟe:n* 'I beseech'

is very common in which *ve:ṇṭu* is used in the meaning of 'request' and this is different from *ve:ṇṭum*.

In all these meanings *ve:ṇṭum* is used as a main verb. Though forms like *varutal ve:ṇṭum* '(one) should come' (*Tol. Eḻ*, 114), *niṟṟal ve:ṇṭum* '(one) should stand' (*Tol. Eḻ*. 34) are very common in Tolka:ppiyam, the earliest literature, *ve:ṇṭum* as a main verb, occurs only in a very few places.

28. Ta. *ummai ve:ṇṭum* (*Tol. Eḻ*. 116)
'*um* is necessary'

29. Ta. *iṉmai ve:ṇṭum* (*Tol. Eḻ*. 131)
'non-occurrence is necessary'

Though it is possible to give (as given above) the meaning 'necessaray or 'essential', the commentators of Tolka:ppiyam do not give such meanings; it is often given the meaning 'the grammarian desires that' and this is the same case with *niṟṟal ve:ṇṭum*, etc. I believe it was never

considered as an auxiliary though the modern grammarians will consider this in par with *niṟka ve:ṇṭum* 'it must occur'[5].

ve:ṇṭum is considered by many grammarians as a defective verb. Beschi (1848: 61), Pope (1911: 40–97), Arden (1964: 240) and Agesthialingom (1967) consider this as a defective verb as it is not conjugated for tenses as regular verbs.

Mention has to be made that *ve:ṇṭu* etc. are used as two place predicates (see ex. 17) though it is not very clear to me whether the forms in the dative (*eṉakku* 'to me' etc.) or in the nominative (*paṇam* 'money' etc.) have to be considered as subjects in the deep level. It is tempting to consider *paṇam* etc. as subjects as they do not have any case marker whereas forms like *eṉakku* have the dative case marker. Though it is not very definitive I am inclined to consider the dative forms as deep level subjects and the other forms as deep level objects. In this connection mention has to be made about expressions like

30. Ma. *enikkə avane ve:ṇam* 'I need him'
31. " *enikkə avaḷe ve:ṇam* 'I need her'
32. " *enikkə avane ve:ṇṭa* 'I don't need him'
33. " *enikkə avaḷe ve:ṇṭa* 'I don't need her'
34. " *enikkə avane ve:ṇṭiyatilla* 'I don't need him'
35. " *enikkə avane ve:ṇṭatuṇṭə* 'I need him'

[5] All the commentators of Tolka:ppiyam will give the meaning 'like' and 'desire' and interpret the construction as 'the author desire that it occurs'. *niṟṟal* is taken as the accusative and *ve:ṇṭum* is considered as a transitive verb and the author (supplied) as subject.

where *avan* 'he' etc. are in the accusative case. This is also the same case with

36. Ma. *enikkə avane a:vašyam uṇṭə*
'I am in need of him'

37. " *enikkə avaḷe a:vašyam uṇṭə*
'I am in need of her'.

It is also very interesting to note that the same idea can be expressed by making use of the verb *a:vašyappeṭu* but with the nominative form *ña:n* 'I'.

38. Ma. *ña:n avane a:vašyappeṭunnu*
'I want him / I need him'

39. " *ña:n avaḷe a:vašyappeṭunnu*
'I want her / I need her'.

There is at least one verb in Tamil i.e. *puri* 'understand' which generally takes the dative and the accusative case as in

40. Ta. *eṉakku avaṉaip puriyum* 'I understand him'

41. " *uṉakku avaṉaip puriya:tu*
'you will not understand him'.

But when *-koḷ* (a kind of reflexive) is added to the verb we can have *na:ṉ* 'I' in the place of *eṉakku* 'to me'.

42. Ta. *na:ṉ avaṉaip purintukoḷve:ṉ*
'I will understand him myself'.

This shows the possibility of setting up *na:ṉ* 'I' as the subject in the deep level as we do in the case of other verbs and convert it into the dative at the surface level. If these verbs (like *ve:ṇṭum, puri* etc.) are marked for

such changes we will automatically have the dative. This treatment will not force us to have two kinds of subjects, one in the nominative form and another in the dative form, at the deep level.

Another piece of evidence can be found in sentences like

43. Ta. *na:n atai rucitte:n* 'I tasted it'

44. " *atu enakku rucittatu* 'it tasted to me'

45. " *na:n paṇam uṭaiye:n* 'I have money'

46. " *paṇam enakku irukkiṟatu*
'there is money for me'

47. " *na:n ka:lil vali uṭaiye:n*
'I have pain in the leg'

48. " *enakku ka:lil vali irukkiṟatu*
'there is pain in the leg (to me)'

49. " *enakku ka:l valikkiṟatu*
'the leg aches (to me)'.

In all these sentences there is an alternation between the nominative and the dative forms (though it is not certain what kind of rules we have to form to take care of such alternations) for which we can set up only one form (nominative) as a logical subject and the other form (dative) can be derived by making use of some rules (some kind of flip rule).[6]

[6] There are many verbs like, *vali* 'pain', *kuḷir* 'be cold' which generally take the dative forms as surface level subjects. *enakku kai kuḷirukiṟatu* 'the arms are cold to me'. These 'dative subjects' can be derived from sentences like *na:n kaiyil kuḷir uṭaiye:n* 'I have cold in the hands' which will give *enakku kaiyil kuḷir irukkiṟatu* 'there is cold in the hand'

Let us now turn to its use as an auxiliary. *ve:ṇṭum* in Tamil, *ve:ṇam* in Malayalam, *be:ku* in Kannada and *-a:li* in Telugu are used as modals and they are used in more than one meaning.

Consider the following sentences :

50. Ta. *na:ṉ po:ka ve:ṇṭum* 'I need to go'
Ma. *ñaːn poːkaṇam* "
Ka. *naːnu hoːga beːku* "
Te. *neːnu veḷḷaːli* "

ve:ṇṭum occurs in the meaning 'necessary'. Though this meaning has been given by many, no detailed analysis has been made so far. The sentence has been analysed traditionally as a sentence which consists of, among other things, an auxiliary verb (as noted earlier as a defective verb) by Arden and others. Mention has to be made that the traditional (Tamil) grammars like Tolka:-ppiyam and Nannu:l have ever dealt with this grammatical category. Though Pope[7] recognized the importance of

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and finally we will get *enakku kai kuḷirkiṟatu*. This will be obtained by a series of transformational rules, the exact nature of which is not very clear to me. However, it is possible to derive such surface level structures by a series of transformations. A detailed study of such verbs is being made by the present author ('Certain Dative constructions in Tamil' forthcoming).

[7] Pope, while dealing with the Tamil aspectual system feels the importance and constant use of auxiliaries in Tamil and says: 'In Modern Tamil the use of auxiliary verb is increasing, and ought to increase. As languages grow they require auxiliary verbs to give greater precision'. (1911: 68) This statement shows that the constant use of auxiliaries is a recent development and that may be the reason why native grammarians have not dealt with them.

auxiliaries [1911:68] he had not included *ve:ṇṭum* with the auxiliaries like *viṭu,iru* etc. [Ibid.177-186]. As mentioned earlier he deals with *ve:ṇṭu* only as a defective verb [Ibid.40-97] and not as an auxiliary. This is the same case with Beschi also [1848:6]. In Arden's grammar[8] this is treated as an auxiliary and he goes to the extent of deriving it from the main verb *ve:ṇṭu* 'entreat'. He has rightly pointed out that "the words *ve:ṇṭum* and *ve:ṇṭa:m* are added as auxiliary verbs to the infinitive of another verb, to express necessity or urgency and have the meaning of 'must' and 'must not' (1969:240)". As already mentioned, *ve:ṇṭum* has been treated as a main verb and not as an auxiliary in Agesthialingom (1967) and this is only due to over sight and it has a legitimate claim to find a place under auxiliary. This is also the case with his paper 'Auxiliary Verbs in Tamil' (1964).

[8] While dealing with *ve:ṇṭu* Arden says: 'From the root is derived a regular transitive verb meaning 'entreat' which is fully conjugated' (p. 239). There are two opinions regarding the source of this verb Rhenius says 'that this verb which is defective should not be confounded with the regular transitive verb *ve:ṇṭu* which can be found in early literature in Tamil. But there are many others who think that this impersonal verb has originated from *ve:ṇṭu* 'like'. In Kannada also *be:ku* which is now an impersonal verb is very often connected with *be:ḷku* 'like'. It is very difficult to find the occurrence of any auxiliary verb in early Tamil literature. But as pointed out earlier, *niṟṟal ve:ṇṭum* etc. are found to be very common in the early literature though it is not considered as an auxiliary.

As other modals this is also not conjugated for tenses and gender-number though the participial nouns can contain gender-number.

51. Ta. *po:kave:ṇṭiyavaṉ* 'one who has to go'
Ma. *po:ke:ṇṭavan* ,,
Ka. *ho:ga be:ka:davanu* ,,
Te. *veḷḷavalasinava:ḍu* ,,

As in the case of regular verbs, the categories such as verbal participle and relative participle can be formed out of modals also.

52. Ta. *na:ṉ po:ka-ve:ṇṭi-y-irukkiṟatu* 'I need to go'
Ma. *ñaːn po:ke:ṇṭiyirikkunnu* ,,
Ka. *na:nu ho:gabe:ka:gide* ,,
Te. *ne:nu ve:ḷḷa:lsundi* ,,

53. Ta. *po:kave:ṇṭiya paiyaṉ* 'the boy who must go'
Ma. *po:ke:ṇṭa kuṭṭi* ,,
Ka. *hoga be:ka:da huḍuga* ,,
Te. *veḷḷavalasina abba:yi* ,,

This shows that though the modal *ve:ṇṭum* is not conjugated for tense it has to be treated as a verb.

Ross (1969) has convincingly argued that the auxiliaries have to be treated as main verbs in the deep structure and *ve:ṇṭum* is in no way exception to this.

We have already seen that this verb is used as a main verb in (17) not differing in meaning with the corresponding auxiliary. It is worth mentioning that in

many cases when a verb is used as an auxiliary it does lose its original meaning but this does not seem to be the case with the verb *ve:ṇṭum*. I do not have a ready answer to this exception at present.

It is also to be noted that *ve:ṇṭum* as a main verb as in (17) is used as a two place predicate whereas in (50) we find only one argument (*na:n̲ po:ka* etc. as a sentencial argument). It is rather difficult to imagine that one and the same verb occurs as a two place predicate when it is a main verb and as a one place predicate when it functions as an auxiliary without change of meaning. Either we have to accept this, or we have to show that even as an auxiliary it has two arguments. I will show that the second position is the correct one.

Consider the following Tamil sentences:

54. *en̲akku avan̲ po:kaṇum* (KTa.) 'I want he must go'
55. *en̲akku avan̲ varaṇum* 'I want he must come'.

Though this type of sentences with *en̲akku* is not very common, it is neither impossible nor ungrammatical. In the author's dialect it is common and it can be found in other Tamil dialects spoken in the Kanyakumari District. In Malayalam it is a regular feature.

56. *enikkə aːyaːḷ ippoːḷ varaṇam*
'I need that he must come now'

we find *enikkə* 'to me' and *aːyaːḷ ippoːḷ vara* 'he comes now' which perfectly fit with *enikkə* and *paṇam* 'money'

respectively of (17) and they can be considered as two arguments.[9]

It is also true in sentences like

57. Ta. *enakku avaṉta:n po:kaṇum* (KTa.)
'I want he must go'

Ma. *enikkə avantanne po:kaṇam*

where *ta:n* and *tanne* stand only for emphasis.

In Malayalam and Kannada we find not only sentences like (50) but the following as well.

58. Ma. *enikkə po:kaṇam* 'I need to go'

59. Ma. *enikkə vi:ṭṭil po:kaṇam* 'I need to go home'
Ka. *nanage manege ho:gabe:ku* "

Malayalam and KTa. differ from a majority of Tamil dialects in that (when we have such constructions) in the former both absolute and dative forms are possible whereas in the latter only the absolute form is possible. The Malayalam form *enikkə* 'to me' in (58, 59) is not really the subject of *po:* 'go' but only the dative which we find in Malayalam sentences like

60. Ma. *enikkə ve:ṇam* 'I need'

61. " *enikkə a:vašyam* 'there is a need'

62. " *enikkə avan po:kaṇam* 'I need he must go'

[9] Though in Telugu, sentences with both dative and absolute forms are not possible as in (50) and (56) there is at least one type (with *adi*) of construction in which we find both.
na:ku adi jaraga:li 'I need that it must happen'

The absence of *ña:n* 'I' in (58, 59) can be explained thus. Since subjects in both the matrix and the embedded sentences refer to one and the same person, i.e. first person singular, one of them is deleted. Compare 58 and 59 with the following.

63. Ta. *enakku avan po:kaṇum* (KTa.) I need he must go'

64. Ma. *enikkə a:ya:ḷ po:kaṇam* "

In Malayalam and Kannada either the dative or the nominative forms are deleted whereas in the other languages the dative is obligatorily deleted[10].

This can be seen in the negative sentences also.

65. Ta. *enakku avaṉ po:ka:ṇṭa:m* (KTa) 'I need he does not go'

Ma. *enikkə a:ya:ḷ po:ke:ṇṭa* "

Ma. *enikkə avan po:ka:tirikkaṇam* "

The foregoing discussion shows that though we find only one argument in the surface level in (50) we have actually two arguments in the deep level and one is deleted. In Malayalam and KTa., either the subjects of

[10] Though it is not possible to say definitely in what environment *enakku* 'to me' or *na:n* 'I' is used, we can safely say that one is deleted. This can be taken care of by a deletion transformation rule which can be compared with the passive – active transformation rule. The author is not definitive about the nature of the rule.

the lower sentence or the subject of the higher sentence (*enikku* 'to me') is deleted.[11]

It has been said that generally the modals do not show any tenses. But there are sentences like

66. Ta. *na:n po:ka ve:ṇṭiyiruntatu* 'I had to go'
Ma. *enikkə po:ke:ṇṭiyirunnu* "
Ka. *na:nu ho:ga be:ka:gittu* "
Te. *ne:nu ve:ḷḷa:lsi vaccindi* "

67. Ta. *na:n po:kave:ṇṭiyirukkiṟatu* 'I have to go'
Ma. *enikkə po:ke:ṇṭiyirikkunnu* "
Ka. *na:nu ho:ga be·ka:gide* "
Te. *ne:nu ve:ḷḷa:lsundi* "

68. Ta. *na:n po:kave:ṇṭiyirukkum* 'I may have to go'

where we find tense distinction. As words like *ve:ṇṭu* cannot be conjugated for tense the verb *iru* is inserted and that is conjugated for all the tenses. It is not clear to me whether *iruntatu*, *irukkiṟatu*, etc. in (66 & 67) have to be considered as mere tense markers or whether some aspect is involved. However, it is clear that *irukkum*

[11] Langendeon (1961) considers 'must' etc. as one place predicate. For him 'certain, necessary and must are all one place predicates' and 'they select a sentence as argument' (p. 115). He considers all the modals as one place predicates (p. 152). However this view is not shared by many. G. Lakoff (Class lectures 1971, U. Michigan), on the other hand, thinks that 'must' in the meaning of 'necessary' and 'obligation' functions as a two place predicate and in the meaning of 'probability' as one place predicate. This is the stand that I have also taken in this paper.

in (68) cannot be considered as a mere future tense marker as it is in contrast with *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭum* 'I have to go'. Consider the following sentences:

69. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭivirunta iṭaṅkaḷ*
'the places to which I had to go'

70. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiya iṭaṅkaḷ* "

71. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyirukkiṟa iṭaṅkaḷ*
'the places to which I have to go'.

Though we have overtly marked tenses in 69 and 71 and no marked tense in 70, the relative participle in 70 can be substituted for the ones in 69 and 71.

72. Ta. *na:n̲* { *po:kave:ṇṭiyirunta* / *po:kave:ṇṭiya* } *iṭaṅkaḷukku* *ne:r̲r̲u po:n̲e:n̲*
'yesterday I went to the places where I had to go'

73. Ta. *na:n̲* { *po:kave:ṇṭiyirukkiṟa* / *po:kave:ṇṭiya* } *iṭaṅkaḷukkup* *po:kiṟe:n̲*
'I go to the places where I have to go'.

Tense is not overtly expressed in *ve:ṇṭum*, whenever we like to express the tenses overtly, *iru* is added to the modal and by adding various tense markers to it various tenses are expressed In expressions like *na:n̲ po:ka ve:ṇṭum*, though *iru* is not found, it can be considered that it exists in the deep level and is optionally deleted when there are some signals to denote time. If the presence of *iru* does not change any meaning (which I believe) in the above expression we can posit tense as a higher node.

Therefore it is assumed that (50) and (67) have almost same meaning and if it is so, the former is to be derived from the latter.

(50) and (67) can be considered as paraphrases of each other where the speaker feels that there arises a necessity for him to go, though it is not obligatory on his part to do so.

74. Ta. *enakku oru ve:lai irukkiṟatu*
'there is a work for me'

ataṉa:l { *na:ṉ po:kave:ṇṭum* / *na:ṉ po:kave:ṇṭiyirukkiṟatu* }
'therefore I need to go'.

The same necessity can be expressed in yet another way by making use of the nouns *te:vai, a:vašya, agatya,* etc.

75. Ta. *na:ṉ po:tal te:vai* 'there is a need to go'
Ma. *ñaːn poːkunnatə aːvašyam* "
Ka. *naːnu hoːguvudu agatya* "
Te. *neːnu veḷḷaḍam avasaram* "

which can be compared with

76. Ta. *naːṉ poːtal enakkut teːvai* (KTa.) 'there is a need for me to go'
Ma. *ñaːn poːkunnatə enikkə aːvašyam* "
Ka. *naːnu hoːguvadu nanage agatya* "

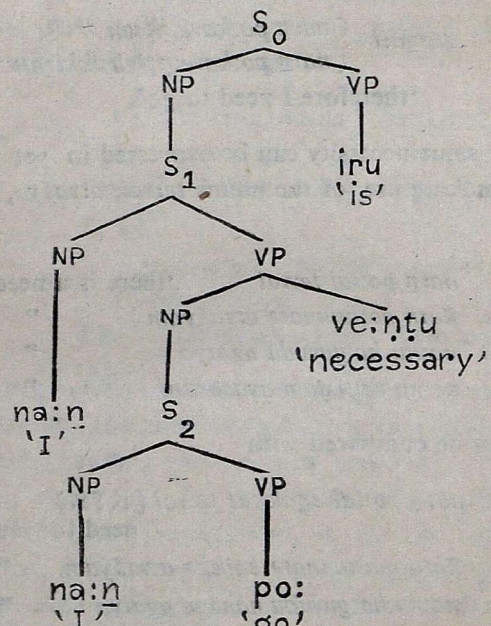
and when we have identical nouns *naːṉ* 'I' and *enakku* 'to me', the latter is dropped and we get (75). On the other hand when we don't have identical nouns we get

77. Ta. *avan̲ po:tal en̲akkut te:vai* 'there is a need for me that he goes'

Ma. *avan po:kunnatə enikkə a:vašyam* "

Ka. *avanu ho:guvadu agatya* "

When *ve:ṇṭum* occurs in the meaning 'necessary' we get the same kind of structure as in the sentence involving *te:vai* and in the place of *te:vai* we find *ve:ṇṭum* and the deep structure for (50) will look something like this:



Though we find expressions like (67) we do not have corresponding negative forms like

78. **na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyillai*

in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu and this is also the same case with other negative forms like

79. Ta. **na:n̲ vantillai.*

But in Kannada we find corresponding negative form as

80. *na:nu ho:gabe:ka:gilla.*

In Tamil and Malayalam we find another expression which is very often equated with (67).

81. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyatu irukkiṟatu* 'I have to go'
Ma. *enikkə po:ke:ṇṭatuṇṭə* "

It is to be noted that *po:kave:ṇṭiyatu* is a noun whereas *po:kave:ṇṭi* is only a verbal participle and therefore sentences like

82. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyatu uṇmai* 'it is true that I must go'

is grammatical whereas

83. Ta. **na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭi uṇmai*

is not grammatical.

There is also another evidence to show that they are different. It is possible to insert *avaciyama:ka* 'necessarily' in (81) but this is not the case with (67). This shows that *iru* in (81) behaves like a main verb.

84. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyatu avaciyama:ka irukkiṟatu* 'it is necessary that I must go'
Ma. *enikkə po:ke:ṇṭatə a:vašyama:ṇə*

85. Ta. **na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭi avaciyama:ka irukkiṟatu*

A final piece of evidence can be found in the grammaticality of (86) and the ungrammaticality of (87).

86. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyirukkiṟa vi:ṭu* the house to which I have to go'

Ma. *enikkə po:ke:ṇṭirikkunna vi:ṭə* „

Ka. *na:nu ho:gabe:ka:gida mane* „

87. Ta. **na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyatu irukkiṟa vi:ṭu*

Ma. **na:n po:ke:ṇṭiyatə irikkunna vi:ṭə*

Ka. **na:nu ho:ga be:ka: guvudu idda mane.*

This is because of the fact that *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyatu* is a noun phrase which has been already relativized and therefore it is impossible to relativize any one of the nouns which the phrase contains. These facts provide evidence that (81) and (87) are different. And because of the fact that

88. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyatu illai* 'I don't have to go'

Ma. *enikkə po:ke:ṇṭatə illa* „

alone are used as negative forms (as we do not have **na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyillai*) the positive forms (81) and (67) cannot be equated.

Before going into the details of the derivation of (81) it is profitable, I believe, to turn to a similar situation which we come across very often in Tamil grammatical tradition. Very often (50) is equated with expressions like

89. Ta. *na:n̲ po:tal ve:ṇṭum* 'I must go home'.

Though they are almost similar meaning they are different in structure. One contains an infinitive and the other is a verbal noun. *na:n̲ po:tal* 'I going' (like *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiyatu)* is to be considered as verbal noun and all the arguments put forward in the foregoing paragraph will hold good in the case of *na:n̲ po:tal* also.

90. Ta. *na:n̲ po:tal uṇmai* 'it is true that I go'

is possible whereas

91. Ta. **na:n̲ po:ka uṇmai*

is not possible. Similarly

92. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭiya vi:ṭu* 'the house to which I must go'

is possible, but not

93. **na:n̲ po:tal ve:ṇṭiya vi:ṭu.*

Though historically the origin of the infinitive like *po:ka* 'to go', *vara* 'to come' may be found in verbal nouns like *po:tal, varal* etc. they no longer behave alike.[12]

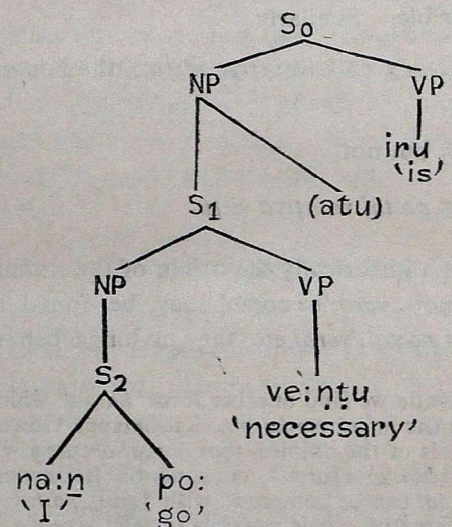
[12] In Kannada we find another form *ho:gal* which is used exactly like the infinitive *ho:ga*. Kushalappa Gowda (private discussion) is of the opinion that *ho:gal* occurs always before a vowel and *ho:ga* before a consonant. It is worth noting though *ho:gal* can be compared with Tamil *po:tal* the forms behave differently. It is possible to relativize the nouns like *mane* 'house' in

na:nu manege ho:gale be:ku 'I must go to the house'

as *na:nu ho:gale: be:ka:da mane* 'the house that I must go'.

It was pointed out that *po:kave:ṇṭiyatu irukkiṟatu* cannot be equated with *po:kave:ṇṭiyirukkiṟatu*. As we have already shown how the later is derived, let us now turn to the derivation of the former.

It was shown that *po:kave:ṇṭiyatu* has to be considered as a noun. Since *irukkiṟatu* behaves like a main verb the whole construction has to be considered as a NP+VP sentence, NP derived from a sentence with a proform *atu* 'it'. But on the other hand in the derivation of (67) we do not introduce any proform. This is the only difference between these two sentences and it makes all the differences.



Since the NP is a complex one, it is not possible to relativize the items contained in it.

There is also another type of construction in which we find the modal *ve:ṇṭum*. Here it occurs in the form of the relative participle with a head noun *te:vai, a:vaśyam, agatya* and *avasara* and the meaning of which is near to that of (67) and (81).

94. Ta. *na:ṉ po:kave:ṇṭiya te:vai irukkiṟatu*
'there is a need for me to go'

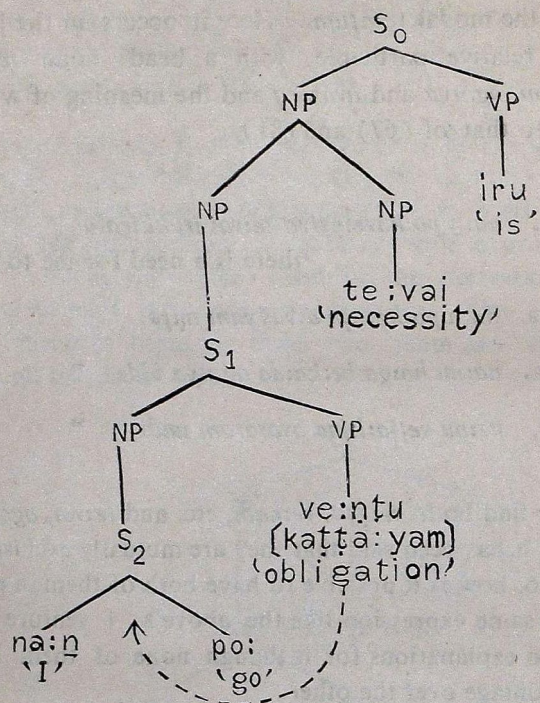
Ma. *ñaːn poːkeːṇṭə aːvaśyam uṇṭə* "

Ka. *naːnu hoːga beːkaːda agatya idde* "

Te. *neːnu veḷḷaːlsina avasaram undi* "

Here we find both *ve:ṇṭu, ve:ṇam*, etc. and *te:vai, agatya* etc. and it has been said that they are mutually exclusive. If it is so, how is it possible to have both of them in one and the same expression like the above? I venture to offer two explanations for it though none of them has any advantage over the other.

As already mentioned *ve:ṇṭu* is used in the meaning of 'obligation' or 'indispensability' also. In the above expression *ve:ṇṭu* is used in this meaning and the expression means 'there is necessity that I must (obligatorily) go' and the obligation is expressed by *ve:ṇṭu* and since the same modal cannot be used twice the noun *te:vai* is kept as it is.



This structure will give (94). Not only we find such sentences but sentences like (95) as well.

95. Ta. *na:ṉ kaṭṭa:yama:kap po:kave:ṇṭiya te:vai iruk-kiṟatu* 'there is a necessity that I must go without fail'

where we find *kaṭṭa:yam* (obligation) as adverb. This is due to over emphasis on the part of the speaker and this may be explained by a copying rule which operates on

the structure given above. The copying rule copies *kaṭṭa:yam* and attaches it with the lower sentences which is shown by the dots in the above diagram.

Another explanation arises from the fact that in (94) *ve:ṇṭu* does not really show any obligation on the part of the speaker and it is only superfluous and therefore (94) and

96. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kiṟa te:vai irukkiṟatu*
'there is a need for me to go'

are almost similar in meaning and the only difference is that in the former there is an application of copying rule (or some other rule). However this has to be investigated further.

Like positive sentences we have several negative sentences also with *ve:ṇṭu* with the meaning 'necessary'. All these sentences can be classified into two major classes.

1. Sentences like

97. Ta. *na:n̲ po:kave:ṇṭa:m* 'I don't need to go'
Ma. *enikkə aviṭe po:kaṇṭa* "
Ka. *na:nu ho:guvudu be:ḍa:* "
Te. *nuvvu veḷḷanakkarle:du* 'you don't need to go'

etc. are formed by negativizing the whole sentences.

2. In sentences like

98. Ta. *na:n̲ po:ka:tirukka ve:ṇṭum* 'it is necessary that I do not go'
Ma. *ña:n po:ka:tirikkaṇam* "
Ka. *na:nu ho:guvudube:ḍa* "

99. Te. *va:ḍu veḷḷakuṇḍa uṇḍa:li* 'it is necessary that he does not go'
Ta. *eṉakku avaṉ po:ka:tirukkaṇum* (KTa.) "
Ma. *enikkə avan po:ka:tirikkaṇam* "

we find that lower sentences [*na:ṉ po:*] are negated. S S

Mention has to be made that when such sentences are negated the infinitive of the verb *īru* is inserted and this can be seen in some other grammatical categories also.

100. Ta. *vara:tirunta:l* 'if (one) does not come'
101. Ta. *vara:tirukka* 'not to come'.

ve:ṇṭum is also used in the sense 'obligation', or 'indispensable'. Sentences like

102. Ta. *na:ṉ kalya:ṇattukkup po:kave:ṇṭum* 'it is obligatory on my part to go to the marriage'
Ma. *enikkə kalya:ṇattinə po:kaṇam* "
Ka. { *na:mu* / *nanage* } *maduvege ho:gabe:ku* "

are very common and they express a kind of obligation. As it is unavoidable the action of going must be done. This meaning is clearer if we add forms like *ve:ṟu vaḻiye: illai* 'there is no other go' etc.

103. Ta. *na:ṉ kalya:ṇattukkup po:kave:ṇṭum; ve:ṟu vaḻiye: illai* 'I have to go to the marriage, no other go'

or by adding emphasis like

104. Ta. *na:n̲ po:ytta:n̲ a:kave:ṇṭum* 'I must go'
Ma. *ña:n po:yittanne ti:raṇam* "
Te *ne:nu velḷe: ti:ra:li* "
Ta *na:n̲ po:katta:n̲ ve:ṇṭum* "

Since *po:kave:ṇṭu* is ambiguous we add all kinds of items of emphasis like the above to make it unambiguous.

ve:ṇṭu with this meaning shares many features with *ve:ṇṭu* of the meaning 'necessary'. As explained earlier here also, I believe, *ve:ṇṭu* functions as a two place predicate.

105. Ta. { *na:n̲* / *enakku* } *kalya:ṇattukkup po:kaṇum*
'I have to go to the marriage'

are derived from

106. *enakku na:n̲ kalya:ṇattukkup po:kaṇum*

by deleting *na:n̲* 'I'.

It is very interesting to note that sentences like

107. Ta. *iṉṟu maḷai peyyave:ṇṭum*
'it must rain today'
Te. *i: ro:ju varṣam kurava:li* "
Ta. *iṉṟu maḷai peyta:kave:ṇṭum* "

where we do not find any noun argument. It is true that rain is not indispensable for the rain itself and therefore we do not have identical nouns as we find in (106). But this does not mean that *ve:ṇṭum* is a one place predicate. This can be taken as

108. Ta. { *namakku* / *makkaḷukku* } *iṉṟu maḻai peyyave:ṇṭum*

'for { us / people } it must rain today'.

namakku 'to us' or *makkaḷukku* 'to the people' is used as the noun argument and the same kind of analysis can be done in the case of

109. Ta. *iṉṟu maḻai te:vai* 'rain is necessary'

110. Ta. *iṉṟu maḻai avaciyam* 'rain is essential'.

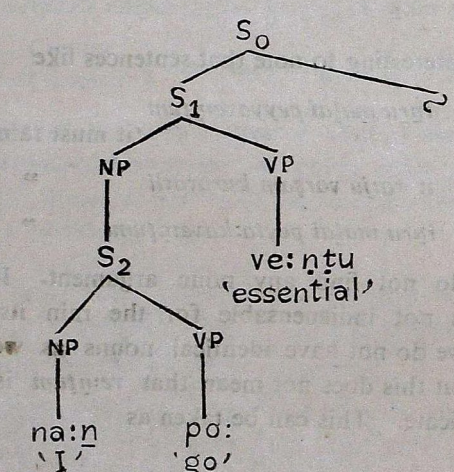
Let us now turn to the negative counter parts. As in the case of the meaning 'necessary' here also we find two classes of negative (1) by negating the whole sentence

Ta. $[_S$ *na:ṉ kalya:ṇattukkup po:ka ve:ṇṭum* $]_S$ -Neg.

111. Ta. *na:ṉ kalya:ṇattukkup po:kave:ṇṭa:m*
'I don't have to go to the marriage'
('it is not absolutely essential to me to go to the marriage')

112. Ta. *na:ṉ po:kave:ṇṭiya avaciyam illai* "

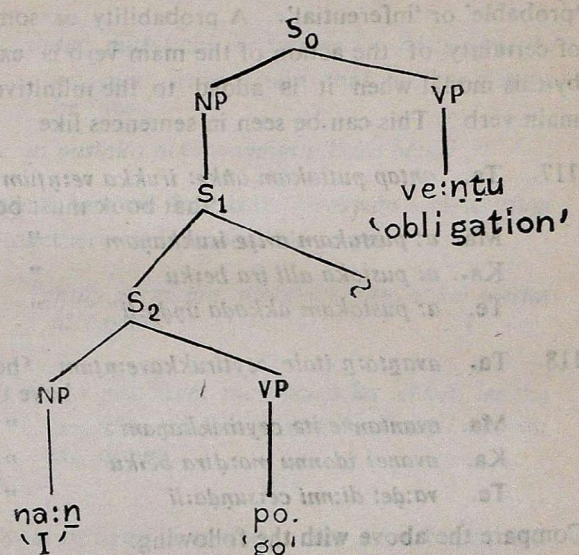
etc.



(2) by negating the lower sentence

$$[_{S}\ [_{S}\ na{:}n\ po{:}]\ -\ \text{Neg.}]_{S}\ ve{:}ṇṭum$$

113. Ta. *na:n po:ka:tiruttal ve:ṇṭum*
'it is essential that I will not go'.



This negative expression is more effective than the one we have in (112) and therefore often we get sentences like

114. Ta. *na:n po:kak ku:ṭa:tu*
('it is essential that I will not go')
'I must not go', 'I should not go'

115. Ma. *ni: po:ka:n pa:ṭilla* 'you should not go'
Ka. *ni:nu ho:ga ba:radu* "

116. Te. *ne:nu veḷḷara:du* 'I should not go'.

ve:ṇṭum as a modal, also occurs in the meaning 'probable' or 'inferential'. A probability or some kind of certainty of the action of the main verb is expressed by this modal when it is added to the infinitive of the main verb. This can be seen in sentences like

117. Ta. *antap puttakam aṅke: irukka ve:ṇṭum* 'that book must be there'
Ma. *a: pustakam aviṭe irukkaṇam* "
Ka. *a: pustaka alli ira be:ku* "
Te. *a: pustakam akkaḍa uṇḍa:li* "

118. Ta. *avaṉta:ṉ itaic ceytirukkave:ṇṭum* 'he must have done it'
Ma. *avantanne itə ceytirikkaṇam* "
Ka. *avane: idannu ma:ḍira be:ku* "
Te. *va:ḍe: di:nni ce:suṇḍa:li* "

Compare the above with the following:

119. Ta. *antap puttakam aṅke: iruttal* { *uṟuti* / *niccayam* } 'it is certain that the book is there'
Ka. *a: pustaka alli iruvadu niščaya* "
Te. *a: pustakam akkaḍa uṇḍaḍam niścayam* "

120. Ta. *avaṉ itaic ceytiruttal uṟuti / niccayam* 'it is certain that he has done it'

These expressions give almost the same meaning as (117, 118) and they express the speaker's inference that the action must have taken place.

There are also some other constructions which give almost the same meaning.

121. Ta. *antap puttakam niccayama:ka aṅke: irukka ve:ṇṭum* 'it is certain that the book must be there'

Ka. *a: pustaka niśčayava:gi alli ira be:ku* " .

In these expressions we find both *niccayam* and *ve:ṇṭum* occurring together. It is impossible to get

122. Ta. **antap puttakam niccayama:ka aṅke: iruttal niccayam*

whereas

123. Ta. *antap puttakam niccayama:ka aṅke: irukka ve:ṇṭum* 'the book must be there (without any doubt)'

is possible.

Here *niccayam* or *uṟuti* is copied to the adverb position of the lower sentences.

It is worth mentioning that *ve:ṇṭum* as a main verb is not used in the meaning 'a kind of certainty'. This can be seen in the ungrammaticality of (124).

124. Ta. **enakku paṇam niccayam* 'money is certain for me'.

One of the main differences between *ve:ṇṭum* meaning 'necsssary' and 'obligation' and the same form

meaning 'probable' is that while the former functions as a two place predicate, the latter functions only as a one place predicate.

It is true *te:vai* or *a:vašyam* and *niccayam* behave superficially alike. Consider the following

125. Ta. *avaṉ po:vatu te:vai* 'it is necessary that he goes'

126. Ta. *avaṉ po:vatu niccayam* 'it is certain that he goes'

127. Ma. *enikkə atu a:vašyama:ṇə* 'it is necessary for me'

128. Ma. *enikkə atu ti:rccaya:ṇə* 'it is certain for me'.

In all these sentences they behave alike; but this is not the case with the following Malayalam sentences.

129. Ma. *avane enikkə a:vašyama:ṇə* 'I need him'

130. Ma. *avane ña:n a:vašyappeṭunnu* ,,

are grammatical, but not

131. Ma. **avane enikkə nišcayam*

132. Ma. **avane ña:n nišcayappeṭunnu.*

This shows that *nišcayam* (certain) cannot be equated with *a:vašyam* (necessary). *a:vašyam* functions like a transitive verb whereas *nišcayam* does not. *a:vašyam* in (130) can be substituted by *ve:ṇam* whereas *nišcavam* cannot be.

Another piece of evidence can be found in sentences like the following:

133. Ta. *atu enakkut te:vai enru na:n karutukire:n*
'I think that that is necessary for me'

Ma. *atə enikkə a:vašyam ennu*
ña:n vica:rikkunnu "

Te. *ne:nu adi na:ku avasaram*
anukuṇṭunna:nu " .

In these sentences we have both *na:n* and *enakku* whereas in sentences like

134. Ta. *na:n atu* **enakku niccayam enru karutukire:n*
Te. *ne:nu adi* **na:ku niščayam anukuṇṭunna:nu*

we may not be able to have either *na:ku* or *enakku* 'to me'. This shows that though both

135. Ta. *enakku atu te:vai* 'that is necessary for me'

136. Ta. *enakku atu niccayam* 'that is certain for me'

have *enakku*, the history of them is different. *enakku* in (136) comes from the subject of the matrix sentence.

137. Ta. *na:n karutukire:n* 'I think'

Te. *ne:nu anukuṇṭunna:nu* "

whereas *enakku* in (135) comes from the embedded.

138. Ta. *enakkut te:vai*

As in the other cases here also we find two negative forms.

139. Ta. *antap puttakam aṅku iruppatu niccayam illai*
'it is not certain that the book is there'

140. Ta. *antap puttakam aṅku irukka muṭiya:tu*
'that book cannot be there'.

The former is gotten by negating the whole sentence

141. Ta. [*antap puttakam aṅke:* { *irukkave:ṇṭum* / *iruppatu niccayam* }]- Neg.

whereas the latter is derived by negating the lower sentence.

142. Ta. [*antap puttakam aṅke: iru*]$_S$ – Neg. *ve:ṇṭum*

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'ENṚU' AND 'ENPATU' AS COMPLEMENT MARKERS IN TAMIL[1]

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I. INTRODUCTION

In Tamil there are a variety of different surface markers for verbal complement constructions (i.e., instances of one sentence acting as the subject or object of another sentence). In the following three examples, for instance, the infinitive (a), the verbal noun (b), and the adverbial suffix (*-a:ka*) attached to a nominal form of the verb (c)[2] mark object-complement constructions:

[1] I am very grateful to K. Paramasivam for his guidance, help, and instruction throughout the period that I was working on this paper. Most of the issues raised here were first discussed with him, and many of his suggestions have been included. He is, of course, not responsible for any errors in fact or analysis.

[2] The nominalised verb which occurs with the adverbial complementizer does not seem to be a deep nominal (i.e., neither a participial noun nor a verbal noun), but rather a surface form required by the adverbial suffix, *-a:ka*. Evidence for this is provided by the fact that it is possible to relativize

1a) *ennai apara:tam kaṭṭa uttaraviṭṭa:r*
'he ordered me to pay a fine'

b) *ni: ta:yam a:ṭinataip pa:rttirukkire:n*
'I have seen you playing Dayam'

c) *ni: tu:ṅkikkoṇṭiruntata:kac conne:n*
'I said that you were sleeping'.

This paper is concerned with two related complement markers, *enru* and *enpatu*, a participle and a nominal of the verb root *en-*, respectively[3]. If we were to follow Lakoff (1968) and decide that every language has a 'basic' or 'unmarked' complementizer – one that occurs in the least specialized contexts and affects the structure of the embedded sentence the least, as, for

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out of *-a:ka* complements, but not out of verbal noun complements (nor, of course, out of complement relative clauses):

a) **ni: aṭittatai avaḷ pa:rtta paiyan...*
'the boy she saw you beating...'

b) *ni: aṭittata:ka avaḷ conna paiyan...*
the boy she said you beat...'

[3] I am ignoring here the roll of *enpata:ka* as a complementizer. The reason for not including it with *enru* and *enpatu* is that it is a compound complementizer, composed of the adverbial suffix added to a nominal form of *en-*. It lacks some of the characteristics of *en-*, such as the ability to embed questions, and in other ways patterns very much like *-a:ka*. This is shown by the fact that in many places where *-a:ka* occurs as a sentence embedder, *enpata:ka* also occurs in the same meaning. This synonomy might be accounted for if *-a:ka* clauses are derived from *enpata:ka* clauses by a rule of *en-* deletion. This rule would also explain why *-a:ka* clauses have some of the properties associated with *en-*, such as 'attribution'. See section (3) for other examples of *en-* deletion.

example, *that* in English or *quod* in Latin – the choice for Tamil would have to be one of these two forms. Whereas the other complementizers, like those shown in (1) above, require some change in the verb of the embedded sentence (nominalizing or participializing), *enṟu* and *enpatu* can embed sentences in their finite form, without change. This property enables them to embed sentences with nominal predicates as well as those with verbal predicates, something the others are incapable of :

2) *avaṉ* { *paṇakka:raṉ* / *varukiṟa:ṉ* } *enṟu conne:ṉ*

'I said that he is { a rich man / coming }'.

enṟu and *enpatu* are also able to embed questions, a property the others do not share :

3) *apara:tam eṅke:* { **kaṭṭa* / *kaṭṭa ve:ṇṭum enṟu* } *avar collavillai* 'he didn't say where to pay the fine'

(For the sake of simplicity, this paper will, as far as possible, avoid considering embedded questions.).

enṟu and *enpatu* are, morphologically, derivatives of the root *eṉ–*, which occurs as a full-fledged lexical verb, commonly translated as 'say' :

4) *varukiṟa:ḷ enṟa:ṉ* 'he said she was coming'.

But as markers of embedded sentences, and in certain other positions, *en̲-* derivatives seem to be substantively empty, to lack any lexical meaning. A distinction is, therefore, sometimes made between 'lexical' and transformationally introduced, or 'non-lexical', *en̲-* derivatives (see, for example, Annamalai : 1969).

Lexical and non-lexical *en̲-* share a certain basic meaning, however, and that is the ability to embed, i.e., to mark a different level or type of language within a sentence. Lexical *en̲-*, for instance, is the only full verb which needs no complementizer. In fact, it cannot occur with an overt complement marker :

5a) *na:ḷaikku vara* { **en̲ṟa:n̲* / *con̲na:n̲* } 'he said to come tomorrow'

b) *na:ḷaikku varukiṟa:ḷ en̲ṟu* { **en̲ṟa:n̲* / *con̲na:n̲* }
'he said she was coming tomorrow'.

Lexical *en̲-*, then, contains the complementizing function within itself. It might even be claimed that its lexical meaning is merely an extension of this function, since, as a lexical verb, *en̲-* requires a complement (or the pro-form *appaṭi* 'like that' standing for a complement) :

6) *en̲niṭam* { **en̲ṟa:n̲* / *con̲na:n̲* } 'he told me'.

It should be noted that this is exactly the inverse of the usual view, which regards complementizer *en̲-* as a specialised function of lexical *en̲-*.

Consider, also, some cases of non-lexical *en̲-*:

7) *tiṭi:r en̲ṟu viḻunta:n̲* 'suddenly, he fell'

8) *uṅkaḷukku en̲ṟu va:ṅkiṉe:n̲*
'I bought (it) specially for you'.

In sentence (7), *en̲ṟu* marks an onomatopoeic expression. Such expressions clearly differ from ordinary lexical items in the way that they express meaning; it could be claimed that they belong to a different sort of lexicon. *en̲ṟu* here, therefore, not only adverbializes the onomatopoeic term, it also marks it as belonging to a different type and level of language. The function of *en̲ṟu* in sentence (8) is similar. It was translated as 'specially', but a better translation would be to put the constituent it marks within quotes (*I bought it "for you"*), for *en̲ṟu* here serves to lift the constituent *uṅkaḷukku* 'for you' out of the context of the rest of the sentence and emphasize it, much as quotation marks do[4].

Similarly, the use of *en̲-* in naming should not be seen as yet another meaning or use for this verb, but rather as a natural and even primary function, given its basic nature as a language embedder:

9) *isma:yil en̲kiṟa en̲ tampi* .....
'my brother, who is called Ismail .....'

[4] In this connection K. Paramasivam has pointed out to me that the end of each verse in *a:ciriyappa:* is marked by *en̲a* or *en̲*, another case where *en̲-* seems to act like a punctuation mark, delimiting a piece of language.

A name marked by *en̲-* is taken on a different plane of meaning from one that is not so marked. It is seen in its role as a phonological label, not as a word with a referent.

Thus a common core of meaning can be seen in all uses of *en̲-* : It delimits a word or a phrase or a clause as a separate piece or level of language, distinct from the words, phrases, and clauses it occurs among. It is not surprising, therefore, that *en̲-* derivatives serve to mark complement constructions.

2. OBJECT COMPLEMENTS

2.1. *en̲ṟu* object-complements

en̲ṟu often marks apparent object-complements :

10a) *avaṉ conṉatu uṇmai en̲ṟu terintukoṇṭe:n̲*
'I realized that what he said was the truth'

b) *po:li:ca:r eṉṉai kaitu ceyyap po:kiṟa:rkaḷ en̲ṟu ra:ṇi eccaritta:ḷ* 'Rani warned that the police were going to arrest me'.

But not all *en̲ṟu* clauses can be constructed as complements :

11a) *bas varaṭṭum en̲ṟu ka:ttiruntа:n̲*
'he waited that the bus might come'

b) *vara ve:ṇṭum en̲ṟu irukkiṟe:n̲* 'I want to come' (lit : 'I am that I should come').

Many, in fact, seem to be causal adverbials of a sort :

12a) *paṇattai tiruṭiṉa:ṉ eṉṟu po:li:ca:r avaṉaik kaitu ceyta:rkaḷ* 'the police arrested him (on the basis) that he stole the money'

b) *ni:ṅkaḷ varukiṟi:rkaḷ eṉṟu ka:pi po:ṭṭe:ṉ* '(expecting) that you were coming, I put on the coffee'.

In a more literary or 'high' style of written Tamil *eṉṟu* is often replaced by *eṉa* in cases like these. This is true both for sentential embedding, like those illustrated above, and for non-sentential embeddings, like those shown in examples (7) and (8). Although it is formally an infinitive, *eṉa* never occurs as a lexical or a syntactic one. It may be regarded simply as a stylistic variation of *eṉṟu*. Morphologically, both words are verbal participles (*viṉaiyeccam*), the form, a verb takes when it occurs as the termination of a separate, non-finite clause. They are, thus, the simplest forms available to the root *eṉ-* to indicate an embedding. There is no reason to attribute any deep significance to the *viṉaiyeccam* endings *eṉ-* takes as an object-complementizer. *eṉ-* itself may be taken to be the deep complement marker. Although complements are defined as sentential subjects and objects — and are therefore not adverbs — the *eṉṟu* which marks non-complement clauses [see examples (11) and (12)] may be said to retain an adverbial function. The question of the deep relationship between complement and non-complement *eṉṟu* clauses is an intriguing one, and will be taken up later, in section 2.4.

ena / *enru* substitutability can be used to distinguish lexical from non-lexical *enru*. When *enru* is a true adverbial participle, roughly equivalent to *enru colli* 'saying that', *ena* substitution fails:

13) *uyirai viṭap po:kiṟe:n* { *enru colli* / *enru* / **ena* } *kiṇaṟṟil viḻunta:n* 'saying that he was going to give up life, he jumped up into the well'.

By this substitution test, therefore, it is possible to define a broad class of embedded sentences. Although this class seems to be heterogeneous, its members behave similarly in many respects.

The most conspicuous property shared by *enru* embeddings is that they are attributed to someone. That is clauses marked by *enru* are usually descriptions of what someone (generally the deep subject of the embedded clause) says, feels, or thinks. In the example (10a), for instance, the *enru* object-complement is a description of what the speaker (in his estimation) knows. In (10b) it describes what Rani said. In (11a) the *enru* clause describes the attitude of the person waiting; and in (11b) it can be said to be a description of the speaker's state of mind. And in (12a) it gives the reason the police had for making the arrest (though, in fact, they may be mistaken). Similarly, (12b) states that the reason for making coffee was not the event of someone's coming, but rather the speaker's notion that someone would. In a sense, these are all cases where

a 'piece of language' is attributed to a subject, either as a thought, a statement, or a description of a feeling or a state of mind.

'Attribution' may be too strong a word. Sentence (11a), for example, does not imply that the subject is really thinking, *bas varaṭṭum* 'let the bus come'. Rather, this sentence is used to describe how he is waiting, his unconcerned state of mind. The act of speaking or thinking this sentence would express a certain attitude, and it is this attitude that is being attributed to him. And in that sense, the clause itself can be said to be 'attributed' to him It is as if he was really saying *bas varaṭṭum*, or we are pretending that he was in order to make the description.

A number of other properties of *enṟu* clauses seem to stem from attribution. The use of a quotative referent system — i.e., referents of time and space or person which would be appropriate if the embedded clause appeared alone as a separate sentence, but which are not necessarily appropriate to the situation in which the full sentence appears — is one. Quotative referents are possible only in clauses marked by *en-*[5].

[5] What is of concern here is simply the possibility of using quotative referents, not the question of whether the speaker is, in fact, quoting. What is being called 'quotative referent system, (for lack of a better term) has nothing whatever to do with quoting This can be seen from the fact quotative referents are possible where there has been no speech act to quote, as in the complements of verbs of thinking and feeling.

10c) *na:ḷaikku vakuppu illai enṟu niṉaitta:ḷ* 'she thought that there would be no class the next day'

11c) *na:ḷaikku avaṉ vara ve:ṇṭum enṟu e:ṅkiṉa:ḷ* 'she longed that he would come the next day'

12c) *na:ḷaikku makaṉ ra:ṇuvattil ce:rap po:kiṟa:ṉ enṟu amma: aḻuta:ḷ* 'the mother cried that (because) the son was going to join the army the next day'.

Furthermore, the locational (time and space) quotative referent system seems to function independently of the pronominal quotative referent system. Consider, for example a case such as the following: A meets B's brother on the street. They stop and talk for a moment about B. Many days later A meets B and mentions what his brother said :

c) *na:ḷaikku ni:ṅkaḷ cennaikkup po:kiṟi:rkaḷ enṟu conna:ṉ* 'he said that you were going to Madras the next day.

Here *na:ḷaikku* 'tomorrow' can refer to a day in the past (the day after A met B's brother), that is, it can have a quotative referent. But the pronoun *ni:ṅkaḷ* 'you' refers only to B, not to A, and therefore does not have a quotative referent.

All this indicates that what is being lumped together under the title 'quotative referent system' here is not a single system, but a variety of different systems, with, no doubt, a variety of different explanations. The fact that is of interest here is that quotative referents, of whatever type, are possible only in embeddings marked by *en-*, and that, too, primarily in clauses marked by *enṟu*. Whereas *enpatu* is limited in the types of quotative referents it allows, *enṟu* allows quotative referents of whatever type.

As the translations show, *na:ḷaikku* 'tomorrow' can conceivably refer to a day in the past in each of the sentences above. Within the quotative referent system *na:ḷaikku* refers to the day after the event described by he embedding clause, i.e., the day after she thought that there would be no class, longed for him to come, or cried. As only the first of these verbs, *niṉai* 'think', is transitive, these examples show that, the ability to take quotative referents is shared by complement and non-complement *eṉṟu* clauses alike.

Given that attribution is a property of *eṉṟu* clauses in general, two facts about *eṉṟu* object complement follow naturally : First, *eṉṟu* object-complements occur exclusively with verbs of communicating, thinking, or feeling, i.e., with 'language' verbs. Second, the *eṉṟu* complement states the content of the communication, thought, or feeling that is attributed to the subject of the verb. Thus language verbs like *viḷakku* 'explain', *ti:rma:ṉi* 'decide', and *a:caippaṭu* 'desire' — in fact, most verbs which take object-complements — have complements marked by *eṉṟu*, but not verbs like *vai* 'cause', *a.rampi* 'begin', and *tavaṟu* 'fail to', all of which denote language-free acts. This second set of verbs may take object-complements marked by other complementizers (infinitive, verbal noun, etc.), but never by *eṉṟu*. Earlier it was suggested that *eṉṟu* (or *eṉ-*) might be a basic or unmarked complementizer in Tamil. But the fact that *eṉṟu* is semantically limited to certain types of complements is good evidence against this position.

As a complementizer, then, *eṉṟu* is a language embedder, which is exactly the description given above

to the fundamental 'meaning' of *en̲-*. Functionally, as well as morphologically, *en̲ṟu* seems to be no more than the simplest sentence embedding form of *en̲-*.

2.2. *en̲patu* object-complements

At first glance, it often seems that many verbs can take *en̲ṟu* and *en̲patu* complements equally:

14) *in̲ṟaikku vakuppu illai* { *en̲ṟu* / *en̲patait* } *terivitta:r*
'he informed (us) that there is no class today'.

But in certain contexts the differences between these two complement types become clear. Let us concentrate here on only one property of *en̲patu* which distinguishes it from *en̲ṟu*: An *en̲patu* complement has a status apart from the sentence it occurs in. It is not 'new'; rather it has some independent and prior 'existence' as a proposition. An author, for example, will not use *en̲patu* to mark what the characters in his story say, nor will it be used by the press in reporting interviews. In cases like these, where the embedded clause is assumed to be 'new language', only *en̲ṟu* is possible. If, for example, today someone says

15) 1967*ilum mujīpur rahima:n̲ ciṟaicca:laiyil iruntа:r* 'Mujibur Rahman was in prison in 1967 also'

he might feel that he is informing us (giving us information that is new to us). On the other hand, he might

simply be reminding us or pointing out a known fact in order to make a point in some other connection. In the former case we would choose to report (15) by using *enru*, and in the latter case using *enpatu* :

16a) 1967*ilum mujipur rahima:n ciraicca:laiyil irunta:r enru conna:n*

b) 1967*ilum mujipur rahima:n ciraicca:laiyil irunta:r enpataic conna:n.*

conna:n (from *collu* 'say') in (16a) could be translated as 'he said', but in (16b) it might be better translated as 'he mentioned'.

Certain verbs, like *nampu* 'believe' show this property of *enpatu* complements clearly :

17a) *kaṭaṉait tiruppik koṭuppa:y* { *enru* / **enpatai* } *nampukire:n* 'I believe that you will return the loan'

b) *kiristu mi:ṇṭum varuva:r* { *enru* / *enpatai* } *nampukire:n* 'I believe that Christ will come again'.

The situation described in (17a) is individual and original, and *enpatu* is, therefore, not possible. But the belief described in (17b) has a long history. It is not peculiar to this particular believer, and *enpatu*, therefore, is possible.

In this aspect of their behavior *enpatu* complements are paralleled by complement relative clauses like the following :

18a) *nalla ve:laiyil amara ve:ṇṭum enṟa eṇṇam.....*
'the thought of wanting to settle in a good job..... '

b) *mantiri taṟkolai ceytukoṇṭa:r enṟa vatanti.....*
'the rumour that the minister committed suicide .....'.

c) *cennaikkup po:ka ve:ṇṭum enṟa a:cai.....*
'the desire to go to Madras.....'

In constructions of this type, an *en-* complement is relativized to a head noun phrase which does not occupy any deep syntactic position within the complement clause. The head noun, in effect, labels the complement proposition. The embedded sentence is marked as being the particular sort of thing that is indicated by the head of the construction, e.g., a thought, rumour, or desire.

The deep structure of complement relative clauses like these must therefore contain an assertion that the relativized complement is what the head noun says it is. This is accomplished if structures like those illustrated in (18) are derived from sentences in which the complement is the subject and the head noun phrase is the predicate. (18b), for example, might come from :

19) *mantiri taṟkolai ceytukoṇṭa:r enpatu vatanti*
'that the minister committed suicide is a rumour'

When the predicate noun phrase is relativized, the complementizer *en̲-*, here realized as *en̲patu*, assumes the form of a relative participle[6]. (Since *en̲patu* subject-complements can be shown to be structurally quite different from *en̲patu* object-complements, the argument being developed here, which, in effect, derives the former from the latter, is not circular.)

Evidence for a derivation like this is provided by the fact that the set of nouns that can be predicates to *en̲patu* subject-complements and the set of nouns that can head *en̲-* complement relative clauses appear to be identical. The range of possible noun phrases includes the names of various kinds of communications, thoughts, and feelings, e.g., *uttaravu* 'order', *kavalai* 'worry', and *rakaciyam* 'secret'. But it excludes nouns which do not name kinds of language, e.g., *nikaḻcci* 'event', *viḷaivu* 'result', and *cantarppam* 'occasion'[7]. Predicates which are used to judge propositions, for example, *uṇmai* 'true' and *muṭṭa:ḷta̲nam* 'stupid', are also possible. From this list it appears that *en̲patu* in subject position embeds the same sort of complements as *en̲ru* elsewhere does. This

[6] This derivation means that a sentence need not be verb-final in order to be relativized. What is necessary is that a verb be in final position after the relativized noun phrase is moved out of the clause.

[7] There seem to be some exceptions to this, as in

d) *itar̲ku e:ta:vatu ceyya ve:ṇṭum en̲ṟa kaṭṭattil na:m irukkiṟo:m* 'we are at the stage where something must be done about this'

kaṭṭam 'stage' does not fit the definition of noun phrases which may occur with *en̲-*.

strengthens the hypothesis that there is a single *en-* complementizer in Tamil.

