

A SYNTACTIC STUDY
OF
SPOKEN TAMIL

Thesis

submitted for the
Ph.D. degree
of the University of London

by

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Abstract

This thesis presents a syntactic description of spoken Tamil, based on the author's own speech.

The introductory first chapter describes briefly some characteristics of Tamil and gives a note on the methodology.

This is followed by a chapter which deals with the transcription used and with features of junction.

The structure and system of the sentence, the clause, the nominal group, the verbal group and the adverbial group are described in the next five chapters.

The last two chapters deal with the morphology of the nominals and the verbals.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of contents	4
Chapter One. Introduction	6
1.1 The Tamil language	6
1.2 Some general characteristics of Tamil grammatical structure	9
1.3 Methodology	11
Chapter Two. The Transcription	13
2.1 General remarks	14
2.2 Simple consonants	15
2.3 Complex consonants	17
2.4 Vowels	17
2.5 Nasal consonants in final position	18
2.6 Junctional features	19
2.7 Phonological relations between elements of structure	22
2.8 Prosodies	23
Chapter Three. Sentence	26
3.1 General remarks	26
3.2 Definition of sentence - linguistically	26
3.3 Definition of sentence - extra-linguistically	26
Chapter Four. Clause	28
4.1 General remarks	30
4.2 The structure of major clause	31
4.3 Systems applicable to major clauses	34
4.4 The structure of minor clause	49
4.5 Systems applicable to minor clauses	51
4.6 Tense in independent and dependent clauses	55
Chapter Five. Nominal Group	57
5.1 General remarks	58
5.2 The nominal group	58
5.3 Adjective as a modifier	65
5.4 Nominal as a modifier	69
5.5 The nominal head	70
5.6 Systems applicable to nominal heads	74
5.7 The nominal suffix -e and the occurrence restriction	76
5.8 Co-ordination between nominals	78

Chapter Six.	Verbal Group	80
6.1	General remarks	81
6.2	The verbal group	81
6.3	System of positivity/negativity	82
6.4	Compound verbal form	93
6.5	Reflexive verbal form	94
6.6	System of tense	94
6.7	System of transitivity	97
Chapter Seven.	Adverbial Group	98
7.1	General remarks	99
7.2	Classes of adverbs	99
Chapter Eight.	Nominals	107
8.1	The nominals	108
8.2	Substantive forms	112
8.3	Non-affixed substantive forms	115
8.4	Affixed substantive forms	116
8.5	Pronominal forms	117
8.6	Verbal noun forms	119
8.7	Plural forms	120
8.8	Forms of the nominals in the function of modifiers	120
8.9	Adverbs and adjectives	123
Chapter Nine.	Verbals	125
9.1	The verbals	126
9.2	Units functioning at the various elements of structure	127
9.3	Stems	130
9.4	Base	131
9.5	Positive verbal forms	133
9.6	Negative verbal forms	135
9.7	Positive neuter finite concordial verbal forms	137
9.8	Monosyllabic verbal roots	138
Bibliography		141

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION1.1 The Tamil Language

Tamil is one of the Dravidian languages, spoken in South India, Northern and Eastern Ceylon, Malaya, Mauritius, South Africa and Fiji. Though Tamil phonology and morphology have been studied by many scholars for a long time, and especially during the last thirty years¹, Tamil syntax has been a neglected field until recently. During the last few years syntax has been taken up for study by scholars in various countries².

Written Tamil has a long literary tradition dating back to the third century B.C. The earliest extant grammar Tolkaappiyam is said to belong to this century.

Tolkaappiyam deals with phonetics, phonology and morphology in great detail and it is amazing how scientific the treatment is and how close it is to modern linguistic principles³.

The earliest extant literature is in verse form, but this does not rule out the possibility of the existence of prose literature. Tolkaappiyam refers to four types of prose literature, viz. a. prose found in poetical literature, b. completely prose works, c. comedy and d. satire⁴.

1. K.Zvelebil, 1961. Reference works are referred to by author's surname and the year of publication.

2. M.Andronov, 1964., Corré, 1962., Zvelebil, 1962., Pillai.S.A. 1963., Pope, 1911., Arden.A.H. 1934.

3. In the section on production of sounds, Tolkaappiyam describes quite distinctly how various sounds are produced. e.g. சகார சுகாரம் இடைநா அண்ணாமி
c and n are produced by friction of the front of the tongue and the hard palate. Tolkaappiyam, Elut.Pir.8

This grammar also refers to a standard language and dialects⁵, and one may detect dialectal differences in the extant literature of this early period.

Until the arrival of European missionaries in South India in the 18th century there is very little trace of prose literature. However, the Tamil country abounds in inscriptions dating from the eighth century onwards. The language of these inscriptions may be said to be nearer the spoken language than the written.

Prose literature proper begins with the religious writings of the Christian missionaries. Their main aim was to spread their faith in as simple a language as possible and they chose something approximating to the spoken style. A useful by-product of this religious movement was a record of the spoken form of this period in the form of dictionaries, grammars and religious writings.

Since then attempts have been made by writers to introduce colloquial forms into their writings but the rigidity of Tamil characters has put a limitation. Even now this handicap has not been entirely overcome and until new characters are introduced into the syllabary colloquial forms may not be precisely represented in writings.

In any discussion of the Tamil language one has to recognize that the written language is vastly different from the spoken language. It is necessary to set up different phonological, morphological and grammatical structures and systems for the two types. Hence it may be said that the written and spoken languages are two 'dialects'. This may be illustrated with some examples:

4. Tolkaappiyam, Porul, ceyyul, 166

5. Tolkaappiyam, Col. eccam, 1.

நான் வந்தேன்

6

naan vanteen, I came

[na:n v nde:n]

[nã vendõ]

அந்த மாடு ஓடிப் போய் விட்டது.

anta maaṭu ooṭip pooy viṭṭatu, that cow ran away

[ɐnde ma:ḍu o:ḍip po:j viṭṭɐḍu]

[ɐnde ma:ḍu o:ḍip po:ccu]

The spoken language of Tamilnad is a rich field for study and research, because of its great complexity. Within the complexity produced by regional and caste dialects, one finds that sex, education, occupation and other factors introduce further complications⁷.

Thus, though one can confidently talk about a standard written Tamil, it is only with some hesitation one can discuss a standard spoken Tamil.

It is in fact not easy to recognize a standard spoken Tamil, though some scholars argue that such a form is now in the process of evolving.⁸ What one can say at the moment is that the educated population of Tamilnad uses a form which does not exhibit much dialectal traces⁹.

The term 'spoken Tamil' used in the title of this thesis is to be understood with these reservations. It may be said without exaggeration that most of the examples cited in this thesis would be accepted as

6. The order in which the examples are set out is as follows: Tamil script, written form using the transcription employed in this thesis, phonetic transcription of the written form and that of the spoken form.

7. Subbiah, R. 1962

8. Zvelebil, K. 1964a.

9. The 'spoken' Tamil used on platforms and in class-rooms is very close to the standard written Tamil and thus is very different from the 'colloquial' language.

'standard', i.e. without showing any noticeable dialectal variations.

1.2 Some general characteristics of Tamil grammatical structures

There are two main ^{clause} sentence types in Tamil. One contains a verb, e.g. avan vantaan, he came; the other does not contain a verb but two nominals in certain relationship, which may be termed predicative or equation-al bipartite, e.g. avan nallavan, he (is a) good (boy). A simple ^{clause} sentence in its minimal form may contain only one verb or one nominal. Sentences ^(4.1) are not usually long, and rarely contain more than four clauses.

Subordinate elements generally precede the superordinate. For example, dependent clauses precede the independent clauses, modifiers precede the modified and the verb occurs last in normal speech. The word-order may be changed (except for that of the nominal group) in platform speech, story-telling, etc., for special purposes or for emphasis.

Concord in gender, number and person may be observed between the nominal head and the verbal head.

The structure ^(4.321 ff) of interrogative, indicative and negative sentences are identical, except that the interrogative contains an interrogator and the negative contains a negative verbal form.

Tamil is an agglutinative language employing a large number of suffixes. The word-classes may be set up based entirely on morphology. The order of occurrence of suffixes is fixed and may be said to be precise and systematic¹⁰. There are no prefixes or infixes.

10. When describing the Tamil language Meile says: '... une langue fixée de longue date, riche ... précise, d'une structure très systématique, on pourrait dire

The verb is the basic unit in Tamil in the sense that structures with verbs as a unit are more numerous than structures with nominals as a unit.

Below the rank of group, the rank of word is set up. The words in Tamil may be grouped into four classes, viz. nominals, verbals, adverbs and adjectives. These are based on syntactic criteria. Thus all nominals, when not bearing a suffix, may function at N_1 ; all adverbs at A and all verbals at V. The adjectives are capable of functioning at M in the nominal group.

While only certain word-classes may function at a certain element of structure, e.g. nominals (non-affixed) at N_1 , it is possible for more than one word-class to function at another element of structure, e.g. nominals (affixed) and adverbs at A. Similarly certain word-class may function at more than one place in structure if it is suffixed, e.g. nominals (non-affixed) at N_1 and when affixed at N_2 and A.

Words are capable of functioning at certain places in structure by themselves. They may consist of single roots or may contain one or more suffixes. Suffixes are of two types: derivational and syntactic¹¹. Derivational suffixes are affixed so that bases are formed, to which are affixed the syntactic suffixes.

Particles are different from words in that they may not occur by themselves as words do. They co-occur with **certain** word-classes at certain places in structure. The characteristic of particles is their mobility within a given structure.

Word initially there may be a vowel or one of a restricted number of consonants. The absolute word fi-

<rationnelle>...' Meile.p.137. This statement may, I think, be very aptly applied to morphology in particular.

11. M.Haas, p.35

nal is always a vowel in spoken Tamil. Clusters of more than two consonants are generally characteristic of verbal forms only. Voiced and tense articulations occur only medially in a word, or at inter-word junctions.

Features of junction may be observed within the structure of words, groups and clauses. Above the rank of words, these junctional features may be co-related with the grammatical features.

1.3 Methodology

This analysis is based on Professor J.R. Firth's theory of 'structure and system', which he expounds in his article 'A synopsis of linguistic theory 1950-55'¹².

To analyse the structure of spoken Tamil, five ranks are set up.¹³ They are sentence, clause, group, word and morpheme. The analysis proceeds from sentence to morpheme in a descending order. Each unit is described in terms of the unit immediately below it.

At each rank, certain units function; the rank and the units are set out below.

<u>rank</u>	<u>units</u>
sentence	simple sentence
	complex sentence
clause	major clause
	minor clause
group	nominal group
	verbal group
	adjectival group
	adverbial group

12. J.R. Firth, 1957 f.

13. The concept of ranks is taken over from Halliday. See Halliday, 1961.

<u>rank</u>	<u>units</u>
word	nominals
	verbals
	adjectives
	adverbs
morpheme	roots
	suffixes
	particles

For each unit the structure is abstracted, and the structure is described in terms of elements of structure¹⁴. For each structure and for each element of structure, systems¹⁵ are set up, wherever more than one term operates in that place in structure.

A certain unit is said to 'function' at a certain place in structure, if it fills that place.

Systems are not set up for the sentence, as they are the highest units abstracted for grammatical analysis, though they may function in higher units such as paragraphs, narratives, etc.¹⁶ Similarly no grammatical structure is set up for morphemes, as there is no rank below that of morphemes.

Collocational restrictions are introduced at various places in the analysis.¹⁷

14. 'grammatical analysis then deals with texts by setting up structures and systems. The constituent elements of syntactical structures are not words, but generalized classes and categories by means of which the interior relations of the elements may be stated. ... The terms structure and elements of structure are not used to refer to a whole language or even to what may be portions of language, but exclusively to categories abstracted from common word form or textual form.' Firth, 1957f. See also Robins, 1953; Allen, 1954.

15. Systems are '... a set of paradigmatic relations between commutable units or terms which provide values for the elements of structure.' Firth, 1957f. p.17.

16. Robins, 1964, pp.190-1

17. See footnote 4 on p.67.

Chapter Two
The Transcription
and
Junctional features

2.1	General remarks
2.2	Simple consonants
2.21	Simple-initial
2.22	Simple-medial
2.3	Complex consonants
2.4	Vowels
2.5	Nasal consonants in final position
2.6	Junctional features
2.7	Phonological relations between elements of structure
2.71	M+N ₁
2.72	N ₂ + ¹ V
2.73	A+V and A+N ₂
2.74	V+Particles ²
2.8	Prosodies
2.81	g-prosody
2.82	y-prosody
2.83	w-prosody
2.84	l-prosody
2.85	e-prosody
2.86	h-prosody

Chapter Two
TRANSCRIPTION
and
JUNCTIONAL FEATURES

2.1 General remarks

The symbols of the transcription used in this thesis cannot be interpreted without some understanding of the conventions of the Tamil orthographic system. For example, the orthography does not provide for voiced plosives and fricatives; hence words like மகன் and கமகம் use the same letter க medially and initially. The transcription records these words as makan and kaṭitam, the phonetic values of which are [mæxẽ] and [kəṭiṭẽ] respectively. ^(2.2 & 2.3) From the examples given it will be noticed that the orthography uses the nasal symbols ன (n) and ம (m) at word final. This convention is also followed in the transcription (2.5).

The phonetic values of the vowel symbol a, for example, varies with the place of occurrence in a word, but these differences are not represented in the orthography by the use of special characters. On the other hand, the orthography recognizes five different nasals ன, ங, ண, ம, ன் homorganic with the plosives க, ச, ட, த, த். These are represented in the transcription by ŋ, ɲ, ɳ, m and n and the plosives by k, c, ʈ, p and t, which accord with the phonetic values of the nasals to be observed. Within the word, the nasal plosive complexes are always homorganic, and it would therefore be possible in a transcription to use a single n.

In recognizing the word divisions, too, the transcription follows the modern orthographic conventions. Thus at word junctions plosives may be seen to occur though at absolute word final they may not. exx.

avanaip paartteen, I saw him.

The symbols of the transcription have therefore to be interpreted according to the place where they occur and in this sense the transcription may be considered broadly phonemic; its purpose is to serve as a broad reading transcription and to identify the orthographic forms when they occur.

The symbols are listed in the following tables one after the other according to their position in a word, i.e. initial, medial or final, and stated whether they are simple or complex. The phonetic values are given against each symbol.

The symbols may be grouped into two sets: consonants and vowels. Simple consonants are: k, c, t, p, ŋ, n, ɳ, m, ɲ, r, l, ɭ, v, y and ɹ. Complex consonants are: kk, cc, tt, pp, ɳɳ, mm, nn, rr, ll, ɭɭ, vv, yy, ŋk, nc, ɳt, nt and mp. Vowels are: i, e, a, o and u which are short and ii, ee, aa, oo and uu, which are long.

2.2 Simple consonants

2.21 Simple - initial

<u>vlss./</u> <u>vd.</u>	<u>symbol</u>	<u>bi-lab.</u> ¹	<u>lab-dent.</u>	<u>dent.</u>	<u>alv.</u>	<u>pala.</u>	<u>vel.</u>
vlss.	p- plosive	p		t			
	t-						
	k-						k
	c- fricative				s		
vd.	m- nasal	m					
	n-				n		
	l- lateral				l		
	r- fricative				r		
	v-		v ²				
	y- semivowel					j	

1. vlss.- voiceless; vd.- voiced; bi-lab.- bilabial; lab.dent.- labio-dental; dent.- dental; alv.- alveolar; pala.- palatal; vel.- velar; retro.- retroflex; alv.pal-alveolo-palatal.

2. In fast speech this may occur as a frictionless continuant ʋ.

l and r initials are very rare and occur only in loan words. All plosives are unaspirated in my speech though minimal aspiration may be observed in some speakers. Firth recognizes slight aspiration in the cases of k and p³. Presence or absence is not distinctive in Tamil and so aspiration is only a phonetic characteristic in the speech of some speakers.

2.22 Simple - medial

<u>vlss.</u>	<u>symbol</u>	<u>bi-</u>	<u>lab.</u>	<u>dent.</u>	<u>alv.</u>	<u>re-</u>	<u>vel</u>
<u>vd.</u>		<u>lab.</u>	<u>dent.</u>			<u>pala.</u>	<u>tro.</u>
vd.	-p- fricative	β					
	-t-			ð			
	-ɾ- flap						ɖ x ⁴
vlss.	-k- fricative						
	-c-				s		
vd.	-m- nasal	m					
	-n-				n		
	-ŋ- nasal flap						ŋ
	-l- alveolar				l ⁵		
	-r- fricative				r		
	-ɭ- lateral flap						ɭ
	-v- frictionless continuant		ʋ				
	-ɹ-						ɹ
	-y- semivowel				j		

Flap articulations are made with the blade of the tongue curled back and flapped forward. The under side of the tip of the tongue makes a momentary contact with the hard palate.

Consonants do not occur at absolute word final position except m and n (2.5).

3. Firth, 1934.

4. In fast speech this may occur as ɣ

5. 'a very clear l, pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the teeth ridge near the teeth, or dental...' Firth, 1934. In my speech this is always alveolar.

2.3 Complex consonants - medial

<u>vlss.</u>	<u>symbol</u>	<u>bi-</u>	<u>lab.</u>	<u>dent.</u>	<u>alv.</u>	<u>alv.</u>	<u>pala.</u>	<u>ret.</u>	<u>ve</u>
<u>vd.</u>		<u>lab.</u>	<u>dent.</u>			<u>pala.</u>		<u>ro</u>	
vlss.	-pp-	plosive	pp						
	-tt-			tt					
	-kk-								kk
	-t̪t-							t̪t	
	-cc-					tʃ			
vd.	-mm-	nasal	mm						
	-nn-				nn				
	-ŋŋ-							ŋŋ	
	-ll-	lateral			ll				
	-rr-	roll			rr				
	-l̪l-	lateral						l̪l	
	-vv-	fricative		vv					
	-yy-	semivowel					jj		
	-vv- and -yy- occur only in very few words.								
vd.	-mp-	plosive	mb						
	-nt-			nd					
	-ŋt̪-							ŋd̪	
	-ŋc-						nd̪		
	-ŋk-								ŋg

Medial consonant clusters such as -pp̪t̪-, -pp̪r-, etc., occur in quick speech; but it is possible to observe a vocalic glide especially in slow speech, thus giving interrupted sequences like -pp̪^ut̪-, -pp̪^ut̪^ər- etc.

2.4 Vowels - short initial and medial

<u>symbol</u>	<u>front</u>	<u>centre</u>	<u>back</u>
i close	i		
e half-close	e		
a open		ə	
o half-close			o
u close			u
<u>final</u>			
-i close	i		
-e half-close	e		
-a half-open		ə	
-u close			u

Vowels - longinitial and medial

<u>symbol</u>	<u>front</u>	<u>centre</u>	<u>back</u>
ii	close i:		
ee	half-close e:		
aa	open		a:
oo	half-open		o:
uu	close		u:

final

-ii	close i:	
-aa	open	a:
-uu	close	u:

In the final position the vowels are not as long as they are in initial or medial position. However, the transcription employs the symbols aa, ii, and uu to show that the vowel quality and quantity are different from those of a, i and u.

2.5 Nasal consonants in final position

The transcription uses two nasal symbols at absolute word final position, and they are m and n. In actual speech one does not observe any oral closure. The preceding vowel is nasalized and also differs in quality.

The nasal final syllables are given below with their phonetic values.

Verbals-een \tilde{e} -oom \tilde{o} -aan \tilde{a} Co-ordinatingparticles-um \tilde{u} -aam \tilde{a} Nominals-an \tilde{e} -am \tilde{e} -aan \tilde{a} Adverbeen \tilde{e}

In the verbals the vowel symbols preceding the nasal symbols are represented by ee, oo and aa, rather

than by e, o and a. This preference is given because of the distinct length and quality of the vowels when the word takes a suffix. e.g.

vantaan [vɛndã] vantaan+nnu [vɛnda:nnu]

When words having plosive initials or when the interrogative particle occurs following the nasal final syllables, an oral closure accompanied by a plosion may be observed. exx.

paaɬam+paɬiccaan [pa:qem pɛɬiccã]⁶
 paaɬam+keeɬtaan [pa:qem ke:ɬtã]

2.6 Junctional features⁷

It is possible to set up different types of junctional features between ^{certain units functioning at certain} elements of structure at the ranks of word, group and clause.

The total number of prosodies set up are ten which are: y, w, q, r, g, f, h, l, ə and o⁸. They may characterize intra-word or inter-word junctions. Their distribution is set out below:

6. The nasal-voiceless plosive complex may be used to recognize word-divisions as this can never occur in word medial position, where it is always a voiced complex.

In fast speech, however, this nasal-plosive complex may be seen to be voiced to quite an appreciable extent: [pa:qembɛɬitfã].

7. For a discussion of 'junction' see Allen 1956.

8. The use of the symbols y, w, g and o follows that of the London School of Linguists (Firth, Allen, Carnochan, Henderson, Palmer, Robins, Scott, Sharp, Sprigg, Waterson, Whitley and others). h, f, q, l, ə and r are symbols chosen arbitrarily, h standing for homorganicity/nasality, f for flap articulation, q for velar plosion, l for lateral articulation, ə for absence of u, and word final consonant, and r for alveolar fricative.

<u>symbol</u>	<u>intra-word</u>		<u>inter-word</u>	<u>Phonetic values</u>
	<u>nominal</u>	<u>verbal</u>		
y	✓	✓	✓	palatal semivowel [j]
w	✓	✓	✓	labio-dental fricative [v]
g	✓	✓	✓	gemination
h	✓		✓	homorganicity of the nasal and voicing of the plosive, or a velar nasal [ŋ].
f	✓	✓		lateral flap [ɺ]
q		✓		velar plosion or fricative [kk/x]
r		✓		alveolar fricative [r]
l			✓	lateral [l]
ə			✓	word final consonant and absence of u
o	✓	✓	✓	absence of any of the above prosodies

The exponent of g-prosody is a plosive (or a fricative in the case of c) homorganic with the initial plosive of the second element involved. exx.

caṭṭi+piṭi, caṭṭi-p-piṭi[†] (written as caṭṭip piṭi in the examples given in the thesis).

maaṭṭu+kompū, maaṭṭu-k-kompū (maaṭṭuk kompū)

In the case of certain pronominal forms it is an alveolar nasal. e.g. en+are, en-n-are

When an element with a final nasal is followed by a plosive initial element, the junction is characterized by h-prosody. The exponent of h-prosody is homorganicity of the nasal and voicing of the plosive, though the voicing need not be present always. exx.

avan+kate, avanṇ kate; avanṇ gate.

h-prosody may also characterize the junction between a vowel final element and a velar plosive initial element. The exponent of the prosody is a velar nasal. e.g. ava+ka, avanṇka.

[†]. Hyphens are used to indicate the phonetic exponents of the junction prosodies.

f-prosody characterizes the junction only when the final articulation of the first element is always [ə] and the second element has a vowel initial. e.g.

ava+e, ava-[-e

e-prosody characterizes the junction between the verbal head of the dependent clause of time and a particle with a vowel initial. The exponent of the prosody is the occurrence of a consonant at word final position (which is not characteristic of the language, except when an inter-word junction is characterized by g-prosody, or, when as a result of the convention used in the thesis, a nasal consonant occurs), and the absence of u of the first member (i.e. the verbal head). e.g.

vantapootu+aavatu, vantapoot aavatu

The junction prosodies set up depend to a large extent on the final articulation of the first element and the initial articulation of the second element.

<u>final articulation of first element</u>	<u>initial articulation of second element</u>	<u>prosody</u>
y-prosodic -V final ⁹	front vowel	y
	back vowel	w
w-prosodic -V final	vowel	w
vowel	plosive	g
nasal	vowel	g
(occurs with two pronominal forms only)		
central vowel [ə]	vowel	f
vowel	vowel/r	y/q
vowel [a/a:]	r	r
nasal/vowel	plosive	h
vowel [a:]	vowel	l
vowel [u]	vowel	e

This table does not imply automatic junction prosodies. This has to be used with the table given earlier on in this section, and with section 2.7.

