

**CASE SYSTEM IN MODERN TAMIL**

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN  
LINGUISTICS

**R. VASU**

**CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN LINGUISTICS**

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled  
CASE SYSTEM IN MODERN TAMIL, is a bonafide record  
of the research work done by Mr.R. VASU, Research  
Scholar, Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics,  
Annamalai University. It is also certified that  
the above work has not previously formed the basis  
for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship,  
fellowship or other similar titles to the candidate.  
This research work of the candidate is an original  
contribution towards the study of the Syntax and  
Semantics of Tamil, with a special reference to  
Case System.

Annamalainagar,

Date: 28/1/88

  
(S.V. SHANMUGAM)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to my teacher and supervisor Professor S.V. Shanmugam for every sort of help he extended to me in shaping this thesis to its present form. His high degree of receptiveness and the resultant arguments often triggered me to think in the right direction and arrive at right conclusions. The impeccable guidance, penetrating observations, probing criticism, I enjoyed with him, enabled me to successfully organize my ideas into one piece. I recall, at this moment, with gratitude everything he arduously offered me for the betterment of this research work. Without his guidance this work could not have come into this form. However, the demerits, if any, are purely mine.

I profusely express my respectful regards to Professor P.S. Subrahmanyam, Director, CAS in Linguistics, Annamalai University, who has always been a source of inspiration and enthusiasm for the young researchers like me. I am thankful to him.

When I enrolled as the student of Linguistics in the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, I was blessed with the care and concern by Professor S. Agesthialingom, the then Director of the

Centre and presently the Vice-Chancellor, Tamil University, Thanjavur. He nurtured me and shaped me into a resourceful research student. His parental care, kind advices, encouraging attitude steered me to progress steadily in my life.

I must make special mention about two of my teachers, Professor N. Kumaraswami Raja and Dr. K. Balasubramanian, Reader, in the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University. I had pleasing and thought provoking discussions with Dr. Kumaraswami Raja on many occasions regarding my research problems, both inside and outside the department. Equally, I was benefitted by Dr. Balasubramanian, whose patient and painstaking assistance in going through my thesis, his critical comments and valuable suggestions for the improvement of the thesis cannot be recompensable. I put in record my regards and respects to them.

I had the fortune of having useful discussions on my research problems with Dr. E. Annamalai, Professor-cum-Deputy Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, Professor K. Rangan, Department of Linguistics, Tamil University, Thanjavur and Mr. M.A.M. Nuhman, Senior Lecturer in Linguistics, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka. Their comments and criticisms were useful to me in one way or other for my thesis.

I have received a lot of help and encouragement from my fellow researchers, like Messrs. G. Ravisankar, A. James, T. Jagadeesan, E. Joseph Alexander, G. Devaraj, P. Senthamilan, V. Venkatesalu, M. Gunasekaran, P. Sundaramoorthy and E. Karuppiah. The spontaneous and voluntary help and assistance, I received from them have been extremely helpful for me in successfully accomplishing this task.

The University Grants Commission, New Delhi supported me with a research grant for undertaking this study as part of the project of Modern Tamil Grammar and the authorities of the Annamalai University provided me basic amenities for the completion of my research work. I thankfully acknowledge them.

I sincerely thank Mr. A. Muthukumarasamy, M.A., B.L.I.S., Librarian of our Centre who pleasingly assisted me in getting the books and literatures required for my study.

Mr. Selvam, my young and enthusiastic friend, zealously and neatly executed the typing of this thesis. He deserves my special thanks for this.

Last but not the least, I record my indebtedness to my parents whose blessings, unfailing support and encouragement, to a great extent, help me in all walks of my life.

R. VASU

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Ag	-	Agent
AIUTTA	-	All India University Tamil Teachers' Association
AP/Aff. Pat	-	Affected Patient
Att	-	Attribute
BO	-	Benefactive Goal
BI	-	Body-part Instrumental
C	-	Case
Caq	-	Cause
CI	-	Cognate Patient
Comp. M.	-	Comparative Marker
dat	-	Derive
DG	-	Directional Goal
F/Exp.	-	Experiences
ed/ed2	-	ed/ed2
Eff. Pat	-	Effected Patient

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

abl	-	Ablative
acc	-	Accusative
Adj	-	Adjective
AdjP	-	Adjectival Phrase
Adv	-	Adverb
AdvP	-	Adverbial Phrase
Ag	-	Agent
AIUTTA	-	All India University Tamil Teachers' Association
AP/Aff.Pat	-	Affected Patient
Att	-	Attribute
BG	-	Benefactive Goal
BI	-	Body-part Instrumental
C	-	Case
Cau	-	Cause
CP	-	Cognate Patient
Comp.M	-	Comparative Marker
dat	-	Dative
DG	-	Directional Goal
E/Exp	-	Experiencer
ed/eds.	-	editor/editors
EP	-	Effected Patient

## CHAPTER 1

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### Introduction

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

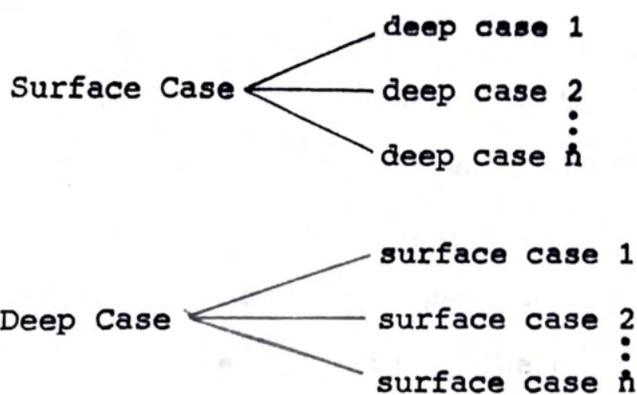
#### 1.1 Case

The basic structure of a sentence consists of a verb and one or more noun phrases (NPs)<sup>1</sup>. Each NP in the sentence is semantically related to the verb. The semantic relation that exists between the NP and the verb is represented in different ways by various authors<sup>2</sup>. This relation is set at the deep level. That is, the deep structure of every simple sentence is an array consisting of a verb plus a number of NPs holding special labelled relations to the sentence (Fillmore, 1968:31). In the surface level, this relation is realized by case forms. Case forms, otherwise called surface cases, express syntactic relations which are language specific surface phenomena. Fillmore (1966a) defines surface cases as, "grammatical cases which are associated with the logico communicative positions of the sentence and which are semantically indefinable".

- 
1. There are however, sentences with noun-noun construction in Tamil as in avar a:ciriyar 'He is a teacher', which are understood to have the copula verb iru 'be', in their deep structure as in avar a:ciriyara:ka irukkira:r.
  2. Fillmore (1968) calls this as deep case, Anderson (1977) as case relations and case functions, Langendoen (1970) as case role, Chomsky (1982) as thematic role ( $\theta$ -role). Since the term 'deep case' is widely used by most of the case grammarians, the same has been used in this work.

Anderson (1977:9) employs the term 'Case' to refer both to a certain inflectional category and to the set of semantic distinctions carried by the forms of that category. The former can be referred to as case forms and the latter as case relations or case functions.

Surface cases are labelled traditionally as nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, genitive, sociative, locative, etc. Suffixes, prepositions, post positions are some of the means through which the surface case is marked. Deep cases are labelled as Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Instrumental etc. There is no one to one correspondance between surface cases and deep cases. Any single surface structure marker may be the exponent of more than one deep case and conversely many deep structure cases may be expressed by more than one surface structure markers. This may be diagrammatically explained as follows.



## 1.2 Theoretical format

The objective of any case grammar is to identify the deep semantic cases of the arguments in a sentence. The deep semantic cases are different from the syntactically oriented surface cases. Fillmore (1968) differentiates deep case from that of surface case. McCoy (1969) and Nilsen (1972) who pursued Fillmore's work introduced the concept of relational case features to identify the deep cases. This section reviews the above works and also the one by Chafe (1970). Additionally, a brief account of earlier works on Tamil case system has also been given to explain the importance of this study.

### 1.2.1 Fillmore's work

#### 1.2.1.1 Definition of sentence structure

Fillmore's articles, which appeared in the mid sixties, attracted the attention of advocates of generative grammar. He, having considered the problems of the relation of form to function, comes to the conclusion that grammatical categories such as subject and object which are surface structure phenomena, are not relevant for the meaning of the sentence. In the sentences 'The door will open' and 'Janitor will open the door' the noun 'the door' is in the same semantic relation

to the verb, although in the first sentence it is the subject of an intransitive verb and in the second the object of a transitive verb. Fillmore, thus, tries to define the semantic roles which are relevant for the meaning of the sentences. So a grammar should provide a set of rules explaining the semantic function and their syntactic surface realizations. He provides rules like subject selection hierarchy (see 1.2.1.3) in order to derive surface syntactic structure from the deep semantic structure.

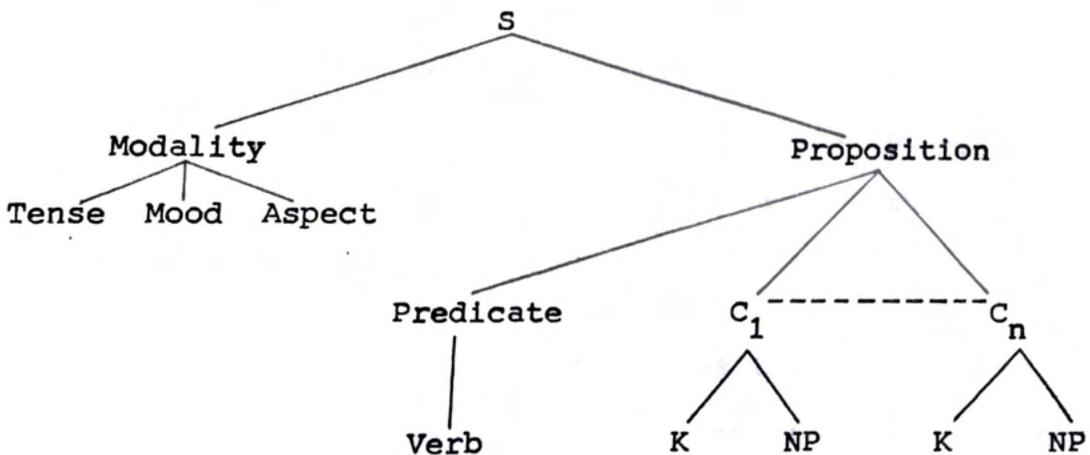
#### 1.2.1.2 Formal and Substantive universals

Fillmore's 1968 paper intends to be a contribution to the study of formal and substantive universals. There, he advances his theory on the basis of two essential assumptions: i) the centrality of syntax and ii) the importance of covert categories such as, the relational cases which he hypothesizes. He proposes a deep structure deeper than that of Chomsky's deep structure explained in the standard theory (Chomsky, 1965). He points out the necessity of placing the grammatical category 'case' in the base component of every sentence.

Further, Fillmore states that the deep structure of a sentence consists of modality (M) and proposition (Prop.). Modality consists of tense, mood, aspect, negation etc., which in some way modify the sentence as a whole. Proposition consists of a predicate i.e., verb and a number of noun phrases which are in particular case relationship. The re-writing rules, Fillmore gives are as follows:

S	→	M + Prop
M	→	Tense, mood, aspect ....
Prop	→	Predicate + C <sub>1</sub> .... C <sub>n</sub> (C denotes deep case) <sup>n</sup>
Predicate	→	Vb
C	→	K + NP (K denotes case marker)

This is diagrammatically explained as follows:



He also emphasizes that the case notions comprise a set of universal, presumably innate concepts which identify certain types of judgements which the human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them and of judgements about such matters as who did it, to whom it happened to, and what got changed (Fillmore, 1968:24). The cases are defined by him in the following manner:

Agentive (A): the case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb.

Instrumental (I): the case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb.

Dative (D): the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb.

Factitive (F): the case of the object or being resulting from the action or state identified by the verb, or understood as a part of the meaning of the verb.

Locative (L): the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb.

**Objective (O):** the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself; conceivably this concept should be limited to things which are affected by the action or state identified by the verb.

In his later studies, Fillmore has made several alterations in determining the number of deep cases. In his 1971 paper he altered his system changing Dative to Experiencer and divided Locative case into more abstract cases like Source and Goal. Finally, his cases thus include Agent, Experiencer, Instrument, Object, Source, Goal, Location and Time. According to him, 'Object' is the entity that moves or changes or whose position or existence is in consideration; 'Source' is the place from which something is directed; and 'Experiencer' is the case which is mentally disposed of something. As a whole, it can be said that the definition given for each case relationship is fully on the basis of intuition, and there is no empirical test to identify deep cases. However, he proposes some restrictions on the occurrence of cases in a sentence.

### 1.2.1.3 Constraints on the occurrence of cases

He proposes the following conditions as the constraints of occurrence of cases in a sentence.

i) only one possibly co-ordinate token of each case is permitted per proposition.

ii) only instances of the same case are co-ordinated.

iii) each NP is associated with only one case label, such that in any proposition there is a one to one matching of case relations and NPs.

Besides these constraints, he also opines that the hierarchy of cases play a major role in the surface organization of the sentence. According to him, the subject of the surface structure is selected from the deep cases in a hierarchy which is named as subject selection hierarchy. The hierarchical structure for English sentences is as follows: If the Agent is present, it becomes the subject as in 'He opened the door with the key'; if there is only an Instrument, it becomes the subject as in 'The key opened the door'; otherwise the subject is the Object as in 'The door opened'.

#### 1.2.1.4 Relationship between Preposition and Cases

Fillmore (1968:32) assumes that there is a correspondance between particular prepositions and particular cases. Eventhough it is considered as a language specific phenomenon, one can take this for consideration to identify the deep cases in an indirect way. The context for English prepositions and cases which he cites is as follows: "The Agent preposition is 'by'; the Instrumental preposition is 'by', if there is no Agent, otherwise it is 'with'; the Objective and Factitive prepositions are typically zero; the Benefactive preposition is 'for'; the Dative preposition is typically 'to'; the Locative and Time prepositions are either semantically non-empty or they are selected by the particular associated noun".

#### 1.2.1.5 Relationship between Verbs and Cases

The other significant aspect of Fillmore's case grammar is the case frame for verbs. Case frame according to him is that verbs are selected according to the case environments the sentence provides. Frame features indicate the set of case frames into which the given verbs may be inserted (Fillmore, 1968:27). The examples he gives are as follows: the verb 'run' may be inserted into the frame  $[ \_ \text{---} \text{A} \_ ]$ ,

the verb 'sad' into the frame  $\langle \_ \_ E \rangle$ , verbs like 'remove' and 'open' into  $\langle \_ \_ O + A \_ \rangle$ , verbs like 'give' into  $\langle \_ \_ O + D + A \_ \rangle$  and so on. This type of lexical analysis, according to him, can provide a natural explanation of the relationship between converses like 'die' and 'kill'; 'see' and 'show'.

die  $\langle \_ \_ D \_ \rangle$  versus kill  $\langle \_ \_ D + (I) + A \_ \rangle$

see  $\langle \_ \_ O + D \_ \rangle$  versus show  $\langle \_ \_ O + D + A \_ \rangle$

### 1.2.2 McCoy's work

McCoy (1969) is an improvement of Fillmore's work. According to her, the definitions and constraints, Fillmore gives for identification of deep cases are not empirical in nature, but they rely fully on intuition. She in turn introduces the concept called relational case features which define the deep cases in terms of individual qualities specific to a particular case.

#### 1.2.2.1 Relational case features

Relational case features in opposition to lexical features are relational in nature as the term implies, i.e., relating

two grammatical categories viz., noun and verb<sup>1</sup>. For instance, when a noun performs an action, it becomes either both the performer and instigator of the action or the instigator of another action. The noun which has such a relationship with the verb has the features + performer and + instigator. This type of features are called relational case features<sup>2</sup>.

McCoy identifies thirteen relational case features and with their help defines fifteen deep cases. The following table shows the deep cases and their feature combinations. The presence or absence of features distinguishes one case from the other.