By assigning a label to a complement, the relative clause construction indicates that the complement proposition is not new, but that it is already established as the kind of language indicated by the head noun phrase. And by subordinating the complement to the label, it indicates that it is precisely that 'old' status of the complement which is entering into the predication. That this is a particular property of relativized complements can be seen in the examples below :

20a) *e:ta:vatu miñciyirunta:l ataik kuppaiyil po:ṭa ve:ṇṭum eṉṟu caṭṭam irukkiṟatu* 'there is a law that if anything is left over it has to be thrown out'

b) *e:ta:vatu miñciyirunta:l ataik kuppaiyil po:ṭa ve:ṇṭum eṉṟa caṭṭam irukkiṟatu* 'there is the law that if anything is left over it has to be thrown out'.

Although the embedded *en-* clause is in construction with the head noun (*caṭṭam* 'law') in both (20a) and (20b), these sentenses are quite different. Sentence (20a) may be used to inform, to give new information. But (20b) can only be used to remind, or to point out the existence of a known law in some other connection.[8]

[8] It is interesting to note that in English this difference is marked by the indefinite versus the definite determiner on the head of a complement relative clause.

The relative clause construction in (20b) behaves identically in this regard to *enpatu* object-complements.

This similarity between *en-* complement relative clauses and *enpatu* object-complements can be explained if we assume that they share a common underlying structure, i.e., that *enpatu* is a participial noun, composed of a relative participle and a pronominalized head noun phrase :

$$enpatu = enra + \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{pro.} \end{matrix} \right\}^{9}$$

Thus, the structure of *enpatu* is parallel to the structure of complement participial nouns that are based on full lexical verbs, as, for example, *ninaittatu* (from *ninai* 'think') and *connatu* (from *collu* 'say') in the sentences below :

21a) *ilaṅkaiyil puraṭci ne:rum enru ninaittatu palittatu* 'what I thought came true, that a revolution would take place in Ceylon'

22a) 8-45 *maṇikku varukire:n enru connataik ka:ppa:rravillai* 'he didn't honour (his word) that he would come at 8-45'.

These participial nouns can be derived from relative participles with related lexical head nouns, e.g., from *ninaitta karuttu* 'the thought (someone) thought' and

[9] Although only the past tense relative participle (*enra*) is shown, tense is semantically and grammatically irrelevant for non-lexical *en-*. A participle of the present (*enkira*) or future (*enum/ennum*) tense could equally well have been used. Past tense is, however, most common in written Tamil.

conna va:rttai 'the words (someone) said'. If these phrases replace the participial nouns in the examples above, equivalent sentences result :

21b) *ilaṅkaiyil puraṭci ne:rum enru ninaitta karuttu palittatu*

22b) 8–45 *maṉikku varukire:n enru conna va:rttaiyaik ka:ppa:rravillai.*

The range of meanings that can be pronominalized into a complement participial noun of this type would seem to be limited by the meaning of the relativized verb. Since *en-* is a general language embedder, it may pronominalize head noun phrases with a much larger range of meaning than either *collu* or *ninai* allow. The only requirement on *enpatu* would be that its pronominal head indicates a kind of language. Otherwise, its range of meaning would be limited only by context and the selectional restrictions imposed by the embedding verb.

The complement participial noun analysis will help in explaining a number of other aspects of the behaviour of *enru* and *enpatu* clauses. Consider, for example, the question of the distribution of these two complement types :

Certain verbs can take *enru* complements, but can never (or rarely) take *enpatu* complements. Many of these verbs, like *kurrañca:ṭṭu* 'accuse', *viti* 'make a rule', and *munmoḻi* 'move (a formal motion)', describe actions in which the actor uses language (the complement sentence) that is original, at least in the context of the

action or the discourse it appears in. One does not make old rules, for example, or move motions that have already been moved. Verbs like these would, therefore, not be expected to co-occur with the *enpatu* complementizer, and they don't :

23a) *piccaikka:rar maruva:lvu nitikku ru:. 500 koṭukka ve:ṇṭum* { *enru* / **enpatai* } *munmoḻiki-re:n* 'I move that we give Rs. 500 to the beggars rehabilitation fund'

b) *kuḻa:yil taṇṇi:r varavillai* { *enru* / **enpataip* } *puka:r paṇṇina:n* 'he complained that no water was coming in the tap.'

This analysis would also explain why some verbs cannot take *enru* complements, but are able to take *enpatu* complements, as for example :

24a) *tinacari ko:vilukkup po:kave:ṇṭum* { **enru* / *enpataik* } *kaikkoḻkira:n* 'he follows (the precept) that one should go to the temple daily'

b) *toḻila:ḷarkaḷukku va:rattil oru na:ḷ viṭumurai koṭukka ve:ṇṭum* { **enru* / *enpatai* } *mi:rina:n*

'he violated (the law) that one day leave in a week should be given to workers'.

Rules, beliefs, and laws are not asserted or used when they are being followed or broken; such actions depend

on their prior existence – a law cannot be broken until it is made. It is not surprising, therefore, that 'verbs of compliance' like these require complement propositions which have some independent status (as rules, precepts, maxims, etc.). Since *enpatu* includes the assertion of just such a prior status, it can mark this relationship between the verb and the complement. But *enru*, which marks new or asserted language, cannot.

There are many facts that this analysis does not seem to explain, but which might find partial explanations on the basis of the properties that are inherent in complement participial noun constructions. As an example of something that might fall into this category, consider the observation that verbs of 'asserting', like *collu* 'say', do not allow their *enpatu* complements to contain any misinformation, although their *enru* complements may. That is, for such verbs *enpatu* complements must be factive :

25) *pile:ṭṭo: vaṭa moḷiyile: eḷutiṉa:r* { *enru* / **enpataic* } *collikkoṭutta:r* 'he taught that Plato wrote in Sanskrit'

2.3. dual complementation

A particularly interesting class of verbs are those which designate verbal acts, that is, acts like 'suggesting',

'complaining', 'demanding', and 'accusing' which are carried out by means of saying something.[10] As expected, in Tamil such verbs take *enṟu* complements which state the verbal content of the particular act, i.e., the suggestion, complaint, promise, demand, or accusation which is attributed to the subject of the verb.

Certain of these verbs, however, take another sort of complement, one which describes the 'object' of the action itself. Thus, there is a distinction between the explanation and the explained, the objection and what is denied, etc. In certain cases, as with verbs like 'propose', 'believe', and 'plead', there may be no distinction between these two kinds of complements – what is proposed is the proposal. And in some cases, as with the verbs 'announce', 'report', and 'accuse', there is a distinction which, in practice, becomes confused and nearly impossible to detect, since what is said is a description of the object of the act, e.g., the report is a description of what is reported. For the present, let us concentrate on those verbal action verbs which demonstrate a clear distinction between complements of two sorts, one which describes the content of the act and the other which describes the object of the act itself. The first sort of

[10] These verbs must be distinguished from 'manner of saying' verbs, like *pulampu* 'wail' or *muṇaṅku* 'murmur'. Verbal action verbs name actions that are done verbally. Manner verbs of saying describe how something is said. In the former, the act of saying is in a kind of instrumental relation to the primary meaning of the verb; and in the latter, the act of saying itself is the primary meaning of the verb.

complement will usually be marked by *enru*, and the second will usually have another complementizer, very often *enpatu* :[11]

26a) *inta viṣayam puriyavillai enru viḷakkiṉa:n*
'he explained that he didn't understand this matter'

b) *inta viṣayam puriyavillai enpatai viḷakkiṉa:n*
'he explained (the fact) that he didn't understand this matter'

[11] Many verbs take a variety of complement types. For example, *niṉai* 'think' turns up with both *enru* and *enpatu* object-complements. But here the type of act described by *niṉai* varies with the complementizer. With *enru* complements *niṉai* equals 'have a thought' and with *enpatu* complements it equals 'consider' :

e) *tamiḻta:n pa:ṭa moḻiya:ka irukka ve:ṇṭum enru niṉaikkira:rkaḷ* 'they think that Tamil should be the language of instruction'

f) *tamiḻta:n pa:ṭa moḻiya:ka irukka ve:ṇṭum enpatai niṉaikkira:rkaḷ* 'they are considering (the idea) that Tamil should be the language of instruction'.

In this way, *enpatu* complements behave like other noun phrases :

g) *na:n antak karuttai niṉaitte:n* 'I considered that idea' Sentence (g) cannot refer to the act of having the thought mentioned in the object noun phrase, that is, it cannot mean *I thought (up) that idea* or *I thought that thought.*

It is clear, therefore, that sentences (e) and (f) cannot refer to the same act. Of concern here are verbs which take two sorts of complementizers and two sorts of complements in describing the same event, not those whose sence varies with the choice of complement marker.

(This is not to claim that there are two different lexical items, 'consider' *niṉai* and 'have a thought' *niṉai*. The difference lies in the complementizer, not in the verb.)

27a) *avaḷ aḻaka:ka irukkiṟa:ḷ eṉṟu mikaippaṭuttiṉa:ṉ* 'he exaggerated (in saying) that she is beautiful'

b) *avaḷ aḻaka:ka irukkiṟa:ḷ eṉpatai mikaippaṭuttiṉa:ṉ* 'he exaggerated (the fact) that she is beautiful'

28a) *aṉṟaikku u:ril illai eṉṟu maṟutta:ṉ* 'he denied (it, saying) that he wasn't in station that day'

b) *aṉṟaikku u:ril illai eṉpatai maṟutta:ṉ* 'he denied that he wasn't in station that day'.

Examples like these raise some difficult questions. Are *eṉṟu* clauses like those in the (a) sentences above really object-complements? The complements in the (b) sentences 'feel' more like true objects than those in the (a) sentences, and they are, in addition, marked on the surface by the accusative case (*-ai*). They are, moreover, paralleled in their behaviour by true object noun phrases:

27c) *avaḷuṭaiya aḻakai mikaippaṭuttiṉa:ṉ*
'he exaggerated her beauty'.

As it goes against the grain to suppose that a verb may have two sorts of object-complements in this way, we are led to doubt whether the *eṉṟu* clauses in the (a) sentences above should be analysed as complements at all. Still, the function of these *eṉṟu* clauses is identical to the function of the *eṉṟu* clauses which appear with other verbs of speaking, as, for instance, with *collu* 'say' (example 2) and *eccari* 'warn' (example 10b), and

which, up to now, we have assumed to be object-complements. In each of these cases, the *enṟu* clause states the content of what is said. Treating some of these clauses as object-complements and some as another type of structure would miss this important generalization.[12]

It is possible to complicate this situation further by citing examples of verbs like 'criticize', 'tease', and 'ridicule', which, in addition to complements of these two types, take concrete noun phrase objects as well. Unlike the object noun phrase illustrated in (27c), this noun phrase represents still another sort of 'object relation':

[12] It might be argued that the *enṟu* clause which appears in the (a) sentences of (26-28) is not really in construction with the verb of the main clause, but is rather the object-complement of a deleted verb of saying. This is tantamount to claiming that these verbal action verbs are not themselves verbs of saying. This position has a number of drawbacks. For example, certain verbal action verbs clearly do take *enṟu* complements which describe what is said. Consider *muṉmoḻi* 'move (a formal motion)' in example (23a). The *enṟu* clause in this sentence cannot be derived from any other verb of saying. If *enṟu* is replaced by *enṟu colli* 'saying that', sentence (23a) becomes ungrammatical in the meaning intended. This proposal, therefore, would have to have some basis for deciding which verbs are verbs of saying and which are not. In addition, it would have to explain where the verb of saying can be deleted and where it can't be, as, for example, in sentence (13). Furthermore, even if this proposal is extended to include the deletion of a verb of thinking as well, it could never explain the occurrence of *enṟu* clauses with psychological predicates (example 32) or with verbs like *iru* 'be' (example 11b). If the *enṟu* clauses occurring with 'dual complements', but as deep complements, these other cases of non-complement *enṟu* should be included in the attempt.

29a) *ni: eḻuntu ve:lai ceyyakku:ṭa:tu enṟu ḍa:kṭar kaṇṭitta:r* 'the doctor criticized (saying) that I shouldn't get up and work'

b) *na:ṉ eḻuntu ve:lai ceytatai ḍa:kṭar kaṇṭitta:r* 'the doctor criticized my getting up and working'

c) *ḍa:kṭar ennaik kaṇṭitta:r* 'the doctor criticized me'.

The *enṟu* clause in (29a) describes the substance of the criticism. The verbal noun complement in (29b) describes the act that is the 'object' of the criticism. And in (29c) the accusative noun phrase states who was criticized.[13]

To these three candidates for object position, it is possible to add a fourth :

29d) *na:ṉ eḻuntu ve:lai ceyte:ṉ enṟu ḍa:kṭar kaṇṭitta:r* 'the doctor criticized that I got up and worked.'

[13] The reason for calling the accusative noun phrase (*ennai* 'me') in (29c) an 'object' and not an 'indirect object' is that it is not simply the recipient of the action of the verb, as are the more familiar indirect objects that occur with verbs like *ka:ṭṭu* 'show' and *koṭu* 'give'. *kaṇṭi* 'criticize' can take an indirect object as well :

b) *appaṭi enniṭam kaṇṭitta:r*

'he criticized like that to me'

True indirect objects take dative or locative case, not the accusative. Apparent cases of accusative indirect objects, as, for example, in sentence (1a), can be shown, I believe, to be the result of Subject-Raising.

The *enru* clause here is less the substance of the criticism, as in (29a), than description of the criticized act, as in (29b). The difference between (29a) and (29d) is reflected in the choice of pronominal referents. In (a) the subject of the complement, *ni:* 'you' has a quotative, first person referent, i.e., the speaker. A non-quotative pronoun (*na:n* 'I') would be difficult or impossible to get here. In (d), however, the pronoun *na:n* 'I' does not have a quotative referent, as it refers to the speaker, not to the doctor. A quotative pronoun (*ni:* 'you') would be impossible in this clause.

This data raises the question of how to define the notion 'object relation', and how to determine what can be an 'object' of a verbal action verb. More specifically, it raises doubts about the status of *enru* clauses. It would be nice, under these circumstances, to have some way of testing our original assumption that some *enru* clauses, e.g., those illustrated in (10), are object-complements. The usual tests for object-complements, however, give ambiguous results when applied to *enru* clauses. None of them gives reliable evidence that any *enru* clause is an object-complement. Passive, for example, should be a strong test, despite its limited occurrence. But the fact that passive does work with some *enru* clauses (e.g, the *enru* complement of *pe:cu* 'speak') is not decisive since in Tamil the impersonal passive is possible even with adverbials if they indicate the content of the utterance :

30) *avanaip parri pe:cappaṭṭatu* *'about him was talked'

Similarly, the test which checks the ability of an *enṟu* clause to be pronominalized and relativized into a participial noun, as for example, *niṉaittatu* 'what (some one) thought' and *coṉṉatu* 'what (some one) said', rests on weak ground. First of all, this test ignores the difference between stating or referring to the content of a proposition, and referring to a proposition as a thing in itself. Typically, nominals and pronominals can be used only for the latter sort of reference. Consider, for example, the difference in English between *Who said that ?* and *Who said it?*, or a similar (but not identical) difference in Tamil :

31a) *appaṭic coṉṉa:ṉ* 'he said that'
b) *aṭaic coṉṉa:ṉ* 'he said it'.

Moreover, forms like these could be analysed as complement participial nouns (see section 2.2). Such an analysis make special sense for *niṉaittatu*. Although *niṉai* 'think' can take nouns which refer to what is thought at the head of a complement relative clause, it cannot take nominals with this sort of reference in object position (see note 11).

2.4. A Suggestion

In section (2.1), a question was raised concerning the structural relationship between object-complement and non-complement *enṟu* clauses. In the previous section the object-complement analysis of *enṟu* was itself called into question. It is tempting to let one of these questions answer the other and claim that there is no deep difference between what we have been calling 'complement'

and 'non-complement' *enṟu* clauses, that most *enṟu* 'object-complements' are not object-complements at all, but, like most non-complement *enṟu* clauses, they are a kind of descriptive adverbial. A plausible version of this view might run like this :

The *enṟu* clauses which occur with language verbs and describe the substance of the language used (i.e., the statement, desire, explanation, thought, etc.) are no different from the *enṟu* clauses that appear with other sorts of verbs. Consider, for example, the *enṟu* clauses which occur with psychological predicates :

32a) *atan poruḷ enna enṟu kuḻampiṉa:ḷ* 'she was confused (as to) what its meaning was'

b) *paiyan vaḻi teriya:mal tiṇṭa:ṭuva:n enṟu ca:nti payappaṭṭa:ḷ* 'Shanti was afraid that the boy would lose the way and be in distress'.

In these cases the *enṟu* clause describes the content of the psychological state that is related by the embedding verb. In (32a) it gives the scope of the subject's confusion, and in (32b) it describes Shanti's fear. These *enṟu* clauses, like *enṟu* clauses in general, are attributed to the subject of the main clause. They make their descriptions by specifying the language content of the event set forth in the main clause.

When the embedded verb is a 'non-language' verb, like those illustrated in (11a) and (11b), the *enṟu* clause is still a description of language which gives content to the embedded clause. And when the embedded verb is

a verb of saying or thinking, the *enṟu* clause still describes the language content of the event, in this case, what is said or thought, i.e., the language actually used. It is in this sense that these clauses can be said to be descriptive adverbials.[14]

Not all *enṟu* clauses fit this pattern, however. Some must be regarded as true object-complements. *ka:ṭṭu* 'show' and *niru:pi* 'prove' are examples of verbs having *enṟu* object-complements :

33a) *atu uṇmai enṟu ka:ṭṭiṉa:ṉ*
'he demonstrated that it is true'

b) *kolai naṭanta aṉṟaikku ta:ṉ vi:ṭṭil iruntа:r enṟu ko:rṭṭa:rukku niru:pitta:r* 'he proved to the court that he was in his house on the day the murder took place'.

The *enṟu* clause in (33b) describes the object of the act itself (what was proved), not the language used (the

[14] The complement clause which occurs with the verb 'say' has been compared to the object noun phrases which occur with other 'verbs of creating'. Under this view, the clause describing the content of what is said would be a 'result' object, on a par with the noun phrase objects of verbs lik 'build', 'sculpt', 'construct', and 'make'. That this is incorrect can be seen from the observation that it is impossible to divide what is said from the act of saying; there is no act of saying without something being said. Rather than being a result of the act, what is said is an integral part of it. On the other hand, the act of building something is quite distinct from the result of the act, from what is built. Reporting what someone builds is not a description of the act of building in the same sense as reporting what someone says is a description of the act of saying.

proof). The second sort of *enṟu* clause that occurs with *kaṇṭi* 'criticize', illustrated in (29d), might also be included here as a probable object-complement. It may be possible to show that the *enṟu* clauses occurring with many other verbs are true object-complements. But in the absence of any tests or a firm notion of what an object is, and relying only on semantic intuition, it is impossible to hypothesize about the less obvious cases.

There remains the question of the structural position of descriptive *enṟu* embeddings. It is clear from the close relationship they have with the embedding clause that they are not deeply embedded, not as deeply embedded, say, as are causative or purposive adverbials, which describe events separate from the one described in the main clause. Lindholm (1969) has revived the notion of verb phrase complementation (i e., an embedded sentence which is a constituent of the verb phrase, but which is not also labeled as a noun phrase) to account for descriptive adverbial clauses in which the verb assumes the form of an adverbial participle, e g., *kiḻintu* from *kiḻi* 'tear' and *o:ṭi* from *o:ṭu* 'run' :

34a) *ve:ṣṭi kiḻintu irukkiṟatu* 'the ve:shti (i. e. dress) is torn'

b) *ca:nti o:ṭi vanta:ḷ* 'Shanti came running'.

It may be that descriptive *enṟu* clauses share this structure and are also verb phrase complements.

Although this proposal threatens to overload the category 'verb phrase complement' and the notion 'descriptive adverbial', *enṟu* clauses and the descriptive

adverbials, Lindholm discussed are related in that *enṟu* also is, formally, an adverbial participle. Thus, there is some small bit of structural evidence for this proposal.

Noting this formal identity, an attempt might also be made to unite *enṟu* embeddings which are more causal than descriptive in nature (examples 12 and 35)

35) *veṭikkum enṟu veḷiye: o:ṭi vanta:n* '(thinking) that it will explode, he ran outside'

with the use of an adverbial participle to mark a causative relationship, e.g., *kaṭittu* from *kaṭi* 'bite' in

36) *pa:mpu kaṭittu paiyan cettuppo:na:n* 'the boy died (from) the snake's biting him'.

I have no evidence from the scenario presented above, except its plausibility and the fact that it makes some semantic sense.[15] It is presented more as a suggestion than a proposal. But even as a suggestion, there are some respects in which it is totally

[15] A small bit of supporting evidence for not treating *enṟu* clauses as nominals comes from the fact that it is possible to question the content of an *enṟu* clause, but not of an *enpatu* clause. If, for example, a student is not certain about what the announcement reported in (14) is, he may ask

i) *iṉṟaikku vakuppu illai enṟa: terivitta:r*

but not

j) *iṉṟaikku vakuppu illai enpataiya: terivitta:r*

The ungrammaticality of *enpatu*, in the meaning intended, could be easily explained under the complement participial noun analysis by the fact that the question morpheme (*-a:*) is attached, not to the complement it is trying to question, but to the pronominal head of a relative clause.

in adequate. The phenomenon of 'dual complementation' raises some important questions about linguistic categories like 'object' and 'complement' and 'descriptive adverbial'. Any proposed solution to the problems presented here must provide a functional and semantic basis for notions like these, or be judged inadequate.

3. SUBJECT-COMPLEMENTS

Except in a few cases, like (37) below,

37) *po:ṉatum avaṉ peyar karuṇa:niti* { *eṉṟu* / *eṉpatu* } *niṉaivukku vantatu* 'as soon as he left, I remembered that his name was Karunanidhi' (lit: 'it came to mind that ...')

The grammaticality of *eṉṟu*, however, is harder to explain, especially if the clause it marks is analysed as a nominal, since the content of nouns and noun phrases is usually not questionable. Nominal elements typically make reference to 'things' that lie outside the structure of the sentence. When nominals are questioned it is the validity of the reference being made that is in question, not the structure or content of the noun phrase itself. When someone asks *Is it a blue book that you've lost?*, for example, he is not asking whether he has got the phrase 'a blue book' right, but rather whether that phrase refers to the book that is lost. Similarly, sentence (j) could be used, say, when there have been two announcements and the speaker is asking, 'Is this the one which he announced?'. If *eṉṟu* clauses were nominals, a pre-condition for their being objects, it would be difficult to explain why they can be questioned in the way that they are.

enru cannot mark subject-complements:

38a) *tamiḻil katai eḻuta ve:ṇṭum* { **enru* / *enpatu* } *en a:cai* 'it is my desire to write a story in Tamil'

b) *aptul vanta:n* { **enru* / *enpatu* } *en tiṭṭattaip pa:tittatu* 'it affected my plans that Abdul came'.

In these sentences *enpatu* does not necessarily have the same implications that *enpatu* as a marker for object-complements has. In (37), for example, there is no necessary difference between marking the subject-complement with *enru* or *enpatu*. And in (38), *enpatu* need not imply that the complement proposition is labeled or that it is 'old' language. *enpatu* here seems to be empty, as empty as *enru* is elsewhere; it lacks the structure of either a verbal noun or a participial noun.

There is however, nothing to prevent *enpatu* in subject position from having the same sort of derivation as object-complement *enpatu*. Sentence (38a), for instance, might come from something like (39a):

39a) *tamiḻil katai eḻuta ve:ṇṭum enra a:cai en a:cai* 'the desire to write a story in Tamil is my desire'.

A sentence with this structure could only be used to predicate ownership to the specified desire, not to label it as one. But (38a) is not so restricted. It can be used in this way, but it also can be used to inform, to bring up

the writing of a story in Tamil as a new idea. It is probable, therefore, that in addition to (39a), (38a) can also be derived (at some level of abstraction) from a structure like (39b):

39b) *tamiḻil katai eḻuta ve:ṇṭum en- en a:cai*

en- here functions as it does elsewhere, that is, it makes the subject clause as a language embedding. Since subject-complement *enpatu* seems to do no more than this, no other structure need be hypothesized. But a surface structure rule would be needed to account for the fact than *en-* in subject position takes the superficial form of *enpatu*.

There is some evidence for this rule of Subject-Nominalization in the attitude of many Tamil instructors towards impersonal passives. Although passives like (40) are common,

40) *intiya:vil puraṭci ne:rum enru pe:cappaṭṭatu*
'it was said that a revolution would take place in India'

there are many who would 'correct' *enru* to *enpatu* in this context, invoking the principle that subjects in Tamil must be nominal. But the impersonal passive may occur with non-nominal subjects, as is shown by example (30) above and by the fact that infinitival and adverbial (*-a:ka*) complements can also be passivized. The change from *enru* to *enpatu* is possible only because they are equivalent forms, whereas there are no nominal equivalents for the infinitive or *-a:ka*.

Subject-Nominalization is not just limited to the root *en̲-*. Other verbs undergo this rule, although usually only after the complementizer *en̲-* is deleted. In the sentence below, for example, *a:ḷa:kiṟatu* (from *a:ḷa:ku* 'be a victim') is clearly neither a verbal noun ('the act or state of being victimized') nor a participial noun.

41a) *kaitikaḷ koṭumaikku a:ḷa:kiṟatu uṇmai* 'it is true that the prisoners are victims of cruelties'.

It would seem, therefore, to be a surface nominalization.

The reason for suggesting that a rule deleting complementizer *en̲-* has applied to this sentence is that subject-complement *en̲patu* can also appear :

41b) *kaitikaḷ koṭumaikku a:ḷa:kiṟa:rkaḷ en̲patu uṇmai* 'it is true that the prisoners are victims of cruelties'.

The meaning of (41a) would differ from (41b) only if *en̲patu* was read as a participial noun. Since it is assumed that sentences are embedded with some complementizer, and since *uṇmai* 'true' is predicated of propositions, it makes sense to assume that *en̲-* is the deep complementizer in both of these sentences.

The *en̲-* deletion rule works in other contexts also, as, for example, in the derivation of the object nominal in (42a) from the same structure that underlies (42b):

42a) *po:li:ca:r tolila:larkal me:l tatiyati natattinataik ke:lvippatte:n*

b) *po:li:ca:r tolila:larkal me:l tatiyati natattina:rkal enpataik ke:lvippatte:n*
'I heard that the police made a lathi charge against the workers'.

In at least one type of construction Subject-Nominalization applies to clauses that are not deeply marked by *en-*. Lindholm (1971) has proposed that the nominals which occur in cleft sentences, for example *patittatu* from *pati* 'study' in the example below,

43) *na:n mutanmutalil tamil patittatu cennaiyil*

'it was in Madras that I first studied Tamil'

are neither participial nor verbal nouns, but rather the result of some nominalization process dependent on cleft formation. But the rule which forms cleft sentences in Tamil appears to be a rule which moves a clause into superficial subject position, leaving behind one element as predicate. Once in subject position this clause, like other subject clauses, becomes liable to nominalization. It seems likely that the rule which Lindholm described and the rule of Subject-Nominalization proposed here are the same.

4. CONCLUSION

The discussion of *enru* and *enpatu* above has raised a number of questions. Perhaps the most interesting

of these are questions about linguistic categories, as, for example, the problem of specifying what a deep 'object relation' is. One such terminological question can be presented in conclusion :

It can be seen that the language embedding root, *en̲-*, behaves syntactically very much like other, full lexical verbs. Rules which apply to verbs generally apply to *en̲-* also. It is nominalized in subject position; it forms complement participial nouns; it can be relativized; it, possibly, forms descriptive adverbial participles; etc. If *en̲-* behaves just like other verbs, it should be treated as just another verb, and not as a special marker or 'complementizer'. But *en̲-* seems to be lexically empty, it does not form clauses of its own. Just how much theoretical sense can be made of the notion 'non-lexical predicate' ?

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THE OTHER SIDE OF COMPARATIVE DRAVIDIAN[1]

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1. THE RECONSTRUCTED FORM OF LANGUAGE IS A MYTH

When a group of languages exhibits correlations of form and meaning, the comparativists call them a 'family' of languages and then they try to find out the nature of the common ancestor for all of them. The latter process is called reconstruction and the result of the reconstruction, which is supposed to be the primitive form of all the members of the family, is called the 'proto-language'. The linguists who work on these lines, assume that the modern individual languages also, after a lapse of hundreds of years, may develop into

[1] I gratefully acknowledge the profitable discussions I had with my collegues in the department during the preparation of this paper. I must specially thank Mr. K.M. Prabhakara Variar who helped me in various ways in preparing and revising this paper. However, if any shortcoming is there it is entirely my responsibility.

many mutually unintelligible languages, thus, comprising in future, as many distinctive families of languages as there are distinctive individual languages now, provided no catastrophe happens to wipe off a society of speakers of these languages. In other words, every language of today is a potential proto-language of yonder future. This view of the present day linguist is projected backwards and he claims that what he calls now a proto-language, was once a real language. (Haas, 1969:31–2). That there should have been some kind of homogenous type of ancestral language for all the present day members of the family of languages, is not a matter of dispute. But, how can we know what the language is like? Comparative linguists attempt reconstruction to show us the nature of the proto-language. Yet, the result of the reconstruction is beyond proof. Often we see different results for the same problem, because of different methodology adopted and data processed. Just to cite an example from Dravidian : in the case of the reconstruction of the First Person Inclusive Pronoun, there is a controversy, as to whether the proto-form is *na:m* or *ña:m*; the latter one is the proto-form, according to Krishnamurti (1968:194). Among others, who take *na:m* as PDr. form, one scholar explains *ña:m* as due to substandard dialect and inverse spelling; and another says that the satisfactory explanation must be left for further work. (For details, see Shanmugam, 1971:183 f). Proceeding with one's present day experiences and exposures to wider world, whatever a comparativist tries to say worming backwards,

will ultimately lead us to little more than the non-definitive, conjectural and psuedo-scientific statements. The results of reconstruction suffer from the lack of proof and direct observation. While not denying that there should have been a parent language (that too being biased from the notion of what may happen in distant future to our present day languages), one must say that the notion that *the reconstructed form of an ancestor* for the present day members of a language family reflects the once real language, is nothing short of being a myth.

However, this myth has allured many linguists both in the western and eastern hemisphere of this globe. Questions raised as to the soundness of the reconstruction etc., were drowned by the overwhelming voices of the protoganists of the Comparative Linguistics (Haas, 1969:26 and Ellis, 1966:71-111). In the field of Dravidian also much work has been done to reconstruct the Proto-Dravidian (Krishnamurti, 1969 b).

2. DRAVIDIAN RECONSTRUCTION

The Dravidian family consists of about two dozen languages scattered all over the Indian subcontinent. Of these, only four are literary languages. Among them, literary history varies for each individual language. At the outset, thus, the state of affairs of the reconstruction of the Proto-Dravidian (PDr.) appears to be chaotic and any attempt to reconstruct a proto-form for Dravidian in the present condition must be a bold venture.

The scholars of Dravidian have given little attention to the fact that the languages they are concerned with have varied histories. The majority of the languages are only 'uncultivated' and they do not possess records of their older stages. Among the written languages, Tamil claims to have the starting point of its literary activity ranging from the 2nd Cent. BC to 2nd Cent. AD; Kannada, from the 5th Cent. AD; Telugu 8th Cent. AD; and Malayalam from 12th Cent. A.D. Each of these languages has come in contact with diffreent linguistic groups on spatio-temporal planes. Each of them has its cultural needs peculiar to it. A highly cultivated and refined society will naturally have a high degree of refined vocabulary and subtlity of meanings etc., whereas a society of hill-tribes will have a limited vocabulary of, perhaps, special nature.[2] Comparing a highly developed language with an 'underdeveloped' tribal language on equal footing, is like comparing an affluent American millionaire with an Australian aborigin and claiming something common between them. Not that the commonness is completely ruled out, but, it is not enough to have semblance merely on the superficial level. Still more deeper relationship, or, commonness should be found out to establish that both have or had a common ancestor. Under these circumstances, for

[2] Sometimes an uncultivated or less known language may have a stronger dosage of particular terms than a highly developed language, which may specialise in generic terms: e.g., Eskimo seems to have many words for different kinds of snow, whereas in English, there, is only one word for it, viz: '*snow*'.

the purpose of reconstruction of PDr. forms, just picking up some vocables from Tamil lexicon, which might have come in a special literary context hundreds of years ago and not in vogue now in spoken form, is necessarily an unscientific and misconstrued effort. Unfortunately, so far, it appears as though the scholars were in haste in attempting the reconstruction of the Proto-Dravidian.

One cannot question the scholars indulging in intellectual exercises – the reconstruction of proto-form of the family of the languages is one such exercise, which does not bear any relevance to the synchronic study of languages,[3] since it is the dead end of the study, once it is done. Yet, if it is done under certain relevant principles, it may be more convincing, as a fundamental science, though not as an applied one. To make the reconstruction of the Dravidian more convincing, the first thing the scholars could profitably do is :

1. To treat literary languages and non-literary languages separately.
2. To have specific diachronic studies of the literary languages.

[3] C. D. Buck, (1926: 100) observing about the practice in the notion of Indo-European Forms, says : 'The reconstruction of the parent speech *par se* is not our object. It is neither possible nor important. We have no ambition to speak it, nor shall we ever have opportunity to read it. The forms we reconstruct are at least *disiecta membra* probably somewhat disparate in regard to the precise period reflected, and even taken separately, of all degrees of approximation to fomulae in essence and object'.

3. To have complete descriptions of all the dialects of the individual languages, culminating in internal reconstruction
4. To reconstruct a proto-form for the literary languages.

The Dravidian reconstruction in another layer can also be done by taking the entire spoken languages into consideration, there also, the description of all the dialects of each of the languages and the internal reconstruction is a prerequisite.

3. RELIABILITY OF THE PRESENT DICTIONARIES

At present, though a few scholars themselves had gone to field work and collected data in recent years for some of the Dravidian languages, the Dravidian reconstruction is mainly done by gathering information from different dictionaries, most of which were compiled in a non-scientific manner by non-specialists in linguistics. There are a number of words entered in the dictionaries of individual languages, which are not native to the languages concerned. They have found their way into the dictionaries, because the compilers were foreigners and those who helped them as munshies, had no exact notion of the importance of the work (for instance : Kittel, 1893). There are also some bilingual areas, e. g. Tulu-Kannada; Kodagu-Kannada, where many words of either Tulu or Kodagu may pass on as Kannada or,

vice versa. Similar cases will be there for other languages also. Therefore, the revision of the available dictionaries also is a desidaratum[4]. Such dictionaries were the basis for the monumental Etymological Dictionary of Dravidian, compiled by Burrow and Emeneau (1961). These renowned compilers could very well have given the reconstructed forms item by item, but, knowing the limitations of the data presented therein, they refrained from doing so. Such a reconstruction, they say, 'could have been attained only by long and intensive study' (Ibid:XI). Also the authors point out that 'the object of the dictionary is to provide material for such studies, not to record results, which at the moment could be little more than superficial and non-definitive judgements' (Ibid:XI). They seem to be apologetic for having not attempted the reconstruction; yet, a table of phonemic correspondences for reconstructed PDr. phonemes is given by them. The object of the dictionary was to provide material for the attempts of reconstruction of the PDr., as already mentioned. From the work done after the publication of the *DED*, it may be noted that the aim of the *DED* is amply fulfilled. But, the case in point is this : that the *DED* has made use of the material from the published dictionaries, most of which badly need revision, for reasons already mentioned above. In other words, one cannot safely rely on the material supplied in *DED* alone for the purpose of reconstruction of PDr.

[4] It is a matter of gratification that the University of Madras undertook the task of revising the Tulu-English and Kannada-English Dictionaries and publishing them recently.

4. BIASED RECONSTRUCTION AND REFLEXES

There are quite a number of examples where the reconstructed form of PDr. may differ from what is found in Tamil. But, mostly, there is litte difference between the PDr. and Tamil reflex. In the absence of literary records in the other languages as ancient as that of Tamil, and in the situation where the majority of languages are merely the spoken ones, nobody would be able to say whether such reconstructed forms are really the PDr. ones, or, simply the ancient Tamil forms for which the PDr. forms will be entirely different. It is possible that the PDr. reconstructed forms could be entirely different from what is known now, had the other languages also possessed equally ancient records, or if the records of ancient Tamil have not been taken into account. The non-availability of certain items in some languages does not mean that those languages did not possess them at all. This, in truth, is only a conjecture, of what it could have been, but the reconstructed forms in such cases also are nothing short of a conjecture, since there is no authentic evidence for checking them. Let us take the example of the voiceless and voiced stops, for which contrast occurs in some of the Dravidian languages. More than anything else, in reconstructing only the voiceless stop phonemes for PDr., the non-existence of the contrast in written Tamil must have played a major role. We all know that the phoneme is an abstraction of phonetically realised sounds. Therefore one may argue that it does not matter what symbols are used for transcribing the reconstructed phonemes. But the phonetic

realisation of the phonemes of PDr. has been thought to be identical with that of Tamil, where the voiced stops are considered to occur in conditioned environments. We all know that allophonic distributions of phonemes differ from language to language, though identical symbols are used for representing the phonemes. For example /p/ of English has a different set of allophones, as compared to the /p/ in Tamil. /p/ of Tamil has a different set of allophones as compared to /p/ of Kannada. Thus, the phonemes reconstructed to the PDr. also may have different allophones; what their phonetic qualities are, we do not know. But, so far, the scholars seem to think that they are identical with that of Tamil. If they are identical with that of Tamil, then, the parent language need not be called PDr. and instead, Tamil would be more appropriate.

It has been said that 'a large percentage of words in Ka. and Te. beginning with *g, d,* etc., have nothing corresponding them in Tamil at all' (Burrow, 1968:2). These words are not loan words in Ka. and Te. and so, what would a reconstructionist do with them while reconstructing the PDr.? Therefore, it must be said in the least, that the reconstruction of PDr. stop phonemes is not free from the bias towards classical or, written Tamil, which happens to be the only language possesing very ancient records[5].

[5] S. V Shanmugam has drawn my attention to the fact that *g* has to be reconstructed to PDr. because *g–/v–* contrasts with *k–/k–* and *v–/v–*. *g–/–v–* cannot be reconstructed either as **k–* or **v–*. Further, he says, in his footnote (1971:110)

5 COLLECTION OF ADDITIONAL DATA

Total dependencey on the written texts, even in the literary languages sometimes may lead the reconstructionist into pit-falls. Hitherto the Kannada language was thought to be the one of the SDr. languages to retain the velar stops before front vowels, while Ta., Mal., and Te. have changed it to palatal affricates. When some sporadic forms were noticed to have changed to palatal in Kannada too, the scholars had to say that it was due to borrowing from the palatalizing languages, or due to some other reasons.[6] Because the collected information for Kannada was not adequate, and because the Standard form of Kannada or other better known dialects of Kannada failed to record the palatal

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that one has to reconstruct **g* and this (i.e. reconstructing the voiced stops) has not been done, since, confirmatory evidence is lacking. This (i.e. the lack of evidence) is due to the total dependancy on the written matter available in Tamil and reluctance of Dravidian scholars to free themselves from this bias.

[6] Burrow in his paper, Dravidian Studies III, mentions (1968:34n) thus: 'In the case *cikka* 'small', on the other hand, no trace of *k–* appears, so that *c–* here must be regarded as original and the word can have no connection with *ciṟu* < *kiṟu* 'small'. But, both *cikka–* and *kikka–* occur in North Kanera (K. I. 3(3)(4)) and Coondapur (Unpublished Inscriptions (51)) inscriptions (Kushalappa Gowda· 1972) in proper name, *cikkaıyi ta:yi*, *kikka:yi ta:yi* 'name of a queen' (lit: younger mother/queen). The occurrence of the form with *k–*, does not seem to be a scribal error and hence, it must be said that *c–* is the palatalized form of *k–* and the word *cikka*, / *kikka*, is ultimately connected with the word *kiṟu* 'small'.

forms in such intances, it was said that Kannada was an exception for this feature. But, it is reported (See Chidananda Murthy, 1967) that the palatalization of the velar stops before front vowels is a regular feature in a dialect of Kannada, spoken in Hasan, Arakalgud, Krishnarajanagar and Sakaleshpur of Mpsore State. This dialect is spoken by illiterates in villages and also there is no chance of that dialect being influenced by Tamil Malayalam or any other palatalizing languages. This feature resembles that of Telugu. Because even the retroflexes following the front vowels fail to inhibit the palatalization in this dialect, unlike Tamil and Malayalam, where the velar stops before front vowels are not palatalized when a refroflex consonant follows. Of course, it is easy to accommodate this in reconstruction of SDr., but it proves that even if one is determined to do the reconstruction, hasty conclusions, as that of the exceptionality of Kannada among the Tamil, Telugu, and Malayam group of languages on palatalization of velar stops should be avoided. In other words, a reliable description of all the Dravidian languages and the dialects is the primary need of the day and not the hasty reconstruction, as it is done at present.

6. NON-LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

The reconstructed language is just unreal and cannot be proved to be real one, as has been already mentioned. Ernst Pulgram (1961:18) suggests that 'all proto-languages be considered creations for the convenience of

linguistic investigation and for the purpose of delving into an otherwise inaccessible linguistic past, but that no claim should be made for their being viewed as real languages in any sense of the word, unless and until there accrues sufficient non-linguistic evidence for fixing them in time and place and for associating them with an anthropologically, archaeologically, or historically identifiable society. The process, that is, the creation of society to go with an unattested, reconstructed proto-language is altogether improper'. I suppose this is applicable in toto, to the field of Dravidian reconstruction also We have no access to any such non-linguistic evidence to show that under what conditions and at what period the Proto Dravidian split into North, Central and South Dravidian and even in these individual groups, there is no direct evidence to prove when and under what conditions, Kannada split from the rest of SDr., and when and under what condition the other languages branched out from the main stream from time to time. Tamil and Malayalam were said to have split during the middle ages, on the basis of some of the ancient texts available in early Malayalam. But, scholars have doubts regarding the nature of the language of these texts and they are not prepared to accept the language of these text as Malayalam as opposed to Tamil (See Prabhakara Variar, 1965). They will go to the extent of saying that the concerned language may also be called Tamil as well. Then, how are we to call that particular type of language as the Pre-Malayalam or something ? What is the exact difference between the Pre-Malayalam and the Tamil

language of that period ? This amounts to saying that a Pre-Malayalam as such, was non-existent and what was existing was just a Tamil dialect.

On the question of non-availability of pronominal endings in Malayalam, it is said that Malayalam diverged from early Middle Tamil stage (round about 10th Cent. AD.) and prior to that period it was only a dialect of Tamil. Probably Dravidian Linguists have accepted this theory of L.V. Ramaswami Iyer (See the summary given by Subrahmanyam 1971: §2.1 to 5). If that be the case, the modern scholars should be able to reconstruct a Proto-Malayalam (which is Early Middle Tamil) by taking Modern Malayalam and Modern Tamil data. To put it in mathematical equation, Modern Tamil plus Modern Malayalam should result in Early Middle Tamil, which is also the so called Proto-Malayalam. If this reconstructed Proto-Malayalam agrees with the Early Middle Tamil, for which written texts are available for comparison, then the reconstruction must be accepted to be correct. If so, one will be tempted then, to put all the geneological trees so neatly given by the reconstructionists into simple mathematical equations. However, it cannot be so straight forward as we want it to be, since there would be individual innovations that have taken place in each of the languages, which the comparativist will use as a lifebuoy for his reconstruction theory. Granting that the items which are not found to be common in all the languages are innovations, or, borrowed ones, the area of reconstruction, on the basis of common feature, or, shared items, is so small that we can hardly believe

it to be a language by itself. Can a society of the speakers of that reconstructed proto-language have only such a small number of features as to be enough for the social interaction of the speakers of that proto-language? Certainly there would have been more items than what we get now. That means, a good number of information are missing for us and what we now think to be an innovation, may be, by chance, an inherited item in that particular language. Because, even in the well known languages, one of the dialects may register an earlier trait, while the others including the standard or prestigious one may not. When the linguist proceeds only with the standard dialect or other well known dialects, his reaction towards the new information about feature found in the dialect which came to light only later, may be to consider such features as innovations in that dialect, while, it may be only a case of the retention of earlier traits.

Malayalam was once thought to be preserving the Proto-Dravidian feature of having no pronominal endings in finite verbs. Because of the pronominal endings occurring in almost all the Dravidian languages, it has been shown by the latest reconstructions, that there were pronominal terminations in Proto-Dravidian also. The loss of the gender distinction in verbs of Brahui is said to be due to the Iranian influence, but no such reason was put forward for the loss of pronominal endings in Malayalam, if at all it had them in its early stage. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer, vehemently argues that early Malayalam texts had finite verbs having

pronominal endings which were gradually lost. There is also a possibility that the finite verbs having pronominal endings may be the ones occurring in a Tamil dialect, overlapping with another, which may be called Malayalam. As the Tamil influence i.e., the influence of the speakers of the dialect having the pronominal endings receded, such borrowed types which disturbed the structure of Malayalam (or, the so-called dialect of Tamil, which inherited the earlier traits), were eschewed. The mere availability of certain forms (e.g. pronominal endings), in almost all the Dravidan languages cannot, or, need not be a reflex of the Proto-Dravidian, as has been held by scholars now.

There should also be proof that the features, which are now seen in all languages, are not the result of an innovation just occurring in one of the languages and then diffusing into others at a later period. Taking the example of the pronominal endings, won't it be natural to think that the specialisation feature starts later in the history of a language? The supplying of the endings in person, number and gender to the verb is a specialisation feature as in the case of the development of genders, where some languages do not distinguish Feminine Singular from Neuter Singular and some others developed them as distinct. It should also be noted that the information of number-gender-person in the finite verb is redundant, since the same is supplied by the respective subjects (overtly in pronouns) in sentences. There is evidence in the literary languages of Dravidian other than Malayalam

for this state of affairs. Because the personless, genderless and numberless finite verbs were in use and later on they became less frequent in the course of the history of the languages. In the modern period, such verbs are extinct, except a few ramnants which have come to be known as defective verbs[7].

Returning to Malayalam verbs, one must have information where and when exactly the verbs with pronominal endings were in use, what type of people used such forms and so on. In the absence of such information, arguments put forward regarding these phenomena (i.e, the presence or absence of the pronominal endings in finite verbs), are unacceptable. It could also be possible that the finite verbs without the pronominal endings, are direct descendants from the early parent language itself.

7. METHODOLOGY

Harold Schiffman (1969) suggests a new way of comparing languages and it seems to be a workable methodology, though, so far, it has not been taken up

[7] In Old Kannada, *barkuṃ* 'come', *ke:ḷguṃ* 'hear, ask' etc. occur as aorist verbs, i.e. tenseless, genderless, numberless and personless verbs. Their frequency diminishes gradually and now only a few forms like *beɪku* 'wanted', *sa:ku* 'enough' etc., occur as defective verbs. Similar instances are found in Tamil and Telugu also, where the aorist verbs are common to all genders, numbers and persons. However, the tense is always future, unlike Kannada in which they are tenseless verbs.

seriously. The difference between the languages must be measured in terms of 'rule change', by ordered rules and he demonstrated that those languages differing in late rules are closer to each other than the ones which differ in early rules. If any one tries to adopt this method, it may, however, become necessary to re-classify many of the set classes of the Dravidian languages. For attempting this the prerequisite, according to Schiffman is, that there should be generative grammars to the various languages. I would like to quote the strong warning he has given to Comparative Dravidianists. He says: (Ibid : 137) "The task facing Comparative Dravidianists now is to write generative grammars of the various lauguages, and then compare them according to the above mentioned criteria. All other methods of comparison are doomed to failure".

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper : N. Kumaraswami Raja, K. Balasubramanian, S. V. Shanmugam, M. A. French, V. R. Prabodhachandran and S. Bhattacharya.

THE PARTICIPIAL NOUN IN TAMIL – SOME PROBLEMS

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THE PROBLEM OF NAME

The Participial Noun (hereafter PN) has been recognized as a grammatical category in Tamil and its surface characteristics noted and described ever since Tolka:ppiyam (circa 200 B.C.), although it has been called by different names and the members of this category have differed. Tolka:ppiyar (Col. S. 141) calls it *tolir peyar* 'noun (or name) derived from action' and his commentators follow him. It must be noted that he (Col. S. 142) does not include nouns like *iḷaiyavar* 'the young one' derived from adjectives and calls them by a different name: *paṉpukoḷ peyar* 'noun describing quality'. He (Col. S. 167, 170) also uses the term *viṉaippeyar* 'noun derived from verb' but its difference from the former is not clear from the sutra. Naccina:rkkiniyar (Col. S. 167, 170) circa 1300 A.D.), one of his commentators, defines it as 'the name one gets from the action (or work) one does' and gives examples like

varuva:r 'one who comes', *varuvatu* 'one which comes' etc. as well as *taccar* 'carpenter' etc Though Tolka:ppiyar does not provide us with any name or definition of the noun derived from the verb by adding the suffix *-al* or *-tal* to refer to action, Naccina:rkkiniyar (Col. S. 200) calls them also *vinaippeyar* 'noun derived from verb'. Pavananti ((S.286) circa 1300 A.D.) also uses this term to refer to this category and gives a new name *vinaiya:lanaiyum peyar* 'noun modified by verb for the PN. In latter works the name *tolirpeyar* is used for the former category. These grammarians have not mentioned the noun derived from verb that has tense and ends with neuter singular suffix *-atu* and which is only formally different from the one that ends with *-(t)al*. However, Caldwell (1913:540; the first edition was published in 1856) distinguishes on the basis of the presence of tense between these two forms referring to action and calls the one that ends with *-(t)al* the Verbal Noun Proper and the one that the ends with *-atu* the Verbal Participial Noun. Lazarus (1878:145) calls the latter simply Participial Noun. Modern linguists call both Verbal Noun (hereafter VN). The PN was called Relative Participial Noun by Caldwell and Conjugated Noun by Lazarus (1878:146). Modern linguists use the name Participial Noun following Pope (1885).

THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFICATION

The neuter singular PN and the tense specified VN (ending with *-atu)* are identical in the surface. Linguists have trouble delineating the two and they do not always

agree on the classification. For example, the final verb form of a subject sentence like *vara:tatu* in *avaṉ aṅke: vara:tatu nallatu* 'it is good that he did not come there' is considered a VN by Arden (1942:228) and Agesthialingom (1967:137) and a PN by Andronov (1959). The final verb form of a subject sentence whose predicate is a noun like *vantatu* in *ne:ṟṟu iṅke: vantatu ya:r?* 'who is the one who came here yesterday? is considered a PN by Arden (1942:219) and a VN by Zvelebil (1957). The final verb form having a modal meaning in a sentence parallelling a modal sentence like *uṭka·ruvatu* in *na:ṉ eṅke: uṭka:ruvatu?* 'where can I sit? is considered a VN by Zvelebil (1957a) and a PN by Andronov (1959). Different criteria have been suggested by various linguists but none of them is adequate. Naccina:rkkiniyar (Col. 230) says that the VN (he cites those ending with *-(t)al*) has purposive meaning and no dative meaning when the case sign *-ku* is added but the PN does not have the former meaning and has only the latter meaning. But this distinction does not help us in any way to identify a VN or a PN in a sentence in contexts there is no dative case sign and furthermore, even when there is a dative case sign the tense specified VN could be ambiguous. Pavaṇanti (S. 286) says that the VN is always a noun of third person but the PN may be of any person. This distinction does not help us much since the crux of the problem is in distinguishing between time specified VN and the PN of third person neuter singular and moreover some PN's like *vantatu* in *avaṉ vantatu* 'the fact that he came' are always in third person. The fact that

the VN is not pluralised (Caldwell 1856:541) cannot be solely used to identify it since the PN's like the one just mentioned are not pluralised either. The distinction that the VN denotes action and the PN the actor (Caldwell 1856:542; Arden 1942:216,219) is inadequate because the semantic relationship in the PN between the pronominal ending and the verb to which it is attached is not only agentive but is of many other cases; the pronominal ending may not have any semantic relationship with the verb to which it is attached but may have semantic relationship with the verb in the embedded sentence from which it originates; the pronominal ending may not denote an animate object at all; and some VN's do not seem to refer to any action.

Let me propose a deep level syntactic criterion to distinguish between the PN and the VN. This criterion is derived from the fact that the larger constructions containing these two nouns behave differently with respect to a transformational rule.

The noun phrase preceding the PN in a sentence is not relativised (exx. 1, 2) like the noun phrase preceding the finite verb (3).

1a) *teruvil oru peṉṉukku muttam koṭuttavaṉaip po:li:ska:rar piṭittukkoṇṭu po:ṉa:r* 'the police man took along the one who gave a kiss to a girl in the street'.

b) **teruvil muttam koṭuttavaṉaip po:li:ska:rar piṭittukkoṇṭu po:ṉa peṉ* *'the girl who the police man took along the one who gave a kiss to in the street'.

2a) *teruvil oru peṇ kaṇṭeṭuttataip po:liska:rar paṟittukkoṇṭa:r* 'the policeman snatched away the thing which a girl found on the street'.

b) **teruvil kaṇṭeṭuttataip po:li:ska:rar paṟittukknṇṭa peṇ* *the girl whom the policeman snatched away the thing which found on the street'.

3a) *maṇi kuma:r teruvil oru peṇṇukku muttam koṭutta:n̲ en̲ṟu con̲na:n̲* 'Mani said that Kumar gave a kiss to a girl in the street'.

b) *maṇi kuma:r teruvil muttam koṭutta:n̲ en̲ṟu con̲na peṇ* 'the girl who Mani said Kumar gave a kiss to in the street'.

If we assume (it will be proved in the last section) that the PN and the elements preceding it make a Complex NP, i.e. a noun phrase that dominates a noun phrase modified by a sentence, the ungrammaticality of (1b) and (2b) can be explained by Ross 'Complex NP Constraint' (Ross' 1967:127), which prescribes that "No element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation", after modifying it for Tamil that the head noun need not be lexical. The Complex NP Constraint holds good for (4) also, where the neuter singular noun *koṭuttatu* is a problematic case.

4a) *maṇi kuma:r teruvil oru peṇṇukku muttam koṭuttataic con̲na:n̲* 'Mani told the fact that Kumar gave a kiss to a girl in the street'

b) **maṇi koma:r teruvil muttam koṭuttataic conna peṇ* '*the girl who Mani told the fact that Kumar gave a kiss to in the street'.

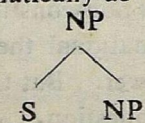
Not all cases of the noun phrase preceding the tense specified noun like the one in the above sentence obey the Complex NP constraint. Take for example (5), which is semantically different from (4) in that in the latter the speaker presupposes the preposition of the complement sentence to be true (cf. Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970). This allows relativisation.

5a) *maṇi kuma:r teruvil oru peṇṇukku muttam koṭuttata:kac conna:n* 'Mani said that Kumar gave a kiss to a girl in the street'

b) *maṇi kuma:r teruvil muttam koṭuttata:kac conna peṇ* 'the girl whom Mani said Kumar gave a kiss in the street.'

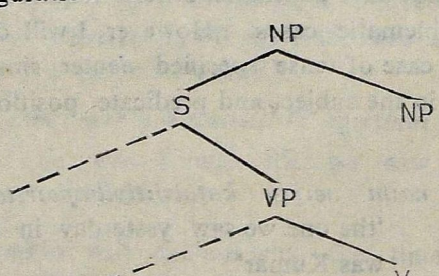
This difference in their syntactic behaviour between (1), (2) and (4) on one hand and (5) on the other may be taken to differentiate between the PN and the VN. That is, the tense specified final noun is a PN when the sentence preceding it obeys the Complex NP Constraint and is a VN when it does not. Thus *koṭuttatu* is a PN in (4) and a VN in (5). It must be pointed out that VN is not used here in the traditional sense of action nominal but in a much broader sense of any nominalised verb. This includes action nominal as well as others.

The PN sentence, being a complex NP, will be represented diagrammatically as



and the VN sentence as

The final verb in the latter will be nominalised since the S is dominated by NP and this nominalised verb will be called VN. The combination of the pronominal head with the final verb of the preceding S will be called PN. This raises a theoretical question. The PN is intutively felt as a word by the Tamil speakers and has been recognized as a word and as a grammatical category by linguists. Phonetically it behaves like a word not having any pause between the pronominal head and the verb. But syntactically it is not a constituent[1] and has his configuration :



[1] It may be a constituent when the pronominal head is derived from the subject of a simple modifying sentence which has only subject and predicate. But this is just a special case.

The question is whether a word and a surface grammatical category can be a non-constituent. The assumption so far in the transformational theory of grammar would call for a negative answer. But this fact seems to call that assumption into question.

Our syntactic criterion, however, is not sufficient in many cases of the tense specified noun like those in the subject sentences of a nominal sentence, in the sentences preceding the purposive and causal suffixes, in the sentences preceding the post positions etc., because in those cases the blocking of relativisation may be due to some other reasons also. So we must find some more criteria to distinguish between the PN and the VN. However, it is clear that, though our syntactic condition to identify a PN is not a sufficient one, it is a necessary one.

I do not have additional criteria required to decide on all problematic cases. However, I will discuss one particular case of tense specified neuter singular noun occurring in the subject and predicate positions in some detail.

6a) *na:m ne:r̲ru kaṭaivi:tiyil pa:rttatu kuma:r*
'the one we saw yesterday in the bazaar was Kumar'

b) *na:m ne:r̲ru kaṭa:vi:tiyil pa:rttatu ivaruṭaiya mu:tta maka̲n* 'the one we saw yesterday in the bazaar was his eldest son'

c) *na:m ne:r̲r̲u kaṭaivi:tiyil pa:rttatu amerikka:vil paṭittavan̲* 'the one we saw yesterday in the bazaar is the one who studied in America.

7a) *kuma:rta:n̲ na:m ne:r̲r̲u kaṭaivi:tiyil pa:rttatu* 'Kumar is the one we saw in the bazaar yesterday'

b) *ivaruṭaiya mu:tta makan̲ta:n̲ na:m ne:r̲r̲u kaṭaivi:tiyil pa:rttatu* 'his eldest son is the one we saw in the bazaar yesterday'

c) *amerikka:vil paṭittavan̲ta:n̲ na:m ne:r̲r̲u kaṭaivi:tiyil pa:rttatu* 'the one who studied in America is the one we saw in the bazaar yesterday'.

These sentences have parallel sentences with the human PN in the place of the neuter singular noun.

Three possible analysis of these sentences come to mind. (1) They are verbal sentences derived from the cleft sentence by chopping off the final case sign. For example (6a) is derived from (8).

8) *na:m ne:r̲r̲u kaṭaivi:tiyil pa:rttatu kuma:rai* 'it was Kumar that we saw yesterday in the bazaar'.

This derivation will explain why the time specified noun in (6), (7) and (8) is never pluralised.

(2) They are simple sentences whose predicates are VN (Zvelebil 1957a, b). From Zvelebil's analysis

of a similar sentence we could project that he would analyse (6a) as having this string Subject - Adverb Location - Predicate Object. This analysis is similar to the first one except in lacking a derivation.