9. See footnote 4 on p. 112.

2.7 Phonological relations between elements of structure

Certain features characterize the junctions between the following elements of structure: (4.2)

$M+N_1$; N_2+V ; $A+V$; $A+N_2$; $V+\text{particle}$, $V+\text{any unit with a plosive initial}$; $1_{V+V,2}$ and $N_1+\text{particle}$.²

The first element is termed 'member one' and the second 'member two'.

2.71 $M+N_1$

The modifier must be (i) a nominal without the nominal suffix -ooṭe, (ii) one of the following classes of adjectives: a. demonstratives, b. interrogatives, c. numeral (quantity) and d. form.

If the modifier is a human noun whose roots end in a vowel, no phonological relationship may be set up. exx.

tampi+kaṭe, tampi kaṭe; *tampi-k-kaṭe

ava+kaṭe, ava kaṭe; *ava-k-kaṭe

(* - does not occur) .

2.72 N_2+V

This is the nominal group functioning at N_2 followed by a verbal head. The phonological relations may be set up when the nominal suffix -e occurs and not otherwise.¹⁰

10. Zvelebil writes: '... vēṭarp piṭitta puli tappip-pōyirru, the tiger which caught the hunters escaped... vēṭar piṭitta puli aṭipaṭṭatu, the tiger caught by the hunters was beaten. In the first instance syntactophonemics (rules of 'external sandhi') helps to provide an additional indicator (the change of the initial short stop in isolated position to a long stop when following a noun ending in -r which is the goal of the action expressed by the following word, which is manifested in graphemics by the gemination of the symbol for the stop) of the differences in meaning and construction in the two instances.' Zvelebil, 1962.p.121.fn.2

2.73 A+V and A+N₂

The adjunct must be filled by a nominal group containing the nominal suffix -ukku or -t̥te, or an adverb.

It is followed either by a verbal head or a nominal functioning at N₂.

2.74 V+particles

Only the verbal head of (i) dependent clause of time, or (ii) conditional dependent clause may occur at V. The particles involved have a vowel initial. ə-prosody characterizes the junction.

2.8 Prosodies2.81 g-prosody

g-prosody characterizes the junction when member two has a plosive (or a fricative c) initial.

M+N₁ caṭṭi-p-piṭi¹¹, the handle of a pot
aaṭṭu-t-tale, the head of a goat.

Another set of examples he gives is: kāḷaip pārtta nari, the jackal which saw the bull; kāḷai pārtta nari, the jackal seen by the bull.

The first example in these sets of examples given by Zvelebil to support his 'external sandhi' phenomenon does not occur either in spoken Tamil or in modern Tamil writing. Only in the classical literature this can be justified, though this is not frequent. Hence Zvelebil's standpoint that 'external sandhi' may be used to distinguish the structure and meaning of the examples he gives (which are from modern Tamil), seems questionable.

11. This phonological relationship may be used to identify a sequence of nouns which have a modifier-modified relationship, from a sequence of nouns, which have a co-ordinated relationship and function at N₁, of a clause structure (it is true that co-ordination is further indicated by the particle ellaam.cf.5.8.).exx.

2.75 V + any unit with a plosive initial

At V, the verbal head of either the conditional or the completive dependent clause may occur. The junction is characterized by g-prosody.

2.76 V + V

Member one is the verbal head of the infinitival dependent clause and member two may be the verbal head of either another dependent clause or an independent clause, provided the verbal head has a plosive initial. The junction is characterized by g-prosody.

2.77 N₁ + Particle

N₁ is filled by substantives of Class III (8.23) and the particle concerned is kuuṭa. The junction is characterized by h-prosody.

N_2+V tampiye-p-paatteen, (I) saw (my) brother
 avane-k-kuupptteen, (I) called him

$A+V$ tampikki-k-koṭuttaan, (he) gave (it) to him

$A+N_2$ tampikki-p-paṇam(koṭutteen),
 (I gave) a fruit to (my) brother

V +unit with a plosive initial: avan kuupptat/tampi poovaan, if he calls/(my)
 brother will go.

$V+V$: avan varac/connaan, he/asked (me)/to go.

2.82 y-prosody

y-prosody characterizes the junction if (i) in the structure $M+N_1$, when the modified has a front vowel initial and the modifier has a y-prosodic -V final.

exx. caṭṭi-y-aṭi, the base of a pot

(ii) in the other structures, if the initial vowel of member two is a front vowel. exx.

paṇatte-y-eṭuttaan, (he) took the fruit

avanukku-y-eleye(k koṭuttaan),
 (he) (gave the) leaf to him.

2.83 w-prosody

In the structure $M+N_1$ if (i) the modified has a vowel initial and the modifier has a w-prosodic final -V, w-prosody characterizes the junction. e.g.

pacu-v-aṭi, the foot of the cow

(ii) the modifier has a y-prosodic final -V and the modified has a back vowel. e.g.

kaṭe-v-ooram, the side of the shop

2.84 l-prosody

When the verbal head of a conditional dependent clause is followed by a particle with a vowel initial the junction is characterized by l-prosody. exx.

peṭṭi-c-caavi, the key of the box

peṭṭi 'caavi ellaam, the key and the box.

vantaa-l-um, even if he comes
 vantaal-aavatu, if he comes at least¹²

2.85 ə-prosody

The junction between the verbal head of the dependent clause of time and a particle with a vowel initial, is characterized by ə-prosody. exx.

vantapootu+aavatu, vantapoot aavatu
 vantapootu+aa, vantapoot aa.

2.86 h-prosody

h-prosody characterizes the junction (i) when the first member has a nasal final and member two has a plosive initial. exx.

M+N₁ maram+kotti, maraṇ kotti

N₂+V paaṭam+keeṭṭaan, paaṭaṇ keeṭṭaan

(ii) when the plural suffix -ka is affixed to nominals.
 exx.

payyan+ka, payyaṇ-ka

poṇṇu+ka, poṇṇu-ṇ-ka

ava+ka, ava-ṇ-ka.

(iii) when the particle kuṭṭa follows the substantive of class III functioning as N₁.

murukaṇ + kuṭṭa, murukaṇ - kuṭṭa.

12. For some speakers the junction may be characterized by w-prosody, thus giving vantaav-aavatu.

Chapter Three

SENTENCE3.1 General remarks

Sentences form the highest unit of analysis in this thesis. They are treated both linguistically and extra-linguistically.

3.2 Definition of sentence - linguistically

Sentences may be recognized phonologically and grammatically. Phonologically there is ^{indefinite} silence before and after the sentence. Grammatically sentences may be recognized in terms of clauses (4.311 and 4.511) They may be simple, containing only one independent clause - either major or minor, or complex, containing one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses, again either major or minor.

3.3 Definition of sentence - extra-linguistically

Extra-linguistically sentences may be grouped into context-free and context-bound sentences¹. Those which cannot be opening sentences in a text, i.e. those that need a previous utterance, are termed context-bound. They are fragmentary and are replaceable by context-free sentences, of which they form part. For example, vantaan, (he) came, may be a response to a question murukan vantaan aa, did murukan come?

1. vocatives, which are described under minor clauses and context-bound sentences described under 3.3 are treated under non-favourite or minority pattern sentence types by Robins. See Robins 1964.pp.232-3.

vantaan is context-bound and it may be replaced by murukan vantaan, Murukan came. The former, thus forms part of the latter. Similarly, tampi, (my) brother and neettu, yesterday may be responses to questions. They are fragmentary as they are part of larger utterances, viz. tampi vantaan, (my) brother came and neettu vantaan, (he) came yesterday. Thus, it may be seen that tampi and neettu are context-bound.

The term context is used here in the Firthian sense and it refers to 'analytic relations set up between parts of a text', which forms part of a wider 'set of situational relations', viz. context of situation².

It must be emphasized that the terms context-free and context-bound are not synonyms of independent and dependent clauses respectively. While the former are extra-linguistic terms, the latter are grammatical terms. Context-free and context-bound sentences may occur by themselves, but dependent clauses may not do so. They may occur only with the independent clauses.

2. Firth 1957f. p.5

'At the 'upper' level of situational or semantic meaning or function, Firth developed the Malinowskian context of situation for the purposes of analysis, but in a somewhat more abstract sense. Whereas the context of Malinowski had been the actual relevant bits of the environment, physical, physiological, traditional, cultural, and so on, Firth proposed the context of situation should be understood as an abstract framework of categories of different kinds...' Robins, 1962. p.18 See also Malinowski, 1935; Robins, 1952; Firth, 1957d.

Chapter Four

Clause

4.1	General remarks	30
4.2	The structure of major clauses	31
4.21	The element of structure N_1	31
4.211	Concord	31
4.22	The element of structure V	32
4.23	The element of structure N_2	32
4.24	The element of structure A^2	32
4.25	Possible structures of clauses	33
4.3	Systems applicable to major clauses	34
4.31	System of dependency	34
4.311	Independent clauses	35
4.312	Dependent clauses	35
4.3121	Simple dependent clauses	35
4.3122	Dependent clauses by suffixation	37
4.3123	N_1 in dependent clauses	38
4.313	Occurrence restriction	39
4.314	Discontinuous structures	40
4.315	Co-ordination	40
4.3151	Co-ordination between independent major clauses	41
4.3152	Co-ordination between dependent major clauses	41
4.3153	Some general characteristics of co-ordinated clauses	42
4.32	System of mood	42
4.321	Interrogative mood	43
4.3211	Interrogators	43
4.3212	Affirmative mood	44
4.322	Imperative mood	44
4.323	Dependent major clause and the system of mood	44
4.324	Independent major clause and the system of mood	45
4.33	System of emphasis	45
4.331	Emphasizing particles	45
4.3311	Emphasizing particles in the independent major clause	46
4.3312	Emphasizing particles in the dependent clauses	46

4.332	Place ordering	47
4.3321	Place ordering in independent major clauses	49
4.3322	Place ordering in dependent clauses	49
4.4	Structure of minor clauses	49
4.41	The element of structure N_3	50
4.42	Minor clauses with structure N_3	50
4.43	Minor clauses with structure $N_1 N_3$	50
4.5	Systems applicable to minor clauses	51
4.51	System of dependency	51
4.511	Independent minor clauses	51
4.512	Dependent minor clauses	52
4.52	System of mood	52
4.521	Indicative mood	52
4.5211	Interrogative mood	52
4.5212	Affirmative mood	53
4.522	Vocative mood	54
4.523	Independent minor clauses and the system of mood	54
4.53	System of emphasis	54
4.531	Independent minor clauses and the emphasizing particles	54
4.532	Dependent minor clauses and the emphasizing particles	55
4.533	Place ordering	55
4.6	Tense in independent and dependent clauses.	55

Chapter Four

CLAUSE4.1 General remarks

Clause is the unit next below sentence¹. A clause is termed a major clause if it contains the element of structure V; if it does not contain V, the clause is termed a minor clause.

Thus it is seen that the clauses may be grouped into major and minor clauses. A simple sentence may consist of an independent major (4.311) or independent minor (4.511) clause. A complex sentence consists of one or more dependent major (4.312) and/or minor (4.512) clauses and one independent major clause². exx.

simple	}	murukan vantaan, Murukan came (ind.maj.clause)
sentence:	{	murukan nallavan, Murukan(is a)good(boy)
		(independent minor clause)
complex	}	murukan vantaana/naan colreen,
sentence:	{	if Murukan comes/I will tell(him).
		(dept.maj.cl/indept.maj.cl)
		murukan nallavannu/naan colreen,
		I will tell/that Murukan (is a)good(boy)
		(dept.minor.cl/indept.maj.cl)

1. 'La phrase se décompose, généralement en une série de semiphrases, terminées chacune par un gérondif. Normalement, la phrase commence pour le sujet et se termine par le verbe.' Meile.p.151.

2. Minor clauses are not generally superordinate in a complex sentence. However, they may be seen to be superordinate, if they are preceded by a conditional dependent clause, containing the emphasizing particle taan, exx. naan conna paṭi cencaat taan/nii nalla piḷḷe, only if (you) do as I say/you (are a)good child pariccele motalaavataa vantaat taan/avan keṭṭik-kaaran, only if (he) comes first in the examination/he (is a)clever(boy).

This type of sentences ^{is} are not very common.

4.2 The structure of major clauses

The elements of structure in a major clause are N_1 , N_2 , A and V. N_1 stands for 'subject', N_2 for 'object', A for adjunct and V for 'predicate'. Besides this, they also stand for the structural position they fill in a sentence (4.332 & 4.533).

4.21 The element of structure N_1

N_1 is filled by a nominal or a nominal group, the head of which is in non-oblique form (i.e. with no nominal suffix). The nominal head exhibits concord with the indicative concordial verbal head of the independent major clause in gender, number and person.

4.211 Concord

The nominal head may be in the first, second or third person, singular or plural. The verbal head, if it is indicative concordial (6.3), takes the appropriate personal ending.exx.

1st person sing.	naan/vanteen, I/came
plu.	naanka/vantoom, we(excl)/came
	namma/vantoom, we(incl)/came
2nd person sing.	nii/vante, you/came
plu.}	niinka/vantiinka, you/came
and hon.}	
3rd person sing.}	avan/vantaan, he/came
mas.}	
fem.	ava/vantaa, she/came
mas & fem. plu.}	avaanka/vantaanka, he/she/came
and hon.}	
mas.}	appaa/vantaanka, (my)father/
hon.}	came
neut.sing.	atu/vantuccu, it/came
plu.	atunka/vantuccunka, they/came

When singular nominal head occurs at N_1 , the verbal head at V takes a singular personal ending and when plural head occurs at N_1 , a plural ending is chosen at V. However, when an honorific singular nomin-

al head, e.g. appaa, father, amma, mother, is used in a honorific sense (i.e. a term of respect) regardless of the gender, the personal ending chosen is plural.

4.22 The element of structure V

V is the defining element of structure for major clauses. It is filled by a verbal head, which is finite if it occurs in an independent clause and non-finite (or affixed finite, 4.3122) if it occurs in a dependent clause. Hence it may be stated that there may only be one finite verbal head in a sentence in Tamil; it exhibits concord with the nominal head if the verbal head is indicative concordial. The non-finite verbal head does not exhibit concord with the nominal head. This does not necessarily mean that concord may not be observed in dependent clauses, because when an affixed finite verbal head occurs at V of the dependent clauses, it exhibits concord with the nominal head.

4.23 The element of structure N₂

N₂ consists of a nominal or a nominal group with the potentiality of taking the nominal suffix -e (hence, the nominal or the nominal group may be said to be in oblique form). This nominal group **does not exhibit concord** with the verbal head. The suffix is obligatory under certain circumstances (5.7).

4.24 The element of structure A

A may consist of an adverbial group or a nominal group. The latter is in oblique form and is characterized by the presence of one of the following nominal suffixes: -ukku, -aale, -le, -oote or -tte. There

is no concord between this nominal group and the verbal head. exx.

naan/viiɽɽukkup/pooneen,I/went/to the house

avan/murukanooɽe/vantaan,he/came/with murukan

The above examples contain nominals with nominal suffixes (underlined), functioning at A. The following examples contain adverbs at A.

avan/veekamaap/poonaan,he/went/quickly

avan/nallaac/caappɽɽaan,he/ate/well

4.25 Possible structures of clauses

The possible structures are:

N_1V , N_1N_2V and $N_1A^{(3)}N_2V$.

V, which is the obligatory element in all these clauses, characterizes the major clauses³.

The superscript in circle indicates that there can be a maximum of three As (though theoretically it is possible for more than three As to occur), which may be filled by adverbial groups and/or nominal groups in oblique form. exx.

murukan 1/neettu 2/namma viiɽɽe 3/tampikkip 4/peenaak5
koɽuttaan 6. murukan 1/gave 6/a pen 5/to(our) brother4
in our house 3/yesterday 2. The structure is N_1AAAN_2V

3. 'Le verbe n'est pas indispensable; la phrase tamoule peut être entièrement nominale, sans recours à un seul verbe.' Meile, p.148

Though Meile does not state implicitly that nominals are the indispensable word-class in Tamil, it is obviously implied in this statement. In the present analysis, ^{the}verb is taken to be the most important word-class as the major clauses are based on the obligatory occurrence of this unit. See further, 'La phrase est souvent très longue, et cela depuis les plus anciens textes. Sa construction peut être nominale, ce qui n'exclut pas les formes verbales, ces formes étant exclusivement limitées aux participes et gérondifs.' Meile. p.151

and the elements of structure are filled by a nominal group, an adverbial group, a nominal group, another nominal group (the last two with nominal suffixes), a nominal group with the potentiality of taking the nominal suffix -e and a verbal group respectively.

All clause structures are given with positive verbal heads. In most cases negative verbal heads may equally well be used and all structures will hold good.

The structures of independent and dependent major clauses are identical in every respect except for the verbal form functioning at V.exx.

murukan/vantaan, murukan/came(V in ind.maj.cl)

murukan vantaac/collu, tell(me)/if Murukan comes
(V in dependent major clause).

4.3 Systems applicable to major clauses

It is possible to set up one or more systems for certain structures and certain elements of structure. Systems are 'a set of paradigmatic relations between commutable units or terms which provide values for the elements of structure.'⁴

The major clauses may be divided into dependent and independent clauses. For each of these the following systems may be set up: Mood and Emphasis.

4.31 Independent and dependent clauses

The major clauses

may be divided into independent and dependent clauses.

4.311 Independent clauses

Independent clauses are those which contain a positive or negative finite verbal head which may be (i) an indicative verbal form or (ii) an imperative verbal form. Independent clauses may occur as context-free sentences.

murukan/vantaan, murukan came (pos.ind.verb.form)
 poo, go (positive imperative)
 murukan/valle, Murukan did not come (neg.indica.)
 pookaate, do not go (neg.imperative)

4.312 Dependent clauses

Dependent clauses are those which contain a non-finite verbal head or an affixed verbal head at V. They may occur only as context-bound; they are subordinate to and precede the independent clauses.

They may be divided into two groups: simple dependent clauses and dependent clauses by affixation.

4.3121 Simple dependent clauses

Simple dependent clauses are those which may only have a non-finite verbal head; and they select from a set of five verbal forms which are formed from

stem-base (9.42) ending in -a
 (i) by lengthening the final vowel
 (ii) with the suffix -voʃane
 (iii)a. with the suffix -pootu
 root (9.21)
 (iii)b. with the suffixes -um and -pootu
 stem-base ending in -u or ^{root-base ending in} -i
 (iv)a. with zero suffix
 (iv)b. with the suffix -tʃu
 and
 (v) root-base with zero suffix.

When dependent clauses contain the above verbal forms as non-finite verbal heads⁵ they may be termed (i) conditional, (ii) manner, (iii) time, (iv) completive, and (v) infinitival respectively. exx.

conditional: avan vantaa/colreen, if he comes/I'll tell
 manner; avan vantavofane/collu, tell/as soon as he comes
 time:^{5A} avan varrapootu/collu, tell/when he comes
 completive: avan/vantu/connaan, he/having come/said
 infinitival: avan/varac/connaan, he/asked(me)/to come

The underlined words refer to the various morphological forms referred to earlier on.

The negative non-finite verbal heads select from a set of only three verbal forms which are

(i) negative-base (9.43) with the suffix -pootu
 (ii) root with the suffix -aame
 and (iii) root with the suffix -aat̪i.

The dependent clauses containing the above verbal forms as non-finite verbal heads may be termed (i) time, (ii) completive and (iii) conditional respectively. exx.

time: avan kuupptaatapootu/tampi ep̪tip poovaan
when he didn't call/how can(my)brother go
 completive: avan kuupptaamet/tampi poonaan
 without invitation (literally without his inviting)/(my) brother went
 conditional: avan kuupptaat̪i/tampi pooka maat̪aan
if he doesn't invite/(my)brother won't go

It may be noticed that all non-finite verbal forms do not have parallel negative forms (see footnote 1 on p. 82). No negative forms may be set up for the following: manner and infinitival.

5. 'Le tamoul emploie des composés verbaux, des agglomérats de deux, trois, quatre verbes, dont chacun joue généralement la rôle d'auxiliaire par rapport au précédent.' Meile. p. 150. In the present analysis, only one type of compound verb is recognized (6.4).

5A. The distinction 'manner' and 'time' is relevant as the dependent clauses of manner and time are mutually exclusive of each other (4.313). In an analysis of written Tamil this distinction may profitably be eliminated (fn. 6.p. 39).

In the negative non-finite verbal forms, one may observe, complete neutrality. (6.621).

Whenever the suffix $-t\ddot{t}u$ occurs at V of the dependent clause, V of the independent clause has the potentiality of being preceded by N_2 ; if a zero suffix (4.3120) occurs, the occurrence of N_2 seems to be restricted. Besides, when $-t\ddot{t}u$ occurs it is possible to translate the verb as 'after (doing something)' whereas without $-t\ddot{t}u$ the translation would be 'having (done something)'

- N_2V/V maratte vet $\ddot{t}ik$ /ka $\ddot{t}t$ naan,
(he) cut the tree and built (it)
maratte vet $\ddot{t}i\ddot{t}t$ uk/ka $\ddot{t}t$ naan (with suffix)
- N_2V/N_2V marattevet $\ddot{t}i$ /viit \ddot{u} ka $\ddot{t}t$ naan,
(he) cut the tree and built (a) house
maratte vet $\ddot{t}i\ddot{t}t$ u/viit \ddot{u} ka $\ddot{t}t$ naan (with suffix)
- N_2V/V pe $\ddot{t}t$ iyep puu $\ddot{t}t$ it/tuukknaan,
(he) locked the box and carried (it)
pe $\ddot{t}t$ iyep puu $\ddot{t}t$ i $\ddot{t}t$ ut/tuukknaan (with suffix)
- N_2V/N_2V^* pe $\ddot{t}t$ iyep puu $\ddot{t}t$ ip/pil \ddot{t} ayet tuukknaan
pe $\ddot{t}t$ iyep puu $\ddot{t}t$ i $\ddot{t}t$ up/pil \ddot{t} ayet tuukknaan (with
suffix), he locked the box, and carried the
child.

In the last but one example, if caaviye e \ddot{t} ut-taan, took the key, is substituted for pil \ddot{t} ayet tuu-kknaan, the utterance would be quite acceptable to a native speaker.

Suffixation of $-t\ddot{t}u$, thus seems to introduce a restriction in the occurrence of N_2 as well as a semantic difference. These facts may perhaps be explained satisfactorily only at the collocational level.

4.3122 Dependent clauses by suffixation

These include both major and minor clauses. The suffixes $-nnaa$ and $-nnu$ are affixed to any verbal head of the independent major clauses (to be termed as

affixed finite verbal heads) and to certain minor clauses as detailed below:

By affixing -nnu to the verbal head of the independent major clauses and to N_3 of the minor clauses a reporting dependent clause is formed. exx.

murukan vantaannu/avan connaan,
he said/that Murukan **came**.

murukan valleennu/avan connaan,
he said/that Murukan did not come

murukannu/avan connaan,
he said/that (it is) Murukan

murukan nallavannu/avan connaan,
he said/that Murukan (is a) good (boy)

By affixing -nna, a conditional clause is formed. exx.

murukan vantaannaac/collu,
/tell (me)/if Murukan comes/

murukan vallennaac/collu
/tell (me)/if Murukan does not come/

murukannaac/collu,
/tell (me)/if (it is) Murukan/

murukan nallavannaac/collu
/tell (me)/if Murukan (is a) good (boy)/

The affixed forms are underlined in the above examples.