- 
1. The meanings of linguistic forms are decomposed into smaller entities called features or components. The components of lexical units in isolation are called lexical features. The features such as + animate, + human, + concrete etc., are called lexical features of a particular lexical unit. Note that these features are inherent to particular lexical unit. On this ground only McCoy contends that the lexical features are not related to the deep semantic function of the deep cases.
  2. Fillmore, who has already noted this without making the distinction between lexical and case features, points out this type of terms in his definitions as follows: Agent - animate perceived instigator; Dative - animate being affected; Factitive - being resulted and so on. The terms instigator, affected, resulted etc., are interpreted by McCoy as relational case features.

---

 Relational case features<sup>1</sup>


---

Deep Cases	Cause	Instigator	Performer	Intent	Effect	Source	Goal	Active	Control	Affected	Place	Transition	Extent
Agent	+	+	+	I+	-	I+	I+	+	+	-			
Instrument	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			
Material	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+			
Contents	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+			
Causative	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			
Purpose	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+			
Dative	-	-	-	-	-	I+	I+	+	-	+			
Experiencer	-	-	-	-	-	I+	I+	-	-	+			
Objective	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+			
Factitive	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+			
Loc.Range						+	+				+	I+	+
Loc.Source						+	-				+	+	-
Loc.Goal						-	+				+	+	-
Loc.Way						-	-				+	+	-
Loc.extent						+	+				+	+	+

1. This table has been taken from Nilsen (1972:34).

iii) Experiencer, Cause and Purpose are the additional cases proposed in addition to Fillmore's deep cases.

### 1.2.3 Nilsen's work

Nilsen (1972) makes improvements over McCoy's work. In the first part of his work he criticizes Fillmore's constraints over the occurrence of cases. According to him the three constraints given by Fillmore, i.e., the co-ordination principle, occurrence of one case per proposition and the correspondance between the preposition and cases can not be taken as the criteria for identifying the deep cases. Because, according to him, these criteria are only surface level phenomena and are not having any correlation with the deep cases. Nilsen in turn explains the necessity to make a

total commitment to semantic features for the identification of deep cases. He makes alternations on the number of deep cases and case features given by McCoy and introduces the concept of hierarchy of features. The alternations that he has made are minimizing the number of features from thirteen to six and the number of deep cases from fifteen to six. The reasons he gives for this are as follows. The feature 'active' according to him is the lexical feature of certain verbs and the feature 'place' is the lexical feature of certain nouns. The features 'transition' and 'extension' are unnecessary, since they are totally predictable from the features 'source' and 'goal'. The features instigator, performer, intent and control have no distinction, since they indicate different aspects of the same relationship, i.e., a kind of 'intentional control'<sup>1</sup>.

### 1.2.3.1 Hierarchy of features

The following are the hierarchical case features given by Nilsen.

- 
1. The features instigator and performer, however, are to be distinguished in the cases Agent and Animate Cause. Agent has the features instigator as well as the performer while animate Cause can only be the instigator, but not the performer of the action.

Controller	-	Controlled
Cause	-	Effect
Source	-	Goal

These features present varying degrees of specificity of a single relationship, i.e., Source-Goal. The set which is in the top position is the subset of lower set. For example, the Controller - Controlled relationship is a subset of the Cause - Effect relationship, which is, in turn, a subset of the Source - Goal relationship.

Nilsen (ibid:36) assumes that, "it is desirable to discuss not only the relationship between a noun and the predicate but also between a noun and another noun". His cases are thus related pairs as Agent - Instrument having the features Controller - Controlled; Causative - Patient having the features Cause - Effect; and Source - Goal having the features Source - Goal. Source and Goal are cases as well as features. His deep cases are six in number. They are Agent, Instrument, Causative, Patient, Source and Goal. The following table shows the relationship between the paired features and paired deep cases.

	Features					
	Contro- ller	Contro- lled	Cause	Effect	Source	Goal
Agent	+		+		+	
Instrument		+	+	+	+	+
Causative			+		+	
Patient				+		+
Source					+	
Goal						+

The Agent and Instrumental cases here are the same as those suggested by Fillmore and McCoy. The Causative case here is identical to McCoy's Causative. The Patient case, according to Nilsen, is the thing affected or acted upon. It includes Experiencer, Objective, Factitive and Dative of Fillmore's case system. The reason to include all these cases under a single case Patient, according to Nilsen is that all of these cases bear the same relationship to the verb, i.e., affected, and any differences existing between those cases can be explained in terms of lexical but not in terms of relational features. The difference between Experiencer and Objective, according to him, is that the

former has the lexical feature (+ animate) and the latter has the lexical feature (- animate). Further, the distinction among Objective, Factitive and Destructive largely depends upon the nature of verbs, i.e., whether the verb is a verb of contact or creation or destruction respectively. Thus he points out that the commonness among all these cases is of having the relationship affected which is relevant for determining the status of deep case, but not of having the lexical features like animate, human. The cases Locative, Temporal and Material have also not been considered here as deep case for the reason that they are lexical features inherent to particular nouns rather than relational case features.

#### 1.2.4 Chafe's work

Chafe (1970:144-66) establishes a verb based semantic structure in which noun - verb relations have been shown by the basic specification of a verb as state, process, action, or action process. His model is similar to Fillmore's case frame for verbs. But, Chafe differs from Fillmore in that he classifies verbs on the basis of semantic features noted above. Agent, according to Chafe, is required by an action verb, which is the instigator of the action. This case is typically

manifested by animate nouns. Experiencer is the case required by (state/process) experiential verb which specifies the undergoer of a psychological event of sensation, emotion or cognition. Benefactive is the case required by a benefactive verb (state/process verbs) which specifies the one in the state of possession benefitted by an action or the one who undergoes loss or gain in the transfer of an object. Object is the case required by a state verb, which specifies the object that is in that state or the case required by a process verb which specifies the object that undergoes a change of state. Locative is the case required by a locative verb, which specifies the location of an object, or the change of location of an object. Instrument is the case required by the process action verbs. According to Chafe, Instrumental differs from the relations Beneficiary and Experiencer in not being associated with a particular selectional unit within the verb. He posits one more case Complement which resembles much of Fillmore's Factitive case. According to him, a Complement noun does not specify something in a state or that changes its state. It completes or specifies more narrowly the meaning of the verb.

### 1.3 Theoretical basis of the Present Work

The present study adheres to Fillmore in the analysis of sentence as modality and proposition and in the case frame

analysis. To identify the deep cases, besides the Nilsen's relational case features, syntactic criteria are also used in this work. The syntactic tests are used for the reason that these are considered as more empirical than the semantic relational features. For instance, the deep case Agent is identified by Nilsen through the presence of the semantic features Controller, Cause and Source. These semantic features are described with suitable descriptions like Controller is the conscious and intentional Controller of the action, Cause is that one produces an effect and Source is the origin for an event and so on. It is felt that these descriptions are also intuitive and are not enough to identify the deep cases. If intuitive judgements are supported by syntactic evidences, then, the analysis becomes more empirical and less susceptible to idiosyncratic variations. Therefore, in order to substantiate these descriptions of case features the syntactic tests like, the sentences with Agent undergo imperative transformation and are capable of taking the adverb 'voluntarily' etc., are used. The number of deep cases set up here is different from Fillmore and Nilsen. Fillmore (1968:25) himself states that additional cases will surely be needed, besides the given deep cases for the sake of universality. Cormicon (1976:127-47) points

out that in order to describe a language, all possible language specific deep cases have to be taken care of at the expense of universality of language description. If universality is taken care of, the language specificity will be affected. Mellamma (1974:39-76) also suggests that "the restriction of number of deep cases due to universality do not reflect all the kinds of judgements humans make about relationships which occur among parts of their environments".

On analysing Modern Tamil case system the need for the addition of a few more deep cases is felt and hence the following deep cases have been set up in this work, keeping in mind the language specificity rather than universality.

Agent, Patient, Instrumental, Experiencer,  
Cause, Purpose, Location, Source and Goal.

The case 'Purpose' has been taken here as a deep case. Like, Cause of an action, Purpose of an action is also to be considered relational. The cases Affected Patient, Unaffected Patient, Factitive are included in the deep case Patient, because of the reason that all these come under the definition that "Patient is the case which is unaware of what is going

to happen to it" and "it is the thing which is being acted upon". Further, Nilsen (1972:38) includes Experiencer within the Patient case stating that both bear the same relationship with the verb, i.e., affected. It is not plausible to equate Experiencer which is mentally disposed of something denoted by the verb to that of Patient which is the object being acted upon. Further, occurrence of Experiencer and Patient in a single simple sentence is found widely in Modern Tamil. For instance, the verb teri 'know' takes both the cases as in the sentence kamala: kannanai terintukonta:l 'Kamala knew about Kannan', the NP kamala: 'Kamala' is in Experiencer case relationship, i.e., it is the animate noun which is mentally disposed of the state denoted by the verb. The NP kannan 'Kannan' is in Patient case relationship, i.e., it is the noun which is unaware of what is happening to it. But, following Nilsen, if both the NPs are treated as Patient then the difference between the two cases stands unexplained. Further, the Experiencer case always occurs only with the state verbs such as psychological verbs, perception verbs and verbs of emotion. But, the Patient case occurs with action and state verbs. For these reasons, Patient and Experiencer have been taken as two different deep cases in this work. The cases Tool Instrumental, Body-Part Instrumental, Material Instrumental

and Means are included in the deep case Instrumental, because they have different participation with the Agent, but are identical in lexical features and relational features. All are inanimate object causally involved in the action identified by the verb. Location has been taken here as a deep case, since it defines the locus of an action which differs from Source and Goal. Locative, according to Nilsen is a lexical feature. But, it is not convincing, since the locative phrases have two different functions viz., adverbial and casual functions as described below. In the sentences like sita: ra:niyo:tu cennaiyil pe:cina:1 'Sita talked to Rani in Madras', the locative phrase cennaiyil 'in Madras' is adverbial of location. The deletion of this type of phrases does not affect the basic meaning of the sentence. But, in the sentences like pa:am pe:ṭṭiyil irukkiratu 'Money is in the box', the locative phrase pe:ṭṭiyil 'in the box' is in casual function. The deletion of this type of locative phrases affect the basic meaning of the sentence. For this reason the deep case 'Location' is set up here to account for the latter type of locative phrases. 'Time' has not been taken as a deep case here for the following reasons. The temporal meanings are realized only with time nouns and they have only adverbial function rather than a casual function. The lexical feature of the time nouns themselves will predict the temporal meaning and deletion of the temporal NPs also do not affect the basic meaning of the sentence.

#### 1.4 Earlier studies on Tamil case system

##### 1.4.1 Tolkaippiyam

The ancient Tamil grammar Tolkaippiyam devotes three chapters in Colliatikairam 'chapter on words' for the treatment of cases. They are Veiggunalyiyal, Veiggunai Nayaakkiyal and Viḷḷimarapu.

The chapter Veiggunalyiyal presents the surface cases and their corresponding deep relations to the verb in a sentence; the chapter Veiggunai Nayaakkiyal deals with the surface cases in different aspects viz., free variation, neutralisation and diversification (Shanmugan, 1972:279). The chapter Viḷḷimarapu describes the vocative case from the morphological point of view.

According to Tolkaippiyam, there are eight surface cases, enumerated in the following sutra:

evaitam

peyar-ai-oḷu-ku

in-stu-kaḷ-viḷḷi ennum iḷḷa (Tol.548)

'They are peyar, -ai, -oḷu, -ku, in, stu, kaḷ along with the last vocative'.

It is clear that the cases are named by their markers and their order of arrangement is given by their numerals as can be seen from the following sutras:

iraṅṭa:kuvate:

ai enap peyariya ve:r̄r̄umaik kilavi (Tol.549)

'The second is the case that is named as ai'

mu:n̄ra:kuvate:

oṭuvenappeyariya ve:r̄r̄umaik kilavi (Tol.550)

'The third is the case that is named as oṭu

The following are the list of surface cases given by Tolka:ppiyar.

- |    |                   |   |                       |
|----|-------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1. | peyar ve:r̄r̄umai | - | Nominative            |
| 2. | ai ve:r̄r̄umai    | - | Accusative            |
| 3. | oṭu ve:r̄r̄umai   | - | Instrumental          |
| 4. | ku ve:r̄r̄umai    | - | Dative                |
| 5. | in ve:r̄r̄umai    | - | Comparative, Ablative |
| 6. | atu ve:r̄r̄umai   | - | Genitive              |
| 7. | kaṅ ve:r̄r̄umai   | - | Locative              |
| 8. | viḷi ve:r̄r̄umai  | - | Vocative              |

Each surface case is described by two sutras. The first sutra will discuss the suffixes and the second sutra will discuss either the predicates or different case functions.

In Tolka:ppiyam, the term 've:rrumai' is used to refer to surface case and the term 'tolil mutalnilai' to refer to deep case like notions (Balasubramaniam, 1978:24). Tolka:ppiyam speaks of the deep case like notions in a verb based sentence in the following sutra:

vinaiye: ceyvatu ceyappaṭu - poruḷ:  
 nilane: ka:lam karuvi enra  
 innatarku itupayana:ka ennum  
 anna marapin iranṭo:ṭum tokaii  
 a:yeṭṭenpa tolil mutalnilaiye: (Tol.596)

'They say that the verb or action based states or the bases of the verb are eight, which are the verbs that acts (Agent), the thing which is acted upon (Object), Place, Time and Instrument along with two of the similar nature, that which is for or to a certain thing (Benefactive or Goal) and let this be the result of (Resultative)'.

From this sutra Tolka:ppiyam speaks of the following seven deep cases.

vinai	- Action
ceyvatu 'that which acts'	- Agent
ceyappaṭu poruḷ 'the thing which is acted upon'	- Object

nilam	'place'	- Locative
ka:lam	'time'	- Temporal
karuvi	'instrument'	- Instrumental
innataṅku	'that which is for or that which is to a certain thing'	- Benefactive or Goal
itu payana:ka	'the result of'	- Resultative.

It is a fact that Tolka:ppiyar's concept of case and the western grammarians' concept of case coincide in many respects. The concept of surface case, deep case and the correlation between these two have been discussed in Tolka:ppiyam as noted above. Even the concept of subjectivization has been pointed out by Tolka:ppiyam. The sutra ceyappaṭu poruḷai ceytatu po:lat toḷirpaṭak kiḷattal (Tol.731) 'expressing the object like an Agent' describes the concept of subjectivization (Shanmugam, 1972:288). However, a complete picture of syntactic surface structure, semantic deep structure and the transformations involved during the derivation of the former from the latter for all cases, with respect to Tamil case system have not been made. Further, the verb classification relevant to cases has also not been made.

Arulraj (1981) gives a brief account of the approaches of case by traditional Tamil grammarians and western grammarians. The works of Fillmore, Anderson, Nilsen, Marino, Thomas ghroyer, Chafe, Langendon and Baron are referred to mainly to indicate the various approaches in the study of cases and the chapters on case in the Tamil traditional works such as Tolka:ppiyam, Vi:raco:liyam, Ne:mina:tam, Nannu:l etc., have been described summarily. A comparative study of case systems of three stages of Tamil, viz., Old, Middle and Modern periods have been undertaken somewhat in detail. An elaborate study of case frames of Modern Tamil verbs has also been made giving the list of verbs and their category. Three types of verbs such as one place predicate, two place predicate and three place predicate have been identified on the basis of the deep cases the verbs take obligatorily. However, the type of verbs which each class takes has not been mentioned. Seven deep cases such as Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Instrument, Location, Source and Goal have been defined with suitable examples. These deep cases have been distinguished only on the basis of the distinctive definitions given by Fillmore. Neither the relational case features nor the syntactic contexts have been given to identify the deep cases. Further, the surface versus deep structure correlations have been neglected. The various aspects such as the distinctive

nature of the cases like genitive and sociative, the distinction of case meanings and deep cases have not been dealt with. The present thesis fills up these gaps with the background of the concepts of Fillmore, McCoy and Nilsen.