(3) They are nominal sentences whose predicates are noun phrases and whose subjects are nouns preceded by the adjectival clause (i.e. a Complex NP). I will argue below for the third analysis[2].

A noun is reflexivised in Tamil if the antecedent commands (cf. Langacker 1969) it (Annamalai 1971). A noun in the cleft sentence may be reflexivised by an identical noun elsewhere in the sentence. This is because the cleft sentence is derived from a verbal sentence where the antecedent noun commands the pronominalised noun. But a noun in the main sentence cannot be reflexivised by an identical noun in the complex NP since the latter does not command the former. The ungrammaticality of (10a) would be automatically explained if *kuma:r kalya:ṇam paṇṇikkoṇṭatu* in it is a complex NP like the similar one in (10b).

[2] When the subject, which does not have case sign or the non-specific object, which does not the accusative case sign on, is clefted the question of deleting the case sign does not arise. These cleft sentences are identical with the nominal sentences whose objects are PN sentences. Since Zvelebil's limited data have only such examples it is not clear whether he is dealing with the former or the latter type of sentence. If he is dealing with the former type the question of deletion does not arise for him. But if he enlarges his data he will have to face this question.

9) *kuma:r kalya:ṇam paṇṇikkoṇṭatu taṉ ma:ma: makaḷai* 'it was his cross-cousin that Kumar married'

10a) **kuma:r kalya:ṇam* { *paṇṇikkoṇṭatu* / *paṇṇikkoṇṭavaḷ* } *taṉ*

b) *

ma:ma: makaḷ *'the one Kumar married is a cross-cousin of himself.'

This shows (10a) cannot be derived from (9). But it does not conclusively prove that it must have the representation similar to that of (10b). The following fact does that.

The last noun phrase of the cleft sentence can be in associative case as (11) shows. But the associative case sign cannot be deleted as shown by (12a). There is no non-ad hoc way of explaining the ungrammaticality of (12a) if it is derived from (11). But its ungrammaticality will be the automatic consequence of the restriction on relative clause formation (Annamalai 1969: 140), which does not allow the associative noun to be relativised, if the subject of (12a) is treated as a noun preceded by an adjectival clause (i.e. a Complex NP). If it is a Complex NP, its final element will be a PN.

11) *kuma:r ciṉima:vukkup po:ṉatu uma:vo:ṭu*
'it was with Uma that Kumar went to the movie'

12a) **kuma:r ciṉima:vukkup* { *po:ṉatu* / *po:ṉavaḷ* } *uma:*

b)

'the one Kumar went to the movie with is Uma'.

These arguments can be used against Zvelebil's analysis. The rejection of transformation in his theory makes the fact that a noun phrase always follows the predicate VN in sentences like (6) unaccountable in his analysis. Moreover, in his analysis the fact that the final noun phrase in sentences like (6) never has a case sign on remains unexplained. But if we know that the subject Complex NP may have a nominal predicate these two facts will automatically follow from our analysis[3]. The only argument Zvelebil gives against the PN analysis is that there is no gender-number agreement between the subject and the tense specified noun (Zvelebil 1957a: 655) for example, between *na:m* 'we' and *pa:rttavaṉ* 'see-past-he' in (6a). I think he has in mind the agreement between the subject and the PN which is the predicate in a nominal sentence[4]. The object in (6a), however, is not a nominal sentence but is a Complex NP and

[3] His examples (1957b) from Naṟṟiṇai (72:4) having clear VN ending with *-(t)al* will not be a counter-example to our analysis since it may be derived by clefting the caseless *ya:vatu* 'what'.

niṉakku ya:ṉ maṟaittal ya:vatu ? 'what can I hide from you?'.

This line has another interpretation also: Why should I hide from you?

[4] Since even a casual observer of the modern written and spoken Tamil will find PN's occurring predicates of nominal sentences it is hard to understand Zvelebil's conclusion (1957a:657) that the use of participial noun as predicate has been fully dropped in contemporary common speech'. If he means verbal predicate. the PNs never were predicates of verbal sentences, as he himself shows in another context in the same paper (1957a:655).

the pronominal ending of the PN there is not the suffix of agreement but is a noun identical to the relativised noun. So, we will not and cannot have agreement between the head noun and the subject of the sentence that modifies it in a Complex NP.

Our analysis asserts that the genderless human NP (i.e. the PN with neuter singular ending referring to human) and the PN ending with human suffix have near identical semantic representation. But they are not mutually interchangeable. The former has certain restrictions on its place of occurrence. The following sentences, which would be grammatical with human PN in the place of neuter PN, are ungrammatical.[5]

13a) **na:m ne:r̲r̲u kaṭaivi:tiyil pa:rttatu amerikka:vil paṭittatu* 'the one we saw yesterday in the bazaar is the one who studied in America'

b) **na:m ne:r̲r̲u kaṭaivi:tiyil pa:rttatu amerikka:vil paṭikkiṟa:n̲* 'the one we saw yesterday in the bazaar is studying in America'

c) **na:m ne:r̲r̲u kaṭaivi:tiyil pa:rttatai e̲nakku rompa na:ḷa:kat teriyum* 'I know for a long time the one we saw yesterday in the bazaar.'

[5] (13a) and (c) would be grammatical if the *-tu* of the PN there is the human gender suffix netural honorific status used commonly when referring to women. But we are not talking about this ending here.

(13a) shows that the genderless human PN does not occur both as the subject and the predicate of a nominal sentence and (13b) and (c) show that it does not occur in any position when the predicate is a verb. If we had accepted the Cleft Sentence Analysis, the ungrammaticality of (13) would have automatically followed from it. Since in the Cleft Sentence only the finite verb is nominalised a neuter singular noun could not be at the end also; since the verb in the Cleft Sentence would be nominalised and it would not have any case on, the neuter singular noun could not occur in any position when the predicate is a verb. But if the semantic representation of the genderless human PN is near-identical to that of the gender specified human PN as we have asserted, then the ungrammaticality of (13) (especially (a) and (c) since (b) can be blocked by the Agreement rule) must be explained in some other way. This seems to be the only possible alternative becauses (14), which is identical to (6) but ungrammatical, cannot be explained by the Cleft Sentence Analysis.

14) **naːm neːr̲r̲u kaṭaiviːtiyil paːrttatu rompa* { *keṭṭikkaːraṉ* / *nallavaṉ* / *paṭittavaṉ* }

'The one we saw yesterday in the bazaar is a very { smart / good / well educated } man'.

Note here that in (6a) and (7a) the speaker identifies a person who is member of a set, say a family of four sons,

by the exclusive fact that he studied in America. He does not describe a particular person with the comment that he studies in America. (6a) and (7a) would be ungrammatical like (13) in this descriptive sense. This fact and the fact that the genderless human PN occurs only in nominal sentences seem to be closely related. But I am not able at present to find out that relationship.

THE PROBLEM OF DERIVATION

Both syntactic and semantic relations between the PN and the adjectival participle have long been noted by linguists. Since many of them had discovered only subject relation and a very few subject and object relations between the adjectival participle and its lexical head noun, they found only these relationships with the adjectival participle and the pronominal head of the PN. Naccina:rkkiniyar (Col. 71) seems to be talking about the various case relationships between the adjectival participle and the pronominal head of the PN when he gives the following beautiful example for the object relation and says that you may find other case relations also.

15) *ya:n connavan unpatu na:li*

'What the one I mentioned eats is *na:li* (of rice)'. Only Agesthialingom (1967:152–3) specifically states that "various (case) relationships that exist between the relative participle and nouns are found in the participial nouns too" and gives examples for subject, object,

spatial, temporal and possessive (*iṭam*) locative One can easily add to this list examples illustrating dative, ablative and genitive relationships.

16a) *na:n muttam koṭuttavaḷ periya aḻaki*
'the one I gave a kiss to is a great beauty'

b) *na:n po:ṉatu siva:ji naṭitta paṭam* 'the one I went to is the movie in which Sivaji acted'

c) *na:n to:l urittatu va:ḻaippaḻam* 'the thing whose skin I peeled off is a banana'.

Not only that the case relationships that exist between the adjectival participle and its head noun exist between the adjectival participle and the pronominal head of the PN but also the case relationship that does not exist between the former does not exist between the latter. The associative noun phrase is not relativised (Annamalai 1969: 140) and so the associative case relationship does not exist between the adjectival clause and its head noun. Nor does it exist in the PN.

17a) **kuma:r ciṉima:vukkup po:ṉa peṇ uma:* 'the girl Kumar went to the movie with is Uma'

b) **kuma:r ciṉima:vukkup po:ṉavaḷ uma:* 'the one Kumar went to the movie with is Uma'.

Each and every constraint, like the Co-ordinate structures Constraint, Command Constraint, Modal Constraint (Annamalai 1969 : 235, 190, 134) that applies to the formation of adjectival clause applies to the formation of

PN also. There are two kinds of adjectival clauses, case and complement depending on its relation with the head noun. When the head noun does not have any case relationship with the adjectival clause as in (18a), the latter is a complement to the former. This complement relation is found between the adjectival clause and the pronominal head of the PN also as in (18b).

18a) *kuma:r teruvil oru peṇṇukku muttam koṭutta ceyti ve:kama:kap paravirṟu* 'the news of Kumar having given a kiss to a girl spread fast'

b) *kuma:r teruvil oru peṇṇukku muttam koṭuttatu ella:rukkum teriyum* 'everybody knows it that Kumar gave a kiss to a girl in the street.'

The absolute similarity described above between the adjectival clause with its head noun and the PN sentence clearly shows that the latter is also a complex NP like the former. Now the fact that the PN behaves both like a verb having tense, taking verbal participle, having its own subject and case nouns and like a noun taking case signs noted by every linguist from Tolka:ppiyar and his commentators (Col. S. 71, 432) naturally follows from this. And the otherwise inexplicable fact that the case of the case relationship that exists between the pronominal head and the adjectival participle of the PN is never found in the adjectival clause modifying the head is a natural consequence of this.

There are two ways to account for the similarity. The Complex NP with pronoun as its head may be derived through pronominalisation from the one with a lexical noun as its head. Or the former may have a semantic representation identical to the latter except for the lexical items and derived directly from it. Agesthialingom (1967: 151-2) takes up the first alternative. According to him (19) may be derived from any one of the sentences in (20) by pronominalising the head noun.

19) *kuma:r nan̲ra:ka ve:lai ceypavar*
'Kumar is one who does his work well'

20a) *kuma:r nan̲ra:ka ve:lai ceyyum* { *ḍa:kṭar* / *kalekṭar* / *va:ttiya:r* } etc.
b)
c)

'Kumar is a { doctor / collector / teacher } who does his work well'.

This is unacceptable under the current transformational theory, which assumes that transformations do not change meaning (Katz and Postal 1964:46), because (19) is not infinitely ambiguous. It can be easily seen that the pronominal head in (19) does not have any such lexical meaning. For example (21) does not mean "my teacher is a better teacher than your teacher".

21) *eṅkaḷ va:ttiya:r uṅkaḷ va:ttiya:rai viṭa nallavar*
'my teacher is a better man than your teacher'.

Moreover, we must have an antecedent for the head noun in (20) to be pronominalised since only the recoverable deletions are permitted in the current transformational theory (Chomsky 1964:71, 1965:144–5).

So we must take up the second alternative. The question is how the pronominal head is represented in the semantic representation. There is more than one possibility. First, it is a least specified lexical item like *a:ḷ* 'person' for the human PN and *poruḷ* 'thing' for the neuter PN. But *a:ḷ* cannot cover boys and girls and *poruḷ* cannot cover animals. And the problem of pronominalisation mentioned above and the problem of agreement mentioned below will apply to this also. Second, it is a noun unspecified for person, number, gender (PNG) like 'one' in English and we get the right pronoun by Agreement rule. But the Agreement rule will operate on the predicate PN only and the PNG of the PN in other places will not be accounted for. Moreover, sentences like (22a) whose predicate requires a subject of a specific gender cannot be produced at all. If we have a convention that the noun unspecified for gender ignores the selectional restrictions on gender, sentences like (22b) cannot be prevented.

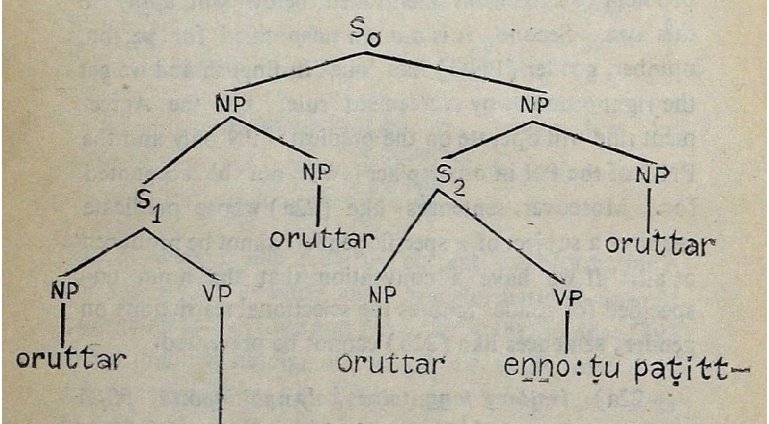
22a) *ivaḷta:n̲ tan̲n̲uṭaiya kalya:ṇattin̲po:tu piḷḷai uṇṭa:kiyiruntavaḷ* 'she is the one who was pregnant at the time of her wedding'.

b) **ivan̲ta:n̲ tan̲n̲uṭaiya kalya:ṇattin̲po:tu piḷḷai uṇṭa:kiyiruntavan̲* '*he is the one who was pregnant at the time of his wedding'.

The third possibility is that the pronominal head is a noun specified for gender, number and honorific status but semantically empty otherwise. Note that it is not specified for person, the reason being the absence of person distinction in the PN. It is a non-specific indefinite noun as all the relativised nouns of the restrictive adjectival clause are. Thus a sentence like (23) will be roughly represented as (24) where all the lower NPs are identical.

23) *iṅke: kalekṭara:ka iruppavar enno:ṭu paṭittavar*
'the one who is a collector here is one who studied with me'.

24)



iṅke: kalekṭara:ka irukkir-

This representation raises some questions. The first question is whether we are missing a generalisation, since the gender, number and the honorific status of the

predicate are decided by the transformational rule of Agreement when it is a verb and is decided in the semantic representation when it is a noun. It must be emphasised that this applies only to having the non-lexical noun in the predicate place and not having it in other places. Since we saw above the problem of selectional restriction in having the unspecified noun as the predicate, it seems that we must have the predicate noun specified and we cannot make a generalisation here. This, it must be noted, is true also of the lexical noun which is the predicate of the nominal sentence. The second question is whether we must specify that the non-lexical head noun must always be modified by the adjectival clause when the subject and or the predicate of a nominal sentence are non-lexical, since the sentence (23) without the adjectival clauses, viz., *oruttar oruttar*, is ungrammatical. This requirement can be justified by the fact that it is anyway necessary even when the subject and the predicate of a nominal sentence are identical lexical nouns. But when they are not identical they can stand alone without any modifier as in (25a). This is not true of the non-lexical noun as shown by (25b).

25a) *kuma:r oru ḍa:kṭar* 'Kumar is a doctor'.

b) **kuma:r oruttar* *'Kumar is someone'.

This points out that the non-lexical noun must always be preceded by a modifier when it is the subject or predicate of the nominal sentence. This would not be an ad hoc requirement to justify our representation but a natural one if we consider the fact that it is the modifier

that gives 'content' to the non-lexical, non-referential noun. If we follow Bach (1968), even the non-referential lexical nouns like *ḍa:kṭar* 'doctor' will have a representation like this in the final analysis.

The indefinite noun is not the only source for the pronominal head of the PN. The head may also be derived from a full lexical noun through indefinite pronominalisation when an identical noun is present.

26) *kuma:rukkut terinta ḍa:kṭar me:laitteruvil irukkiṟa:r; maṇikkut terintavar ki:ḻaitteruvil irukkiṟa:r* 'the doctor whom Kumar knows lives in the west street and the one Mani knows lives in the East street'.

The head noun *-a:r* of the PN in the second sentence does not refer to any person but a doctor and is pronominalised by *ḍa:kṭar* 'doctor' in the first sentence.

And when the adjectival clause preceding the pronominal head is non-restrictive or appositive, that is when we have appositive PN, the head noun may result through pronominalisation by an identical noun in the context. Since the head noun of the appositive adjectival clause must be a definite noun, this will be the only source for the pronominal head of the appositive PN. There are, however, sentences like (27) with appositive PN which are possible even when the head does not have an antecedent in the context to account for its pronominal form.

27a) *e:ḻu maṇikku ve:laikkup po:ṉavaṉ ippo:tuta:ṉ*
b) *varukiṟe:ṉ*
c) *varukiṟa:y* / *varukiṟa:n*[6]

{'I, / 'you, / 'he,} who went to work at 7 O' clock, {am / are / is}

coming back just now'.

The appositive PN in the above sentences may be derived in the following way. The adjectival clause (both restrictive and appositive) preceding a noun is flipped after it and nominalised just as the numeral and quantifier adjectives. (*oru payyaṉ*→ (optional) *payyaṉ oruttaṉ* 'a boy'; **iraṇṭu na:ṅkaḷum* → (obligatory) *na:ṅkaḷ iraṇṭu pe:rum* 'we both'. Thus (27) may be derived from (28) via (29). In (28c) the head noun may be any third person and we have given *eṉ makaṉ* 'my son' just for illustration.

28a) *e:ḻu maṇikku ve:laikkup po:ṉa* {*na:ṉ* / *ni:* / *eṉ makaṉ*}
b)
c) *ippo:tuta:ṉ* {*varukiṟe:ṉ* / *varukiṟa:y* / *varukiṟa:n*}

{'I, / 'you, / 'my son,} who went to work at 7 O' clock,

[6] Note that (27c) is ambiguous. It may also have the following restrictive meaning: The one who went to work at 7 O' clock is coming back just now (and the one who went to work at 8 O' clock will come back later).

{am / are / is} coming back just now'.

After flipping and nominalising the adjectival clause we get

29a) *na:n* / b) *ni:* / c) *en makan* *e:lu maṇikku ve:laikkup po:navan ippo:tuta:n* {*varukire:n* / *varukira:y* / *varukira:n*}

{'I, / 'you, / 'my son,} who went to work at 7 O' clock, {am / are / is} coming back just now'.

When the first and the second person pronouns are deleted optionally as in the following example and when the third person noun is deleted by the presence of an identical noun in the context we get (27).

30a) *na:m ettanai pe:r inta vi:ṭṭil irukkiro:m* → *ettanai pe:r inta vi:ṭṭil irukkiro:m* ?
'how many of us are in this house ?'.

b) *ni:ṅkaḷ ettanai pe:r inta vi:ṭṭil irukkiri:rkaḷ* → *ettanai pe:r inta vi:ṭṭil irukkiri:rkaḷ* ?
'how many of you are in this house ?'

This derivation of the appositive PN accounts for the person agreement of predicate found in (27), which

cannot be accounted for by the PN in (27), since the PN is not specified for person as we already noted.

The pronominal head of the PN may be generic noun like the one in the following sentences.

31a) *viṉai vitaittavaṉ viṉai aṟuppa:ṉ*
'the one who (whoever) sows evil reeps evil'

b) *paṭittavarkaḷ ko:ḻaikaḷa:ka irukkiṟa:rkaḷ*
'those who (whoever is) are educated (is) cowardish'.

The pronominal head of the neuter singular PN is *-tu*[7]. The neuter PN, unlike the human PN, does not occur in certain places. The following sentences are ungrammatical in the sense intended for them when the antecedent is not present.

32a) **na:ṉ piṟantataip paṟṟic coṉṉe:ṉ.*
I told about the place (town) I was born'

b) **na:ṉ paṭittatuta:ṉ kuma:r paṭittatum.*
'the place (school) where I studied is the one Kumar studied also'

c) **na:ṉ uṭka:rntiruntatil oru u:ci iruntatu*
'there was a pin in the place where I was sitting'.

[7] The plural noun suffix is *-vai*; but in modern spoken Tamil the singular is commonly used for the plural. However, whatever we say here for the singular applies to the plural also.

Note that (32b) can mean: the one which I studied was the one Kumar studied also and (32c) can mean : there was a pin on the thing I was sitting on. It is clear that *-tu* does not refer to place (or period of time). This follows from the fact that the indefinite neuter singular noun *onṟu* 'something', from which it is derived, does not refer to place or period of time. For example, (33) does not mean: I sat on some place.

33) *na:n onṟil uṭka:rnte:n* 'I sat on something'.

However, in a nominal sentence, when a noun referring to place or period of time is the predicate or the subject, the neuter PN referring to place or period of time can be the subject or predicate of that sentence respectively.

34a) *na:n piṟantatu oru kira:mam*
'the place I was born is a village'

b) *maturaita:n na:n paṭittatu*
'Madurai is the place where I studied'

c) *na:n piṟantatu tai*
'the month I was born is Thai'.

There are two possible ways to account for this. One is to say that the *-tu* in this case is not the neuter singular noun but is the genderless pronoun discussed above. This cannot be, however, true since neuter plural PN is possible in sentences like those in (34) when their predicate is plural. The other explanation is that this is a case of pronominalisation. However, if one operates

under the feature system wherein the nouns like *maṟurai, kira:mam* etc. and time nouns like *tai* etc. will be marked with the features (place) and (time) respectively, pronominalisation cannot occur on the basis of the identity of a single feature. But if the place and time nouns are represented as having the structure of a head noun and a modifier (McCawley, 1969) and the head noun is a noun meaning place or time, then this head noun may cause pronominalisation just as the head noun *paḷḷikku:ṭam* 'school' does in the following example.

35a) *na:ṉ paṭitta paḷḷikku:ṭamta:ṉ kuma:r paṭittatum* 'the school I studied is the one Kumar studied also'

b) *na:ṉ paṭittatuta:ṉ eṅkaḷ u:rile:ye: nalla paḷḷikku:ṭam* 'the school I studied is the best school in my town'.

This derivation explains the ambiguity of sentences like (36), where the head noun *-tu* of the PN may have been derived either from the underlying *oṉṟu* 'something' through relativisation and definitisation or from *me:cai* 'table' through pronominalisation on identity with the same noun in the predicate.

36) *na:ṉ va:ṅkiṉatu te:kku me:cai*

1) 'the thing (what) I bought is a teak table'

2) 'the table I bought is a teak table'.

It also explains why (37a) is not ambiguous. The underlying representation of (37a) in the other putative

meaning (The table I bought is a table) would be inadmissible on the grounds of semantic redundancy.

37a) *na:n va:ṅkinatu me:cai*
'what I bought is a table'.

There is one final problem with the neuter PN. We already mentioned that the modifying adjectival clause may be a complement to the head noun. The pronominal head of this complement construction stands for more than one noun. Note the various interpretations in the following sentences. One can easily find ambiguous sentences involving two or more of these interpretations. (That the time specified nouns in (38) are PN's is shown by the fact that the nouns of the modifying sentences are not relativised).

38a) *kuma:r ve:kama:kak ka:r o:ṭṭuvatu enakkup piṭikkavillai*
'I don't like Kumar driving the car fast -(fact)

b) *kuma:r ka:r o:ṭṭinatu oru anupavaca:li o:ṭṭukira ma:tiri iruntatu*
'Kumar's driving was like an experienced man driving the car'-(manner)

c) *na:n kuma:r ka:r o:ṭṭinataip pa:rtte:n.*
'I saw Kumar driving the car'- (event)

d) *na:n kuma:r ka:ril oru peṇ iruntataip pa:rtte:n.*
'I noticed that there was a girl in Kumar's car'- (existence)

e) *kuma:r ka:r va:ṅkiṉatiliruntu naṭappate: illai.*
'Kumar never walks since (from the time) he bought his car'– (time).

The problem is how to derive the *-tu* in the above sentences. It, with all these meanings, cannot be obviously derived from the single indefinite noun *oṟu* 'something'. It cannot be derived from the various nouns meaning fact etc., since there is no antecedent of those nouns to trigger pronominalisation. The only way out seems to be to say that such abstract nouns, most of which do not have exact lexical equivalents, are realised as pronoun in the surface. A small piece of evidence for this claim is the use of the pronoun *itu* 'it' for any neuter singular lexical item. The speaker does not have or cannot recall to match a semantic description. But this is not enough to justify the suggested derivation. Future research should give definite answer to this and other problems of the PN raised but not solved in this paper.

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: Don Larkin, P. Bhaskara Rao, A. Kamatchinathan and S. Agesthialingom.

PERSONAL KINSHIP TERMS

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Kamatchinathan's *The Tirunelvēli Tamil dialect* (1969) contains a vocabulary list which includes the following words.[1]

1	*ṅoka:ḷ*	'your elder sister'
2	*ṅoṇṇan*	'your elder brother'
3	*ṅopan*	'your father'
4	*ṅoyya:*	'your father'
5	*ṅo:ta:ḷ*	'your mother'
1a	*ṅaka:ḷ*	'our elder sister'
2a	*ṅaṇṇan*	'our elder brother'
3a	*ṅapan*	'our father'
4a	*ṅayya:*	'our father'
5a	*ṅa:ta:ḷ*	'our mother'

It is curious to note that these are the only items in the whole list which begin in a velar nasal. The glosses

[1] Intervocalic voiceless plosives in this treatise correspond to the traditional double plosives in written Tamil.

provided for these items are ambiguous (as to the number of the possessor) in the first set but they are not so in the second set. It is true, as we shall see later, that the distinction of number in the possessor is not indicated in any of the forms, but the possessors are both singular and plural in all of them. Kamatchinathan's book also contains the following kinship terms in its vocabulary list.

1c	*aka:ɻ*	'elder sister'
2c	*aṉṉan*	'elder brother'
3c	*apan*	'father'
4c	*ayya:*	'father'

We guess that the omission of the form *a:ta:ɻ* 'mother' (5c) in the vocabulary is not deliberate and hence we can conclude that the kinship terms concerned can occur in this dialect with or without the attributes, i.e. the possessive personal pronouns. Kinship terms involved in this possessed construction all begin in a vowel. If the term begins in a consonant the possessive pronoun does not get fused to it, but rather stands as an independent word. Thus, 'my/our (excl.) grandfather' and 'your grandfather' are expressed by the phrases *eṅka ciyya:n* and *oṅka ciyya:n*, respectively. *eṅka(ɻ)* and *oṅka(ɻ)* are the possessive forms of the first and second person plural pronouns *na:ṅka(ɻ)* and *ni:ṅka(ɻ)*, respectively. We will now reconstruct forms 1 to 5 and 1a to 5a as follows.

1 *ñoka:ḷ* (loss of vowel) < **ño + aka:ḷ*
(metathesis) < **oñ + aka:ḷ*
(loss of consonant) < **oñk + aka:ḷ*
(loss of vowel) < **oñka + aka:ḷ*
'your elder sister'

.....

5 *no:ta:ḷ* (fusion of vowels) < **ño + a:ta:ḷ*
(metathesis) < **oñ + a:ta:ḷ*
(loss of consonant) < **oñk + a:ta:ḷ*
(loss of vowel) < **oñka + a:ta:ḷ*
'your mother'

1a *ñaka:ḷ* < **ñ + aka:ḷ* < **ñk + aka:ḷ*
< **iñk + aka:ḷ* < **eñk + aka:ḷ*
< **eñka + aka:ḷ*[2]
'my/our (excl.) elder sister'

.....

[2] Other possible derivations for 1a and 5a are as follows.

1a *ñaka:ḷ* < **ñʸ + aka:ḷ* < **ñi + aka:ḷ*
< **iñ + aka:ḷ* < **eñ + aka:ḷ*
< **eñk + aka:ḷ* < **eñka + aka:ḷ*
(or) < **ñeka:ḷ* < **ñe + aka:ḷ*
< **eñ + aka:ḷ* < **eñk + aka:ḷ*
< **eñka + aka:ḷ*

.....

5a *ña:ta:ḷ* < **ñʸ + a:ta:ḷ* < **ñi + a:ta:ḷ*
< **iñ + a:ta:ḷ* < **eñ + a:ta:ḷ*
< **eñk + a:ta:ḷ* < **eñka + a:ta:ḷ*
(or) < **ñe:ta:ḷ* < **ñe + a:ta:ḷ*
< **eñ + a:ta:ḷ* < **eñk + a:ta:ḷ*
< **eñka + a:ta:ḷ*

5a *ṉa:ta:ḷ* < **ṉ* + *a:ta:ḷ* < **ṅk* + *a:ta:ḷ*
< **iṅk* + *a:ta:ḷ* < **eṅk* + *a:ta:ḷ*
< **eṅka* + *a:ta:ḷ*
'my/our (excl.) mother'

When the kinship term begins in a consonant, the construction is a phrase and hence clearly syntactical. We can consider *ṅo* and *ṅ* (or *ṅʸ* or *ṅe* (see fn. 2)) as allomorphs of *oṅka* and *eṅka* respectively and thus the fused constructions are also syntactical. If they are morphological the forms *ṅo* and *ṅ* (or *ṅʸ* or *ṅe*) ought to be prefixes, which is not true. It is worth mentioning here that the possessive attributes *oṅka* and *eṅka*, whether they occur before consonants or vowels, are in some cases the variants of *on* 'your (sg.)' and *en* 'my'. If the kinship term following the pronominal form denotes a senior person (who commands ego's respect), the pronominal form is in the plural. If, on the other hand, it denotes a junior person (who obviously commands no respect), the pronominal form is in the singular. The following are a few illustrations from the Tirunelveli dialect.[3]

en tampi 'my younger brother'
on tampi 'your younger brother'

en taṅkaci 'my younger sister'
on taṅkaci 'your younger sister'

[3] The distribution between the singular and plural possessive forms here is not to be found in Kamatchinathan (1969) but was elicited from the author in a private conversation.

en pe:ran	'my grandson'
on pe:ran	'your grandson'
en pe:ti	'my granddaughter'
on pe:ti	'your granddaughter'
en mavan	'my son'
on mavan	'your son'
en mavaḷ	'my daughter'
on mavaḷ	'your daughter'
eṅka ciyya:n	'my grandfather'
oṅka ciyya:n	'your grandfather'
eṅka po:ti	'my grandfather'
oṅka po:ti	'your grandfather'
eṅka ma:ma:	'my maternal uncle'
oṅka ma:ma:	'your maternal uncle'
ṅaṇṇan	'my elder brother'
ṅoṇṇan	'your elder brother'
ṅapan	'my father'
ṅopan	'your father'
ṅaka:ḷ	'my elder sister'
ṅoka:ḷ	'your elder sister'

The agreement between the singular pronoun and the junior relative on the one hand and between the plural pronoun and the junior relative on the other hand is only a later development in the Tamil language. This

distribution between the singular and the plural pronouns is not found in Old Tamil. The following examples from Old Tamil will prove this

em-pi 'my younger brother'
num-pi 'your younger brother'
en-tai (< *em-tai*) 'my father'
nun-tai (< *num-tai*) 'your father'

The plural reference of the pronouns in the Old Tamil forms *em-pi* 'my younger brother', *en-tai* 'my father', etc. is as Emeneau suggests "not to either the possessed or the possessor individual, but to the whole family to which the kin denoted by the noun is related" (1953:347 = 1967:131).

According to Emeneau (1953) the fused construction involving the kinship terms is a Proto-Dravidian feature. The languages that he has drawn evidence from are Old Tamil, Kota, Gondi, Kolami, Kuwi and Kuru<u>kh</u>. He also rightly states that the pronouns preceding the kinship nouns are only the plural ones. Meenakshisundaran (1968), however, cites some contradictory examples from the Chettinad dialect of Tamil where, according to him, the possessive pronouns are singular. The forms *nemma:* 'my mother' and *nomma:* 'your mother' are thus derived from **en* 'my' + *amma:* 'mother' and **un* 'your (sg.)' + *amma:* 'mother', respectively. We don't see any reason why these forms cannot be derived from **ñemma:* (< **ñe* + *amma:* < **eñ* + *amma:* < **eñk* + *amma:* < **eñka* + *amma:*) and from *ñomma:* (< **ño* + *amma:* < **oñ* + *amma:* < **oñk* + *amma:* < **oñka* + *amma:*),

respectively. We would posit the nonoccurrence of the velar nasal in the initial position as the reason for the occurrence of the alveolar nasal in these words. Meenakshisundaran also cites some other examples from several dialects of Tamil in his exhaustive article (1968).

The forms Meenakshisundaran supplies in § 2.323 of his article (1968:24) are from the Virudunagar Nadar dialect. These forms are also found "in the dialects of the lower class even in Madras and Chinglepet". According to Meenakshisundaran, they "remind us of the old construction of *yāy*", i. e. they are all kinship terms in the possessed construction. The actual examples are *yakka:*, *yamma:*, *yappa:* and *yaṉṉan*. Forms corresponding to these found in the usage of a Tamil immigrant family belonging to Malaya (as provided by Meenakshisundaran (1968)) are *ekka:*, *emma:*, *eppa:* and *eṉṉan*. The first syllable in these words, according to Meenakshisundaran, denote the first person pronoun. Even though these words are also fused words like *ñopan* 'your father', *ñoṉṉan* 'your elder brother', etc. there is a difference between these sets of terms. Items beginning in the nasal consonant are not in the vocative case, whereas those with initial *ya-/e-* cannot be used in the nominative. Expressions like **eppa: vanta:ru* are impossible. We would therefore designate the words with initial *ya-/e-* as terms of address. We are, thus, tempted to derive items like *ekka:*, *emma:*, *eppa:* and *eṉṉan* from

**e: akka:*	'Hey, sis!'
**e: amma:*	'Hey, mum!'

**e: appa:*	'Hey, dad!'
**e: aṇṇan*	'Hey, bud!'.

The corresponding Virudunagar items with initial *ya-* will be explained as involving hyperstandardization. Kamatchinathan lists such vocatives under the head *Indeclinables* (1969: 142–3). Forms like *e:ta:*, *e:pa:*, *e:ṭi* and *e:le* come under this category. These we derive from

**e: a:ta:*	'Hey, doll!'
**e: apa:*	'Hey, guy!'
**e: kuṭi*	'Hey, chick!'
**e: payale:*	'Hey, kid!'.

Even though the personal kinship terms of the *em-pi* 'my younger brother' type are found in several Dravidian languages, no evidence for this is so far available from Telugu. Tamil is the only reported language where this feature appears in many dialects, both historical and geographical. Surprisingly enough, there is one Telugu dialect which is spoken in Rajapalayam (District: Ramanathapuram), bordering the Tirunelveli district which uses such fused constructions as profusely as Kamatchinathan's dialect does. This Telugu dialect is used by the Kshatriya Rajus whose ancestors migrated into this town from the Andhra region not less than three centuries ago. The data is presented below.

1 *mamma* 'my mother' *memma* 'your mother'
amma 'mother'

2 *mayya* 'my father' *meyya* 'your father' *ayya* 'father'

3 *mavva* 'my grandmother' *mevva* 'your grandmother' *avva* 'grandmother'

4 *matta* 'my aunt' *metta* 'your aunt' *atta* 'aunt'

5 *makka* 'my elder sister' *mekka* 'your elder sister' *akka* 'elder sister'

6 *manna* 'my elder brother' *menna* 'your elder brother' *anna* 'elder brother'

7 *mappa* 'my boy' *meppa* 'your boy' *appa* 'boy'

ma: 'our (exclusive)'

mi: 'your (plural)'

Forms like *mamma, memma* are reconstructable as follows.

mamma < **ma + amma* < **ma: + amma* 'my mother'

memma < **mi + amma* < **mi: + amma* 'your mother'

All the seven sets of forms provided above have their kinship base beginning in *a* vowel. If the kinship term begins in a consonant, it takes a possessive pronoun according to the status of the person possessed. The following are the examples.

na: tammuṇḍu	'my younger brother'
ni: tammuṇḍu	'your younger brother'
na: sellelu	'my younger sister'
ni: sellelu	'your younger sister'
na: mana:ṇḍu	'my grandson'
ni: mana:ṇḍu	'your grandson'
na: mana:ra:lu	'my granddaughter'
ni: mana:ra:lu	'your granddaughter'
na: ko:ḍalu	'my daughter-in-law'
ni: ko:ḍalu	'your daughter-in-law'
na: pellom	'my wife'
ni: pellom	'your wife'
ma: ta:tta	'my grandfather'
mi: ta:tta	'your grandfather'
ma: ma:ma	'my maternal uncle'
mi: ma:ma	'your maternal uncle'
ma: vadine	'my elder sister-in-law'
mi: vadine	'your elder sister-in-law'
ma: siṭṭiya	'my younger paternal uncle'
mi: siṭṭiya	'your younger paternal uncle'
ma: ba:va	'my elder brother-in-law'
mi: ba:va	'your elder brother-in-law'

Almost all the forms beginning in *a* vowel denote a senior relative. The term *allunḍu* 'son-in-law' is an exception to this. Being inferior in status it takes an 'inferior' possessive pronoun which is the singular form. We have already seen that only plural possessive forms get fused to the following kinship term. Thus 'my son-in-law' is expressed by the phrase *na: allunḍu.*

It is interesting to note that Rajapalayam Telugu is so similar to Kamatchinathan's dialect of Tamil in having the fused personal kinship terms. Why should this particular Telugu dialect alone behave in this manner, when no other Telugu dialect, not even one spoken in Tamil Nadu, seems to parallel this? Is it due to the influence of Kamatchinathan's dialect which is adjacent to this one? Or is it a retention from the parent Dravidian language, which has not manifested itself in Telugu[4] at any period of its history or in any region where it has dominance?

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: T. B. Veuugopala Panicker, A. Kamatchinathan, C. Rama Rao, R. Kothandaraman, M. A. French and K. Karunakaran.

[4] The possibility of occurrence of this type of construction in some remote dialect of Telugu is not ruled out. We would assume that Telugu does not have this feature, until it is reported otherwise.

CAUSAL USE OF QUOTATIVE MORPHEME IN DRAVIDIAN

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Dravidologists know that the reported speech in Dravidian Languages is marked by the morpheme which shows close resemblance to the past non-finite form of the verb 'to say'. It is *ani* in Telugu, *enru* in Tamil, *endu* in Kannada, *izi* in Konda and a similar morpheme in other languages. Besides marking the reported speech, it also has several other functions, which have been mentioned in various traditional and modern grammars. I have examined some of them in my earlier papers. One of these uses is to express causal relationship of the preceding clause to the following clause. I would like to examine this usage in the present paper and try to explore the linguistic constraints that govern these structures. I will illustrate the phenomenon with sentences from Telugu and Tamil. The conclusions I arrive at will be equally applicable to such structures in all other Dravidian Languages. For this purpose first consider the following sentences :

1) Te. *ji:ta:lu ca:lale:dani 'N.G.O'.lu samme ce:sia:ru*

Ta. *campaḷam po:tavillai eṉṟu N.G.O.kaḷ ve:lainiṟuttam ceyta:rkaḷ*

'N.G.O.s went on strike because their salaries were not adequate'.

2) Te. *paṇḍakki sku:ṭaru iyyale:dani alluḍu aligi veḷḷi po:yia:ḍu*

Ta. *paṇṭikaikku sku:ṭṭar koṭukkavillai eṉṟu ma:ppiḷḷai ko:pam koṇṭu ceṉṟa:r*

'the son-in-law left in a huff because he was not given a scooter for the festival.'

In the above sentences the clauses before *ani* or *eṉṟu* supply a reason for the clauses that follow. For easy reference hereafter I will refer to them as 'causal' and 'effect' clause respectively. I might also refer the causal clause as 'first' clause or 'former' clause and 'effect' clause as 'second' clause or 'later' clause. If we observe the above sentences, we can infer the following grammatical facts.

In the second clauses the subjects happen to be human, in the first clauses the subjects may be human or non-human. In sentence (2) the subject (which is unexpressed) is human but not in (1). Let us see what happens if the subjects of both the clauses are non-human;

*3) Te. *addam kinda paḍindani pagilindi*

Ta. *kaṇṇa:ṭi ki:ḻe: viḻuntatu eṉṟu uṭaintatu*

'the mirror broke because it fell down.'

4) Te. *addam kinda paḍi pagilindi*

Ta. *kaṇṇa:ṭi ki:ḻe: viḻuntu uṭaintatu*
'the mirror fell down and broke.'

Sentence (3) is ungrammatical. If we remove *ani* in Telugu, *enṟu* in Tamil and change the preceding verb into non-finite form, we get a grammatical sentence. We can infer from the above sentences that an "effect" clause needs a human subject whether we have human or non-human subjects in the 'causal' clauses. When the subject is inanimate in both the clauses the non-finite verb form seems to give consequential meaning regularly. Let us see what happens if we perform the same operation on sentences (1) and (2)

5) Te. *ji:ta:lu ca:laka N.G.O. lu samme ce:sia:ru*

Ta. *campaḷam po:ta:mal N.G.O. kaḷ vel:ai-niṟuttam ceyta:rkaḷ*
'N. G. O.s went on strike because they did not have adequate salaries'.
(Not getting adequate salaries, N.G.O.s went on strike).

*6) Te. *paṇḍakki sku:ṭar iyyaka alluḍu aligi veḷḷi po:yia:ḍu*

Ta. *paṇṭikaikku sku:ṭṭar tara:mal ma:ppiḷḷai ko:pam koṇṭu ceṉṟa:r*
'Not giving scooter for the festival, the son-in-law left in a huff'.

Here sentence (6) is ungrammatical, because the sentences with non-finite form do not admit different human subjects for the two verbs. In sentence (5) the first subject is non-human but the second is human. If this type of sentence involves the same subject in both the clauses, we may or may not get causal relationship. But the sentences will be grammatical, e.g.

7) Te. *kiṣṭappa annam tini baḍiki veḷḷia:ḍu*

Ta. *kiṣṭappa co:ṟu ca:ppiṭṭup paḷḷikku po:ṉa:ṉ*
'Kistappa ate his meal and went to school'.

8) Te. *kiṣṭappa annam tinaka cikkipo:yia:ḍu*
Ta. *kiṣṭappa co:ṟu ca:ppiṭa:mal iḷaittup po:ṉa:ṉ*

'Kistappa became lean by not eating food'.

Both the sentences have the same subject for both the clauses. In sentence (7), we have sequential relationship. In (8) we have consequential relationship. This difference is caused by the difference in first verbs. I have dealt with some of these problems in my earlier paper read in one of the seminars.

It is not my purpose here to bring up the issue again. I only intend to show some similarities between these structures and the *ani* or *eṉṟu* type sentences.

I mentioned earlier, that we need a human subject in the 'effect' clause, whether we have one in the 'causal'

clause or not in *ani* sentence. But notice the following sentences.

9) Te. *nuvvu mundu vaccia:vani raylu le:ṭuga: vaccindi*

Ta. *ni: munna:ṭi vanta:y enru rayil ne:ram kaḷittu vantatu*

'the train is late because you came early'.

10) Te. *nuvvu twaraga: vaccia:vani ivva:ḷa pu:la va:na kurisindi*

Ta. *ni: ci:kirama:ka vanta:y enru pu: maḷai poḷintatu*

'because you came early, it rained flowers, today'.

In the above sentences the 'effect' clauses do not have human subjects. They still seem to be acceptable. But there is a difference in the interpretation of these sentences. We are expressing 'cause-effect' relationship between two events where such relationship does not exist normally. Besides, if we want to have a causal relationship with *ani* or *enru*, It is not only enough that such relationship is possible but the subject of the 'effect' clause should also think that the action or the event in the antecedent clause is a cause. To make this difference clear, I would like to quote the sentences that have been illustrated earlier in this paper.

1) Te. *ji:ta:lu ca:lale:dani 'N.G.O.' lu samme ce:sia:ru*

Ta. *campaḷam po:tavillai enṟu 'N.G.O'. kaḷ ve:lainiṟuttam ceyta:rkaḷ*

'N.G.O.s went on strike because their salaries were not adequate'.

5) Te. *ji:ta:lu ca:laka 'N. G. O.' lu samme ce:sia:ru*

Ta. *campaḷam po:ta:mal 'N.G.O.' kaḷ ve:lai niṟuttam ceyta:rkaḷ*

'not getting enough salaries N. G. O.s went on strike'.

In sentence (5), we have no evidence that the N. G. O.s also feel (along with the speaker) that the salaries were not enough. In sentence (I), the use of *ani* or *enṟu* provides such evidence. In the sentences (9) and (10) the subjects of the effect clauses are inanimate and are incapable of thinking. We are attributing that faculty to them. These sentences have to be recognised as deviant. Deviant sentences are used by speakers intentionally for some aesthetic effect. They are different from ungrammatical sentences because speakers use ungrammatical sentences unintentionally and they may correct themselves when the ungrammaticality is brought to their notice. Deviant sentences are useful for literary purposes,

In (9) and (10) inanimate objects are the subjects of 'effect' clauses. Let us see what happens if we have animate non-human subjects in these clauses.

11) Te. *pilli vaṇṭiṇṭlo: du:rindani kukka morugutunnadi*

Ta. pu:ṉai camaiyal aṟaiyil nuḻaintatu eṉṟu na:y kuraittatu

'the dog is barking because the cat has entered the kitchen'.

12) Te. *yajama:ni vastunna:ḍani kukka to:ka a:ḍistunnadi*

Ta. *mutala:ḷi varukiṟa:r eṉṟu na:y va:la a:ṭṭukiṟatu*

'the dog is wagging its tail because the master is coming'.

The above sentences don't sound ungrammatical and no aesthetics or literary effects are involved here. If we accept these sentences as grammatical, the proposal made earlier that only human subjects can occur in 'effect' clauses of *ani* type, would fail. If we adjust our proposal to include all animates, it can explain the above sentences. I am not quite sure that these sentences tolerate all animate nouns. May be, it depends upon presuppositions as to whether we assume that certain animals can think (Lakoff 1970). In the rest of the paper I assume that the 'effect' clauses require human subjects. In the following sentences there is no human subject in the effect clause but it looks grammatical.

13) Te. *mantri ga:ru ra:le:dani sabha va:yida: paḍindi*

Ta. *mantiri avarkaḷ varavillai enṟu capai taḷḷippo:ṭappaṭṭatu*

'the meeting was postponed because the honourable Minister did not turn up'.

In this sentence though *sabha* 'meeting' is not a human noun, it has human reference. A meeting can be postponed only by human agents. Therefore, this would not be a counter example for our proposal.

Consider the following sentences which have human reference in the 'effect' clauses, but are ungrammatical.

14) Te. *va:nalo: taḍisia:ḍani ma:va:ḍiki jalubu ce:sindi*

Ta. *maḻayil naṉainta:ṉ enṟu eṉ payyaṉukkuc caḷi piṭittatu*

'my boy caught cold because he got wet in the rain'

15) Te. *a:dhunikamayna a:yudha:lu le:vani mana saynikulu o:ḍipoyia:ru*

Ta. *putu vitama:ṉa a:yutaṅkaḷ illai enṟu nam vi:rarkaḷ to:ṟṟup po:yviṭṭa:rkaḷ*

'our soldiers were defeated because they did not have modern weapons'.

16) Te. *cadavakunḍa: ga:liki tirigia:ḍani ma:va:ḍu pari:kṣa tappia:ḍu*

Ta. *paṭikka:mal alainta:ṉ enṟu eṉpayyaṉ te:rvil to:ṟṟa:ṉ*

'my boy failed in the examination because he wandered without studying.'

In sentence (14), *jalubu* 'cold' seems to be the subject for the 'effect' clause. We can attribute the un grammaticality of this sentence to the use of *jalubu* which is inanimate. But this cannot explain (15) and (16) because they have human subjects in the 'effect' clauses. The verbs like *jalubu ce:yu* 'to catch cold', *o:ḍipo:vu* 'get defeated' *parikṣa tappu* 'fail in the examination' are not action verbs. They denote experiences of people. This may seem to be the reason for the ungrammatically of the above sentences.

But the following sentence is a counter evidence for this suggestion.

17) Te. *ne:nu ro:ju: a:lasyanga: inṭiki vasta:nani ma: a:viḍaki ko:pam*

Ta. *na:n̲ na:ḷto:ṟum ne:ram kaḷittu varukiṟe:n̲ enṟu en̲ maṉaivikkuk ko:pam*

'my wife gets angry (at me) because I come home late daily.'

In the above sentence *ko:pam* 'angry' is a stative predicate and denotes only a 'psycho-neural' experience of my wife. Still it is grammatical. Therefore the experiential or stative character has nothing to do with the ungrammaticality of (14)-(16).

Nobody wishes to catch cold, to get defeated or to fail the examination. Therefore we may propose a feature like (–volition) to the verbs, to explain the above ungrammatical sentences. Though we don't wish to catch cold, it is not impossible to conceive the situations in which people wish 'to get defeated' or fail the examination like in the following sentences.

18) Te. *"vietcong guerilla"lu gelava:lani amerikan saynikulu o:ḍipo:yia:ru*

Ta. *"viyaṭka:ñ korilla:"kkaḷ vellave:ṇṭum enṟu amerikka vi:rarkaḷ to:lvi aṭaintaṉar*

'the American soldiers got defeated because they wanted the Vietcong guerillas to win.'

19) Te. *maḷḷi: ka:le:ji:lo: ce:ra:lani ma:wa:ḍu pari:kṣa tappia:ḍu*

Ta. *maṟupaṭiyum kallu:riyil ce:ra ve:ṇṭum enṟu eṉ makaṉ te:rvil te:ṟavillai*

'my boy failed in the examination because he wanted to join the college again.'

We know from our knowledge that the anti-war movement in the United States has been influencing the American soldiers who have been forced to fight and kill the Vietnamese. The sentence (18) is not only grammatical but also appropriate in the present context.

Some students would try to fail in the examinations in order to join the college again. Therefore, there seems to be some validity in proposing a feature like (-volition) in case of the above ungrammatical sentences. Consider the following sentences:

20) Te. *ro:ju: a:lasyamga: iṇṭiki veḷta:nani ma: a:viḍa ba:dha paḍutundi*

Ta. *na:ḷto:ṟum ne:ram kaḷittu vi:ṭṭukkup po:ve:ṉ eṉṟu eṉ maṉaivi tuṉpappaṭuva:ḷ*

'my wife is distressed because I go home late every day.'

The above sentence is perfectly grammatical. But it has the feature of (-volition). Nobody wants to be distressed. She does so because she cannot avoid it. Therefore the proposal of (-volition) is insufficient to explain the ungrammaticality of the above sentences.

If we take a close look at the "cause-effect" sentences, we notice a common feature in the predicates of the grammatical sentences. The actions, events, experiences, processes and states that are expressed in the predicates seem to be controllable by the agents. Even in the sentence (13), the verb, 'to be postponed' has human controllability. I mean that it is different from raining, thundering etc. In (14), *jolubu ce:yu* 'catch cold', is not in the control of human beings. Therefore it cannot be made grammatical at all.

The verbs like *o:ḍipo:vu* 'get defeated' *pari:kṣa tappu* 'fail in the examination' can be interpreted as controllable because they are at least in the control of human beings.

Arlene Berman has reported that Susmo Kuno has proposed a feature ± control for English verbs. Berman further mentions that this feature is inherent for some verbs, contextual for some others. She also classified the verbs into fully controllable, partially controllable and uncontrollable. She seems to have implied that (+control) includes (+volition). The Dravidian sentences (see 20) provide basis for separating these two features.

In the translations of the above sentences I have been using the word 'because' to express the causal meaning. But the quotative morpheme means something more than 'because'. Compare the following sentences in which quotative morpheme and some other word to mean 'because' are used.

21) Te. *va:ḷḷa annayya vaccia:ḍani ma: a:viḍa ga:relu vanḍindi*

Ta. *avaḷ tamaiyaṉ vanta:ṉ eṉṟu eṉ maṉaivi vaṭai cuṭṭa:ḷ*

'my wife cooked vaḍai because her brother came.'

22) Te. *va:ḷḷa annayya vaccia:ḍu ka:baṭṭi ma: a:viḍa ga:relu vanḍindi*

Ta. *avaḷ tamaiyaṉ vanta:ṉ a:tala:l eṉ maṉaivi vaṭai cuṭṭa:ḷ*

'my wife cooked vaḍai because her brother came.'

Though I have translated the above sentences in the same way they are not paraphrases of each other, which is evidenced by the following extensions.

23) Te. *va:ḷḷannayya vaccia:ḍani ma: a:viḍa ga:relu vanḍindi ka:ni nija:niki a:yana ra:ledu*

Ta. *avaḷ tamaiyaṉ vanta:ṉ eṉṟu eṉ maṉaivi vaṭai cuṭṭa:ḷ, a:ṉa:l uṇmaiya:ka avaṉ varavillai*

'my wife cooked vaḍai believing that her brother came but he hasn't really come.'

*24) Te. *va:ḷḷa annayya vaccia:ḍu ka:baṭṭi ma: a:viḍa ga:relu vanḍindi. ka:ni nija:niki a:yana ra:le:du.*

Ta. *avaḷ tamaiyaṉ vanta:ṉ a:tala:l eṉ maṉaivi vaṭai cuṭṭa:ḷ. a:ṉa:l uṇmaiya:ka avaṉ varavillai.*

'my wife cooked vaḍai because her brother came but he hasn't really come.'

We extended (21) and (22) by introducing a contradiction which was well tolerated in (23) but not in

(24). This is the case because in (21) the quotative morpheme expresses the idea that my wife believed that her brother has arrived. But the speaker of that sentence may not believe it and therefore he may choose to contradict it. In (22), it is assumed that the speaker also believed that it was a fact, therefore the inclusion of a contradiction is a self-contradiction from the point of view of the speaker. In (21) and (23) we can replace *ani* by *anukoni* 'having thought'. The ungrammaticality of the sentence (24) would probably require Ross performative analysis to explain the contradiction (Ross 1969).

In the previously discussed *ani* or *enru* sentences the two clauses involved different subjects. Now let us see what happens if we have the same subject in both the clauses. Consider the following sentences:

25a) Te. *ma: abba:yi iḍḍenlu tinna:ḍani bho: janam ma:ne:sia:ḍu*

Ta. *en makan iṭṭi ca:ppiṭṭa:n enru ca:ppa:-ṭṭai nirutti viṭṭa:n*

b) Te. *ma: abba:yi iḍḍenlu tinna:nani bho:janam ma:ne:sia:ḍu*

Ta. *en makan iṭṭi ca:ppiṭṭe:n enru ca:ppa: ṭṭai nirutti viṭṭa:n*

(for a & b) my son hasn't eaten his (regular) meal because he ate 'idli'.

26a) Te. *iḍḍenlu tinna:vani bho:janam ma:ne:sa: va:?*

Ta. *iṭli ca:ppiṭṭa:y enṟu ca:ppa:ṭṭai niṟutti viṭṭa:ya:?*

b) Te. *iḍḍenlu tinna:nani bho:janam ma:ne:sia: va:?*

Ta. *iṭli ca:ppiṭṭe:n enṟu ca:ppa:ṭṭai niṟuttiviṭṭa:ya: ?*

'have you missed your (regular) meal because you ate 'idli'?

I have discusssed about the grammatical status of the above sentences with a number of Telugu speakers and obtained very contradicting results. Some speakers prefer (25) b and (26) b over (25) a and (26) a. Some of them said both the varieties are all right. Some speakers could not notice the difference between a & b sentences until I pointed it out.

For me, (b) sentences are preferable over (a) sentences and I can even say that (a) sentences are not possible. My wife fully agrees with me (at least) on this point. Even if we assume that both 'a' and 'b' sentences in (25) and (26) are grammatical, we still have to explain how third and second person subjects would admit first person endings in the verbs. This apparent person – contradiction occurs in indirect report as in the following sentences:–

27) Te. *susi:la re:pu ka:le:ji:lo: kalusta:nani ceppindi.*

Ta. *cuci:la na:ḷai kallu:riyil cantippe:n enṟu conna:ḷ*

'Suseela said that she would meet me in the college next day'

28) Te. *nuvvu ninna Dhilli: veḷtunna:nani ceppia:vu.*

Ta. *ni: ne:r̲r̲u ḍelli po:kir̲e:n̲ en̲r̲u co:n̲n̲a:y*
'you told me yesterday that you were going to Delhi.'

In (27) and (28) the subjects are in 3rd person and 2nd person respectively. But the verbs in embedded clauses have first person endings. To explain this apparent contradiction, I have proposed rule ordering as a solution (Ramarao : 1969). The order of the rules would be as follows:-

i) Apply the agreement rule in the embedded clause.

ii) Change the pronouns according to universal conventions.

Probably we have to apply the same rules in case of (25) and (26). If we choose this solution here, we are considering (25) and (26) as related to reported speech. This means that we have to say all *ani* or *en̲r̲u* sentences belong to the general category of reported speech. I am at present not in a position to assert that all *ani* or *en̲r̲u* sentences involve some kind of reported speech or idea. Further research may support this assumption. For this, we need to examine all the types of *ani* or *en̲r̲u* sentences in Dravidian and the

general characteristics of reported speech in other languages. Whatever may be the result, it seems to me that the area of reported speech is much wider than we are accustomed to think. Leaving this problem for the future, notice the following :–

29) Te. *ne:nu iḍḍenlu tinna:nani bho:janam mane:sia:nu*

Ta. *na:n̲ iṭṭi ca:ppiṭṭe:n̲ en̲ru ca:ppa:ṭṭai ni̲rutti viṭṭe:n̲*

'I skipped my meal because I ate 'Itli'.'

This sentence also looks to me unacceptable. If my judgement is right, this sentence poses a curious problem. When the first person ending in the verbs was preferable where there were no first person subjects why is the first person ending in the verb not possible when the subject is also in the first person? In (25) and (26) the verb of the embedded clause, *tinu* 'eat' requires an inanimate object. Let us see whether it is possible to use a verb which requires an animate object. Examine the following sentences :

30a) Te. *peda ra:mayya ga:ru pillini* { *campia:ḍani* / *campia:na:i* } *guḍi kaṭṭincia:ḍu*

Ta. *periya ra:mayya: avarkaḷ pu:n̲aiyaik* { *kon̲ra:r* / *kon̲re:n̲* } *en̲ru ko:yilaik kaṭṭi̲na:r*

b) Te. *peda ra:mayya ga:ru pillini campi guḍi kaṭṭincia:ru*

Ta. *periya ra:mayya: avarkaḷ pu:n̲aiyaik kon̲r̲u ko:yilaik kaṭṭin̲a:r*

Mr. Peda Ramayya built a temple because he killed a cat'.

31a) Te. *ma: pakka a:viḍa mammalni* { *tiṭṭia:nani* / *tiṭṭindani* } *ma: inṭiki ra:vaṭamle:du*

Ta. *eṅkaḷ pakkattu vi:ṭṭukka:ri eṅkaḷait* { *tiṭṭine:n̲* / *tiṭṭin̲a:ḷ* } *en̲r̲u eṅkaḷ vi:ṭṭukku varuvatu illai*

b) Te. *ma: pakka a:viḍa mammalni tiṭṭi ma: inṭiki ra:vaṭamle:du*

Ta. *eṅkaḷ pakkattu vi:ṭṭukka:ri eṅkaḷait tiṭṭi eṅkaḷ viṭṭukku varuvatu illai*

'the lady in the neighbourhood is not visiting (us) our house, because she abused us'.