4.3123 N_1 in dependent clauses

Among the dependent clauses, when the infinitival and completive dependent clauses occur, there may be only one subject in the whole utterance, i.e. one subject for both the dependent and independent clauses, whereas when the other dependent clauses occur, the utterance may contain two subjects, i.e. one for the dependent clause and one for the independent clause.

exx. avan/vantu/caapp[taan, (one subject)
he/having come/ate (completive)
avan vantaanaac/colreen, (two subjects)
if he comes/I will (you) (conditional)

For more examples see 4.3122.

4.313 Occurrence restriction

The independent major clauses always occur last in an utterance and there may be only one such clause. Preceding the independent clause, though theoretically, there may be any number of dependent clauses, a maximum of only three dependent clauses occurs generally in my speech. However, the occurrence of five dependent clauses may be observed occasionally, though this sentence pattern is very rare. The occurrence restrictions are as follows:

Dependent clauses of manner and time are mutually exclusive of each other⁶; besides occurring by themselves with an independent major clause, they may occur after a conditional dependent clause. The two conditional dependent clauses are again mutually exclusive of each other.exx.

avan keet̥taa/naan varrapootu/colreen,
 avan keet̥taannaa/naan varrapootu/colreen,
 (cond.dept.cl)/(dept.cl.of time)/(ind.maj.cl)
 if he asks/when I come/(I) will tell
 avan keet̥taa/naan vantavot̥ane/colreen
 avan keet̥taannaa/naan vantavot̥ane/colreen,
 (cond.dept.cl)/(dept.cl.of mann.)/(ind.maj.cl)
 if he asks/as soon as I come/(I) will tell

Among the dependent clauses, completive and infinitival dependent clauses may be subordinate to the other dependent clauses. Thus there is a further degree of subordination among the dependent

6. These restrictions need not be universal, and if these are found in my language, they are found to be so only in my spoken language. In the written language, the restrictions may break down completely. exx. avan vantiruntapootu/naan paṇam keet̥tavuṭan/illaiyennaatu/koṭuttaan, when he was here/when I asked him for money/he gave (it)/without saying 'no'. This sentence contains the following dependent clauses: time, manner and reporting.

clauses. exx.

<u>dependent clauses</u>	<u>independent clause</u>
murukan vantuttup/poonaa // (completive) // (condi.)	naan colreen
if Murukan having come/goes	I will tell (you)
murukan varac/collumpootu // (infinitival) (time)	poo
when Murukan asks(you)/to go	go

4.314 Discontinuous structures

The dependent clauses may occur as discontinuous structures. This results by dependent clauses occurring in between the elements of structure in the independent clauses. exx.

naan/viittukkup poorapootu/colreen,
I/when I go home/will tell (you)

avan/murukan vantavotane/poonaan,
he/as soon as Murukan came/went.

Such discontinuous structures are treated as emphatic patterns (4.3322).

4.315 Co-ordination

Co-ordination is not characteristic of independent major clauses⁷. However, under certain circumstan-

7. Corré writes: 'Structures are commonly conjoined by the 'gerundive' (verb+past tense marker+/u/ gives the gerundive forms. p.83) using the morpheme we call /ttu/, but which varies with the different verbs, e.g./manitanai pārttu vantēn/ I saw the man and came, is a sentence /manitanai pārttēn/I saw the man and a sentence /vantēn/ I came, linked by /ttu/and with the omission of the shared morpheme /ēn/ in one occurrence.' Corré.p.76

In the present analysis the quoted sentence /manitanai pārttu vantēn/ would be treated as a complex sentence containing an independent major clause /vantēn/ and a completive dependent clause/manitanai pārttu/.

An example of a co-ordinated sentence as treated in this thesis is: parattec caappitta ootampikkik kotuttaan oo, whether he ate the fruit or gave it to his

ces, it may be seen to operate but such co-ordinated sentences are not very frequent.

In the case of certain dependent major clauses, and nominals and nominal groups, co-ordination may be seen to occur.

Co-ordination between the clauses is discussed in this section. The co-ordinating particles are oo...oo in the case of independent major clauses and um...um in the case of dependent major clauses.

4.3151 Co-ordination between independent major clauses

The co-ordinating particles are oo...oo.

The co-ordination of this type between independent major clauses may only be explained if one draws on semantics to a certain extent. Whenever structures contain these particles, the structures may not be called positive or negative or interrogative. There is an element of doubt and the interpretation depends on the context of situation. Besides there is a tendency for speakers to tag another independent major clause like teriyale, (I) don't know, or yaarukkut teriyum, who knows, etc. exx.

avan connaan oo collaley oo (teriyale)
(whether) he said or not (I don't know)

If the interrogative word yaaru, who, occurs in the structure (either in the first or in the second clause), yaaru takes the emphasizing particle aavatu, aaccum or um. exx.

avan caapp[taan oo yaarukk {um
 {aavatu
 {aaccum } kotuttaan oo
(whether) he ate (it) or gave (it) to somebody.

4.3152 Co-ordination between dependent major clauses

The co-ordinating particles are um...um.

brother, The two sentences are distinctly isolatable.

These co-occur with the non-finite verbal head of the clauses.

The dependent clauses which may contain particles are: dependent clause of time, conditional dependent clause and reporting dependent clause. The other dependent clauses do not have the co-ordinating potentiality.exx.

conditional:

murukan vantaal um varaaṭṭiy um namma poovoom
whether Murukan comes or not, we will go.

time:

murukan vantapoot um poonapoot um namma ille
when Murukan came and went we were not (here)

reporting:

avan murukan vantaan um caappṭṭaan um colraan
he says that Murukan came and ate

4.3153 Some general characteristics of co-ordinated clauses

Generally the co-ordinated clauses have the same subject as murukan vantaal um varaaṭṭiy um, where the structure is N_1VV . It is, however, possible, though not frequent, to have a sentence like murukan vantaal um tampi vantaal um namma poovoom; whether Murukan comes or (my) brother comes we will go, where the dependent clauses have different subjects.

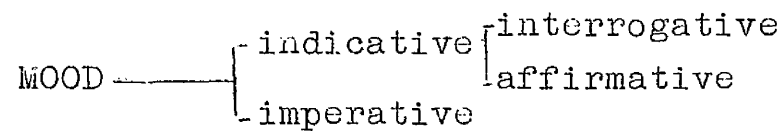
It is to be noted that the co-ordinated clauses often contain verbal heads which exhibit a positive-negative contrast as in vantaal um varaaṭṭiy um, vantaan oo valley oo, etc. In the co-ordinated independent clauses, the structure may contain the negative verbal head as vantaan oo illey oo.e.g.

avan vantaan oo illey oo, whether he came or not.

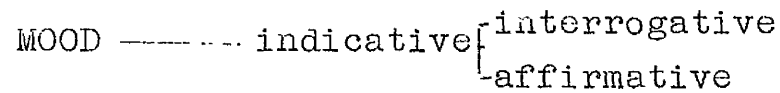
4.32 System of mood

This system is applicable to independent as well as dependent clauses. The sub-systems recognized when

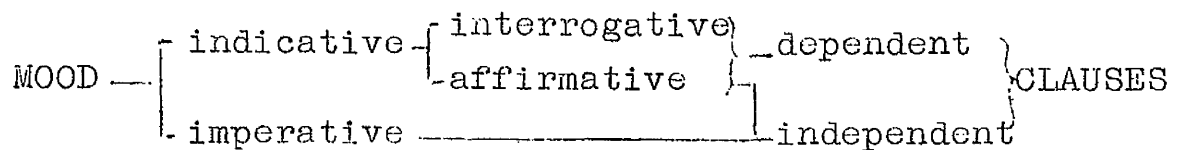
the system is applied to the independent clauses are:



When it is applied to dependent major clauses, which are all indicative, the sub-systems set up are:



The relation between the system of mood and the clauses may be tabulated as shown below:



4.321 Interrogative mood

Interrogative mood is formally defined by the presence of an interrogator, which is morphologically identifiable. Interrogative is further sub-divided into two groups depending on the interrogator.

4.3211 Interrogators

The interrogator may be an interrogative word (Q-word) or particle. The interrogative words are: yaaru, who; enna, what; enta, which; epp[i, how; eppa, when; een, why; enke, where; evva[avu, how much, ett-ane, how many, and eetu, 'how'. The interrogative words may occur at the following places of elements of structure: N₁, M, N₂ and A. The interrogative particle aa occurs with the final element of structure V, but it may also occur at the other places of elements of structure except M⁸ in the independent major clause.

8. The system of emphasis may be said to be operating when the interrogative particle occurs at places other than that of V in the independent clause and when

4.3212 Affirmative mood

Structures in affirmative mood are identical to those in the interrogative mood but do not contain an interrogator.

4.322 Imperative mood

Imperative is defined by the presence of the imperative verbal forms, which once again are morphologically identifiable. The mood is divided into marked and unmarked, formally identifiable by the presence or absence of a subject (N_1).

4.323 Dependent major clause and the system of mood

The following table sets out the indicative mood which operates on the dependent major clauses.

Indica- tive	int- erro.	Q- words	M	entap payyan caappɿtjavotane/vante
			N ₁	after which boy ate did you come?
			N ₂	yaaru caappɿtjavotane/vante
			A	after who ate did you come?
	aa par- ticle. V			enna caappɿtjavotane/vante
				after eating what,did you come?
affirmative				enke caappɿtjavotane/vante
				after eating where,did you come?
				caappɿtjavotaney aa/vantaan
				did he come after eating?
				caappɿtjavotane/vantaan
				he came after eating

it occurs at any place in the dependent clause. In a complex sentence the particle would normally occur at V as in avan/cooru caappɿa/vantaan aa,did he come to eat rice? However, it is possible to place the particle following either of the elements of structure of the dependent clause given above, which would give avan/coor aa caappɿa/vantaan, and avan/cooru caappɿav aa/vantaan. The last two utterances are emphatic.

In the above examples vante and vantaan are independent major clauses.

4.324 Independent major clause and the system of emphasis

The following table sets out the mood which operates on independent major clauses, with the various sub-systems and examples:

MOOD	Indicati.	Int-erro.	Q-word	M	entap payyan caappɿtaan <u>which</u> boy ate?
				N ₁	enna vantuccu <u>what</u> came?
				N ₂	avan enna caappɿtaan <u>what</u> did he eat?
				A	avan enke caappɿtaan <u>where</u> did he ate
			aa part	N ₁	avan aa/caappɿtaan was he the one who ate?
				N ₂	param aa/caappɿtaan was it a fruit that he ate?
				A	neett aa/caappɿtaan was it yesterday that he ate?
				V	avan/caappɿtan aa did he eat?
		Affirmative			
			avan neettup param caappɿtaan he ate a fruit yesterday		
	Imperative	marked			
			nii poo, you go		
		unmarked			
			poo, go		

4.33 System of emphasis

The system of emphasis is seen to operate (i) when certain particles co-occur with certain elements of structure, or (ii) when there is a change in place ordering.

4.331 Emphasizing particles

The emphasizing particles are um, also; aavatu, at least; aaccum, at least; taan, 'oneself'; kuuɿa, also;

and ee, 'oneself'. These particles may not co-occur with the modifier in the nominal group, and V of the independent major clause.

4.3311 Emphasizing particles in the independent major clause

All the particles may co-occur with N_1 , N_2 and A but not with V of the independent major clause. exx.

N_1 avan vantaan, he came (unemphatic)

avan um vantaan, he also came (emphatic)

avan aavatu vantaan, at least he came

avan aaccum vantaan, at least he came

avan kuuʃa vantaan, he, too, came

avan taan vantaan, he was the one (who) came

avan ee vantaan, he himself came

N_2 avanep paatteen, (I) saw him (unemphatic)

avaney um paatteen, (I) saw him also (emphatic)
etc.,

A avan viiʃʃukkup poonaan, he went to the house
(unemphatic)

avan viiʃʃukk um poonaan,
he went to the house also (emphatic)

4.3312 Emphasizing particles in the dependent clause

All the particles except ee may co-occur with the non-finite verbal heads of the dependent major clauses.

V murukan vantaan/avan poovaan,
if Murukan comes/he will go (unemphatic)

murukan vantaal um/avan poovaan,
even if Murukan comes/he will go

The particle ee may co-occur with all the non-finite verbal heads except the following: verbal heads of infinitival dependent clause and completive dependent clause.

The occurrence of the emphatic particles at other places of elements of structure, i.e. N_1 , N_2 and A in the different dependent clauses is tabulated below:

At element of structure N₁

	um	aavatu	aaccum	kuuṭa	taan	ee
conditional	✓	✓	✓	x	x	✓
manner	✓	x	x	x	x	✓
time	✓	x	x	x	x	✓

The completive and infinitival dependent clauses are not included here as they do not have a separate nominal head.

At element of structure N₂

conditional	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	✓
manner	✓	x	x	✓	x	✓
time	✓	x	x	✓	x	✓
completive	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
infinitival	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

At element of structure A

conditional	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	✓
manner	x	x	x	x	x	✓
time	x	x	x	x	x	x
completive	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
infinitival	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

4.332 Place ordering

The word-order in a structure is not rigid at all in Tamil (though it is true that the verbal head occurs finally in normal speech), except for that in a nominal group (both endocentric and exocentric) and nominalized groups. exx.

naan avane neettu viiṭṭle paatteen,
 avane naan neettu viiṭṭle paatteen,
 neettu avane naan viiṭṭle paatteen,
 paatteen naan avane neettu viiṭṭle, etc.
 I saw him yesterday in (his) house.

But for the purposes of this analysis the most common pattern is chosen as basic and any change in place-ordering is treated as an emphatic pattern. Hence emphasis may be introduced into the structure by altering the place of occurrence of the elements of structure.

Even at the risk of over-quoting, it is worth-while

to note what some scholars have to say about word-order.

'La phrase dravidienne est simple; les mots dont elle se compose sont en partie indifférenciés fonctionnellement; le radical en est intangible. En outre les marques flexionnelles peuvent manquer. Par exemple le nom tel quel peut être sujet ou régime direct, ou premier terme de composé; il peut aussi servir de prédicat. Une même forme du pronom peut être sujet ou régime d'un nom. Le verbe peut manquer de désinences personnelles. Les indices des rapports grammaticaux sont donc relativement rares, si l'on compare ces langues à d'autres langues où la plupart des mots portent nécessairement la marque de leur fonction.

En compensation, l'ordre des mots est significatif. Il n'est pas obligatoire; mais en principe le déterminant précède le déterminé: le régime précède le régissant, le sujet précède le prédicat. Il arrive que l'ordre⁹ seul suffise à marquer les rapports.'

'L'ordre d'énonciation soit dans la phrase, soit dans les composés, est toujours important et dispense plus ou moins d'autres signes; la simple juxtaposition des vocables est largement employée.'¹⁰

Though certain statements of Bloch are acceptable for example, 'le déterminant précède le déterminé', many points he makes do not apply to modern Tamil at all (it is very doubtful whether they would apply to old Tamil). The same objection may be raised against Meile also. Bloch's last statement in the quotation seems to be an oversimplification and the dispensing with 'd'autres signes' seems to be impossible with the suffixes except for one, viz. the nominal suffix -e, which also has its obligatory occurrence possibilities.

Another view is: '...in the matter of the order of word in a sentence there

9. Bloch, 1946.p.77
10. Meile, 1952. p.143

are not many sanctions and taboos in Tamil. In Tamil, a change in order.. . would not interfere with the meaning except in regard to emphasis... the order (does) not appear to be absolutely essential in Tamil ... Tamil which is rich in cases can dispense with its order, if it has any without doing violence to its meaning.'¹¹

4.3321 Place ordering in independent major clauses

The normal pattern of the structure, the emphasized element and the emphatic pattern are given below:

<u>normal pattern</u>	<u>element emphasized</u>	<u>emphatic pattern</u>
N ₁ V murukan vantaan Murukan came	V	VN ₁ vantaan murukan came murukan This pattern is used in platform speeches or in narratives, both spoken and written.
N ₁ N ₂ V murukan peenaave eṭuttaan Murukan took the pen	N ₂	N ₂ N ₁ V peenaave murukan eṭuttaan
N ₁ AN ₂ V murukan neettup paṇam caappṭṭaan Murukan ate a fruit yesterday	A	AN ₁ N ₂ V neettu murukan paṇam caappṭṭaan,

It would be possible to produce more emphatic patterns by permutation of the four elements.

4.3322 Place ordering in dependent major clauses

In the dependent major clauses any element except V may be emphasized, by altering the place of element of structure.

4.4 Structure of minor clauses

The element of structure that characterizes minor clauses is N₃. The absence of V is also characteristic

of these clauses. The possible structures are:

N_3 and N_1N_3

4.41 The element of structure N_3

N_3 is quite different from N_1 which exhibits concord with the verbal head, N_2 which is capable of taking the nominal suffix -e, and the nominal group which may function at A and which is capable of taking the other nominal suffixes.

4.42 Minor clauses with structure N_3

murukan, Murukan (came), or, (it is) Murukan.

murukan aa, is it Murukan?

neettu vantavan, the one(who) came yesterday

The above examples are in indicative mood and they occur only as context-bound. All nominals may occur at this place of element of structure, except the exocentric nominal group.

The following examples of minor clauses in vocative mood occur as context-free.exx.

murukaa, o! Muruka

tampii, o! brother

These may occur by themselves or may precede a sentence (either simple or complex) e.g.

tampii inke vaa¹², o! brother, come here

4.43 Minor clauses with structure N_1N_3

The minor clauses with this structure may occur

12. inke vaa tampii, is treated as an emphatic form, which would be consistent with this analysis; one may treat tampii (the minor clause) as the superordinate element, if so desired; but this would introduce unnecessary complications.

context-free.exx.

murukan/nallavan, Murukan (is a) good (boy)
 intak kaṭitam/neettu vantatu
 this letter/(is the one which)came yesterday

This type of clauses with two nominals may be termed equational bipartite clauses. The two nominals exhibit concord with each other in gender and number.exx.

ava/nallava, she (is a) good (girl)
 avaṅka/nallavaṅka, they (are) good (people)

4.5 Systems applicable to minor clauses

The systems of dependency and emphasis are applicable to the minor clauses as they are to the major clauses.

4.51 System of dependency

By the application of this system the minor clauses may be grouped into independent and dependent clauses. In the case of the major clauses, the dependent and independent clauses may occur in the same utterance, the former preceding the latter. But the dependent minor clause may not occur with the independent minor clause. However, dependent minor clauses may occur with the independent major clauses. exx.

murukannu/naan colreen,
 I will say that (it is) Murukan
 murukan nallavannu/naan colreen,
 I will say that Murukan (is a)good (boy)

4.511 Independent minor clauses

All minor clauses are independent unless they are dependent as described below. They may only occur as simple sentences. exx.

murukan, (it is) Murukan
 avan/nallavan, he (is a) good (boy)
 tampii, o! brother

4.512 Dependent minor clauses

Dependent minor clauses are formed by affixing -nnu or -nnaa to independent minor clauses. When -nnu is affixed a reporting minor clause is formed and when -nnaa is affixed a conditional minor clause is formed.

exx. murukannu/conneen, (I) said that (it is) Murukan.

avan nallavannu/conneen,
 (I) said that he (is a) good (boy)

murukannaac/colreen,
 if (it is) Murukan I will tell (you)

avan nallavannaac/colreen,
 if he (is a) good (boy) I will (you)

4.52 System of mood

The system of mood involves two terms, viz. indicative and vocative.

4.521 Indicative mood

Indicative mood may further be divided into interrogative and affirmative.

4.5211 Interrogative mood

Interrogative may again be divided into two depending on the interrogators.

Interrogators consist of four question words, viz. yaaru, who; enna, what; etu, which and eetu, 'how', and the interrogative particle aa. They may occur at N_1 or N_3 .

yaaru may be used as singular or plural masculine or feminine, while the other three are neuter. When interrogatives occur no concord is seen between N_1 and N_3 .

exx. yaaru/vantatu, who (was the one that) came?
 yaaru/nallavan, who (is the) good (boy)?
 yaaru/nallava, who (is the) good (girl)?
 etu/nallatu, which (is the) good (one)?
 etu/innakki vantatu,
 which (is the one that) came today?
 enna/itu, what (is) this?
 eetu/itu, 'where (did you get) this?'

When the interrogative words occur at N_3 , they are emphatic patterns and are described in 4.533.

The neuter verbal noun, e.g. vantatu, may occur by itself at N_3 when N_1 is filled by yaaru; if N_1 is filled by etu, however, N_3 can be filled by an exocentric nominal group only. Verbal nouns do not occur at N_3 when eetu and enna fill N_1 .

When N_1 is filled by the interrogative words yaaru, enna, etu and eetu, N_3 may be filled by any nominal, with the reservations made above.

But when N_1 is filled by any nominal (except neuter verbal noun) or nominal groups, N_3 may not be filled by a pronoun or a verbal noun (both neuter and non-neuter).

The structure $N_1 N_3$, when filled by yaaru and a neuter verbal noun, has the potentiality of occurring at N_2 and A of the independent major clause, with the appropriate nominal suffixes. exx.

nii/yaaru vantatep/paatte,
 whom did you see coming?

yaaru connataale/avan poonaan,
 by whose request did he go?

4.5212 Affirmative mood

The absence of interrogators in the minor clause structure defines the affirmative mood, provided the structure is not vocative.

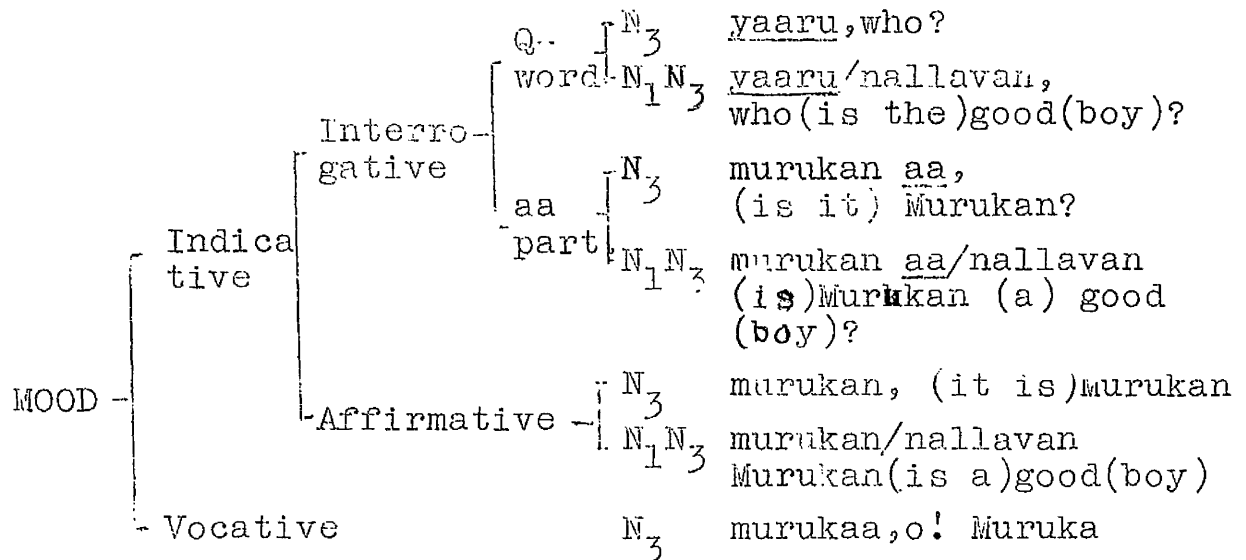
4.522 Vocative mood

The vocative mood is defined by the presence of a particular morphological form of the nominal. exx.

tampii, o! brother

murukaa, o! Muruka

4.523 Independent minor clause and the system of mood



4.53 System of emphasis

The system of emphasis operates when (i) the emphasizing particles occur at N₁ of the independent minor clause, (ii) there is a change in place ordering of the elements of structure in the independent minor clauses and (iii) the emphasizing particles taan, kuuja, aavatu and aaccum occur with the dependent minor clause.