#### 1.4.2 Earlier works on Modern Tamil case system

There have been a few studies on case in Modern Tamil, applying the principles of Modern Linguistics. They include the general syntactic study and study of individual cases. They are reviewed in this section.

##### 1.4.2.1 Definition of case

Agesthialingom (1977) defines case as the relationship that exists between noun and verb in a sentence. The case suffixes signal such relationship. The case suffixes and the particles like um, ta:n, e: etc., are differentiated by stating that the latter do not make any major difference in the meaning of the source sentence whereas the former do. The relationship that exists between noun and another noun in genitive constructions is left unnoticed here.

Kothandaraman (1980a) gives two types of definitions for case. According to him, case changes the function of noun in the syntactic structure of a sentence. For example,

in the sentence kaṇṇan pa:rtta:n 'Kannan saw', kaṇṇan is in the nominative case. When ai suffix is added to it, we get the sentence kaṇṇanai pa:rtta:n '(someone) saw Kannan' where the noun kaṇṇan is changed to objective. The second definition is that case differentiates the relationship between the verb and the nouns which occur in a sentence. For example, in the sentence vaḷavan pa:ṇṭṭiyanai pa:rtta:n 'Valavan saw Pandian', the case markers zero and ai differentiate the different relations, viz., Agent and Objective to the verb pa:r 'to see'.

#### 1.4.2.2 Specific cases

##### 1.4.2.2.1 Accusative case

Agesthialingom (1972) illustrates predicate raising in causative sentences and explains how the accusative marker ai which belongs to a subordinate sentence in the deep structure is realized with a noun in the surface structure. For example, in the sentence na:n avanai paṇṭiyac ceyte:n 'I made him to obey' the ai suffix occurring with the noun avan actually belongs to the subordinate sentence avan paṇṭital 'his obeying'.

Gnanam (1981) refutes the traditional view that the occurrence of accusative suffix -ai is optional with neuter nouns and obligatory with rational nouns by pointing out the Modern Tamil instances where rational nouns do not take -ai suffix and also where the neuter nouns occur with zero suffix obligatorily. He gives four conditions for the occurrence of -ai suffix with rational and irrational nouns.

Subramanian (1981) classifies three types of verbs in which the type one obligatorily takes -ai marker in its objective noun, the type two obligatorily deletes the -ai marker and the type third optionally takes the -ai marker.

#### 1.4.2.2.2 Sociative case

Agesthialingom (1976) points out that the verbs ce:r, inai, onru etc., obligatorily need sociative noun phrase. He differentiates conjunctive sentence and the sociative sentence as follows. The sociative phrase denotes the initiator of the action whereas the conjunctive phrase does not. The conjunctive sentences are formed by conjunction transformation, whereas the sociative sentences are formed by a kind of embedding. The instances of Agent function within sociative, Patient within sociative and Dative within sociative have been shown with examples.

Annamalai (1976) distinguishes phrasal conjunction and sentence conjunction in Tamil. According to him, if a conjoined sentence is derived from two similar sentences, the conjunction is called phrasal conjunction. If the conjoined sentence is not derived from two similar sentences, the conjunction will be called sentence conjunction. The term conjunctive case is used to denote sociative case. The meanings, 'principality', 'asymmetry', 'in addition to', and 'take along' are identified in conjunctive case construction by suitable syntactic tests. The fact that conjunctive phrase can have the status of subject whereas the conjunctive case can not have the status of subject, has been pointed out with examples.

Kothandaraman (1986) distinguishes two types of sociative sentences. They are, i) the sociative NPs that could be converted as the head of relative clause construction ('avan pa:lo:tu ni:raik kalanta:n 'He mixed water with milk' → avan niraik kalanta pa:l 'The milk that he mixed the water') and ii) the sociative NPs that could not be converted as the head of relative clause construction, (valli murukano:tu cenra:l 'Valli went with Murugan' → \* valli cenra murukan). He proves that the o:tu NPs that could not become the head of relative clause constructions belong to subordinate clause.

According to him, the sentence vaḷḷi murukano:ṭu cenra:ḷ has the deep structure as (vaḷḷi (murukan cenra:n) cenra:ḷ). The o:ṭu suffix here is an adverbial participle, according to him. He substantiates this view by pointing out the sentences in which o:ṭu suffix is substituted by the adverbial marker a:y as in vaḷḷi co:rvo:ṭu vanta:ḷ → vaḷḷi co:rva:y vanta:ḷ 'Valli came tired'. It is true that o:ṭu suffix with abstract nouns like ko:pam 'anger', ve:kam 'speed' etc., can be substituted by the adverbial suffix a:y and a:ka in Modern Tamil. But, this is not correct with other type of nouns, especially with proper nouns. So the classification of nouns seems to be important to distinguish the two types of sociative mentioned here.

#### 1.4.2.2.3 Genitive case

Shanmugam (1976) points out that the suffixes atu, uṭaiya, -a, and in are used as genitive markers in Modern Tamil. The attainment of the status of case suffix by the inflexional increment -in has been noticed. He consolidates the view that genitive is not a deep case and points out various sources, such as relative clause, cases with verbal nouns, nouns with existential verbs, from which the genitive case is derived in surface structure. Alienable possession and inalienable possession have been explained. According

to him, the source of inalienable possession is dative phrase. The genitive phrase derived from underlying accusative NP, locative NP, sociative NP and ablative NP have been illustrated with examples.

Atittan (1980) states that the sixth case is derived from other cases in the deep structure. Sentences with genitive suffix uṭaiya is the participle form of the respective deep structure sentence. For example, the sentence aracanūṭaiya na:ṭu 'king's country' is derived from na:ṭu aracanai uṭaiyatu.

Arokianathan (1977) distinguishes between act of possession and right of possession. The marker uriya represents the right of possession while the marker uṭaiya represents the act of possession. He states that the marker uriya is derived from the verb uri 'belong' and the marker uṭaiya is derived from the verb uṭai 'possess'. According to him, the kinship terms such as enakku tampi 'me-dat. brother', enakku manaivi 'me-dat. wife' denote the right of possession and so they are derived from the possessive phrases enakkuriya tampi and enakkuriya manaivi respectively by the optional deletion of uriya. Since the verbs uri and uṭai are defective verb bases, the suffix -a has to be taken either as relative participle marker or adjective marker.

Radhakrishnan (1975) substantiates the view that genitive case differs from other cases in not having relationship with a verb and a noun, but with a noun and another noun. He further affirms the fact that genitive constructions are derived from deep structure sentences which are recovered from context. All the genitive constructions in Tamil have been divided into possessives and non-possessives. Different deep structure possibilities of genitive constructions have been given with illustrations. Agentive - Objective, Agentive - Locative, Agentive - Factitive, Dative - Factitive, Locative - Agentive etc., are some of the possible deep structure cases of the non-possessive type, according to him. He distinguishes alienable and inalienable possessive among the possessive constructions. He states that the possessive genitives are having possessive meaning only in the deep structure.

#### 1.4.2.2.4 Instrumental case

Malliga (1980) describes instrumental case in Tamil on the basis of Nilsen's model. She uses various syntactic tests and semantic tests to identify deep cases of surface instrumental case. According to her, Instrumental, Material, Agent, and Causative are the deep cases marked by the suffix a:l at the surface level. The syntactic tests such as 'verbal

incorporation test', 'with-what test' (ataik-kontu), subjectivization test', 'passive test' and sentences with modal verb and the semantic features + controller, + controlled, + cause, + effect, + source and + goal have been used to identify the above deep cases.

#### 1.4.2.2.5 Dative case

Murthy (1977) following the models of Fillmore and Nilsen describes the dative constructions in Modern Tamil. Goal, direction, possession, experience, benefactive, limit, relationship, suitability, comparison, cause, time, distributive, manner, agent and purpose are the shades of meaning identified. The deep cases Agent, Cause and Goal are related to the shades of meaning agent, goal, direction, cause, experience, benefactive, location and limit. The other shades of meaning according to him, belong to the type of case meaning. In the last chapter he points out some paraphrase sentences which according to him are not distinguishable.

#### 1.4.2.2.6 Locative case

Alavandar (1979) describes locative case in Tamil on the basis of Fillmore's model. He classifies four types of locative, basing on the answers of the questions 'where',

'when', 'how' and 'in which'. Besides this, a type called adnominal locative has been identified on the basis of syntactic structure.

#### 1.4.2.2.7 Post position

Balasubramanian (1973) defines post positions as those which can not take either case or tense suffixes, but they can occur independently or with noun or with verb modifiers. Bound as well as free particles which are considered as post positions have been classified. The post positions me:l, ki:l etc., are called defective nominal bases, since they take case markers as me:lukku, ki:lukku etc.

Kothandaraman (1980) states that any particle occurring after a noun and functioning as a case suffix is called post position. He lists the post positions as those occurring after accusative suffix, dative suffix and the inflectional increment -in. The case reduction of post positions when identical predicates occur in the complex sentences, has been shown with illustrations. He suggests that if the reduction of post positional phrases are traced, the transformational grammarians' view that 'case markers are surface structure reflexes', would be made evident.

### 1.5 An outline of the present work

Except a few works such as Radhakrishnan (1975), Murthy (1977), Alavandar (1979) and Malliga (1980) all the other works on Modern Tamil cases have been done with much concentration on syntactic surface structure rather than on semantic deep structure. The case grammarians such as Fillmore's and Nilsen's concepts have been incorporated only in the works stated above. Yet, a complete picture of the cases such as nominative, accusative, ablative and sociative in Modern Tamil have not been given so far. Present work fills up this lacuna. Except the work of Balasubramanian (1976) no work in Modern Tamil have been found so far, relating the basic meaning of the verbs and the deep cases. It is a fact that the interrelationship between the nature of verbs and that of the functions of nominals in a sentence is very important in determining the meaning of a sentence. Keeping this in mind, the chapter II analyses the connection between deep cases and the basic sense of verbs which is used to identify the deep cases. This chapter also gives case frames for more than 200 sample Modern Tamil verbs.

**CHAPTER II**

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**Classification of Tamil Verbs**

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## CHAPTER II

### CLASSIFICATION OF TAMIL VERBS

#### 2.1 Verbs

Verbs play a major role in determining the nature and number of nominals in a sentence. The semantic properties of the verbs and the roles of the nominals in a sentence are interdependent. Fillmore (1968:21) observes that "the various permitted arrays of distinct cases that occur in simple sentences decide the sentence type and therefore the verbs can be classified on the basis of number of nominals in a sentence". This chapter classifies the Modern Tamil verbs on the basis of their meanings as movement verbs, transfer verbs, dynamic verbs etc., and on the basis of deep case as Agent-oriented verbs, Patient-oriented verbs and Experiencer-oriented verbs. An attempt has also been made to review the existing classifications. At the end of the chapter, a sample list of verbs is given with their case frames, both in surface level and in deep level. Since the type of verbs is one of the important factors to describe the deep cases, classification of verbs is given here preceding the chapter on deep cases.

## 2.2 Classification of verbs

Classification is not a new phenomenon in any linguistic study. Before undertaking the classification of Modern Tamil verbs in relation to case grammar, the traditional classifications of Tamil verbs are reviewed and the inadequacies are noted. Most of the traditional grammars classify the Tamil verbs on the basis of the simple principles of morphology and syntax and no classification is made on the basis of semantics. But, Modern scholars have attempted different types of verb classifications and they are noted below.

### 2.2.1 tanvinai versus piravinai

The earliest classification is tanvinai versus piravinai which are translated as affective verbs versus effective verbs respectively. For example, uṇ 'eat' versus u:ṭṭu 'feed', ka:ṇ 'see' versus ka:ṭṭu 'show'. The former is called tanvinai while the latter is called piravinai. This classification is restricted to the verbs which are related morphologically, because this classification is only made among formally and semantically related verbs and not among the verbs which are semantically related but not formally. For example, the

verbs like ca: 'die' and kol 'kill' are not brought under this classification as there is no formal similarity between them. Further, the significance of this classification is not fully explained in terms of syntax and semantics. The term piravinai itself shows its significance at syntactic level rather than at morphological level. The verbs which are piravinai take the Patient which acts as Agent of the corresponding tanvinai verbs. For example, in the sentence avan ma:ṭṭai o:ṭṭina:n 'He drove the ox' where the verb o:ṭṭu is the piravinai verb, the Patient NP 'ox' becomes the Agent in the corresponding tanvinai sentence as in ma:ṭu o:ṭiyatu 'The ox ran' where the verb o:ṭu is the tanvinai verb. Thus, the Patient of the piravinai verb (o:ṭṭu) becomes Agent of the corresponding tanvinai verb (o:ṭu). Further, it is to be noted here that the Agent of the piravinai verbs are always Causal Agent. Only in such cases the distinction is noted in the body of the thesis.

### 2.2.2 Transitive versus Intransitive

The other classification such as transitive versus intransitive is done on the basis of whether the verb takes an object or not. Since this is an universal distinction, it does not require any further explanation. This classification is found to be emphasized from the grammars written

in sixteenth century. After the advent of structural grammar, linguists attempted to classify the transitive verbs into two types, viz., i) inherent transitive and ii) derived transitive, according to whether the verb is morphologically simple or derived from corresponding intransitive verbs. For example, the verbs like pa:r 'see', ke:l 'hear' etc., are inherent transitive verbs while the verbs like aṭakku 'control' and kulukku 'shake' etc., are derived transitives, since they are derived from the corresponding intransitive verbs aṭaṅku 'be controlled' and kuluṅku 'be shaken' respectively. There are verbs like veḷu 'wash' without any morphological process, function both as transitive as in the sentence avan tuṇiyai veḷutta:n 'He washed the clothes' and as intransitives as in the sentence tuṇi veḷuttatu 'The clothes got washed' (for further details see Agesthialingom and Shanmugam, 1970:45). This classification is not significant from deep case point of view. Hence it is not separately noted.

The above classifications, however, explain only a simple kind of syntax and semantics and stops within

morphology<sup>1</sup>. These classifications can not be used to explain problems at sentence level. With the introduction of transformational grammar, more concentration was made on syntax and semantics. A few works which classify the Tamil verbs on the principles of transformational grammar are discussed below.

### 2.2.3 Classification on the basis of Syntax and Semantics

Balasubramanian (1976) after pointing out the defects in the above noted morphological classifications, suggests a new type of classification. He substantiates his views by pointing out sentences where the surface nominative has different deep cases like Patient, Instrument, Source and Goal as shown below.

1. katavu tirantatu  
'The door opened'
2. katti veṭṭiyatu  
'The knife cut'

- 
1. There are also classifications made on the basis of the conjugation of the tense suffixes. Graul (1855) divides the Tamil verbs into three types viz., strong verbs, middle verbs and weak verbs, according to the future tense suffix they take. For example, if the verb takes the future tense suffix - pp it is called strong verb as in pa:rppa:n 'will see (he)'; if the verb takes the suffix - p it is called middle verb as in unpa:n 'will eat (he)', if the verb takes the suffix - v it is called weak verb as in varuva:n 'will come (he)'. This classification which is purely based on the distribution of the tense allomorphs does not explain anything about syntax and semantics.

3. nilam vilaintatu

'The land yielded'

4. kuṭam nirampiyatu

'The pot filled'

Eventhough these sentences are syntactically identical, they differ semantically. The NPs katavu 'door', katti 'knife', nilam 'land' and kuṭam 'pot' in the sentences (1) to (4) have the deep case relations Patient, Instrument, Source and Goal respectively as these sentences have the underlined structures as 1.a. ya:ro: katavait tirantarkaḷ 'Somebody opened the door'; 2.a. ya:ro: kattiya:l veṭṭina:rkaḷ 'Somebody cut with the knife' and so on. These facts, according to him, can not be explained by the traditional classification of verbs. He suggests that the verbs may be classified as Patient verbs, Instrument verbs, Source verbs and so on.