In the above set 'b' sentences are perfectly all right. But in the same meaning, the 'a' sentences, whatever may be the person ending in the verbs of the embedded clauses do not seem to be possible. If they are ungrammatical we may attribute it to the embedded transitive verbs which require animate objects. Though this suggestion can solve the riddle, it does not qualify for a well motivated rule, because I cannot see any connection between the animate object and the causal

relationship of *ani* or *enru*. Again this is a problem for future research. This brings me to the conclusion of this paper in which I have attempted to suggest more questions, solutions for some problems and raise some for Dravidologists, to be answered in future.

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MORE ON DRAVIDIAN UMLAUT

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Modern colloquial Tamil (CTa.) has a tendency to mid-vowelize the radical non-mid vowels of the literary Tamil (LTa.) forms.

LTa.		CTa.	
vitai	>	*veðay-*	'seed'
kiṭa	>	*keṛa*	'lie'
nila:	>	*nela:*	'moon'
vila:	>	*vela:*	'rib'
viṉai	>	*venay-*	'action'
tiṉai	>	*tenay-*	'millet'
muṉai	>	*monay-*	'corner'
pukai	>	*povay-*	'smoke'
puṭai	>	*poṛay-*	'hole'.

Same is the case with the Sanskrit (Skt.) loans also.

Skt.		CTa.	
guṇa	>	*koṇam-*	'quality'
sukha-	>	*coham-*	'welfare'
bhuja-	>	*posam-*	'shoulder'
viṣa-	>	*vesam-*	'poison'.

Even the English (Eng.) loans have to adjust with this phonological change.

Eng.		CTa.
funnel	>	*ponalu*
phenol	>	*pena:ylu*.

So far as modern colloquial Tamil is concerned this type of phonological development is immune from any exceptions. Of course, there are exceptions, but of different sort. In the above cited instances which, indeed, constitute the bulk of forms covered by the said phonological change, front high vowels change into back mid vowels. There are, on the contrary, a few forms in which the mid-vowelization criss-crosses in that front high vowels change into back mid vowels while back high vowels change into front mid vowels.

LTa.		CTa.	
miḷaku	>	*moḷavu*	'pepper'
piṇaiyal	>	*poṇayalu*	'set of paired bullocks'

piḻai	>	*peḻay-* (*poḻay*-South Arcot Ta.) 'live'
puraḷ	>	*peraḷu* 'roll'
puṟa:	>	*pera:* 'dove'
puṟaṅkai	>	*peraṅkay* 'back palm'
cuma	>	*cema* 'carry'.

A cursory glance at the above forms suffices to bring to light the fact that the immediately following non-radical low vowel /*-a*/ is solely responsible for the umlaut which has taken place in the radical syllables. Since the radical umlaut is caused by the low vowel /*a*/ it is called *a*– umlaut.

Such an umlaut-power is enjoyed by /*a*/ as long as it remains as a part of the stem itself. If, instead of that, there falls any morphemic boundary before that vowel thereby making it a part of any suffix, the /*a*/ can mid-vowelize the radical vowels only if the suffix is derivational; inflexional /*-a*/ has nothing to do with the radical high vowels.

The following are the derivational formations :

LTa.		CTa.
uḻ–avu	>	*oḷ-avu* 'ploughing'
uṟ–avu	>	*or-avu* 'relationship'
vil-ai	>	*vel-ay–* 'price'
nil–ai	>	*nel–ay-* 'status'.

The examples for inflexional formation are as follows :

viṭ-a	>	*viṛ-a*	'to abandon'
cuṭ-a	>	*cuṛ-a*	'to burn'.

There is also one more restriction. If there intervene two consonants, homo-geneous or heterogeneous between the radical and non-radical vowels, the radical high vowels would not change into mid vowels, even if the non-radical vowels are parts of the stems themselves, leave alone the derivational vowels.

LTa.		CTa.	
muṭṭai	>	*muṭay-*	'egg'
kuṭṭai	>	*kuṭay-*	'short'
muttam	>	*mutam-*	'kiss'
kiṇṇam	>	*kiṇṇam-*	'cup'
tiṅkaḷ	>	*tiṅkaḷ-*	'Monday'
cuttam	>	*cutam-*	'neatness' (Skt.)
piccai	>	*picay-*	'alms'
cuṇṭal	>	*cuṇṭalu*	'dried nut'
vikkal	>	*vikalu*	'hiccup'
murral	>	*mutalu*	'over-ripening'

And then are the examples from Kannada (Standard Kannada (SKa.) and Gowda Kannada (GKa.)), which also shows the same tendency in its dialects.

SKa.	GKa.	
kukke	*kukke*	'basket'
kuṇṭa	*kuṇṭa*	'lame man'

The only exception is the Sanskrit loan to be given below :

pustak > *postavam-*
~ *poytavam-* (CTa.) ~ *pottakam-* 'book'

(Inscription see Agesthialingom and Shanmugam 1970:25).

Similar is the fate of low vowel *-a* also :

kayaṟu	>	*keyaru*	'rope'
payaṟu	>	*peyaru*	'gram'
payal	>	*peyal-*	'lad'
vayal	>	*veyal-*	'field'.

Here the intervening palatal consonant instead of the non-radical /*-a*/ may, by temptation, be assumed scapegoat for the mid-vowelization of the radical /*-a-*/. But that assumption, however, won't hold water with regard to the following examples from Tamil.

LTa.		CTa.	
kaṭṭu	>	*keṭu*	'tie'
kana:	>	*kena:*	'dream'
palam- (Skt)	>	*pelam-*	'strength'

From Kannada:

SKa.		GKa.	
kaccu	>	*kəccī*	'bite'
kancu	>	*kəñci*	'bell metal'
kaṭṭu	>	*kəṭṭī*	'packet'
kaḍi	>	*kəḍi*	'cut'.

Some other types of phonological changes are as follows:

LTa.		CTa.	
peṇ	>	*poṇṇu*	'girl'
peṭṭi	>	*poṭi*	'box'
peṭṭai	>	*poṭay-*	'female'
piṭi	>	*puṛi*	'catch'
koṭu	>	*kuṛu*	'give'
kuṭṭu	>	*koṭu*	'beat on the head with the knuckle'
piṇṇa:kku	>	*puṇṇa:ku*	'oil-cake'
piḷḷai	>	*puḷḷay-*	'child'
po:-	>	*pe-* (Kanyakumari) ~ *pu:-* (South Arcot)	'go'

Leaving out of account the extreme linguistic aberrations, some of the criticisms and views held by Burrow regarding this *a*-umlaut are now taken for discussion.

L. V. Ramaswamy Ayyar while discussing about this *a*-umlaut observes that this umlaut takes place only if the interlude is short thereby implying that long or double consonants will prevent mid-vowelization. Though Burrow contests this observation, he has not strengthened his stand by citing sufficient number of counter examples. Instead of that, he merely states that there are more examples to disprove what Ayyar states while there are less examples to support Ayyar's statement (Burrow, 1968:19, 20). But actually there are so many instances in support of Ayyar's thesis. Examples: Ta. *piḷḷai*, Ka. *piḷḷe*, Te. *pilla* 'child'.

LTa.		CTa.	
muṭṭai	>	*muṭay-*	'egg'
kurṟam	>	*kutam-*	'fault'
tiṅkaḷ	>	*tiṅkaḷ-*	'Monday'
SKa.		**GKa.**	
cinna	>	*cinna*	'gold'
ciṭṭe	>	*ciṭṭE*	'(small) bird'
tiṅgaḷu	>	*tiṅga*	'month'
tuṇṭa	>	*tuṇṭa*	'mischievous man'
tuppa	>	*tuppa*	'ghee'

Sreekanthaiya (1953:776 f.) also holds the same view:– "So far we have considered only those cases where a single

consonant intervened between the affecting and the affected vowels. This seems to be one of the governing conditions of the mutation. For, where two consonants intervene, the initial vowel seems to get a sort of double protection; the affecting vowel recedes farther from it and becomes powerless to cause the mutation..... There are however some exceptions to this rule".

Another view of Ayyar contested by Burrow is that this umlaut has not so much affected the literary varieties of Telugu and Kannada as it has affected their spoken varieties. Burrow feels that this is an understatement (1968:20). Ayyar's statement is a proper statement well justified by the following examples taken from literary Kannada (Kushalappa Gowda, 1970:133).

nile	'status'
uḍe	'garment'
kuḷa	'measure'
jiraḷe	'cockroach'
nija	'truth'
hiḍa:ra	'camp'
bila	'hole'
vidhava	'widow'
igaru / imaru	'evaporate'
baḷake/beḷake	'usage'
giḍa	'plant'
iḍaru/eḍaru	'trouble'.

Now the question of finding out the original vowels comes up for discussion. Burrow under the tacit assumption that written Tamil is used to admit only high vowels in the radical syllables when followed by low vowel says (1968.22f) by comparing the kindred words having umlaut, that mid vowels which are not followed by low vowels are original and they change into high vowels when followed by the derivative low vowel in the next syllable. The following examples are from Ta.

el 'light, lustre' > *ilaṅku, ilaku* 'shine',
eṉ/ḷ 'easy, slight, weak', > *iḷam* 'young, tender', *iḷai* 'grow weary'
ceṟu 'restraint' > *ciṟai* 'prison',
koy 'reap' > *kuyam* 'sickle',
poru 'resemble' > *purai* 'resemble'.

Though this method of analysis is attractive and the subsequent solution is arresting there are also exceptional instances which militate against this analysis and evade the solution. Burrow has also listed a handful of these exceptional forms.

1) *poru* 'resemble' > *purai* 'resemble but *poṟu* 'bear' > *poṟai* 'patience'
2) *oṭu* 'together with' > *uṭaṉ* 'together with' but *toṭu* 'start' > *toṭaṅku* 'start'
3) *vem* 'hot' > *viyar* 'sweat'
4) *el* 'light' > *ila(ṅ)ku* 'shine'
5) *veḷ* 'white' > *viḷaṅku* 'shine'
6) *kol* 'kill' > *kolai* 'murder'
7) *toḷ* 'hole' > *toḷai* 'hole'.

In addition, there are also some more exceptions untouched by the *a*– umlaut in LTa.

1) *toku* 'collect' > *tokai* 'collection'
2) *noṭu* 'sell' > *noṭai* 'price'
3) *toṭu* 'string' > *toṭai* 'garland'
4) *koṭu* 'give' > *koṭai* 'gift'
5) *koḷ* 'have' > *ko(ḷ)ḷai* 'getting in abundance, loot'
6) *kol* 'dig' > *kollai* 'garden'
7) *eṭu* 'take' > *eṭai* 'weight'.

There are forms which behave differently in the same environment in LTa.

el + *aṅku* > *ilaṅku* 'shine'
el + *ai* > *ellai* 'sun'
veḷ + *aṅku* > *viḷaṅku* 'shine'
veḷ + *ai* > *veḷḷai* 'white'.

Explanations for these exceptions are given below. Mostly stem final liquids do not geminate before derivative vowels.

nil 'stand' +*ai* > *nilai* 'position'
vil 'sell' +*ai* > *vilai* 'price'
kal 'learn' +*ai* > *kalai* 'art'
nal 'good' +*am* > *nalam* 'welfare'
kol 'kill' +*ai* > *kolai* 'murder'

But against this tendency is the gemination found in *koḷḷai* 'loot' (~*koḷai*) < *koḷ* 'have', *kollai* 'backyard, garden' <*kol* 'till'. Moreover the *-ai* in *ellai* is not derivative since *el* itself means 'sun' which is the meaning for *ellai* also. Hence *ellai* cannot be a derivative. It may be mentioned here that no comparative or historical linguist has ever taken any pain to provide objective criteria for the identification of inflexion or derivation. Regarding *toṭaṅku* 'start' *toṭar* 'continue' (<*toṭ-*) LTa. has no umlaut. But inscriptions are offering *tuṭaṅku* 'start' (Shanmugam, 1968:86). Malayalam has correctly retained the forms *tuṭaṅṅu* > *tuṭar*, as it has also correctly retained the forms *ci:ra* 'greens' by having, unlike Ta., palatalized the initial velar of *ki:rai* 'greens' (Burrow 1968:47). In the case of *tokai* 'amount' *eṭai* 'weight', *celavu* 'expenditure' inscriptions again come to our help by having *tukai*, *iṭay* (Agesthialingom and Shanmugam 1970:25) and *cilavu* (Shanmugam1968:86). Written records of semi-literates in Tamilnadu have also *tukai*, *tuṭaṅku* and *cilavu*. Malayalam has *tuka*. The continued presence of *toṭai* 'garland', *noṭai* 'price', *koṭai* 'gift', *poṟai* 'patience' untouched by the *a*-umlaut may be explained as due to the influence of one dialect which has refused to be influenced by the *a*-umlaut. Instances of sporadic influence of one or other Tamil dialects are not rare in Tamil literary records. This essay comes to an end with a note on the position of Laccadive Malayalam (Lac. Ma.) in the gamut of Dravidian umlaut.

Unlike most of the other Dravidian dialects, Laccadive Malayalam has refused to be cowed down by the *a*-umlaut.

iṟaññu	'descend'
ilay	'leaf'
iḷam	'young'
kiṭa	'lie down'
uṟay-	'cover'
uṭan	'immediately'
kuṭam-	'pot'.

But *ke:ññu* < *kiḷaṅku* 'bulbous root' is due to the influence of *y* < *ḷ*; *ke:vamma:ru* 'old men' < *keḷavanma:ru*. Like Kannada, Laccadive Malayalam has also high-vowelized the radical mid vowels when followed by high vowels.

Lac. Ma.	LMa.
ili	*eli* 'rat'
iḷu	*eḷu* 'rise'
iḷutu	*eḷutu* 'write'
iṭu	*eṭu* 'take'
tiru	*teru* 'street'
kuṭu	*koṭu* 'give' (CTa. *kuṟu*)
kutu	*kotuku* 'mosquito'

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NOTES ON THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE ADJECTIVE IN TAMIL

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No other problem of the Tamil grammar has probably called forth such an amount of contradiction and dispute among linguists as that of the nature of the adjective. Doubts were expressed not only in regard to formal boundaries and morphological features of this class of words, but even in regard to its existence as a separate part of speech in general.

The latter view, though unexpected and doubtful in the eyes of those who have limited themselves to the study of Modern Tamil alone, may become justified when one turns to facts of Classical Tamil: in any case the classical Tamil grammars, Tolka:ppiyam and Nannu:l do not enumerate the adjective among separate parts of speech in the language of that period.

It is true that in the modern language the situation is different. However, this fact does not prevent some students of Tamil grammar from denying the existence of adjectives in the modern language too (which is

probably the result of the influence of the classical tradition). Here belong Pope[1], Ārumukana:valar, (1957), Bloch[2], Meenakshisundaran, (1965:46-47; 1967:8-9), Mervart (1929:55) and others.

An opposite tendency to transfer norms of the modern language on the grammar of Classical Tamil is found in the views of another group of linguists who made an attempt to postulate the existence of the adjective as a separate part of speech not only in Modern Tamil but (in defiance of Tolka:ppiyam and Nannu:l) in the classical language as well. This point of view is most clearly expressed in a number of papers and reviews by Burrow, (1947:254-5), Master (1948: 1-2) and Zvelebil (1961a: 705-706; 1961b: 286-7). It is also adhered to in Burrow and Emeneau's 'Dravidian Etymological Dictionary' (1961).

Finally, even those who describe the adjectives of Modern Tamil are not united in the enumeration of forms to be included into this part of speech. The only form that has raised no objections so far is the adjective in *-a*. As Jothimuthu says, "generally adjectives in Tamil end in *a*" (1956:47). Other authors agree with this and follow Arden in saying that Tamil

[1] In Tamil there are no adjectives, strictly so called (Pope, 1911:105)

[2] ("Il n'y a pas d'ajectifs proprement dits en dravidien" (Bloch 1946:32) (...there are no adjectives properly so called in Dravidian (1954:42)

adjectives are indeclinable and are always prefixed to the noun which they qualify; as *nalla kutiraikaḷukku* 'to good horses' (Arden, 1954:108 cf. Meile, 1945:180–1. Beythan, 1943:131. and Agesthialingom, 1967:152–3).

The study of the distribution of forms in *–a* proves that in the modern language they actually constitute a separate class of unbound words These words do not vary and freely function as prepositive attributes irrespective of the form of a following word. This is quite sufficient for rejecting - as far as the modern language is concerned - the view advocated by Pope and Bloch and for the recognition of such forms as a class of separate words known as the adjective.

Let us examine now if other forms of the attribute, not infrequently included into the adjective, can meet these demands. To start with, one must drop from this list constructions of substantives (and other nouns) with participles (*a:na* 'which became', *uḷḷa* 'which compraises, includes', *mikka* 'which abounded', etc.) as well as crude nominal bases (Beythan, 1943: 133, 134, Arden, 1954: 109-110 and Shanmugam Pillai, 1965: 152-53) the first must be excluded as phrases formed of two separate words that belong to different parts of speech (e.g., *palam-a:na* 'strong', 'which became something strong', *cakti–y-uḷḷa* 'mighty, which contains strength'), the second, as elements of composite words, i.e. as segments of speech that are shorter than words and therefore unliable to classification into parts of speech

in isolation from composite words they form an element of (e.g., *mara-p-peṭṭi* 'a wooden box', *to:ṭṭattu-k-katavu* 'a garden gate').

There are no more grounds to regard as separate words such bound morphemes as *peru-/perum-/pe:r-* 'big', *pacu-/ pacum / pa:c-/pacc-/paim-* 'green', etc., (Beschi, 1828:33, and Beythan 1943:131-3) which are also segments of speech shorter than the word. Their bound character is evident from the interrelation existing between the specific form of any particular morpheme and the nature of the initial sound of the following word: thus, *peru-* is used before sonants, *perum-*, before noise consonants, *pe:r-*, before vowels and some sonants (e.g., *peru-vilai* 'big price', *perum-pa:vi* 'great sinner', *pe:r-utavi* 'great help'), etc. [3]

The bound character of these morphemes, whose distribution is regulated by the word-building norms of the Tamil language, was first noted by Beschi (1828:34) who stressed that "all these forms cannot be indiscriminately used with all the nouns". He underlined their

[3] Here *ci:r/ cir-*, *pa:c-/pac-*, *pe:r-/per-* are two forms, long and short, of one and the same base (cf. Krishnamurti, 1955:75). *-u-* in *ciru-*, *pacu-*, *peru-*, is a derivative suffix, *-m-* in *cirum-*, *pacum-*, *perum-* is a connective consonant (an euphonic increment). Double consonants in *cirr-*, *pacc-*, etc., are due to the operation of sandhi (a short closed syllable before a vowel). Finally, *-m-* in *paim-* is an euphonic increment, while *pai-* is an archaic form of the base, with *-c-* (*-s-*) < *-i-*(*y*), like in *uciru* < *uyir* 'breath', *ocar-* < *uyar-* 'to rise', *pacaṅka* < *paiyaṉkaḷ* 'children' (cf. Andronov, 1962:17).

paradigmatic irregularity and emphasized that some 'adjectives' may be formed in each of the described ways whereas other – only in a few of them. Following Nannu:l, Beschi (Ibid) points out that here no rules can be given and we must observe the practice of ancient writers.

When such forms end in noise consonants, e.g., *pa:c-/pac(c)-* 'green', *ci̱-/ci̱(̱r)-* 'small', *ne̱ṭ(ṭ)-* 'long', their bound character can be seen particularly well: according to the rules of the Tamil phonetics (cf. sutras 69,70, 78 in E̱uttatika:ram of Tolka:ppiya̱na:r), free words in Tamil may end only in vowels and sonants.[4]

As only words may be classified into parts of speech rather than their parts – roots and other morphemes, the problem of the part of speech to which forms like *ci̱ru-/ci̱rum-/ci̱-/ci̱r-* belong may not even be posed: they belong to no part of speech whatever.

Like nominal bases of the type *mara-* in *mara-p-peṭṭi* 'a wooden box', the forms under study are an element of a composite word. That is why, as, Beschi rightly notes, they are generally written in one word with the second component and are not given in dictionaries as separate items (Ibid:34)

[4] *ci:r-/ci̱r-*, etc., cannot be regarded as forms that lost their final *-u-* before a vowel of the following word: in forms like *ci̱ru-* (with a short vowel in the root) *-u-* is not liable to elision and in forms like *ci̱r-* it is not to be used at all. Cf. Andronov, (1970:83).

All these remarks lead us to the conclusion that the point of view advocated by Burrow[5], Master[6] and Zvelebil[7] and based on the recognition of bound morphemes as separate words cannot be accepted by modern linguistics while their criticism of Kittel, Bloch, Vaiyapuri Pillai and others cannot be considered valid.

The last in the list of forms sometimes erroneously reckoned among adjectives stand peculiar personal nouns

[5] Cf.: As far as the ancient form of the South Dravidian is concerned the non-recognition of the adjective as a separate part of speech is mistaken. In early Tamil and Kanarese, for instance, adjectives are both numerous and clearly distinguished morphologically from the noun. The difference is that they cannot take the case-terminations proper, that is to say, they cannot be used as abstract nouns: Ta. *peru* means 'great' and *perumai* means 'greatness', and the distinction is quite clear. It is necessary to insist on this, since the non-recognition of the adjective has had some unfortunate practical consequences. Kittel, in his Kanarese dictionary, translates all his adjectives as abstract nouns, which is incorrect, as well as being a round-about and clumsy way of expounding the language The Tamil Lexicon does even worse, and omits systematically the whole category of adjectives, so that the reader looks in vain for some of the commonest words in the language. This is largely because in the modern languages the adjective has tended to be eliminated but in older languages adjeetives are common and easily distinguished from other parts of speech (Burrow, 1947:254–255).

[6] Cf: The English reader will be puzzled by the statement that Dravidian has no adjectives. In spite of Kittel (who was a German), English grammatical theory admits of Dravidian adjectives and Dravidian grammar distinguishes them from nouns (Master, Ibid., p:107).

[7] According to him the adjectives proper look like *peru*, *ciṟu*, *aru* (Zvelebil, 1961a:706)

of Classical Tamil generally termed *viṉaikkuṟippu* in Tamil grammatical literature or appellative nouns, conjugated nouns, noms pronominalisés, in European Dravidology.

Like substantives personal nouns distinguish the gender, number and case, but unlike them personal nouns possess the category of person. Primary personal nouns are formed with personal suffixes directly from nominal bases, whereas derivative personal nouns are formed from fully formed substantives (and other nouns); cf., e.g , *nalle:ṉ* 'good I', 'I who am good', *peṇṭirem* 'woman-like we', 'we who resemble women' (with *peṇṭir* 'women', *peṇṭu* 'woman')[9] etc.[8]

The classical Tamil grammars regarded personal nouns as a subclass of verbs (probably because of their frequent use in the role of the predicate). Beschi suggested that they should be regarded as a separate part of speech, the appellative noun (probably because of their frequent use in this function too). Afterwards, Beythan, (1943: 134-5) and later Burrow[9] and Zvelebil (1961b: 286-7) tried to interpret them as a special indeclinable predicative form of the adjective, which, as some of them maintained, was no nominal part of speech at all.[10] Thus, e.g., Zvelebil described adjectives as words which cannot be inflected for case, but may be

[8] For more detail (cf. Andronov, 1969:122–24).

[9] The addition of pronominal terminations is common to nouns, adjectives, and verbs (Burrow, Ibid:255).

[10] Tamil adjectives are not even nouns (Zvelebil, 1961 b: 286).

nevertheless, inflected for person, number and gender..., cf. *nalle:m : nallo:r : nallava̲n : nallava̲l* (1961b: 287). Thus, it is clear, he concludes, that they cannot be regarded as nouns' (Ibid.).

It is necessary to emphasize, however, that the allegation that personal nouns are not declined for cases and are used exclusively as predicates does not conform to facts.[11] In classical Tamil texts one can find a good number of instances when personal nouns of any person are used in oblique cases with respective syntactical functions. Cf., e g., *periya:n̲e: ci̲riye:n̲ai a:ṭkoṇṭa peykaḷa̲ṟki:ḷ*.... (*Tiruva:cakam* 5, 18) 'O Great Lord, beneath thy feet that fascinated me who am so paltry...', *citaittal vallaiya:l neṭuntakai*... (*Pu̲ṟam*, 37) 'O glorious king, let everything be destroyed by thee who art so mighty...', *nalla:ḷo:ṭu nayappu̲ṟa*... (*Tiruva:cakam* 5, 12) 'having fallen in love with her who is so good...', *ci̲riye:n̲ pavam ti:rppava̲n̲e:*... (*Tiruva:cakam* 6, 7) 'O Siva, thou wilt stop my early births...'.[12]

However, this is not even the point. Irrespective of their capability to be declined personal nouns cannot be regarded as inflectional forms of the adjective (or other

[11] This erroneous idea is most probably borrowed by Burrow and Zvelebil from (Beschi 1828-28). Pope, (1858-77) however, corrected Beschi's mistake in his grammar written in Tamil: there he especially pointed out that personal nouns take suffixes of case, person, number and gender and gave a paradigm of their declension.

[12] For other examples see Andronov, 1969:124–5).

nouns), since their connection is purely derivative.[13] As noted still by Academician F. F. Fortunatov, (1956:155) 'inflectional forms are only those forms of complete separate words which express difference in relations between one objects of thought and other objects of thought in the sentence'. Mean-while, it is suffiicient to compare such words as *nalla* 'good' and *nalla:n* 'a good man' or *na:y* 'a dog' and *na:ye:n* 'doglike I' in order to note that these are not inflectional forms of one word, but different words of distinct lexical meaning, i.e. words denoting different "objects of thought". Thus, e.g., the word *na:y* denotes an animal whereas the word *na:ye:n* denotes a man, the word *nalla* denotes a quality irrespective of any person or object that may possess it whereas the word *nalla:n* denotes a man and is objective in its meaning, etc.

In addition, adjectives like *nalla* 'good', *periya* 'big' *ciriya* 'small' etc., are used in the modern language, where as forms like *nalle:n* 'good I', *periya:y* 'big thou', *ciriya:n* 'small he', 'small man' are met with only in the classical language and, for this reason alone, cannot belong to the same paradigmatic class.

To sum up, the only form of the adjective in Tamil is that found in words like *nalla*, *periya* etc.

The origin and primary nature of such forms, which obtained the status of the adjective only in Modern

[13] Cf. also Beschi (1828:23) who says: So irregular, indeed, is the formation of appellatives, that it is impossible to fix it by any certain rules.

Tamil, will become clear from their comparison with the paradigm of the respective personal noun of Classica Tamil; cf., e.g.,–

		Singular	Plural
1st Per.		*nalle:n̲* 'good I'	*nalle:m* 'good we'
2nd Per.		*nalla:y* 'good thou'	*nalli:r* 'good you'
3rd Per.	Masc.	*nalla:n̲* 'a good man'	*nalla:r* 'good
	Fem.	*nalla:l̲* 'a good woman'	persons'
	Neu.	*nan̲ru* 'a good thing'	*nalla* 'good things'

In Classical Tamil forms of the Nominative case like *nalla* (as well as forms of other persons) would be used both in the substantival and attributive functions; cf., e.g., *nalla illa-va:kupava:l...* (*Puṟam*, 7.) 'because[3] there are no[2] good things[1]' (*nalla* in the substantival function), *oppuravin̲ nalla piṟa...* (*Tirukkuṟaḷ*, 213) 'other things[3] as good[2] as philanthropy[1]' (*nalla* in the attributive function), etc.[14].

[14] The Tamil grammatical school regards neutar personal nouns of the third person plural in the substantival function as *vinaikkuṟippu* and in the attributive function, as participles (cf. Iḷampu:raṇam, Ce:na:varaiyam and other medieval commentaries, also Subrahmanya Sastri, (1945:93-4) Meenakshisundaran. (1965:86). This, however, can have no grounds, as the described forms do not differ functionally from other personal nouns, which, nevertheless, are never divided in this way. Besides, the existence of participles in the system of personal nouns is hardly possible, as the latter lack verbal properties, particularly modality.

In the modern language personal nouns of the first and second persons got out of use (a few of them like *aṭiye:n* 'I am your obedient servant', *te:vari:r* 'your worship', *aṉpuṭaiyi:r* 'dear sir' remain in use as stock phrases). Personal nouns of the third person have been retained by the modern language, but following the loss of their personal characteristics (since their opposition with personal nouns of other persons disappeared) they ceased to be a separate part of speech and turned into one of the derivation classes of substantives.

Neuter personal nouns of the third person plural, like *nalla*, *ciṟiya*, *periya*, etc., have lost in the modern language their capability of being used in the substantival function. They lost their original categories of

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Similarly, there are no grounds for regarding derivative neuter personal nouns of the third person plural in the attributive function as a peculiar form of the Plural Genitive in *-a*, which is said to be used only before a qualified word in plural (cf. Naṉṉu:l, 300: "*A:ṟaṉ... paṉmaik kavvu murupa:m*" *-a* is a suffix of the Genitive Plural...). Firstly, such a treatment disturbs the consistency in the description of the Tamil grammatical system, tearing off one inflectional form from the rest of the paradigm. Secondly, it is incorrect in essence, as the suffix *-a* frequently expresses no meaning of the Genitive case, cf., e.g., *ceviya veruvai* (Aiṅkuṟunu:ṟu, 335) '(red-) eared eagles' (with *cevi* 'ear'), *kaṉiya va:lam* (Ibid., 303) 'fruit-bearing banyans' (with *kaṉi* 'fruit'), *kaṇṭal veliya u:r* (Naṟṟiṇai, 74) 'villages with fences made of kaṇṭal' (with *ve:li* 'fence' (see also Subrahmanya Sastri. 1945:93); Caldwell, (1913:248, 298)

On the contrary, our interpretation explains not only the semantics of such forms (e.g., *ceviya* 'those which possess ears', *kaṉiya* 'those which possess fruits' *ve:liya* 'those which possess fences'), but also the meaning of plurality that they impart to the qualified word.

person, gender and number and developed capability of being used as indeclinable attributes to other nouns, without distinguishing number or gender.[15]

In conclusion it is necessary to stress that at least two historic forms of Tamil classical and modern, should be distinguished when the problem of the adjective is under study. As regards Classical Tamil, it is necessary to agree with Tolka:ppiyaṉa:r and Pavaṇanti who did not establish the adjective as a separate part of speech.[16] As far as Modern Tamil is concerned, the existence of the adjective is a fact:[17] objections must be raised to the erroneous extention of this part of speech by including nominal bases and other morphemes that are not independent words.

[15] That is why, in particular, Zvelebil (1961a:706) makes a mistake when he says that "such adjectives as *periya, ciṟiya, ariya, paciya* .. had never the status of nouns in Tamil.

[16] Therefore an attempt to establish the adjective (understood as forms of the *nalla* type in the attributive function) in Classical Tamil itself (cf V. I. Subramoniam, 1962:IV) is hardly acceptable: in the classical language these forms retained their agreement in person, number and gender with words they qualify and, thus, did not yet cease to be personal nouns.

[17] It is remarkable that the historic development of personal nouns in *-a* (like *nalla*) and their transformation into adjectives finds its analogy in a similar development of participles in *-a*, which originally also could be used in two functions, the substantival (as neuter participial nouns of the third person plural) and attributive (as pure participles).

CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN KURUX*

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0. Causativization as a linguistic phenomenon involves a complex process in which an agent incites an experiencer to do some act. Kũṛux[1] has a very productive process of causativization and the causative elements are phonemically realized as *-d-*, *-ʔa:-* and *-tʔa:-*, which are suffixed to the verbal root of the embedded S(entences) in the surface level.

1. Discussions in this paper are centred around the diversities of the Kũṛux causative construction in relation to the seemingly synonymous noncausal and reflexive sentences.[2]

* My special thanks are due to Dr.E. Annamalai with whom I discussed this paper in detail and with whose guidance I have been able to set right the theoretical errors of the original paper. Needless to say, he is not responsible for any error in this paper.

[1] Kũṛux is a Dravidian language spoken by 11,41,805. Kũṛux people live mainly in the adjoining districts of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. The author himself is a native speaker of Kũṛux.

[2] Transformational processes involved in the causative construction are out of the scope of this paper.

2. Causative constructions in Kũṛux are of two kinds:

1) single causative construction (hereafter SCC) whose underlying structure

$$\underset{So}{[\ NP_1} \underset{VPo}{[} \underset{S_1}{[\ NP_2\ VP\ ]}\ \underset{S_1}{CAUSE\ ]} \underset{VPo}{\ ]} \underset{So}{\ ]}$$

consists of only one embedded S, and in which there are only one agent and one experiencer; 2) double causative construction (hereafter DCC) whose underlying structure

$$\underset{So}{[\ NP_1} \underset{VPo}{[} \underset{S_1}{[\ NP_2} \underset{VP_1}{[} \underset{S_2}{[NP_3 VP]\ CAUSE\ ]} \underset{VP_1}{\ ]CAUSE]} \underset{VPo}{\ ]} \underset{So}{\ ]}$$

consists of two embedded S's, and therefore has two agents, viz., NP_1 and NP_2, and two experiencers, viz., NP_2 (incited by agent NP_1) and NP_3 (incited by agent NP_2).

3.1. Before entering into detailed discussion on the causal construction, it is necessary that we group the three causative elements *-d-*, *-ʔa:-* and *-tʔa:-* into two. We term the first two as $CAUSE_1$ and the last as $CAUSE_2$. This classification is based on their semantically contrasting features reflected in the SCC according to which the experiencer in the SCC with $CAUSE_1$ does the action voluntary (+Vol.), whereas with $CAUSE_2$ he does involuntarily (—Vol.). For example, consider the sentences (1) and (2) which have $CAUSE_1$ and $CAUSE_2$ respectively in their underlying structures.

1. *e:n a:sin e:ddan*
   I him see-make
   'I make him see (where he sees voluntarily)'.

Its underlying structure is

$$\underset{\text{So}}{\left[\begin{matrix}e{:}n\\ \text{I}\end{matrix}\right.}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\Bigg[}\ \underset{S_1}{\left[\begin{matrix}a{:}s\\ \text{he}\end{matrix}\right.}\ \underset{S_1}{\left.\begin{matrix}e{:}rdas\\ \text{sees}\end{matrix}\right]\text{CAUSE}_1}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\Bigg]}\ \underset{\text{So}}{\Bigg]}$$

and

2. *e:n a:sin e:rt?a:dan*
   I him see-make
   'I make him see (where he sees involuntarily)'.

Its underlying structure is

$$\underset{\text{So}}{\left[\begin{matrix}e{:}n\\ \text{I}\end{matrix}\right.}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\Bigg[}\ \underset{S_1}{\left[\begin{matrix}a{:}s\\ \text{he}\end{matrix}\right.}\ \underset{S_1}{\left.\begin{matrix}e{:}rdas\\ \text{sees}\end{matrix}\right]\text{CAUSE}_2}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\Bigg]}\ \underset{\text{So}}{\Bigg]}$$

Since voluntary and involuntary actions of the experiencer are semantically relevant to the causal sentences, we add (+Vol) and (-Vol) features to the accusative elements to make them CAUSE_1 (+Vol) and CAUSE_2 (-Vol)[3]. Again, since *-d-* and *-?a:-* take different sets of verbs, we need to subclassify CAUSE_1 (+Vol) into CAUSE_{1a} (+Vol) and CAUSE_{1b} (+Vol).

[3] This representation, however, is faulty, because it would mean that the act of causing is either voluntary or involuntary. Semantically, it is the experiencer's action that is voluntary or involuntary. Therefore, [+Vol] and [-Vol] should actually form the part of the embedded sentence of which the experiencer has grammatical function of a subject. Since these features are significant only in relation to CAUSE element, I am unable, at present, to find the way to isolate them from CAUSE, and mark as adverbs of the embedded sentence. This representation, therefore, is only tentative and requires modification.

$CAUSE_{1a}$ (+Vol) is realized as *-d-* when the finite verb in the constituent S is any one of the following verbs. (Corresponding forms with $CAUSE_{1a}$ (+Vol) and $CAUSE_2$ (-Vol) are given in parentheses)

e:r- 'see'

(*e:d-* 'make one see (+Vol action)')

(*e:rt?a:-* 'make one see (-Vol action)')

ij- 'stand'

(*id-* 'make one stand (+Vol action)')

o:l- 'get burnt.'

(*od-* 'make one get burnt (+Vol action)')

(*o:lt?a:-* 'make one get burnt (-Vol action)')

co?- 'get up'

(*co:d-*) make one get up (+Vol action)')

(*co:t?a:-* 'make one get up (-Vol action)')

cãy- 'get wet'

(*ce:d-* 'make one get wet (+Vol action)')

(*cãyt?a:-* 'make one get wet (-Vol action)')

xay- 'get dry'

(*xe:d-* 'make one dry (+Vol action)')

(*xayt?a:-* 'make one get dry (-Vol action)')

$CAUSE_{1b}$ (+Vol) is realized as *-?a:-* when the finite verb in the constituent S is any one of those thirty seven

verbs of which a few are listed below. (Corresponding forms with $CAUSE_{1b}$ (+Vol) and $CAUSE_2$ (-Vol) are given in the parentheses).

arg- 'climb up'

(*arg?a:-* 'make one climb (+Vol action)')
(*argt?a:-* 'make one climb (-Vol action)')

turd- 'leak out'

(*turd?a:-* 'make one leak out (+Vol action)')
(*turdt?a:-* 'make one leak out (-Vol action)')

xaṛd- 'be tired'

(*xaṛd?a:-* 'make one tired (+Vol action)')
(*xaṛdt?a:-* 'make one tired (-Vol action)')

maṛx- 'be dirty'

(*maṛx?a:-* 'make one be dirty (+Vol action)')
(*maṛxt?a:-* 'make one be dirty (-Vol action)')

surp- 'sip'

(*surp?a:-* 'make one sip (+Vol action)')
(*surpt?a:-* 'make one sip (-Vol action)')

nulx- 'swallow'

(*nulx?a:-* 'make one swallow (+Vol action)')
(*nulxt?a:-* 'make one swallow (-Vol action)')

curx- 'drop'

(*curx?a:-* 'make one drop (+Vol action)')

(*curxt?a:-* 'make one drop (-Vol action)')

$CAUSE_2$ (-Vol) is realized as *-t?a:-* with all verbs except *tali-*, *hik-* 'be' and *mali-* 'not to be'.

3.2. Note that the Kũṛux causative construction allows the agent and the experiencer to be identical, such that in the underlying structure of the SCC, viz.,

$$\underset{So}{[}\ NP_1\ \underset{VPo}{[}\quad \underset{S_1}{[}\ NP_2\ VP\ \underset{S_1}{]}\ CAUSE\ \underset{VPo}{]}\quad \underset{So}{]}$$

$NP_1 = NP_2$, a phenomenon unusual to the general theory of causative construction. In the underlying structure of the DCC, viz.,

$$\underset{So}{[}\ NP_1\ \underset{VPo}{[}\ \underset{S_1}{[}\ NP_2\ \underset{VP_1}{[}\ \underset{S_2}{[}\ NP_3\ VP\ \underset{S_2}{]}\ CAUSE\ \underset{VP_1}{]}\ \underset{S_1}{]}$$

$$CAUSE\ \underset{VPo}{]}\ \underset{So}{]}$$

NP_1 and NP_3 can be identical. In such case, the identity is between distant NP's. In the same underlying structure, NP_2 and NP_3 can also be identical. In this case, the identity is the same as the identity of NP_1 and NP_2 in the SCC.

4. Let us now discuss causative constructions of Kũṛux on the light of the theoretical background presented in the preceding section.

4.1. Causal sentence in SCC. As we mentioned earlier, the SCC contains one agent and one experiencer who may or may not be identical. Causal sentence in the SCC can be formed with any of the $CAUSE_{1a}$ [+Vol] $CAUSE_{1b}$ [+Vol] and $CAUSE_2$ [-Vol] features. The following are the examples for causal sentences with $CAUSE_{1a}$ [+Vol], $CAUSE_{1b}$ [+Vol] and $CAUSE_2$ [-Vol] features. In each sentence, agent and the experiencer are non-identical

3. *e:n* *a:sin* *co:ddan*
I him get up-make
'I make him get up (where he gets up voluntarily)'.

Its underlying form is

$$\underset{\text{So}}{\left[\begin{matrix}e{:}n\\ \text{I}\end{matrix}\right.}\ \underset{\text{Vpo}}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{S_1}{\left[\begin{matrix}a{:}s & co?das\\ \text{he} & \text{gets up}\end{matrix}\right]}\ \underset{S_1}{\text{CAUSE}_{1a}\ [+\text{Vol}]}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{So}}{\left.\right]}$$

4. *e:n* *a:sin* *co?i?a:dan*
I him get up-make
'I make him get up (where he gets up involuntarily)'.

Its underlying form is

$$\underset{\text{So}}{\left[\begin{matrix}e{:}n\\ \text{I}\end{matrix}\right.}\ \underset{\text{Vpo}}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{S_1}{\left[\begin{matrix}a{:}s & co?das\\ \text{he} & \text{gets up}\end{matrix}\right]}\ \underset{S_1}{\text{CAUSE}_2\ [-\text{Vol}]}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{So}}{\left.\right]}$$

5. *e:n* *a:sin* *maɽx?a:dan*
I him be dirty-make

'I make him be dirty (where he becomes dirty voluntarily)'.

Its underlying form is

$$\underset{So}{\left[\begin{array}{l} e{:}n \\ \text{I} \end{array}\right.} \underset{VPo}{\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{ll} a{:}s & maɽxdas \\ \text{he} & \text{becomes dirty} \end{array}\right]_{S_1} \\ \left.\begin{array}{l} \text{CAUSE}_{1b}\,[+\text{Vol}] \end{array}\right]_{S_1} \end{array}} \underset{VPo}{\left.\right]} \underset{So}{\left.\right]}$$

6. *e:n* *a:sin* *maɽxt?a:dan*
I him be dirty-make

'I make him be dirty (where he becomes dirty involuntarily)'.

Its underlying form is

$$\underset{So}{\left[\begin{array}{l} e{:}n \\ \text{I} \end{array}\right.} \underset{VPo}{\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{ll} a{:}s & maɽxdas \\ \text{he} & \text{becomes dirty} \end{array}\right]_{S_1} \\ \left.\begin{array}{l} \text{CAUSE}_{2}\,[-\text{Vol}] \end{array}\right]_{S^1} \end{array}} \underset{Vpo}{\left.\right]} \underset{So}{\left.\right]}$$

7. *e:n* *a:sin* *e:kt?a:dan*
I him walk-make

'I make him walk (where he walks involuntarily)'

Its underlying form is

$$\underset{So}{\left[\begin{array}{l} e{:}n \\ \text{I} \end{array}\right.} \underset{VPo}{\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{ll} a{:}s & e{:}kdas \\ \text{he} & \text{walks} \end{array}\right]_{S_1} \\ \left.\begin{array}{l} \text{CAUSE}_{2}\,[-\text{Vol}] \end{array}\right]_{S_1} \end{array}} \underset{VPo}{\left.\right]} \underset{So}{\left.\right]}$$

Example for causal sentence with identical agent and experiencer is as follows:

8. *ni:n* *niñ:an* *ce:dday*
you you get wet-make
(mas. sg. mas. sg.)

'You (mas. sg.) make yourself get wet (where you get wet voluntarily)'.

Its underlying form is

$$\underset{\text{So}}{\left[\begin{matrix}\textit{ni:n}\\ \text{you (mas. sg.}\end{matrix}\right]}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\left[\begin{matrix}\textit{ni:n} \\ \text{you (mas. sg.)}\end{matrix}\right.}\ \underset{S_1}{\left[\begin{matrix}\textit{cãyday}\\ \text{get wet}\end{matrix}\right]}\ \underset{S_1}{\text{CAUSE}_{1b}\ [+\text{Vol}]}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{So}}{\left.\right]}$$

Notice in passing that the identity of the agent and the experiencer in the SCC with CAUSE_2 [–Vol] is theoretically not possible since one cannot cause oneself to do some act and do the action involuntarily Therefore, the sentence like

9. **ni:n* *niñ:an* *cãyt?a:day*
you (mas. sg.) you (mas. sg.) get wet-make

'you (mas. sg.) get yourself wet (where you get wet involuntarily)' is ungrammatical.

Sentence (8) above has identical subject and object in the surface level. Such identity meets the requirement of a reflexive construction. So the reflexive element *–r–* can be suffixed to the inflected verb stem (root in the

case of nominal sentence) as in (10). When the reflexive suffix is added, the object is obligatorily deleted.[4] Accordingly, we get

10. *ni:n* *ce:drday*
you (mas. sg.) get you-make wet
'you (mas. sg.) get yourself wet'.

Notice that (8) differs from the noncausal sentence

11. *ni:n* *cãyday*
you (mas. sg.) get wet.

In (8) there is delibrate action of the agent involved, such as, going out in the rain or pouring water on oneself or getting into the water etc., the circumstances where one is not expected to do so. But in (11) the act of getting wet is just causal when one washes, bathes or fishes in a deep water etc.

4.2. Causal sentence in DCC. In this type of causative construction there are two agents and two experiencers. The outermost VP of So always takes $CAUSE_2$ (-Vol) whereas VP of S_1 can be any one of the $CAUSE_{1a}$ (+Vol), $CAUSE_{1b}$ (+Vol) and $CAUSE_2$ (-Vol). In this construction the first experiencer, i.e., NP_2 always does the action of inciting another, i.e., NP_3 involuntarily. The latter does the action either voluntarily or involuntarily depending upon the presence of (+Vol) or

[4] However, the deletion of the object in the noncausal sentence is optional. For instance, the noncausal sentence *e:n en:am law?dan* 'Ibeat me' can be transformed onto *e:n (en:an) lawrdan* 'I beat myself'

(-Vol) feature with CAUSE. Following are the examples for causal sentences in the DCC. In each sentence, agents and experiencers are not identical.

12. *e:n a:sin niṅ:an* *e:dtʔa:dan*
I him you (mas. sg. obj.) see-make-make
'I make him to make you see (where he causes you involuntarily and you see voluntarily)'.

Its underlying form is

$$\underset{\text{So}}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{I}}{e{:}n}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{S}_1}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{he}}{a{:}s}\ \underset{\text{VP}_1}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{S}_2}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{you (mas. sg.)}}{ni{:}n}\ \underset{\text{see}}{e{:}rday}\ \underset{\text{S}_2}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{VP}_1}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{S}_1}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{So}}{\left.\right]}$$

$$\text{CAUSE}_{1a}\ (+\text{Vol})\ \text{CAUSE}_2\ (-\text{Vol})$$

13. *e:n a:sin nin:an arga:tʔa:dan*
I him you (mas. sg.) climb up-make-make
'I make him to make you climb up (where he causes you involuntarily and you climb up voluntarily)'.

Its underlying form is

$$\underset{\text{So}}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{I}}{e{:}n}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{S}_1}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{he}}{a{:}s}\ \underset{\text{VP}_1}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{S}_2}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{\text{you (mas. sg.) climb up}}{ni{:}n\quad argday}\ \underset{\text{S}_2}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{VP}_1}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{S}_1}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\left.\right]}\ \underset{\text{So}}{\left.\right]}$$

$$\text{CAUSE}_{1b}[+\text{Vol}]\ \text{CAUSE}_2[-\text{Vol}]$$

14. *e:n* *a:sin* *niñ:an* *e:kt?a:t?a:dan*
I him you (mas. sg. obj:) walk-make-make

'I make him to make you walk (where he causes you involuntarily and you walk involuntarily)'.

Its underlying form is

$$\underset{\text{So}}{\left[\textit{e:n}\ \text{I} \right.}\ \underset{\text{VPo}}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{S_1}{\left[\textit{a:s}\ \text{he} \right.}\ \underset{VP_1}{\left[\right.}\ \underset{S_2}{\left[\textit{ni:n}\ \text{you (mas. sg)} \right.}\ \underset{S_2}{\textit{e:kday}}\ \text{walk} \left.\right]$$

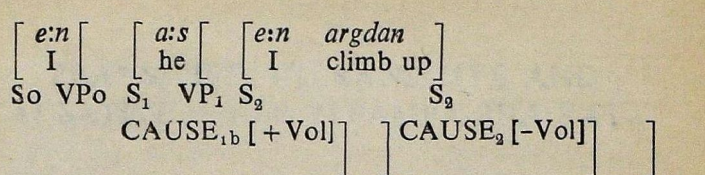
$$\text{CAUSE}\ [-\text{Vol}] \left.\right]_{VP_1}\ \left.\right]_{S_1}\ \text{CAUSE}_2\ [-\text{Vol}] \left.\right]_{\text{VPo}}\ \left.\right]_{\text{So}}$$

As mentioned earlier in (3.2) NP_2 and NP_3 or NP_1 and NP_3 can be identical in the DCC. The former are precisely the identical NP_1 and NP_2 of the SCC. Of the two sentences (15) and (16), the former has identical NP_1 and NP_3, and the latter has identical NP_2 and NP_3.

15. *e:n* *a:sin* *eñ:an* *arga:t?a:dan*
I him you (mas. sg. obj.) climb up-make-make

'I make him to make me climb up (where he cause me involuntarily and I climb up voluntarily)'.

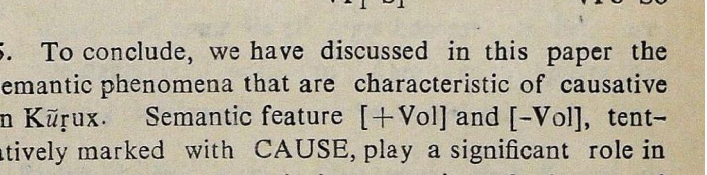
Its underlying form is



16. *e:n* *niñ:an* *niñ:an* *maṛx?a:t?a:dan*
I you (mas. sg. obj.) you (mas. sg. obj.) be dirty-make-make

'I make you to make yourself dirty (where you cause you involuntarily and you become dirty voluntarily)'.

Its underlying form is



5. To conclude, we have discussed in this paper the semantic phenomena that are characteristic of causative in Kũṛux. Semantic feature [+Vol] and [-Vol], tentatively marked with CAUSE, play a significant role in assigning correct semantic interpretation of the causal sentences.

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TRANSITIVE, INTRANSITIVE AND CAUSATIVE VERBS IN PAMPA BHA:RATA[1]

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1.1. Classification of verb stems

In the Kannada of Pampa Bha:rata there is no overt marker to denote intransitive stem. Verb roots may be inherently (1) intransitive, (2) either intransitive or transitive, (3) or transitive.

(1) INHERENTLY INTRANSITIVE ROOTS

anju 'fear', *amar* 'be fit', *a:gu* 'become', *ir* 'be', *ose* 'be delighted', *o:ḍu* 'run', *kiḍu* 'perish', *puṭṭu* 'be born', *bar* 'come', *muni* 'be angry', etc.

[1] Pampa Bha:rata is the earliest extant great Ka:vya in Kannada. Though the work is popularly known as *Pampa Bha:rata* named after its author Pampa, the author himself calls it *Vikrama:rjuna Vijaya* (Victory of Valiant Arjuna) or *Samasta Bha:rata* (differently interpreted as 'abridged Bha:rata', complete Bha:rata', or 'Historical elements clubbed with the epic story of Bha:rata'). It is a masterly abridgement of the epic story of the Bha:rata. It is written in the Campu: style (Vṛittas, Kandas and Ragaḷe metres interspersed with prose). The language of the work is the literary

(2) INHERENTLY INTRANSITIVE OR TRANSITIVE ROOTS

Intransitive	Transitive
aḷi 'die'	*aḷi*
aḷdu 'be sunk'	*aḷdu*
uḷi 'be left' (behind)	*uḷi*
esagu 'waft as the wind'	*esagu*
ku:ḍu 'be joined'	*ku:ḍu*
bi:su 'blow as the wind'	*bi:su*
beḷe 'be grown up'	*beḷe*
suri 'fall (as rain)'	*suri*

(3) INHERENTLY TRANSITIVE ROOTS

a:ḷ 'rule', *ma:ḍu* 'do', *no:ḍu* 'see', *piḍi* 'hold', *gel* 'win', *pe:ḷ* 'tell', *maṛe* 'forget', etc.

1.2. Transitivo-Causatival suffixes[2]

Morphologically there are no separate suffixes to denote transitive and causal stems. When the suffixes

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Kannada of 10th Century, now known as Haḷagannada (Old Kannada). The region where this was used is also mentioned by the poet himself. He says that the Kannada language and the style of this poetry is the essence of the Kannada in vogue in the area Puligere town (identified by the scholars with the modern Lakshmesvara of Dharwar District of Mysore State). Regarding the date of the poet there is no dispute. He was born in the Saka year 823 which corresponds to 902–903 A.D. This work is considered authentic for purposes of Old Kannada language and style by traditional grammarians, see Ramachandra Rao (1964: Preface).

[2] See, L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar (1939:7)

-cu, -su, -isu, -pu, -bu and *-i* are added to the intransitive roots they become transitive stems. When the same suffixes are added to the transitive roots they become causative stems.

The suffix *-i* is a more restricted one. It occurs only before the present-future suffix *-p(u) / -pp(u)*. Syntactically a transitive verb may have a single actor-word occurring in the nominative whereas the causal verb may have two actor-words one in the nominative and the other in the instrumental or accusative.

> *(a:N)ar̤ideN so:darar endu pa:ṇḍavaraN* (9.71) 'I understood Pa:ṇḍavas as my brothers', *piḍiyeN cakramaN emba cakriyaN ... (a:N) piḍiyippeN kara cakramaN* (10.25) 'I will make *cakri* (Kṛiṣṇa, the holder of discus, who had said that he would not handle the cakra) to hold his cakra (discus).'

(Actor-words are underlined in the above citations.)

-cu	*-C]-cu* (*C=r, l, ḷ,* or *l̲*)
Instransitive	**Transitive**
amar 'be fit or be aggreable'	*amar-cu*
alar 'blossom'	*alar-cu*
uruḷ 'roll over'	*uruḷ-cu*
taguḷ 'join together'	*taguḷ-cu*
ti:r 'finished, fulfilled'	*ti:r-cu*

teraḷ	'get into a whirling mass'	*teraḷ-cu*
nimir	'get erected'	*nimir-cu*
poṇar	'be joined or arranged'	*poṇar-cu*
poraḷ	'roll'	*poraḷ-cu*
maruḷ	'become mad'	*maruḷ-cu*
maguḷ	'turn back'	*maguḷ-cu*
sa:r	'approach'	*sa:r-cu*

-su –V] *-su*

iḻi	'descend'	*iḻi-su*
ka:y	'get heated' (*ka:*– [*su*)	*ka:-su*

-isu[3]

anju	'fear'	*anj-isu*
a:gu	'become'	*a:g-isu*
a:ḍu	'play'	*a:ḍ-isu*
a:l̤	'sink, drown'	*a:l̤-isu*
ir	'be'	*ir-isu*
er̤agu	'bow down'	*er̤agu-isu*
e:r̤u	'ascend'	*e:r̤-isu*
onal	'become angry'	*onal-isu*
o:ḍu	'run away'	*o:ḍ-isu*
kanal	'be angry'	*kanal-isu*

[3] For morphophonemic changes which occur when *-isu* is added to the stem, (see Ramachandra Rao, 1964: (§2.2 and §2.3).

kiḍu	'spolied'	*kiḍ–isu*
tavu	'decrease, exhaust'	*tav–isu*
no:y	'feel pain'	*no:y-isu*
pa:ṟu	'fly, run'	*pa:ṟ–isu*
puṭṭu	'be born'	*puṭṭ–isu*
pottu	'be burnt'	*pott–isu*
maṟugu	'be grieved'	*maṟug–isu*
masuḷ	'become dim'	*masuḷ–isu*
migu	'become excess'	*mig–isu*
muḷi	'become angry'	*muḷiy–isu*

–pu

adir	'tremble, fear'	*adir–pu*
iḻi	'descend'	*iḻi–pu*
udir	'fall down'	*udir–pu*
uri	'burn'	*uri–pu*
tiri	'turn round by itself'	*tiri–pu*

–b (u)

eḻ	'get up'	*eḻ–b–aṭṭu* *eḻ–b(u)* *eḻ–b(i)* (V.P.)

–i

a:gu	'become'	*a:g–i–p–evu* 1st per. pl. fut.
a:ḍu	'play'	*a:ḍ–i–p–a* 'making to play'

e:ṟu 'to rice'	*e:ṟ–i–p–aN* 3rd per. mas. fut.
kiḍu 'be spoiled'	*kiḍ–i–p–ar* 3rd per. hum. pl.
tavu 'be decreased'	*tav–i–p–eN* 1st per. sg.
karagu 'be melted'	*karag–i–p–eN*
muḷi 'be angry'	*muḷi–yi–p–eN*
maṟugu 'be grieved'	*maṟug–i–pu–du* 3rd per. ne. sg. pre.
masuḷ 'become dim'	*masuḷ–i–pu–vu* 3rd per. ne. pl. pre.

Transitive	Causative
–cu	
agal 'leave away'	*agal–c–i* (V.P)
–su	
gey 'do'	*gey–su*
poy 'beat'	*poy–su*
–isu	
a:ḷ 'rule'	*a:ḷ–isu*
isu 'shoot as an arrow'	*is–isu*
tege 'take or remove'	*tegey–isu*
no:ḍu 'see'	*no:ḍ–isu*
pe:ḷ 'tell'	*pe:ḷ–isu*
ma:ḍu 'do'	*ma:ḍ–isu*

mi: 'bathe'	*mi:y-isu* / *mis-isu*
piḍi 'hold'	*piḍiy-isu*
vi:su 'swing'	*vi:s-isu*
pa:y 'cross'	*pa:y-isu*

-i

a:ḷ 'rule'	*a:ḷ-i-p-evu* 'we will cause to rule'
gel 'win'	*gel-i-p-aN* 'he will cause to win'
pe:l̲ 'tell'	*pe:l̲-i-p-oḍa* 'if cause to tell'
piḍi 'hold'	*piḍiy-i-pp-eN* 'I will cause to hold'
mar̲e 'forget'	*mar̲ey-i-ppu-du* 'causing to forget'
tar 'bring'	*tar-i-p-en-e* 'may I cause to bring'

1.3. Verbalisers

Verb nuclei are derived by adding the suffixes *-cu, -isu, -aisu (-ayisu)* and *-i* to non-verbal roots. Such suffixes are termed as verbalisers. The suffix *-i* occurs only before present future suffix *-pu /-ppu*.

Noun root	Verb nucleus
na:ṇ 'shyness'	*na:ṇ-cu* 'feel shy'
idir 'front'	*idir-cu* 'face'
-gaṇ 'the eye'	*-gaṇ-cu* 'see'

per (adj. root) 'large, great' *per-cu* 'increase'

-isu

kaḷtale 'darkness' *kaḷtal-isu* 'become dark'

kannaḍi 'mirror' *kannaḍ-isu* 'mirror forth, reflect'

ugur 'nail' *ugur-isu* 'scratch'

pe:r (adj. root) 'large' *pe:r-is-e* (4.83) 'become large'(?)