4.531 Independent minor clauses and emphasizing particles

All the emphasizing particles may co-occur with N₁ of the context-free minor clauses, i.e. equational bipartite sentences. exx.

murukan nallavan, Murukan (is a) good (boy)
(unemphatic)

murukan um nallavan, Murukan also (is a) good(boy)
 (emphatic)
 murukan aavatu nallavan,
 at least Murukan(is a)good(boy)
 murukan aaccum nallavan
 Murukan, at least, (is a)good(boy)
 murukan kuuṭa nallavan
 even Murukan (is a) good (boy)
 murukan taan nallavan
 only Murukan (is a)good(boy)
 murukan ee nallavan
 murukan himself(is a) good(boy)

Only the particle taan may co-occur with the context-bound independent minor clause.e.g.

murukan taan, (it is) Murukan

4.532 Dependent minor clause and the emphasizing particles

The emphasizing particles may co-occur only with the conditional dependent clause. Only the following particles may co-occur: aavatu, aaccum, kuuṭa and taan.

exx. murukan nallavannaav aaccum/paravaay ille
 it is not bad if at least Murukan(is a)good(boy)
 etc.

4.533 Place ordering

This applies only to independent clauses with structure N_1N_3 . By changing the order of the elements of structure emphasis is seen to operate. exx.

<u>normal pattern</u>	<u>emphasized pattern</u>
N_1N_3	N_3N_1
avan nallavan	nallavan avan
he (is a) good (boy)	
yaaru nallavan	nallavan yaaru
who (is the) good (boy)?	

4.6 Tense in independent and dependent clauses

Verbal heads may be past or present or future when they occur in simple sentences; but when they

occur in complex sentences, there are the following restrictions.

(i) when the dependent clause is conditional, the verbal head of the independent major clause may only be in present or future. exx.

avan vantaana/naan colreen (present)¹³
if he comes/I tell(him)

avan vantaana/naan colluveen (future)
if he comes/I will tell (him)

(ii) the verbal head of the independent clause is in the past if the verbal head of the dependent clause of time is past; it may be in the present or future when the dependent clause is in the present. exx.

avan vantapootu/conneen (past-past)
when he came, I told (him)

avan varrapootu/colreen (present-present)
when he comes, I tell (him)

avan varrapootu/colluveen (present-future)
when he comes I will tell(him)

The verbal head of the independent clause may be in the past, present or future time, when the dependent clause is one of the following: manner, time with the suffixes -um and -pootu, or reporting. exx.
reporting:

avan vantaannu/conneen, (I) said/that he came (Past)
avan vantaannu/colreen, (I) say/that he came (Pres)
avan vantaannu/colluveen, (I) will say/that he came (Fut)

13. For some speakers, when the conditional clause precedes the independent clause, the latter may be filled by a compound verb. e.g. avan vantaana/naan colliruppeen, if he had come I would have told him.

Chapter Five

Nominal Group

5.1	General remarks	58
5.2	The nominal group	58
5.21	Simple nominal group	58
5.22	Complex nominal group	58
5.221	Structure of the endocentric nominal group	59
5.2211	Endogeneous endocentric nominal group	59
5.2212	Exogeneous endocentric nominal group	60
5.22121	Adjectivalized verbal group	60
5.22122	Nominalization	61
5.222	Structure of the exocentric nominal group	63
5.2221	Exocentric nominalization	63
5.3	Adjective as a modifier	65
5.31	Demonstratives	65
5.32	Interrogatives	65
5.33	Numerals	66
5.34	Size	68
5.35	Form	68
5.36	Epithets	69
5.37	Colour	69
5.38	Denominal adjectives	69
5.4	Nominal as a modifier	69
5.5	The nominal head	70
5.51	Nominal sub-groups	71
5.52	Substantives	71
5.53	Pronouns	72
5.54	Verbal nouns	73
5.541	System of negativity/positivity	73
5.542	System of tense	74
5.6	Systems applicable to nominal heads	74
5.61	System of gender	74
5.62	System of number	75
5.63	System of person	75
5.7	The nominal suffix -e and the occurrence restriction	76
5.8	Co-ordination between nominals	78

Chapter Five

NOMINAL GROUP

5.1 General remarks

The unit next below clause in rank is group. Three groups are set up for the analysis of Tamil and they are nominal group, verbal group and adverbial group.

5.2 The nominal group

The nominal group may consist of a simple nominal or a complex structure, i.e. an endocentric or an exocentric nominal group. These may be termed a simple nominal group and a complex nominal group.

5.21 Simple nominal group

This consists of the minimal form, i.e. single word substantives or pronouns. exx.

murukan (vantaan), Murukan (came)

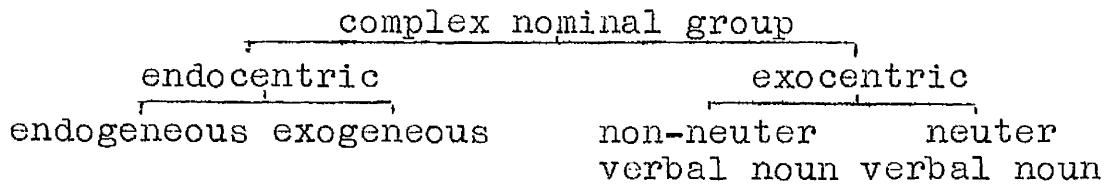
avan (caapp[taan), he (ate)

5.22 Complex nominal group

All nominals except the pronouns may enter into complex nominal groups.

Complex nominal groups may be divided into two sub-groups, depending on their structure. These may be termed endocentric and exocentric nominal groups. The former may further be divided into endogeneous endocentric nominal group and exogeneous endocentric nominal group. Exocentric nominal group may be divided into those containing non-neuter verbal nouns and 2. neuter verbal nouns.

The complex nominal group with its various subdivisions may be tabulated as follows:



5.221 Structure of the endocentric nominal group

The elements of structure are M and H, where M is the modifier and H is the nominal head. The modifier, which may be a nominal group, an adjective, an adjectivalized verbal group or an exocentric nominal group with non-neuter verbal noun, always precedes the nominal head. The nominal head must be a substantive, as the other nominals viz. pronouns and verbal nouns, do not take modifiers.

The order of modifiers is M_1M_2 , where M_1 may be a nominal or an exocentric nominal group with a non-neuter verbal noun and M_2 an adjectivalized verbal group or an adjective.

The endocentric nominal group is divided into endogeneous and exogeneous, depending on the prenominal structure, i.e. the modifier. This division is made more valid by the possibility of setting up a relationship between the exogeneous endocentric nominal group and the independent major clause (5.22122) which is not possible in the case of the other nominal group.

5.2211 Endogeneous endocentric nominal group

When the modifier is a nominal or an adjective, the nominal group is termed endogeneous. All nominals, except verbal nouns, may function as modifiers. exx.

tampi/makan, (my) brother's son
nalla/payyan, a good boy
en tampiyoote/peenaa, my brother's pen

5.2212 Exogeneous endocentric nominal group

If the modifier is an adjectivalized verbal group (example 1 below) or an exocentric group with non-neuter verbal noun (example 2 below) the nominal group may be termed exogeneous. exx.

neettu vanta/payyan, the boy(who) came yesterday
neettu vantavanooṭe/peenaa,
 the pen of the (one who)came yesterday.

5.22121 Adjectivalized verbal group

Every independent clause containing a finite verb, whether or not preceded by a dependent clause may be adjectivalized. The finite verbal head is replaced by a verbal form morphologically identical with the stem-base or the negative-base depending on whether the finite verbal head is positive or negative. This relationship may be stated as $XV \rightarrow XV_a$ where X stands for any element of structure other than N_1 V for finite verbal head and V_a for the adjectivalized verbal form.

ooṭnaaṇ (he) ran	-->	ooṭna running
ooṭale (he) didn't run	-->	ooṭaata not running
cooru caappṭraaṇ--> (he) eats rice		cooru caappṭra rice eating
cooru caappṭale --> (he) doesn't eat rice		cooru caappṭaata 'not eating rice'
cooru caappṭṭup poonaṇ, (he) went--> after eating rice		cooru caappṭṭup poona
cooru caappṭṭup pookale, (he) went--> without eating rice		cooru caappṭṭup p ookaata

The adjectivalized verbal group retains the

tense characteristics of the verbal head of the independent clause, in the case of the positive verbs.

5.22122 Nominalization

Every independent major clause may be nominalized to give an exogeneous endocentric nominal group the structure of which is MH.

M is filled by an adjectivalized verbal group and H by the N₁ of the clause concerned. The relationship between the clause and the nominal group may be stated by

$$N_1AV \rightarrow AV_d N_1$$

antap payyan/neettu/vantaan \rightarrow neettu/vanta/payyan
 that boy came yesterday

neettu/vanta/antap payyan
 the boy(who)came yesterday.

If there is a demonstrative adjective in the nominal group of the clause, this may be omitted in the nominalized group.

If the independent clause contains N_2 , it is possible to make either N_1 or N_2 the head of the nominal group as shown below:

$$N_1(N_2+e)V \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{l} 1. N_1V_aN_2 \\ 2. (N_1+e)V_aN_2 \\ 3. N_2V_aN_1 \\ 4. (N_2+e)V_aN_1^+ \end{array}$$

So, four nominal groups may be obtained from an independent major clause containing N_1 and N_2 .

If N_1 is filled by a pronoun, structures three and four are not possible; if it is filled by a proper noun, structure three is not possible. Structure two is not possible if N_2 is filled by an inanimate noun; besides structures three and four would be identical, i.e. the suffix -e becomes optional. If N_2 is filled by an animate noun, the suffix is obligatory, as it

f. With many individual sentences, not all the nominalizations will be equally plausible semantically. They are not to be regarded as transforms in the Chomskian sense.

is the only distinguishing element between these structures and structures one and three.exx.

antap payyan/veelekkaaranep/paattaa, the boy saw the servant	$N_1(N_2+e)V$
--> antap payyan/paatta/veelekkaaran the servant whom that boy saw	$N_1V_aN_2$
antap payyanep/paatta/veelekkaaran the servant who saw that boy	$(N_1+e)V_aN_2$
veelekkaaran/paatta/antap payyan that boy whom the servant saw	$N_2V_aN_1$
veelekkaaranep/paatta/antap payyan that boy who saw the servant	$(N_2+e)V_aN_1$
antap payyan/cooru/caappṭṭaan that boy ate rice	N_1N_2V
--> antap payyan/caappṭṭa/cooru the rice eaten by that boy	$N_1V_aN_2$
* antap payyanec/caappṭṭa/cooru cooru/caappṭṭa/antap payyan that boy who ate the rice	$(N_1+e)V_aN_2$ $N_2V_aN_1$
coottec/caappṭṭa/antap payyan that boy who ate the rice	$(N_2+e)V_aN_1$

In the above examples N_2 is filled by cooru, rice, which is an inanimate noun, and hence structure two is not possible. Structures three and four are identical except for the nominal suffix -e.

avan/veelekkaaranep/paattaa, he saw the servant	$N_1(N_2+e)V$
--> avan/paatta/veelekkaaran the servant whom he saw	$N_1V_aN_2$
avanep/paatta/veelekkaaran the servant who saw him	$(N_1+e)V_aN_2$
* veelekkaaran/paatta/avan	$N_2V_aN_1$
* veelekkaaranep/paatta/avan	$(N_2+e)V_aN_1$

In the above example N_1 is filled by a pronoun; hence structures three and four are not possible.

murukan/veelekkaaranep/paattaa Murukan saw the servant	$N_1(N_2+e)V$
--> murukan/paatta/veelekkaaran the servant whom Murukan saw	$N_1V_aN_2$

murukanep/paatta/veelekkaaran	$(N_1 + e)V_a N_2$
the servant who saw Murukan	
* veelekkaaran/paatta/murukan	$N_2 V_a N_1$
veelekkaaranep/paatta/murukan	$(N_2 + e)V_a N_1$
Murukan who saw the servant	

In the above examples N_1 is filled by a proper noun and hence structure three is not possible.

5.222 Structure of the exocentric nominal group

The structure of the exocentric nominal group is different from that of the endocentric nominal group in that the elements of structure, viz. M and H as such are not present in an exocentric nominal group. An exocentric nominal group may be formed from any independent major clause by replacing the verbal head by a verbal noun without any other structural change.

5.2221 Exocentric nominalization

Every independent major clause (unless it contains only the element of structure V), may be nominalized to give an exocentric nominal group. Thus, structures $N_1 V$, $N_1 N_2 V$, $N_1 A V$ and $N_1 N_2 A V$ may all be nominalized. However, $N_1 V$ may not be nominalized to give a structure with non-neuter verbal noun in it.

$$N_1 X V \rightarrow N_1 X (V_a + \text{neuter verbal noun suffix}) \\ X (V_a + \text{non-neuter verbal noun suffix})$$

X stands for elements of structure N_2 and/or A. V_a stands for adjectivalized verbal form. exx.

structure of ind. major clause	nominalized group non-neut.verb.noun	nominalized group neuter verbal noun
-----------------------------------	---	---

$N_1 V$

avan vantaan
he came

avan vantatu
his coming

<u>structure of ind. major clause</u>	<u>nominalized group non-neuter verbal noun</u>	<u>nominalized group neuter verbal noun</u>
$N_1 N_2 V$		
avan param caappittaan he ate a fruit	param caappittavan he(who) ate a fruit	avan param caappitt- atu, his eating a fruit
$N_1 AV$		
avan neettu vantaan he came yesterday	neettu vantavan he(who) came yes- terday	avan neettu vanta- tu, his coming yes- terday
$N_1 N_2 AV$		
avan neettup param caappittaan, he ate a fruit yesterday	neettup param caappittavan, he (who) ate a fruit yesterday	avan neettup param caappittatu, his eating a fruit yes- terday

N_1 may or may not occur in the structure. If it does, N_1 may not be filled by the first person pronouns, when the clause is nominalized to give a structure with non-neuter verbal noun in it. Hence naan/neettu/vanteen I came yesterday may only give naan/neettu/vantatu, my coming yesterday and not *neettu/vantavan.

Exocentric nominal groups may only occur as context-bound utterances. The gender and number of the non-neuter noun agrees with those of N_1 of the clause.

When an exocentric nominal group with neuter verbal noun occurs at N_1 of an independent major clause, the verbal heads which can occur at V are limited. Those which can occur are: (i) the verb irukku, preceded by an adverb, (ii) two lexical items, ille and veenṭaam of the negative finite indicative impersonal closed (6.321121) and (iii) two lexical items, veenṭum and teriyum of the positive finite indicative impersonal (6.31113). exx.

avan caappitratu/nallaa irukku,
it is good the way he eats

avan caappitratu/ille,
he does not eat

avan caappitratu/enakkut teriyum,
I know that he is eating.

5.3 Adjective as a modifier

Adjectives occur as modifiers in an endogeneous endocentric nominal group. Adjectives may be divided into the following classes: demonstratives, interrogatives, numerals, size, form, epithets, colour and denominal adjectives. The numerals may further be divided into cardinal, ordinal and quantity. The classes of adjectives are set out in the order of occurrence, relative to each other when occurring together, in the following table.

adjectives							
demonstrative	interrogative	numeral	size	form	epithets	colour	denominal
		cardinal/ordinal		quantity			

5.31 Demonstratives

The demonstratives is a closed¹ set of two items, viz. *inta*, this and *anta*, that. *exx*.

inta viiɬu, this house

anta viiɬu, that house

5.32 Interrogatives²

The four interrogatives form a closed set. They

1. The term 'closed' is used here only for lexical items; the characteristics a and b of a 'closed system' set out by Halliday (1961,p.247) may be given as definitions of a closed set: the number of terms is finite and each term is exclusive of all the others.

For the use of the term 'closed' in grammar see Robins,1959.p.101.

2. It would be possible to re-allot the interrogative adjectives to other groups, e.g. *enta*, which, to demonstratives, *evvaɭavu*, how much, to quantity, etc. If this re-grouping were done, one would have to make special statements about the order of occurrence of the adjectives within each sub-group. Hence, in this analysis, all the interrogatives are grouped under a separate heading, which seems to be more economical.

are enna, what, enta, which, ettane, how many and evva[avu, how much. They may occur either by themselves as modifiers e.g. enna paṁam, what fruit, ettane paṁam, how many fruits, etc., or they occur in place of the demonstratives, with which they are mutually exclusive. exx.

enta maram, which tree? (interrogative)

anta maram, that tree (demonstrative)

enta marattup paṁam, which tree's fruit? (int.)

anta marattup paṁam, that tree's fruit (demon.)

5.33 Numeral

The numeral is sub-divided into quantity, cardinal and ordinal. Quantity is included under numerals because its behaviour pattern is identical to that of the cardinal.

Quantity contains three items, viz. rompa, a lot, koncam, a little, and neraya, a lot. exx.

koncam paṁam, a few fruits (quantity)

rompap paṁam, a lot of fruits (quantity)

nerayap paṁam, a lot of fruits (quantity)

Quantity is mutually exclusive of the cardinal and ordinal, with all nouns except the mass nouns, which cannot take cardinal or ordinal as the modifier. The following examples contain adjectives of quantity modifying mass nouns.

koncam maṇṇu, a little sand

rompap paṇam, a lot of money

Quantity and cardinal may either precede or follow the noun (to be termed prenominal and postnominal respectively), while the ordinal may only precede the noun. This is the only instance when a subordinate element follows the superordinate.

renṭu peenaa vaṇṇknaan, (he) bought two pens

peenaa renṭu vaṇṇknaan }

When the cardinal follows a human noun (5.42), it takes the suffix -peeru³.exx.

rentu payyaṅka vantaṅka
payyaṅka rentupeeru vantaṅka } two boys came

rompap payyaṅka vantaṅka } a lot of boys came
payyaṅka rompappeeru vantaṅka }

Ordinals are formed by affixation of the following suffixes to the cardinals: -aavatu and -aam. Of these the first is the most common, and has no occurrence restrictions as -aam has. exx.

ren]aavatu paayan, second boy

'First' may be indicated by three terms. The first is the normal affixation of -aavatu to onṇu, one, which gives the form onṇaavatu, first. The second is a non-suffixed form which is mota, and the third is obtained by affixing -aavatu to mota, which gives motalaavatu.

exx. onṇaavatu }
motap } (payyan, first boy
motalaavatu }

-aam is suffixed to the cardinals, giving forms like onṇaam, first, ren]aam, second, etc. These suffixed forms collocate⁴ with the loan word namparu, number, e.g.

3. When the numeral occurs alone, it will be suffixed in the case of human nouns, e.g. ren]tupeeru vantaṅka, two (boys) came.

4. The words (the lexical items) in a language are set up into word-classes which are grammatical categories. The relations between these categories are termed colligational relations (Firth, 1957f.p.13). If an analysis stops here and begins to generate sentences, examples like 'colourless green ideas sleep furiously' cannot be avoided. This example would be perfectly acceptable at the colligational level.

But, if relationship between individual words, which is termed collocation (Firth, 1957c.pp.194ff) is taken into account the possibility of such sentences need not be discussed at all.

Both colligation and collocation are abstractions at syntagmatic level, and if they are integrated (not merely inter-related) into a grammar, one could talk about generating 'grammatical' and 'only grammatical' sentences which would be acceptable to native

onṇaam nāparu^m , number one, reṇṭaam namparu, number two, etc.

This collocate (e.g. onṇaam namparu) in its function as a modifier collocates again with two words, viiṭu, house and are, room.

onṇaam namparu viiṭu, house number one
reṇṭaam namparu are, room number two

In a limited context, i.e. in the context of racing (e.g. horse-racing, athletics, etc) this collocate may collocate with lexical items like payyan, boy, kaaru, car, kutire, horse, etc.

onṇaam namparup payyan, athlete number one
reṇṭaam namparuk kutire, horse number two
muuṇaam namparuk kaaru, car number three

5.34 Size

A closed set of two items, viz. periya, big and cinna, small form the adjectives of size. exx.

periya viiṭu, a big house
cinna viiṭu, a small house

5.35 Form

Adjectives of form follow the adjectives of size when they occur together. They refer to forms like 'tall' 'broad' etc. exx.

oyara viiṭu, a tall house

speakers.

If the collocability of each word in the language with another word is introduced into the grammar, the scope and possibilities would be overwhelming, and one could question the advisability of such a treatment. So, it is best to introduce collocational restrictions at the appropriate places in the structure in the grammar.

For a discussion of the term 'collocation', see Firth, 1957c, pp.194ff; Bendor-Samuel, appendix II, Robins 1964, pp.67-70.

akala viiṭu, a broad house
periya oyara viiṭu, a big tall house.

5.36 Epithets

Epithets are those adjectives which do not go under any one of the above classes. exx. nalla, good; putu, new; veere, different, etc.

5.37 Colour

All lexical items which denote colour may function as adjectives of colour. exx. cevappu, red; veḷḷe, white.
exx. ceveppup peenaa, a red pen
veḷḷe maatu, a white cow

5.38 Denominal adjectives

The denominal adjectives are derived from certain common nouns by affixing the suffix -aana. exx.

<u>noun</u>	<u>denominal adjectives</u>
aṛaku, beauty	aṛakaana, beautiful
oyaram, height	oyaramaana, high

5.4 Nominal as a modifier

All nominals, except neuter verbal nouns and the ^{with neuter verbal noun.} endocentric nominal group, may function as modifiers. As modifiers they are capable of taking the nominal suffix -ooṭe. exx.

en viiṭu, my house	ennooṭe viiṭu, my house
en tampi makan viiṭu.	en tampi makanooṭe viiṭu
the house of my brother's son	
murukan viiṭu	murukanooṭe viiṭu
Murukan's house	

In the last example but one above, en, tampi, and makan are all modifiers modifying the head viiṭu; theo-

retically it is possible for each of them to take the suffix -ooṭe, but in normal speech only the last of them takes the suffix.

There are two instances when the suffix is obligatory. i. if the nominal or the nominal group as modifier precedes another modifier, which is not a nominal, viz. adjectives or adjectivalized verbal group, it is obligatory for the first modifier to take the suffix.exx.

anta arakaana poṇṇooṭe 1/cekappup 2/peenaa 3
the red 2/pen 3/of that beautiful girl 1.

ii. when a human noun functions as a modifier and if the modified is a non-human noun referring to an animal (e.g. dog) it is obligatory for the human noun to take the suffix. e.g.

murukanooṭe naay, Murukan's dog

5.5 The nominal head

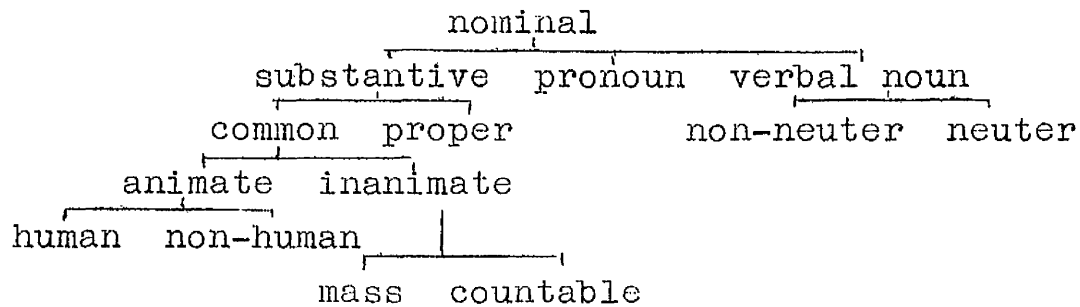
The nominal head is that nominal which is at the head of the nominal group filling N_1 , and that which is non-affixed and that which exhibits concord with the verbal head.

The nominal head may be divided into three main classes: substantive, pronouns and verbal nouns. Substantives may further be divided into common and proper, while verbal nouns may be divided into non-neuter and neuter. These different classes may be identified both syntactically and morphologically.