Rajendran (1978) classifies Modern Tamil verbs on the basis of the primary meaning of the verbs. In his work the verbs are grouped into ten types such as verbs of movement like po: 'go', va: 'come'; verbs of transfer like koṭu 'give', va:ṅku 'get'; verbs of change of state like vaḷar 'grow', ka:y 'dry'; verbs of impact like uṭay 'break', kili 'tear';

verbs of senses like paci 'be hungry', vali 'have pain';  
 verbs of emotion like varuntu 'be sad', makil 'be happy';  
 verbs of communication like pe:cu 'speak', col 'say';  
 verbs of association like ce:r 'join', inai 'associate';  
 and verbs of cooking like camai 'cook', ka:yccu 'boil'.  
 The remaining verbs like a:l 'rule', na:ta 'walk', cey  
 'make' etc., which do not come under this classification  
 have been discussed separately. The syntactic aspects of  
 the verbs and the concept of deep cases have been discussed  
 separately. But, the correlation between the deep cases  
 and the meanings of the verbs cited above have not been made.  
 For example, the verbs of movement have only been recognized  
 and the fact that they are the three place predicates taking  
 the deep cases Agent, Source and Goal obligatorily and Means  
 optionally has not been pointed out. Similarly, all the  
 other verb classes are correlated to that of the syntactic  
 structure of the sentences in this study.

Arulraj (1981) divides Modern Tamil verbs into three  
 types, according to the number of arguments that each verb  
 take obligatorily. They are one place predicates, two place  
 predicates and three place predicates. For example, the  
 verbs like alu 'cry', irumu 'cough' take only one argument  
 as in the sentences avan aluta:n 'He cried', avan irumina:n

'He coughed' respectively, where the deep case Agent alone is present and hence these verbs are called as one place predicates. The verbs like acai 'shake', aṇi 'wear' take two arguments as in the sentences avan kallai acaitta:n 'He shook the stone', and avaḷ nakaiyai aṇinta:ḷ 'She wore the ornaments' respectively. It is found here that the verbs take two arguments viz., Agent and Patient, hence this type of verbs is called two place predicates. The verbs like koṭu 'give', col 'say' take three arguments as in the sentences, a:ciriyar ma:ṇavarkaḷukku paricu koṭutta:r 'The teacher gave gifts to the students', and ra:man kirusṇanukku katai connan 'Rama told a story to Krishnan', where it is found that the verbs take three arguments viz., Agent, Patient and Goal, hence this type of verbs is called three place predicates. However, this work does not either relate the surface syntactic structure or the meaning of the verb, to his own classification. For example, the verbs like koṭu 'give', va:ṅku 'get' which are simply given as three place predicates, but the fact is that they take the three cases viz., Agent, Patient and Goal in the deep level and nominative, accusative and dative/locative in the surface level. This type of correlation of deep semantic level and the surface syntactic level has not been made and this has been included in this present study.

### 2.3 Classification of Modern Tamil verbs

The present work which is based on case grammar, classifies the verbs on the basis of their inherent semantic properties and case selection properties. On the basis of the inherent semantic properties verbs are divided into two major classes, viz., action verbs and state verbs, both of which contain a number of sub-classes. On the basis of case selection properties verbs are grouped into three classes, viz., Agent-oriented verbs, Patient-oriented verbs and Experiencer-oriented verbs. These classifications are discussed in detail in this chapter. This classification brings out the inter-relationship between the semantic properties and the case selection properties of the verbs.

#### 2.3.1 Semantic Classification based on inherent lexical properties

Primarily all the verbs are divided into two types such as action verbs and state verbs. Action verbs are further divided into six subgroups, viz., movement verbs, transfer verbs, impact verbs, communication verbs, verbs of association and dynamic verbs. State verbs are further subdivided into five subgroups, viz., psychological verbs, verbs of emotion,

perception verbs, existential verbs and process verbs<sup>1</sup>:

It is to be noted here that some verbs are included in more than one class with a superscript to explain the differences in their semantic and syntactic properties. For example, the verb o:tu 'run' is included under dynamic verb as o:tu<sup>1</sup> and under movement verb as o:tu<sup>2</sup> because o:tu as a dynamic verb takes Agent and Location as in ma:navarkaḷ maita:nattil o:ṭina:rkaḷ 'Students ran in the ground' and as a movement verb takes Agent, Source and Goal as in avarkaḷ paḷḷiyiliruntu vi:ṭṭukku o:ṭina:rkaḷ 'They ran to house from the school'.

### 2.3.2 Action verbs versus State verbs

The verbs which denote an action carried out intentionally by animate beings are called action verbs and the verbs which denote a particular state of an animate being or inanimate objects are called state verbs. For example, the verbs like po: 'go', pe:cu 'speak' are called action verbs, since these verbs denote an action carried out by the animate being intentionally, while the verbs like vali 'have pain', paci 'be hungry' iru 'be' are called state verbs since these

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1. The change of state verbs proposed by Rajendran (1978) has been labelled here as process verbs. The type called dynamic verbs has been proposed here to include the verbs which are carried out by the animate beings with the body parts (see 2.3.2.1.6).

verbs denote the particular state of the animate beings or inanimate objects. This is evident from the fact that the former type of verbs can occur in the answers to the question avan enna ceɣta:n? 'What did he do?' as in avan po:nai:n 'He went' and avan pe:ci:na:n 'He spoke' whereas the latter type of verbs can not behave so. The sentences \*avan valitta:n 'He was having pain' and \*avan pacitta:n 'He was hungry' are not the answers for the respective questions and are ungrammatical. Further, the action verbs undergo imperative transformation as in ni: po: 'You go', ni: pe:cu 'You speak', while the state verbs do not undergo imperative transformation<sup>1</sup>.

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1. The state verbs like cinti 'think', puri 'understand' can become action verbs when they occur with the auxiliary verbs like pa:r, ko:l. Thus the verbs cintittup pa:r 'think of (it)', purintu ko:l 'understand (it)' undergo imperative transformation and answer the question avan enna ceɣta:n. Further the verbs like pa:r, ke:l with the meanings 'see' versus 'look at' and 'hear' versus 'listen to' respectively function both as action verbs and state verbs. Rogers (1971:209) points out that in the active forms (with the meanings 'look at' and 'listen to' respectively) some sort of perceptual filter is involved, this is otherwise called 'paying attention to what one sees or hears'. Further, the action verbs take adverbs like nimirntu pa:r 'be erect and see' and kunintu pa:r 'bent and see' and so on. It can also be noted that the verbs 'look at' and 'listen to' entail 'see' and 'hear', but not the reverse. Besides the above two types, all the state verbs can become active verb in the corresponding causative forms.

### 2.3.2.1 Action verbs

All the action verbs can be divided into six sub groups according to their lexical meanings. They are, i) movement verbs, ii) transfer verbs, iii) impact verbs, iv) verbs of association, v) verbs of communication and vi) dynamic verbs. The description of each one of them is given below.

#### 2.3.2.1.1 Movement verbs

Movement verbs are those verbs which denote a particular movement of animate beings from one place to another place. They are also called directional verbs and locomotion verbs (Rajendran, 1978). The verbs of this class like po: 'go', va: 'come' take the surface cases nominative, ablative and dative obligatorily and the surface case locative optionally. The corresponding deep cases are Agent, Source, Goal and Means. For example, in the sentence avan citamparattiliruntu cennaikku rayilil po:na:n 'He went to Madras from Chidambaram by train', the NPs avan 'He', citamparam 'Chidambaram', cennai 'Madras' and rayil 'Train' are in deep case relations viz., Agent, Source, Goal and Means respectively.

The verbs like o:ṭu 'run', naṭa 'walk' which belong to the class, dynamic verbs (see 2.3.2.1.6) function as movement verbs by taking the above deep cases as in the sentence kamala: ko:vililiruntu vi:ṭṭukku o:ṭina:ḷ 'Kamala ran to the house from the temple'. The other possible case frame this type of verbs take is Agent and Location as in the sentence ḷi:ta: ro:ṭṭil o:ṭina:ḷ 'Sita ran in the street'. In the former type of sentences, the verb denotes a movement from one place to another while in the latter type the verb denotes a particular type of action carried out by the body part. To accommodate this type of verbs, these verbs have been included in the class of movement verbs as o:ṭu<sup>2</sup>, naṭa<sup>2</sup>, and correspondingly the forms o:ṭu<sup>1</sup> and naṭa<sup>1</sup> are included in the class of dynamic verbs.

#### 2.3.2.1.2 Transfer verbs

Verbs denoting the transfer of some inanimate objects from one person or a place to another person or a place are called transfer verbs (see 2.3.4.1.1). This type of verbs are further divided into two groups, viz., transfer-acquisition verbs and transfer-conveyance verbs, according to the fact whether the object is transferred from or transferred towards a person or object. For example, the verbs like va:ṅku 'receive'

eṭu 'take' which belong to the type transfer-acquisition verbs indicate the object 'transferred from', as in the sentences avan ra:maniṭamiruntu paṇattai va:ṅkina:n 'He got the money from Raman', avan peṭṭiyiliruntu paṇattai eṭutta:n 'He took the money from the box'. The verbs like koṭu 'give' po:ṭu 'put' which belong to the type transfer-conveyance indicate the transfer of object towards a person or a place, as in the sentences, si:ta: tan tampikku oru pe:na: koṭutta:l 'Sita gave a pen to her brother', kulaṅtai pe:na:vai taraiyil po:ṭṭa:n 'The child put the pen on the floor'. Nilsen (1973) groups the verbs like 'sell', 'purchase' in to the class called exchange verbs. According to him, exchange verbs are those which have two transfers rather than one, as in the sentences 'He sold his house for ten thousand rupees', 'He purchased the pen for twelve rupees' where it is found that an object and money are mutually transferred. The Tamil verbs which belong to this type are vil 'sell', va:ṅku 'purchase' etc.

As noted earlier, the transfer-acquisition verbs take the deep cases Agent, Source and Patient, while the transfer-conveyance verbs take the deep cases Agent, Goal and Patient. The former type takes the surface cases nominative, ablative and accusative and the latter type takes the surface cases

nominative, dative or locative and accusative. Transfer-conveyance verbs take the surface case dative, if the object is transferred to a person and locative, if the object is transferred to a place.

#### 2.3.2.1.3 Impact verbs

The impact verbs denote an action carried out by the animate beings with a consequent impact on an object. This class of verbs indicates both the positional change and physical change. Rajendran (1978:431) defines this type as one that implies a contact of two bodies with or without force. This type of verbs can be divided into three subgroups, according to the nature of change in the object. They are verbs of creation, verbs of destruction and verbs of positional change. For example, the verbs like cey 'make', pinnu 'knit', kaṭṭu 'build' belong to the class verbs of creation and they make an impact of creation of a new entity as a result. Consider the sentence, avan oru vi:ṭu kaṭṭina:n 'He built a house' where, the object vi:ṭu 'House' is created as the result of the action kaṭṭu 'build'. The verbs like oṭi 'break', iṭi 'crumble', kili 'tear', show the destruction of an object. In other words, as a result of these actions a change in the physical structure of the object is observed.

Consider the sentence, kulantai puttakattai kilittuviṭṭatu 'The child has torn the book' where it is observed that due to the action of the child the physical structure of the object is changed. Hence this type of verbs are called verbs of destruction. The verbs like aluttu 'press', acai 'shake' etc., do not make any change in the physical structure of the object, but make a positional change, yet shows a contact of two bodies with or without force. Consider the sentence, avan katavai kala:l acaitta:n 'He shook the door, with (his) legs'. Here it is found that the position of the object, i.e., the door, is changed due to the action stated by the verb. Hence this type of verbs is called verbs of positional change.

All the above three types of impact verbs take the surface cases nominative, accusative and either locative or instrumental, but they take different set of deep cases as follows: The verbs of creation take the deep cases Agent, Factitive, Patient and Material Instrumental; verbs of destruction take the deep cases Agent, Affected Patient and Tool Instrumental and verbs of positional change take the deep cases Agent, Unaffected Patient and Body-part Instrumental.

#### 2.3.2.1.4 Verbs of association

This class of verbs denote the association or coming together of two or more animate beings or inanimate objects. This type of verbs is divided into two subgroups viz., reciprocal and non-reciprocal verbs. Reciprocal verbs are those which indicate the reciprocal or mutual association of two or more entities. For example, in the sentence avan pa:lai ni:ruṭan kalanta:n 'He mixed milk with water', the verb kala 'mix' shows the combination of two objects mutually. The verbs kala 'mix', maṇa 'marry', ce:r 'join' etc., belong to this class. The non-reciprocal verbs indicate the partial or unilateral association. For example, in the sentence avaḷ tuṇiyai ha:ṅkaril ma:ṭṭina:ḷ 'She hung the clothes in the hanger', the verb ma:ṭṭu 'hang' indicates the association, i.e., the object tuṇi 'Cloth' participated in the action denoted by the verb, while the locative NP i.e., ha:ṅkar 'hanger' does not participate in the action. The verbs kaṭṭu 'tie', ma:ṭṭu 'hang' etc., belong to this class. The verbs like aṇai 'embrace', caṇṭaipo:ṭu 'fight' can function both as reciprocal and non-reciprocal verbs. For instance, in the sentence kiruṣṇanum ra:manum caṇṭaipo:ṭṭa:rkaḷ 'Kirushnan and Raman fought (with each other)', the mutual participation is understood. But in the sentence ra:man kiruṣṇanuṭan caṇṭaipo:ṭṭa:n 'Raman fought with Kirushnan'

the participation is one way, i.e., the Agent NP raiman 'Raman' is the initiator of the action and the sociative noun kiruṣṣan 'Kirushnan' is only the Patient.

The reciprocal verbs take either the surface cases nominative, accusative and sociative or nominative and two accusative phrases conjoined by the conjunctive marker -um as in the sentence avan pa:laiyum ni:raiyum kalantain 'He mixed the milk and water'. This type of verbs take the deep cases Agent and two Affected Patients. The non-reciprocal verbs take either the surface cases nominative, accusative and locative or the surface cases nominative and accusative, depending upon the verb they take. This type of verbs take the deep cases Agent, and Unaffected Patient (see 2.3.4.1.2).

#### 2.3.2.1.5 Communication verbs

The verbs which denote communication of some kind are called communication verbs. Rajendran (1978:533) defines communication verbs as denoting unintelligible as well as intelligible sounds produced by animate beings. The verbs such as kattu 'cry', kurai 'bark', ku:vu 'make sound' etc., are called unintelligible communication verbs, since these verbs do not convey any sense other than the actions denoted by them, where as the verbs like peicu 'speak', col 'say',

alai 'call' etc., are called intelligible verbs, because these verbs communicate something other than the action denoted by the verb, that is the messages<sup>1</sup>.

Unintelligible verbs take the surface case nominative and the deep case Agent while the intelligible verbs take different sets of surface cases like nominative, sociative and accusative; nominative accusative and locative and nominative and accusative and nominative and either dative or locative. They take different sets of deep cases as Agent and Unaffected Patient; Agent, Cognate Patient and Goal; Agent and Cognate Patient and Agent, Unaffected Patient and Goal (see 2.3.4.1.4.1).

#### 2.3.2.1.6 Dynamic verbs

Verbs which denote the action carried out by animate beings and which require no involvement of any other being

As already noted (2.3.2.1.5) these verbs are

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1. Some other verbs like caikaika:ttu 'gesture', kappaṭi 'wink' show an action with an intention to communicate but they are not communication verbs. This will be clear from the expressions caikaika:ṭṭi ku:ppiṭu 'call by gesture' and kappaṭittu col 'Tell by winking' where the actual communication verbs ku:ppiṭu 'call' and col 'Tell' are used in addition to these verbs.

or objects are called dynamic verbs. They always show the action carried out by the body parts of animate beings and the description of a particular event. The verbs like aṣṭu 'dance', iḷi 'show the teeth', empu 'spring up' etc., belong to this class. These verbs do not require any other objects except the body parts. This type of verbs take either the surface case nominative alone as in avan irumina:n 'He coughed' or nominative and locative as in avaḷ araṅkattiḷ aṣṭina:ḷ 'She danced in the auditorium' or nominative and ablative as in avan maṣṭiyiliruntu kutitta:n 'He jumped off from upstairs' or nominative and accusative as in avan kaṣavulaḷai kumpiṭṭa:n 'He worshiped the God'. The deep cases are either Agent alone or Agent and Location or Agent and Source (see 2.3.4.1.5).