-aisu

lalle 'affection' *lall-aisu* 'speak affectionate words'

e:va 'distress, envy' *e:v-aisu* 'feel distress, envy'

-i

kannaḍi 'mirror' *kannaḍ-i-p-aḷ-o* 'O! is she reflectings (her feeling)?'

Verbalisers are also added to the following bound roots.

-cu

oḍar-cu 'make an effort'

-isu

a:ṭ-isu 'desire'

oḍar-isu 'attempt'

poṭṭaḷ-isu 'feel proud'

saṇṇ-isu 'make into fine powder'

niṭṭ-isu 'gaze fixedly'

daḷḷ-isu 'spread widely, as fire'
dhaga dhag-isu 'burn fiercely'
sogay-isu 'look beautiful, be beautiful'
posay-isu 'unite with'
sa:vag-isu 'make straight or proper'
a:ro:g-isu 'eat'
ma:mkar-isu 'scoff'
uppavaḍ-isu 'be awaken'
eḍagal-isu 'go beyond'
o:sar-isu 'turn aside'
niṟ-isu 'make to stand, establish'

-aisu (-ayisu)

oḍḍ-ayisu 'resist'
te:r-aisu 'smack'
su:ḻ-aisu 'have turn'
app-aisu 'deliver over'

-i

a:ṯ-i-p-a 'desiring'
gaḷiy-i-pp-eN 'I will procure'
niṯṯ-i-p-oḍe 'while looking intently at'
sogay-i-p-a 'that looks beautiful'
niṟ-i-p-eN 'I will cause to stand, I will establish'

Verb nuclei are derived by adding the suffix *-isu* to the items of Sanskrit and Prakrit origin (tatsama as well as tadbhava).

ghaṭṭ-isu 'beat'
pasar-isu 'spread'
banc-isu 'deceive'
pajjaḷ-isu 'blaze up'
baṇṇ-isu 'describe'
sair-isu 'tolerate'
nind-isu 'blame or abuse'
arc-isu 'worship'
pu:j-isu 'worship'
avatar-isu 'descend'
citr-isu 'draw a picture'
cint-isu 'think'
śaṁk-isu 'doubt'
chidr-isu 'break'
ki:rt-isu 'praise'
ghu:rṇ-isu 'roar (like the sea-waves)'
ranj-isu 'shine, be beautiful'
ra:g-isu 'love'
punj-isu 'heap up'
ramiy-isu 'enjoy sexually'
dhariy-isu 'bear'
bha:v-isu 'think, imagine'

jhe:mkar-isu 'hum, buzz'
anukar-isu 'imitate'

1.4. Transitive verb is derived by adding *-isu* to *per-cu* 'increase' as *perc-isu* 'cause to increase'. Generally we do not come across verb constructions with transitive-causatival suffixes added to verb stems derived by adding verbalisers.

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: K. Balasubramanian, N Kumaraswami Raja, S. Agesthialingom, A. Kamatchinathan, K. Kushalappa Gowda, U. P. Upadhyaya, R. Kothandaraman and C. Rama Rao.

PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL EXPONENTS OF TRANSITIVITY IN MALAYALAM

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This paper proposes to present the phonetic and phonological features of the contrast between intransitive and transitive verbal forms in the present day Malayalam, from the stand point of prosodic analysis.[1]

[1] Principles of prosodic analysis have been, in general, formulated by J. R. Firth, the founder of modern Linguistics in the United Kingdom. Publications of Firth and his colleagues and successors are to be found in the different numbers of *the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* and some other journals not commonly circulated in India. Attention may, however, be drawn to a fairly complete bibliography, covering the period 1948–60 compiled by Bursil – Hall (1961: 186 – 91) who lists about one hundred books and papers elucidating and illustrating the application of theory of prosodic analysis. For works appeared in the sixties, see in particular, Robins (1963 and 1967: 157 - 79). Bazell et al (1966), Oyelaren (1967) and Langendoen (1968). The present author's 'Phonology of Verbal Forms in Colloquial Malayalam' (Ph D. thesis approved by the University of London and to be published soon) comprises an outline of the theory of prosodic analysis and its application to the Malayalam Language.

The possibility of colligation[2] between the non-causative forms[3] of the verb in question and an objective case form or an objective case base form[4] is one of the most striking features of transitivity in Malayalam. To put it differently a transitive form occurs in colligational relation with an objective case form or an objective case base form :

[2] The term 'colligation' refers to "groups of words considered as members of word classes related to each other in syntactic structures". Colligations are "to be distinguished from collocations which refer to groups of words considered as individual lexical items irrespective of their grammatical classes or relations" (Robins 1967:234).

[3] Causative verbal forms in Malayalam have colligational relations with two objects. Examine the following two sentences to note the functional difference between causative and non-causative forms of verb:

i.	subject	+ object	+ non caus. Vb				
	avan	*pa:ṭṭu*	*ke:ṭṭu*	'he heard (the) song'.			
	1	2	3	1	2	3	
ii.	Subject	+ Object$_1$	+ Object$_2$	+ Caus. Vb.			
	avaḷ	*avane*	*pa:ṭṭu*	*ke:ḷppiccu*			
	1	2	3	4			
				'she made him hear (the) song'.			
				1	4	2	4	3

'go:piye, a:naye, makane 'Gopi (a personal name) elephant, son' etc. are examples of objective case forms since an objective case suffix will have to be stated for each of them. The term 'Objective case base forms, refers to inanimate noun forms like, *veḷḷam, viral, pensil,* meaning 'water', 'finger' and 'pencil' respectively, which can function as object and colligate with animate noun forms, and transitive forms functioning as subject and predicate respectively.

go:pi	*veḷḷam*	*kuṭiccu*	'Gopi drank water'		
1	2	3	1	2	3
go:pi	*viral*	*kaṭiccu*	'Gopi bit (his) finger'		
go:pi	*pensil*	*eṭuttu*	'Gopi took (the) pencil'		

Subject noun	Objective case form	Transitive verb	
avan	*ammaye*	*kaṇṭu*	'he saw (his) mother'
1	2	3	1 2 3
pu:cca	*pa:l*	*kuṭiccu*	'(the) cat drank (the) milk'.

The two sentences cited below have intransitive verb predicate and do not contain object noun and are, therefore, conspicuously different in structure from the two cited above.

Subject noun	Intransitive verb		
avan	*ciriccu*	'he	laughed'
1	2	1	2
kiḷi	*paṟannu*	'(the) bird	flew'.

Depending on whether or not there are mutually contrasting intransitive and transitive members of the formal scatter[5] of each verb, verbs in Malayalam can be classified into the following three groups:

It may also be noted that in certain specific contexts the objective case suffix will have to be stated even after these forms:

$\left\{\begin{matrix} veḷḷattine \\ viraline \\ pensiline \end{matrix}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{matrix} kka:ḷ \\ pparṟi \end{matrix}\right\}$ 'more than water' 'about water' etc.

Hence the term 'objective case base', meaning the base capable of taking an objective case suffix. For the usefulness of this concept in the description of the noun morphology and the syntax of Malayalam, refer Prabodhachandran Nayar, 1965:260.

[5] The term formal scatter refers to the class comprising all forms derivable from a given stem.

I. GROUP A

Consisting of verbs of which there are intransitive forms but no contrasting transitive forms.

ci:rkkum[6] 'will swell'	*mutirum* 'will prepare'
cirikkum[7] 'will laugh'	*uḻalum* 'will travail'
karayum 'will cry'	*piṟakkum* 'will be born'
nō:vum 'will suffer pain'	*iṭaṟum* 'will slip'
nu:ḻum 'will creap'	

II. GROUP B

Consisting of verbs of which there are transitive forms but no intransitive forms contrasting with them.

peṟum 'will give birth'	*aṭikkum* 'will beat'
vilkkum 'will sell'	*a:šikkum* 'will desire'
toṭum 'will touch'	*kaḷayum* 'will lose'

[6] As a matter of policy, wherever citing of any finite verbal form will suffice, only the future forms of the verb under discussion is given. This is because it is structurally as well as typographically simpler than all others; relatively less ambiguous translation-meaning can also be given easily for most future forms.

[7] The special colligation exemplified by *avan oru ciri* (1 2 3) *ciriccu* 'He laughed a laugh', *appu oru karaccil karaññu* (4 1 4 2 3) 'Appu (personal name) cried a cry' etc. in Malayalam deserve special treatment since in all such verbal noun + finite verb constructions the verb stem underlying the verbal noun is the same as that in the case of the finite verbs

kakkum 'will vomit'	*nukarum* 'will imbibe'
koḷḷum 'will contain'	*maṟakkum* 'will forget'
ceyyum 'will do'	*kollum* 'will kill'
oːrkkum 'will remember'	*eḻutum* 'will write'

III. GROUP C

Consisting of verbs of which there are mutually contrasting transitive and intransitive members of the formal scatter. It is proposed to discuss in detail the formal features characterizing the intransitive and corresponding transitive forms of different verbs of this group. Sufficient examples of intransitive future, transitive future, intransitive past and transitive past forms of some Malayalam verbs and their generalized structure are known in the following table.

Phonetic forms: a. Intransitive future b. Transitive future c. Instransitive past d. Transitive past	Generalized stem-structure	Prosody stated		Junct-ional element	Suffixes			
					Future	Past		
		g	*g*		$-\bar{a}^{w}$	$-I^{w}$	$-NP\partial^{w}$	$-P\partial^{w}$
1	2	3		4	5	6	7	8
1a. *mu̲ku̲m*	CVCVP–	x			x			
b. *mu̲ku̲kkum*	”		x		x			
c. *mu̲ku̲ki*	”	x				x		
d. *mu̲ku̲kki*	”		x			x		
2a. *a:ṯum*	V̄P–	x			x			
b. *a:ṯṯum*	”		x		x			
c. *a:ṯi*	”	x				x		
d. *a:ṯṯi*	”		x			x		
3a. *e:r̲um*	V̄P–	x			x			
b. *e:r̲r̲um*	”		x		x			

c.	*e:ṟi*	”	x			x		
d.	*e:ṟṟi*	”		x		x		
4a.	*ṉi:ḷum*	CV̄L-	x		x			
b.	*ṉi:ṭṭum*	”		x	x			
c.	*ṉi:ṇṭu*	”	x				x	
d.	*ṉi:ṭṭi*	”		x		x		
5a.	*cuḷalum*	CVCVL-	x		x			
b.	*cuḷaṟṟum*	”		x	x			
c.	*cuḷaṉṉu*	”	x				x	
d.	*cuḷaṟṟi*	”		x		x		
6a.	*ku:mpum*	GV̄*NP*-tense	x		x			
b.	*ku:ppum*	CV̄Pg-		x	x			
c.	*ku:mpi*	CV̄NP-tense-	x			x		
d.	*ku:ppi*	CVPg-		x		x		

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7a.	*poṅṅum*	CV*NP*-lax-	x		x			
b.	*pokkum*	CVPg		x	x			
c.	*poṅṅi*	CV*NP*-lax-	x			x		
d.	*pokki*	CVPg		x		x		
8a.	*ta:l̤um*	CV̄X-	x		x			
b.	*ta:l̤ttum*	"		x	–P–*a*	x		
c.	*ta:l̤n̤nu*	"	x				x	
d.	*ta:l̤tti*	"		x	–P–*a*–	x		
9a.	*ti:rum*	CV̄Lf-	x		x			
b.	*ti:kkum*	"		x	–P–*d*	x		
c.	*ti:rn̤n̤u*	"	x				x	
d.	*ti:ttu*	"		x				x
10a.	*uṇarum*	VCVLf-	x		x			
b.	*uṇarttum*	"		x	x			

c.	*uṇarn̲n̲u*	”	x				x		
d.	*uṇartti*	”		x				x	
11a.	*kariyum*	CVCI^{y}-	x			x			
b.	*karikkum*	”		x	-^{y}P-*d*-	x			
c.	*kariññu*	”	x				x		
d.	*kariccu*	”		x					x
12a.	*te:yum*	CĒ^{y}-	x			x			
b.	*te:ykkum*	”		x	-^{y}P-*d*-	x			
c.	*te:ññu*	”	x				x		
d.	*te:ccu*	”		x					x
13a.	*valaykkum*	CVCA^{y}-		x		x			
b.	*valayum*	”		x	-^{y}P-*d*-	x			
c.	*valaññu*	”	x				x		
d.	*valaccu*	”		x					x

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14a.	*paṟakkum*	CVCA^{w}-	x	-^{w}P-*d*-	x			
b.	*paṟattum*	"	x	-^{w}P-*a*	x			
c.	*paṟannu*	"	x				x	
d.	*paṟatti*	"	x	-^{w}P-*a*		x		

(An explanatory list of the phonological symbols employed in this paper is found in the Appendix.)

The contrast between transitive and intransitive forms of all group C verbs can be formulated in terms of a two term prosodic system comprising gemination and its absence (symbolized as *g* and *ǧ* respectively). In all examples the *g*- prosody is stated only for the transitive forms (1b-14b and 1d - 14d) and *ǧ* for the intransitive forms (1a–14a and 1c – 14c). The phonetic implications of *g* in every case include a plosive or an affricate articulation which is long, voiceless and tense; those of *ǧ* include in the great majority of cases a voiced and fairly lax articulation which may or may not involve nasality.

Now, the phonetic exponents of *ǧ* or *g* stated in the intransitive or transitive forms of different subclasses of group C verb are discussed below.

PLOSIVE FINAL STEMS

Verbs with variable C final[8] stems where the stem final C is a plosive unit.

[8] Depending on whether the stem final syllable is closed or open, verb stems in Malayalam can be distinguished as either final or Non-C final. Those variety of C final stems exhibiting different types of alternation of forms ending in C or CC or V are recognized as variable C final stems as opposed to constant C final stems which are not characterized by such alternation.

eg. Variable C final stems :
a:ṯ- ~ *a:ṯṯ-* 'swing'
a:r ~ *a:rr-* 'cool'
Constant C final stems :
iṯ- 'place' *o:r-* 'remember'
Non-C final stems :
pu:- 'flower' *ci:-* 'decay'

muṟuk	'be tightened'
a:ṭ-	'swing'
e:ṟ-[9]	'increase'

The phonetic exponents of *g* stated in the intransitive forms of such verbs include a single consonantal articulation which is voiced and fairly lax. (1a- 3a and 1c - 3c): Those of *g* stated in the transitive forms of such verbs include a long voiceless tense plosive articulation homorganic with the stem final articulation (1b–3b and 1d–3d).

LATERAL FINAL STEMS

Verbs with variable C final stems where the stem final C is a lateral unit.

ni:ḷ-	'be elongated'
cuḻal-	'revolve'

TRANSITIVE FORMS

The phonetic exponents of *g* stated in the transitive forms include a long voiceless tense plosive articulation homorganic with the stem final articulation (4b, d; 5b, d).

INTRANSITIVE NON-PAST FORMS

The phonetic exponents of *g* stated in the intransitive non-past forms of such verbs include a single lateral articulation which is voiced and lax (4a, 5a).

[9] Although /ṟ/ represents a flapped articulation, phonologically this patterns with plosives like /k/ and /ṭ/.

INTRANSITIVE PAST FORMS

The phonetic exponents of *ɾ* stated in the intransitive past forms of such verbs are predictable from the point of view of the phonetic implications of the C unit stated stem finally.

If the stem final C unit implies a retroflex lateral, then a past suffix expressible as *-NPə*^{w} is to be stated, where the phonetic implications of the C elements will be a retroflex nasal plus homorganic plosive articulation.

4c. *n̲i:ɭ-* > *n̲i:ɳ̲ṭu*

If the stem final C unit implies on apical lateral, then a past suffix expressible as *-NP-*lax *ə*^{w} is to be stated where the phonetic implications of the C elements will be a long voiced dental nasal.

5c. *cuɭ̲al-* > *cuɭ̲an̲nu*

-NP FINAL STEMS

The stem final *-NP* may be tense as in *ku:mp* 'fold' or lax as in *poṅṅ* 'rise'. Phonetically it is a complex articulation involving a bilabial nasal followed by a homorganic plosive in the former and a long velar nasal in the latter.

The phonetic exponents of *ɾ* in regard to *-NP-* tense forms include voice and partial nasality in the stem final consonantal articulation (6a, c). Those in regard to *-NP-* lax forms include voice and complete nasality (7a, c).

Those of *g* in regard to both *-NP-* tense and *-NP-* lax forms include long voiceless tense plosive articulation homorganic with the stem final consonant (6b, d; 7b, d).

CONTINUANT FINAL STEMS

As regards verbs with /ḷ/ final stems such as *ta:ḷ-* 'descend' the phonetic exponents of *g* stated in the transitive forms include a junctional element generalized as *-P-* and statable between the stem and the suffix. This *-P-* implies, phonetically, a long voiceless tense dental plosive articulation in my idiolect (8b, d). It may also be recorded here that in some dialects this has been attested as a velar articulation. Hence the form *ta:kki* 'decreased'.

g stated in the intransitive forms of such verbs is realised as the absence of any such junctional element (8a, c). Furthermore, in the intransitive past forms the exponents *g* of include a past suffix generalized as *-NP-*lax $ə^w$ (see 8c).

FLAPPED FINAL STEMS

The exponents of *g* stated in the intransitive forms of verbs with both monosyllabic and disyllabic /-r/ final stems (e.g. *ti:r-* 'finish', *uṇar-* 'wake') include the absence of any non-syllabic junctional element in the non-past forms (9a, 10a) and a past suffix generalizable as *-NP-*lax $ə^w$ in the past forms (9c, 10c).

g has different exponents in the transitive forms of such verbs with monosyllabic and disyllabic stems. As regards verbs with monosyllabic stems the exponents of *g* include non-syllabic junctional element statable before non-past suffixes and implying phonetically a long voiceless tense velar plosive articulation (9b). The exponents of *g* in the past forms of such verbs comprise a past suffix generalizable as *-Pəʷ* and implying a long voiceless tense dental plosive (9d).

In regard to verbs with disyllabic */r/* final stems the exponents of *g* include a non-syllabic junctional element for which a long voiceless tense dental plosive is to be stated both in the past and non-past transitive forms (10d, 10b).

The exponents of *ɡ* stated in all intransitive non-past forms include absence of such a junctional element (10a). In the intransitive past forms they include a past suffix generalizable as *-NP-*lax *əʷ* (see 10c).

NON-C FINAL STEMS

y-PROSODIC NON-C FINAL STEMS

kari-, 'be burnt' *te:-* 'wear off' *aṭa-* 'be closed'

PAST FORMS

The exponents of *ɡ* include a past suffix generalizable as *-NP-* lax *əʷ* and those of *g* include a past suffix that can be expressd as --Pəʷ (11c, d -- 13c, d).

NON-PAST FORMS

The exponents of *g* include a non-syllabic junctional element - generalizable as -P- before non-past tense suffixes. The phonetic implications of this -P- include a long voiceless tense velar plosive (11b-13b).

The exponents of *g* include the absence of such a linking element (11a - 13a).

w-PROSODIC NON-C FINAL STEMS

The transitive non-past forms and intransitive and transitive past forms derived from w-prosodic non-C final stems such as *kaṭa-* 'cross' *cura-*'be filled with milk' *paṟa-* 'fly' resemble the corresponding forms derived from /l̤/ final or disyllabic /r/ final stems discussed a while ago. The exponents of *g* stated in them include a non-syllabic junctional element implying a long voiceless tense dental plosive articulation (14b, d) Those of *g* stated in the intransitive past form include the absence of such a junctional element coupled with the presence of a past tense suffix generalizable as *-NP-* lax $ə^w$ (14c).

But the intransitive non-past forms of such verbs (*paṟakkum, paṟakkunnu*) would seem to present a problem. Till now, wherever *g* has been stated as an element of structure, its phonetic exponents included laxness of articulation and voice with or without nasality. But in these intransitive forms such features are conspicuous by their absence. Multiple exponency of an

abstraction is however, permitted in prosodic analysis. From this point of view, it may be stated that the phonetic exponents of *ġ* in such cases include a long voiceless tense plosive articulation at a region (velar) clearly different from that employed in the case of *g* (dental).

An examination of intransitive future forms such as *irikkum* 'will sit' and *nilkkum* 'will stand' in contrast with the corresponding transitive forms *iruttum* and *niruttum* will reveal that this pattern of exponency of *ġ* and *g* just mentioned is reflected in some other instances also.

To sum up, therefore, from the point of view of prosodic analysis, the prosody of gemination may be held to be the most significant phonological exponent of transitivity in Malayalam. Its phonetic exponents are, of course, variable; but they are clearly distinguishable from those of instransitivity the forms in such cases being characterized phonologically by the presence of the prosody of non-gemination.

APPENDIX

PHONOLOGICAL SYMBOLS EMPLOYED

P	signifies a term belonging to the plosive system
P-a	apical plosive
P-d	dorsal plosive

L	term belonging to the liquid system
Lf	Liquid for which a flapped articulation is stated
N	term belonging to the nasal system
NP	Homorganic nasal + plosive
X	term belonging to the continuant systems
I	the close V unit
E	the mid V unit
A	the open V unit
ə	the syllabic unit
g	the prosody of gemination
g	the prosody of non-gemination
y	the prosody chiefly implying frontness of articulation and lip spreading
w	the prosody chiefly implying backness of articulation and lip rounding

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper : N. Rajasekaran Nair, A. Kamatchinathan, P. Bhaskara Rao, K. Karunakaran, S. Agesthialingom, C. Rama Rao, Don Larkin and K. Balasubramanian.

THE MEASUREMENT OF A STYLISTIC TRAIT IN KAMPA RA:MA:YANAM

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The assumption that the styles of the various play wrights are individual enough to permit differentiation of their works is indeed a very large assumption. This has not always been examined with the vigour that its importance demands. Since the scholars have lacked a method of measuring objectively any significant aspect of literary style, the truth or falsity of the assumption has not been thoroughly established. But the well-known British statistician, G. U. Yule (1944) has recently fashioned for us an instrument for the precise and objective measurement of a significant trait of literary style. This is fully explained in his book, *The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary*. The statistical theory behind Yule's measure is certainly difficult for us, the students of literature. But the measure is quite simple to use. It can be used in just the same way as one uses a calculating machine. It can be used without bothering one's head about the machines or the theory of the machine.

This paper tries to explain as simply as possible what Yule's measure is, what it measures how to apply it to a given work and what to do with it after it has been obtained. As an illustration I would like to set forth application of Yule's measure to *Kampa Ra:ma:-yaṇam* in Tamil, with the results obtained and their interpretation.

The measure developed by Yule was termed as the characteristic. This is expressed as a simple numerical value, such as 15.8, or 77.0 or 113.5. The characteristic measures the repetitiveness of the vocabulary of a given literary work, which is certainly a significant trait. We are quite aware of the fact of how one writer will hammer away at certain words and employ them again and again, whereas another writer may scrupulously avoid exact repetition of the same words. The Gospel according to St. John for instance cannot be read without being struck by the constant repetition of the certain words such as 'bread' and 'world'. The characteristic of St. John's Gospel, computed by Yule was found to be 177.9. Yule has also computed four of Thomas Babington Macaulay's essays. These values 77.9, 21.8, 27.2 and 34.1 are very low in comparison with the characteristic of St. John's Gospel. Between these extremes was John Bunyan. Yule computed the characteristics of four of his essays and they were found to be 56.5, 66.9, 80.6 and 88.0 It is unnecessary to comment on the significance of the fact that Yule was able to measure a significant aspect of literary style, something which had never been done before.

The computation of Yule's characteristic begins from certain data arranged in what the statistician calls a FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION. This is a familiar to us in terms of "how many students got A, how many got B, C, D" etc., or "how many people made Rs 70,0 0 in 1970, how many made Rs. 56,000" and so on. While computing the characteristic what we have to know is how many common nouns occurred (were used) once, how many occurred twice, thrice and so on. The moment we have obtained those figures – and obtaining them is the most tedious part of computing the characteristics – we simply insert them in Yule's formula for the characteristic, do a little multiplication, addition, subtraction and division and there we have the characteristic.

One might be tempted to ask why the characteristic should be based on common nouns and whether this is necessarily so. It need not be based on common nouns. Yule and some other authors worked from common nouns and I did so partly in order to make meaningful comparison with other results. Of course, no one would wish to base his work on a writer's use of pronouns or prepositions or conjunctions. Verbs or adjectives or adverbs might equally well have been chosen. Anyone who wishes to compute the verb characteristic or the adjective characteristic for *Kampa Ra:ma:yaṇam* is welcome to try.

Kampa Ra:ma:yaṇam consists of six *ka:ṇṭa:s*: viz., *pa:la ka:ṇṭam* (Kp), *Ayo:ttiya: ka:ṇṭam* (KAy), *Kiṣkinta:*

ka:ṇṭam (KK), *Cuntara ka:ṇṭam* (KC) and four volumes of *Yutta ka:ṇṭam* (KY_1, KY_2, KY_3 and KY_4).

Samples of approximately the same size viz., approximately 1200 occurrences from each book was taken. The data have been taken from my former student Mr. Ayyaswamy's M.A. dissertation.

One very important feature of Yule's characteristic is that it is independent of the length of the literary work. This feature enables one to compare works of different length in regard to their repetitiveness as measured by the characteristic.

The following table is used to illustrate the computation of the characteristic of *Pa:la ka:ṇṭam*.

1	2	3	4	5
X	f_x	f_xX	f_xX^2	f^xX^2
1	448	448	448	1
2	140	280	560	4
3	43	129	387	9
4	22	88	352	16
5	11	55	275	25
6	6	36	216	36
7	4	28	196	49
8	6	48	384	64
9	5	45	405	81
10	3	30	300	100
13	1	13	169	169
Total	689	1200	3692	–

Column 1, labeled X, lists the occurrence categories, i.e., once occurring, twice occurring, thrice occurring and so on. Column 2, labeled f_x, is an abbreviation of frequency of X. It lists down the number of words occurring once, twice, thrice etc. The first two columns of this table tabulates the data in the form of a frequency-distribution. They state that there are 448 once-occurring nouns, 140 twice-occurring nouns, 43 thrice-occurring nouns and so on.

Column 3, is obtained by multiplying the X values in column 1 by the corresponding f_x values in column 2: One times 448 is 448; 2 times 140 is 280 and so on. The figures in column 3 are added together and their total or summation S_1 is an important ingredient of the characteristic.

In column 4, the figure are obtained by multiplying X^2 values in column 5 by the corresponding f_x values in column 2. The first figure in column 4 is obtained by multiplying 1^2 by 448; the second figure 560 is 2^2 times 140, and so on. The total or summation of the figures in column 4, S_2 is the second important ingredient of the characteristic.

Yule's formula for the characteristic K is

$$K = 10{,}000 \quad \frac{S_2 - S_1}{(S_1)^2}$$

Where the number 10,000 is introduced simply to avoid the inconvenience of handling very small decimals.

Substituting the values S_1 and S_2 from the table of *Pa:la ka:ṇṭam* in Yule's formula, we obtain

$$K = 10.000 \quad \frac{3692 - 1200}{(1200)^2} = 17.3055$$

as the value of the characteristic for *pa:la ka:ṇṭam* of *Kampa Ra:ma:yaṇam*. Following the same procedure the characteristics of the other *ka:ṇṭams* are obtained. The following table provides the S_1, S_2 and K of each of the *ka:ṇṭam* of *Kampa Ra:ma:yaṇam*.

	KP	KAy	KAr	KK	KC
S_1	1200	1200	1200	1200	1200
S_2	3692	4180	4384	3738	3882
K	17.3055	20.6944	22.1111	17.625	18.625

	KY_1	KY_2	KY_3	KY_4
S_1	1200	1200	1200	1200
S_2	4012	4940	4362	4386
K	19.5277	25.9722	21.9583	22.125

The reason why the computation of the characteristics of the individual *ka:ṇṭams* was carried through was simply to find out if the *ka:ṇṭams* differed greatly among themselves. And they did: KP=17.3055; KAy=20.6944; KAr=22.1111; KK=17.625; KC=18.625; KY_1=19.5227; KY_2=25.9722; KY_3=21.9583; KY_4=22.125. Do these figures carry any meauing to the

readers of *Kambara:ma:yaṇam*? Can they agree that the importance and interest increase with the increase in the value of K? *Pa:la ka:ṇṭam* has the lowest value for K. Except for Ta:ṭaka incident, the marriage with Sita (Akalya episode is a contrast with Sita's story to be told) and the confrontation, the story sprawls with descriptions unnecessary from the point of view. The story really begins with *Ayo:ttiya: ka:ṇṭam* It is not all action but the conflit within and without is indeed very great. It is value does not rise upto that of crossing of the Ganges by the people from Ayothya - a loose description without gripping our interest, which occurs in the first of *Yutta ka:ṇṭam* also. These may have other literary values such as introducing a contrast of calmness before the climax rises high, but all the same they are flat. In *A:raṇiya ka:ṇṭam* the value increases even above that of *Ayo:ttiya: ka:ṇṭam* and necessarily because of the crowding interest the resolution to help the Rishis, the fight with Vira:taṉ and Kavaṇṭan great Su:rpanaka: incident which is almost a turning point, the Ra:vaṇa's plotting, his abduction of Sita, and the fight with Jaṭa:yu where the climax of the downward fortune of Ravaṇa if one may say so is reached, *Kiṣkinda: ka:ṇṭam* has more or less the value of *Pa:la ka:ṇṭam*. There is more of an attempt at describing Rama coming down as man, suffering of ordinary man bemoaning the loss of Sita. But the action of the plot does not move fast enough. It sprawls The friendship with Sugriva who undertakes to send his men in search of Sita is a slow turning point whose value we realise only after the Hanuman

incident, the tests Rama undergoes and finally the death of Va:li at the hands of Rama Even these gripping incidents move rather slowly. *Cuntara ka:ṇṭam* has more value. Hanuman's leap over the ocean, his search, the most interesting and gripping incident of his meeting Sita and saving her from suicide, his confrontation with Ra:vaṇa, his fight, and the burning away of Lanka and his meeting Rama with the message are really very interesting. But even here the descriptions are sometimes tiring, and this prevents it from reaching the height of *Yutta ka:ṇṭam*. The first part moves comparatively with the descriptions of preparations etc. The second part is full of action. The third part is not so very high. It is impossible to keep up the interest at the high level, when the war drags. The final portion, especially the first half must have a higher value if separately calculated, but the later half after Ravaṇa's death naturally does not give us anything where one does not anticipate except for Sita and fire incident. Therefore the K comes down to 22 though still higher than the dragging third part.

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KUVI VERBS: A FEW NOTEWORTHY FEATURES

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In this paper an attempt is made to describe some of the peculiar features found in the verb morphology of Kuvi language. Most of the features discussed herein are not available in the South or North Dravidian languages but they are often occurring in Pengo-Maṇḍa and Kui which are closely related to Kuvi and are sporadically seen in other CDr. languages.

To facilitate the description of the distribution of the allomorphs of the morphemes denoting the peculiar features in the verbs, it is necessary to present the conjugational sub-classes of the verbal stems in Kuvi. (But it is not attempted here to describe the characteristics of the verbal classes, as it is not directly concerned with the present treatment). The verbs may be classified into six sub-classes on the basis of the conjugational differences. They are :–

1. Stems in (C)VCV pattern ending in *-i*.
   kaci- 'bite', *aṇḍi-* 'help', *geti-* 'jump'.

2. Stems in other patterns ending with all vowels.
   va:- 'come', *ki-* 'do', *hi-* 'give'.

3. Stems ending in *-t*, *-k*, *-p*, *-ṭ*, *-l* and *-r*.
   rat- 'cut', *jap-* 'teach', *nor-* 'wash'.

4. Stems ending *-n*.
   tin- 'eat', *ven-* 'hear'.

5. Stems ending in *-h*.
   vah- 'cook', *to:h* 'show'.

6. Stems ending in glottal stop *-?*.
   ta?- 'bring', *ka:?-* 'watch', *ve?-* 'beat'.

In the following pages we shall see some of the peculiar features of the Kuvi verbs.

THIRD PERSON EXCLUSIVE BASES

Burrow and Bhattacharya (1963) identify such of the stems as special bases to distinguish them from the general bases. The special base is marked by a third person exclusive morpheme which is identified by Winfield (1928:101) as 'transition particle' and latter by Emeneau (1967:105) as 'transition suffix'.

Such a distinction between a general base and a special base is found when the object is the first or second person, throughout the verbal system in Pengo-Maṇḍa and Kui-Kuvi. It seems that it must have been prevailed also in Koṇḍa but has been dropped except in one or two instances.

In Kuvi, this distinction affects the different types of verbal inflection, i.e., the indicatives as well as the imperatives, the positives as well as the negatives and the finites as well as the non-finites.

The third person exclusive base is formed when the direct or indirect object is the first or second person or something closely connected with the first or second person, i.e., part of the body, house or other possessions, etc. or where there is some reference to the first or second person not necessarily expressed. Further it must be noticed that though the subject may be a first, second or third personal pronoun or noun, the object of the verb which take the third person exclusive suffix must be something of first or second person, since the verbal action may denote something done actually upon the first or the second personal object.

The distribution of the allomorphs of the third person exclusive suffix which occurs in between the regular verbal stems and the terminations are as follows:

Class I	Verbal stems take	*-a-*
Class II	"	*-ya-*
Class III	"	*-ha-*
Class IV	"	*-ja-*
Class V and VI	"	*-ta-*

ha:ṭi-	'call'	*ha:ṭitesi*	'he called'
		ha:ṭatesi	'he called you'
		ha:ṭamu	'you call me'

(*i* > ∅ [*-a*)

hi:-	'give'	*hi:tesi*	'he gave him'
		hi:yatesi	'he gave me/you'
jap-	'teach'	*japhatesi*	'he taught me/you'
ven-	'hear'	*venjatesi*	'he asked me/you'
to:h-	to show	*to:statesi*	'he showed me/you'
			(*h* > *s* [-*t*)
ka:?-	'watch'	*ka:tatesi*	'he watched me/you'
			(? > Ø [-*t*)

MOTION ACTION BASES

The existence of motion action bases is found in a good number of verbs in Pengo-Maṇḍa and Kui-Kuvi. *-ka* is employed to express a sequence of two successive actions, i.e., where it is suffixed to the roots it expresses the idea of motion 'going' which precedes the action of the verb to which it is suffixed. Sometimes the occurrence of this suffix may also indicate that the purpose of going is contained in the verbs. Winfield identifies this suffix as 'motion particle' (1928:111).

The motion suffix does not occur with every verb, but only with the verbs with which its particular significance of motion before action would have any relevance. It occurs in the imperatives as well as indicatives, the positives as well as negatives and relative participles. It does not occur with the special bases

which exclude third person and with the intensive-frequentative stems. In usage it is mostly found with the imperatives.

The motion suffix occurs between the verbal stems and tenses suffix, followed by personal suffixes. Except in the case of a verb form exceptionally used by a woman, it does not occur in the class I verbs though it is the commonest verbal class in Kuvi.

ra:ci- 'wash' *ra:skamu* 'go and wash'

(c > s [-ka)

It has two allomorphs *-ka* and *-ga*. *-ga* occurs after stems ending in *-l*, *-r*, *-ɳ* and *-n* (sonorants) and *-ka*, elsewhere.

hi:-	*hi:kamu*	'go and give'
kal-	*kalgamu*	'go and mix'
u:ṭ-	*u:ṭkamu*	'go and drink'
tiɳ-	*tiɳgamu*	'go and eat'
go:h-	*go:skamu*	'go and hand over'
ta?-	*takamu*	'go and bring'

INTENSIVE - FREQUENTATIVE BASES

The intensive-frequentative base is formed by adding *-k-* to the regular verbal stem. The suffix is used to express an action done repeatedly, continuously, concentratedly or frequently. The verbal stems when they

take intensive – frequentative suffix are conjugated as the verbs of class I, though they may originally belong to different classes.

The intensive – frequentative suffix does not occur with every verbal stems but only with the verbs with which its significance of intensive or frequentative action would have any relevance. Winfield (1928:142) identifies the verbs taking this suffix as 'plural action verbs'. Such verbs are found in Pengo-Maṇḍa and Kui-Kuvi.

In Kuvi it is not found to occur with the verbal stems of Class II, IV and VI. It has two allomorphs *-k* and *-p*; *-k* occurs with verbal stems of classes I and V and *-p* occurs with those of class III and V.

hupali 'split'	*hupkali* 'vomit'
karali 'chew'	*karkali* 'gnaw'
getali 'leap'	*getkali* 'hop'
he:rhali 'be caught'	*he:rpali* 'appoint'
kalhali 'mix'	*kalpali* 'blend or mix continuously'
norhali 'wash'	*norpali* 'thresh by driving cattle'
visali 'step on'	*viskali* 'kneed'
ha:sali 'distribute'	*ha:spali* 'divide'

RECIPROCAL VOICE

Reciprocal action is expressed by a special type of periphrastic construction which is formed by the addition

of the suffix morpheme *vi* to the verbal stems, followed by the auxiliary *a:-* 'become' with its appropriate suffixes. In the reciprocal voice, a plural subject acts reciprocally.

The allomorphs of the recprocial morpheme are *-vi, -pi, -mbi* and *-ki*. *-vi* occurs after the verbal stems of classes I, II and III except after those ending with *-t* in class III. *-pi* occurs after the classes V and VI and after *-t* ending verbal stems. *-mbi* occurs after the class IV stems. In a few of the *-i* ending stems of class I which are preceded by an affricate *-č* or bilabial stop *-p*, *-ki* occurs in free variation with *-vi*

neska kaski a:himnu } 'the dogs are biting
neska kačvi a:himnu } each other'

kokari hupki a:himneri 'the boys are spitting at each other'

e:vari ja:yu kuca hi:vi a:himneri 'they are giving greens to each other'

e:vari banayā: ratpi a:himneri 'they are cutting each other's hair'

e:vari japvi a:neri 'they teach each other'

e:vari venmbi a:neri 'they will hear each other'.

e:vari a:spi a:himneri 'they are holding each other'

e:vari vepi a:teri 'they beat each other'.

HABITUAL MOOD

There is an historical type of usage which indicates the existence of a habitual action or state, or an action which has been continuing as a habitual thing. The forms in the habitual mood express habitual as well as continuous doing. Such forms are very commonly used in Kuvi. They are formed by the addition of the morpheme *-vi* to the regular verbal stems, followed by various suffixes. The allomorphs of this morpheme are the same as those listed for the reciprocal voice, with the exception that even *-i* ending stems which are preceded by an affricate or a bilabial take *-vi* only and not *-k*

neska kacvitu	'the dogs used to bite'
e:vari hupviteri	'they used to spit'
e:vari hi:viteri	'they used to give'
e:vari marka ratpineri	'they are accustomed to cut trees'
e:vasi japvinesi	'he is accustomed to teach'
evasi mahʔã: tinmbnesi	'he is accustomed to eat mango'

Winfield does not make any distinction between the verbs in the habitual mood and the verbs of plural action in Kui. But in Kuvi there is a clear-cut distinction between the habitual tense morpheme and the plural action morpheme.

OBLIGATIVE MOOD

The Obligative sense is expressed by a special type of periphrastic construction. It expresses obligation 'must' and is formed by the addition of the non-past tense morpheme *-n* to the regular verbal stem, followed by the morpheme *-ayi*. Then the auxiliary verb *man* 'be' accompanies, followed by the third person singular non-masculine marker *-e*. The obligative mood in Kuvi thus employs a finite verb construction, functioning syntactically as a predicate, though it does not agree with the subject.

ma:ro ko:ra:puṭu hanayi mane 'we must go to Koraput'

i: kokasi ossa tinayi mane 'this boy must take medicine'

$(n\text{-}]\text{-}n > \emptyset)$

mimbu i: kamma jipinayi mane 'you must learn this book'

DESIDERATIVE MOOD

The Desiderative mood which expresses the desire or permission of the speaker, occurs only in the third person of both numbers. It is formed by the insertion of the suffix *-p* or its alternant between the regular verbal stems and the third person singular or plural morpheme.

In the verbal stems of class I the suffix is added to the root after a connecting vowel *-a*. In the second conjugational class, it is added directly to the root.

kacapesi 'let him bite'
ha:ṭapesi 'let him call'
hi:pesi 'let him give'.

In class III *-p* is added directly to the root, but if the root ends in *-p* it becomes zero and if it ends in *-k* the final *-k* and *-p* are transposed

rat- 'cut'	*ratpesi* 'let him cut'
jap- 'teach'	*japesi* 'let him teach'
nik- 'lift up'	*nipkesi* 'let him lift up'

After the verbal stems ending in *-n̰*, *-n* or *-l*, the allomorph *-mb* occurs as desiderative suffix.

tin- 'eat'	*tinmbesi* 'let him eat'
kal- 'mix'	*kalmbesi/kalbesi* 'let him mix'

In the verbal stems of classes V and VI *-p* is added directly to the root.

a:h- 'hold'	*a:spesi* 'let him hold'
ka:ʔ- 'wait'	*ka:pesi* 'let him wait'.

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DRAVIDIAN AND MUNDA

(A GOOD FIELD FOR AREAL AND TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES)

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Many scholars believe that Dravidian and Munda are two pre-Aryan groups of Indian languages (Sylvain et al, 1929). The present distribution of these languages indicate that they are being spoken in this country in the same or in contiguous regions for a pretty long time (Emeneau, 1967:175). Naturally, therefore, these two groups of languages will provide us with a very useful field for 'areal' and 'typological' linguistic studies. But these potentialities have not yet been fully explored. We were so long busy in setting up indepedent speech-families, and did not stop to think that in a place like India to talk of speech-families alone is to ignore the composite nature of Indian culture. Our curiosity regarding Dravidian and Munda seems to have ended with the establishment of the theory that they are distinct families. Thereafter we did not feel the need of getting a total picture of these two speech-groups coexisting in India from early times.

Let us at first give a short review of the earlier studies on the relationship between Dravidian and Munda. In 1854, Max Mueller wrote an interesting book[1] on the classification of the Turanian languages. That was an age when scholars, overwhelmed by the discovery of the vast Indo-European speech-family, were expecting to see such widely scattered language-families all over the world. Max Mueller's predecessors, Gyarmathi, Rask, Von Humboldt, Scott and Castren, spoke of a widely spread Turanian (which was called by the Greeks 'Scythian') family of languages. For example, according to Rask (1818) 'the Scythian would form a layer of languages extending in Asia from the white sea to the valleys of Caucasus, in America from Greenland southwards, and in Europe from Finland as far as Britain, Gaul and Spain. This original substratum was broken up and overwhelmed first by celtic inroads, secondly by Gothic and thirdly by Slavonic immigrations' (Max Mueller, 1854:12-14). The method followed by these scholars in determining a Turanian speech-family is something like what is now called the typological studies. The rigid method that was developed by the Comparative Philologists, and that led to the emergence of Indo-European, could not be applied to these so-called Turanian or Scythian languages for our inadequate knowledge of them at that time.

Max Mueller retold in his book the story of Firidun of ancient Persia who divided his vast empire among his

[1] The second chapter of the book details with the 'Turanian character of the Tamulic Languages'.

sons, Silim, Tur and Iriz (Ibid:50-4). Their descendents began to use pronominal affixes in different manners which gave rise to the three language-families, Semitic (< Silim), Turanian (< Tur) and Indo-European (<Iriz=? Arya). The non-Aryan languages of India spoken in the Himalayan and the central and southern regions of India, according to this division, fall under the Turanian (=Scythian) group. This view was accepted by Hodgson and Max Mueller. But Mueller was of the view that the languages spoken by the Santal, Munda, Ho and Bhumij tribes of the central Indian region should be treated as a separate speech-group and not included in the 'Tamilian' sub-family of Turanian (Ibid: 176).[2] Most of the later scholars accepted Max Mueller's theory and treated Munda and Dravidian as two distinct groups. The setting up of three big language-families on the basis of the use of pronominal affixes alone is indeed an exercise in oversimplification.

During the first half of the 19th century another set of linguistic traits was used in classifying the languages of the world. W. Von Humboldt, Bunsen, Bopp, Pott and others linked the growth of various languages with the growth of human social and political systems. According to this scheme, the three stages of human society, namely nomad, family and state, are represented

[2] Mueller states, 'But historically as well as physiologically there is sufficient evidence to show that two different races, the Tamulian and an earlier race (here he refers to the Mundas or Koles), came in contact in these regions, whither both fled before the approach of a new civilisation'.

by the three stages of linguistic structures, agglutinative, isolating and inflectional. The language-groups representing these three socio-linguistic classes are according to them, Turanian, Chinese and Aryan, respectively. All non-Aryan languages of India will fall under the 'agglutinative' group (Ibid:22-34)[3]

Our knowledge of the various components of the Turanian family began to advance quickly in the second half of the 19th century. This led to the growth of a tendency among the linguistic workers to split up further the broad Turanian or Scythian linguistic division into different speech-families. The latter part of the 19th century was also the age when the linguistic scholars tended to become specialists and were concentrating on a single speech-group at a time. This narrowing down of one's vision has many advantages, but it has one or two disadvantages too. The view that the non-Aryan languages of India are composed of at least three distinct speech-families, Dravidian, Munda and Tibeto-Burman, is certainly the most correct and scientific theory, and if we study them separately we will no doubt get a most accurate knowledge of them. But the idea of treating the non-Aryan languages of India as one unit should not be altogether discarded. For if this be true that these languages were spoken in India before the advent of the Vedic people,[4] then a comparative and

[3] I have quoted a bit more frequently from this book in this paper, because it is a very publication and not easily available in any Indian library.

[4] C. Von F. Haimendorf and some other anthropologists and prehistoric archaeologists are of the view that the

contrastive study of these three speech-families may help us in understanding how far the ancient fore-fathers of the speakers of these languages were forced to be united against their common foe. We believe that a close and comparative study of the Indian languages will reveal that there was much social intercourse among the speakers of these languages in those early days, and a good deal of bilingualism was also prevalent among them at some time which made Tibeto-Burman gradually closer to the Indian languages, and which also rendered the three speech-groups, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda, very much mixed up with another.

Caldwell was the first scholar in the Indian field in the 19th century who was made an attempt to dive deep into linguistic structures instead of theorzing on the basis of superficial traits. But he was also not free from the tendency of his age, namely to discuss a speech-group against a wider back-ground of its possible relationship with other Indian and non-Indian

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Dravidians were the Megalith-builders of the Brahmagiri-type, and as this type of Megalith Culture is not met with in North India, these scholars do not admit the existence of the Dravidians in North India in ancient times; see Stephen Fuchs, 'The Dravidian Problem', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, vols 41–42/1966–67, pp. 153–63; see also Emeneau, 1967:167. The people who arrived late in South India from somewhere out of this subcontinent and brought the Megalith Culture of a special type with them probably spoke some other language, and gradually adopted Dravidian during their stay in South India. The various aberrant features of South Dravidian may be examined in the light of this hypothesis.

languages. Caldwell believed that the Dravidian languages have a relationship with the Scythian languages, but not with any of the Indian speech-families. Even then throughout the book he stopped again and again to examine what he called 'extra-Dravidian relationship'. He compared many linguistic traits from Dravidian with similar ones from other languages spoken in India or elsewhere, wherever such comparisions seemed permissible. Many of his comparisions will not be acceptable now. But we may say that the broad-based linguistics we find in Caldwell's treatment is the precursor of the modern 'Areal' and 'Typological' linguistics.

Scholars appearing after Caldwell in the Dravidian field mostly concentrated on the detailed study of individual languages. Very few of them bothered about the 'extra-Dravidian relationship'. But in 1900 Hahn wrote a Kurukh grammar wherein he made a departure by trying to show 'Mundari grammar bears a genuine Dravidian stamp on its brow'. He was apparently under the influence of Risely, (1891 and 1915) the famous anthropologist, who was of the view that the Dravidian Munda (i e. Kol) people belonged to the same racial stock. Hahn tried to lend a support to this view from linguistics. The Kurukh and Mundari languages which were compared by Hahn offer a good field for 'Areal' and 'Typological' studies.

Hahn's assertions did not go unchallenged. In 1904 (pp. 121-25), Sten Konow severely criticised Hahn for his unorthodox view and repudiated his arguments point

by point. Hahn, however, in the second edition of his book (1911) reluctantly accepted Konow's criticism, but at the same time, repeated some of the old arguments that led him to believe in a vital relationship between Dravidian and Munda. Konow actually compared two extreme regions of Dravidian and Munda, for he compared mostly the literary Dravidian languages of the South with Santali and Mundari which are the northernmost Munda languages. He did it because material on these languages were our main source of information on Dravidian and Munda at that time. Both Konow and Hahn were not fully aware of the Central Dravidian and the Southern Munda languages all of which are spoken mainly in the central Indian region. It is in this area that Dravidian and Munda show much inter-mingling, although other areas of Dravidian and Munda are not also quite free from it. Of course, we may not agree with many of the observations made by Konow while comparing Dravidian and Munda in his article, but that will not affect Konow's conclusion that Dravidian and Munda are two basically different linguistic groups. We wish only to stress the point that many of these resemblances which actually exist between Dravidian and Munda are due to long contacts between them. Such resemblances should also be treated as important as they might throw some light on the socio-linguistic history of these people.

In this section we shall discuss some items of resemblance between Dravidian and Munda. Sten Konow has used vowel harmony as a feature that distinguishes the

Munda languages from Dravidian. But vowel harmony is not altogether absent in Dravidian. Caldwell (1961: 181–2) has shown some examples of 'harmonic sequence of vowels' from Telugu: dat. sg. of *katti* 'a knife' is *katti-ki*, but dat. pl. is *kattu-la-ku*. He finally remarks that vowel harmony which according to him is a connecting link between Scythian and Dravidian, can be pointed out also from other Dr. languages. Recently we have recorded vowel harmony from Pengo, a Dravidian language hitherto unrecorded: Pe. *du:takar* 'old men', *du:tikik* 'old women', *gajakar* 'big men', *gajikik* 'big women'; similarly in verbs, *huṛ-d-a-tan*, *huṛ-d-i-tik*, *huṛ-d-e-deṅ*, etc. (Burrow and Bhattacharya, 1970:16). As a matter of fact, vowel harmony will be found in many Indian languages of different families, but the actual type will differ from one language to another even within the same family (Harus Aoki, 1968:142–5). For example, the vowel harmony to be found in Bonda, a Munda language, is different from the vowel harmony which so frequently occurs in Santali both in the type and in the grammatical sphere where it operates. A complete picture of vowel harmony in Indian languages is not yet available to us.

It reminds us of another phonetic feature which is found in many Indian languages belonging to different families. It is the insertion of a nasal sound, usually in the middle of a word, giving rise to homo-organic nasal conjuncts like *-ṅg-*, *-mb-*, etc. Caldwell (1961 : 167–73) has called it 'euphonic nunnation' in Dr.: Skt. *śunaka* 'dog' > Ta. *śunagam* > *śuṇaṅgan* > *śoṇaṅgi* 'id.', etc. We

come across this phenomenon both in Munda and the Prakrits.[5] But this speech-habit seems to be more widespread and deep-rooted in Austric in general where such nasalization occurs both initially and medially. Kuiper (1948:384) has discussed the depth of this linguistic feature in Munda and elsewhere in Austric; cf. the following loanwords in Kherwari: *menḍil* < English 'middle', *munjuri* < Hi. *məjuri* 'wages', *munjlis* < Hi. *məjlis* 'assembly', *nañgar* < Hi. *nəgar* 'town', *nindrə* 'sleep' < Hi. *nidra:*, etc. As regards the introduction of nasal in the initial position, cf. Lower Munda *mbar* 'two'; but Kherwari *bar* 'id.', etc. cf. old Khmer *bar*, Khmer *bi:r*, Mon. *ba:* 'id.', etc.

The prevention of hiatus between two consecutive vowels is another interesting trait on which a survey of the Indian languages belonging to different families would pay richly. It may be more prevalent in Dr. than in Munda, as asserted by Konow. It is true that the use of diphthongized or a separate contact vowels are more prevalent in Munda than in Dravidian. But the prevention of hiatus is not unknown in Munda. For example, in Bonda we have *leʔañ*, besides *leañ* 'tongue'; the cognates in other Munda languages are: Mu. *alañ*, *leʔe*, Ho *leʔe*, Gu. *leʔañ*, Di. *lea*, Ju. *ailañ*, *elañ*,

[5] Chatterji (1926:368) writes: 'It seems there was an old tendency in Indo-Aryan imposed upon it, it may be, by the non-Aryan speeches towards articulation through both the mouth and the nose and thus bringing in a nasalisation... This nasalising habit goes back certainly to late OIA and Early MIA periods *vakra* > *vakka* > *vaṅga*.

So(R). *ə-laṅ-ən*. Kh. *laṅ*, Sa. As. Bh. Kw. Kor. *alaṅ*, etc. Besides *y* and *v*, other consonants like glottal stop, *ṛ*, *r*, *l*, *m* and *n* have been found to occur between two vowels in different Munda languages, but the exact distribution of these glide sounds has not yet been worked out. On the other hand, retention of hiatus is also not unknown in Dravidian; for example, Pe. *va-uṅ* 'I will not come' (*:va:-* 'to come'), etc (Burrow and Bhattacharya, 1970:73)

It is true that the checked consonants or the pre-glottalized checks are absent in Dravidian phonetics, as pointed out by Konow. But the glottal stop is an important feature of Munda as well as of the Kurukh-Malto and of the Kui-Gondi sub-group of Central Dravidian. It is interesting to note that glottal stop is found only in the Abujhmaṛia dialect of Gondi which is spoken in an area away from the region where the Munda languages are spoken. Wherever glottal stop occurs in Munda or Dravidian, it usually stands for a lost consonant. Some of the Dravidian and Munda languages of the central Indian region agree in another phonetic feature. Both Dr. and Munda do not allow conjuncts in the initial position.[6] But the exceptions are to be found in some languages of both the groups which are spoken only in Koraput and in its immediate north and south. These initial conjuncts occur in Dr. as a result of a metathesis involving the consonants

[6] But initial conjuncts seem to occur in spoken Tamil; cf. Shanmugam Pillai, (1965:45) *kḍa:* 'buffalo'; but *DED* 943, Ta *kaṭa:*, etc.

r, l; e.g. *DED* 3856. Ta. *maram* 'tree', but Te., Kuvi *mra:nu*, Kui *mrahnu* 'id.', etc. In the Lower Munda languages (i. e. Didey, Bonda and Gutob, spoken in the Koraput Dt), on the other hand, the initial conjuncts occur either due to the prefixation of a nasal or other consonants or due to the loss of a very short vowel which I have called 'half-short vowel'. This very-short vowel, instead of being omitted, is often now been replaced by a full short vowel in these languages. Thus Bo. *grem, girem*, Di. *giriṅ* 'cat', etc. The use of this half- short vowel is wide-spread in the Indian languages irrespective of any family-affiliation. Many Kurukh words have been recorded with such very short vowels in *DED*. 4078 Kur *murukna:* 'amputate' Ta. *muṟivu* 'break'.

Konow has discarded, perhaps rightly, Hahn's lexical parallels on the ground that they are loanwords in both the languages from Indo-Aryan. But in an 'Areal' and 'Typological' study we will have to take such resemblances into our account. A casual comparison will show that Dr. and Munda, specially of the central Indian region, share many common words. Many of them are of course derived from IA. But what about *DED* 1728 - Ga. *koḍroṅ, koṇḍrum* 'neck' : Gu. *kōḍroṅ*, Parengi *goroṅ* 'throat' (in Austric : Kaseng *klong*, Bahnar *hulong* 'id')?; cf. also *DED* 561-Ta. *uri* 'to peel' (as skin, bark), Ma. *uri* 'skin etc', Kur. *ur-* 'to rub off the leaves of a branch,' etc. : Ho *ũr* 'skin', *uri-* 'to flay', *uri, uri-biṅ, biṅ-uri* 'slough', Asur, Birhor *ur-* 'to flay', Muṇḍari, Santali *ur* 'bark of tree, skin, hide, leather,'

'to peel off, flay, etc'. *DED* 3889 — Ta. *maḻu* 'axe', Go.*mars, maras* 'id.' : Di. *maloe* 'battle axe,' Bo. *maray* 'big axe'; *DED* 133—Ta. *appaṉ*, Te. *appa*, Go. *a:po:ṛal* 'father', *mī–a:po:* 'thy father', Kui *a:po* 'boy, son, etc'; Gu *apuṅ, apoṅ* Kharia *apa*, Ho *apu*, Mu. *apaṅ, apu*, Sa. *apa, əpu*, Korwa *ap-*, etc. 'father'; *DED* 1787-Ta. *koḻuntu* 'tender', 'any thing young,' Konḍa *koṛo* 'son, boy', Malto *quóro* 'infant', etc. : Parengi *koṛon* 'daughter', 'brother's daughter', As. Bh. Mu. Sa., etc. *koṛo* 'son', *kuṛi* 'daughter'; etc. For other suggestions of such lexical parallels between Dr. and Munda, please see, my Munda etymological studies. (Bhattacharya, 1966, 1969, 1970)

There is another sphere of lexical comparison which appears to be very profitable in this respect, but which could not be fully explored by me for want of time. I have found that, apart from using many common terms denoting items of material culture like 'oil-press', 'plough' etc. and common indegenous and less-known trees, tubers, mushrooms and herbs the Dravidian and the Munda languages spoken in the central Indian region often also use the same type of idioms to denote ideas like 'hair to become gray', 'to comb hair', 'to cut hair,' 'to feel hunger or thirst', etc., or to express concepts like 'famine', 'rainbow', etc. Most of the tribes of this area speaking Dravidian or Munda use the same sets of names of days and months, and the same type of personal names based on the days on which they are born (Somara, Budhara, etc.).