	<u>substantive</u>		<u>pronoun</u>		<u>verbal noun</u>	
	<u>common</u>	<u>proper</u>			<u>non-neuter</u>	<u>neuter</u>
function as head	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
capability of taking M	✓	✓	x		x	x
capability of taking pl.suffix	✓	x	✓		✓	x
negativity	x	x	x		✓	✓
presence of tense marker	x	x	x		✓	✓

	<u>substantive</u>		<u>pronoun</u>	<u>verbal noun</u>	
	<u>common</u>	<u>proper</u>		<u>non-neuter</u>	<u>neuter</u>
presence of tense marker	x	x	x	✓	✓

5.51 Nominal sub-groups



5.52 Substantives

The sub-divisions of substantives may be seen in the table above.

Common nouns may be divided into animate and inanimate. The former may be divided into human and non-human, and the latter into mass and countable.

The proper nouns differ from the common nouns by their inability to (i) take the plural suffix and (ii) be head of an exogeneous endocentric nominal group.

Animate nouns may be distinguished from the inanimate by their potentiality to enter into different structures. Theoretically all nouns are capable of functioning at N_1 in a N_1N_2V structure but in normal speech it is only the animate nouns which function there.

exx. murukan/tampiyep/paattaaan,
 Murukan/saw/(his)brother
 avan/pajam/caappɪttaan,
 he/ate/(a) fruit

In the above examples N_1 is filled by animate nouns and N_2 is filled by an animate noun and an inanimate noun respectively.

If an inanimate noun functions at N_1 , sentences like the following would be produced, which are grammatical.

kallu/ennet/taṭukkuccu, the stone tripped me

neruppu/avanec/cuṭṭuccu, the fire burnt him

In the above examples N_1 is filled by an inanimate noun and N_2 by an animate noun.

These, however, do not occur in normal speech, though they may be found in written Tamil. Instead the following occur in the spoken language.

naan/kallule/taṭukkikkitteen,
I tripped myself against a stone

avan/neruppule/cuṭṭukkittaan,
he burnt himself in the fire.

The structure of the last two examples above is N_1AV , where A is filled by an inanimate noun with the nominal suffix -le. This suffix may be termed 'agentive' and when it is affixed V is filled by a reflexive verbal head (6.5).

The inanimate nouns may, however, function at N_1 if the structure of the utterance is N_1V as shown below:

kallu viṇuntuccu, the stone fell

maram aaṭuccu, the tree was swaying

Human nouns may be referred back to by the pronouns avan, he, ava, she, avaru, he, and avaṅka, they. They have the potentiality of taking numeral adjective in a post-nominal position with the suffix -peeru (5.33).

Mass nouns are distinguished from the countables by the former's capability to take quantity adjectives.

5.53 Pronouns

Pronouns are distinguished from the substantives by their inability to take any modifier at all, and from the verbal nouns by their inability to be head

of complex nominal groups⁵.

5.54 Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns may be divided into non-neuter and neuter verbal nouns. They may be distinguished both syntactically and morphologically. The former (non-neuter) contain the suffix -an, -ar, or -a, while the latter contain the suffix -t. The former may take the plural suffix but the latter cannot do so. Besides, the exocentric nominal group with the non-neuter verbal noun may function at M in a nominal group while that containing the neuter verbal noun may not do so. The structures are entirely different (5.22122 ff.).

Verbal nouns are different from the other nominals in that they are

- i. derivations from verbs
- ii. contain tense markers
- iii. capable of exhibiting negative/positive

opposition.

5.541 System of negativity/positivity

A negative/positive system may be set up for these nouns as they may be set up for the verbs (6.3). This system does not apply to the other nominals.

This is a two term system and the terms are negative and positive. exx.

	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>
neuter verbal nouns	avan neettu vantatu, his coming yesterday	avan neettu varaatatu his not coming yesterday
non-neuter verbal nouns	neettu vantavan, he (who)came yesterday	neettu varaatavan, he (who)didn't come yesterday.

5. vanta / avan, he(who)came, in which avan (a pronoun) is modified by vanta (an adjectivalized verbal group) is

5.542 System of tense

This system also applies only to verbal nouns and not to the other nominals. Unlike the system which operates on verbs (6.6) which contains three terms (past, present and future), this system here contains only two terms, viz. past and present. The morphological distinction of present and future are neutralized and it is necessary to have a temporal specifier in the structure to realize the future tense. The temporal specifier is usually an adverb filling A. (See 6.61 ff. for a fuller discussion of neutralization and neutrals).

<u>neuter verbal nouns</u>		
<u>past</u>	<u>present</u>	<u>future</u>
avan vantatu	avan varratu	avan <u>naa]ekki</u> varratu
his coming	his coming	his coming <u>tomorrow</u>
<u>non-neuter verbal nouns</u>		
neettu vantavan	<u>innakki</u> varravan	<u>naa]ekki</u> varravan
he(who)came	he(who)is coming	he(who)is coming
	today	tomorrow

In the above examples innakki and naa]ekki are the temporal specifiers.

5.6 Systems applicable to nominal heads

The following systems may be set up for the nominal heads on the basis of concord between the nominal head and the verbal head: 1. gender, 2. number and 3. person.

5.61 System of gender

This is a three term system and the terms are masculine, feminine and neuter. This system is applicable to all nominals except certain pronouns. exx.

recognized by Pillai. 1964. p.8.

miinaa vantaan, Meena came (fem.)
 payyan vantaan, (a)boy came (masc.)
 maaṭu vantuccu, (a)cow came (neut.)

The singular and plural of both first and second person pronouns and the third person plural are outside this system and do not show gender distinction and it is only by reverting to the context of situation that the gender may be decided.

5.62 System of number

The system of number consists of two terms, viz. singular and plural; it is applicable to all nominals, except proper and neuter verbal nouns. The singular is the non-affixed nominal and the plural is that nominal affixed with -ka, the plural suffix. exx.

payyan, a boy	payyaṅka, boys
poṇṇu, a girl	poṇṇuṅka, girls
naan, I	naaṅka, we

Most of the neuter nouns do not take the plural suffix but there is no possibility of predicting which neuter nouns do and which do not. This seems to be purely a lexical matter.

Though honorific nominals take a plural verbal head as in appaa vantaṅka, (my)father came, the nominal appaa is still singular.

5.63 System of person

This is a three term system, viz. first, second and third persons. This system applies only to pronouns, all other nominals being in the third person.

When the system operates on pronouns a three term distinction is made:

1st person: naan, I; naaṅka, we.
 2nd person: nii, you; niinṅka, you.

3rd person: avan,he; avaru,he; ava,she;
 avarka,they; ivan,this man;
 ivaru, this man; iva, this
 woman; ivarka, these people
 itu, this; ituka, these
 things; atu,that; atuka,
 those things.

5.7 The nominal suffix -e and the occurrence restriction⁶

When the nominal is animate substantive, pronoun

6. On the possibility of omitting /ai/ (the nominal suffix -e, in this analysis) Corré writes: 'The morpheme (/ai/) is not omittable if the N_2 is a pronoun in which there are allomorphs having a distinctly different phonemic shape with and without /ai/.e.g. /nān/,I but /en-nai/ me. Some speakers will not omit it from n_p (the sub-class of n replaceable by/avan/he, /ava/ she,/avar-ga/they, rather than /atu/it). The variation among individual speakers on the matter of omittability of /ai/ suggests that linguistic change is taking place in this area, the drift probably in the direction of loss of /ai/ except in certain fixed environments. (underlining is mine). The omittability of the morpheme /ai/ expressed in the formula has therefore to be understood with this condition'. Corré. p.23.

The underlined sentence seems to be a sweeping generalization without basis and contradicts violently what is said in the present analysis.

Even among the pronouns Corré makes /ai/obligatory only for those 'in which there are allomorphs having distinctly different phonemic shape'. Using his criterion, utterances like the following should be acceptable to native speakers but they are not. exx.

according to Corré

obligatory

When N_2 is a pronoun with an allomorph having a distinct phonemic shape. The pronouns concerned are na-an,I, nii,you, naarka,we, and niinka,you.

ennep paattaa,
 (he)saw me
 onnep paattaa,
 (he) saw you

optional

The pronouns avan,he, ava,she avarka,they and atu,it, do not have an allomorph with different phonemic shape.

- 1.avanep (Mr.A) paattaa,
 (he)saw him (Mr.A) (suffixed)
2. avan(Mr.A) paattaa,
 *(he) saw him(Mr.A)(without suffix). In normal Tamil speech (for that matter

in any style of written or spoken Tamil) avan(mr.A) paattaa, means he(mr.A) saw (somebody).

or verbal noun, the suffix is obligatory. *exx.*

naan/avanep/paatteen, I saw him (pronoun)
 naan/avan naamma viiṭṭukku vantatep/paatteen
 I saw his coming to our house
 (neuter verbal noun)
 naan/neettu vantavanep/paatteen
 I saw the one (who) came yesterday
 (non-neuter verbal noun)

The inanimate noun may or may not take the suffix. However, when it is head of an endocentric construction, the suffix becomes obligatory. *exx.*

naan/paṇam/caappṭṭeen, I ate a fruit (without
 naan/paṇattec/caappṭṭeen, (with suffix)^{suffix}
 naan/anta nalla paṇattec/caappṭṭeen,
 (with suffix)
 I ate that good fruit.

In most cases, an inanimate noun when occurring by itself has a choice as in *tampi viiṭu paattaan*, (my) brother looked for a house and *tampi viiṭṭep paattaan*, (my) brother looked at a house.

When the suffix *-e* is omitted, the verb translates as 'looked for' and when it is affixed, the verb translates as 'looked at'. Besides when *-e* is affixed it particularizes the noun to which it is affixed; when it is omitted, the noun is of a more general nature.^{6A}

So, the 'optional omission' has the potentiality of changing the structure of the utterance completely.

In the structure $N_1 (/ai/) N_2 /kku/ V t /atu/$, e.g. */rāmani manitanukku piṭikkiratu/*,² Corr   writes:

'In this structure the presence or absence of */ai/* is more rigidly determined than in structure I (discussed earlier on). (*/ai/*) is always found after n_p ... and never after n_i (replaceable by */atu/*, */avai/*).^B Corr  . p.54. So, if a noun like */n  y/* dog, fills N_1 , it should never take the */ai/* suffix. When this noun is substituted in the quoted sentence it gives */n  y manitanukku piṭikkiratu/*. This will sound very queer to many speakers (it certainly does to me) and the normal utterance would be */n  yai manitanukku piṭikkiratu/*.

6A. Though this is true in my speech, one has to do more research to make this grammatically relevant in the standard Spoken Tamil.

viiṭṭep paattaaṇ, he looked at a (particular) house
 viiṭu paattaaṇ, he looked for a house
 kate keeṭṭaan, he listened to a story
 kateyek keeṭṭaan, he listened to a (particular)
 story.

5.8 Co-ordination between nominals

The co-ordinating particles are um...um, ellaam/
 ellaarum, aavatu...aavatu and aaccum...aaccum.

ellaarum, all, occurs with human nouns, and ell-
 aam, all, occurs with non-human nouns.

murukan um naan um varroom,
 Murukan and I will come

avan um tampiy um poonaṅka,
 he and (my) brother went

murukan, tampi naan ellaarum poonoom,
 Murukan, (my) brother and I went

maṭu, naay puune ellaam pooccu,
 the cow, the dog and the cat went

murukan aavatu avan aavatu varuvaṅka
 either Murukan or he will come

murukan aaccum avan aaccum varuvaṅka
 either Murukan or he will come

murukan aaccum niy aaccum poṅka
 wither Murukan or you go

The nominals with which the co-ordinating particles may co-occur, may be affixed or non-affixed. The above examples illustrate the non-affixed forms of the nominals and the following examples, the affixed forms.

tampiyey um avaney um paatteen,
 I saw him and (my) brother

tampikk aavatu avanukk aavatu koṭu,
 give (it) to him or to (my) brother.

When the nominal group (N_1) contains a first person pronoun (either singular or plural), the verbal head is in the first person plural, e.g. murukan um naan um varroom, Murukan and I will come. If the group

contains a second person pronoun (again either singular or plural) the verbal head is in the second person plural, e.g. avan um niy um poonka, you and he can go. When the group contains only non-human nouns the verbal head is in the third person singular. e.g. aaṭu maṭu ellaam vantuccu, goats and cows came.

Chapter Six

Verbal group

6.1	General remarks	81
6.2	Verbal group	81
6.21	Verbal heads	81
6.22	Systems	82
6.3	System of positivity/negativity	82
6.31	Positive verbal heads	83
6.311	Positive finite	83
6.3111	Positive finite indicative	83
6.31111	Positive finite indicative concordial	84
6.31112	Positive finite indicative personally restricted	85
6.31113	Positive finite indicative impersonal	86
6.311131	Class one	86
6.311132	Class two	86
6.311133	Class three	87
6.311134	Class four	87
6.3112	Positive imperative	88
6.312	Positive non-finite	88
6.32	Negative verbal heads	88
6.321	Negative finite	88
6.3211	Negative finite indicative	89
6.32111	Negative finite indicative concordial	89
6.32112	Negative finite impersonal	89
6.321121	Negative impersonal closed	89
6.321122	Negative impersonal open	92
6.3212	Negative finite imperative	93
6.322	Negative non-finite	93
6.4	Compound verbal form	93
6.5	Reflexive verbal form	94
6.6	System of tense	94
6.61	Neutralization	94
6.62	Tense neutrals	95
6.621	Complete neutrality	95
6.622	Partial neutrality	96
6.7	System of transitivity	97

Chapter Six

VERBAL GROUP

6.1 General remarks

This chapter is entitled Verbal Group to be in line with the previous chapter Nominal Group and the following chapter Adverbial Group.

6.2 Verbal group

Verbal group consists of only a verbal head, the unit that functions at the element of structure V. The verbal head in turn consists of only one verb, i.e. only one word, unlike the nominal group and adverbial group which may consist of more than one word. The nominals may enter into endocentric or exocentric constructions but the verbal heads may only occur by themselves. Hence, for all intents and purposes, this chapter may very well be entitled Verbal Heads.

Adverbs and nominals which function at A, are treated as adjuncts, which function at the element of structure A, and so verbal heads do not enter into endocentric construction, but occur by themselves.

6.21 Verbal heads

The verbal heads may be simple, compound or reflexive. They may be divided into two types, viz. finite and non-finite.

The distinction finite and non-finite is strictly based on syntactic criteria. Finite verbal heads occur in independent major clauses and the non-finite in dependent major clauses. Morphological criteria, too, may be used to distinguish the two types of verbs. The non-finite

verbal heads contain a set of distinct verbal suffixes, which do not occur in the finite verbal heads. The finite verbal heads, except for some negative verbs, contain the characteristic personal endings.

6.22 Systems

The following systems may be set up for verbal heads: 1. positivity/negativity (to be represented as pos/neg.) 2. transitivity and 3. tense.

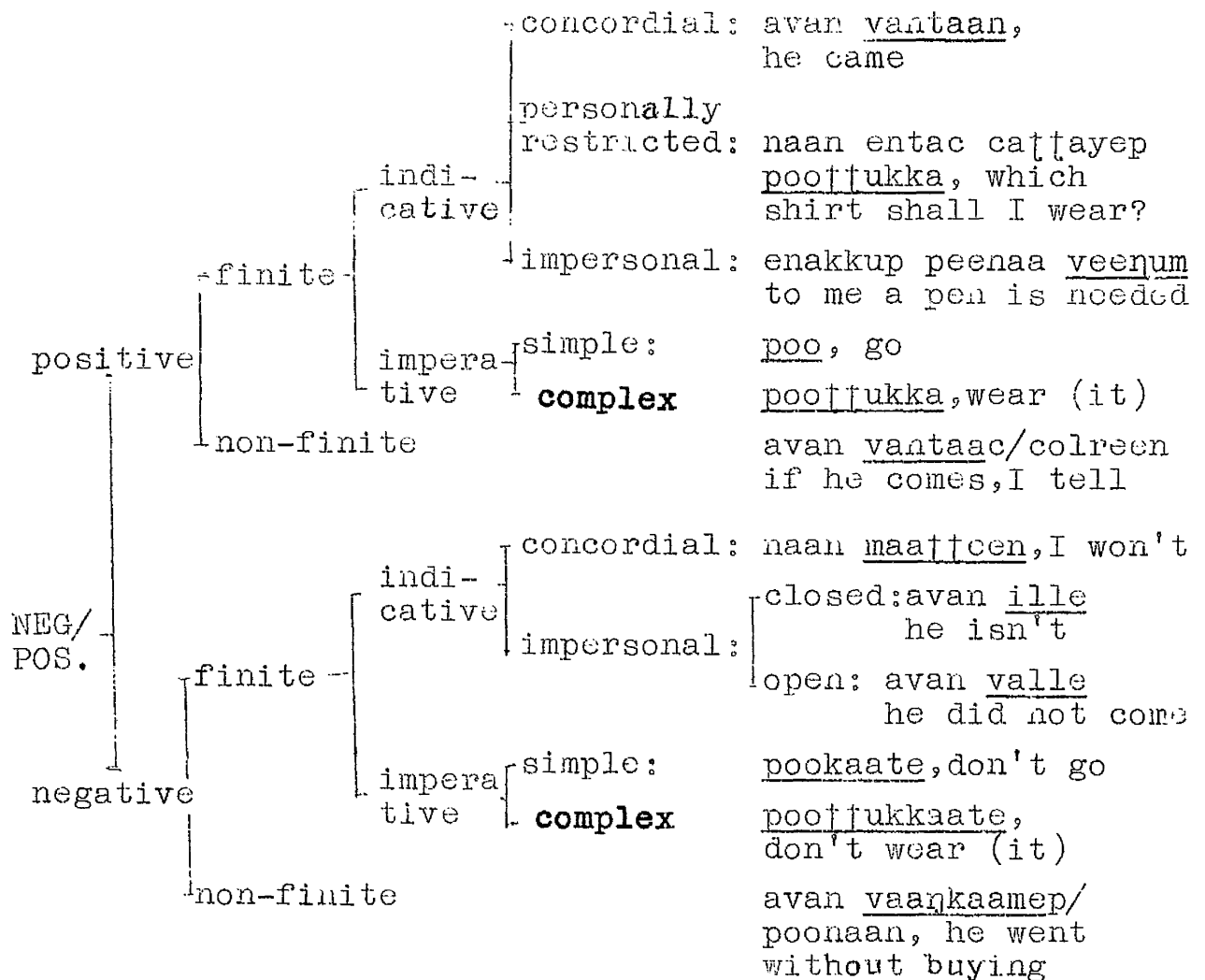
6.3 System of positivity/negativity

The morphological distinction of verbs into positive and negative does not affect the description of basic clause structure. In this analysis mainly positive verbs only are used to illustrate the clause structure.

However, in a description of the verbal heads it becomes necessary to bring in the distinction and hence a system, that of pos/neg. is set up.

This is a two term system, positive and negative containing a number of sub-systems, and the following table sets out the system in full.¹

1. The terms such as concordial, impersonal, etc. used here are quite arbitrary and do not imply a one-to-one correspondence in negative and positive sub-divisions. Thus positive indicative concordial/cannot be equated with negative indicative concordial, because there are heavy restrictions on the occurrence of the latter. The term concordial is chosen in both cases, mainly because of their nature to exhibit concord with the nominal head and this choice of terms by no means implies that syntactic statements are identical.



The verbal head in each example is underlined.

6.31 Positive verbal heads

Positive verbal heads may be divided into finite and non-finite.

6.311 Positive finite

The finite verbal heads may be divided into indicative and imperative.

6.3111 Positive finite indicative

Indicative verbal heads in turn are divided into

concordial, personally restricted and impersonal. Concordial verbs are those which exhibit concord with the nominal head. Personally restricted verbs do not exhibit concord with the nominal head and the nominal heads which may occur with these verbs are restricted. Impersonal verbs do not co-occur with N_1 in simple sentences; when they do so in complex sentences, they do not exhibit concord with the nominal head.

6.31111 Positive finite indicative concordial

There is a concordial relationship between these verbs and the nominal heads.cxx.

avan vantaan, he came
 ava vantaan, she came
 avanka vantaanka, they came
 For more examples see 4.211

6.31112 Positive finite indicative personally restricted

These occur only when the nominal head is either first person singular or third person singular/plural. If the first person singular occurs as the nominal head, the sentence may only be in the interrogative mood, containing an interrogative word or particle. While the interrogative word (i.e. the interrogative adjectives) may only occur at N_2 either by itself or as a modifier the interrogative particle may co-occur with all elements of structure. When a personally restricted verb occurs at V, the only permitted structure is N_1N_2V .exx

naan/entac catlayep/poottukka²
 which shirt shall I wear?

naan/etep/poottukka,
 which (one) shall I wear?

naan/antac catlayep/poottukkav aa,
 shall I wear that shirt?

naan/antac caṭṭayev aa/pooṭṭukka
 shall I wear that shirt?
 naan aa/antac caṭṭayep/pooṭṭukka
 shall I wear that shirt?

But when third person occurs at N_1 , the sentence may either be interrogative or affirmative. exx.

avan/enke/pookaṭṭum, where can he go?
 avan/pookaṭṭum, let him go

The verbal form that occurs at V, with N_1 filled by a third person, may also occur when N_1 is filled by first person provided that the structure contains the interrogative particle. exx.

avan/pookaṭṭum, let him go (3rd person at N_1)
 naan/pookaṭṭum aa, may I go? (1st person at N_1).

6.31113 Positive finite indicative impersonal

Under this heading may be grouped four classes of verbs. The four classes are set up on the basis of the structure in which they function. Three classes contain only one verb each and to the fourth belong five verbs.

Class one contains the verb veenum, needed, class two muṭiyum, can, class three teriyum, known, class four pacikkum, will be hungry, valikkum, will be painful, arikkum, will be itchy, piṭikkum, will be liked, and tavikkum, will be thirsty.

Impersonal verbs may only occur in simple sentences, except class two, which may also occur in complex sentences.

Of the four classes only the fourth class is

2. It is possible for a positive indicative concordial verb to function in place of pooṭṭukka as in naan/entac caṭṭayep/pooṭṭukkuveen, which shirt shall I wear?

subject to a system of tense, i.e. past, present and future tense morphological forms may be recognized.

The verbs of the other three classes do not show this morphological distinction as far as tense is concerned. These verbs cannot denote past tense.

6.311131 Class one

The minimal structure is V, and this may only be context-bound, e.g. veenum, (I/he/she) want(s) (it). The maximal structure is AN_2V . e.g. enakkup/peenaa/veenum, to me a pen is needed.^{2A}

N_2 may not consist of proper nouns. The nominal group when it fills A, may only take the nominal suffix -ukku.

6.311132 Class two

The structures into which muṭiyum may enter are V, AV, N_1X -infinitival dependent clause-V, and A-infinitival dependent clause-V, where A is filled by a nominal group.

The first two structures are context-bound while the last two may be context-free. In the last structure it is obligatory that A should be filled by a nominal group with the nominal suffix -aale. exx.

muṭiyum, (I) can (literally, it is possible)

ennaale muṭiyum, (I) can (literally, by me it is possible).

X in the third structure stands for N_2 and/or A.
exx. naan/avanep/paakka/muṭiyum, (N_2)
I can see him

naan/viittukkup/pooka/muṭiyum, (A)
I can go to the house

ennaale/avanep/paakka/muṭiyum, I can see him.
(literally, by me it is possible to see him).

^{2A} When this structure is made a dependent clause by suffixation, N_2 has the characteristic option of taking the nominal suffix -e, e.g. enakku/antap peenaave/veenunnu // conneen, I said // that I wanted that pen.

The last example on the previous page illustrates structure four.

naan avanep paakka muṭiyum and ennaale avanep paakka muṭiyum, though syntactically different, do not exhibit any semantic difference. While the latter has the potentiality of variation of word order, giving avanep paakka ennaale muṭiyum, the former has not this possibility.

6.311133 Class three

teriyum functions at V in the structure AN_2V . A is filled by a nominal group with the nominal suffix -ukku. The nominal group filling N_2 may or may not take the suffix -e. exx.

enakku/avanet/teriyum, I know him

enakkup/paaṭam/teriyum, I know the lesson.