### 2.3.2.2 State verbs

As already noted (2.3.1) state verbs are classified into five groups, viz., i) psychological verbs, ii) emotion verbs, iii) perception verbs, iv) existential verbs and v) process verbs.

#### 2.3.2.2.1 Psychological verbs

Verbs denoting a psychological state of human beings are called psychological verbs. This is also called as verbs

of intellection (Rajendran, 1978). The psychological states verbs are either verbs of assessment or judgement or evaluation. These verbs seem to denote the state which are mentally disposed of something. The verbs like cinti 'think', ninai 'remember', ari 'know', teri 'know' belong to this class and they describe the action carried out mentally by the human beings. The verbs teri 'know', ari 'know' are involuntary mental state verbs and the remaining verbs are voluntary mental state verbs.

This class of verbs take the surface cases nominative and accusative and the deep case Experiencer and Unaffected Patient as in the sentence avan avalai ninaitta:n 'He remembered her' where the nominative noun avan 'He' is in Experiencer relationship and the accusative noun avalai 'She-acc' is Unaffected Patient relationship. The other types of case frames belonging to this type are as follows. Nominative and locative as in avan te:rtalil to:r<sub>ra</sub>:n 'He lost the election' or dative and accusative as in avanukku avalai teriyum 'He knows her'. The verbs like pa:r<sup>2</sup> 'see' and ke:l<sup>3</sup> 'hear' take the surface cases nominative and accusative as in avan kannanai pa:rtta:n 'He saw Kannan'.

#### 2.3.2.2.2 Emotion verbs

Verbs denoting the various emotions like anger, happiness, deception etc., which are the result of psychological processes of human beings are grouped under the class verbs of emotion. The verbs like makil 'be happy', veru 'dislike', varuntu 'worry' etc., belong to this group and take the surface case nominative alone as in avan makilnta:n 'He was happy' and nominative and accusative and the deep cases Experiencer and Unaffected Patient as in the sentence mukuntan valliyai verutta:n 'Mukuntan disliked Valli' (see 2.3.4.2.2).

#### 2.3.2.2.3 Perception verbs

Verbs denoting various sensations like pain, sour, sweet, of human beings are grouped under the class, perception verbs. This group includes the sensations of eyes, nose, ear, skin, tongue etc. The verbs like paci 'hungry', ini 'sweet', na:ru 'smell badly' show the sensations of skin, tongue, and nose, respectively. These verbs are involuntary physical state verbs. This class of verbs can be substituted with the verb unar 'feel' as in the sentences murukan ka:lil valiyai unarnta:n 'Murugan pain in his legs', ra:muu<sub>ra</sub>ippai unarnta:n 'Ramu felt the hotness'.

The verbs which indicate the perception by the skin such as eri 'burn (sensually)', vali 'have pain' take the surface cases dative and either nominative or locative and the deep cases Experiencer and Location as in the sentence enakku ka:lil valittatu/enakku ka:l valittatu 'I feel pain in the leg'. The remaining verbs take the surface case dative and the deep case Experiencer as in the sentence enakku uraikkiratu 'I feel hot'.

#### 2.3.2.2.4 Existential verbs

Verbs which indicate the existence of an inanimate object or animate being in a specified place or space are called existential verbs. The verbs iru 'be'<sup>1</sup>, kiṭa 'lie', and uḷ 'be' are the existential verbs in Tamil. These verbs describe the existence of a person or an object in a place. These verbs take the surface cases nominative and locative and the deep cases Patient and Location as in the sentence cuntar vi:ṭṭil irukkira:n 'Sundhar is in the house' or the

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1. The form iru is also functioning as predicative verb in Tamil. This verb is always followed by the adverbial marker a:ka. The surface case nominative alone co-occurs with this verb. The deep cases are either Patient or Experiencer, according to the nature of the preceding verb. If the verb is an emotion verb like kopi 'be angry' varuntu 'be sad' etc., the deep case is Experiencer as in the sentence na:tan ko:pama:ka irukkira:n 'Nathan is angry'. If this verbs occur with the predicates uyaram 'tall' alaku 'beauty' etc., the deep case is Patient as in the sentence anpalakan uyarama:ka irukkira:n 'Anbazhagan is tall'.

surface cases dative and nominative with the deep cases Benefactive Goal and Unaffected Patient as in enakku paṇam irukkīratu 'I have money'.

#### 2.3.2.2.5 Process verbs

"Process verbs are those verbs which are dominated by an abstract developmental predicate, indicating a process leading to a resultant state" (Borgman, 1974:15). The verbs like ka:y 'dry', u:ru 'soak', palu 'ripen', a:ru 'cool' are examples for this type. These verbs whose actions go on in time belong to this type. The verbs like ka:y and u:ru take the surface cases nominative and locative and the deep case Patient and Location as in the sentence tuṇikaḷ ma:ṭiyil ka:ykinṛana 'The clothes dry upstairs' and the verbs like palu and a:ru take the surface case nominative and the deep case Patient as in the sentence ma:ṅka:y paluttuviṭṭatu 'Mango has ripened' (See 2.3.4.3.2).

#### 2.3.3 Deep case based classification

The verbs labelled above can be classified into three groups, according to the deep case they take in the subject position. All the action verbs (2.3.2.1) take Agent as their subject, hence they are called as Agent-oriented verbs. Among the state verbs existential verbs and process

verbs (2.3.2.2.4 and 2.3.2.2.5) take the deep case Patient as their subject, hence they are called as Patient-oriented verbs. The remaining verbs such as psychological verbs, emotion verbs and perception verbs (2.3.2.2.1; 2.3.2.2.2 and 2.3.2.2.3) take the deep case Experiencer as their subject. Hence they are called as Experiencer-oriented verbs<sup>1</sup>. All these three groups of verbs can be further subdivided into one place predicates, two place predicates, three place predicates etc., according to the number of deep cases each verb take obligatorily. The number of deep cases that each verb take has been given in the section 2.3.4.

From the classifications shown above, it is found that the verbs of movement, verbs of transfer, verbs of impact, verbs of association, verbs of communication and dynamic verbs which are action verbs imply that the action is carried out by the animate being with instigation and with voluntary involvement, whereas the Experiencer-oriented verbs such as psychological verbs, emotion verbs and perception verbs which are state verbs describe the mental

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1. Besides these three groups, there are also sentences with the subjects having the deep cases Instrument, Cause and Means. But these subjects are brought out of subjectivization transformation in restricted contexts, while the former type of subjects are brought out in normal conditions. For details see section 5.3.

state of human beings. Contrary to this two classes, the Patient-oriented verbs such as existential verbs and process verbs take the Patient case which is a neutral case that defines the state of objects, both animate and inanimate. The relationship thus noted between the semantic classification of verbs and the corresponding deep case based classification of verbs can be used to identify the deep cases in a sentence, besides the semantic features and syntactic tests.

#### 2.3.4 Case frame

As already noted (2.1), the various permitted arrays of distinct cases occur in simple sentences are useful to decide the sentence type. The array of cases that each verb take is called as case frame by Fillmore (1968:27). Case frames (both surface and deep cases) for a sample of two hundred Tamil simple verbs are given here. The verbs are listed on the basis of the classifications made above. As already noted, single forms with different meanings and different case frames have been given with numbers superscripted as po:<sup>1</sup>, po:<sup>2</sup> and so on.

## 2.3.4.1 Agent-oriented action verbs

## 2.3.4.1.1 Transfer verbs

## 2.3.4.1.1.1 Transfer-conveyance verbs

+ [ ] — nom, acc,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dat} \\ \text{loc} \end{array} \right\} \text{-}_7$ , + [ ] — Ag, UP, BG\_7

aḷi 'present'

anuppu 'send'

u:ṭṭu 'feed'

vaḷaṅku 'offer'

+ [ ] — nom, acc,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dat} \\ \text{loc} \end{array} \right\} \text{-}_7$ , + [ ] — Ag, UP,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{BG} \\ \text{NBG} \end{array} \right\} \text{-}_7$

koṭu 'give'

ta: 'give'

+ [ ] — nom, acc,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{loc} \\ \text{dat} \end{array} \right\}$ , dat\_7, + [ ] — Ag, UP, BG, NBG\_7

vil 'sell'

aṭakuvai 'pledge'

+ [ ] — nom, acc, abl\_7, + [ ] — Ag, UP, NBG\_7

po:ṭu<sup>1</sup> 'put' (po:ṭu<sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.1.3.3)

vai<sup>1</sup> 'put' (vai<sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.1.3.3  
vai<sup>3</sup> - 2.3.4.1.4.1)

## 2.3.4.1.1.2 Transfer-acquisition verbs

+ [ — nom, acc, abl\_ ], + [ — Ag, UP, S\_ ]

uriñcu	'suck'
uruvu	'unshhealth'
ətu	'take'
irai <sup>1</sup>	'draw water' (irai <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.1.3.2, irai <sup>3</sup> - 2.3.4.4)
ilu	'pull'
allu	'sweep away'
tirutu	'steal'
peru	'obtain'
moḷḷu	'take away'
vacu:li	'collect'
va:ñku <sup>1</sup>	'get'

+ [ — nom, acc, dat, abl\_ ], + [ — Ag, UP, NBG, S\_ ]

va:ñku<sup>2</sup> 'purchase'

## 2.3.4.1.2 Verbs of association

+ [ — nom, soc, acc\_ ], + [ — Ag, AP, AP\_ ]

kala <sup>1</sup>	'mix'
kattu <sup>1</sup>	'tie'

+ [ — nom, acc, acc\_ ], + [ — Ag, AP, AP\_ ]

kala<sup>2</sup> 'mix'

kaṭṭu<sup>2</sup> 'tie'

+ [ — nom, acc, loc\_ ], + [ — Ag, UP, L\_ ]

kala<sup>3</sup> 'mix'

kaṭṭu<sup>3</sup> 'tie'

+ [ — nom, acc\_ ], + [ — Ag, UP\_ ]

ka:tali<sup>1</sup> 'love'

canti<sup>1</sup> 'meeting a person purposefully'

maṇa 'marry'

aṇai 'embracing a person'

+ [ — nom, nom\_ ], + [ — Ag, Ag\_ ]

ka:tali<sup>2</sup> 'love' (mutual)

canti<sup>2</sup> 'meeting accidentally'

aṇai<sup>2</sup> 'embracing each other'

caṇṭaipo:ṭu 'fight'

## 2.3.4.1.3 Verbs of impact

## 2.3.4.1.3.1 Verbs of creation

+ [ — nom, acc, { $\begin{matrix} \text{inst} \\ \text{loc} \end{matrix}$  }-7, + [ — Ag, FP, MI-7

a:kku	'produce'
varai	'draw'
muṭai	'plait'
pinnu	'knit'
camai	'cook'
cey <sup>1</sup>	'make' (cey <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.1.5)
kaṭṭu	'build'
vaṭi	'carve'
cetukku	'carve'
elutu	'write'

## 2.3.4.1.3.2 Verbs of destruction

+ [ — nom, acc,  $\begin{matrix} \text{inst} \\ \text{loc} \end{matrix}$  -7, + [ — Ag, AP, (TI)-7

iṭi	'crumble'
uṭai <sup>1</sup>	'break' (uṭai <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.4)
noṟukku	'crush'
naṟukku	'cut'
oṭi <sup>1</sup>	'break' (oṭi <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.4)
eri <sup>1</sup>	'burn' (eri <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.4)

neravu	'level up'
aṭi	'beat'
tuṭai	'clean'
pili	'squeeze'
ci:vu	'chip'
curaṭṭu	'scratch'
naṟukku	'cut'
veṭṭu	'cut'
vaḷai <sup>1</sup>	'bend' (vaḷai <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.4)
muṟi <sup>1</sup>	'break' (muṟi <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.4)
pical	'mix'
kol	'kill'
kottu	'grub'
karai <sup>1</sup>	'dissolve' (karai <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.4)
alampu	'wash'
varu	'fry'
kaḷuvu	'wash'

### 2.3.4.1.3.3 Verbs of positional change

+ [ ] — nom, acc, {inst  
loc} 7, + [ ] — Ag, UP, BI 7

umil	'spit'
cuma	'carry'
teḷi	'sprinkle'
tiṇi	'insert'

po:tu	'put'
marai <sup>1</sup>	'hide' (marai <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.4)
vai <sup>2</sup>	'put' (vai <sup>3</sup> - 2.3.4.1.4.1)
o:tu	'fix'
irai <sup>2</sup>	'smear'
a:pi	'wear'
cintu	'pour'
ca:y <sup>1</sup>	'incline' (ca:y <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.1.5; ca:y <sup>3</sup> - 2.3.4.4)
pu:ai	'winnow'
tu:ttu	'winnow' (in the air)
amai <sup>1</sup>	'put off' (amai <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.4)

+ [ — nom, acc\_ ], + [ — Ag, UP\_ ]

utai	'kick'
arai	'blow'
tira	'open'
ta:tu	'stop'
a:ukku	'pile up'
ma:i	'fold'

#### 2.3.4.1.4 Communication verbs

##### 2.3.4.1.4.1 Intelligible communication verbs

+ [ — nom, acc\_ ], + [ — Ag, UP\_ ]

ikal	'disperse'
a:cirvati	'bless'

koñcu	'talk sweetly'
al <sub>ai</sub>	'call'
tiṭṭu	'scold'
te:ṛru	'console'
pa <sub>li</sub>	'blame'
ve:ṇṭu	'pray'
varave:ru	'welcome'
varuṇi	'describe'
vai <sup>3</sup>	'scold'

+ [ — nom, acc, {<sub>loc</sub><sup>soc</sup> }- ], + [ — A, CP, NBG- ]

pe:cu<sup>1</sup> 'speak'

+ [ — nom, acc- ], + [ — Ag, CP- ]

pa:ṭu 'sing'

col<sup>1</sup> 'say' (telling a story)

pe:cu<sup>2</sup> 'scold'

+ [ — nom, acc, {<sub>loc</sub><sup>dat</sup> }- ], + [ — Ag, CP {<sub>NBG</sub><sup>BG</sup> }- ]

a<sub>r</sub>ivi 'inform'

ku:ṛu 'tell'

col<sup>2</sup> 'say' (inform)

terivi 'inform'

viḷakku 'explain'

vica:ri 'enquire'

+ [ — nom, acc, loc ], + [ — Ag, UAP, NBG ]

ke:ɿ<sup>1</sup> 'ask' (ke:ɿ<sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.1.5, ke:ɿ<sup>3</sup> - 2.3.4.2.1)

#### 2.3.4.1.4.2 Unintelligible

+ [ — nom ], + [ — Ag ]

uɿaru 'babble'

ciri 'laugh'

ci:ru 'hiss'

kurai 'bark'

pulampu 'cry'

munaku 'grumble'

kattu 'cry'

#### 2.3.4.1.5 Dynamic verbs

+ [ — nom, loc ], + [ — Ag, L ]

u:r 'crawl'

urul 'roll'

o:tu<sup>1</sup> 'run' (o:tu<sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.1.6)

para<sup>1</sup> 'fly' (para<sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.1.6)

taval 'crawl'

ni:ntu 'swim'

nata<sup>1</sup> 'walk'

e:ru 'climb'

oḷi	'hide'
a:tu	'dance'
amar	'sit'
utka:r	'sit'
kulī	'bath'
ca:y <sup>2</sup>	'incline'
toṅku	'hang'
paṭu	'lie'
vilaiya:tu	'play'
nil	'stand'
nulai	'enter'
naṭi	'act'

+ [ — nom ], + [ — Ag ]

irumu	'caught'
iḷi	'show the teeth'
kuni	'bend'
tummu	'sneeze'
tulḷu	'jump'
nimir	'erect'
kuti	'jump'
naṭa <sup>2</sup>	'walk' (naṭa <sup>3</sup> - 2.3.4.1.6)