The Inclusive and Exclusive plural forms of the first personal pronouns will be an interesting item for typological study for they occur in many Indian languages

belonging to different families. Separate forms for them are used more frequently in the non-Aryan languages. This linguistic trait is fairly wide-spread in Dr. occurring in many languages of the southern, central and northern groups. But most of the Munda languages have also separate Inclusive and Exclusive forms for 'we (dual)' which trait is absent in Dr. The phenomenon of pronominal particles suffixed or prefixed with kinship terms, parts of the body or articles of material culture to denote inalienable possession (i.e. my-father, my-head, my-house) is another item that will offer comparision between Dr. and Munda. This linguistic trait is much more prevalent in Munda. A good deal of varieties in this matter will be found in this group of languages depending on whether the particle is suffixed or prefixed, whether it denotes many possessors or one possessor, whether the particles are used in respect of all the persons or some of them, whether such pronominal morphemes denoting inalienable possession are used only with kinship terms or also with limbs of the body, or parts of a tree, or parts of other articles, or with items constituting one's property, etc. In Dr. it is only the kinship terms that take such pronominal morphemes to denote inalienable possession. Emeneau (1953) has discussed the situation prevailing in Dravidian fairly elaborately in his 'Dravidian Kinship Terms'. Such pronominal possessive morphemes are usually prefixed in Dr., although suffixation of them is also not unknown in it; e.g. Konḍa *mari-si* 'his son, lit. son-his.', etc. In Munda such possessive morphemes occur in

respect of kinship and other varieties of terms. They are much more common in it than in Dr., and are usually suffixed The gender system is very complex in all the Indian speech-families, because apart from the nouns and pronouns, the adjectives, numerals and verbs are also involved in this matter, and a multi-system gender division is found in most of them. For example, the animate-Inanimate gender division is found predominantly in Korku-Kherwari in Munda, but this system is not altogether absent in Dr. and Tibeto-Burman. In Munda the verbs and the third person pronoun (he/she/it) are not affected by gender which is the case also in a minority of the Dr. languages (See Andronov 1970: 70-74 and 106-11). A 'Superior-Inferior' dichotomy based on two classifiers *jan* and *ṭa* (*goṭa*, etc.) has been already discussed by Emeneau (1967:172-186) with particular reference to Central Dravidian and modern Indo-Aryan numerals. This type of dichotomy is quite common in Munda numerals also. Bloch and Emeneau have discussed about the 'gerunds' or conjunctive particles' in Dr. and mordern IA. This trait is also commoly shared by Munda.

Caldwell's broad approach was adopted by Jules Bloch (1920 and 1934) and Suniti Kumar Chatterji (1926) in their Indo-Aryan studies in the twenties and thirties of this century. But these scholars made a greater use of Dr. while discussing the 'extra-Aryan relationship'. Paucity of material on the Munda languages prevented them from discussing the full impact of Munda on IA. During the same period, Sylvain Lévi and

J. Przuluski (1929) tried to examine IA. in the light of Munda and Austric. But the relationship between Dr. and Munda, the two speech-families spoken in the same or in the contiguous areas for a long time, was not brought into the focus for a pretty long period. In 1948 Kuiper remarked (p. 374), 'As a matter of fact Munda and Dravidian now constitute an Indian linguistic league (*Sprachbund*), in which, in a lesser degree, the Indo-Aryan languages are also involved'. In the fifties of this century, Emeneau (see 1967 § 10, 11 and 12) wrote three important articles in which he compared the Indian languages belonging to different families in order to understand the problem of 'diffusion of linguistic traits across genetic borders'.

In the present paper our object is to re-emphasize Kuiper's view that Munda and Dr. constitute an Indian linguistic area of very great importance; but we would prefer to have Tibeto-Burman, the other non-Aryan Indian language, as the third member of the 'league'. It is only after we have known fully the common features of the non-Aryan languages of India that it will be possible for us to assess properly the non-Aryan influences on Indo-Aryan. Our second object in this paper is to stress the need of 'Areal' and 'Typological' studies, the two modern branches of Comparative Linguistics in India where the culture patterns are very much inter-mingled.

Abbreviations of Names of Munda languages

Di. Didey	As. Asur
Bo. Bonda	Bh. Birhor

Gu. Gutob-Gadba
Pa. Parengi
So. Sora (Sabara)
Ju. Juang
Kh. Kharia
Mu. Mundari
Kor. Koraku
Sa. Santali
Kw. Korowa
Mo. Mowasi
Ko. Korku

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THE EXPRESSION OF 'DIRECTION' IN MALAYALAM

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Among Dravidian Languages Malayalam alone seems to be expressing the meaning of 'direction' by a variety of suffixations. In other Dravidian Languages the directive sense is normally expressed by the dative case markers. This paper attempts to propose that a 'directive case' can be set up in Malayalam.

The vernacular grammars consider the 'directive' as one of the many meanings which could be expressed by the dative itself or, by a compound case. (Gundert, 1962:132), George Mathen (1969:71); Raja Raja Varma (1963:194-195). Only L.V. Ramaswami Ayyer (1936:14) deals with nominal inflections having directive sense separately. He does not, however, explicitly mention it as a special case.

Fillmore (1968:25) includes directives in locatives: 'Locative (L), the case which identifies the location, or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb'. He further states that, 'the list of cases includes L but nothing corresponding to what might be called

directional. There is a certain amount of evidence, as was mentioned above, that locational and directional elements do not contrast but are superficial differences determined either by the constituent structure or, the character of the associated verb' (Ibid. 25). It is true that in many languages directives are not markedly differentiated on the surface level. But we hope to show that directional expressions in Malayalam require a different treatment.

The expression of 'direction' in Malayalam takes various shapes as follows:

I A. *-il* (with all nouns)

B. the oblique base (with *-m* and *-ṭə* ending nouns)

C. *-e:kkə* (with type I.B nouns and with 'locational' nouns)

II *-kkə* (with nouns ending in front vowels and *r*)

III *-ile:kkə* (with all nouns)

IV *-o:ṭṭə* (with 'directional' and 'locational' nouns)

V Stress in the ultimate syllable. (with vowel ending nouns). For illustrations see the appendix.

There may be slight dialectal variations to the above classification but the general pattern seems to be the same.

Raja Raja Varma (op.cit. Sutra 71 and its interpretation) considers *-ile:kkə* forms as compound cases of locative and dative explaining the addition of vowel *e:* as euphonic. According to him *-o:ṭṭə* could be connected to *peṭṭə* (the verbal participle of *peṭu*) (op. cit. Sutra 73). Ramaswami Ayyer (op. cit. 16) has expressed the same opinion with regard to *-o:ṭṭə*. Gundert (op. cit. 152) considers 'direction' as the primary or basic meaning of the dative case.

It will be clear from the above that Malayalam grammars have not tried to explain the various manifestations of 'direction' in the language. The arguments in support of considering the directive marker as a separate inflectional category are as follows:

(1) The distributions of the dative marker in its 'non-directive' sense are different from its distributions in the 'directive' meaning.

(2) The locative marker appears in the directive sense only with motion verbs:

avar vi:ṭṭ-il po:yi

'they went to the house'

iviṭe ninnə ko:ḷe:j-ile:kkə etra du:ram uṇṭə?

'how much is the distance from here to the College'

but not,

**iviṭe ninnə koɪḷe:j-il etra du:ram uṇṭə*

(In the case of motion-verb *naṭakk* 'walk' the locative marker cannot express the directive meaning, This is because *naṭakk* has a non-motional meaning, 'happen'. Hence,

tiruvanantapurattə naṭannu

'(It) happened at Trivandrum'

contrasts with,

tiruvanantapuratte:kkə naṭannu

'(some one) walked to Trivandrum'.

The same applies to the verb *o:ṭ* also but here the reason is not clear.)

(3) *o:ṭṭə* can never be included either with locative or with dative as it has only directional meaning.

Many of our casal constructions overlap with one another and therefore, at first look, they may seem to defy neat classification. This difficulty could be over come to a very great extent if a detailed semantic classification of verbs carried out as most of the mutual dependencies of grammatical categories are based on the characteristics of verbs.

APPENDIX

I A. (i) *aṭutta ma:sam niññaḷ na:ṭṭil pokun nuṇṭo:?* 'are you going to your native place next month?'.

(ii) *avar madra:sil cennə raṇṭu divasam ta:masiccu* 'they went to Madras and stayed (there) for two days'.

(iii) *a:lappuḻayil po:ya:l adde:hatte ka:ṇa:m* 'if (you) go to Alleppey you can see him'.

B. (i) *innale ra:tri mukhyamantri kollattə vannappo:ḷ...* 'yesterday night when Chief Minister came to Quilon...'

(ii) *ay:aḷe ka:ṇa:n enikkə ko:ḻikko:ṭṭə onnu po:kaṇam* 'I have to go to Kozhikode to see him'.

C. *kollatte:kkə po:yi* 'went to kollam (Quilon)' and *pa:lakka:ṭṭe:kkə pe:yi* 'went to Palghat' are possible but nouns other than the place names cannot be operated with this rule. For example, **kuḻatte:kkə po:yi* 'went to tank' and **ka:ṭṭe:kkə po:yi* 'went to forest' are impossible. Example for locational nouns: *ni: aviṭe:kkə po:yo:* 'did you go there?;' *avano:ṭə iviṭe:kkə vara:n paṟayu* 'tell him to come here'.

II. *innə cantakkə po:kunnille:* 'aren't (you) going to the market today'.

i: bassə guruva:yu:rkkə po:kumo: 'will this bus go to Guruvayoor?'

III. *vi:ṭṭile:kkə* 'to the house', *kocciyile:kkə* 'to Koeci (Cochin)', *kuḷattile:kkə* 'to the tank' etc., etc. (However, there are some rare exceptions like **pa:ṭattile:kkə* 'to the field', **bha:gattile:kkə* 'to the side' etc.)

IV. (i) *puḻa tekko:ṭṭə oḻukunnu* 'the river flows southwards'.

(ii) *avaḷ eṅṅo:ṭṭə po:yi* 'where did she go?'

V. Contrast the construction *bo:mbe po:yi* 'Bambay went' with *bo:mbé po:yi* 'went to Bomboy'. In *-a* ending nouns *a* > *e* as *kaṭé poyi* 'went to the shop'.

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PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN TELUGU

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It is now known that pronouns replace not only nouns but whole noun phrases. This point becomes clear when we observe the unique occurrence of a pronoun in an NP (noun phrase). A pronoun does not accept a modifier to precede it. Pronouns in Telugu are classified as participants and non-participants; participants are further distinguished as first and second person pronouns and non-participants are the third person pronouns. Third person pronouns are again either indefinite or definite. Third person indefinite pronouns like the rest of the third person indefinite noun phrases are basic.

A third person pronoun is segmentable into a gender marker and a referential component that precedes the gender marker. Corresponding to a third person pronoun, definite or indefinite, we get an NP:

Def.	*a-di*	'that thing/woman'
	a: pustakam	'that book'
Indef.	*oka-ṭi*	'a thing'
	oka pustakam	'a book'

Noun phrases having a modifier preceding a noun are derived from underlying sentences. A pronominal compound which is usually constituted by a modifier followed by a gender marker is comparable to an NP of this type. Thus, for instance, the NP *nalla pustakam* 'black book' and the pronominal compound *nalla-di* 'black thing' are derived from the underlying sentences *oka pustakam nalla ga: undi* 'a book is black' and *oka-ṭi nalla ga: undi* 'a thing is black' respectively. A transformational process of relativization, relative clause reduction and prenominal modification is involved in bringing out this type of NPs and pronominal compounds from the respective underlying sentences. This comparison of NPs and pronominal compounds shows a notable similarity between the constituent noun of the NP and the gender marker of the pronominal compound. The following formulation makes the similarities explicit:

a-di : *a: pustakam* :: *nalla-di* : *nalla pustakam*

Besides showing the similarity between *di* and *pustakam* the above formulation points out a fact that the demonstrative or anaphoric *a/a:* is similar to the adjective *nalla*. This fact will be utilized for further analysis later in this paper.

Let us compare *di* with *pustakam*. *di* is marked for the feature (-Hu. Masc.) and *pustakam* is also marked for the same.[1] *di* is marked for the feature (-EGF) whereas *pustakam* has (+EGF). The noun *pustakam* has an

[1] This feature is obtained in the subcategorization rule of N which is as follows:

additional feature allowed by the feature (+EGF) which specifies the definition of *pustakam* 'book'. In other words, except for this additional feature which defines

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
[+\mathrm{N}] & \rightarrow & \begin{bmatrix} +\mathrm{N} \\ +\mathrm{Person} \end{bmatrix} \\
[+\mathrm{Person}] & \rightarrow & [\pm \mathrm{Participant}] \\
[+\mathrm{Participant}] & \rightarrow & [\pm \mathrm{First\ Person}]\ [\pm \mathrm{Singular}]\ [\pm \mathrm{Masculine}] \\
[-\mathrm{Participant}] & \rightarrow & \begin{bmatrix} +\mathrm{Gender} \\ \pm \mathrm{EGF} \\ \pm \mathrm{Singular} \end{bmatrix} \\
[+\mathrm{Singular}] & \rightarrow & [\pm \mathrm{Hu.\ Masc.}] \\
[-\mathrm{Singular}] & \rightarrow & [\pm \mathrm{Human}]
\end{array}
$$

Exclusive and inclusive differences and further specifications of [+EGF] are not explanied in this paper. The feature [EGF] leads to specification of several other features which distinguish and specify nouns. By selecting [−EGF] this is restricted. That is nouns having the feature [−EGF] can only have a further option of selecting [+Singular] and other features that follow [+Singular]. The term EGF stands for extra gender features, those featutres which are additional to the minimal gender features in case of non-participant nouns and is used here in want of a better term.

The phonological rules realize the nouns with the feature [−EGF] as specified below:

The features [+N], [−Participant] and [−FGF] are common to all of the following and so they are not repeated

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\begin{bmatrix} +\mathrm{Singular} \\ +\mathrm{Hu.Masc.} \end{bmatrix} & \rightarrow & ḍu \\
\begin{bmatrix} +\mathrm{Singular} \\ -\mathrm{Hu.\ Masc.} \end{bmatrix} & \rightarrow & di \\
\begin{bmatrix} -\mathrm{Singular} \\ +\mathrm{Human} \end{bmatrix} & \rightarrow & ḷḷu \\
\begin{bmatrix} -\mathrm{Singular} \\ -\mathrm{Human} \end{bmatrix} & \rightarrow & vi
\end{array}
$$

pustakam, both *pustakam* and *di* are completely similar in their feature specifications. Hence, except for this feature they are mutually interchangeable.

Now we may compare the pronominal compounds of the type mentioned above with the third person pronouns. We have seen that a pronominal compound consists of a modifier followed by a noun which was previously referred to as a 'gender-marker'. Compare *a-di* with *nalla-di*. In both cases the noun *di* is present. It is preceded by a modifier in *nalla-di* and by a referential marker in *a-di*. In the following discussion we will concentrate on the derivation of the reference marker.

The reference marker in a third person pronoun or in an NP is of two major types: 1) demonstrative and 2) anaphoric. The reference marker *a* in *a-di* may denote a spatio-temporal demonstrative reference or anaphoric reference.

The demonstrative referentials *a* and *i* (as in *i-di* 'this thing') are derived from underlying locative phrase complemented existential sentences.[2] Let us take a whole sentence and observe the derivation of the demonstrative referential marker + the noun from it :

oka-ṭi	*a-k-kaḍa*	*un-di*
a thing	that at	is

'there is a thing'.

[2] The nature of locative and certain other existential sentences having respective complements for the constituent verb 'to be' is more extensively discussed in Bhaskara Rao forthcoming).

This sentence gives rise to third person pronoun *a-di* through relativization The relative clause formation, its reduction and the verb participle deletion is represented below :

Rel. Clause

e:-di	*a-k-kaḍa*	*undi-o:*	*a-di*
which thing-that	at	is	that thing

Reduced Rel. Clause

a-k-kaḍa	*unna-di*
that at	is thing

Further deletion of the relative participle *unna* gives rise to a phrase *a-k-kaḍa-di* 'the one which is there'. In the case of these sentences, i.e., sentences with locative phrase in the initial P-marker as a complement to the verb *uṇḍu* 'to be', a further deletion of the locative post-position *kaḍa* 'at' is possible. This provision gives rise to *a-di* from *a-k-kaḍa-di*. The demonstrative referential *a:* in an NP like *a: pustakam* also has the same derivational history. Thus *a: pustakam* is derived from the sentence *oka pustakam a-k-kaḍa undi*.

Derivation of the anaphoric referential marker is more complex: the complexity is due to the various ways in which definiteness can be expressed. A brief analysis of how definiteness of demonstrative and non-demonstrative origin and indefiniteness interact in a given speaker-hearer situation is necessary in this context. There are mainly three types of speaker-hearer situation:

1) both speaker and hearer have indefinite knowledge regarding the object denoted by the noun in question, 2) speaker has definite knowledge of the object denoted by the noun in question but doesn't communicate it (the definite knowledge) to the hearer, and 3) speaker has definite knowledge of the odject denoted by the noun in question and presumes that the hearer also has definite knowledge of the object denoted by the noun in question.

Instances of the first type are:

na:ku oka pustakam iyyi
me to a book give

'give me a book'

ne:nu vi:- ṭi- lo: oka-ṭi ti:sukoṇṭa:nu
I these things among one thing take will

'I will take one (thing) among these (things)'

The second type is peculiar one and has been grouped with the first by several previous writers but was recognized as distinct from purely indefinite type by some logicians and linguists.[8]

[8] Strawson (1971:25) mentions that article *a* can be of *arch* use in certain phrases like 'a certain person' or 'someone' etc. Hill (1969:222) feels that *a dog bit me* is quite as definite, particular, and singular as the sentence would be with other article. The other article here is *the*. Though Hill observes this peculiarity he fails to clarify the issue. Hutchins (1971:90) prefers to call the article *a* used in this type of situation as an 'unmarked' sememe following Greenberg (1966). Bierwisch (1970:32) calls this type as *specifying* type.

ne:nu ninna oka sinima: cu:se:nu
I yesterday a movie saw
'I saw a movie yesterday'

In this situation the hearer will know that the speaker has definite knowledge regarding the object denoted by the noun in question but this is not of primary concern to us.

The third type is the source of definite reference This situation gives rise to the anaphoric reference of a particular object denoted by the noun in question. The shared definite knowledge between speaker and hearer regarding the referred object may be due to several reasons; some of them are : a) knowledge of the world like in *mana de:sapu adhyaṭṣuḍu* 'president of our country' b) restrictions by the situational context as in a sentence *kiṭiki: muyyi* 'close the window' uttered in a room which has only one window or has many windows of which only one is open.

In the case of anaphora the speaker assumes the hearer has a definite knowledge of the object denoted by the noun in question and then attaches the anaphoric referential *a/a:/va:* to the noun in question. He further assumes that the hearer interpretes the anaphoric referential used by him (the speaker) to refer to the object which he intended. If any one of these or both assumptions are not fulfilled then the reference is not achieved. Then the sentence will be misunderstood. The underlying sentence which gives rise to the anaphoric reference marker is of the shape :

ni:ku oka X telusu
you to a X know
'you know an X'.

The X represents the noun that denotes the object referred. To examine this let us take a typical discourse:

1. *anaganaga oka ra:ju unna:ḍu*
once upon a time a king was
'once upon a time there was a king'

2. *a: ra:juki e:ḍuguru koḍukulu unna:ru*
that king seven sons were
'the king had seven sons'

3. *va:-ḍiki ku:tuḷḷu le:ru*
that man to daughters not be
'he had no daughters'.

Sentence 1 announces to the hearer the existence of a specific king. Sentences 2 and 3 presume that the hearer has acquired knowledge of the particular king whose existence was mentioned in sentence 1. Now the speaker gets the opportunity to formulate the sentence *ni:ku oka ra:ju telusu* 'you know a particular king'. This sentence will function as the underlying sentence for both *a: ra:ju* and *va:-ḍu*. Thus the NP *a: ra:ju* is derived from this underlying sentence by replacing its *oka* of *oka ra:ju* by *a:* and deleting the rest of the sentence.

ni:ku oka ra:ju telusu => *a: ra:ju* 'that king'

This process can be further extended by an optional transformation which deletes all the extra gender features, in this case the features which distinguish *ra:ju* from the rest of the nouns. The resulting form will have the feature specification

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Participant} \\ +\text{Gender} \\ -\text{EGF} \\ +\text{Singular} \\ +\text{Hu. Masc.} \end{bmatrix}$$

and will be realised on surface as *ḍu* by our phonological rules.

To sum up, we have observed that 1) the so-called indefinite article *oka* has three distinct interpretations viz., purely indefinite, speaker–specific, and definite. These three functions correspond to the three speaker–hearer situations mentioned above. The third interpretation seems to be considerably strange compared to the conventional meaning attribute to the 'indefinite article' *oka* but the analysis given above supplies the motivation for it, 2) the so-called gender marker of the third person definite pronouns was shown to be derivable transformationally. In the case of the demonstrative pronouns it (the gender marker) is a noun coming from an underlylng locative existential sentence without undergoing any feature modification, and in the case of the anaphoric referential pronouns, it (the gender marker) is derived from an underlying sentence with a certain amount of feature deletion, and 3) the demonstrative referential marker is a modified demonstrative element

of an underlying locative existential sentence whereas the anaphoric referential marker is derived from an underlying sentence denoting the prior knowledge of the hearer about the object.

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LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE IN DRAVIDIAN

(A PRELIMINARY STUDY)

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AIM

The aim of the present study is two fold. They are: 1) to study the *Linguistic Interference* found between the contacting language groups in Dravidian in the three major levels of the language viz., phonological level, grammatical level and lexical level, that is, to study the phonological interference (this includes the phonic interference also) (Weinreich, 1957 : 1-11), grammatical interference and lexical interference and 2) to find out the *relative percentage of the linguistic interference* found between the contacting language groups of Dravidian.

PRESENT STUDY: AN INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of the present study the following Dravidian languages are taken into consideration. They are: 1) Tamil, 2) Malayalam and 3) Telugu. As far as the language contact is concerned *Tamil* comes under the MT-group (Mother tongue group) whereas *Malayalam*

and *Telugu* come under the OT-group (Other tongue group) of languages (Weinreich, 1957 : 203-233). In other words, *Tamil* belongs to the *Primary System* whereas *Malayalam* and *Telugu* belong to the *Secondary System*.

The contact between Tamil and the other Dravidian languages viz., Malayalam and Telugu is bilingual.[1] It is to be admitted here, that the present study is only a preliminary one because the corpus is limited and also the data have not been elicited in the respective bilingual areas.

LANGUAGE CONTACT: BILINGUAL CONTACT

When only two languages are in contact with each other, then this type of contact is said to be bilingual contact; and when more than two languages are in contact, then this type of contact is known as multilingual contact. In the present study the following languages mentioned in each group have bilingual contact with each other.

LANGUAGE GROUPS (MT - OT GROUPS)

1. Tamil – Malayalam
2. Tamil – Telugu
3. Tamil – Kannada

[1] For want of time and necessary data the bilingual contact between Tamil and Kannada is not taken into consideration in the present study.

BILINGUAL AREAS

For the purpose of the present study it is necessary to select areas from MT- group area. (Border areas of languages are usually bilingual areas. However there are other areas also which are bilingual areas). From each such area one or two points (places) have to be selected for the purpose of data collection.

	MT- OT	Bilingual Areas	Points
1.	Ta. – Ma.	a) Kanyakumari	i) Kaliakkavilai
			ii) Thackalai
		b) Tinneveli	i) Shencottah
		c) Madurai	i) Cumbum
		d) Coimbatore	i) Valayar
			ii) Pollachi–Olavacode area
2.	Ta. – Te.	a) Chingleput	i) Pallipat
			ii) Ponneri
		b) North Arcot	i) Kuppam
			ii) Katpadi
3.	Ta. – Ka.	a) Dharmapuri	i) Hosur
		b) Coimbatore	i) Satyamangalam
			ii) Thalavadi
		c) North Arcot	i) Kuppam
			ii) Jolarpet border Area

BILINGUALISM AND LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE

Before going into the details of the present study, it is quite essential here to explain the terms *Bilingualism* and *Linguistic Interference* as defined by many linguists in general and U. Weinreich (1964 : 1 – 6) in particular. From the point of view of social sciences bilingualism is a type of *acculturation* and any interference that occurs is a case of *culture diffusion.* Bilingualism is explained as the communication bridge between the two MT- groups. It is also described as the practice of alternately using two languages. Due to language contact there takes place interference in the contacting languages. The term *Linguistic Interference* implies and explains the rearrangement of linguistic patterns and features that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary.

No easy way of measuring or characterizing the total impact of one language on the other in the speech of bilinguals has been, or probably can be, devised. The only possible procedure is to describe the various forms of interference and to tabulate their frequency (Ibid:63). However no attempt is made here to quantify the total amount of interference.

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE

1. Tamil – Malayalam

MT (Tamil) has acquired some of the linguistic usages and features found in the OT (Malayalam).

1.1. LEXICAL INTERFERENCE

Tamil (MT)	Malayalam (OT)	Meaning
a:cce	*a:l̤ce*	'day, week'
ca:ṭu	*ca:ṭə*	'run, jump'
orumi	*orumikkə*	'unite'
onni	*onnikkə*	"
ti:nam	*d̤i:nam*	'disease'
to:kku	*t̤o:kkə*	'gun'
paṭikkam	*paṭikkam*	'spitoon'
kaṭuva:y	*kaṭuva*	'tiger'
caṭavu	*caṭavə*	'weariness'
cantam	*cant̤am*	'beauty'
pakaram	*pakaram*	'instead of'
caṇṭu	*caṇṭə*	'chaff'
cammanti	*cammand̤i*	'chuttney'
pa:ṭṭam	*pa:ṭṭam*	'contract of lease of paddy lands'
vaṇṇam	*vaṇṇam*	'bulkiness'
apakaṭam 'guile'	*apakaṭam*	'danger'
ca:ṭṭam	*ca:ṭṭam*	'running'
paruma:ttam	*peruma:ṭ̤ṭ̤am*	'behaviour'
paṭṭi	*paṭṭi*	'dog'
ter̤ru	*t̤ettə*	'mistake'
muṇṭu	*muṇḍə*	'dhoti'

1.2. GRAMMATICAL INTERFERENCE

1.2.1. *Third person neuter singular suffix*

Malayalam has no pronominal terminations in the finite verb forms. But the MT (Tamil) has pronominal terminations in the finite verb forms.

Tamil (MT)	Malayalam (OT)	Meaning
na:n vante:n	*ña:n vannu*	'I came'
na:ṅkaḷ vanto:m	*ñaṅṅaḷ* "	'we came'
ni: vanta:y	*ni:* "	'you (sg.) came'
ni:ṅkaḷ vanti:rkaḷ	*niṅṅaḷ* "	'you (pl.) came'
avan vanta:n	*avan* "	'he came'
avaḷ vanta:ḷ	*avaḷ* "	'she came'
avarkaḷ vanta:rkaḷ	*avar* "	'they (hum.) came'
atu vantatu	*aṯə* "	'it came'
avai vantaṉa	*ava* "	'they (neu.) came'.

In the Nanjilnad dialect of Tamil (NTD) (Agesthialingom, 1967: 52, 75, 96 and 169-205), we find the form *atu vantu* 'it came'. In all the the other Tamil dialects the corresponding usage is *atu vantutu* 'it came'. The difference between the above said forms (i.e., the absence of the third person neuter singular suffix) is mainly due to the influence of the OT (Malayalam). In this dialect, third person neuter singular suffix *-tu* is absent in the finite verb forms due to the grammatical interference that takes place in Tamil.

1.2.2. *Ordinal Suffix*

In Tamil the ordinal suffixes are *-a:m* and *-a:vatu.*

na:l – a:m	'fourth'
na:l – a:vatu	"
añc – a:m	'fifth'
añc – a:vatu	"

But in the NTD, a new suffix – *a:matte* (in addition to the suffixes – *a:m* and – *a:vatu*) has come into existence because of the linguistic interference that takes place in the MT due to the language contact. In Malayalam (OT) the ordinal suffix is – *a:matte* e. g. *na:l – a:matte* 'fourth', *añc – a:matte* 'fifth' etc.

1.2.3. *Emphatic Suffix*

The emphatic suffix – *a:kkum* is found only in the NTD and it is not found in other Tamil dialects. e. g. *avaṉ – a:kkum vanta:ṉ* 'it is he who came, but not anybody else'. In Malayalam this type of usage is found in the constructions like *avaṉ – a:ṇə vaṉṉuṯu* 'it is he who came, but not any body else'. In the above mentioned examples – *a:ṇə* and – *a:kkum* both have the same function. They convey not only a kind of emphatic meaning but at the same time rejects something else as well.

1.2.4. *Adverbial Suffix*

Adverbial suffix – *a:ṯṯu* is found only in the NTD and it is not found in the other Tamil dialects.

aḷak - a:ṭṭu 'beautifully'
ve:kam - a:ṭṭu 'speedily'
ne:r - a:ṭṭu 'straightly'

In Malayalam (OT) one of the adverbial markers is *- a:yiṭṭu* e. g. *baṅgi - y -a:yiṭṭu* 'beautifully', *ve:kam - a:yiṭṭu* 'speedily' etc.

Hence the occurrence of the adverbial suffix *-a:ṭṭu* in the NTD is because of the linguistic interference.

1.2.5. *Negative Suffix*

- a:ṇṭa:m is the negative suffix found in the NTD and this suffix is not found in the other Tamil dialects. e.g. *var - a:ṇṭa:m* 'needn't come' *cey-y-a:ṇṭa:m* 'needn't do' etc.

In Malayalam, the negative suffix is *- aṇṭa* e. g. *var - aṇṭa* 'needn't come', *cey-y-aṇṭa* 'needn't do'.

1.2.6. *Genitive Case Suffix*

The genitive case suffixes in Tamil are *-uṭaiya (-o:ṭe), -atu, -Ø* etc. In Malayalam[2] one of the genitive case suffixes is *-te* and this suffix occurs after the *-n* ending stems. e.g. *en -te* 'my', *avan-te* 'his', *ra:man-te* 'Raman's' etc. Because of the linguistic interference *-te* found in Malayalam is also used in Tamil (Karunakaran, f.a.) with a slight modification. In the Coimbatore Tamil

[2] Mr. R. Manikantan Pillai supplied me the necessary information for Malayalam. My thanks are due to him.

dialect this suffix *-ṟe* is used and it occurs only after the pronoun oblique base forms which end in *-n* e.g. *eṉ-ṟe* 'my', *avaṉ-ṟe* 'his', *uṉ-ṟe* 'your' (sg.) etc.

2. Tamil - Telugu

The MT (Tamil) has acquired some of the linguistic usages and features found in the OT (Telugu) and vice versa.

2.1. GRAMMATICAL INTERFERENCE

2.1.1. Telugu has an usage *cari po:yindi* to express the meaning '(it) became alright'. Due to this influence and impact of Telugu, Tamil (Tiruttani dialect of Tamil[8]) has acquired the above said type of construction and hence the corresponding usage that is found in this dialect is *cari po:cci* '(it) became alright'. But in the other Tamil dialects the corresponding usage for this is *cariya: po:cci* (< *cariya:kap po:yiṟṟu*) '(it) became alright'.

2.1.2. *Finite Verb Forms*

The present tense form of *ciri* 'laugh' (*cirikkura:ṉ* 'he laughs' is interpreted as *cirikk(u)-r-a:ṉ* 'laughs-he' and this stem is used as a verbal stem to which the Telugu tense suffixes and pronominal terminations are added (Karunakaran, f. b.) and hence we find the following finite verb form in Telugu.

cirikku – ta: – ḍu 'laughs-he'

[8] Mr. Ahamad Hussain supplied me the necessary information for Telugu and Tiruttani dialect of Tamil. My thanks are due to him.

Similarly the Telugu verb bases take Tamil tense suffixes and pronominal terminations. e. g, *nav-r-a:n* 'laughs – he', *ra:y-r-en* 'write - I', *pi:ka-r-a:n* 'plucks-he'

2.2. LEXICAL INTERFERENCE

Some of the lexical items found in Telugu occur also in Tamil and vice versa.

Tamil (MT)	Telugu (OT)	Meaning
nayna:	*na:yana*	'father'
bomme	*bomma*	'toy'
bommala:ṭṭam	*bammala:ṭa*	'toy-play'
maṉava:ṭu	*manava:ḍu*	'person who belongs to the same commnnity'
buvva	*buvva*	'food'
ku:ra	*ku:ra*	'a relish for food'
guṇṭu	*guṇḍu*	'head-shave'
kaṭci	*kaṭci*	'political party'
baṭṭa	*baṭṭa*	'loin-cloth'
na:ṉ	*na:nu*	'I'

Linguistic interference also takes place in the syntactic level of the contacting languages. For example, a German speaker says in English *this woman loves the man* on the model of the German construction *diese Frau liebt der Mann*, intending to communicate the message ' the man loves this woman' but producing the opposite

effect (Weinreich, 1964:37). However no attempt is made here to study the syntactic interference that takes place due to language contact.

Relative percentage of the linguistic interference found between the contacting language groups has not been worked out here. It is hoped that a thorough field work in the respective bilingual areas mentioned above may pave the way for arriving at fruitful results, in future, in this type of research work.

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: S. V. Shanmugam, G. Sankaranarayanan, K. M. Prabhakara Variar, R. Kothandaraman, T.B. Venugopala Panikkar, G. Damodharan, M. Israel, M. A. French, K. Balasubramanian, N. Kumaraswami Raja and U. P. Upadhyaya.

A NOTE ON AGREEMENT IN KOTA[1]

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The Gender-Number Agreement of Kota[2] is found in three ways. They are agreement between (1a) Subject-Verb predicate in positive sentence and (1b) Negative sentence; (2) Instrumental Noun-Verb predicate; and (3) Demonstrative Human pronoun (Singular) plus the kinship nouns.

Kota has only number distinction i.e. singular-plural in all the personal pronouns (see Subbaih, 1972) and gender-number distinctions viz. masculine sg. (*avn* 'he'); feminine sg., (*avḷ* 'she') and human pl. (*avr* 'they'); and neuter (common to sg. and pl.) (*ad* 'it/they'- neu.) in the demonstrative as well as the interrogative pronouns.

[1] The author expresses his thanks to his Prof. S. Agesthialingom and Dr. S. V. Shanmugam and his colleagues, R. Kothandaraman and R. Sreeveeramanikantan Pillai for their valuable suggestions.

[2] Kota belongs to the Southern group of Dravidian family of languages. It is spoken by the aboriginal tribe of the Nilgirls whose population is about one thousand and two hundred.

SUBJECT – VERB PREDICATE AGREEMENT

(a) *Positive*

The same kind of distinction is maintained between the subject and the verb predicate in a positive sentence if the subject is the personal pronoun.

1.	*a:n*	*koṭpe:n*	'I gave'
	I	gave–I	
2.a.	*a:m*	*koṭpe:m*	'we (excl.) gave'
	we	gave–we (excl.)	
2.b.	*a:m*	*koṭpo:m*	'we (incl.) gave'
	we	gave-we (incl.)	
3.	*ni:*	*koṭpi:*	'you (sg.) gave'
	you (sg.)	gave-you (sg.)	
4.	*ni:m*	*koṭpi:m*	'you (pl.) gave'
	you (pl.)	gave-you (pl.)	

One thing is to be noted here that the Kota, in the first person pronoun, plural differentiates the inclusive versus exclusive in the finite verbs as well as in the oblique bases, even though the plural nominative base has the same form for both.

5. *a:m* 'we (incl./excl.)' : *am* 'our/us (incl.)' *em* 'our/us (excl.).'

With ragard to the demonstrative as well as the interrogative pronouns, the gender-number distinction found in the subject of a sentence is not found in the finite

verb. There is only one form which is different from the first and second person, is used.

6.	*u:n* 'he'	*o·či:ko:* 'went'
7.	*u:ḷ* 'she'	*o:či:ko:* 'went'
8.	*u:r* 'they (hum.)	*'o:či:ko:* 'went'
9.	*ad* 'it/they'	*o:či:oko* 'went'
10.	*kambaṭn* 'Kambatan (mas.)'	*o:či:ko:* 'went'
11.	*ma:dy* 'Mady (fem)'.	*o:či:ko:* 'went'
12.	*a:ḷgu:ḷ* 'people'	*o:či:ko:* 'went'
13.	*a:v* 'cow'	*o:či:ko:* 'went'

It is to be noted that in Tamil, the third person finite verbs are capable of denoting the gender-number of the subject unlike Kota where we can know the person and not the gender–number of the subject from the finite verb.

(b) *Negative*

As in the positive sentences, the first and second person pronouns show the person–number agreement in the negative sentences also.

14. *a:n* *tiḻla:re:n*
I will not eat-I
'I will not eat'

15.a. *a:m* *tiḻla:re:m*
we will not eat-we (excl.)
'we (excl.) will not eat'

15.b. *a:m* *tiḻla:ro:m*
we will not eat-we (incl.)
'we (incl.) will not eat'

16. *ni:* *tiḻla:ri:*
you (sg.) will not eat-you (sg.)
'you (sg.) will not eat'

17. *ni:m* *tiḻla:ri:m*
you (pl.) will not eat-you (pl.)
'you (pl.) will not eat'.

The demonstrative and the interrogative pronouns have the number distinction in the finite verb of the negative sentences only when the subject is a human noun.

18. *ivn* *tiḻla:ra:*
he will not eat-he
'he will not eat'

19. *ivḷ* *tiḻla:ra:*
she will not eat-she
'she will not eat'

20. *ivr* *tiḻla:ra:m*
they (hum) will not eat-they (hum.)
'they (hum.) will not eat'

21. *id* *tiḻla:ra:*
it/they will not eat-it/they (neu.)
'it/they (neu.) will not eat'

22. *maln* *tiḍla:ra:*
Mallan will not eat-he
'Mallan (mas.) will not eat'

23. *či:rav* *tiḍla:ra:*
grand- will not eat-she
mother *ci:rav*
'grand mother ci:rav will not eat'

24. *a:ḷgu:ḷ* *tiḍla:ra:m*
people will not eat-they (hum.)
'people (hum.) will not eat'.

INSTRUMENTAL NOUN-VERB PREDICATE AGREEMENT

The sentences of Kota are differentiated as active, causal and instrumental sentences. Of these three, the active and causal sentences show the agreement between the subject and verb predicate.

25. *a:n* *puj(n)* *taviṟčpe:n*
I tiger killed-I
'I killed the tiger'

26. *ni:* *im(n)* *čačpi:*
you(sg.) buffalo slaughtered-you(sg.)
'you(sg.) slaughtered the buffalo'

27. *avn* *čelk(n)* *murčko:*
he stick broke-he
'he broke the stick'

28. *avḷ* *en-a:l* *vaḍko:*
she because of me came
'she came because of me'

29. *ayṇ* *kara:ḷ-a:l* *poranjk* *o:či:ko:*
father because of younger brother outside went

'father went outside because of younger brother'

But the instrumental sentences show the agreement between the gender–number/person of the nouns in the instrumental case, and the verb predicate.

30. *puj* *en-a:l* *tavirčpe:n*
tiger by me killed–I

'the tiger was killed by me'

31. *im* *nin-a:l* *čačpi:*
buffalo by you slaughtered–you (sg.)

'the buffalo was slaughtered by you (sg)'

32. *čelk* *avn-a:l* *murčko:*
stick by him broken–he

'the stick was broken by him'.

It is to be pointed out that in 25 *a:n* 'I', 26 *ni:* 'you (sg.), and 27 *avn* 'he' are the grammatical subjects as well as logical subjects; and *puj*, *im* and *čelk* are the objects of the sentences respectively. The agreement here is between the grammatical subject which is also the logical subject and the finite verb. But in 30, 31 and 32 the logical subjects of the sentences are the same as above and they are realized as instrumental phrase in the surface level. The agreement in the sentence 30 is between the logical subject and the finite verb; and not between the grammatical subject and finite verb. This type of agreement (i.e.

between the logical subject and finite verb) is not to be found in the literary Dravidian languages. For instance compare the following Tamil sentences.

33. *avaṉ* *puliyaik* *koṉṟa:ṉ*
he tiger killed-he
'he killed the tiger'

34. *puli* *avaṉ-a:l* *kollappaṭṭatu*
tiger by him killed–tiger (it)
'the tiger was killed by him'.

Here the agreement is always between the grammatical subject and verb predicate irrespective of it being the logical subject or not. In (33), *avaṉ* 'he' is the grammatical subject which is also the logical subject and so we have *-a:n* 'he' in the finite verb. In (34) the grammatical subject is *puli* 'tiger' and so we have *-tu* 'it' in the finite verb.

POSSESSIVE–ATTRIBUTE AND KINSHIP NOUN

Whenever the demonstrative human pronoun (singular) occurs as a possessor-attribute to a kinship noun, the gender of the attribute should agree with the gender of the kinship noun. If the kinship is masculine, and the possessor pronoun is feminine, then the gender of the latter (pronoun) changes into the gender of the former (kinship noun) and thereby showing Gender-Agreement.

35.a. **avḷ-ayṇ* 'her father' *avnayṇ* (lit: 'his father')

b. **avḷ-kara:ḷ* 'her-younger brother' *avnkara:ḷ* (lit: 'his younger brother'

c.	**avn-akn*	'his elder sister	*avḷakn*	(lit: 'her elder sister')
d.	**avn-av*	'his mother'	*avḷav*	(lit: 'her mother')
36.a.	**u:n-peḍ*	'his wife'	*u:ḷpeḍ*	
b.	**u:ḷ-a:ḷ*	'her husband'	*u:na:ḷ*	

The phrases in 35.a., b., c. and d. are ambiguous. Because 35.a. can denote either *'his father'* or *'her father'* etc. The ambiguity is nullified when the phrase occurs as a conjoined element in a coordinate sentence.

37. **avnme: avn-kaṛa:čme: vaḍko:*
avnme: avḷkaṛa:čme: vaḍko:
(lit: he-and her younger sister-and came)
'he and his younger sister came'

But the gender agreement is not found when a human proper noun precedes a kinship noun.

38. *kavndn-av* 'Kavundan's mother'

39. *ma:dy-ayṇ* 'Mady's father'

Participant in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: K. Kushalappa Gowda.

SENTENCE ADVERBS IN TAMIL AND TELUGU

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The main aim of this paper is to show how the so-called sentence adverbs in Tamil and Telugu are derived from sentences. Also it aims to explain that the sentence adverbs modify the whole sentence which they precede, not the verb alone, and that they are different from the other set of derived adverbs which modify the verb alone.

It is a known fact that *-a:ka* in Ta. and *-ga:* in Te. were treated as adverbial markers. According to this treatment the derived adverbs or adverbials are formed by adding these markers to the nouns[1].

Tamil	Telugu	
ko:pam-a:ka	*ko:pam-ga:*	'angrily'
aḻaku-a:ka	*andam-ga:*	'beautifully'

[1] Pope (1911), Arden (1954) and others treat *-a:ka* as an adverbial marker. They are of the opinion that a noun might be converted into an adverbs by adding *-a:ka* to it.

u:kkam-a:ka	*utsa:ham-ga:*	'enthusiastic ally'
tu:ymai-a:ka	*subram-ga:*	'cleanly'
uṇmai-a:ka	*nijam-ga:*	'truly'
culapam-a:ka	*sulabham-ga:*	'easily'.

In these instances the adverbial markers are added to a kind of abstract nouns[2]. Also there are instances like,

avaṉ nalla paḻama:ka va:ṅkiṉa:ṉ
'he selected good fruits and bought'

avaṉ vi:ṭu vi:ṭa:kap po:ṉa:ṉ
'he went door to door'

avaṉ pattup patta:kak koṭutta:ṉ
'he gave in tens'

avaṉ nallata:kak koṭutta:ṉ
'he selected good ones and gave'

avaṉ kaṇṇaṉ vantata:kac coṉṉa:ṉ
'he told me that Kannan came'

etc. in Ta. where we find Noun + *-a:ka* constructions. When we closely examine them it might be clear that *ko:pama:ka, aḻaka:ka*, etc, are syntactically different from *nalla paḻama:ka, vi:ṭu vi:ṭa:ka*, etc. The problem of Noun + Ta. *-a:ka*, Te. *-ga:* constructions is very complicated

[2] Though *kaṭamai* 'duty', *viṭutalai* 'freedom', *a:ṟṟal* 'skill', etc. are abstract nouns, they cannot form adverbs like *ko:pama:ka*, etc. by taking *-a:ka*.

and it is not our concern to study all kinds of Noun+ *-a:ka/ -ga:* constructions[3]. Consider the following sentences. (Ta. sentences are prefixed with (a) and Te. ones with (b) hence forth).

1.1. (a) *uṉmaiya:ka avar iṅku vanta:r*
(b) *nijaṅga: va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru*
'truly he came here'

1.2. (a) *avar iṅku vanta:r eṉpatu uṉmai*
(b) *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijam*
'it is true that he came here'

1.3. (a) *avar uṉmaiya:ka iṅku vanta:r*
(b) *va:ru nijaṅga: ikkaḍaki occæ:ru*
'truly he came here'

1.4. (a) *avar ko:pama:ka iṅku vanta:r*
(b) *va:ru ko:paṅga: ikkaḍaki occæ:ru*
'he came here angrily'

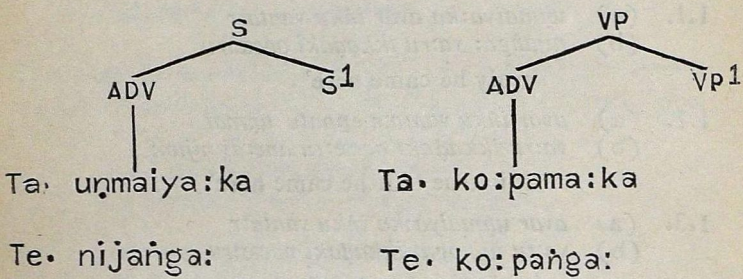
1.5. (a) *ko:pama:ka avar iṅku vanta:r*
(b) *ko:paṅga: va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru*
'he came here angrily'

1.6. (a) **avar iṅku vanta:r eṉpatu ko:pam*
(b) **va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di ko:pam*

A cursory look at the sentences (1.1–1.6) might give an idea that *uṉmaiya:ka* and *nijaṅga:* are syntactically different from *ko:pama:ka* and *ko:paṅga:* apart from *nalla paḻama:ka, vi:ṭu vi:ṭa:ka*, etc. In the sentences 1.1. (a) and (b) *uṉmaiya:ka* and *nijaṅga:* modify the whole sentence that occurs after them whereas *ko:pama:ka* and *ko:paṅga:* in 1.5 modify the verb that follows them. To

[3] It must be mentioned here that Annamalai (1968) has dealt with many important problems regarding the N+*-a:ka* constructions in Tamil in his thesis 'The So-called Adverbs in Tamil'. I am indebted to Annamalai for he kindly allowed me to use the thesis.

put it in other words, *ko:pama:ka* and *ko·paṅga:* are dominated by VP but *uṉmaiya:ka* and *nijaṅga:* are not. In fact they are dominated by an S which includes another S. This might be graphically summarized as follows:



In this paper we are interested only in those adverbs which modify an S^1 and which are dominated by an S. The term sentence adverb is employed to mean exclusively these items[4].

1.7. (a) *uṉmaiya:kac colkiṟe:ṉ, avar iṅku vanta:r*
(b) *nijam(-ga:) cepputunna:nu, va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru*

'truly speaking, he came here'

1.8. (a) *na:ṉ colkiṟeṉ, itu uṉmai, avar iṅku vanta:r*
(b) *ne:nu cepputunna:nu, idi nijam, va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru*

'I say, this is true, he came here'.

The sentences in 1.7 and 1.8 are closely related to those in 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3. After carefully examining the sentences in 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.7 and 1.8, we arrive at the following deep structure. (Details which are not relevant for our discussion are omitted in the tree diagrams in this paper.)

[4] It would be more adequate to call them sentence modifiers. Since N+*-a:ka* constructions are more commonly known as adverbs, I preferred to call them sentence adverbs.

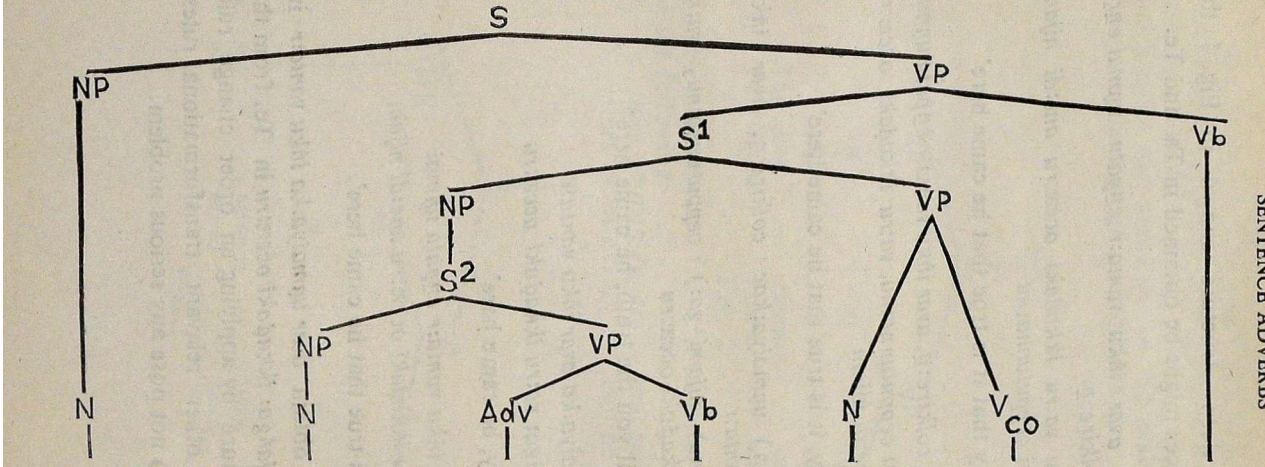

S
NP
VP
S1
Vb
NP
VP
S2
NP
VP
N
N
Adv
Vb
N
V
CO
Ta. na:n avar iṅku vanta:r uṇmai a: colkiṟe:n
Te. ne:nu va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru nijam avu cepputunna:nu

Fig. 1

From the deep structure shown in Fig. 1 the following sentences might be obtained in Ta and Te.

2.1. (a) *na:n avar iṅku vanta:r enpatu uṇmai enru colkire:n*

(b) *ne:nu va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijam ani cepputunna:nu*

'I say that it is true that he came here'

2.2. (a) *na:n colkire:n, avar iṅku vanta:r enpatu uṇmai*

(b) *ne:nu cepputunna:nu, va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijam*

'I say, it is true that he came here'

2.3. (a) *(na:n) uṇmaiya:kac colkire:n, avar iṅku vanta:r*

(b) *(ne:nu) nijam(-ga:) cepputunna:nu, va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru*

'I tell you the truth, he came here'

2.4. (a) *uṇmaiya:ka avar iṅku vanta:r*

(b) *nijaṅga: va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru*

'truly, he came here'

2.5. (a) *avar iṅku vanta:r enpatu uṇmai*

(b) *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijam*

'It is true that he came here'.

Also we might obtain *avar uṇmaiya:ka iṅku vanta:r* in Ta. and *va:ru nijaṅga: ikkaḍaki occæ:ru* in Te, from the same deep structure by applying an order change rule after applying other relevant transformational rules. Anyway, they do not pose any serious problem.

Any S when it is uniquely dominated by an NP is transformed into a factive nominal. When an S undergoes such transformational change, *enpatu* is added to that S in Ta. and *ane:di* in Te. To make it clear some more illustrations are given below.

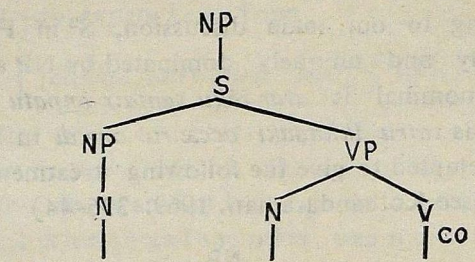


Fig. 2

The nominals obtained from the structure shown in Fig. 2 are the following.

Ta. *avar ra:man enpatu* 'that he is Raman'
Te. *va:ru ra:mu ane:di* 'that he is Ramu'.

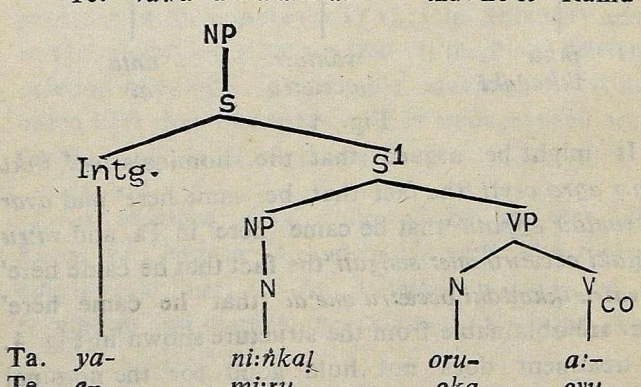


Fig. 3

From this deep structure we obtain the following nominals.

Ta. *niːṅkaḷ yaːr enpatu*
Te. *miːru evaru aneːdi*

'who you are'.

Coming to our main discussion, S^2 in Fig. 1 is immediately and uniquely dominated by NP and the resultant nominal is *avar iṅku vantaːr enpatu* in Ta. whereas it is *vaːru ikkaḍaki occæːru aneːdi* in Te. One might be tempted to give the following treatment to the nominals (see Kothandaraman, 1969: 336–44)

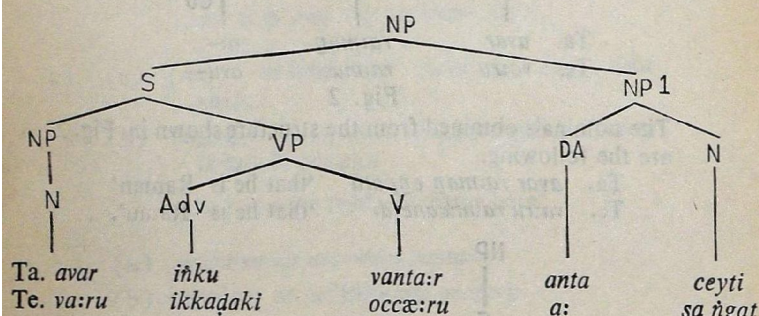


Fig. 4

It might be argued that the nominals *avaːr iṅku vantaːr enra ceyti* 'the fact that he came here' and *avar iṅku vantaːr enpatu* 'that he came here' in Ta. and *vaːru ikkaḍaki occæːru aneː saṅgati* 'the fact that he came here' and *vaːru ikkaḍaki occæːru aneːdi* 'that he came here' in Te. are obtainable from the structure shown in Fig. 4. This treatment does not hold good for the nominal *niːṅkaḷ yaːr enpatu* which is the NP part of the Ta.

sentence *ni:ṅkaḷ ya:r e̲npatu ke:ḷvi* 'who are you is the question'. In fact any sentence in Ta. can be nominalized by adding *e̲npatu* to the sentence. So also any sentence in Te. can be nominalized by adding *ane:di* to the sentence. It is illogical and unsatisfactory to derive the sentence *ni:ṅkaḷ ya:r e̲npatu ke:ḷvi* from

$$\left[\ \left[\ [ni{:}ṅkaḷ\ ya{:}r]\ antac\ ceyti\ \right]\ ke{:}ḷvi.\ \right]$$

A similar argument holds good for the Te. sentence *mī:ru evaru ane:di prašna* 'who are you is the question'. Therefore the treatment based on the structure shown in Fig. 4 is given up and the other one shown in Fig. 1 is preferred.

When S^2 is nominalized we get *avar iṅku vanta:r e̲npatu* in Ta. and *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di* in Te. These nominals function as subject in S^1. For many valid reasons, which I cannot discuss in this paper, the presence of the copula verb (V_{co}) in S^1 is very essential in the underlying structure and it might be deleted by a deletion rule under predictable conditions[5]. It may be noted here that the copula verb, in some respect, accounts for the *-a:ka* in Ta. and *-ga:* in Te

A sentence when followed by the verbs like *col, ku.r̲u, ke:ḷ*, etc in Ta. and by the verbs like *ceppu* 'say' *aḍugu* 'ask', etc. in Te. undergoes a quotation transformation and thereby *e̲nr̲u* is attached to the sentence

[5] I have dealt with this problem in detail in 'Copula Verb in Tamil Syntax' (unpublished).

in Ta. while *ani* in Te. The quotation transformation might be applied after deleting the copula verb. At this stage we obtain the following sentences.

Ta. *na:n avar iṅku vanta:r enpatu uṇmai enru colkire:n*

Te. *ne:nu va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijam ani cepputunna:nu*

'I say that it is true that he came here'.

For our convenience we can reduce the structure of these sentences as $X - S - Y - Z - Q - Vb_x$,

	Ta.	Te.
where	X = *na:n*,	*ne:nu*
	Y = *enpatu*,	*ane:di*
	Z = *uṇmai*, ...	*nijam*, ...
	Q = *enru*,	*ani*
	Vb = *col*, ...	*ceppu*, ...

S is a sentence.

In sentences like *na:n varukire:n* 'I come', *na:n paṭikkire:n* 'I read', etc., it is quite common to drop the subject in Ta. Similarly in sentences like *ne:nu ostunna:nu* 'I come', *ne:nu cu:stunna:nu* 'I see', etc., the subject may be dropped in Te. Therefore, we can easily get the following sentences in Ta. and Te.

Ta. *avar iṅku vanta:r enpatu uṇmai enru colkire:n*

Te. *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijam ani cepputunna:nu*

'I say that it is true that he came here'.

Now the sentence adverbialization rule is applied as a result of which we get

uṇmaiya:kac colkiṟe:ṉ, avar iṅku vanta:r in Ta.
nijam(-ga:) cepputunna:nu, va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru in Te.

An optional deletion rule deletes the verbs *colkiṟe:ṉ* in Ta. and *cepputunna:nu* in Te. Finally we get

Ta. *uṇmaiya:ka avar iṅku vanta:r* and

Te. *nijamga: va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru*

'truely, he came here'.

To accommodate these facts we would have such rules as

(1) SD: $X - S - Y - Z - Q - Vb_x$
$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6$
SC: $1....6 \Rightarrow 2....6$

(2) SD: $S - Y - Z - Q - Vb_x$
$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5$
SC: $1...5 \Rightarrow 3 + A\ 5\ 1$
A = Ta. *a:ka*, Te. *-ga:*

(3) SD: $Z - A - Vb_x - S$
$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4$
SC: $1....4 \Rightarrow 124$

A different transformational treatment has to be given for the sentences given in 2.5. i.e., Ta. *avar iṅku vanta:r eṉpatu uṇmai* and Te. *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijam*. The matrix sentences Ta. *na:ṉ colkiṟe:ṉ* and Te. *ne:nu cepputunna:nu* are deleted in order to get the sentence given in 2.5. In general, one might reasonably

assume that all the affirmative and interrogative sentences are embedded ones whose matrix sentences are deleted under predictable conditions. A cursory look into the following sentences would make it clear.

3.1. (a) *avar ciritta:r* 'he laughed'
(b) *va:ru navvæ:ru* "

3.2. (a) *avar ciritta:r enṟu colkiṟe:n* 'I say, he laughed'
(b) *va:ru navvæ:ru ani cepputunna:nu* "

3.3. (a) *uṇmaiya:ka avar ciritta:r* 'truly he laughed'
(b) *nijaṅga: va:ru navvæ:ru* "

3.4. (a) *uṇmaiya:kac colkiṟe:n, avar ciritta:r*
(b) *nijam (-ga:) cepputunna:nu, va:ru navvæ:ru*
'truly speaking, he laughed'

3.5. (a) *avar uṅkaḷaip pa:rtta:ra:?* 'did hesee you?'
(b) *va:ru mimmalni cu:sæ:ra:?* "

3.6. (a) *avar uṅkalaip pa:rtta:ra: enṟu keːṭkiṟe:n*
(b) *va:ru mimmalni cu:sæ:ra: ani aḍugutunna:nu*
'I ask, whether he saw you'.