6.311134 Class four

Verbs of this class show a morphological distinction in past, present and future tenses as a result of the system of tense operating on them.

The structure into which this class of verbs enter is the same as for class three, i.e. AN_2V ; but it is obligatory that the nominal suffix -e should occur with the nominal group at N_2 , when the verbs tavikkum and piṭikkum occur at V; when the other verbs occur at V, the suffix is optional. exx.

past: enakku/vayittep/paciccutu,
 I was hungry (literally,
 to me the stomach was hungry)

present: enakku/vayittep/pacikkutu,
 I am hungry

future: enakku/vayittep/pacikkum
 I shall be hungry

6.3112 Positive imperative

Imperative verbs may be divided into simple and complex. Besides having different morphological forms, they may occur only in particular structures.

The maximal structure for the simple imperative is N_1AN_2V and for the complex N_1N_2V . A is filled by nominal groups with the nominal suffix -ukku. Both structures may or may not contain the nominal head (N_1). While A may or may not occur in the first structure, it may never occur in the second. exx.

N_1AN_2V nii/avanukkuk/katavet/tira,
you open the door for him (simple)

N_1N_2V nii/katavet/torantukka,
you open the door yourself (complex)

The morphological shape of the complex verb is identical to that of the personally restricted verb; but they are entirely different as they occur in basically different structures.

6.312 Positive non-finite

The non-finite verbal heads form a closed set and are adequately described in 4.312. They may only occur in dependent major clauses and are always context-bound.

6.32 Negative verbal heads

Negative verbal heads may be divided into finite and non-finite just as in the case of the positive verbal heads.

6.321 Negative finite

Negative finite verbal heads in turn may be divi-

ded into indicative and imperative.

6.3211 Negative finite indicative

This may be divided into concordial and impersonal.

6.32111 Negative finite indicative concordial

The concordial negative consists of only one verbal root, viz, maaʈʈ-, which when it takes the personal endings, forms the finite indicative verbal head, and exhibits concord with the nominal head, when it co-occurs with one. exx.

maaʈʈaan, (he) won't
 naan/maaʈʈeen, I won't (with N₁ filled by 1st person)
 avan/vara/maaʈʈaan, he won't come

When maaʈʈ- occurs in simple sentences, the nominal head may only be the first person pronoun (example two above). In complex sentences (example three), containing the infinitival dependent clauses, it can co-occur with all nominal heads (i.e. nominal heads in all persons).

6.32112 Negative finite impersonal

Negative finite impersonal verbal heads may be divided into closed and open.

6.321121 Negative impersonal closed

There are only six items which are: ille, no; vee-ŋtaam, not necessary; kuuʈaatu, don't; muʈiyaatu, can't; muʈiyale, can't and kaanum, is not to be seen. Of these ille by itself forms a sub-group and the rest another.

Group one: ille

ille may occur in a simple sentence as in

ille, no

avan ille, (it is) not he

avan vii^{ti}lle ille, he is not in the house.

ille may also occur, as does the negative concordial, in a complex sentence, containing an infinitival dependent clause, if the dependent clause takes one of the following particles: ee, aa. exx.

avan/varav ee/ille, he didn't come at all

avan/varav aa/ille, is it(true that)he didn't come?

ee is the emphasizing particle and aa is the interrogative particle.

The other five forms form a group by themselves in that they differ from ille syntactically. Each of the five forms may occur at V in a complex sentence, the structure of which is N_1 -infinitival dependent clause-V.

At N_1 only animate nouns may occur. exx.

avan/vara/veen^{ti}taam, he need not come

avan/varak/kuu^{ti}taatu, he should not come

avan/vara/mu^{ti}yaatu, he can't come

avan/vara/mu^{ti}yale, he can't come

avan/varak/kaan^{um}, he has not come.

All the forms except kuu^{ti}taatu may occur by themselves; when they so occur they will always be context-bound. exx.

veen^{ti}taam, (it is) not necessary; (I do) not want

mu^{ti}yaatu, (I/he/she)could not

mu^{ti}yale, (I/he/she)could not

kaan^{um}, (it) cannot (be) seen.

Besides the structures discussed above there are others where these four may occur separately, but the structures are different for each.

veen^{ti}taam occurs at V in a structure N_1V , where N_1 may not be occupied by first person. exx.

nii/caapp^{ti}a/veen^{ti}taam, you need not eat

avan/caapp^{ti}a/veen^{ti}taam, he need not eat

First person may, however, occur at N_1 if the interro-

gative particle aa occurs in the structure. exx.

naan/caapp̣ta/veeṇtaam aa, need not I eat?

veeṇtaam also occurs in structures AV and AN₂V, where A is filled by a nominal with the suffix -ukku.exx.

enakku/veeṇtaam, to me it is not necessary
 avanukku/veeṇtaam, to him it is not necessary
 enakku/antap pajam/veeṇtaam,
 to me that fruit is not necessary

muṭiyaatu and muṭiyale may occur at V in a simple sentence, the structure of which may be AV and in a complex sentence containing an infinitival dependent clause. A is filled by a nominal group with the nominal suffix -aale. exx.

ennaale muṭiyaatu, I cannot do (it)
 (literally, by me it is not possible)

ennaale muṭiyale, I cannot do (it)
 avanaale muṭiyaatu, he cannot do (it)

When muṭiyaatu and muṭiyale occur in complex sentences N₁ is always filled by an animate noun. exx.

naan/vara/muṭiyaatu, I cannot come
 avan/vara/muṭiyale, he cannot come

anta maaṭu/ooṭa/muṭiyaatu, that bull can't run.

N₁ of the complex sentence structure mentioned above may be replaced by A, where A is filled by the same noun with the suffix -aale. exx.

ennaale/vara/muṭiyaatu, I cannot come
 avanaale/vara/muṭiyaatu, he cannot come
 anta maaṭaale/ooṭa/muṭiyaatu, that bull can't run.

The structure of the above examples is A-infinitival dependent clause-V. At A in this structure inanimate nouns may also occur; however, they have no parallel N₁ replacement possibility.exx.

kattiyaale/veṭṭa/muṭiyaatu
 by the knife, it cannot be cut

*katti/veṭṭa/muṭiyaatu

peenaavaale/eṭuta/muṭiyaatu
 by the pen it cannot be written

*peenaa/eṭuta/muṭiyaatu.

In the above structures when A is filled by an inanimate noun, it is possible to introduce N_1 into the structure.e.g.

avan/peenaavaale/eruta/muṭiyaatu,
he cannot write with a pen

However, when A is filled by an animate noun as in ennaale/vara/muṭiyaatu, ^{I cannot come} N_1 may not be introduced into the structure.e,g,

*avan/ennaale/vara/muṭiyaatu

kaanum occurs in structure N_2V . exx.
avanek kaanum, he cannot be seen
kattiyek kaanum, the knife is missing

6.321122 Negative impersonal open

The suffix -le is affixed to the negative verbal roots and the finite verbal forms thus obtained ^{are termed negative impersonal open and} do not exhibit concord with the nominal head.³ exx.

avan caappṭale, he did not eat, he is not eating
he will not eat.

ava caappṭale, she did not eat,etc.
avaṅka caappṭale, they did not eat, etc.

It is possible to emphasize the impersonal verb at V in a simple sentence structure by introducing the emphasizing particle ee or the interrogative particle aa. When these particles occur the resulting structure differs from the simple sentence structure i.e. a complex sentence results. exx.

avan valle	avan varav ee ille
he did not come	he didn't come at all
	avan varav aa ille
	is it true that he didn't come?

3. These are the normal unemphatic forms and they are completely neutral in tense. If future tense need be indicated specifically in the utterance, the structure of the utterance will be different. It will be a

6.3212 Negative finite imperative

As in the case of positive imperative verbs, negative imperative also may be divided into simple and complex. exx.

pookaate, don't go (simple)
pooṭṭukkaate, don't wear (it) (complex)

The nominal head may occur with the verbal head
as in nii pookaate, you don't go
nii pooṭṭukkaate, you don't wear (it).

6.322 Negative non-finite

This is a closed set containing the negative suffixes -aame and -aaṭṭi. These are affixed to the negative verbal roots and form non-finite verbal heads which function in the dependent clauses. exx.

avan vaankaame/vantaan, he came without buying
avan vaankaaṭṭi/naan colreen,
if he doesn't buy/I will tell (you)

6.4 Compound verbs

There is only one type of compound verb in Tamil and this is formed by affixing -ru to a form identical to that of the completive verbal form. The suffix is syntactically not separable. To this compound verb all the verbal suffixes are affixed. exx.

vantu+ru+nt+aan, he had come (vanturuntaan)
caappṭṭu+ru+pp+aan, he would have eaten
(caappṭṭuruppaan)

The compound verb functions exactly like the simple verbs. They function as heads at V both in dependent

complex sentence, containing an infinitival dependent clause with the negative finite indicative concordial functioning at V. exx.

avan/caappṭṭa/maaṭṭaan, he will not eat

dent and independent clauses. However, the system of pos/neg. does not apply to compound verbal heads. There are no negative forms of compound verbs.

6.5 Reflexive verbs

Just as there is only one type of compound verb, there is only one type of reflexive verb in the language. This is formed by affixing -kk to a form identical to that of the completive verbal form. These are syntactically unseparable. To this reflexive verb all the verbal suffixes are affixed. exx.

taʔukki+kk+ʔʔ+aan, he tripped himself⁴
(taʔukkikkʔʔaan)

taʔukki+kk+r+aan, he trips himself
(taʔukkikkraan)

taʔukki+kk+uv+aan, he will trip himself
(taʔukkikkuvaan)

These may occur only in special structures which are discussed in 5.52 .

6.6 System of tense

The system of tense operates on the finite verbal heads. This contains three sub-systems, viz. past, present and future. These are identified by their forms.

exx. past: vantaan, (he) came
present: varraan, (he) is coming
future: varuvaan, (he) will come.

6.61 Neutralization

The morphological distinction results from dis-

4. Very often, between the root and the past tense marker, a vowel off-glide i is seen to occur, as taʔukki-kk-i-ʔʔ-aan. taʔukkikknaan, with the exponent

ting exponents for past, present and future in the case of the positive verbs. Negative verbs do not exhibit this distinction and complete neutralization is seen.

6.62 Tense neutrals⁵

Though positive verbal heads are distinctly marked, they may behave as neutrals when used in an utterance. By virtue of complete neutralization in negative verbal heads, they also behave as tense neutrals. It is proposed here that this neutrality be referred to as 'tense neutrals' as distinct from neutralization which applies only to the morphology of the verbal heads.

Tense neutrals may be complete or partial. The former refers to neutrality of past, present and future^{time}, and the latter to neutrality of either past and present^{time}, or present and future^{time}.

Negative verbal heads may be either completely or partially neutral, while positive verbal heads may only be partially neutral.

The temporal element (i.e. tense) in the utterances in such cases is made clear by i. the context of situation, which is extra-linguistic, ii. an explicit temporal specifier.

The temporal specifiers are generally adverbs or adverbial groups of time like naa|ekki, tomorrow, innakki, today, etc.

6.621 Complete neutrality

This applies only to negative finite indicative

of the past tense as n, occurs in my speech; this may be regarded as a dialectal form by some speakers.

5. For grammatical neutrals see Firth, 1957e; Robins, 1959. For phonetic neutrals, see Palmer, 1964.

impersonal open verbal nouns. exx.

avan valle	avan <u>neettu</u> valle
he did not come	he did not come yesterday
he is not coming	avan <u>innakki</u> valle
he will not come	he is not coming today
	avan <u>naalekki</u> valle
	he will not come tomorrow

In the above examples the underlined words are the temporal specifiers.

6.622 Partial neutrality

All other negative verbal heads are capable of exhibiting partial neutrality. Negative impersonal closed verbal heads are divided into two sets.

The first set includes ille, kaanum and muṭiyale, and these may denote either past or present. The second set includes the verbal root maaṭṭ-, kuuṭaatu, muṭiyaatu and veenṭaam, which may denote either present or future.

exx.	<u>neutral</u>	<u>past</u>	<u>present</u>
	avan viiṭṭle ille he is/was not in the house	avan <u>neettu</u> viiṭṭle ille, he was not in the house yesterday.	avan <u>innakki</u> vii- ṭṭle ille, he is not in the house.
	avanek kaanum, he is/was not to be seen	avane <u>neettuk</u> kaanum. he was not to be seen yesterday.	avane <u>innakkik</u> kaanum, he is not to be seen
	avanaale muṭiyale he can't/couldn't	avanaale <u>neetu</u> muṭi- yale, he can't yes- terday.	avanaale <u>innakki</u> muṭiyale, he can't today
		<u>present</u>	<u>future</u>
	avanaale muṭiyaatu. he cannot	avanaale <u>innakki</u> mu- tiyaatu, today he cannot	avanaale <u>naalekki</u> muṭiyaatu, tomo- row he cannot
	veenṭaam, it is/ will not be neces- sary	<u>innakki</u> veenṭaam it is not necess- ary today	<u>naalekki</u> veenṭaam it will not be necessary tomorrow
	avan varak kuuṭaa- tu, he should not come	avan <u>innakki</u> varak kuuṭaatu, he should not come today	avan <u>naalekki</u> varak kuuṭaatu, he should not come tomorrow

The temporal specifiers are marked in the above examples.

When the V of the independent clause is filled by muṭiyaatu, veenṭaam, kuṭṭaatu or maatṭ-, by using a present compound verbal form at V of the infinitival dependent clause, past time may be denoted. exx.

avan veenṭaam, he is not necessary (neutral)
avan/vanturukka/veenṭaam, he need not have come.

Partial neutrality may also be seen in the case of positive verbal heads when they contain the present tense marker. *exx.*

pooreen, (I) go/will go

The above utterance may denote either present or future, and the temporal specifier makes it clear as in

innakkip pooreen, (I) go today
naalekkip pooreen, (I) go tomorrow

However, it is possible to use a different morphological form at V to denote future without making use of the adverb of time. e.g.

pooveen, I shall go

In the following two examples, different morphological forms are used, and both denote future.

naa]ekkip pooreen, (I) shall go tomorrow
naa]ekkip pooveen,

Syntactically they are equivalent but one may be able to make semantic differences. The former shows certainty and the latter a desire to go; the going may be stopped.

6.7 System of transitivity

Verbal heads may be divided into transitive and intransitive, depending on their potentiality to take objects (the object being N_2). The former may take an object while the latter may not. exx.

TRANSITIVITY — { transitive: avan paam caapp[taan,
he ate a fruit
intransitive: avan vantaan, he came

Chapter Seven
Adverbial Group

7.1	General remarks	99
7.2	Classes of adverbs	99
7.21	Interrogative adverbs	100
7.22	Adverbs of time	100
7.23	Adverbs of place	101
7.24	'True' adverbs	101
7.25	Denominal adverbs	101
7.251	Common denominal adverbs	101
7.252	Adverbs of manner	102
7.253	Reduplicated adverbs	102
7.254	Adverbs of colour	103
7.26	Examples	103
7.27	Adverbs of comparison	103
7.28	'Lone' adverbs	104
7.281	patti	104
7.282	appurom	104
7.283	peraku	105
7.284	munti and pinti	105
7.285	kajiccu	106

Chapter Seven

ADVERBIAL GROUP

7.1 General remarks

The Adverbial group functions at the element of structure A. (The other group which may function at A is the nominal group, which is described in chapter five). This group may consist of either one or more than one adverb. When the group consists of more than one adverb, the relative order of occurrence is fixed.

In Tamil, among the two classes of words which may not be inflected adverbs form one class, the other being adjectives. Adverbs may be distinguished from the adjectives by their mutual exclusiveness. Adverbs occur only at A (adjunct) in a major clause and the adjectives only at M (modifier) in a nominal group. It is not easy and profitable to set up a morphological criterion to distinguish the two classes words, though certain adverbs contain the characteristic suffix -aa and certain adjectives the suffix -aana.

7.2 Classes of adverbs

Adverbs may be divided into five main classes, viz interrogative, time, place, 'true' and denominal. The denominal adverbs may in turn be divided into common, ^{manner,} reduplicated and colour. The following table sets them out in their order of occurrence when they occur together.

<u>adverbs</u>				
interrogative	time	place	'true'	denominal
	common	manner	reduplicated	colour

Besides the above there are two other classes which are termed adverbs of comparison and 'lone' adverbs.

1. The names for the various classes are chosen arbitrarily, but their classification is based on their occurrence possibility at a certain place in structure, when occurring together.

These may occur only by themselves at A and they do not co-occur with the other adverbs. Hence they are not included in the table above. These adverbs may be listed exhaustively and they are:

maatiri, poole, paṭi and viṭa (all adverbs of comparison); patti, appurom, pinti, peraku, munti and kaxi-ccu (all adverbs of 'lone' type).

7.21 Interrogative adverb

een, why, is the only item under this heading; this may occur by itself at A or may co-occur with any of the other nine sub-classes, except with epṭi, how, and evvaḷavu, how much, which are grouped under 'true' adverbs. exx.

een neettu vantaā, (interrogative-time)
why did she come yesterday?

een anke vantaā, (interrogative-place)
why did she come there?

een appṭik keeṭṭā, (interrogative-true)
why did she ask so?

7.22 Adverbs of time

To this class belong eleven items which are: neettu, yesterday, neettooṭe, innakki, today, innayooṭe, naaḷekki, tomorrow, naaḷeyooṭe, muntaaneettu, day before yesterday, muntaaneettooṭe, naaḷaaneikki, day after tomorrow, ippa, now, eppa, when.

Though in pairs like innakki and innayooṭe, the nominal suffixes -ukku and -ooṭe may be recognized, they (the pairs) are not considered as nominals in this thesis. neettu may be termed the non-suffixed member in the pair but parallel non-suffixed members may not be seen to occur in the other pairs. Besides, the other nominal suffixes do not occur at all under any circumstances. Hen-

ce, the forms are treated purely as adverbs, based on their function, rather than as nominals which would be based on their form.

7.23 Adverbs of place

Seven items are grouped under this heading and they are: enke, where, anke, there, inke, here, u|le, inside, ve|iyē, outside, mee|e, up and ki|ae, down.

7.24 'true' adverbs

Two sets of items form the 'true' adverbs; the first set includes eppti, how, appti, that way, ippti, thus, and innum, some more; the second set includes evva|avu, how much, rompa, plenty and koncam, a little. The members of each set may either occur by themselves or may occur together in the same utterance. However, ippti, appti and eppti are mutually exclusive of each other.

When koncam precedes rompa, as in koncam rompat taan keet|aan, the emphasizing particle taan is usually seen to co-occur with rompa.

7.25 Denominal adverbs

Denominal adverbs are formed by affixing -aa to substantives, and these may be divided into common, manner, reduplicated and colour.

7.251 Common denominal adverbs

These are formed by affixing -aa to the common nouns.

nouns.	exx.	<u>nouns</u>		<u>adverbs</u>
		aaaku, beauty		aaakaa,
		pa acu, old		pa acaa.

Most of the denominal adverbs are capable of occurring in a compound form. In a compound form the noun and the adverb occur together, and the head of the compound form is the adverb. Compound forms show intensity. exx.

<u>noun</u>	<u>adverb</u>	<u>compound form</u>
perucu, big	perucaa	perucuperucaa
nii]am, length	perucaa	nii]anii]amaa

7.252 Adverbs of manner

These are formed by affixing -aa to words denoting 'manner'; this is a closed set and the complete list is as follows:

<u>noun</u>	<u>adverb</u>	<u>noun</u>	<u>adverb</u>
veekam, speed	veekamaa	kopam, anger	kopamaa
varuttam, sorrow	varuttamaa	veruppu, bitterness	veruppaa
tayrium, valour	tayriyamaa	viruppam, desire	viruppamaa
maki]ccci, joy	maki]ccciyaa		
aace, desire	aaceyaa		

Besides these there is one other ietm metuva, slowly, for which the noun *methuvu does not occur.

7.253 Reduplicated adverbs

The suffix -aa is affixed to reduplicated words, which also form a closed set.

<u>noun</u>	<u>adverb</u>
curucuruppu	curucuruppaa, busily
viruviruppu	viruviruppaa, quickly
ka]uka]uppu	ka]uka]uppaa, angrily
pa]apa]appu	pa]apa]appaa, excitedly
kirukiruppu	kirukiruppaa, dizzily
coracorappu	coracorappaa, roughly
va]ava]appu	va]ava]appaa, smoothly
karakarappu	karakarappaa, roughly
pa]apa]appu	pa]apa]appaa, brightly

Reduplicated adverbs are different from the compound adverbs(7.251), in that they are simple words and may not be split; the compound adverbs may be split to give a noun and an adverb.

7.254 Adverbs of colour

-aa is affixed to the colour words to form the colour adverbs: exx;

cevappu, red	cevappaa
karuppu, black	karuppaa

7.26 Examples

avan innu inke irukkaan, he is still here
 namma naalekki anke rompa veekamaap poovoom
 tomorrow we will go there very quickly
naalekki innu veekamaa makiacciyaap poovoom
 tomorrow we will go still speedily and happily

7.27 Adverbs of comparison

There are four adverbs of comparison which are maatiri, poole, viṭa and paṭi. The first three are mutually exclusive of each other and they always occur following N₂ which is obligatory. The nominal at N₂ may or may not take the nominal suffix -e when poole occurs in the utterance. When maatiri follows, the nominal does not take the suffix, but it is obligatory when viṭa follows.exx.

murukanep} poole nalla piḷḷe, a good child like
 murukan ; Murukan

neettu vantatep} poole innakkum varuvaan
 neettu vantatu }
 he will come today as he did yesterday

murukan maatiri nalla piḷḷe, a good child like
 Murukan

murukane viṭa nalla piḷḷe, a better child than
Murukan

maatiri and paṭi, which are mutually exclusive of each other, occur after an adjectivalized verbal group, as in avan conna paṭi cenceen, I did as he said
avan conna maatiri cenceen -do-

7.28 'Lone' adverbs

As mentioned earlier the 'lone' adverbs occur by themselves. The complete list of these adverbs is:

patti, about, appurom, after, peraku, after,
munti, before, pinti, later, and kajiccu, later.

7.281 patti

Like the adverbs of comparison with which patti is mutually exclusive, this adverb occurs following N₂. The nominal group functioning at N₂ always takes the nominal suffix. exx.

avanep patti enakkut teriyum, I know about him
avan keeṭṭatep patti enakkut teriyum,
I know that he asked.

7.282 appurom

This adverb occurs (i) in a contextbound independent major clause (ii) in a complex sentence and (iii) following an adjunct filled by an exocentric nominal group with a neuter verbal noun. This nominal group takes the suffix -ukku.

(i) In a context-bound independent major clause appurom occurs either preceding or following the nominal at N₁. exx.

appurom naan colreen, I will tell (you) later.
naan appurom colreen,

(ii) The complex sentence may only contain either a completive dependent clause or a reporting dependent clause. appurom occurs between the dependent clause and the independent clause, or in the independent clause.

exx. kaṭekkip poyṭṭu/appurom/viiṭṭukku varreen,
 (completive dependent clause)
 (I) will go to the shop and then will come home
 avan enna connaannu/appurom/colreen
 (reporting dependent clause)
 I will tell (you) later what he said
 avan enna connaannu/naan appurom colreen,

(iii) The examples are:

avan vantatukku appurom poovoom,
 we will go after he comes
naan avan vantatukku appurom pooreen,
 I will go after he comes

7.283 peraku

peraku occurs after an adjectivalized verbal group.

exx. avan vanta peraku namma poovoom,
 we will go after he comes
 avan caappṭṭa peraku namma poovoom
 we will go after he eats.

7.284 munti and pinti

These are mutually exclusive of each other. They occur following adjuncts which may be filled by

(i) words denoting time with the suffix -ukku

(ii) exocentric nominal group with the neuter verbal noun, suffixed with -ukku.