+ [ — nom, acc\_ ], + [ — Ag, UP\_ ]

aṇuku	'approach'
kumpiṭu	'worship'
teṭu	'search'
toṭaṅku	'start'
tuti	'worship'
vaṇaṅku	'worship'
paṛ <sup>1</sup>	'look at' (paṛ <sup>2</sup> - 2.3.4.2.1)
keṭ <sup>2</sup>	'listen to' (keṭ <sup>3</sup> - 2.3.4.2.1)
cey <sup>2</sup>	'do'

+ [ — nom, abl\_ ], + [ — Ag, S\_ ]

e <u>l</u>	'rise'
iṛaṅku	'get down'
nakar	'move'
empu	'spring up'

#### 2.3.4.1.6 Movement verbs

+ [ — nom, abl, dat, (loc)\_ ], + [ — Ag, S, DG, (Me)\_ ]

cel	'go'
poṛ	'go' <i>red</i>
vaṛ	'come'
oṭu <sup>2</sup>	'run'
naṭa <sup>3</sup>	'walk'
paṛa <sup>2</sup>	'fly'

## 2.3.4.2 Experiencer-oriented state verbs

## 2.3.4.2.1 Psychological verbs

+ [ — nom\_ ], + [ — E\_ ]

e:ma:ɾ 'deceive'

cali 'weary'

tayaŋku 'hesitate'

+ [ — nom, acc\_ ], + [ — E, UP\_ ]

kavani 'watch'

ke:l<sup>3</sup> 'hear'

cama:li 'manage'

pa:r<sup>2</sup> 'see'

mara 'forget'

veru 'hate'

nampu 'believe'

virumpu 'like'

ninai 'think'

+ [ — nom, loc\_ ], + [ — E, L\_ ]

to:l 'fail'

jeyi 'succeed'

+ [ — dat, acc\_ ], + [ — E, UP\_ ]

teri 'know'

piṭi 'like'

#### 2.3.4.2.2 Emotion verbs

+ [ — nom\_ ], + [ — E\_ ]

e:ñku 'languish'

atir 'shock'

kalañku 'stir'

tikai 'taken aback'

taṭuma:ḡu 'totter'

tavi 'suffer'

mayañku 'faint'

makil 'be happy'

miraḷ 'fear'

varuntu 'distress'

#### 2.3.4.2.3 Perception verbs

+ [ — dat\_ ], + [ — E\_ ]

kumaṭṭu 'vomit'

paci 'be hungry'

vikku 'hiccough'

kuḷir 'chill'  
 naṭuṅku 'tremble'

+ [ — dat, nom\_ ], + [ — E, UP\_ ]

ini 'sweet'  
 teviṭṭu 'loath'  
 puḷi 'sour'  
 maṇa 'smell (good)'  
 na:ru 'smell (bad)'  
 kana 'be heavy'  
 kaca 'bitter'  
 tuvar 'to be astringent'  
 uṛai 'behot'  
 ruci 'taste'

+ [ — dat, {loc  
 nom} ], + [ — E, L\_ ]

kuḷir 'chill'  
 vali 'pain'  
 ve:r 'sweat'  
 naṭuṅku 'tremble'

## 2.3.4.3 Patient-oriented state verbs

## 2.3.4.3.1 Existential verbs

+ [ — nom, loc\_ ], + [ — UP, L\_ ]

iru<sup>1</sup> 'be'

kiṭa 'lie'

ul<sup>1</sup> 'be'

+ [ — dat, nom\_ ], + [ — BG, UP\_ ]

iru<sup>2</sup> 'be'ul<sup>2</sup> 'be'

## 2.3.4.3.2 Process verbs

+ [ — nom\_ ], + [ — UP\_ ]

u:cu 'decay'

a:ru 'become cool'

aluku 'become rotten'

avi<sup>2</sup> 'boil' above to be classes of verbs, i.e., Agent-

kani 'ripen' Patient-oriented and Patient-oriented verbs

karuku 'blacken' verbs that take neuter inanimate nouns,

civa 'become red' as the subject.

paru 'become fat'

pori 'be parched'

palu 'ripen'

malar 'bloom'

melı	'weaken'
murru	'mature'
ular <sup>1</sup>	'dry'
ka:y <sup>1</sup>	'dry'
koti <sup>1</sup>	'boil'
va:ar	'grow'
vilai	'yield'
vi:ti	'd&wn'
va:tu	'wither'
ve:u	'whiten'

+ [ — nom, loc\_ ], + [ — UP, L\_ ]

ular <sup>2</sup>	'dry'
ka:y <sup>2</sup>	'dry'
koti <sup>2</sup>	'boil'
u:ru	'soak'

#### 2.3.4.4 Patient-oriented action verbs

Besides the above three classes of verbs, i.e., Agent-oriented, Experiencer-oriented and Patient-oriented verbs, there are action verbs that take neuter inanimate nouns, with the Patient case as the subject.

+ [ — nom\_ ], + [ — AP\_ ]

o <u>t</u> i <sup>2</sup>	'break'
e <u>r</u> i <sup>2</sup>	'burn'
a <u>m</u> ai <sup>2</sup>	'put off'
ka <u>l</u> ai <sup>2</sup>	'disperse'
ka <u>r</u> ai <sup>2</sup>	'dissolve'
ku <u>r</u> ai <sup>2</sup>	'reduce'
ki <u>l</u> i <sup>2</sup>	'tear'
to <u>l</u> ay <sup>2</sup>	'lost'
ti: <u>r</u> <sup>2</sup>	'solve'
va <u>l</u> ai <sup>2</sup>	'bend'
ve <u>t</u> i <sup>2</sup>	'burst'
u <u>t</u> ai <sup>2</sup>	'brittle'
ma <u>r</u> ai <sup>2</sup>	'set'
i <u>r</u> ai <sup>3</sup>	'smear'
ci <u>n</u> tu <sup>2</sup>	'pour'
ca: <u>y</u> <sup>3</sup>	'incline'
vi <u>l</u> u <sup>2</sup>	'fall'

**CHAPTER III**

**Deep Case**

## CHAPTER III

### DEEP CASE

#### 3.1 Semantic representation

The aspect of semantic representation which is most closely linked to syntactic structure is the functional structure of semantic readings of the lexicons. The link between the predicate verb and the nominal part of a sentence is the prime factor of semantic representation. The functions of the sentence constituents are of three types according to Katz (1972:113). They are, i) grammatical functions like subject, object, ii) rhetorical functions like topic, comment, and iii) semantic functions like Agent, Patient, Instrument. The semantic function is alone named as deep semantic role or deep case in Fillmore's terminology. According to Fillmore (1968:24), the deep case notions comprise a set of universal, presumably innate concepts which identify certain types of judgements human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them; Judgements about who does something, who experiences something, where something happens, what it is that changes, what it is that moves, where it starts out and where it ends up. These notions are represented by case suffixes or prepositions or post positions in the surface syntactic structure of any language.

### 3.2 Deep cases and case meanings

Case forms are the surface realizations of various meanings. These meanings are called case meanings. For instance, in the sentence kantan cennaikku cenra:n 'Kanthan went to Madras' the dative phrase cennaikku 'to Madras' denotes the place towards which a person moves. Similarly, in the sentence kumaran celvikku paṇam koṭutta:n 'Kumaran gave Selvi money', the dative phrase celvikku 'to Selvi' denotes the person towards which an object moves. Thus the interpretation of casual NPs according to the co-occurring cases and verbs is termed as case meaning. However, there is a commonness between a set of case meanings. For example, in the above given sentences the commonness between the two meanings is termed as Goal which is described as a place or a person towards which a person or object moves. From this observation Goal is conveniently said as 'the motion towards'. Thus the extraction of the most relevant content of the communication is referred to as deep case. In this manner all the deep cases are explainable in terms of the proper communicative content from different communicative components (Arul Junova, 1975:13).

On the above ground, all the deep cases are described by the most relevant communicative content. For example,

Agent is defined as the animate instigator of the action; Patient is defined as anything representable by the state or action denoted by the verb; Instrumental is the inanimate force or object involved in the action and so on. It is to be noted here that these definitions are derived from the relationship between the nominal part and the predicate of the sentence. There are, however, some case meanings which can not be explained within the purview of the deep cases as explained above. This is because of the fact that these meanings are not relatable to the verbs of the sentence, but to the adjoining noun. For example, the limitative meaning of the dative NP a:luyarattukku 'to the height of a man' in the sentence ve:lan kuma:rukku a:luyarattukku ma:lai anivitta:n 'Velan garlanded Kumar with a garland of the height of a man' does not have relationship with the verb, but with the noun ma:lai 'garland'. This type of meanings not explainable in terms of deep cases, are simply referred to here as case meanings for want of a better term. Different case meanings are described in the respective chapters with the deep cases that each surface case gives.

The present chapter defines all the deep cases that denote the relational semantic functions between the predicate

verb and the noun phrases of simple sentences in Modern Tamil. Each deep case is distinguished from the other using basic meanings of the verbs as explained in the previous chapter and using the relational case features as proposed by Nilsen (1972). Besides this, the lexical features of the deep cases and their co-occurrence conditions are also explained.

### 3.3 Features

The meanings of lexical forms are decomposed into smaller entities called lexical components or lexical features. The features that are arrived in relation between a noun and a verb are called relational case features. Lexical features are permanent and not changable, but case features are not permanent but are derivable from the context.

#### 3.3.1 Lexical features

Eventhough all the linguistic forms can be decomposed into lexical features, the lexical features of the nouns with relevance to case have been taken care of here. The features such as animate, human, non-human, inanimate, concrete and abstract are used here to distinguish different deep cases.

Besides this, the features force, intent etc., are also used wherever necessary, because the former types are universal and are relevant to wider number of nouns whereas the latter are relevant only to animate nouns.

### 3.3.2 Case features

McCoy (1969) developed thirteen case features for fifteen deep cases. The features she gives are as follows: cause, instigator, performer, intent, effect, source, goal, active, control, affected, time, place and transition. Nilsen (1972) who pursued her work abstracted both the number of cases and features into six. The features he posits are controller, controlled, cause, effect, source and goal. The following are the explanation he gives in support of his arguments. The features instigator, performer, intent and control are not distinguishable, since these four features indicate different aspects of the same relationship i.e., a kind of intentional control. Hence his system includes these four features under the feature controller. The feature controlled is the one which is acted upon and the feature controller is the one which is acting. The features active and place are lexical features rather than relational features. The features transition, place, and time are unnecessary, since they are totally predictable from the

features source and goal. His system thus includes the case features controller, controlled, cause, effect, source and goal.

### 3.3.2.1 The features controller and controlled

Controller is the intentional causer of an action which implies the presence of controlled. Controller is given for the deep case Agent. The feature controlled is what is being controlled by the controller. The deep case Instrument which co-occur with Agent has the feature controlled. The feature controller is also used to represent the one place predicates. In this regard this feature is referred to as the animate being which performs an action with intentional control, while the feature controlled does not represent the deep case with intentional control.

### 3.3.2.2 The features cause and effect

Cause<sup>1</sup> is an aspect that makes an effect while 'effect' is the result of the 'cause'. The cause versus effect relationship is same as that of process versus result relationship. Cause is the feature specified for any argument involved

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1. The terms cause, source and goal are used by Nilsen as case features as well as deep cases.

in anyway, with the origin of the action. Cause is given for Agent which produces the effect with instrument or other stimuli. The deep cases Agent, Instrument and Cause have the feature cause and the deep cases Patient and Instrument have the features effect.

### 3.3.2.3 The features source and goal

The features source and goal explain the origin, i.e., the point at which something originates and aim of a particular event. Goal is the end point. The Source-Goal relationship is relevant for all verbs of change, i.e., the first state is the Source and the second state is the Goal (Nilsen, 1972:41).

The present work, as already noted (see 1.3) takes into consideration nine deep cases such as Agent, Patient, Instrumental, Experiencer, Cause, Purpose, Location, Source and Goal. The six relational case features such as controller, controlled, cause, effect, source and goal; and the lexical features such as animate, human, non-human, inanimate, concrete and abstract as noted above; the syntactic tests such as substitution tests, question, verbal incorporation, compound noun formation etc., and the types of verb are used to identify the deep cases.

### 3.4 Agent

Fillmore (1968:24) describes this case as the case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb.

Agent expresses an activity or action, something which someone does. The capacity of a noun to occur as an Agent depends on its semantic specification as a thing which has the power to do something, a thing which has the power of its own, and which is self motivated. The concept of self motivation coincides with the concept of animateness; it is animate beings which are conceived of as having their own intentional motivating force, can alone become Agent in a sentence.

The power to do something is labelled by the feature + force, the motivation to do is labelled by the feature + instigator and the presence of intention can be labelled by the feature + intent. All these lexical features will be present only if the deep case is Agent.

- + animate
- + human
- + force
- + instigator
- + intent.

Agent has the relational case features + controller, + cause and + source.

### 3.4.1 Syntactic tests

#### 3.4.1.1 Imperative test

Fillmore (Ibid:31) states that the transformation which accounts for the true imperatives can apply only to sentences containing Agents, in which case the verbs will be non stative, i.e., action verbs alone can undergo imperative transformation.

#### 3.4.1.2 Do so test

The other syntactic test Fillmore uses to identify Agent is 'do so test'. According to him, all the Agent sentences can be questioned as 'what did the noun do?'. The corresponding Tamil term is avan/avaḷ/atu enna ceyt/a:n/a:ḷ/atu? 'What did he/she/that do?'.  
37. 21 13.603 200. 87

#### 3.4.1.3 Adverbial insertion

In all the sentences with Agent, the adverb 'voluntarily' can be inserted with the verb, whereas voluntary involvement is not possible in the case of other deep cases like Experiencer, Patient etc. Consider the following sentences.

1. centamilan tiruṭana: l kattiya: l kuttina: n  
'Senthamilan stabbed the thief'

2. uṣa: ve:kama:ka o:ṭina: l  
'Usha ran fast'

The NPs centamilan 'Senthamilan' in the sentence (1) and uṣa: 'Usha' in the sentence (2) are in Agent relation with the verbs kuttu 'stab' and o:ṭu 'run' respectively. The imperative form of these sentences are as follows:

1.a. tiruṭana: l kattiya: l kuttu  
'Stab the thief'

2.a. ve:kama:ka o:ṭu  
'Run fast'

These sentences can be questioned as follows:

1.b. centamilan tiruṭana: l enna ceyta: n?  
'What did Senthamilan do to the thief?'

2.b. uṣa: enna ceyta: l?  
'What Usha did?'

Besides this, the adverbial insertion test also makes sense as follows:

1.c. centamilan ve:ṣṭumenre: tiruṭanai kattiya:l  
kuttina:n

'Senthamilan stabbed the thief voluntarily'

2.c. uṣa: ve:ṣṭumenre: ve:kama:ka o:ṭina:ḷ

'Usha ran fast voluntarily'

Agent case is realized in surface structure in nominative case (5.1), genitive case (10.3.25), sociative case (11.2) and instrumental case (7.2.3). All the action verbs (2.3.2.1) are capable of taking the deep case Agent.

### 3.5 Patient

Patient is the one which is unaware of what is going to happen by the action or state denoted by the verb. Patient specifies what it is in the state (Chafe, 1970:98). Fillmore (1968:25) includes this case with the neutral Objective case. According to him, "it is the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state is identified by the verb".

Patient case is distinguished from Agent case by not having the lexical features intent and instigator. Patient may be animate or inanimate noun. The lexical features of the Patient case is as follows.

- + animate
- + human
- + concrete
- + abstract
- intent
- instigation

According to Nilsen (1972:37), Patient case has the relational case features + effect and + goal. He defines this case as the thing affected or acted upon.

Patient case can be differentiated into four types according to the types of verbs, and different lexical features of the noun. They are Affected Patient, Unaffected Patient, Effected Patient and Cognate Patient. The syntactic tests for the differences among these cases are given under each subgroup.

### 3.5.1 Affected Patient

The term 'affected' is used here in the sense of 'change of state'. Any change that occurs in the state of the object by the action stated by the verb is considered as Affected Patient.