When we delete the outer-most matrix sentence in Fig. 1 (assuming that the copula verb is already deleted), we get *avar iṅku vanta:r enpatu uṇmai* in Ta. and *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijam* in Te. It is also possible to apply the sentence adverbialization rule at this stages. Now again, we get *uṇmaiya:ka avar iṅku vanta:r* in Ta. and *nijaṅga: va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru* in Te. which are exactly similar to those derived otherwise in the previous pages

The synonymity of the sentences *uṉmaiya:ka avar iṅku vanta:r* and *uṉmaiya:kac colkiṟe:ṉ avar iṅku vanta:r* makes us realize the fact that the outer-most matrix sentence is *na:ṉ colkiṟe:ṉ*.[6] The same is true for Te. The transformational changes discussed here might be summarized as follows :

(4) SD: X – S – Y – Z – Q – Vb_x
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1...6 => 234

(The symbols are the same used elsewhere previously)

(5) SD: S – Y – Z
1 2 3

SC: 123 => 3 + A 1

We are confronted with certain other problems in connection with the sentence adverbialization. Consider the following sentences :

4.1. (a) *avaṉ kamala: iṅku vanta:ḷ eṉpatu uṉmai eṉṟu colkiṟa:ṉ*

[6] Annamalai (1968:38) cites a sentence *pa:ṇṭiyē urudiya: vantā:* 'certainly, Pandian came'. He observes, 'The sentential adverbs can come under the attitudinal adverb. The sentential adverb is the attitude of the subject of the sentence higher than the one in which the adverb occurs'. Regarding this observation I agree with him. But the treatment he gives to the sentence seems to be inadequate. He cites another sentence i.e., *na: oṅkaḷukku santo:ṣama: odavi seyrē:* 'I will help you happily' (p. 37). He seems to be of the view that *santo:ṣama:* and *urudiya:* can be given one and the same treatment. In fact, *pa:ṇḍiyē urudiya: vantā:* is ambiguous with the meanings (1) certainly, Pandiyan came and (2) Pandiyan came determined. The sentences with *santo:ṣama:* and *urutiya:* have to be treated in two different ways and I consider that it might be incorrect to group them together.

(b) *va:ḍu kamala: ikkaḍaki occindi ane:di nijam ani cepputunna:ḍu*
'he says that it is true that Kamala came here'.

It is not possible to delete the outer-most matrix sentence in such case as in 4.1. That is, the outer-most matrix sentence can be deleted if, and only if the subject in that sentence is the first person singular pronoun. The sentences given in 4.1 in no circumstances, can be reduced into (a) *uṇmaiya:kak kamala: iṅku vanta:ḷ* and (b) *nijaṅga: kamala: ikkaḍaki occindi*. That is to say, the sentence adverbialization rule does not operate in such cases.

4.2. (a) *avar iṅku vanta:r enpata: uṇmai ?*
(b) *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:dæ: ?*
'is it true to say that he came here ? '

4.3. (a) *avar iṅku vanta:r enpatu uṇmaiya: ?*
(b) *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijama: ?*
'is it true that he came here ? '

4.4. (a) *avar iṅku vanta:r enpatallava: uṇmai ?*
(b) *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:digada: nijam ?*
'it is true to say that he came here, isn't it ?

4.5. (a) *avar iṅku vanta:r enpatu uṇmaiyallava: ?*
(b) *va:ru ikkaḍaki occæ:ru ane:di nijaṅgada: ?*
'it is true that he came here, isn't it ?'

When we closely examine the sentences (4.2–4.5), we understand that the sentence adverbialization rule does not operate after the interrogative and verificative rules are applied. It is too early to write much about the sentence adverbialization since it is one of the problems most complicated but least studied.

KURUBA - A DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE

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0. There are three Kuruba tribes residing in the forest ranges of the hilly district of Coorg, Mysore State. They are known as *Je:nu kuruba*, *A:ne kuruba* and *Beṭṭa kuruba*. Of these the first two speak a dialect of Kannada whereas the third, namely *Beṭṭa kurubas* speak a language which is not intelligible to their neighbours who speak Kannada, Kodagu or Malayalam. While surveying the Kannada dialects of this district under the auspices of the Linguistic Survey Unit, Deccan College, Poona the attention of the present author was drawn to the existence of this interesting speech. A few samples collected from the speech of this tribe at Nagarhole, the southern-most area of this district revealed a number of features in which it differs from the neighbouring Dravidian languages and this resulted in undertaking a month's fieldwork at Nagarhole. On analysis it was found necessary to consider it as a language belonging to the South Dravidian group, but distinct from the other well-known languages of the same stock.

0.1. As per the census report of 1961, there are about nine thousand people belonging to Kuruba/ Kurumba tribe who possess a speech of their own. But the identity of the speech either as a dialect or a language is not established due to lack of sufficient evidence. The mountain ranges around the Nilgiri Hills bordering the States of Mysore, Kerala and Tamil Nadu are inhabited by many Kurumba tribes. Notable among them are the Mullu Kurumbas of Wyanad region, Jenu Kurumbas and Pal Kurumbas of Kotagiri and Coonoor area, and the Betta Kurumbas of Toppakadu, Gudalur and Naduvattam area. It is reported that some of these tribes speak the dialects of Tamil or Malayalam. The presence of another tribe *Ka:ḍu Kuruba* in the neighbouring district of Mysore possessing a speech known as *Ka:ḍu bha:ṣa* is also reported. But it was considered to be a dialect of Kannada by the Census Department. The present author had no opportunity to record the speech of these *Ka:ḍu Kurubas* or the other Kurumba tribes noted above to see whether the speeches of these tribes are related to that of the *Beṭṭa Kurumbas* of Coorg District. The present study is confined to find out the salient features of the speech of the *Beṭṭa Kurubas* of Coorg. An attempt is also made to establish this as a distinct Dravidian language and determine its comparative position within the Dravidian family.

1.0. The phonological system of this language is as follows :

CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*ṭ*	*c*	*k*
b	*d*	*ḍ*	*j*	*g*
m	*n*	*ṇ*		*ṅ*
	l	*ḷ*		
v	*r*		*y*	

VOWELS

i	*i:*	*ɨ*	*ɨ:*	*u*	*u:*
e	*e:*	*ë*	*ë:*	*o*	*o:*
ɛ	*ɛ:*	*a*	*a:*	*ɔ*	*ɔ:*

1.1. Certain sounds peculiar to PDr like *l̲*, *r̲* and *rr̲* are not noticed in this language. No sibilant occurs as a distinct phoneme. A palatal sibilant *ś* is found freely varying with affricate *c* in all positions excepting in the case of gemination. e.g: *ci:ge*~*śi:ge* 'soap-nut' *caddɨ*~*śaddɨ* 'sound' *bacva*~*baśva* 'bull' etc. In the vowel system *ɨ* (high central unrounded) *ë* (mid central unrounded retroflexed), *ɛ* and *ɔ* and their long counterparts are found as distinct phonemes. Of these, the vowel *ɨ* occurs in all positions and *ë* occurs only in the initial and medial positions. The vowel *ɛ* is restricted to medial and final positions while *ɔ* is restricted to medial position only. Among their long counterparts *ɨ:* and *ë:* occur in initial and medial positions and *ɛ:* and *ɔ:* are restricted to medial position only.

The following are a few contrasting pairs for establishing ɨ, ë, ɛ and ɔ and the corresponding long vowels as distinct phonemes.

i and ɨ

irkɨ 'steel'	*ɨrla* 'night'
kiriya 'lower lip'	*kɨriyin* 'younger brother'
ittige 'brick'	*ittɨga* 'this much'
kibbi 'sparrow'	*kibbɨ* 'pus'
ki:li 'wage'	*kɨ:li* 'wild goat'

ɨ and *u*

ɨṇḍɨ 'today'	*uṇḍe* 'round'
kɨḍigi 'wall'	*kuḍḷɨ* 'hut'
nu:rɨ 'lime'	*nu:ru* 'hundred'

e and ë

erca 'year'	*ërci* 'flesh'
ettɨga 'how much'	*ëttu* 'cattle'
ge:rɨ 'cashew'	*gë:ṇa* 'span'

ë and *o*

kë:ḷe 'to listen'	*ko:li* 'cock'
ëynɨ 'ladder'	*oyka:ḷe* 'to sweep'

e and ɛ

perjɨ 'friendship'	*pɛrpɨ* 'not deep'

kuyke 'mud pot'	*kuygɛ* 'name of an insect'
pe:re 'to fly'	*pɛ:rɨ* 'name'

ɛ and *a*

bɛtta 'name of a tree'	*batta* 'paddy'
maṇḍɛ 'head'	*kaṇḍa* 'live charcoal'
bɛ:rɨ 'root'	*ba:re* 'to come'

o and *ɔ*

moṭṭe 'to trample'	*mɔṭlu* 'steps'
bo:ḍe 'to beg'	*bɔ:ḍe* 'bare-mouthed'

ɔ and *a*

tɔṇḍe 'throat'	*taṇḍi* 'hammer'
jɔ:la 'maize'	*ja:l e* 'to leave off'
kɔ:ḍga:ya 'tamarind'	*ka·ḍ ko:li* 'wild cock'

1.2. The vowels *ɨ* and *ë* and the corresponding long vowels are found before retroflex consonants or *r* in most of their occurrences. But they develop contrast with *i* and *e* due to the loss or change of the conditioning sound or due to later sound changes and borrowings. In addition, the PDr **u* occurring in the non-initial syllables and PDr **a* in penultimate position are also pronounced as unrounded and merged with *ɨ*. Similarly *ɛ* is also found to occur before retroflex consonants and *r*.

1.3. Historically we can talk of the following sound changes.

1.3.1. The vowels *i*, *i:*, *e* and *e:* have become *ɨ*, *ɨ:*, *ë* and *ë:* respectively when followed by a retroflex consonant or *r*

ɨrla 'night'	(Ta. *iravu*, Ka. *iruḷu*)
ɨliye 'to descend'	(Ka. *iḷi*)
kɨ:re 'house'	(Ta. *ku:rai* 'sloping roof')
kɨ:lin 'parrot'	(Ta. *kiḷi*)
ëṇṇe 'oil'	(Ta. *eṇṇey* Ka. *eṇṇe*)
ëṇa 'corpse'	(Ka. *heṇa*. Ta. *piṇam*)
ë:ṇi 'ladder'	(Ka. *e:ṇi*)
kë:ḷe 'to listen'	(Ta. *ke:ḷ*)

When preceded by a labial consonant however these vowels are changed to *u*, *u:*, *o* and *o:* respectively.

puṭṭɨ 'flour'	(Ka. *hiṭṭu*)
bu:ḷɨ 'creeper'	(Ka. *bi:ḷalu*)
boṭṭɨ 'hillock'	(Ka. *beṭṭa* Koḍ. *beṭṭa*)
bo:ḍa 'not wanted'	(Ka. *be:ḍa*, Ta. *ve:ṇṭa:m*)

1.3.2. The trill *r̲* has become *r*; and *n̲r̲* has become *ṇḍ* in a number of examples:

a) *ë:re* 'to climb'	(Ta. *e:r̲u*)
kɨrɨ 'small, younger'	(Ta. *cir̲u*, Ka. *kiri*)
b) *vaṇḍɨ* 'one'	(Ta. *on̲r̲u*)
ɨṇḍɨ 'today'	(Ta. *iū̲r̲u*).

1.3.4. The consonant *ḍ* preceded by short vowel and followed by *i* has become *jj*. If followed by labialor velar stop in the next syllable it becomes *y*.

a) *gujji* 'temple' (Ka. *guḍi*)
kujje 'to drink' (Ta. *kuḍi*)
kojji 'creeper' (Ta. *koṭi* Tu. *koḍi*)
pujje 'to hold' (Ta. *puḍi*)
mujji 'tender fruit' (Tu. *muḍi*)
pojji 'powder' (Tu. *poḍi*)
aṅgajji 'shop' (Ka. *aṅgaḍi*)

b) *uyge* 'heep' (Ta. *uṭukkay*)
kuyke 'pot' (Ta. *kuṭukkay*, Ka. *kuḍike*)
teyke 'screen made of leaves' (Ta. *taṭukku*, Ka. *taḍike*)
puypiya 'I hold' < *puḍpiya*.

It may be noted that the change of *i* > *u* must be earlier than the change of *ḍ* > *jj* or *y* as can be seen from the examples given above.

1.3.5. Initial *l* (of borrowed words) is either dropped or changed to *y* or *r*.

avaṅga < *lavaṅga* 'cardamom'
a:ya < *la:ya* 'stable'
a:ṭinu < *la:ṭinu* 'lantern'
yaṅke < *laṅke* 'ceylon'
ra:ba < *la:bha* 'profit'.

2.1. Words of the type (C)VCV ending in the vowel *i* are not possible in this language. Hence the nominal roots of this type are followed by the augment *a* when not followed by a case suffix. The final *i* gets the increment *y* when followed by *a*.

kibiya 'ear'	*kibika* 'to the ear'
imiya 'husk'	*imiḍe* 'of the husk'
tiriya 'wick'	*tiri:li* 'in the wick'
meriya 'young one'	*meriyo:ḍa* 'with the young one'

2.2. Animate nouns ending in *a* or *an* in other Dravidian languages end in *in* in this language.

akkin 'woman, elder sister'
kirbin 'hyena'
kva:ṇin 'he-buffalo'.

2,3. Plural suffix is *ḍi* after nouns ending in *in* and also after all kinship terms denoting persons elder to self or when respect is implied. It is *gi* after other nouns. After inanimate nouns it is freely dropped.

sg.	pl.
akkin 'woman, elder sister'	*akkiṇḍi*
aṇṇin 'elder brother'	*aṇḍi*
mudkin 'old man'	*mudkiṇḍi*
ki:liṇ 'parrot'	*ki:liṇḍi*
teddi 'mother-in-law'	*teddiḍi*

ajji 'grandmother'	*ajjiḍɨ*
kɨra:ḷi 'younger brother'	*kɨra:ḷigɨ*
pucci 'temple'	*puccigɨ*

2.4. Inclusive-exclusive distinction is noticed in the first person plural pronoun.

naṅgɨ 'we' (inclusive)
yaṅgɨ 'we' (exclusive)

2.5. Accusative suffix is *ma* in this language.

poymɨn 'stranger'	*poymɨnma*
mera 'tree'	*merma*
gujjɨ 'temple'	*gujjɨma*

2.6. Other case suffixes are *ga*~*ka* dative, *ḍe* genitive, *(i:)li* locative, *o:ḍa* associative and *(i:)lɛ:ṭi* ablative.

pya:rɨn	'grandson'	
pya:rɨnma	"	(Accusative)
pya:rɨṅga	"	(Dative)
pya:rɨṇḍe	"	(Genitive)
pya:rni:lɨ	"	(Locative)
pya:rno:ḍa	"	(Associative)
pya:rni:lɛ:ṭi	"	(Ablative)

2.7. There is no gender distinction either in the demonstrative pronoun or in the personal verb. This is

perhaps the third language of the Dravidian family known to us which does not show any gender distinction. (The other two are Brahui and Toda).

adi 'he, she, it'
avi 'they (human or non-human)'
adi tappe 'he/she/it brings'
avi kojjo 'they (mas., fem., neuter) reaped'

3.1. Imperative singular forms of verbs and in *e*. Imperative plural suffix is *i*

sg.	pl.
a:ḷe 'keep!'	*a:ḷi*
kujje 'drink!'	*kujji*
po:ge 'go!'	*po:gi*

If the root ends in *i* and is of the type (C)VCV the final *i* gets the increment *y* before the imperative suffix. (ref. 2.1.)

bigiye 'tighten!'	*bigiyi*
pagiye 'distribute!'	*pagiyi*

In the examples given in the following pages the verb roots are recorded in their imperative singular forms.

3.2. As in Tulu, the suffix *p* occurs in this language as a formative suffix after certain verbal bases.

(Corresponding to Tamil-Malayalam *kk*) But unlike in Tulu this suffix occurs before the non-past tense suffix and causal suffix only

teri (ye) 'cut'	*terpiya* 'I cut'
	terpice 'cause to cut'
pagi (ye) 'distribute'	*pagpe* 'he distrtbutes'
	pagpice 'cause to distribute'

3.3. The non-past tense suffix has the allomorphs *iy*, *uv* and ∅. Of these *iy* occurs after all bases when followed by a personal suffix other than the third person singular. When followed by a third person singular suffix, it has zero allomorph after the bases which take the formative suffix *p* and the allomorph *uv* after the remaining bases.

kaṭṭe 'tie'	*kaṭṭiya* 'I tie'
	kaṭṭuve 'he/she/it ties'
kori(ye) 'bore'	*korpiya* 'I bore'
	korpe 'he/she/it bores'

3.4. The Kuruba verbs can be classified into two broad divisions namely strong verbs and weak verbs on the basis of the allomorphs of past tense suffix and the morphophonemic changes undergone by roots the before such suffixes. All weak verbs take *c* as past tense marker whereas the strong verbs take any one of the following as past tense marker : *c*, *k*, *j*, *d*, *t*, *ṭ*, *nd* and *ṇḍ*. The strong verbs may again be classified into the following sub-classes on the basis of their structure and the past tense suffix occurring after them.

a) Roots whtch are of the type (C)VCV and end in *i*

i) Those which take the formative suffix *p* in present tense and take *t* as past tense suffix.

	I per. past.	I per. present
vaḍi(ye) 'beat'	*vaḍte*	*vaḍpiya*
aḍi(ye) 'shut'	*aḍte*	*aḍpiya*
kori(ye) 'bore'	*korte*	*korpiya*
nari(ye) 'gather'	*narte*	*narpiya*

ii) Those which take the formative suffix *p* in present tense and take *c* as past tense suffix.

tari(ye) 'cut'	*tarce*	*tarpiya*
beli(ye) 'take out'	*belce*	*belpiya*
puḍi(ye)~pujje 'hold'	*puḍce*	*puypiya*
kuḍi(ye)~kujje 'drink'	*kuḍce*	*kuypiya*

iii) Those which take *j* as past tense suffix

ɨli(ye) 'descend'	*ɨlje*	*ɨliya*
keli(ye) 'mix'	*kelje*	*keliya*

iv) Those which take *d* as past tense suffix.

tori(ye) 'scold'	*torde*
bigi(ye) 'tighten'	*bigde*

b) Other roots of the type (C)VCV

i) Those which contain a penultimate *ḍ* and take *ṭ* as past tense suffix.

uḍe 'wear'	*uṭṭe* (< *uḍ-ṭ-e*)
koḍe 'give'	*koṭṭe*
naḍe 'plant'	*naṭṭe*

ii) Those which take *d* as past tense suffix.

ire 'be,	*idde* (< *ir-d-e*)

iii) Those which take *k* as past tense suffix.

nage 'laugh'	*nakke* (< *nag-k-e*)

c) Irregular roots

i) Those which take *t* as past tense suffix.

ka:ye 'wait'	*ka:te*

ii) Those which take *j* as past tense suffix.

ki:ye 'do'	*kijje* (< *kij-j-e*)
ko:ye 'reap'	*kojje*

iii) Those wnich take *d* as past tense suffix.

po:ḷe 'tell'	*po:dde* (< *po:d-d-e*)

iv) Those which take *t* as past tense suffix.

ca:ve 'die'	*catte* (< *cat-t-e*)
oppe 'agree'	*otte*
appe 'weap'	*atte*
uppe 'be'	*utte*

v) Those which take *nd* as past tense suffix.

ta:re 'bring'	*tande*
ba:re 'come'	*bande*

vi) Those which take *ɳɖ* as past tense suffix.

tinne 'eat'	*tiɳɖe*
ka:mbe 'see'	*kaɳɖe*

The remaining roots fall under the category of weak verbs. The following structures are noticed among them. All of them take *c* as past tense suffix.

(C)VVCV	*o:ɖe* 'run'	*o:ɖce*
(C)VCCV	*mekke* 'paste'	*mekkice*
(C)VC_1C_2	*porke* 'pick up'	*porkice*
(C)VNCV	*nambe* 'believe'	*nambice*
(C)VVNCV	*ni:nje* 'swim'	*ni:njice*

3.5. Past *vs* non-past distinction is noticed in the verbal forms. For these two tenses both affirmative and negative paradigms are noticed. The negative suffix occurring after non-past suffix is *l*.

ki:ye 'do'	*kivla* 'he/she/it does not do'
	kiijila 'he/she/it did not do'

3.6. Personal suffixes occurring after the affirmative and negative stems are as follows :

	Non-past		Past	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
I p.	*a*	*a*	*e*	*a*
II p.	*i*	*i*~*a*	*i*	*i*~*a*
III p.	*e*	*o*	*a*	*o*

In addition to these suffixes the following two suffixes are found to occur after past stems without showing any person distinction but showing only number distinction.

i (singular)	*gi* (plural)
ktjji 'I, you (sg), he/she/it did'	*kijjigi*

3.7. Conditional forms are obtained by adding the suffix *an* to a past stem.

uḍe 'wear'	*uṭṭan* 'if one wears'
kutte 'stitch'	*kuttican* 'if one stitches'

3.8.1. Past participle (gerund) suffix is *in*. This is added to the past stems of the strong verbs and to the roots in the case of weak verbs. (We may also talk of a zero as an alternant of past tense suffix after all weak verbs when followed by a past participle suffix.)

tori(ye) 'scold'	*tordin* 'having scolded'
nambe 'believe'	*nembin* 'having believed'

3.8.2. When followed by a past participle suffix the following morphophonemic changes are noticed in weak verbs only.

i) The radical vowel *u* of the verb becomes *i* and ii) *o* and *a* become *e* provided the vowel is not followed by *rc* or *rj*.

	past participle
kutte 'stitch'	*kittin*
udde 'rub'	*iddin*
ko:te 'gather'	*ke:tin*
porke 'pick up'	*perkin*
arge 'sleep'	*ergin*
katte 'wash'	*kettin*

3.9. Reflexive bases are formed by adding the suffix *ige* to the past participle forms.

puḍiye (*pujje*) 'hold' *puḍcin* 'having held'

puḍcinige > *puḍcige* 'hold by oneself' *puḍcinigiya* > *puḍṇiya* 'I hold myself'

kutte 'stitch' *kittin* 'having stitched'

kittinige > *kittige* 'stitch by oneself'

3.10. Sample paradigm

root *ki:ye* 'do'

Non-past:	sg.	pl.
I p.	*kivya*	*kivya*
II p.	*kivyi*	*kivyi*~*kivya*
III p.	*kivye*	*kivyo*

	sg.	pl.
Non-past (negative)		
I	*kivla*	*kivla*
II	*kivli*	*kivlɨ* ~ *kivla*
III	*kivle*	*kivlo*
Past (a)		
I	*kijje*	*kijja*
II	*kijji*	*kijjɨ* ~ *kijja*
III	*kijja*	*kijjo*
(b) I, II & III	*kijjɨ*	*kijjɨgɨ*
Past Negative:		
I	*kijjɨle*	*kijjɨla*
II	*kijjɨli*	*kijjɨlɨ* ~ *kijjɨla*
III	*kijjɨla*	*kijjɨlo*
Imperative	*ki:ye*	*ki:yi*
Hortative	*ki:ya*	
Permissive	*ki:yde*	
Purposive Infinitive	*ki:laya*	
Conditional	*kijjan*	
Past Participle	*kijjɨn* ~ *kijjɨ*	
Relative participle		
Non-past	*kivya*	
Past	*kijja*	

4.0. The following are some of the interesting vocabulary items noticed in this language.

(a)	*tuḍe* 'burn'	*yatte* 'beat'
	pagiye 'distribute'	*appe* 'weep'
	toriye 'scold'	*tippe* 'spit'
	oliye 'hide'	*aṇke* 'spread'
	di:ce 'fall'	*avje* 'bite'
	ya:pe 'awake'	*arje* 'learn'
	a:ḷe 'keep, put'	*ba:ṭige* 'sleep'
	ca:ḷe 'peel'	*pari:ge* 'go away'
(b)	*mirpu* 'shoulder'	*uyge* 'hips'
	karki 'chin'	*kuyma:ḍi* 'back'
	kadva:ya 'cheek'	*muymbe* 'heel'
	mi:nje 'mustache'	*poṭṭe* 'belly'
(c)	*teddi* 'mother-in-law'	*poymin* 'stranger'
	deddi 'elder brother'	*poṇugin* 'weaver'
	edige 'brothers's wife'	*mu:je:ri* 'goldsmith'
	macin 'brother-in-law'	*bontakkin* 'maiden'
	ammin 'father'	*baḷka:ṇi* 'youth'
(d)	*ambli* 'beauty'	*ya:neṅgi* 'comb'
	tigatti 'garment'	*kenelge* 'mirror'
	penpi 'fever'	*vambi* 'well'
(e)	*ki:re* 'house'	*ticci* 'fire'
	kiḍigi 'wall'	*kuṭa:li* 'oven'

mu:ngɨ corner'
arlɨ 'mortar'
alke 'pestle'
oṇaliya 'sieve'
aḷe 'hole'

pulli 'firewood'
kɨ:lɨ 'ladle'
baḷa:rɨ 'broom'
ba:ḷkɨ 'lamp'
pølge 'box'

(f) *pippe* 'bitter taste'
niccɨ 'cooked rice'
pombe 'morsel'
mujjɨ 'tender fruit'

toyindi 'ragi grain'
upa:rlɨ 'salt'
na:kargɨ 'pepper'
koḍga:ya 'tamarind'

(g) *ma:ḷa* 'meadow'
keṇje 'pit'
duṇḍɨ 'mud'
ebbi 'water fall'
boḷḷɨ 'flood'
kandɨ 'bundle'

ca:gɨ 'cultivation'
poḍe 'sprout of grain'
nu:ṇɨ 'rope'
ca:ḍe 'basket'
bojja 'whip'
kidlɨ 'spade'

(h) *kojjɨ* 'creeper'
poyrɨ 'plant'
tovlɨ 'leaves'

ka:yalɨ 'bamboo'
baḍḍɨ 'dry wood'

(i) *i:pe* 'house-fly'
binnɨ 'glow worm'
tokkɨ 'bed-bug'
urɨmbɨ 'ant'
kadlɨ 'white ant'
po:ke 'frog'

kibbi 'sparrow'
poṭṭɨ 'hen'
pitti 'snake-hole'
pajvɨ 'cow, cattle'
kine:ri 'jackal'
tarkɨlɨ 'wing'

(*j*)	*u:di* 'yes'	*mu:ci* 'rough'
	paḍe 'enough'	*pada* 'sharp'
	belki 'speech'	*ibbu* 'iron'
	tamaya 'all'	*irki* 'steel'
	baraya 'quickly'	*poda* 'evening'
	yargi 'near'	*potte* 'torch of leaves'
	perpi 'shallow'	*kamma* 'dark'
	beḍge 'bad quality'	

5.1. It is clear from the examples shown above that the features displayed by Kuruba justify its claim as a distinct language of the Dravidian family. Presence of retroflex vowels, absence of sibilants, change of PDr **i* and **e* to *i* and *ë* respectively under certain circumstances and **u* and **o* under certain other circumstances, change of medial *ḍ* to *jj*, the augment *a* after the nominal roots of the type (C)VCV ending in *i*, accusative suffix – *ma*, plural suffix *ḍi* and *gi*, formative suffix *p* before non-past suffix and causal suffix, non-past suffix *iy*~*uv*, past participle and conditional suffixes ending in *n*, peculiar morphophonemic changes in the verb roots before past participle suffix and the absence of gender distinction in third person pronouns and the corresponding verbal forms can be considered as features peculiar to this language.

5.2. Having established this as a distinct language, our next endeavour would be to determine its comparative position and include it under one or the other sub-groups of the South Dravidian group. This language cannot be included in the Kannada sub-group as it has not

changed its *p* to *h*. Its vowel stucture is different from that of Kannada and has undergone many sound changes for which we cannot find parallels in Kannada. Its case suffixes and verbal suffixes are also different.

5.3. The possibility of its inclusion under Toda-Kota group is also ruled out. Kuruba does not have the wealth of sibilants. Nor does it drop its final vowels like Toda-kota. Allomorphy of the past tense suffix of Kuruba does not resemble the complicated allomorphic system of Toda-Kota, nor does Kuruba use the past tense stem in the formation of present tense forms.

5.4. Absence of palatalization (of velar stops), dropping of final *m* from the inanimate nouns ending in *am*, change of *v* > *b* absence of gender distinction in third person demonstrative pronouns and the corresponding verbal forms and a number of other features noted above separate Kuruba from the Tamil-Malayalam group. Only in certain shared retentions Kuruba shows certain features common to Tamil-Malayalam.

5 5. The only language with which Kuruba can be grouped is the neighbouring language Koḍagu. Though it differs from Koḍagu in its verbal structure and also in not showing transitive-intransitive distinction, it shares many innovations with Koḍagu. Development of retroflex vowels, change of *i* > *ɨ*, *e* > *ë* dropping of *l* from the plural suffix may be cited as a few examples

to show this. The two languages Koḍagu and Kuruba constitute a sub-group within the South Dravidian*

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COMPARATIVE DIALECTOLOGY

(A STUDY OF TWO TAMIL DIALECTS)

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Comparative study as such is not new to Linguists. Yet the study of Comparative Dialectology with special reference to Tamil is still at its infancy. This may be attributed to the lack of basic material available i.e., descriptive studies of different socio-regional dialects of Tamil. In recent times a few comparative studies are available to Tamilologists where one finds a few typological statements and comparison of a few linguistic features, which are selected at random, irrelevant of its relationship within its structure and hierarchical levels.

Comparative study (as opposed to typological analysis which is possible between unrelated languages) requires the integration of two levels of analysis: "for in any kind of linguistic statement whether comparative or not, the recognition of the interdependance of levels is an essential characteristic statement no less than the statement for a single language must involve analysis at the various levels" (Palmer, 1958:123).

Confronted with the necessity of adopting a structural approach to dialectology, Weinreich (1954) advocated diasystem through which dialectal differences could be brought out within a frame work of mutual similarities. This diasystem too is similar to, and in some senses a generalization of, the concept of overall pattern, but with the crucial difference that it characterizes dialect differences by the use of phonemic correspondences and not by the idea that dialects choose from among a set of abstract elements.

Therefore if at all one wants to compare two dialects (neglecting the theoretical impossibility of comparing two idiolects/dialects on the basis of the structural relationships locking them into the systems) he should compare the linguistic elements according to their (i) levels, (ii) incidence in their respective domains and (iii) the constituent elements which form the elements.

In this paper comparison of the phonemic systems of the two dialects viz., the Harijan dialect of Tamil (henceforth referred as H) (Ramaswamy, 1970) and the Fisherman dialect of Tamil (henceforth referred as F) (Chidambaranathan, 1969) spoken in South Arcot District have been attempted.

Phonemes

VOWELS :

H	*i, i:, e, e:, a, a:, o, o:, u, u:*
F	*i, i:, e, ɛ, e:, a, a:, o, o:, u, u:, ɨ*

CONSONANTS :

H	*p, t, ṭ, k, c, ṣ, m, n, ṇ, l, ḷ, l̤, r, v, y*
F	*p, t, ṭ, k, c, j, ṣ, m, n, ṇ, ñ, ṅ, l, ḷ, l̤, r, r̤, y, v*

Typologically these two systems share most of the phonemes except *j*, *ñ*, *ṅ*, *r̤*, *ɛ* and *ɨ* which are the additional units in F. When there are some additional phonemes in the phonological level, they should have corresponding members in the other dialect. The diasystematic procedure illustrates this phenomenon clearly.

Vowels :

$$\text{I} \quad //i \approx i\text{:} \approx \frac{\text{H } e}{\text{F } e\sim\varepsilon} \approx e\text{:} \approx a \approx a\text{:} \approx o \approx o\text{:} \approx \frac{\text{H } u}{\text{F } u\sim\ɨ} \approx u\text{:}//$$

Consonants :

$$\text{II} \quad // p \approx t \approx ṭ \approx \frac{\text{H } c}{\text{F } c\sim j} \approx ṣ \approx m \approx ṇ \approx \frac{\text{H } n^1}{\text{F } n\sim ñ\sim ṅ} \approx l \approx ḷ \approx l̤ \approx \frac{\text{H } r}{\text{F } r\text{-}r̤} \approx v \approx y//$$

[1] $\frac{\text{H } m\ n\ ṇ}{\text{F } m\ n\ ṇ\ ñ\ ṅ}$ may be represented in three ways the diasystematic procedure

(i) $m \approx ṇ \approx \frac{\text{H } n}{\text{F } n\sim ñ\sim ṅ}$

(ii) $m \approx n \approx \frac{\text{H } ṇ}{\text{F } ṇ\sim ñ\sim ṅ}$

(iii) $n \approx ṇ \approx \frac{\text{H } m}{\text{F } m\sim ñ\sim ṅ}$

In the above two illustrations one can identify the correspondences between the two systems. Moreover H. *e* corresponds to the totality of F. *e* and *ɛ*, provided the other phonemes are equal in all the levels.

Similarly H. *u* to F. *u* and *i*,
H. *c* to F. *c* and *j*,
H. *n* to F. *n*, *ñ* and *ṅ*,
H. *r* to F. *r* and *ṛ*.

Both the systems H. and F. have *ḷ* phoneme and the diasystem reveals H. *ḷ* is a regular correspondent to F. *ḷ*. Let us examine whether this is true or false in its totality. There are lexical sets in which

(i) F. *ḷ* ≃ H. *ḷ*

va:ḷɛ	–	*va:ḷe*	'plantain'
e:ḷi	–	*e:ḷu*	'seven'
taḷɛ	–	*taḷe*	'leaf'

But there are other sets of words in which F. *ḷ* ≈ H. *ḷ*.

(ii) *appaḷom*	–	*appaḷom*	'paped'
te:ḷi	–	*te:ḷu*	'scorpion'
to:ḷi	–	*to:ḷu*	'shoulder'
kovḷɛ	–	*kovḷe*	'a jug'
ra:ca:ḷi	–	*ra:ca:ḷi*	'vulture'

The second set where the F. *ḷ* corresponds to H. *ḷ* was overlooked by the diasystem. Similarly H. *r* corresponds to the totality of F. *r* and *ṛ*. The incidence of

these phonemes are not identical in all the lexical items which occur in the dialects.

(i)	H. /r/	to	F. /r/	
	erume	–	*erɨmɛ*	'buffalo'
	ra:ca:	–	*ra:ca:*	'king'
	tiruviṣa:	–	*tirɨviṣa:*	'festival'
	karaṇṭi	–	*karaṇṭi*	'spoon'
(ii)	H. /r/	ot	F. /r̲/	
	kari	–	*kar̲i*	'meat'
	pa:re	–	*pa:r̲ɨ*	'stone'
	era:	–	*r̲a:lɨ*	'shrimp'
	tu:ri	–	*tu:r̲i*	'a net'
(iii)	H. /r/	to	F. /t/	
	o:rom	–	*o:tom*	'edge'
	pu:ra:n	–	*pu:ta:n*	'centipede'
	a:ru	–	*a:tɨ*	'river'
	peruppen	–	*petuppen*	'p. uncle'
(iv)	H. /t/	to	F. /t/	
	to:ṇi	–	*to:ṇi*	'boat'
	ka:ttu	–	*ka:ttɨ*	'air'
	ka:tu	–	*ka:tɨ*	'ear'

According to the system, described above

$$t \approx \frac{\text{H } r}{\text{F } r \sim \underline{r}}$$ means

H. *t* to F. *t*

H. *r* to F. *r* and *ṛ*. But, the above illustrations clearly show that H. *r* corresponds not only to (i) *r* and (ii) *ṛ* but also to (iii) *t*. Even when the two dialects have the same number of phonemes and the phonemes are identical it is not necessary to have identical correspondences. Similarly in the case of two dialects which have different number of phonemes like the one discussed here, it is natural to have a different correspondence. For example: *p* of F. and H.

(i) Functions similar

F. *p*	and H. *p*	
pa:li	*pa:lu*	'milk'
kappi	*kappi*	'pebbles'
to:plɛ	*to:ple*	'in the grove'

(ii) Functions shared by different phonemes

F. *p*	and H. *v*	
ciripa:nɛ	*ceruva:ne*	'a small pot'
ko:pom	*ko:vom*	'anger'

To bring out a reasonable comparison of two systems say phonemic here, one should compare the phonemic, units (i) with their allophones at the phonetic level and (ii) the incidence of phonemes at the phonemic level in the parallel lexical sets.

At the phonetic level regarding nasals both the systems have identical phones.

Eg. H [m], [n], [n̲], [ɳ], [ñ], [ṅ]
F [m], [n], [n̲], [ɳ], [ñ], [ṅ]

But, at the phonemic level there is difference due to the allophonic distribution in each system. How one should account these differences at different levels.

$$m \approx n \approx \frac{\text{H } \underline{n}}{\text{F } \underline{n} \sim \tilde{n} \sim \dot{n}}$$

On the basis of phonemic inventory if we say that the systems differ, the statement is neither true nor false.

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: M.A.French, K. Karunakaran, K. Rangan and Don Larkin.

THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLE IN LITERARY DRAVIDIAN[1]

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1. INTRODUCTION

When two or more of the same grammatical categories occur in a sequence and have co-ordinate relationship between themselves, i.e. when two or more same nodes are immediately dominated by the same node, they are conjoined by the conjunctive particle. We may have in the semantic representation, as Ross (1967) has proposed one occurrence of the conjunctive particle, which is copied and attached to the identical nodes by a transformational rule. However, we are interested in

[1] I would like to thank with gratitude Dr. E. Annamalai for his insightful comments and criticisms while preparing this revised version. I should also like to thank Dr. H. S. Biligiri and the following colleagues of CIIL who not only provided the data but also helped me in many other ways during the preparation of this article: Dr. M. S. Thirumalai, Dr. R. Mahadevan, Mr. N. Ravindran and Mr. B. R. K. Reddy. My thanks are due to Mr. K. M. Prabhakara Variar for suggesting this topic.

this paper not with the semantic representation of the conjunctive particle but with the syntactic behaviour of it in the surface structure of the four literary Dravidian languages. This study is based primarily on the data from Kannada but it is believed that the other three languages, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam, are not fundamentally different from it and reference to these three languages has been made wherever necessary on information available to the author.

2. THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLES

The conjunctive particles in the four literary Dravidian languages can be classified into two sets as given below:

	Set 1	Set 2
Ka.	*u:*	*mattu, ha:gu*
Te.	*ɣ*	*mariyu*
Ta.	*um*	*marrum*
Ma.	*um*	—

The first set of forms are bound forms and the second set of forms are free forms. In Ka. *ha:gu*, though less frequent, is identical (in syntactic behaviour) with *mattu*, and so they are treated as one. From the historical evidence, the second set of forms in all the four languages can be claimed to be later introduction in the languages. Today the frequency of their use varies from language to language and even in one language,

from one style of speech to the other. For example, it has a very low frequency of use in Ta. compared to Ka. And in Ta. it is used only in the written variety. Apart from the difference in frequency of use between the bound and free forms of the conjunctive particle, they behave also differently in syntax. This paper attempts to discover and describe this difference in the syntactic behaviour of the two forms of the conjunctive particle. This treatment does not cover the role of conjunction in verb phrases.

3. SYNTAX OF THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLE

3.1. The bound form always follows the grammatical category, and occurs in each and every one of the grammatical category. On the other hand the free form precedes the grammatical category, and may occur only once before the last of the many identical grammatical categories, or it may occur before all identical grammatical categories except the first one. In some cases the conjunctive particle is not present at all.

3.2. The following occurrences of conjunctive particles are possible in Ka. in the NP.

a) both *u:* and *mattu* can co-occur

b) only *mattu* can occur

c) only *u:* can occur

d) only a pause can occur i.e. the conjunctive particle is not overtly present.

From the following sentences (1a–b) we derive the surface sentences (2a-d) which illustrate the occurrences of particles given above.

1(a) *rangan(nu) banda(nu)* 'Rangan came'
(b) *reḍḍi(yu) banda(nu)* 'Reddi came'

2(a) *rangan-nu: mattu reḍḍiyu: bandaru*
'Rangan-and and Reddi-and came they'

(b) *rangan mattu reddi bandaru*
'Rangan and Reddi came-they'

(c) *rangan-nu: reḍḍiyu: bandaru*
'Rangan-and Reddi-and came-they'

(d) *rangan reḍḍi bandaru*
'Rangan Reddi came-they'.

3.3. The Fig, 1. below, is the general deep structure representation of conjunction in Ka. for the conjoined sentences.

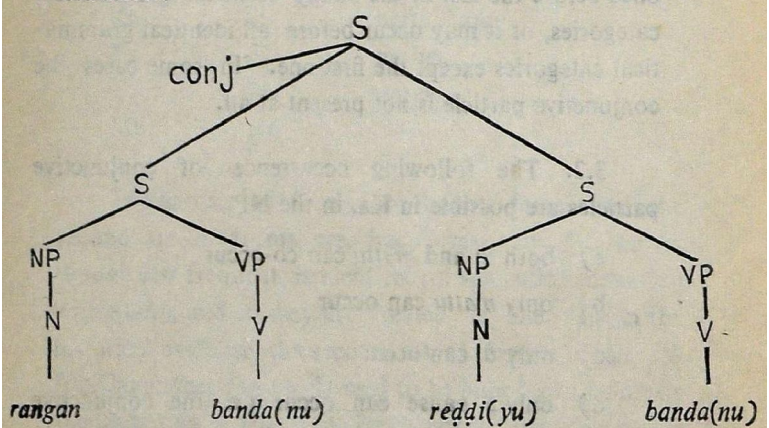

Fig. 1.

Let us examine how the Fig. 1 will be modified to derive the surface sentences (2a–d)

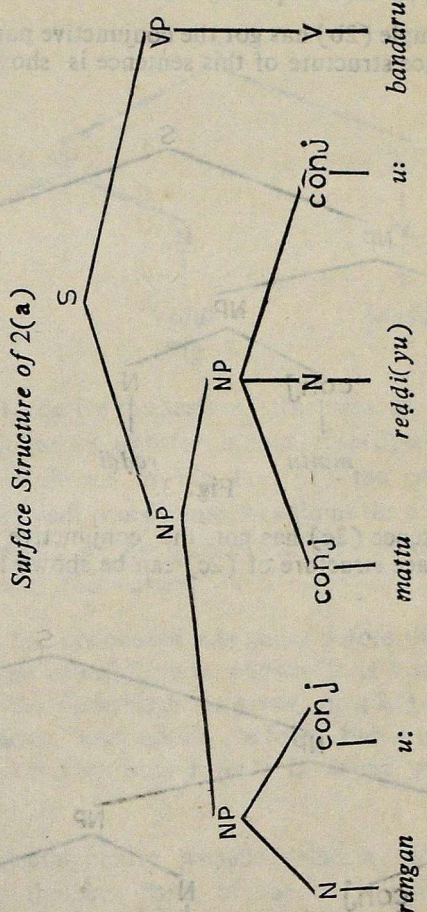

Fig. 2.

Sentence (2a) has got both *u*: and *mattu* conjunctive particles. It should be mentioned here that the occurrence of the free form *mattu* is redundant. Such sentences, however, are not frequently used.

Example (2b) has got the conjunctive particle *mattu*. The surface structure of this sentence is shown below in Fig. 3.

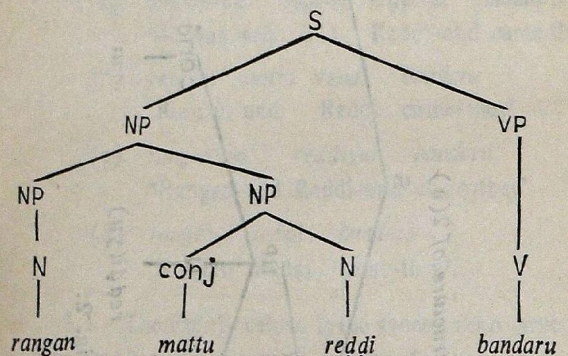

Fig. 3.

Sentence (2c) has got the conjunctive particle *u*:. The surface structure of (2c) can be shown like this.

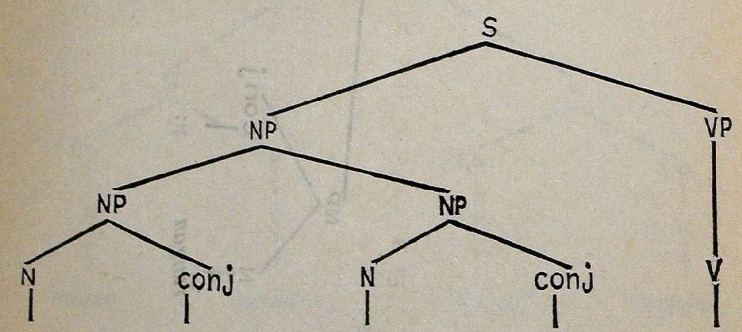

Fig. 4.

In the derivation of sentences of the fourth type given earlier, the conjunctive particle is deleted in the surface sentence given in Fig. 5.

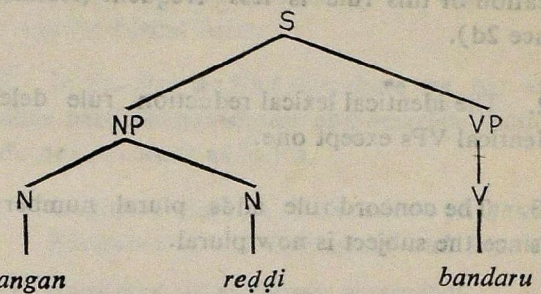

Fig. 5.

3.4. To derive the surface structures of sentences (2a-d) the following transformational rules operate on the deep structure shown in Fig. 1. 1(a) the conjunctive particle placement transformation adjoins the conjunctive particle either after or before the NPs in coordinate construction as their sister.

If free form is chosen it is added before the second NP and if the bound form is chosen it is added after both the NPs. Sometimes, as given in (2a), the free form is chosen and added before the second NP redundantly and the bound form is added after both the NPs.

(b) A conjunctive particle deletion rule deletes obligatorily the free form of the conjunctive particle which is before the first NP and deletes optionally the free form with other NPs except the last one.

(c) Another conjunctive particle deletion rule deletes optionally the conjunctive particle both free and bound in all its occurrences. Note, however, that the application of this rule is less frequent (realization of sentence 2d).

2. The identical lexical reduction rule deletes all the identical VPs except one.

3. The concord rule adds plural number to the verb since the subject is now plural.

4.1. Now let us consider the conjunction in the other three literary Dravidian languages. In Te. also we have two sets of conjunctive particles. However, the bound form is just a vowel. This vowel lengthens optionally the final vowel of the words to which it is added.

3a) *rangaḍu: reḍḍi: vacca:ru*
'Rangan-and Reddi-and came-they'

b) *kamala: ra:dha: veḷḷina:ru*
'Kamala-and Radha-and went-they

c) *gawḍa mariyu ravi:ndran veḷḷina:ru*
'Gowda and Ravindran went-they'

Unlike in Ka. both forms do not occur in Te.

*4. *rangaḍu: mariyu reḍḍi: vacca:ru*
Rangan-and and Reddi-and came they'

The deep structure representation of the conjoined sentences is the same as given for Ka. The transformational rules are also the same except for the absence of the rule which adds the free form redundantly to the NP which already has the bound form.

4.2. In Ta. also we find that there are two sets of conjunctive particles namely *um* and *marrum*. Both these forms do not co-occur as in Ka.

5) **raṅganum marrum tirumalaiyum po:na:rkaḷ*
Rangan-and and Thirumalai-and went-they'

6a) *raṅganum tirumalaiyum po:na:rkaḷ*
'Rangan-and Thirumalai-and went-they'

b) *raṅgan marrum tirumalai po:na:rkaḷ*
'Rangan and Thirumalai went-they'

The deep structure representation of conjoined sentences in Ta. is the same as that of Ka. The transformational rules are also the same except the absence of the rule that adds the free form redundantly to the NP which already has the bound form.

4.3. In Ma. we have only the bound form viz. *um*. The deep structure of the conjoined sentences in Ma. is the same as for the other three Dravidian languages. The lexicon of Ma, does not have the synonymous free form. The transformational rules are the same.

7a) *ra:manum go:pa:lanum vannu*
'Rama-and Gopal-and came'

b) *avaḷum avanum varuṉṉu*
'she-and he-and coming'.

Conjunction in VPs and also in object NPs are not dealt with in this paper. These will be dealt with in a forthcoming paper.

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: P. Ramanarasimhan, C. Rama Rao, E. Annamalai, S. Agesthialingom, P. Bhaskara Rao and Gulam Rasool.

DEMONSTRATIVES AND INTERROGATIVES IN TAMIL AND MALAYALAM

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0. The purpose of this paper is to study the demonstrative and interrogative items found in the Modern written Tamil (Ta.) and Malayalam (Ma.). The data collected for this study do not include the archaic forms found in old written records, nor do they include the forms which exist in some dialects alone.

1.0. The demonstrative items are of two kinds, namely, proximate (DP) and remote (DR). The proximate base contains *i* or *i:* while the remote one contains *a* or *a:*. The interrogative base contains *e* or *e:* and in some cases we find *ya:* or *a:* also in the interrogative base Demonstratives and interrogatives (Int.) are in many respects similar in their behaviour and so we have taken both of them for our present analysis.

2.0. The demonstrative and interrogative items are classified into two: simple and repetitive. Now let us consider first the simple demonstrative and interrogative items.

2.1. Simple

The simple demonstrative and interrogative items fall under three major categories: noun, adjective and adverb.

2.1.1. NOUN

The simple demonstrative items in both the languages are given below.

Remote Demonstrative

Ta.	Ma.
avaṉ	*avan* 'that-he'
avaḷ	*avaḷ* 'that-she'
avar 'that-he/she'(hon)	*avar* 'that-she' (hon.)
avarkaḷ	*avar* 'that-they' (hum. pl.)
atu	*atə* 'that-it'
avai(kaḷ)	*ava(kaḷ)* 'that-they' (neu. pl.)

Proximate Demonstrative

Ta.	Ma.
ivaṉ	*ivan* 'this-he'
ivaḷ	*ivaḷ* 'this-she'

ivar 'this-he/she(hon.)'	*ivar* 'this-she' (hon.)
ivarkaḷ	*ivar* 'this-they' (hum. pl.)
itu	*itə* 'this-it'
ivai(kaḷ)	*iva(kaḷ)* 'this-they' (neu.pl.)

The simple demonstrative nouns in both the languages show singular-plural distinction.In the case of singular nouns we find a four-fold distinction viz., masculine, feminine, honorific and neuter. It is to be noted here that in Ta. the honorific nouns *avar* and *ivar* are used to refer to a male or female person with respect while the honorific nouns *avar* and *ivar* in Malayalam are used to refer to a female and the forms *adde:ham* and *idde:ham* are used to refer to a male person with respect.

Coming to plural nouns we find a two-fold distinction (human vs. non-human) in both the languages. In both Ta. and Ma. *-kaḷ* is optionally added to non-human demonstrative plural nouns. But *-kaḷ* is the plural marker in Ta. *avarkaḷ* where it is obligatory and this *-kaḷ* is not found in Ma. *avar*.

The simple interrogative nouns its Ta. and Ma are following.

Ta.	Ma.
evaṉ 'which-he'	
evaḷ 'which-she'	
evar 'which-he' (hon.)	

etu	'which-it' (sg.)		
evai	'which-those' (pl.)		
ya:r	'who'	*a:rə*	
enna	'what'	*entə*	
		e:tə	'which' (sg.)
		e:va	'which' (pl.)

The Ta. interrogative human nouns *evan*, and *evar* are used to refer to a single person. They don't have corresponding plural forms. But the interrogative non-human noun *etu* was got a corresponding plural form, namely, *evai*. *ya:r* anb *enna* can be used as singular or plural.

Ta.	*avan ya:r* ?	'who is he ?
	avarkaḷ ya:r ?	'who are they ?'
	atu enna ?	'what is that ?'
	avai enna ?	'what are those ?

The four-fold distinctions which we noted in the case of singular demonstrative nouns is available with the interrogative nouns *evan*, *evaḷ*, *evar* and *etu* also. Malayalam does not have forms corresponding to the Ta. interrogative nouns *evan*, *evaḷ* and *evar*. The Ta. interrogative noun *etu* can be equated with Ma. *e:tə*. As in Ta. the Ma. interrogative nouns *a:rə* and *entə* which correspond to Ta. interrogative *ya:r* and *enna* respectively can be used either as singular or plural.

Ma.	*avaṉ a:rə a:ṇə*	'who is he?'
	avar a:rə a:ṇə	'who are they?'
	atə eṉtə a:ṇə	'what is that?'
	ava eṉtə a:ṇə	'what are those?'

There is a two-fold distinction in the case of singular interrogative nouns in Ma., the distinction being human *(a:rə)* vs. non-human *(eṉtə* and *e:tə)*

2.1.1.1. *Human interrogatives*

The Ta. interrogative nouns *ya:r* and Ma. *a:rə* refer to human beings. But Ta. *ya:r* is different from Ta. *evaṉ. evaḷ* and *evar* which also refer to human beings. *evaṉ* is used when the speaker knows that the person referred to is male, *evaḷ* when he knows that the person referred to is female, and *evar* when he knows that the person referred to is respectable. But *ya:r* is used when the speaker knows just that the object referred to is a human being. Ma. *a:rə* is used in all these cases.

Ta. *evaṉ vanta:ṉ?* 'who came?' (The speaker knows that the person came is a male)

evaḷ vanta:ḷ? 'who came?' (The speaker knows that the person came is a female)

ya:r vanta:r? 'who came?' (The speaker knows that somebody came, he may be a male or female person)

evar vanta:r? 'who came?' (The speaker knows that the person came is a respectable person)

Ma. *a:rə vaṉṉu* 'who came?' (in all the above situations)

2.1.1.2. *Non-human interrogatives*

Consider the following sentences

Ta. *uṅkaḷ puttakam etu?*
'which is your book?'

Ma. *niṅṅaḷuṭe pustakam e:tə a:ṇə?* 'id'.

In sentence like the above Ta. *etu* and Ma. *e:tə* have got the same function and meaning. But Ma. *e:tə* has got an adjectival function which Ta. *etu* does not have.

Ma. *niṅṅaḷ e:tə pustakam va:yiccu?* 'which book did you read?'

Ta. **ni:ṅkaḷ etu puttakam paṭitti:rkaḷ?* 'id'
(The Ta. sentence is ungrammatical)

Ta. *e:tu* has a tendency to occur always as a predicate. In Ta. *intap puttakam e:tu?* can mean 'where do/did you get this book from?' and 'how did you get this book?' Possibly we can say that *e:tu* means 'where is/was it got from? or' how is/was it got?' In Ma. *i: pustakam e:tə a:ṇə* can mean 'where do/did you get this book from?' or 'how did you get this book?' or 'whose book is this?'. In sentences like these Ta. *e:tu* and Ma. *e:tə* has got similar function and meaning. The Ta. sentence *intap puttakam e:tu* can be equated with the Ta. sentence *intap puttakam uṅkaḷukku eppaṭi kiṭaittatu?* 'how did you get this book? In Ma. **i: pustakam niṅṅaḷkkə e:tə a:ṇə* is ungrammatical. In other words constructions like

Noun+Dative+*e:tu* is possible in Ta., but the similar construction Noun+Dative+*e:tə* is impossible in Malayalam. The Ma. equivalent for the Ta. sentence *itu uṅkaḷukku e:tu* is *itə ṉiṅṅaḷkkə eṅṅane/eviṭeṉiṉṉu kiṭṭi?*

2.1.2. ADJECTIVE

Ta. has both demonstrative and interrogative adjectives. Ma. has only demonstrative adjectives. The interrogative noun *e:tə* in Ma. can function as an adjective.

Ta. *uṅkaḷukku entap puttakam ve:ṇṭum*
'which book do you want?'

Ma. *ṉiṅṅaḷkkə e:tə pustakam ve:ṇam?* 'id'

The demonsrative adjectives in Ta. and Ma. may be free or bound. The interrogative adjectives in Ta. also may be free or bound.

Ta.	Ma.	
antak kutirai	*a: kutira*	'that horse'
akkutirai	*akkutira*	"

anta and *a:* are free forms respectively in Ta. and Ma. *anta* and *a-* are the remote adjectives in Ta. whereas *a:* and *a-* are those in Ma. *inta* and *i-* are the proximate adjectives in Ta. whereas *i:* and *i-* are those in Ma. The proximate adjectives *inta* in Ta. and *i:* in Ma. are free forms whereas *i-* in both the languages is a bound form.

Ta. has the interrogative adjectives *enta* and *e-* where the former is a free form while the latter is a bound form. Malayalam does not have corresponding forms.

In Ma. adjectives can be derived from the demonstrative and interrogative adverbs (see 2.1.4) by suffixing *-atte* to them. In Ta. adjectives can be derived from the manner adverbs only by adding *paṭṭa* to them.

Ma.	*aṅṅə + atte*	>	*aṅṅatte* 'of that place'
	aviṭe + atte	>	*aviṭatte* 'id'
	anṉə + atte	>	*anṉatte* 'of that day'
	appoːḷ + atte	>	*appoːḷatte* 'of that time'
	aṅṅane + atte	>	*aṅṅanatte* 'of that manner, of that type'
	eṅṅe + atte	>	*eṅṅatte* 'of which place'
	enṉə + atte	>	*enṉatte* 'of which day'
	eppoːḷ + atte	>	*eppoːḷatte* 'of which time'
	eṅṅane + atte	>	*eṅṅanatte* 'of what type'
Ta.	*appaṭi + paṭṭa*	>	*appaṭip paṭṭa* 'of that type'
	ippaṭi + paṭṭa	>	*ippaṭip paṭṭa* 'of this type'
	eppaṭi + paṭṭa	>	*eppaṭip paṭṭa* 'of what type'

2.1.3 NOUN-ADJECTIVE

There is a set of demonstrative and interrogative words which behaves like a noun in some cases and

adjective in some other cases. This set of words is termed here as noun–adjective. The function of these words can be decided when they occur in a sentence or in a phrase. Examine the following sentences:

1. Ta. *uṅkaḷukku attaṉai paḻaṅkaḷ ve:ṇṭuma:?*
'Do you want that many fruits?'

   Ma. *'niṅṅaḷkkə atra paḻaṅṅaḷ ve:ṇamo: ?*
'id'

2. Ta. *attaṉaikkum vilai eṉṉa: ?*
'what is the price of that many'?

   Ma. *'atraykkum vila eṉiə a:ṇə ?*
'id'

attaṉai and *atra* in sentence (1) are functioning as adjectives but they are functioning as nouns in sentence (2)

The demonstrative noun–adjectives in both the languages show the remote-proximate distinction.