Though the words denoting time are also nominals, they are separated here from the other nominals because of the distinction made when they occur together (see below). Besides, this distinction is very necessary for the occurrence of the next class of adverb, kaṛiccu.

Words denoting time are: neeram, time; naalu, day, maacam, month, varucam, year, etc.

naalu naalekki munti vantaan, he came four days ago
ava pooratukku munti vantaan, he came before she left.

Both fillers of the adjunct may occur together in which case the nominal group precedes the words of time.

exx. namma pooratukku naalu naalekki munti vantaan,
he came four days before we left.

7.285 kariccu

This adverb occurs only after words denoting time which take the suffix -ukku. exx.

naalu naaluk kariccu vantaan,
he came four days later

oru mani neeram kariccu vantaan,
she came an hour later.

Chapter Eight

Nominals

8.1	Nominals	108
8.11	Elements of structure of nominals	108
8.111	The element of structure R	108
8.112	The element of structure D	108
8.113	The element of structure P	109
8.114	The element of structure S	109
8.1141	The suffix -e	109
8.1142	The suffix -ukku	109
8.1143	The suffix -aale	110
8.1144	The suffix -ootē	110
8.1145	The suffix -le	110
8.1146	The suffix -t̥tē	110
8.1147	Complete paradigms of nominals	111
8.12	Non-affixed nominal forms	111
8.13	Affixed nominal forms	112
8.2	Substantive forms	112
8.21	Substantives-Class I.-V final roots	112
8.22	Substantives-Class II.-C final roots	112
8.221	Contrasting final -C roots	113
8.222	Non-contrasting final -C roots	114
8.23	Substantives-Class III.-N final roots	114
8.3	Non-affixed substantive forms	115
8.31	Class I	115
8.32	Class II	115
8.33	Class III	115
8.4	Affixed substantive forms	116
8.41	Class I	116
8.42	Class II	117
8.43	Class III	117
8.5	Pronominal forms	117
8.51	Non-affixed pronominal forms	118
8.52	Affixed pronominal forms	118
8.6	Verbal noun form	119
8.61	Non-affixed verbal noun forms	119
8.62	Affixed verbal noun forms	119
8.7	Plural forms	120
8.8	Forms of the nominals in the function of modifiers	120
8.81	Substantive forms	121
8.82	Pronominal forms	122
8.83	Verbal noun forms	122
8.84	Pronominal forms, verbal noun forms and vowel, non-plosive initial modified forms.	123
8.9	Adverbs and adjectives	123

Chapter Eight

NOMINALS8.1 Nominals

Nominals form that word-class which functions at the place of element of structure N. As already mentioned (5.5) nominals may be divided into substantives, pronouns and verbal nouns. When nominals function at N_1 , they do not take any nominal suffix, when they function at N_2 and A, they take one of the nominal suffixes; when they function at M, they may take the nominal suffix-ooŋe.

8.11 Elements of structure of nominals

The elements of structure of nominals are R, D, P and S. R stands for roots, D for deverbalizing suffix, P for pluralizing suffix and S for nominal suffix.

The possible structures are R, RP, RS and RPS for substantives and pronouns, and RD, RDP, RDS and RDPS for verbal nouns. D occurs only in the structure of the verbal nouns.

8.111 The element of structure R

Roots function at the element of structure R.

For certain suffixed forms, it is necessary to set up an alternative root form (termed a secondary root) which may occur only with suffixes.

8.112 The element of structure D

D is an element of structure only in the verbal nouns. This is filled by one of the following suffixes: -an, -a, -ar or -t.

8.113 The element of structure P

P always occurs immediately after R or after D in the case of the verbal nouns. This is filled by the plural suffix -ka.

-ka may not be affixed to proper nouns and neuter verbal nouns; in the case of the neuter nouns only certain of them take this suffix (5.62). When the suffix is affixed the junction is characterized by h-prosody.

8.114 The element of structure S

S may occur after R, or D or P. This is filled by one of the following nominal suffixes: -e, -ukku, -aale, -ooṭe, -le and -ṭṭe.

8.1141 The suffix -e

This is the 'objective' suffix¹ and when it is affixed to a nominal, the nominal functions at N₂.

avan murukanep paattaaṇ, he saw Murukan

8.1142 The suffix -ukku

This is the 'dative' suffix, and occurs with a nominal at A. This has a variant in -akku, when it is affixed to first and second person singular pronoun roots.

murukanukkuk koṭuttaṇ, (he) gave it to Murukan
onakkuk koṭuttaṇ, (he) gave it to you

1. The terms 'objective', 'dative', 'instrumental', 'genitive', 'sociative', 'locative' and 'ablative' are traditional terms and are used purely to identify the various suffixes. They are not to be interpreted in any other way. see Zvelebil, 1958.p.319, fn.11.

8.1143 The suffix -aale

This is the 'instrumental' suffix. exx.

avan kattiyaaale vettnaan, he cut with a knife

avan onnaaale vantaan, he came because of you

avan kattiyaaale vetta mutiyum, he can cut with a
knife

avanaaale vara mutiyum, he can come

For an analysis of the structures of the above examples see 6.311132 and 6.321121.

8.1144 The suffix -ooje

This suffix may be used as a 'genitive' as well as a 'sociative' suffix. As a 'genitive' suffix it is affixed to human nouns (including proper nouns), and it functions as a modifier at M in a nominal group. e.g.

murukanooje peenaa, Murukan's pen

-ooje has a variant in -u₁aiya and these two are in free variation. e.g. murukanuu₁aiya peenaa, Murukan's pen.

As a 'sociative' suffix, it is affixed to nominals which function at A. e.g.

avan murukanooje vantaan, he came with Murukan

8.1145 The suffix -le

This is the 'locative' suffix, and this may be affixed to all nominals except the human nouns.e.g.

avan viitle irukkaan, he is in the house.

For the use of this as an 'agentive' suffix see 5.52.

8.1146 The suffix -tje

This may function as (i) a 'locative' suffix, (ii) an 'ablative' suffix and (iii) a 'dative' suffix.

This has a variant in -utte when it is affixed to Class II roots of substantives.

As a 'locative' suffix it may only be affixed to human nouns.e.g. tampitte irukku, (it) is with(my)brother.

The following examples illustrate the use of this suffix as an 'ablative' and as a 'dative'² suffix:

avantte vaankneen, (I) bought (it) from him
 avantte kotutteen, (I) gave (it) to him

8.1147 Complete paradigms of nominals

The following are the complete paradigms of tampi, (my) brother, viitu, house, ava, she and murukan, Murukan.

root	<u>murukan-</u>	<u>tampi-</u>	<u>viit-</u>	<u>ava-</u>
nom.	murukan	tampi	viitu	ava
obj.	murukane	tampiye	viitte	avale
dat.	murukanukku	tampikki†	viittukku	avallukku
ins.	murukanaale	tampiyaale	viittaale	avallaale
soc.	murukanootte	tampiyootte	viittoote	avallootte
abl.	murukan <u>tte</u>	tampi <u>tte</u>	-	ava <u>tte</u>
abl.	-	-	viitt <u>le</u>	-

8.12 Non-affixed nominal forms

Non-affixed nominal forms are the nominative forms which function at N₁ of the clause structure.

The nominative forms are identical with the forms of the roots, if the roots end in a vowel or in a nasal; they occur in a form with a final u if the roots end in a consonant other than a nasal. exx.

-V final root: tampi-	nominative form: tampi
-C final root: aa <u>t</u> -	aa <u>t</u> u ³
-N final root: murukan-	murukan

2. The 'ablative'-'dative' distinction is only semantic and cannot be justified at the syntactical level.

3. u is not treated as a nominal suffix as this occurs with class II roots only. It would be possible to treat this as a nominal suffix, but this would necessitate

†. See Section. 8.41.

8.13 Affixed nominal forms

The affixed forms function at N_2 and A of the clause structure. The structures of the affixed forms are RS, RPS, RDS and RDPS. S is the obligatory element in the affixed forms. R may be filled either by roots or secondary roots.

8.2 Substantive forms

Substantive forms may be divided into three major classes depending on the root final and the scatter of forms in a paradigm. These three classes may be termed -V final, -C final and -N final roots.

8.21 Substantives-Class I. -V final roots

These may be divided into two sub-classes, based on the prosodic features of the root final syllable. They may be termed y-prosodic and w-prosodic -V final roots.⁴

setting up zero suffixes for the other classes of roots.

4. y-prosodic -V final roots are those which have a 'front' vowel finally; in Tamil nouns they are i, ii and e. w-prosodic -V final roots are those which have a 'back' vowel finally; in Tamil they are u, uu and aa.

Though aa is not a true 'back' vowel, it is grouped under this heading because of its behaviour pattern. For example, the prosodies that characterize the junctions (i) between a u final root and a suffix, and (ii) between aa final root and a suffix are the same, viz. w-prosody. exx. pacu+e, pacu-v-e; appaa+e, appaa-v-e.

Henderson uses the terms 'yotized' (syllable characterized by i-element) and 'labio-velarized' (syllable characterized by u-element). see Henderson, 1949; Firth, 1957a.

y-prosodic and w-prosodic are to be distinguished from y-prosody and w-prosody, in this analysis. The former is a feature of the syllable final and the latter of junction. The exponents of y-prosodic -V in Tamil

<u>y-prosodic</u>	<u>w-prosodic</u>
caɽti-	pacu-
tii-	puu-
tale-	appaa-

8.22 Substantives-Class II. -C final roots

These may be divided into two sub-classes, viz. contrasting final -C roots and non-contrasting -C roots.

8.221 Contrasting final -C roots

All roots, whose final -C is ɽ and some roots whose final -C is r are grouped under this heading.

The final consonant of the root is lax in this class of roots. However, when a nominal suffix functions at S, only a secondary root may occur at R. The secondary root is that form which has a tense final consonant cluster as in

<u>root</u>	<u>non-affixed</u> ^{4A} <u>forms</u> (nominatives)	<u>secondary</u> <u>roots</u>	<u>affixed</u> <u>forms</u>
aaɽ-	aaɽu	aaɽɽ-	aaɽte
aar-	aaru	aarr-	aarte

are i, ii and e, and those of w-prosodic -V are u, uu and aa, whereas the exponent of y-prosody is a palatal semi-vowel and that of w-prosody, a labio-dental fricative.

It is not uncommon to set up more than two prosodic features for vowels. see Scott, 1956, Palmer, 1960, Allen, 1954.

There are only four nouns (as far as I know) which end in -a, and these roots may be stated as o-prosodic -V final roots, meaning that the prosodic feature of the vowel is neither 'front' nor 'back'; or it may be stated as e-prosodic -V final roots, meaning the prosodic feature is 'centralization'. The four roots are maka-(daughter), marumaka- (daughter-in-law), ava-(she), and paya-(boy). The junction between the first three roots and any suffix is characterized by f-prosody, and the junction between the last root and any suffix is characterized by l-prosody.

4A. See section. 8.222.

The roots of this class are termed contrasting final -C roots because they exhibit the tense-lax relationship in the non-affixed and the affixed forms as described on the previous page.

8.222 Non-contrasting final -C roots

To this sub-class belong all structures with final -C which may be one of the following: k, c, t, l, r, ʃ or v; or -CC which may be kk, cc, tt, ʈʈ, pp, ll or ʃʃ. No tense-lax relationship may be established for the non-affixed and the affixed forms of these roots.

No secondary roots are set up for these roots.

<u>root</u>	<u>non-affixed</u> <u>forms</u>	<u>affixed</u> <u>forms</u>
kaat-	kaatu	kaate
paaʈʈ-	paaʈʈu	paaʈʈe

The constant -CC of this class roots is different from the final -CC of the secondary roots of the previous sub-class. This constant -CC (which may be termed invariable) occurs in all the forms in the scatter of the non-contrasting -C final root structures, both in the affixed and the non-affixed forms; -CC of the contrasting final roots (which may be termed variable) does not occur in the root structure and the non-affixed forms.

<u>exx.</u>	<u>contrasting final</u> <u>-C root paradigm</u>	<u>non-contrasting</u> <u>final -C root</u> <u>paradigm</u>
root	aaʈ-	paaʈʈ-
non-affixed form	aaʈ-u	paaʈʈ-u
secondary root	aaʈʈ-	paaʈʈ-
affixed form	aaʈʈ-e	paaʈʈ-e
	aaʈʈ-ukku	paaʈʈ-ukku

8.23 Substantives-Class III. -N final roots

All roots which have a final nasal are grouped under this heading. These may be divided into two sub-

classes depending on whether the nasal is alveolar or bilabial.

alveolar -N final roots: makan-, payyan-
bilabial -N final roots: maram-, cakkaram-

It is necessary to set up a secondary root for the bilabial -N final roots. Instead of the bilabial oral closure, a tense dental plosion occurs when nominal suffixes are affixed. This form of the root is termed a secondary root. exx.

<u>root</u>	<u>secondary root</u>
maram-	maratt-
cakkaram-	cakkaratt-

8.3 Non-affixed substantive forms

8.31 Class I -V final roots

The nominative forms (non-affixed forms) are identical with the form of the root. exx.

<u>root</u>	<u>nominative</u>	<u>root</u>	<u>nominative</u>
caṭṭi-	caṭṭi, a pot	pacu-	pacu, a cow
tii-	tii, fire	puu-	puu, a flower
tale-	tale, a head	appaa-	appaa, father

8.32 Class II -C final roots

The roots take a vowel u to form the nominative forms (see footnote 3).

<u>root</u>	<u>nominative</u>
aaṭ-	aaṭu, a goat
keṇar-	keṇaru, a well
paaṭṭ-	paaṭṭu, a song
moor-	mooru, butter-milk
kaat-	kaatu, an ear

8.33 Class III -N final roots

The final syllable -VN is realized as ẽ (with alveolar nasal final roots) and ẽ̃ (with bilabial nasal final roots).

<u>root</u>	<u>nominative</u>
makan-	makan [mɛxẽ], son
payyan-	payyan [pɛjjẽ], a boy
maram-	maram [mɛrẽ], a tree
cakkaram-	cakkaram [sɛkkɛrẽ], a wheel

8.4 Affixed substantive forms

Affixed substantive forms are those which have an obligatory S in their structure. Both roots and secondary roots may function at R. The affixed substantive forms function at N₂ or A (in one case at M of the nominal group).

8.41 Class I

y-prosodic -V final roots

When a substantive of this class takes one of the following nominal suffixes -e, -aale, -ooŋe or -le, y-prosody characterizes the junction.

<u>root</u>	<u>affixed form</u>
caŋŋi-	caŋŋi-y-e
	caŋŋi-y-aale, etc.

When the suffix -ukku is affixed the y-prosody extends over the whole suffix as in

caŋŋi- caŋŋi-kki

The palatalization may be observed even in the velar consonants.

When -ŋŋe is affixed, o-prosody characterizes the junction (i.e. absence of y- or w-prosody). exx.

tampi- tampi-ŋŋe.

w-prosodic -V final roots

When any nominal suffix except -ŋŋe is affixed to the roots of this class, a w-prosody characterizes the junction.

pacu- pacu-v-e
 pacu-v-ukku, etc.

When -ŋŋe is affixed o-prosody characterizes the

junction. e.g.

<u>root</u>	<u>affixed form</u>
pacu-	pacu- <u>tte</u>

8.42 Class II -C final roots

When the nominal suffixes are affixed to the secondary roots (in the case of the contrasting final -C roots) and to the roots (in the case of the non-contrasting final -C roots), o-prosody characterizes the junction.

contrasting final -C roots

aat-	aat-e
	aat-ukku, etc

non-contrasting final -C roots

paa-	paa-e
	paa-ukku, etc.

8.43 Class III -N final roots

o-prosody characterizes the junction when the nominal suffixes are affixed to the roots, in the case of the alveolar -N final roots and to the secondary roots in the case of the bilabial -N final roots. exx.

makan-	makan-e
	makan-ukku, etc.
<u>secondary root</u>	<u>affixed form</u>
maratt-	maratt-e
	maratt-ukku, etc.

8.5 Pronominal forms

There are eleven pronoun roots; these may be divided into first, second and third person roots.

1st person root :	naan-
2nd person root :	nii-
3rd person roots:	avan-, ivan-, evan- (masc)
	ava-, iva-, eva- (fem.)
	at-, it-, et- (neut)

8.51 Non-affixed pronominal forms

The first person nominative form is naan, I, from the root naan-. The second person nominative form is nii, you from the root nii-. The roots avan-, ivan-, and evan- give the third person masculine forms avan, he, ivan this man and evan, which man, respectively. The third person feminine nominative forms are ava, that woman, iva, this woman, and eva, which woman from the roots ava-, iva- and eva- respectively.

The third person neuter nominative forms are identical to those of the roots with a final vowel u.

<u>root</u>	<u>nominative</u>
at-	atu, that thing
it-	itu, this thing
et-	etu, which thing

8.52 Affixed forms

It is necessary to set up secondary roots for first and second person pronouns. The structure of the secondary root is NV. For the first person, the secondary root form is en- and for the second, it is on-.

When the following nominal suffixes -e, -oote and -aale are affixed to the secondary roots, g-prosody characterizes the junction. The exponent of the prosody is an alveolar nasal. exx.

1st person en-	en-n-e
	en-n-oote
	en-n-aale
2nd person on-	on-n-e
	on-n-oote
	on-n-aale

When the nominal suffixes -akku and kitte⁵ are affixed o-prosody and h-prosody characterize the junctions.

en-	en-akku	on-	on-akku
	en-kitte		on-kitte

5. kitte is a variant of -tte, which occurs only with these roots.

When the nominal suffixes are affixed to the third person masculine and neuter roots, o-prosody characterizes the junctions.

<u>root</u>	<u>affixed form</u>
avan-	avan-e at-e
	avan-ukku at-ukku
	avan-ooŋe at-ooŋe, etc.

When the third person feminine roots take the nominal suffixes the junction is characterized by f-prosody

ava-	ava-ŋ-e
	ava-ŋ-ukku, etc.

8.6 Verbal noun forms

The structure of the verbal noun forms is one of the following: RD, RDP, RDS, RDPS.

A form identical to that of the verbal stem-base functions at R, and at D, one of the following deverbalizing suffixes: -an, -a, -ar, or -t. When the first three are affixed the junctions are characterized by w-prosody and when -t is affixed, o-prosody characterizes the junction. exx. masc: vanta-v-an-
vanta-v-ar-
fem: vanta-v-a-
neut: vanta-t-

8.61 Non-affixed forms

The nominative forms of the verbal nouns are:

caappŋavan-	caappŋavan, he (who) ate
caappŋavar-	caappŋavaru -do-
caappŋava-	caappŋava, she (who) ate
caappŋat-	caappŋatu, that (which) ate

8.62 Affixed forms

Affixed forms are given with the junction prosodies below:

	<u>j.pro.</u>	<u>affixed forms</u>
caappɪtavan-	o	caappɪtavan-e, etc.
caappɪtavar-	o	caappɪtavar-e, etc.
caappɪtava-	f	caappɪtava-l-e, etc.
caappɪtat-	o	caappɪtat-e, etc.

8.7 Plural forms

The plural suffix -ka is affixed to the roots to give the plural forms. exx.

payyan-	payyaŋ-ka
en-	eŋ-ka ⁶
maram-	marəŋ-ka
piɭɭe-	piɭɭe-ŋ-ka
caɪɪi-	caɪɪi-ŋ-ka

In all these cases the junction is characterized by h-prosody; in the last two examples, the exponent of the prosody is a velar nasal, and in the first three examples it is homorganicity of the nasal of the root and voicing of the plosive of the suffix.

The non-affixed forms (i.e. nominative forms) are identical to the plural forms; the affixed forms are produced by affixing the nominal suffixes to the plural forms; the junctions are characterized by f-prosody. exx.

<u>plural forms</u>	<u>non-affixed forms</u>	<u>affixed forms</u>
payyaŋka	payyaŋka, boys	payyaŋka-l-e, etc.
marəŋka	marəŋka, trees	marəŋka-l-e, etc.
piɭɭeŋka	piɭɭeŋka, children.	piɭɭeŋka-l-e, etc.
caɪɪiŋka	caɪɪiŋka, pots	caɪɪiŋka-l-e, etc.

8.8 Forms of the nominals in the function of modifiers

Any nominal, except the neuter verbal nouns and the exocentric nominal group with the neuter verbal noun, may function at M, as modifiers.

6. The first person plural (inclusive) form namma, we, is not regular in the sense that it is not formed by affixing the plural suffix -ka to any root. namma- is an independent root. The nominative form is identical

8.81 Substantive forms

When substantives of Class I occur as modifiers the form that functions as modifier is identical to that of the root. exx.

<u>modifier</u>	<u>modifier-modified</u>
caṭṭi	caṭṭi-p-piṭi, handle of a pot
pacu	pacu-t-tale, head of a cow

When substantives of Class II occur as modifiers, if the modified has a consonant initial and the modifier belongs to the contrasting -C final roots, the form of the modifier is identical to that of the secondary root with a final vowel u. exx.

aaṭṭu	aaṭṭu-t-tale, head of a goat
keṇattu	keṇattu-p-piṭi, wall of a well

If the modified has a vowel initial, the modifier is identical to the secondary root in form. The junction is characterized by o-prosody. exx.

aaṭṭ-	aaṭṭ-aṭi, foot of a goat
keṇatt-	keṇatt-aṭi, a well

In the case of the non-contrasting -C final roots, the modifier is identical to that of the non-affixed form, if the modified has a consonant initial; if the modified has a vowel initial, the modifier is identical to the root in form. exx.

paaṭṭu	paaṭṭu-k-kate, a song-story
kaattu	kaattu-c-cattam, sound of wind
paaṭṭ-	paaṭṭ-are, a music-room
kaatt-	kaatt-aaṭi, a fan

When the final -C is l or r the modifying form may either be like the non-affixed form or the root form, if the modified has a consonant initial; if it has a vowel initial, the form of the modifier is identical to that of the root. exx.

to that of the root. When the root takes the nominal suffixes the junction is characterized by f-prosody. namma-ḷ-e, namma-ḷ-ukku, etc.

<u>modifier</u>	<u>modifier-modified</u>
mooru	mooru-c-caṭṭi } a pot to hold
moor-	moor-c-caṭṭi } butter-milk
kaalu	kaalu-c-caṭṭe } a pair of
kaal-	kaal-c-caṭṭe } trousers

When substantives of bilabial -N final root class occurs as modifiers, (i) the modifier may have a form identical to that of the secondary root with a final u, or (ii) the modifier may drop the final nasal from the root.

<u>root</u>	<u>modifier</u>	<u>modifier-modified</u>
maram-	marattu	marattu-k-keḷe, the branch of mara-k-keḷe a tree

8.82 Pronominal forms

When pronouns function as modifiers, the modifier is identical to the secondary root in the case of first and second person pronouns, and to the root in the case of third person masculine and feminine pronominal forms. Third person neuter pronominal forms do not function as modifiers without the suffix -ooṭe. The modified have plosive initials. exx.

	<u>modifier</u>	<u>modifier-modified</u>
1st	en-	en-kaṭe, my shop
2nd	on-	on-kaṭe, your shop
3rd	avan-	avan-kaṭe, his shop
	ava-	ava-kaṭe, her shop

In the first three cases the junction is characterized by h-prosody, and in the last by o-prosody.

8.83 Verbal noun forms

Only the non-neuter verbal nouns may function as modifiers. The form of the modifier is identical to that of the root, and the modified has a plosive initial. In the case of the masculine noun forms, the junction is characterized by h-prosody, and in the case of feminine noun forms by o-prosody. exx.