Affected Patient has the lexical features as follows:

- + animate
- + human
- + concrete.

Abstract nouns do not have Affected Patient relationship. The process verbs like vaḷar 'grow', kaṣy 'dry' (2.3.2.2.5) and the verbs of destruction which belong to the class impact verbs, like uṭai 'break', kili 'tear' (2.3.2.1.3) take the Affected Patient case.

### 3.5.1.1 Syntactic tests

#### 3.5.1.1.1 Subjectivization test

All the Affected Patients can be subjectivized by passivization. If the Patient is inanimate, the Affected Patients can be brought to the subject position after changing the transitive verb into intransitive form. In this case the effective verbs (piṛavinaḷ) become affective (tanvinaḷ) in the corresponding subjectivization as can be seen from the sentences (4) and (5) below.

#### 3.5.1.1.2 'What do to' test

The Affected Patients can be questioned by the question 'What do to?'. The corresponding Tamil equivalent is atai/avanai avan enna ceyta:n? 'What did he do to that/him?'.  
atai/avanai avan enna ceyta:n?

### 3.5.1.1.3 Co-occurrences

Affected Patients co-occur with Agent and optionally with Tool-Instrumental case if the verb is verb of destruction (2.3.4.1.3.2). If the verb is process verb, Affected Patient occurs with Location or without Location as follows.

Agent + Affected Patient + (Tool-Instrumental) +

Verbs of impact

Affected Patient + Process verb

Affected Patient + Location + Process verb

Consider the sentences,

3. oru ci:kkiyan intira:ka:ntiyai tuppa:kkiya:l  
cuṭṭuviṭṭa:n

'A Sikh shot Indira Gandhi with a gun'

4. avan pa:naiyai uṭaitta:n

'He broke the pot'

5. aval tupiyai ularttina:l

'She dried the clothes'

The nouns intira:ka:nti 'Indira Gandhi', pa:nai 'pot',  
tupi 'cloth' in the sentences (3), (4) and (5) respectively

are in Affected Patient relationship with the respective verbs. The subjectivization of these Affected Patients are as follows:

3.a. intira:ka:nti oru ci:kiyana:l cuṭappaṭṭa:r  
'Indira Gandhi was shot at by a Sikh'

4.a. pa:nai uṭaintatu  
'Pot got broken'

5.a. tuṇi ularntatu  
'Cloth got dried'

Further, these Affected Patients can be questioned as follows:

3.b. oru ci:kkiyan intira:ka:ntiyai enna ceyta:n?  
'What did a Sikh do to Indira Gandhi?'

4.b. avan pa:naiyai enna ceyta:n?  
'What did he do to the pot?'

5.b. avaḷ tuṇiyai enna ceyta:ḷ?  
'What did she do to the cloth?'

In surface structure the Affected Patients are realized in accusative case (6.2.1) and nominative case (5.2.2).

### 3.5.2 Unaffected Patient

If the noun is not affected by the action or state identified by the verb, it is said to be in Unaffected Patient relationship with the verb. In other words, the entity in no way affected in its original physical form by the action or state identified by the verb is Unaffected Patient.

The Unaffected Patients have the lexical features as follows:

- + animate
- + human
- + concrete.

#### 3.5.2.1 Verbs

The types of verbs that take Unaffected Patients are existential verbs (2.3.4.3.1), psychological verbs (2.3.4.2.1), impact verbs (verbs of positional change) (2.3.4.1.3.3) and transfer verbs (2.3.4.1.1). If the verb is existential verb, Unaffected Patient is in nominative case (5.2.2), remaining verbs take the argument in the accusative case (6.2.2).

## 3.5.2.2 Co-occurrence

The structure of the sentences in which Unaffected Patient is one of the arguments may be given as follows:

Unaffected Patient + Location + existential verbs

Agent + Unaffected Patient + Goal + transfer verbs

Experiencer + Unaffected Patient + psychological verbs.

Examples:

6. ko:puram mikavum uyarama:ka irukkiratu

'The tower is very high'

7. na:ñkal citamparattil irukkiro:m

'We are in Chidambaram'

8. a:ciriyar ma:pavanukku puttakattai koçutta:r

'The teacher gave book to the student'

9. enakku perro:rkaḷai teriya:tu

'I do not know my parents'

The nominative NPs ko:puram 'tower' and na:ñkal 'we' in the sentences (6) and (7) respectively and the accusative NPs puttakam 'book' and perro:rkaḷai 'parents' in the sentence (8) and (9) respectively are in Unaffected Patient relationship with the respective verbs. In these sentences the entities are in no way affected by the state or action identified by the verbs. There is no significant syntactic test to identify this case.

### 3.5.3 Effected Patient

Fillmore (1968:25) names this case as Factitive. According to him, this is the case of the object or being, resulted from the action or state identified by the verb. Fillmore (1971:116) defines this case as the result i.e., the entity that comes into existence as a result of an action.

Effected Patient which is the object effected from the action, has the lexical features - animate, + concrete, i.e., only inanimate concrete nouns can be in Effected Patient case relation.

The verbs which take this case are verbs of creation like cey 'make' kaṭṭu 'build' (2.3.4.1.3.1).

#### 3.5.3.1 Syntactic test

##### 3.5.3.1.1 Compound noun formation

Effected Patient noun and the co-occurring Material Instrumental noun can be made as a compound noun.

##### 3.5.3.1.2 Co-occurrence

Effected Patient case always co-occur with Agent and Material Instrumental case as follows:

Agent + Material Instrumental + Effected Patient +  
Verbs of creation.

In the sentences,

10. taccan ponna:l nakai ceyta:n  
'Goldsmith made the ornament with Gold'

11. raku ceñkalla:l vi:tu kaṭṭina:n  
'Regu built the house with bricks'

the object NPs nakai 'ornament' and vi:tu 'house' are in Effected Patient relationship with the verbs cey 'make' and kaṭṭu 'build' respectively. The Effected Patients and the corresponding Material Instrumentals can be made as compound nouns as follows:

10.a. pon nakai.  
'Golden ornament'

11.a. ceñkal vi:tu  
'Brick house'

This case is realized only in the surface accusative case (6.2.3).

#### 3.5.4 Cognate Patient

The objects which belong to a particular description of an action are called cognate patients. Balasubramanian (1975:563) describes the cognate objects as the nouns that are derived from an underlying verb. Chafe (1970:156) calls this case as Complement case. According to him, the verb describes a certain action which by its nature implies the co-existence of a certain nominal concept. Singing, for example, implies a song and playing implies a game. The nominals 'song' and 'game' occur as Cognate Patients in a sentence. In other words, the meaning of these nouns is understood in the verb itself.

Cognate Patient has the lexical feature - animate and - concrete, i.e., only abstract nouns can have Cognate Patient relationship.

The verbs which take the Cognate Patients are of two types. They are, i) compound verbs consisting of noun and verbalizer and ii) simple verbs without verbalizer. The list of verbs and their corresponding Cognate Patients are as follows:

## i) Compound verbs consisting of noun and verbalizer

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Noun</u>
li:lai puri 'play'	li:lai 'play'
ur <sup>u</sup> timoli ku:ru 'assure'	ur <sup>u</sup> timoli 'assurance'
payaṇam cey 'travel'	payaṇam 'travel'
ve:lai cey 'work'	ve:lai 'work'
utavi cey 'help'	utavi 'help'
patil col 'reply'	patil 'reply'

ii) Simple verbs without verbalizer<sup>1</sup>

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Noun</u>
va: 'come'	varukai 'coming'
aṭi 'beat'	aṭi 'beating'
alai 'invite'	alaippu 'invitation'
va:l 'live'	va:lkkai 'life'
piṭi 'hold'	piṭi 'hold'
alu 'weep'	alukai 'weeping'
a:ṭu 'dance'	a:ṭṭam 'dancer'
naṭa 'walk'	naṭai 'walking'

- 
1. During relativization of the former type of constructions, the proverbs become the relative participle as purinta li:lai 'The play (one) did', ku:riya urutimoli 'The assurance (one) gave', but in the latter type the verb as a whole becomes the relative participle as aṭitta aṭi 'The beat (one) gave', a:tiya a:ṭṭam 'The dance (one) danced'.

In the sentences,

14. a:ciriyar ma:ṇavanin mutukil oru aṭi aṭitta:r  
'The teacher beat the student on his back'

15. ci:ta: araṅkattil oru a:ṭṭam a:ṭina:l  
'Sita gave a dance in the auditorium'

the nouns aṭi 'beat' and a:ṭṭam 'dance' are in Cognate Patient relationship, as they are derived from the corresponding underlying verbs aṭi 'beat' and a:ṭu 'dance' respectively.

The following table gives the lexical features of different Patients.

Patient	Features				
	Animate	Human	Non human	Inanimate concrete	Abstract
Affected Patient	+	+	+	+	-
Unaffected Patient	+	+	+	+	+
Effected Patient	-	-	-	+	-
Cognate Patient	-	-	-	-	+

### 3.6 Instrumental

Fillmore (1968:25) describes Instrumental case as "the case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action identified by the verb". It is being the object which plays a role in bringing a process about, but which is not the motivating force or the instigator. Chafe (1970:152) suggests that Instrument seems to resemble Agents most closely, since it has something to do with bringing about the change of condition which the sentences convey.

Instrumental case has the relational case features + controlled, + cause, + effect, + source and + goal - (Nilsen, 1972:37). The Agent and the Instrumental cases can be connected as having the features + controller and + controlled respectively. That is, Instrumental case is the case that is always controlled by the Agent. In other words Instrumental NP in participation with Agent carries out the action.

Instrumental case has the lexical features - animate and + concrete. That is inanimate concrete nouns can alone occur as deep instrumental case.

Four types of Instrumental cases can be distinguished on the basis of different participation of the Instrumental noun phrases with the Agent. They are Tool-Instrumental, Material Instrumental, Body-Part Instrumental and Means. Each type can be distinguished from the other by the type of verb with which they occur and by different syntactic tests (substitution tests, subjectivization tests, verbal incorporation and compound noun formation). Tool-Instrumental case undergo the substitution test, subjectivization test and verbal incorporation<sup>test</sup>; Body-Part Instrumental undergo the substitution test, and verbal incorporation<sup>test</sup>; Material Instrumental case undergo substitution test, and compound noun formation<sup>test</sup>; the Means NPs undergo the substitution test alone.

### 3.6.1 Tool-Instrumental

Tool-Instrumental case denotes the tool used by the Agent in performing the action identified by the verb. It is largely the nouns denoting the tool such as katti 'knife', pe:na 'pen', taṭi 'stick' etc., alone occur in the Tool-Instrumental case.



### 3.6.1.1.2 Subjectivization test<sup>1</sup>

All the Tool-Instrumental NPs can be subjectivized, using the subjectivization transformation as follows:

14.b. katti naḡukkiyatu

'The knife cut'

15.b. kalappai ulutatu

'The plough ploughed'

### 3.6.1.1.3 Verbal incorporation

The tools associated with the verbs in this type of sentences are usually understood and they can be deleted from the surface structure as follows:

14.c. civara:man paḡattai naḡukkina:n

'Sivaraman cut the fruit'

15.c. kaṅṅan nilattai uluta:n

'He ploughed the land'

- 
1. The subjectivization that takes place in this type of sentences is the one that is proposed by Fillmore (1968), i.e., when there is no Agent the Instrument becomes the subject. The subjectivization also takes place when there is the feature + accidental as in the sentence katti vettivittatu 'The knife cut (accidentally)'. The other features like focus of attention also determine the subjectivization (see sec.5.3).

Nilsen (1973:27) calls this phenomenon as 'verbal incorporation', because the instrument used for this type of verbs is specific to a particular entity. He gives a list of verbs and their incorporated tools. The following are the equivalents in Tamil<sup>1</sup>.

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Incorporated tool</u>
ra:vu 'file'	aram 'file'
na <u>r</u> ukku 'cut'	katti 'knife'
ar <u>u</u> 'saw'	rampam 'saw'
ul <u>u</u> 'plough'	kalappai 'plough'
ce <u>t</u> ukku 'scrab'	ul <u>i</u> 'chisel'
cu <u>ṭ</u> u 'shoot'	tuppa:kki 'gun'
ku:ṭ <u>ṭ</u> u 'sweep'	tu <u>ṭ</u> aippam 'broom'
nir <u>u</u> 'weigh'	tara:cu 'weighing machine'

1. If the verb takes more than one entity as instruments, the deletion is not possible. For example, the verb elutu 'write' take the instruments pencil 'pencil' and pe:na: 'pen'. In this case the sentence avan kaṭitam 'He wrote a letter', does not imply the correct instrument used by him. Further, if the verb takes a class of entity as instrument the deletion is not possible. For example, the verb kuttu 'pierce' takes all the instruments which are sharp in nature like, katti 'knife', a:ni 'needle', etc., and hence the deletion is not possible. There are also sentences where the instrument is used for emphasis. In those cases also the deletion is not possible. For example in the sentence, civa: inta tuppa:kkiya:lta:n cutta:n 'Siva shot with this gun only' the instrumental NP can not be deleted as it is used for emphasis.

#### 3.6.1.1.4 Co-occurrence

Tool-Instrumental case always co-occur with Agent and either Affected Patient or Unaffected Patient. The verbs in this type of sentences are either verbs of destruction (2.3.4.1.3.2) or verbs of positional change (2.3.4.1.3.3).

#### 3.6.2 Material Instrumental

Material Instrumental case denotes the material used to construct or to produce an object. In other words, it is the basic component of the object created. Consider the following sentences,

16. mu:rticeṅkalla:l vi:ṭu kaṭṭina:n

'Murthy built the house with the bricks'

17. murukan ponna:l nakai ceyta:n

'Murugan made jewels with gold'

The instrumental NPs ceṅkalla:l 'with bricks' and ponna:l 'with gold' are in Material Instrumental case relationship with the respective verbs.

#### 3.6.2.1 Syntactic tests

The following are the tests used to identify the Material Instrumentals.



### 3.6.2.1.3 Subjectivization test

Unlike the Tool-Instrumental case, the Material Instrumental case does not undergo subjectivization. The following sentences are ungrammatical.

16.c. \*ceṅkal vi:ṭu kaṭṭiyatu

'The brick stone built the house'

17.c. \*pon nakai ceytatu

'The gold made the jewel'

### 3.6.2.1.4 Verbal incorporation

Unlike the Tool-Instrumental, Material Instrumental NPs are not incorporated by the verbs because of the fact that the material used and the object created are not having one to one relationship. Same material can be used to construct different objects. Note that the following sentences do not convey the same meaning as in (16) and (17).

16.d. mu:rtti vi:ṭu kaṭṭina:n

'Murthy built the house'

17.d. murukan nakai ceytain

'Murugan made jewel'

Material Instrumental NPs always co-occur with Agent and Factitive Patient. The verbs in this type of sentences are always verbs of creation like kaṭṭu 'build', cey 'make', pinnu 'knit', a:kku 'produce' (2.3.4.1.3.1).

## 3.6.3 Body-part Instrumental

Body-part Instrumental case denotes the nouns which are the names of animate body parts like kai 'hand', ka:l 'leg', kaṇ 'eye'. This case is mostly similar to Tool-Instrumental case. But unlike Tool-Instrumentals, Body-part Instrumentals are not separate entities, i.e., the Body-part Instrumentals are inalienable in nature.

Consider the following sentences,

18. kutirai avanai ka:la:l utaittatu

'Horse kicked him by the legs'

19. ra:ju kolaiyai tan kaṇkaḷa:l pa:rtta:n

'Raju saw the murder with his eyes'

The instrumental NPs ka:la:l 'by the legs', and kaṇkaḷa:l 'with <sup>the</sup> eyes' here are Body-part Instrumentals.

### 3.6.3.1 Syntactic tests

The following are the syntactic tests used to identify the Body-part Instrumentals.