Demonstrative noun-adjectives

Ta.	Ma.
Remote	
attaṉai 'that–many' } *avvaḷavu* 'that–much' }	*atra* 'that–much, that–many'
Proximate	
ittaṉai 'this-many' } *ivvaḷavu* 'this-much' }	*itra* 'this-many, this–much'

Interrogative noun-adjectives

ettaṉai 'how many' } *etra* 'how much,
evvaḷavu 'how much' } how many'

The Ta. forms *attaṉai*, *ittaṉai*, and *ettaṉai* refer to count nouns and *avvaḷavu*, *ivvaḷavu* and *evvaḷavu* refer to mass nouns. But Ma. forms *atra*, *itra* and *etra* refer to both mass and count nouns.

Ta. *niːṅkaḷ ettaṉai puttakaṅkaḷ vaːṅkiṉiːrkaḷ ?*
'how many books did you buy ?

Ma. *ṉiṅṅaḷ etra pustakam vaːṅṅi ?* 'id'

Ta. *niːṅkaḷ evvaḷavu paːlu caːppiṭṭiːrkaḷ ?*
'how much milk did you drink ?

Ma. *ṉiṅṅaḷ etra paːlə kuṭiccu ?* 'id'

2.1.4. ADVERB

The adverbs can be classified into three major classes, namely, adverb of place, adverb of time and adverb of manner. The adverbs of Ta. and Ma. are given below.

Adverb of place

	Ta.	Ma.	
DR	*aṅku*	*aṅṅə*	'there'
		aviṭe	'id'
DP	*iṅku*	*iṅṅə*	'here'
		iviṭe	'id'
Int.	*eṅku*	*eṅṅə*	'where'
		eviṭe	'id'

Adverb of time

DR	*anṟu*	*annə*	'that day'
DP	*iṉṟu*	*iṉṉə*	'this day'
Int.	*eṉṟu*	*eṉṉə*	'on which day'
DR	*appo:tu*	*appo:ḷ*	'that time'
DP	*ippo:tu*	*ippo:ḷ*	'this time'
Int.	*eppo:tu*	*eppo:ḷ*	'where'

Adverb of manner

DR	*appaṭi*	*aṅṅane*	'in that manner'
	avva:ṟu		'id'
DP	*ippaṭi*	*iṅṅane*	'in this manner'
	ivva:ṟu		'id'
Int.	*eppaṭi*	*eṅṅane*	'in which manner how'
	evva:ṟu		'id'

Adverb of reason

Int. *e:ṉ* 'why'

Malayalam does not have corresponding form for the Ta. interrogative adverb of reason *e:ṉ*. Instead Ma. uses a form *eṉtukoṇṭu* 'why' which is a post-positional construction involving the interrogative noun *eṉtə* and the post-position *koṇṭu*.

2.2. Repetitive

The repetitive items can be classified into three groups, namely, noun ⇹ noun, adjective + adjective and adverb + adverb.

2.2.1. NOUN + NOUN

The demonstrative nouns *avaṉ, avar* and *atu* in Tamil and *avan, avar* and *atə* in Ma. are repeated. Repetition with *avaḷ* is not impossible but rare. When the demonstrative nouns are repeated they have the distributive significance.

Ta. *avaṉavaṉuṭaiya ve:laiyai avaṉavaṉ ceyya ve:ṇṭum*
'everybody should do his own work'

Ma. *avanavanṟe jo:likaḷ avanavan ceyyaṇam* 'id'

Ta. *atatai antanta iṭattil vaikka ve:ṇṭum*
'everything should be placed in its own place'

Ma. *ata:tə ata:tiṭattil vaykkaṇam* 'id'

In Ta. the interrogative nouns can be repeated and they signify both specificness and plurality. For instance, in Ta. one may ask questions like

ya:r ya:r vanta:rkaḷ? 'who all came?'
avaṉ eṉṉeṉṉa koṭutta:ṉ? 'what all did he give?'

When the inquirer wants to know the persons specifically he uses *ya:r ya:r*. When he wants to know the things specifically he uses *eṉṉeṉṉa (eṉṉa-eṉṉa)*. These items signify plurality also. In Ma. the interrogative noun *a:rə* cannot be repeated and hence *a:ra:rə* is ungrammatical whereas *eṉtə* can be repeated so as to get the form *eṉteṉtə*. Sentence like

ninakkə ententə ve:ṇam? 'what all do you want?'

is quite acceptable with the significance of both specificness and plurality. In this connection it may be worth mentioning that Ta. *ya:r ya:r* and *ennenna* can be substituted by *ya:rella:m* and *ennavella:m* respectively. The Ma. equivalents for these items are *a:rella:m* or *a:rokke* and *entella:m* or *entokke* respectively.

.2.2 ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE

In Ta. the demonstrative and interrogative adjectives *anta* and *enta* respectively can be repeated. But the corresponding Ma. demonstrative *a:* cannot be repeated.

When the Ta. demonstrative adjective *anta* is repeated it gives the distributive sense.

Ta. *antanta ve:laiyai antanta a:ḷ ceyya ve:ṇṭum*
'everybody should do his own work'

The Ta. interrogative *enta* when repeated gives the sense of specificness or plurality.

Ta. *ententa ve:laikaḷai ceytumuṭitta:y?*
'what all works did you finish?'

2.2.3. ADVERB + ADVERB

Forms like *aṅkaṅku* in Ta. and *aviṭeyaviṭe* in Ma. are found in some occasions. Such forms signify the distributive sense.

Ta. *'aṅkaṅku aṭaiya:ḷam cey*
'make marks here and there!'

Ma. *aviṭeyaviṭe aṭaya:ḷam ceyyə* 'id'

CONCLUSION

Ta. and Ma. are almost similar in the case of demonstrative and interrogative items. This study is not complete or exhaustive. This is an attempt to show the similarities and dissimilarities found in Tamil and Malayalam. This, we hope, would be helpful for the Ta. and Ma. scholars for further study.

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: K. Balasubramanian, A. Kamatchinathan and S. Agesthialingom.

SOME ASPECTS OF NEGATION IN SOUTH DRAVIDIAN LITERARY LANGUAGES

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1.1. An attempt is made here to describe the formation of negative sentences in the South Dravidian Literary Languages viz., Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada applying transformational methodology. The theoretical background of this paper is based on the works of Chomsky (1965) and Katz and Postal (1964). The variety that is chosen for the purpose of analysis is the one which is used on the public platform and in the writings of literary essays. The main contribution of this paper is in interpreting negative morpheme as a main verb within the Chomskyan model even though such an attempt is made in the 'abstract syntax model' (Schiffman (1969); McCawley). Before we try : to prove that negative is a main verb, it would be better if we assess the previous works.

1.2. According to Katz and Postal, the morpheme Neg. is immediately dominated by 'S'. Their motivation

was to show that positive and negative sentences have different deep structures. If the morpheme Neg. is present in the deep structure, then the surface structure derived by the application of a series of transformations will be a negative sentence. If the morpheme Neg. is not present, then the resultant string will be a positive sentence. For sentence (1) they proposed the following deep structure.

(1) Politicians do not speak truth.

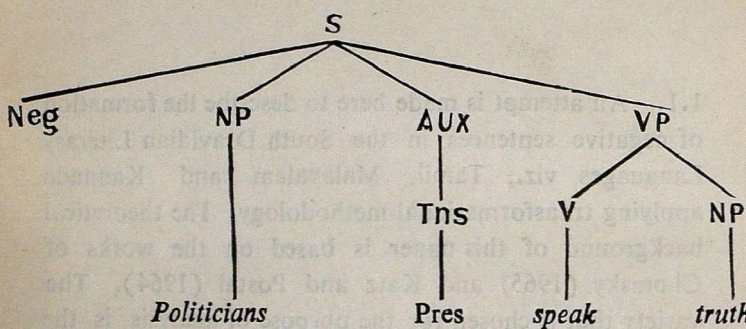

Fig. 1.

By making use of a transformational rule, the morpheme Neg. is brought under AUX. The *do* is introduced whenever Tns is not followed by either Aspect or Modal. Thus we finally get the negative sentence (1) in English. Their main arguments and the proposal have to do with the presence of Neg. morpheme in the deep structure. But it seems that they had not given attention to the specific place the Neg. morpheme occupies in the deep structure.

Agesthialingom (1967:7–9) treats the negative markers such as *(i) lle* and *ma:ṭṭu* as suffixes of the compound verb. He rewrites VP_1 as

1.15. $VP_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} V_k \\ V_{co}\text{–}V_{suf} \end{matrix} \right\}$

1.16. $V_{suf} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} IMP \\ V_y \\ V_{po} \\ V_{ne} \\ lle \end{matrix} \right\}$

1.17. $IMP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} IMP_p \\ IMP_n \end{matrix} \right\}$

1.18. $V_y \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} Tense \\ ma:ṭṭ \end{matrix} \right\}$ – G.P.

According to Agesthialingom, negatives are suffixes inserted at various places. In rule (1.18) we find *ma:ṭṭu* occurring in the place of tense suffix. However his analysis fails to assign the negatives under main verb. Rangan (1971) treats the Neg. morpheme as an element of the deep structure to distinguish the positive and negative sentences at the deep level. Following Katz and Postal (1964), he posits Neg. in the deep structure on the assumption that the deep structure contains all the elements for the semantic interpretation. The deep structure of the sentence

(2) *ni: ennai pa:rkkavillai*
1 2 3 4
'you did not see me'
1 4 3 2

would be

Neg. *ni: ennai pa:rtta:y*

Fig. (2) shows this deep structure in a tree diagram.

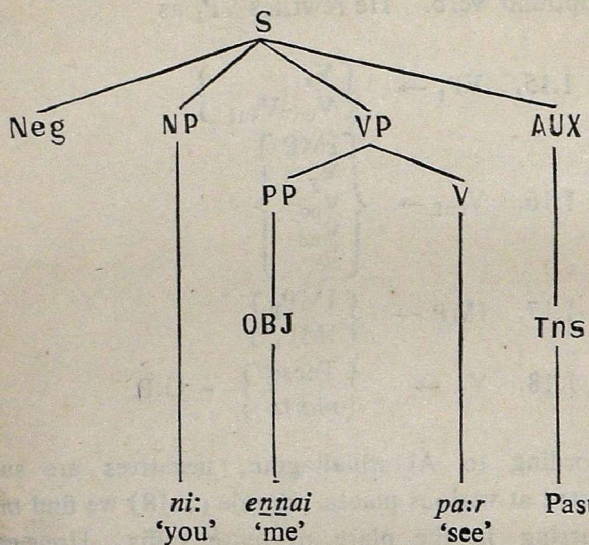

Fig. 2.

To derive the surface structure (2), a transformational rule operates on this deep structure bringing the Neg. under AUX. Thus the morpheme Neg., is taken as nothing but a carrier of meaning which helps the semantic component to interpret the deep structure as a negative sentence and this does not clarify the grammatical status of Neg element. In other words, Neg. element is conceived only as a dummy symbol which is posited in the deep structure for the convenience of semantic interpretation.

Fig. (3) gives the surface structure of (2).

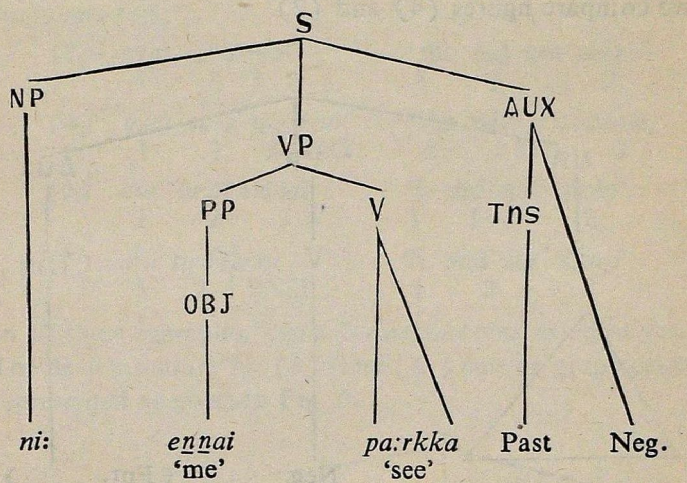

Fig. 3.

The morpheme Neg. is brought under AUX. The morpheme Neg. is nothing but a semantic postulation which after the application of a series of transformational rules is realized as *illai* if Tns is Non-Fut. in Tamil. Otherwise it will be *ma:ṭṭu*.

But we have to reject these analyses when we go into the details of the nature of these languages. We will, for this, examine the nature of Tamil and then extend this analysis to other South Dravidian Languages. Besides this, we will attempt to show the different kinds of transformational rules that are required for various languages.

1.3. The basic difference between the existing analysis and the one proposed here will be apparent when we compare figures (4) and (2).

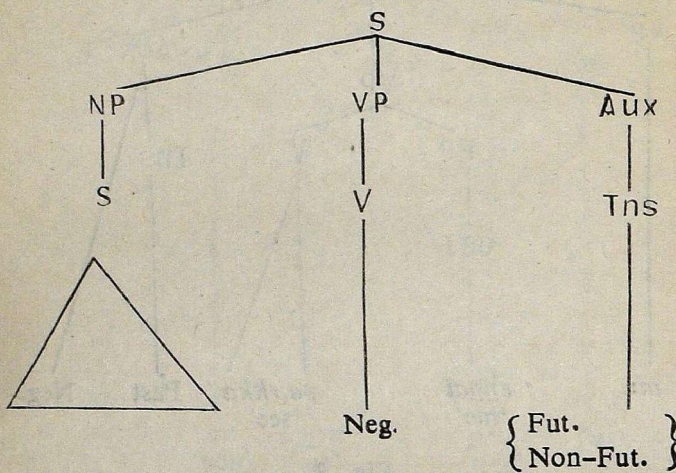

Fig. 4.

After applying various kinds of transformational rules, we get the surface structure represented in (3). A comparison of figures (2) and (4) shows that the morpheme Neg. in (2) occurs under the immediate domination of 'S' as an element postulated for the sake of semantic interpretation whereas in (4) we find Neg. occurring as a main verb. In addition to this, in (4) we have sentence embedded under NP. As such, the grammatical status of the morpheme Neg. is defined explicitly in Fig. 4. whereas the grammatical status of Neg. is not clear in (2).

Let us examine some of the examples in Tamil and then see how far this interpretation holds good for other languages too.

(3)	*avaḷ varavillai*	'she did not come'
	1 2 3	1 3 2
(4)	*avaḷ vara ma:ṭṭa:ḷ*	'she will not come,
	1 2 3 PNG	1 3 2
(5)	*atu tu:ṅkavillai*	'it did not sleep'
	1 2 3	1 3 2
(6)	*atu tu:ṅka:tu*	'it will not sleep'
	1 2 3 PNG	1 3 2

In all these examples, *illai* and *ma:ṭṭu* occur as negatives. The deep structure for (3) (and (4)) can be graphically represented as given in Fig. 5.

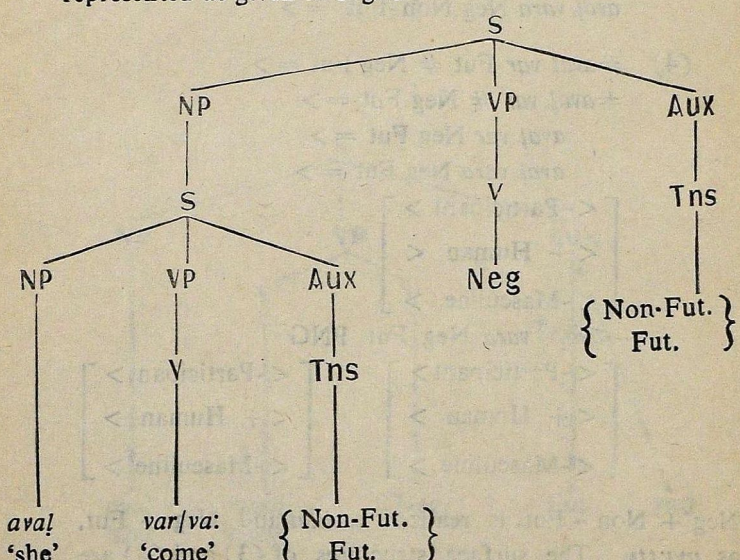

Fig. 5.

The deletion rule deletes the Tns of the embedded sentence The V of the constituent sentence is brought under the immediate domination of VP of the matrix sentence. Finally by an addition transformation the suffix *–a* is added to verbs such as *paṭi* 'read' and *va:* 'come'. If Tns is realized as Fut. in the deep structure, then segmentation transformation is applied to copy the features of subject NP. This rule is not applied if Tns is Non–Fut. in the deep structure. The derivation of (3) and (4) can be shown as

(3) *#avaḷ var* Non-Fut # Neg Non-Fut =>
#avaḷ var # Neg Non-Fut =>
avaḷ var Neg Non-Fut =>
avaḷ vara Neg Non-Fut =>

(4) *#avaḷ var* Fut # Neg Fut =>
#avaḷ var # Neg Fut =>
avaḷ var Neg Fut =>
avaḷ vara Neg Fut =>

$$\begin{bmatrix} <\text{-Participant} > \\ <+\ \text{Human} < \\ <\text{-Masculine} > \end{bmatrix}$$

avaḷ vara Neg Fut PNG

$$\begin{bmatrix} <\text{-Participant} > \\ <+\ \text{Human} > \\ <\text{-Masculine} > \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} <\text{-Participant} > \\ <+\ \text{Human} > \\ <\text{-Maseuline} > \end{bmatrix}$$

Neg + Non – Fut. is realized as *illai* and Neg + Fut. as *ma:ṭṭu.* The surface structures of (3) and (4) are represented in tree diagrams (6) and (7)

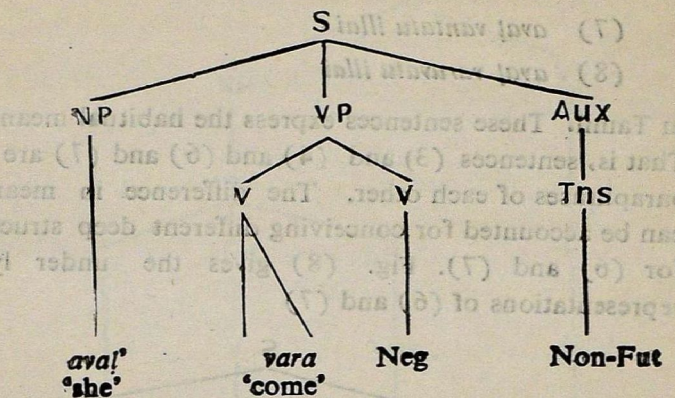
S
NP
VP
Aux
V
V
Tns
avaḷ'
'she'
vara
'come'
Neg
Non-Fut

Fig. 6

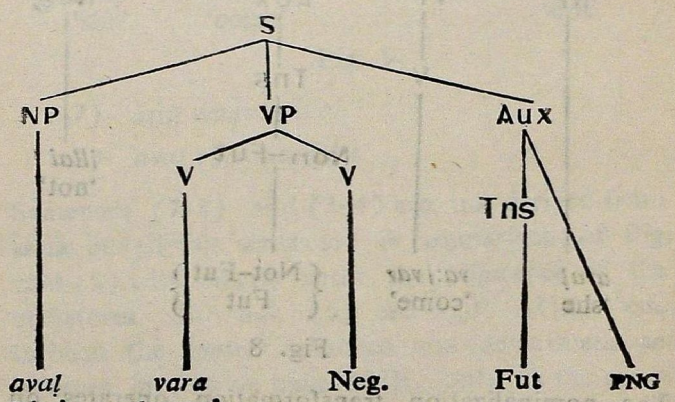
S
NP
VP
Aux
V
V
Tns
avaḷ
'she'
vara
'come'
Neg.
Fut
PNG

Fig. 7

There are sentences like

(7) *avaḷ vantatu illai*

(8) *avaḷ varuvatu illai*

in Tamil. These sentences express the habitual meaning. That is, sentences (3) and (4) and (6) and (7) are not paraphrases of each other. The difference in meaning can be accounted for conceiving different deep structure for (6) and (7). Fig. (8) gives the under lying representations of (6) and (7)

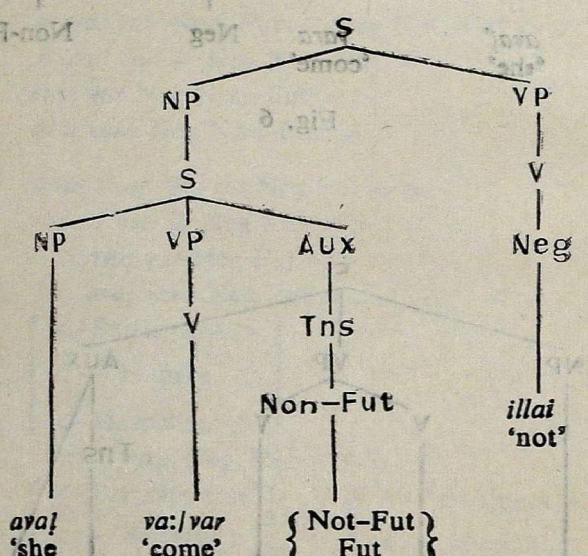

Fig. 8

The nominalization transformation operates on the embedded sentences converting them into *avaḷ vantatu* and *avaḷ varuvatu* and thus we finally get

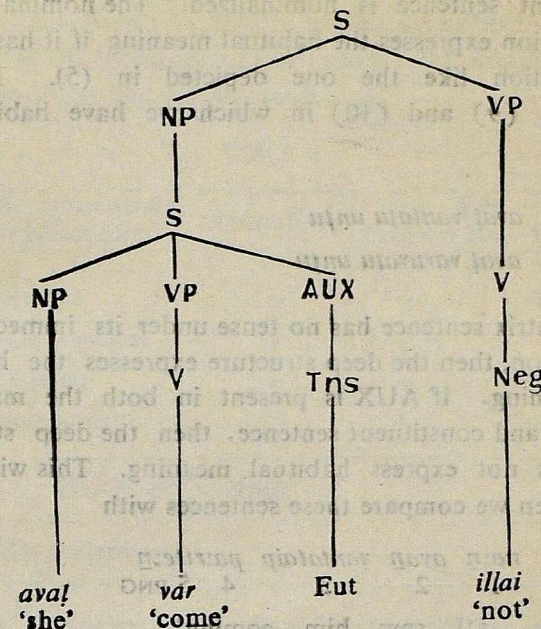

Fig. 9.

7) *avaḷ vantatu illai*

8) *avaḷ varuvatu illai*

Sentences (7–8) and (3–4) are not derived from the same underlying sentence. A comparison of Figs. (5) and (8) will clearly show the difference of the deep structures. In fig. (5) we find AUX. occurring in both the matrix sentence and constituent sentence whereas in (8) we have AUX. only in the constituent sentence. i.e., the matrix sentence has no Tns. That is why we get the habitual meaning whenever the

constituent sentence is nominalized. The nominalised construction expresses the habitual meaning if it has the configuration like the one depicted in (5). Take sentences (9) and (10) in which we have habitual meaning.

9) *avaḷ vantatu uṇṭu*

10) *avaḷ varuvatu uṇṭu*

If the matrix sentence has no tense under its immediate domination, then the deep structure expresses the habitual meaning. If AUX is present in both the matrix sentence and constituent sentence, then the deep structure does not express habitual meaning. This will be clear when we compare these sentences with

11) *na:n avan vantataip pa:rtte:n*
1 2 3 4 5 PNG

'I saw him coming'
1 4+5 2 3

12) *avan ni: tu:ṅkiyataip pa:rtta:n*
1 2 3 4 5 PNG

'he saw you sleeping'
1 4+5 2 3

In the underlying representations of (11) and (12), AUX is occurring in both the matrix sentence and constituent sentence. When we nominalize the constituent sentences of (11) and (12), we do not get habitual meaning. Therefore it is apparent from the examples given so far that the difference in meaning between (3-4) and (9-8) is because of the different underlying

structures generated for these surface sentences. Table I gives a list of transformational rules that are applied when we derive the surface sentences.

TABLE I

	Transformational Rules Required	Non-Fut	Fut	
			Human	Non-Human
1.	Deletion	+	+	+
2.	Transposition	+	+	+
3.	Addition	+	+	—
4.	Segmentation	—	+	+
	Habitual Meaning			
I.	Nominalization			

1.4. Now we can see how far this analysis applies to Malayalam.

(13) *avan vannilla*
1 2 3
'he did not come'
1 3 2

(14) *avan varunnilla*
1 2 3
'he does not come'
1 3 2

(15) *avan varukayilla*
1 2 3
'he will not come
1 3 2

Though the examples seem to be handled very easily by the model depicted in (2), we fail to explain the relationship of these sentences with

(16) *avan vannate: illa*

(17) *avan varunnate: illa*

The nominalized constructions *avan vannatu* and *avan varunnatu* occur always with the emphatic particle *-e:* in Malayalam. However, the grammar must explain the relationship existing between (13) and (16) and (14) and (17) by generating the same deep structure even though the transformational rules are different to derive the surface sentences. In sentence (15), *varuka* is treated

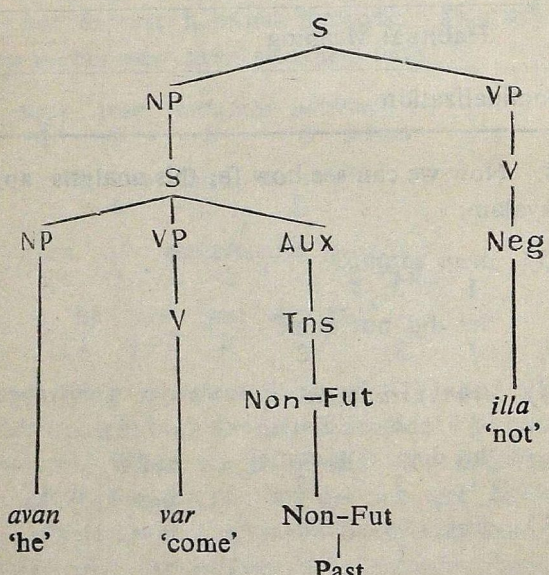

Fig. 10.

as a nominalized form of *vara:m* by some of the Malayalam grammarians.[1] Figures (10) and (11) show the deep structures of (12) and (14) respectively.

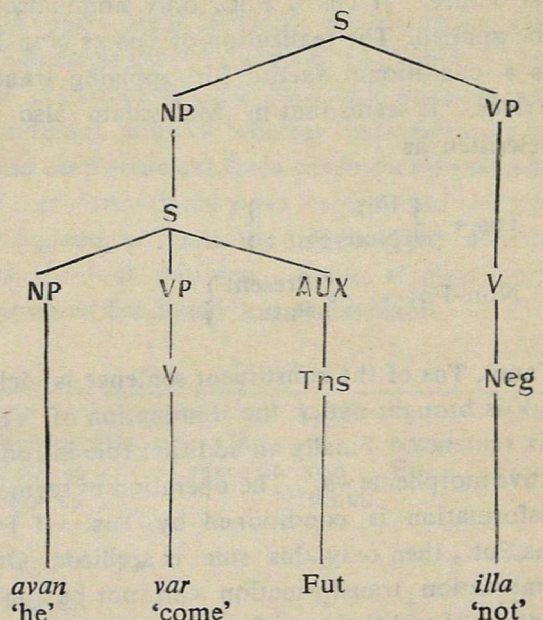

Fig. 11.

By applying the nominalization transformation, we get sentences (16) and (15). To derive sentences (13), transposition rules are applied i.e., the constituents such as V and AUX of the constituent sentence are brought under the domination of VP of the matrix sentence.

[1] This observation was due to Mr. K: M. Prabhakara Variar, Annamalai University. I am very thankful to him for this information.

Therefore it is clear that to derive sentences like (13), Malayalam requires only transposition rules. These rules are applied only when Tns is realized as Non-Fut. in the deep structure. If Tns is Fut., only nominalization rule can be applied. The realization of Tns as Non-Fut., or Fut. is a conditional factor for applying transformational rules. It seems that in Malayalam also Tns may be rewritten as

$$\text{Tns} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Fut} \\ \text{Non-Fut} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

$$\text{Non-Fut} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Present} \\ \text{Past} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

In Tamil, Tns of the constituent sentence is deleted and then V is brought under the domination of VP of the matrix sentence. Finally an addition rule introduces the infinitive morpheme *-a*. The operation of segmentation transformation is conditioned by Tns. If Tns is realized as Fut., then only this rule is applied. Otherwise segmentation transformation can not be applied. The operation of addition transformation depends on the specification of subject NP i.e., if the subject noun phrase is specfied as <+Human>, then this rule operates. This rule does not operate when the subject noun phrase is specified as <-Human>. In Malayalam, segmentation transformation is absent whether Tns is Fut. or Non-Fut., in the deep structure. In the same way, adddition transformation and deletion rules are also absent. In Tamil, the Tns of the constituent sentence is deleted

but in Malayalam it is not deleted. The only rule that is common for both Malayalam and Tamil is the transposition rule.

We have two different underlying structures to derive sentences like (4) and (8) in Tamil. The nominalized constructions and the simple negative sentences have different sources whereas in Malayalam we have only one deep structure from which by applying different sets of transformational rules we get surface sentences. This is because in Timil the nominalized constructions express habitual meaning. Table II gives the various rules required for Tamil and Malayalam.

TABLE II

Transformational Rules Required	Tamil			Malayalam	
	Fut Human	Non Human	Non-Fut	Fut	Non-Fut
1. Transposition	+	+	+	—	+
2. Deletion	+	+	+	—	—
3. Segmentation	+	+	—	—	—
4. Addition	+	—	+	—	—
1. Nominalization	+		+	+	+

1.5. In Kannada, we have sentences like

(18) *avanu baralilla*
1 2 3
'he did/does not come'
1 3 2

(19) *avanu baruvadilla*
1 2 3

'he will not come'
1 3 2

avanu baral and *avanu baruvadu* are nominalized constructions which are to be derived from the underlying sentences such as

(20) *avanu bandanu/baruttanu* he came/comes
1 2 1 2

(21) *avanu baruvanu* he will come
1 2 1 2

Figs. (12) and (13) represent graphically the underlying struetures of (18) and (19).

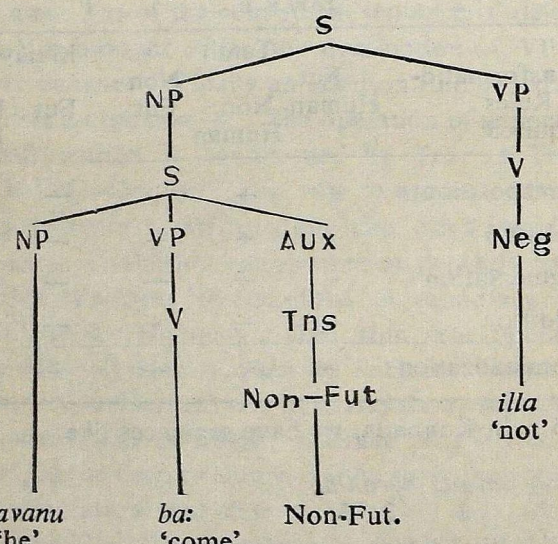

Fig. 12.

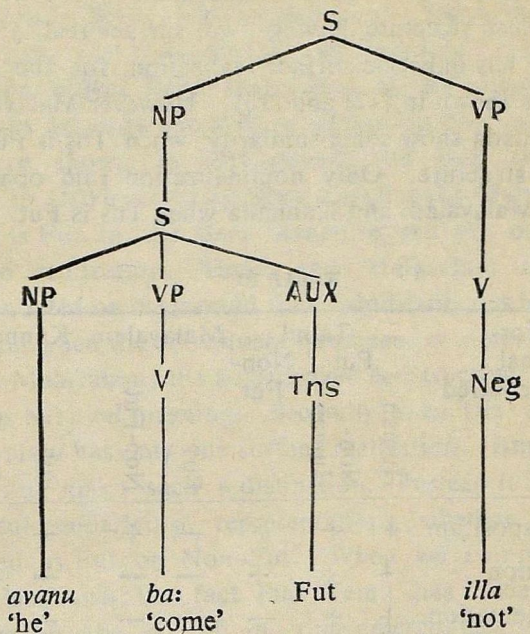

Fig. 13.

In Kannada, we find only nominalization rule operating on the deep structures shown in (12) and (13). The nominalization transformation converts the underlying sentences *avan bandanu* and *avanu baruttanu* into *avanu baral* and *avanu baruvanu* into *avanu baruvadu*. We thus finally get

18) *avanu baralilla*

19) *avanu baruvadilla*

at the surface level.[2] Unlike Malayalam where we find a single deep structure having two surface realizations, Kannada has only one surface realization fot the deep structures shown in (12) and (13). However Malayalam and Kannada show some similarity when Tns is Fut. in the deep structure. Only nominalization rule operates in both Malayalam and Kannada when Tns is Fut.

TABLE III

Transformational rules required	Tamil			Malayalam		Kannada	
	Fut		Non-Fut				
	Human	Non-Human		Fut	Non-Fut	Fut	Non-Fut
1 Transposition	+	+	+	—	+	—	—
2 Deletion	+	+	+	—	—	—	—
3 Segmentation	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
4 Addition	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
1 Nominalization	+		+	+	+	+	+

1.6. The nominalization transformation is common for all these three languages. Tamil differs from Kannada and Malayalam by expressing the habitual meaning. But

[2] There are sentences like *avanu bandilla* and etc. This can be analysed as *avanu bandu* and *avanu illa*. If this sentence is treated as equivalent to English *he did not come*, then we are forced to make some other proposal. Further research should throw some light on this problem. I am thankful to Mr. Rajaram for this observation.

the nominalized constructions of Kannada and Malayalam do not express the habitual meaning. Kannada differs from Malayalam in the respect that Kannada has only one surface realization for the deep structure shown in (12) whereas the deep structure shown in (10) has two surface realizations in Malayalam. If Tns is Fut. in the deep structure, we get only one surface realization. Tamil and Malavalam can be differentiated on the ground that Tamil expresses habitual meaning when the constituent sentence is nominalized. But in Malayalam, the nominalized constructions do not express habitual meaning. Secondly when Tns. is Fut. Malayalam has only one surface realization. But Tamil does not make such a distinction. Instead it has two different underlying representations whether Tns is realized as Fut. or Non-Fut. When we compare all these languages, the fact that Tamil has undergone a change in the course of time emerges clearly. The expression of habitual meaning is found only in Tamil. This change is historically significant. However the contention that Neg. morpheme functions as a main verb in the deep structure is apparent from this study.

1.8. An attempt has been made in this paper to show that the morpheme Neg. is a main verb in the deep structure of Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada. Agesthialingam's analysis (1967) has not taken into consideration the fact that Neg. is a main verb in the deep structure. His grammar was rather strongly influenced by the taxonomic linguistics and therefore its analysis was

mainly concerned with surface sentences. Following Katz and Postal, Rangan's analysis (1971) posits a dummy symbol Neg. in the deep structure to make the distinction between positive sentences and negative sentences at the deep level. His analysis also fails to show the grammatical status of Neg. in the deep structure. But we have attempted to show in this study that Neg. morpheme is a main verb in the deep strucure. It may be justifiable if we hypothesize it as a 'universal' feature. However this hypothesis is to be supported by the grammatical analysis of other languages which belong to different lingustic families.[3]

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: G. Subbiah, P. Bhaskara Rao, C. Rama Rao, E. Annamalai, K. M. Prabhakara Variar and K. Balasubramanian.

[8] I would like to express my thanks to Dr. H. S. Biligiri who dissected each and every part of the early version of this paper and showed many inadequacies. My thanks are also due to Dr M. S. Thirumalai and Dr. B. G. Misra for their comments which were very useful to improve the expression side of this paper. Last, but not the least, my thanks go to Mr. Ravindran, Dr. Gurubasave Gowda and Dr. Mahadevan for the kind co-operation they extended to me when I was collecting the materials for Malayalam and Kannada.

GENDER-NUMBER SUBCATEGORISATION IN DRAVIDIAN[1]

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1. Nouns can be classified into various categories on the basis of their syntactical functions. The classification based on gender-number is useful for the pronoun transformation, especially for anaphoric pronouns. The anaphoric pronouns are formally the same as the remote demonstrative pronouns (henceforth referred to as DPN). So, the nouns should be marked with the features to indicate their gender-number. This is also useful for the agreement rule to be introduced in the verbs to have pronominal reference in all the Dravidian languages[2] except Malayalam and Ka:ṇikka:ra dialect of Tamil. There are other languages where there is some difference between the system found in the DPN and the verb (FV). In all those cases, the number of distinction found in the latter is lesser than the former. For instance, Gowda Kannada has threefold distinctions in the DPN

[1] I am thankful to my colleague Mr. K. Murugaiyan for his suggestions.

[2] Languages here include dialects of a language also.

and twofold distinctions in the FV. Since the distinction in nouns is basic, let us first discuss the gender-number classification of nouns However, the system found in the FV will be referred to wherever it is possible to mention within the system of the DPN.

The gender-number distinctions in all the Dravidian languages can be expressed in terms of three features, viz. singular (sg.), masculine (mas.), and human (hum.). Among these, the only feature found in all the languages is sg. The feature mas. is found in all the languages except Brahui, Toda, Kuruba and Yerukala and the feature, hum. is absent not only in the languages mentioned above but also in Gowda Kannada, Konda, Gondi, Koya, Kui, Kuvi, Kolami, Naiki (Chanda), Parji and Gadba. It is to be noted that the feature, mas. always refers to hum. mas. and so, the feature, hum. is used only with reference to non-mas. (i.e.-Mas.) to indicate hum. feminine nouns.

The gender-number of a noun can be referred to in terms of distinctive features which are minimum features necessary to differentiate it from other gender-number. For instance, Kurumba (§ 2.5) plural is marked by -Sg. only and not by other features. Similarly fem. sg. in that language is marked only by +Sg. and +Hum. The features can also be represented by a tree diagram. Since the representation by a tree diagram involves hierarchical arrangement, it is necessary to take certain features in the higher node and others in the lower node, so that we can represent the features economically. One of the advantages

is that one can overlook certain features whenever they are not necessary. This is done by referring to a feature in the higher node. For instance, in Tamil, nouns can be referred to only either as +Hum. or as —Hum. as far as the anaphoric interrogative pronoun transformation is concerned because there is only a two way distinction, hum. vs non-hum. (*ya:r* 'who' (mas. sg., fem. sg. and hum. pl.), *enna* 'what' (non-hum. sg. and non-hum.pl.)) in that pronoun. In Pengo, it is sufficient to refer the fem. sg. and non-hum. sg. nouns by the features, +Sg. and —Mas. when the agreement rule is to be applied. But on the other hand, one may have to specify certain features unnecessarily because of its binary character. For instance, ih Halakki Kannada (see § 2.5) fem. sg. nouns will have the features, +Sg., —Mas. and +Hum. but —Mas. is unnecessary in the representation by distinctive features. However, the representation of features by tree diagrams is also given in the next section (§ 2) because it is useful to explain the historical development in the last section (§ 3).

2. There are nine kinds of gender-number distinctions in the DPN in the various Dravidian languages.

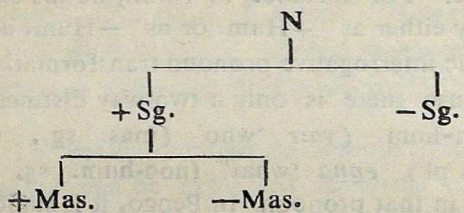
2.1. Brahui, Toda, Yerukala and Kuruba (see p. 316) have singular-plural contrast in the DPN.

	Sg.	Pl.
Sg.	+	—

Brahui, Kuruba and Gowda Kannada have the same system in the FV. Both Kota[3] and Koraga have singular-plural contrast only in the negative FV.

[3] I am thankful to Mr. G. Subbiah for this information.

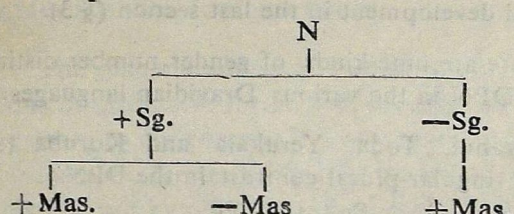
2.2 Gowda Kannada has threefold distinctions viz., mas. sg., non-mas. sg. and pl. in the DPN.



	Mas. Sg.	Non-Mas. Sg.	Pl.
Sg.	+	+	—
Mas.	+	—	0

As already noted, mas. denotes hum. mas. only and this is applicable to all other cases also. Halakki Kannada and Kurumba have the same system in the FV.

2.3. Koraga distinguishes mas. sg., non-mas. sg. and mas. pl. in the DPN.

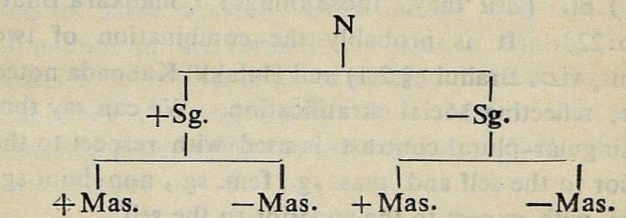


	Mas. Sg.	Non-Mas. Sg.	Mas. Pl.
Sg.	+	+	—
Mas.	+	—	+

In the FV, the plural is common to mas. and fem. and so, —Sg. should be marked +Hum. in the FV.

2.4. Mas. sg., non-mas. sg., mas. pl. and non-mas. pl. are the contrasts found in Konda, Gondi, Koya, Kui, Kuvi, Kolami, Naiki (Chanda), Parji and Gadba.

	Mas. Sg.	Non-Mas. Sg.	Mas. Pl.	Non-Mas. Pl.
Sg.	+	+	—	—
Pl.	+	—	+	—

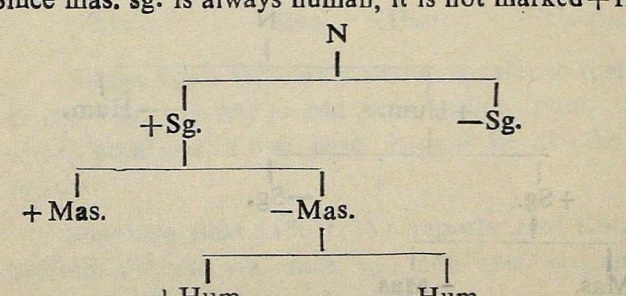


The distinctions are the same both in the DPN and FV.

2.5. Halakki Kannada and Kurumba have four way distinctions, viz., mas. sg., fem. sg., non-hum. sg. and pl. in the DPN.

	Mas. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Non-hum. Sg.	Pl.
Sg.	+	+	+	—
Mas.	+	0	0	0
Hum.	0	+	—	0

Since mas. sg. is always human, it is not marked +Hum.

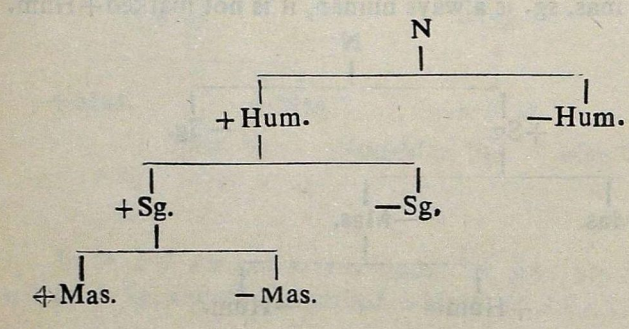


+ Sg., —Mas. and + Hum. will give fem. sg. and + Sg., — Mas. and — Hum., non-hum. sg.

Havyaka Kannada seems to have a unique system. It has mas. sg. (*avā* 'that man'), fem. honorific (hon.) sg. (*ava* 'that lady') sg. (*adu* 'that woman, man or thing') pl. (*avu* 'they, those things)' (Shankara Bhat, 1971b:22). It is probably the combination of two systems, viz., Brahui (§ 2.1) and Halakki Kannada noted above, reflecting social stratification. We can say that the singular-plural contrast is used with respect to the inferior to the self and mas. sg., fem. sg., non-hum sg. and pl. with respect to the superior to the self.

2.6. The languages like Koḍagu, Kota and many dialects of modern Tamil have mas sg , fem. sg., hum. pl. and non-hum. contrasts in the DPN.

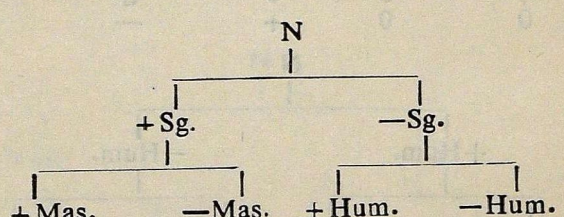
	Mas. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Hum. Pl.	Non-Hum.
Sg.	+	+	—	0
Mas.	+	0	0	0
Hum.	0	+	+	—



Only modern colloquial Tamil has the same system in the FV.

2.7. Telugu has fourfold distinctions, viz., mas. sg., non-mas. sg., hum. pl., and non-hum. pl. both in the DPN and FV. Kurux, as reported by Hahn (1911:25) has the same system. Even though non-mas. sg. and non-hum. pl. are formally the same in Malto, both of them have to be considered separate because they do not constitute a natural class. Then Malto can also be considered as having the same system as that of Telugu and Kurux.

	Mas. Sg.	Non-Mas. Sg.	Hum. Pl.	Non-Hum. Pl.
Sg.	+	+	—	—
Mas.	+	—	0	0
Hum.	0	0	+	—



Telugu has a separate pronoun to refer to fem. hon. nouns. So, one has to add the feature, hum. in the -Mas. node and in that case, it will be like the Tamil system.

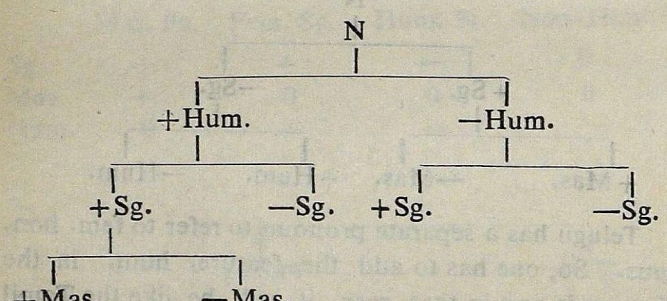
Shankara Bhat (1965:235) reports that Kurux has fivefold systems, viz., mas. sg., non-mas. sg., mas. pl., non-mas. pl. and hum. pl.

	Mas. Sg.	Non-Mas. Sg.	Mas. Pl.	Non-Mas. Pl.	Hum. Pl.
Sg.	+	+	—	—	—
Mas.	+	—	+	—	0
Hum.	0	0	0	0	+

It seems to be a combination of two systems, but the detail is not clear now.

2.8 The languages like standard Tamil, Kannada (standard and some dialects like Nanjungud, Dharwar etc), Kasaba[4], Irula and Tulu have a fivefold distinction, viz., mas. sg., fem. sg., non-hum. sg., hum. pl. and non-hum. pl. in the DPN as well as in the FV.

	Mas. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Hum. Pl.	Non-Hum. Sg.	Non-Hum. Pl.
Sg.	+	+	—	+	—
Mas.	+	0	0	0	0
Hum.	0	0	+	—	—



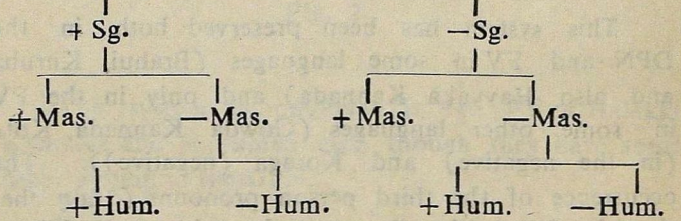
[4] In Shanmugam 1971 (pp. 8 and 10) it is reported that Kasaba has a fourfold system in the DPN and a fivefold system in the FV. Mr. V. Chidambaranathan who is working on Kasaba informs me now that is has a fivefold distinctions in the DPN like that of Tamil.

Malayalam and Ka:ṇikka:ra dialect of Tamil have the same system only in the DPN.

2.9 Pengo is the only language which has mas. sg., fem. sg., non-hum. sg., mas. pl., fem.pl. and non-hum. pl. in the DPN.

	Mas. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Non-Hum.sg.	Mas. Pl.	Fem. Pl.	Non-Hum.Pl.
Sg.	+	—	+	—	—	—
Mas.	+	0	0	+	0	0
Hum.	0	0	—	0	0	—

Since the fem. sg. and the non-hum. sg. have merged into one as non-mas. sg. in the FV, the Pengo system can be diagrammed as follows :



For the verb agreement, –Mas. node alone should be considered. (For the full details regarding the examples in various languages, see Shanmugam, 1971: 1–11).

The system found in the FV of Koḍagu, Kota (in the positive sentences), Toda and Yerukala have not been mentioned so far because they do not come under any one of the nine systems described above. These languages have one form which is common to all the third person but different from the first and second persons.

3. The different systems described above seem to be related to one another.

3.1. The system noted in § 2.1 can be taken as the basic one and all the others can be explained as being developed by the addition or loss of certain features.

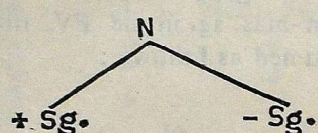


Fig. 1.

This system has been preserved both in the DPN and FV in some languages (Brahui, Kuruba and also Havyaka Kannada) and only in the FV in some other languages (Gowda Kannada, Kota (in the negative) and Koraga (negative)). The occurrence of the third person pronouns (**taːn* 'he, she, it' : **taːm* 'they (human and non-human)' (Shanmugam, 1971:192) without any gender-distinctions in all the languages can be taken as a confirmatory evidence for this assumption. The fact that some languages which have more number of systems in the DPN have lesser number in the FV supports that the FV system should

be developed at a comparatively later stage. Here, Gowda Kannada, even after the change in the system of the DPN, preserves the older system in the FV. This type of argument will be used whenever the FV system fits with some other earlier system found in the DPN.

3.2. The next stage is represented by Gowda Kannada (§ 2.2) which should have introduced the feature, mas. in the +Sg. node.

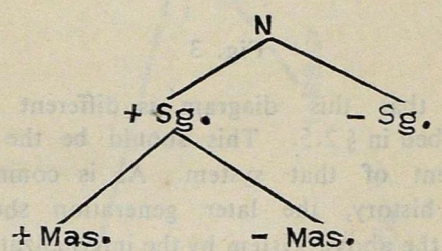


Fig. 2.

The system is preserved in the FV of Halakki Kannada and Kurumba even though they have some other system in the DPN.

3.3. Three different developments should have taken place from the above system.

Halakki Kannada and Kurumba (§ 2.5) should have added the feature, hum. to the - Mas. node.

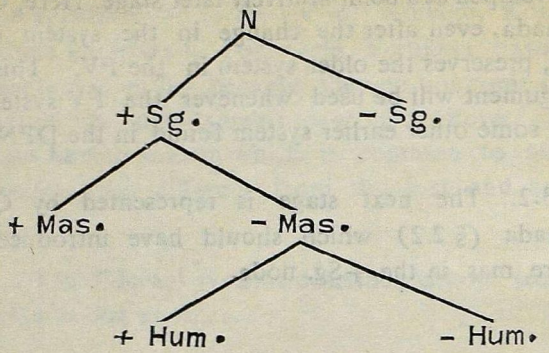


Fig. 3

Note that this diagram is different from the one described in § 2.5. This should be the historical development of that system. As is common in the language history, the later generation should have simplified the above system by the internalization of the grammar.

Telugu and Kurux (§ 2.7.) should have added the feature, hum. to the - Sg.node.

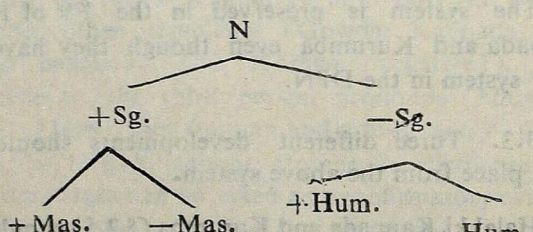


Fig. 4

The system noted in § 2.4 is due to the addition of the feature, mas. to the –Sg.node.

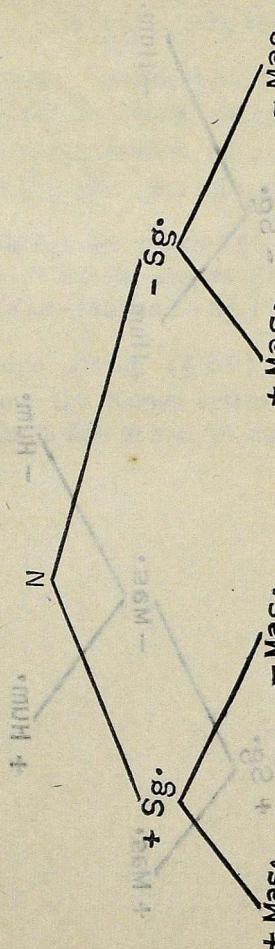


Fig. 5

3.3. The fivefold system found in Tamil and other languages (§ 2.8) should have developed by the addition of two systems described above (Figs. 3 and 4).

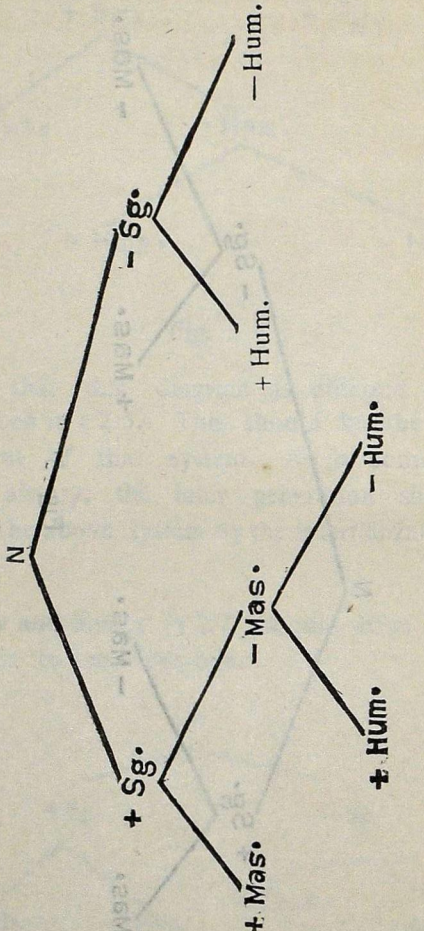


Fig. 6

Here also, the system differs from the one described in § 2.8. This represents the evolutionary process and § 2.8 is due to the simplification of the above system because of the internalisation by the later generation.

The Koḍagu system (§ 2.6.) should also have developed from the above system with some change. Non–hum. sg. and non–hum. pl. are not differentiated and so it has non–hum. as a separate category.

3.4. The Koraga system (§ 2.3.) can be explained with the help of Konḍa system (Fig. 5). In Koraga, non–mas. pl. (i.e.–Mas and – Sg.) is lost.

The Pengo system (§ 2.9) should also have originated from the Konḍa system by the addition of the feature, hum. first to mas. pl. and then to Non–mas. sg.

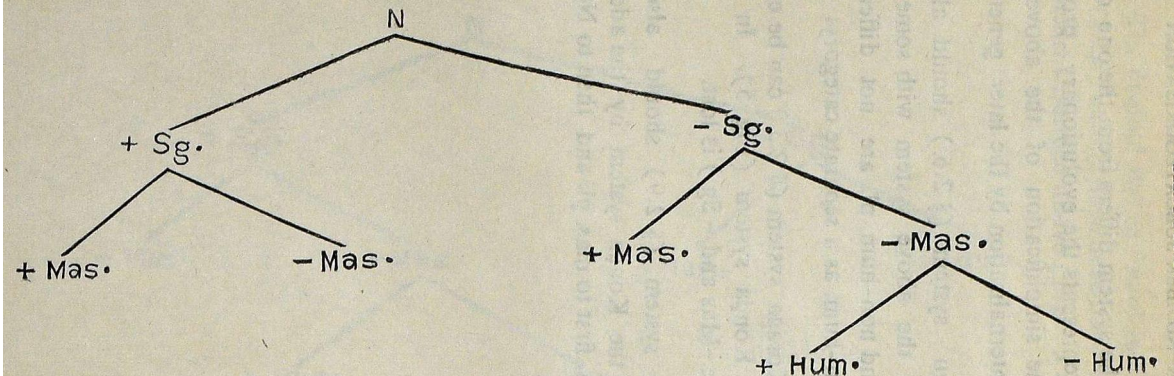


Fig. 7.

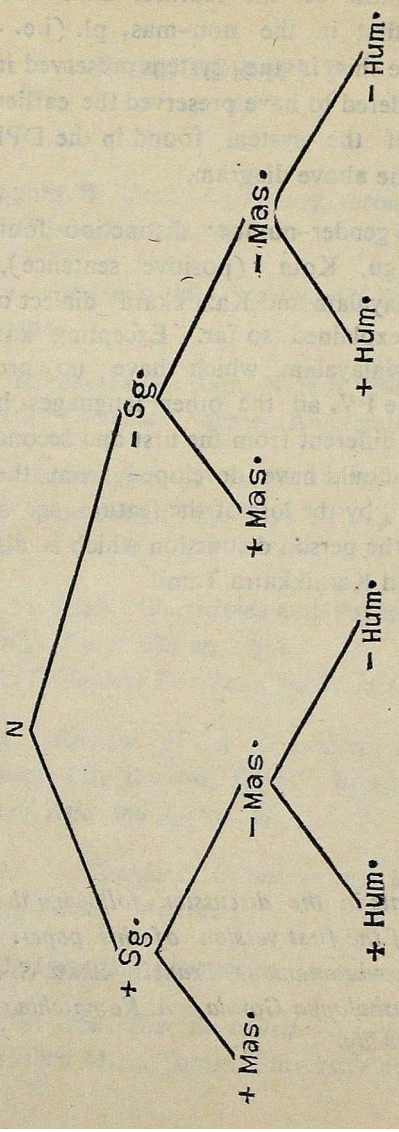


Fig. 8

The addition of the feature, hum. should have taken place first in the non-mas. pl. (i.e. -Sg. and -Mas.) because this is the system preserved in the FV which is considered to have preserved the earlier system. The origin of the system found in the DPN can be explained by the above diagram.

3.5. The gender-number distinction found in the FV of Koḍagu, Kota (positive sentence), Toda, Yerukala, Malayalam and Ka:ṇikkara dialect of Tamil has not been explained so far. Excepting ka:ṇikka:ra Tamil and Malayalam which have no pronominal reference in the FV, all the other languages have one form which is different from the first and second person forms. This should have developed from the Brahui system (Fig. 1) by the loss of the feature, sg. and they have retained the person distinction which is also lost in Malayalam and Ka:ṇikka:ra Tamil.

Participants in the discussion following the seminar presentation of the first version of this paper: E. Annamalai, K. Balasubramanian, Francis Ekka, S. Agesthialingom, K. Kushalappa Gowda, A. Kamatchinathan and K. Govinda Reddy.

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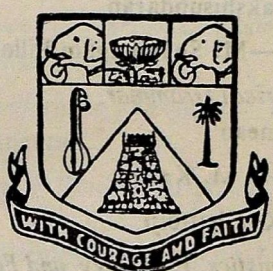
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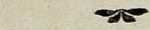

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