<u>modifier</u>	<u>modifier-modified</u>
vantavan	vantavan-kaɽe, the shop of (the man who)came
vantava	vantava-kaɽe, the shop of (the woman who)came

8.84 Pronominal forms, verbal noun forms and vowel, non-plosive initial modified forms

When the modified has a vowel or non-plosive initial, the pronominal and verbal noun modifiers which have a nasal final exhibit a form identical to that of the root in the case of the third person pronominal and verbal noun roots, and to that of a secondary root in the case of first and second person pronominal roots. exx.

	<u>root/sec.root</u>	<u>modifier-modified</u>	
		<u>o-prosody</u>	<u>q-prosody</u>
1st	en-	en-are	en-n-are, my room
2nd	on-	on-are	on-n-are, your room
3rd	avan-	avan-are, his room	
verbal noun	vantavan	vantavan-are, the room of (the one who) came	

8.9 Adverbs and adjectives

Adverbs form that word-class which functions at A of the clause structure, and adjectives form that word-class which functions at M of the nominal group structure.

Adverbs and adjectives may easily be distinguished from the nominals which are capable of functioning at A and M by the possibility of the nominals to take the nominal suffixes.

8.91 The elements of structure and the possible structures

The elements of structure of adverbs and adjectives are R and S. Roots function at R and suffixes at S.

The possible structures are R and RS.

The structure RS is applicable only to denominal adverbs and denominal adjectives.

8.92 Adverbs

The roots which function at R belong to the following sub-classes of adverbs : adverbs of time, adverbs of place, adverbs of comparison, 'true' adverbs and 'lone' adverbs.

In the structure RS, nominals function at R and the suffix -aa at S.

For a detailed description see chapter seven.

8.93 Adjectives

At R the following sub-classes of adjectives function: demonstratives, interrogatives, numeral, size, form, epithets and colour.

In the structure RS, nominals (certain common nouns) function at R and the suffix -aana at S. exx.

<u>noun</u>	<u>adjective</u>
ajaku	ajakaana, beautiful
oyaram	oyaramaana, high

In the first example the junction is characterized by e-prosody, and in the second by o-prosody.

Chapter Nine

Verbals

9.1	Verbals	126
9.11	Elements of structure	126
9.111	Element of structure R	126
9.112	Element of structure T	126
9.113	Element of structure B	126
9.114	Element of structure S	127
9.1141	System of verbal suffixes	127
9.115	Possible structures of verbals	127
9.2	Units functioning at the various elements of structure	127
9.21	Roots	127
9.211	Consonant final roots	128
9.212	Vowel final roots	128
9.22	Tense markers	128
9.23	Base markers	129
9.24	Verbal suffixes	129
9.241	Personal suffixes	129
9.242	Impersonal verbal suffixes	129
9.243	Non-finite verbal suffixes	130
9.244	Negative suffixes	130
9.3	Stems	130
9.31	Present tense stems	130
9.32	Past tense stems	130
9.33	Future tense stems	131
9.4	Base	131
9.41	Root-base	132
9.42	Stem-base	132
9.43	Negative-base	132
9.5	Positive verbal forms	133
9.51	Positive finite indicative concordial	133
9.52	Positive finite indicative per.restricted	133
9.53	Positive finite indicative impersonal	134
9.54	Positive simple imperative	134
9.55	Positive complex imperative	134
9.56	Positive non-finite verbal forms	134
9.6	Negative verbal forms	135
9.61	Negative finite indicative concordial	135
9.62	Negative finite impersonal -open	136
9.63	Negative finite imperative	136
9.64	Negative finite complex imperative	136
9.65	Negative non-finite	136
9.7	Positive neuter finite concordial verbal forms	137
9.71	Present verbal forms	137
9.72	Future verbal forms	137
9.73	Past verbal forms	138
9.8	Monosyllabic verbal roots	138
9.81	Verbal forms	139
9.82	Imperative forms	139

Chapter .Nine

VERBALS9.1 Verbals

The word-class that functions at the place of element of structure V, may be termed verbals. Verb forms may be divided into finite and non-finite (6.2)

9.11 Elements of strcuture

The elements of structure in a verbal are: R, T, B and S. R stands for root, T for tense marker, B for base and S for suffix.

9.111 The element of structure R

R is filled by a root.

9.112 The element of structure T

T is filled by tense markers which may be present, past or future. T occurs only after R, and the resulting structure is termed a stem. Absence of T characterizes the negative verbs.

9.113 The element of strcuture B

B may occur after R or after T. When this occurs the structure is termed either a root-base or a stem-base. Absence of B characterizes the positive finite verbs.

In the case of the negative stem-bases, there is no element of structure T. The structure of these bases is RSB, where B occurs after S (9.43).

9.114 The element of structure S

It is necessary to set up a system at S and this is termed the system of verbal suffixes. When S occurs the structures may be termed either a finite verb or a non-finite verb, depending on what unit occurs at S.

9.1141 System of verbal suffixes

At S, the system of verbal suffixes operates. This is a four term system as shown below:

	personal suffixes
System of verbal suffixes	impersonal suffixes
	non-finite verbal suffixes
	negative suffixes

9.115 Possible structures of verbals

The following are the possible structures of verbals:
RTS, RBS, RTBS.

R is the obligatory element in all these structures.

RTS	caapp[-r-aan, (he) is eating
RBS	caapp[-a-le, (he) is not eating
	caapp[-a-ame, without eating
RTBS	caapp[-[-a-vo]ane, as soon as (he) eats

9.2 Units functioning at the various elements of structure

9.21 Roots

Roots are those forms which may not further be analysed morphologically and which function at R. They may be divided into consonant final roots and vowel final roots.

9.211 Consonant final roots

The consonant final roots may be divided into closed and open. This distinction is made on the basis of the occurrence of a particular past tense marker with the closed set (9.32). The closed set contains only nine roots and they are: kuuppt-, caappt-, cut-, nat-, tot-, pat-, porappa-, poot-, and vit-.

All other consonant final roots are termed open. The root final consonant in the open set may be simple (-C), which may be t, v, r, m, ŋ or c; or complex (-CC) which may be one of the following: kk, tt, pp, ʈʈ, ʈʈ, ŋŋ, ŋʈ. exx. ciiv-, kiir-, ootʈ-, kalakk-, caatt-, taŋ-.

9.212 Vowel final roots

These may again be divided into two sets, viz. restricted and non-restricted. The former contains only four roots, and hence they are termed restricted. The four roots are: koŋtaa-, okkaa-, vaʎa-, and taʎa-.

The non-restricted in turn may be divided into closed and open. The closed non-restricted contain only seven roots which are: aʎi-, muʈi-, tiri-, eri-, puʎi-, kuni- and meli-. These two sub-classes are set up on the basis of the junctional features which characterize the junction between these roots and the suffixes.

9.22 Tense markers

The tense markers are:

past:	n, t, tt, nt, cc, nc.
present:	r ¹
future:	v, uv, pp.

1. 'Le present est formé à l'aide du theme a'inacc-ompli: suffix -kiRa-, élargissement de -k-'. Meile.p.149. Traditional grammarians treat -kir, -kkir and -ir as the markers. see Arden, Pope.

9.23 Base markers

The base markers are a, u and i. When this marker is affixed to the root or the stem, a root-base or a stem-base is formed. The base element that functions in the negative base is a.

9.24 Verbal suffixes

There are four types of verbal suffixes, viz. personal suffixes, impersonal suffix, non-finite verbal suffix and :negative suffixes.

9.241 Personal suffixes

The personal suffixes may be divided into first, second and third persons, singular and plural.

1st person, sing.	-een
plur.	-oom
2nd person, sing.	-e
plur.	-iin̄ka
3rd person, sing.masc.	-aan
fem.	-aa
masc&fem. plur.	-aan̄ka

9.242 Impersonal verbal suffix

The impersonal verbal suffix is -um.

'Present: 'tense' velar plosive articulation + vocalic+r; or r~vocalic+r ('lax' velar articulation + vocalic + r in a few very rare cases),' Asher

For yet another treatment see Lisker.

When looked at the complete scatter, it will be noticed that -kk- (or with the vocalic off-glide in slow speech) occurs in the same place in structure in other verbal forms such as non-finite verbs, negative verbs etc.,

non-finite: paṭikka (tense neutral)

negative: paṭikkale (tense neutral)

Hence, if the tense (or lax) velar plosive is treated as a junctional feature it reduces the number of statements and proves very economical.

9.243 Non-finite verbal suffixes

The non-finite verbal suffixes are: -voʃane, -pootu, -um (co-occurring with -pootu), -ʈʈu and zero. Lengthening of the final vowel when the final vowel is a, produces one of the non-finite verbal forms.

9.244 Negative suffixes

The negative suffixes are: -le, -aame, -aaʈʈi and -aat.

9.3 Stems

9.31 Present tense stems

When the tense marker is r, present tense stems are formed. o-prosody characterizes the junction when consonant final stems take the tense marker. e.g.

<u>root</u>	<u>stem</u>
kaʈʈ-	kaʈʈ-r-

r-prosody characterizes the junction when restricted vowel final roots take the tense marker; with the closed non-restricted vowel final roots, the junction is characterized by y-prosody and with the open non-restricted by q-prosody. exx.

okkaa-	okkaa-r-r-
aʃi-	aʃi-y-r-
came-	came-kk-r-

9.32 Past tense stems

The past tense stems are formed with one of the following tense markers: n, ʈ, tt, nt, cc, nc.

With the closed consonantal final roots, the tense marker is ʈ, with the open consonantal vowel fi-

nal roots, it is n, with the restricted vowel final roots it is nt, with the closed non-restricted vowel final roots it is nc, and with the open non-restricted vowel final roots, it is cc.

The junction is characterized by o-prosody in all cases.

<u>root</u>	<u>stem</u>
kuuppt-	kuuppt-t-
kat-t-	kat-t-n-
okkaa-	okkaa-nt-
aji-	aji-nc-
came-	came-cc-
ku-tu-	ku-tu-tt-

In the open non-restricted vowel final roots, disyllabic roots which have a w-prosodic -V final take tt as the tense marker and those which have a y-prosodic -V final take cc as the tense marker.

9.33 Future tense stems

By affixing the future tense marker to the root, future tense stems are formed. The markers are v, uv and pp. uv occurs with the consonant final roots and the restricted set of vowel final roots. The junctions are characterized by o-prosody and r-prosody respectively. exx.

kat-t-	kat-t-uv-
okkaa-	okkaa-r- ^{uv} r -

o-prosody characterizes the junction when the tense marker pp is affixed to the open non-restricted set of vowel final roots, and when v is affixed to the closed non-restricted set of vowel final roots. exx.

came-	came-pp-
aji-	aji-v-

9.4 Base

The base suffixes are a, u and i. These may be affixed to the root, thus forming a root-base or to a stem, forming a stem-base.

9.41 Root-base

The structure of the root-base is RB.

When the base element a is affixed to the root, the junction may be characterized by one of the following prosodies, depending on the root final: o, r, y or q.

<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro.</u>	<u>root-base</u>
kaɽɽ-	o	kaɽɽ-a-
okkaa-	r	okkaa-r-a-
aɽi-	y	aɽi-y-a
came-	q	came-kk-a

i, which is another base element may only occur with the open set of consonant final roots. The junction prosody is o.

kaɽɽ-	o	kaɽɽ-i-
-------	---	---------

9.42 Stem-base

The structure of the stem-base is RTB.

The stem-base markers are a and u.

Future tense stem-bases cannot be formed.

The base-marker a may be affixed to all classes of roots to form past and present tense stem-bases. The base marker u may only be affixed to the vowel final roots to give only past tense stem-bases. o-prosody characterizes the junction in all these cases. exx.

<u>root</u>	<u>base marker</u>	<u>past</u>	<u>stem-base</u> <u>present</u>
kaɽɽ-	a	kaɽɽ-n-a	kaɽɽ-r-a-
okkaa-	a	okkaa-nt-a-	okkaa-r-r-a-
aɽi-	a	aɽi-nc-a-	aɽi-y-r-a-
came-	a	came-cc-a-	came-kk-r-a-
okkaa-	u	okkaa-nt-u-	
aɽi-	u	aɽi-nc-u-	
came-	u	came-cc-u-	

9.43 Negative-bases

The structure of the negative base is RSB.

R stands for root, S for negative suffix -aat,

and B for the base element a. The prosodies that characterize the junction between R and S are given below; the junction between S and B is characterized by o-prosody.

<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro</u>	<u>negative-base</u>
kaɽɽ-	o	kaɽɽ-aat-a
okkaa-	r	okkaa-r-aat-a
aɽi-	y	aɽi-y-aat-a
came-	q	came-kk-aat-a

9.5 Positive verbal forms

9.51 Positive finite indicative concordial

The structure of the positive finite indicative concordial is RTS, where S stands for personal suffix. When personal suffixes are affixed to the stems the junctions are characterized by o-prosody. The complete paradigms are given below:

<u>root</u>	<u>present</u>	<u>past</u>	<u>future</u>
kaɽɽ-	stem.kaɽɽr-	kaɽɽn-	kaɽɽuv-
finite			
<u>verbs</u>	kaɽɽreen	kaɽɽneen	kaɽɽuveen
	kaɽɽroom	kaɽɽnoom	kaɽɽuvoom
	kaɽɽre	kaɽɽne	kaɽɽuve
	kaɽɽriiŋka	kaɽɽniinŋka	kaɽɽuviinŋka
	kaɽɽraan	kaɽɽnaan	kaɽɽuvaan
	kaɽɽraa	kaɽɽnaa	kaɽɽuvaa
	kaɽɽraaŋka	kaɽɽnaaŋka	kaɽɽuvaanŋka

9.52 Positive finite indicative personally restricted

These may be divided into first person verbal forms and third person verbal forms. The first person verbal forms are identical to the root-base in form.exx.

caappɽa {e.g.naan enna caappɽa, what shall I eat?}
eɽuta {e.g.naan enna eɽuta, what shall I write?}

The third person verbal forms are formed by affixing -ɽɽum to the root-base. o-prosody characterizes the junction. exx.

caapp̣ta-ṭṭum (e.g.avan caapp̣tạṭṭum,let him eat)
 eruta-ṭṭum (e.g.avan erutạṭṭum,let him write)

9.53 Positive finite indicative impersonal

The impersonal verbal suffix -um is affixed to the following roots, which form a closed set, and the junction prosodies are stated for each root.

<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro.</u>	<u>finite verb</u>	<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro.</u>	<u>finite verb</u>
veen-	o	veen-um	paci-	q	paci-kk-um
mụti-	y	mụti-y-um	vali-	q	vali-kk-um
teri-	y	teri-y-um	ari-	q	ari-kk-um
			pịti-	q	pịti-kk-um
			tavi-	q	tavi-kk-um

9.54 Positive simple imperative

The simple imperative are identical to the root. In the case of consonantal final roots, they are identical to the roots with u. exx.

<u>root</u>	<u>imperative</u>
kạṭṭ-	kạṭṭ-u
caapp̣ṭ-	caapp̣ṭ-u
kụti-	kụti
pạtu-	pạtu

9.55 Positive complex imperative

The complex imperative is formed by affixing -a to a form identical to that of the completive verbal form (i.e. without suffix.see 9.56). The junction is characterized by q-prosody. exx.

<u>root</u>	<u>completive verbal form</u>	<u>imperative</u>
caapp̣ṭ-	caapp̣ṭtu	caapp̣ṭtukka
tora-	torantu	torantukka

9.56 Positive non-finite verbal forms

Positive non-finite verbal forms are formed (i) by affixing the non-finite verbal suffixes either to

the stem-base or to the root, or (ii) by lengthening of the final vowel. exx.

From the stem-base ending in a, the following non-finite verbal forms are formed.

conditional: by lengthening of the final vowel:

caappɬta-	caappɬtaa
paɬicca-	paɬiccaa

manner: the verbal suffix is -voɬane and this is affixed to the stem-base.

caappɬta-	caappɬtavoɬane
paɬicca-	paɬiccavoɬane

time: by affixing -pootu

caappɬta-	caappɬtapootu
paɬicca-	paɬiccapootu

The junction is characterized by o-prosody in all the above cases.

From the stem-base, ending in -u, the completive verbal forms are obtained. The suffixes are: -ɬɬu and zero.

<u>stem-base</u>	<u>completive</u>	
	<u>zero suffix</u>	<u>-ɬɬu suffix</u>
caappɬtu-	caappɬtu	caappɬtutɬu
paɬiccu-	paɬiccu	paɬiccutɬu

From the root, by affixing -um and -pootu, non-finite verbal forms of time are obtained. exx.

caappɬ-	caappɬumpootu
paɬi-	paɬikkumpootu

The prosodies which characterize the junctions with the different root classes apply here also (9.31).

9.6 Negative verbal forms †

9.61 Negative finite indicative concordial

There is only one root, viz. maaɬɬ-, to which are affixed the personal affixes, to form the negative finite indicative concordial verbal forms. o-prosody characterizes the junctions. exx.

†. See footnote 1. p.82.

maat̥t-	maat̥t-een
	maat̥t-oom, etc.

9.62 Negative finite impersonal - open

The negative suffix -le is affixed to the root-base and o-prosody characterizes the junction. exx.

<u>root-base</u>	<u>verbal form</u>
caapp̥ta-	caapp̥tale
pḁtikka-	pḁtikkale

9.63 Negative finite imperative

The negative suffix -aat is affixed to the roots and the junction prosodies are indicated against each root. To the negative suffix is affixed the second person personal ending. exx.

<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro.</u>	<u>verbal form</u>
caapp̥t-	o	caapp̥taate
pḁti-	q	pḁtikkaate

9.64 Negative finite complex imperative

The negative complex imperative are formed by affixing the negative suffix -aat and the second person personal suffix to a form identical to that of the completive verbal form. exx.

<u>root</u>	<u>completive verbal form</u>	<u>imperative</u>
caapp̥t-	caapp̥t̥tu	caapp̥t̥tu-kk-aat-e
tora-	torantu	torantu-kk-aat-e

The junction is characterized by q-prosody.

9.65 Negative non-finite

The negative non-finite suffixes -aame and -aḁt̥i are affixed to the root.

<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro</u>	<u>completive</u>	<u>conditional</u>
caappɿ-	o	caappɿ-aame	caappɿ-aatɿi
paɿi-	q	paɿi-kk-aame	paɿi-kk-aatɿi
aɿi-	y	aɿi-y-aame	aɿi-y-aatɿi
okkaa-	r	okkaa-r-aame	okkaa-r-aatɿi

9.7 Positive neuter finite concordial verbal forms

The neuter finite concordial verbal forms are those which exhibit concord with the neuter nominal heads. When they function as concordial verbs they differ from the masculine and feminine verbal forms quite distinctly in that the exponents of S and T cannot be identified distinctly in most cases.

The structure of the neuter verbal form is RTS. While the past verbal forms contain a distinct exponent of tense, the present and future do not.

9.71 Present verbal forms

The exponents of T and S cannot be identified distinctly as in the case of masculine and feminine verbal forms. In the neuter present verbal forms, utu is the exponent of T and S together². exx.

<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro.</u>	<u>verbal form</u>
caappɿ-	o	caappɿ-utu
okkaa-	r	okkaa-r-utu
aɿi-	y	aɿi-y-utu
came-	q	came-kk-utu

9.72 Future verbal forms

As in the case of present verbal forms above, in the future verbal forms also, no distinct exponents may be seen for T and S. um is the exponent of T and S together. exx.

2. Firth terms such exponents 'cumulative', see Firth, 1957f. p.14

<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro.</u>	<u>verbal form</u>
caappɿ-	o	caappɿ-um
okkaa-	r	okkaa-r-um
aɿi-	y	aɿi-y-um
came-	q	came-kk-um

9.73 Past verbal forms

Only in the past verbal forms, a distinct exponent for T is seen. The exponents of T are ɿ, tt, cc, nc, and nt. The exponent of S is uccu. In the case of the consonant final roots, the exponent of T and S occurs together and it is uccu. utu is another exponent of S but this does not apply to consonantal final roots. exx.

<u>root</u>	<u>verbal form</u>	<u>verbal form</u>
caappɿ-	caappɿ-ɿ-uccu	-
kaɿɿ-	kaɿɿ-uccu	-
aɿi-	aɿi-nc-uccu	aɿi-nc-utu
paɿi-	paɿi-cc-uccu	paɿi-cc-utu
okkaa-	okkaa-nt-uccu	okkaa-nt-utu ³

So, it may be summed up that with vowel final roots, S has two exponents in free variation, and with consonantal final roots, S has only one exponent.

9.8 Monosyllabic verbal roots

There are only eleven 'irregular' monosyllabic roots in the language and as some of them belong to more than one sub-class they are listed below with the exponents of various tenses and the prosodies which characterize the junctions.

<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro.^{3A.}</u>	<u>present</u>	<u>past</u>	<u>future</u>
paa-	q	r	tt	pp
	y	r	nc	v
kaa-	q	r	tt	pp
	y	r	nc	v
tee-	q	r	cc	pp
cee-	q	r	tt	pp
mee-	q	r	cc	pp

3. When discussing the third person neuter verbal forms, Zvelebil writes: '(they are) without the tense-morpheme or with one particular reduced shape (allomorph) of the tense-morpheme...' Zvelebil 1964. p.93

3A. The junction prosodies apply only to the present.

<u>root</u>	<u>j.pro.</u>	<u>present</u>	<u>past</u>	<u>future</u>
moo-	q	r	nt	pp
ta-	q	r	cc	pp
	r	r	nt	uv
na-	q	r	cc	pp
va-	q	r	cc	pp
	r	r	nt	uv
ce-	y	r	nc	v
vi-	q	r	tt	pp

The finite verb forms are given below:

<u>root</u>	<u>present</u>	<u>past</u>	<u>future</u>	<u>imperative</u>
paa-	paa-kk-r-aan	paa-tt-aan	paa-pp-aan	paa-ru, see
kaa-	kaa-kk-r-aan	kaa-tt-aan	kaa-pp-aan	guard
cee-	cee-kk-r-aan	cee-tt-aan	cee-pp-aan	cee-ru, collect
moo-	moo-kk-r-aan	moo-nt-aan ⁴	moo-pp-aan	moo-ru,
vi-	vi-kk-r-aan	vi-tt-aan	vi-pp-aan	sell
paa-	paa-y-r-aan	paa-nc-aan	paa-y-v-aan	paa-y, jump
kaa-	kaa-y-r-aan	kaa-nc-aan	kaa-y-v-aan	kaa-y, starve
ce-	ce-y-r-aan	ce-nc-aan	ce-y-v-aan	ce-y do
tee-	tee-kk ⁵ -r-aan	tee-cc-aan	tee-pp-aan	tee-y rub
mee-	mee-kk-r-aan	mee-cc-aan	mee-pp-aan	mee-y graze
ta-	ta-kk-r-aan	ta-cc-aan	ta-pp-aan	ta-y stitch
na-	na-kk-r-aan	na-cc-aan	na-pp-aan	na-y pound
va-	va-kk-r-aan	va-cc-aan	va-pp-aan	va-y put
ta-	ta-r-r-aan	ta-nt-aan	ta-r-uv-aan	taa give
va-	va-r-r-aan	va-nt-aan	va-r-uv-aan	vaa come

9.81 Verbal forms with monosyllabic roots

The other verbal suffixes may be affixed to the above roots just as in the case of the disyllabic roots with the relevant prosodies listed above. All other verbal forms, except the imperative forms may be derived automatically.

9.82 Imperative forms

The negative imperative forms are derived as in

4. This is irregular in the sense that the past tense marker is nt and not tt.

5. -kk- in these five examples is palatalized to a very noticeable degree.

the case of disyllabic roots. Here only the positive imperative forms are described.

With the roots va- and ta-, the vowel is lengthened and the imperatives are obtained.

va-, vaa, come ta-, taa, give

With the roots paa-, cee-, and moo-, -ru is affixed to give the imperative forms.

paa- paaru, see
cee- ceeru, collect
moo- mooru, take (water)

In all other cases the roots take y to form the imperatives. exx tee-, teey, rub
 mee-, meey, graze.

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