#### 3.6.3.1.1 Subjectivization test

Like Tool-Instrumental NPs, Body-part Instrumental NPs can also be subjectivized using subjectivization transformation as follows:

18.a. atan ka:l utaittatu

'It's leg kicked'

19.a. avan kaṅ pa:rttatu

'His eye saw'

#### 3.6.3.1.2 Verbal incorporation test

Like Tool-Instrumental NPs, the Body-part Instrumental NPs are also incorporated by the verbs. The deletion of the Instrumental NPs in this type of sentences does not alter the basic meaning of these sentences<sup>1</sup>.

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1. However, Body-part Instrumentals can not be deleted from the source sentences, if the NP is emphasized, as in the sentence, avan tan kaṅkaḷa:le:ye: kolaiyai partta:n 'He saw the murder with his own eyes'. The emphatic marker e: with the instrumental NP does not permit the deletion. Further, in the usages like kan pe:ciyatu 'eye spoke' the deletion is not possible.

18.a. kutirai avanai utaittatu

'Horse kicked him'

19.a. ra:ju kolaiyai pa:rtta:n

'Raju saw the murder'

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Incorporated Noun</u>
pa:r 'see'	kaṇ 'eye'
utai 'kick'	ka:l 'leg'
kaṭi 'bite'	pa:l 'tooth'
ke:l 'hear'	ka:tu 'ear'
kuttu 'blow'	kai 'hand'

### 3.6.3.1.3 Substitution test

Like the Tool-Instrumental and Material Instrumental case, the case suffix with the Body-part Instrumental NPs can be substituted by the post position koṇtu and the verb payanpaṭutti 'using'. But the sentences with these post positions are not in potential use in Modern Tamil.

### 3.6.3.1.4 Co-occurrence

Body-part Instrumental co-occurs with Agent and Affected Patient, if the verb is impact verb as in the sentence (18). If the verb is perception verb like pa:r 'see', mukar 'smell', it co-occurs with Experiencer and Unaffected Patient as in the sentence (19).

### 3.6.4 Means

Means denote the noun through which the action is carried out. Comparing the other Instrumentals, participation of the Agent with Means is partial. Consider the following sentences .

20. viñña:ni tolai kanna:ṭiya:l va:nattaip pa:rtta:r  
'The scientist saw the sky through the telescope'

21. avan rayilil po:nai:n  
'He went by train'

In the sentences (20) and (21) the instrumental NP tolai kanna:ṭiya:l 'through the telescope' and the locative NP rayilil 'by train' are in Means relationship with the verb. The instrumental NP and the locative NP here indicate the object through which the action is carried out.

#### 3.6.4.1 Syntactic tests

The following are the syntactic tests used to identify the means case.

##### 3.6.4.1.1 Substitution test

Unlike the other Instrumentals, the case suffixes with the means NPs are substituted by the post position mu:la m 'through' as follows:

20.a. viñña:ni tolai kappas̥ṭi mu:lam va:nattaip' pa:rtta:r  
 'The scientist saw the sky through the telescope'

21.a. avan rayil mu:lam po:nas̥n  
 'He went by train'

Like the Material Instrumental case, the Means case also does not undergo subjectivization transformation and the verbal incorporation test.

#### 3.6.4.1.2 Co-occurrence

Unlike the other Instrumentals, Means case co-occur with different deep cases like Agent, Experiencer, Goal, and Unaffected Patient etc., which depends upon the nature of verb with which it occurs.

#### 3.7 Experiencer

Experiencer is the deep case that indicates the animate nouns which are mentally, sensually or emotionally involved in the state identified by the verb.

Fillmore (1971:116) defines this case as the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of state identified by the verb. In other words it describes the case of the arguments that are passively affected by an action or that endure the state described by the verb (McCoy, 1969:130).

Experiencer case takes the state verbs which are either psychological verbs or verbs of emotion or verbs of perception (2.3.4.2).

Experiencer nouns have the lexical features + animate, and + human. It has the case features + source and + goal (McCoy, 1969:131).

Consider the following sentences,

22. enakku ra:manai teriyum  
'I know Raman'

23. ci:ta: ko:pama:ta:nta:l  
'Sita got angry'

24. muttuvukku ka:lil valikkiratu  
'Muthu feels pain in his leg'

25. ya:nai e:ka:lai pa:rttatu  
'The elephant saw us'

In the sentences (22), (23) and (24) the nounphrases enakku 'to me', ci:ta: 'Sita' and muttuvukku 'to Muthu' respectively which are human nouns are in Experiencer case. The verb teriyum 'know' in the sentence (22) is a psychological verb;

the verb ko:pi 'be angry' in the sentence (23) is an emotion verb and the verb vali 'be pain' in the sentence (24) is a perception verb. The NP ya:nai 'elephant' in the sentence (25) which is a non-human noun is also in Experiencer case as it takes the verb pa:r 'see' which is a psychological verb.

### 3.7.1 Syntactic tests

The following tests are used to identify the Experiencer case.

#### 3.7.1.1 Question

Chafe (1970:145) states that the Experiencer case does not answer the question 'what happened?'. The corresponding Tamil equivalent is enna a:yirru?. Thus the sentences (22) to (25) do not answer the question enna a:yirru?. It is to be noted here that the sentences with perception verbs as in the sentence (24) can be the answer for the question 'enna ceykiratu?' 'what happened?'. Thus the sentence (24) can be questioned as, avanukku enna ceykiratu? 'What happened to him?'.  
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### 3.7.1.2 Substitution test

In the sentences with the perception verb, the verb can be substituted by the verb uṅar 'to feel'. Thus sentence (24) can be interpreted as follows:

24.a. muttu kaḷil valiyai uṅarkira:n  
'Muthu feels pain in the leg'

### 3.7.1.3 Co-occurrence

Emotion verbs like ko:pi 'be angry', varuntu 'be sad' are single place predicates, hence they take Experiencer alone as in (23). The psychological verbs like teri 'know', puri 'understand', pa:r 'see' take the arguments Experiencer and Unaffected Patient, as in the sentences (22) and (25). The perception verbs like vali 'be pain', kuḷir 'be chill' take Experiencer and Location as their arguments, as in the sentence (24).

## 3.8 Location

Fillmore (1968) refers this case as Locative and describes this as the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb. Borgman (1974:12) who names this case as

locative range describes this as the area or the field in which the action is carried out or the field which limits a certain state.

The lexical features of this case are + animate, + human and + concrete. The case features are + source and + goal.

Consider the following sentences,

26. na:ñkaḷ tirumaṇama:natum kalkatta:vil kuṭiyirunto:m  
'We lived in Calcutta after our marriage'

27. oru tattil palam iruntatu  
'Fruit was in a plate'

28. avaniṭam paṇam iruntatu  
'He had money'

In the sentences (26) and (27) the locative phrases kalkatta:vil 'in Calcutta' and tattil 'in the plate' which are - animate and + concrete nouns and in the sentence (28) the locative phrase avaniṭam 'with him' which is + human noun are in Location case relationship with the corresponding verbs.

In the sentence (26) the locative phrase indicate the place where the action is carried out and in the sentences (27) and (28) the locative phrases indicate the place where particular state is located. The surface case suffixes are -il if the noun is - animate and -iṭam if the noun is + human.

### 3.8.1 Co-occurrence

The Location case co-occurs with Patient, if the verb is existential verb iru 'be'. If the verb is dynamic verb like kuṭiyiru 'live', a:ṭu 'dance', uṭka:r 'sit', it co-occurs with Agent.

### 3.9 Source

Source is the place or person from which something moves. It is the reverse of Goal case which describes the place or person to which something moves. Source indicates the earlier location of the person or object before the action is carried out.

The lexical features of the Source NP are + animate, + human and + concrete. The relational case feature of this case according to Nilsen is + source.

29. avan cennaiyiliruntu tiruccikku cenra:n  
'He went to Tiruchi from Madras'

30. ci:ta: ra:maniṭamiruntu paṅam va:ṅkina:ḷ  
'Sita got money from Raman'

In the sentence (29) the NP cennaiyiliruntu 'from Madras' which is a - animate, + concrete noun and in the sentence (30) the NP ra:maniṭamiruntu 'from Raman' which is a + animate, + human noun, are in Source case relationship with the respective verbs. In (29) the source NP indicates the place from which the person moves and in (30) the source NP indicates the person from whom the object moves.

### 3.9.1 Syntactic tests<sup>1</sup>

#### 3.9.1.1 Question

If the NP is - animate and + concrete the Source NP indicates the starting point of the particular movement, hence this phrase can be the answer for the question eṅkiruntu purappaṭṭa:n 'where did he start?'. Thus the sentence (29) can be questioned as follows:

1. For Source and Directional Goal (3.10) no explicit syntactic test is noted, hence these deep cases are identified by the question with the verbs purappaṭṭu 'start' (for Source) and aṭai 'reach' (for Goal) as these words have a semantic relation with the concept of Source and Goal.

29.a. avan tiruccikku cella enkiruntu purappaṭṭa:n?  
'Where did he start to go to Tiruchi?'

If the Source NP is + animate and + human, the sentence always occurs with the verbs of acquisition like va:ḥku 'get', peru 'get', hence the sentence would imply the corresponding reverse sentence with the transfer conveyance verbs like koṭu 'give'. Thus sentence (30.a) is the reverse of the sentence (30).

30.a. ra:man ci:ta:viṭam paṇam koṭutta:n  
'Raman gave money to Sita'

### 3.9.1.2 Co-occurrence

The structure of the sentence with the Source NP having the lexical feature + animate and + human is as follows:

Agent + Source + Patient + transfer - acquisition verb

If the Source NP has the lexical feature - animate and + concrete the structure is as follows:

Agent + Source + Goal + movement verb.

In the sentence (31) the locative NP Sekar 'to Sekar' which is + animate and + human is in the sentence (32) the dative NP naturaikku 'to Madurai' which is a - animate and + concrete NP and in the sentence (33) the dative NP ḥḥḥḥḥḥ 'to the guest' are in Goal case relationship with the corresponding verbs. In (31) the Goal NP indicates the person to whom the object is transferred. In (32) the Goal

Goal is the person or place towards which a thing or person moves. Goal is the end point of a particular movement or transfer.

Goal has the lexical feature + animate, + human and + concrete. It has the case feature + goal. Like source, goal is also a feature as well as a case.

Consider the following sentences,

31. ra:mu ce:kariṭam paṇam koṭutta:n

'Ramu gave money to Sekar'

32. ci:ta: citamparattiliruntu maturaikku cenra:ḷ

'Sita went to Madurai from Chidambaram'

33. kuma:r a:ṭṭukku ti:ni po:ṭṭa:n

'Kumar gave food to the goat'

In the sentence (31) the locative NP ce:kariṭam 'to Sekar' which is a + animate and + human noun; in the sentence (32) the dative NP maturaikku 'to Madurai' which is a - animate and + concrete noun and in the sentence (33) the dative NP a:ṭṭukku 'to the goat', <sup>Which is + animate -human</sup> are in Goal case relationship with the corresponding verbs. In (31) the Goal NP indicates the person to whom the object is transferred. In (32) the Goal

NP indicates the place towards which the person moves and in (33) the Goal NP indicates the non-human noun towards which the object moves. It is to be noted here that the Goal NPs indicate the end point of the person or object moved.

### 3.10.2 Syntactic test

#### 3.10.2.1 Question

Since the Goal NPs indicate the reaching point, the Goal phrase is the answer for the question ya:rai a:taintatu? 'Whom did it reach?' if the NP is + animate and + human.

Thus the sentence (31) is the answer for the question (31.a).

31.a. ra:mu ko:tutta pa:nam ya:rai a:taintatu?

'Whom the money which <sup>Ramu</sup> gave reached'

If the NP is - animate and + concrete the Goal NP is the answer for the question enta i:tattai a:tainta:n? 'which place he reached?'. Thus the sentence (32) is the answer for the

question (32.a).

32.a. ci:ta citamparattiliruntu cenru enta i:tattai a:tainta:l?

'Where did Sita reach having gone from Chidambaram?'

If the Goal NP is + animate and - human the question is etai aṭaintatu? 'to which did it reach?'. Thus the sentence (33) is the answer for the question (33.a).

33.a. kuma:r koṭutta ti:ṇi etai aṭaintatu?  
'To which did the food that Kumar gave reach?'

### 3.10.2.2 Co-occurrence

If the Goal NP is + animate and + human the structure of the sentence in which the Goal is one of the arguments, is as follows:

Agent + Goal + Patient + verbs of conveyance.

If the Goal NP is - animate and + concrete the structure is as follows:

Agent + Source + Goal + verbs of movement.

### 3.11 Purpose case

Purpose is the case that denotes the intention of the Agent to carry out the action. Like Cause, Purpose is also a component of an action, except a few all the other actions have a Purpose (McCoy, 1969). In Modern Tamil it is found that this case is inflected by the case suffixes -ukka:ka and -kku.

Purpose case has the lexical features - animate, - concrete and + abstract and the case features + cause and + goal. Only the verbal nouns occur in this case.

Unlike the other deep cases, Purpose case occurs in the deep structure in an embedded sentence<sup>1</sup>, since this case always has the form verbal noun plus the purposive suffix.

Consider the following sentences.

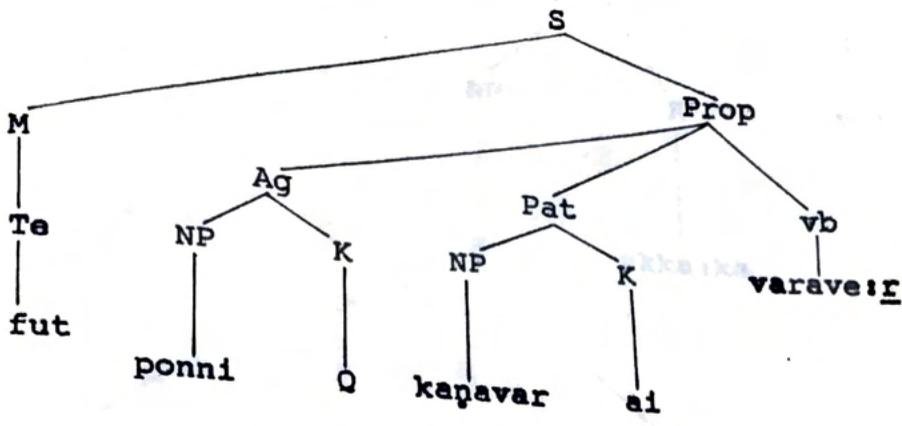
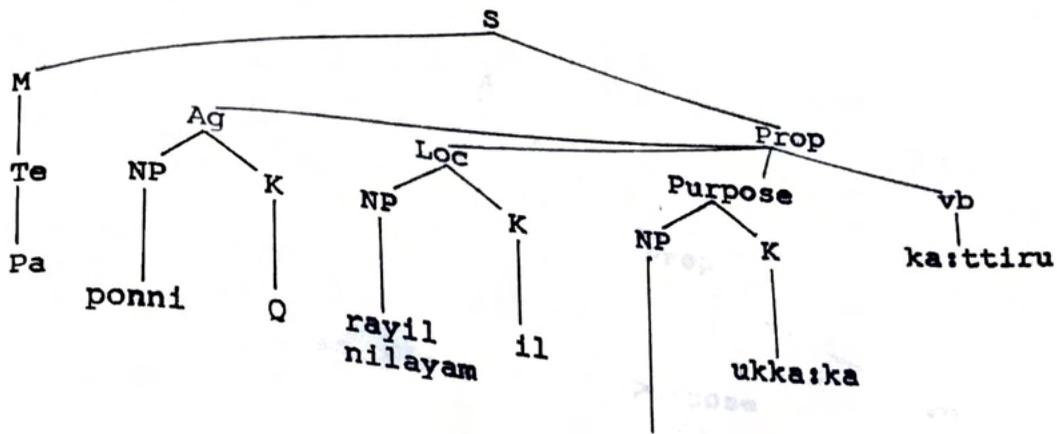
34. ponni tan kaṇavarai varave:ṛppatar\_ka:ka  
rayil nilayattiḷ ka:ttirunta:ḷ  
'Ponni was waiting in the railway station  
to receive her husband'

35. kaṇṇan ca:ppiṭuvatar\_ka:ka vanta:in  
'Kannan came for eating'

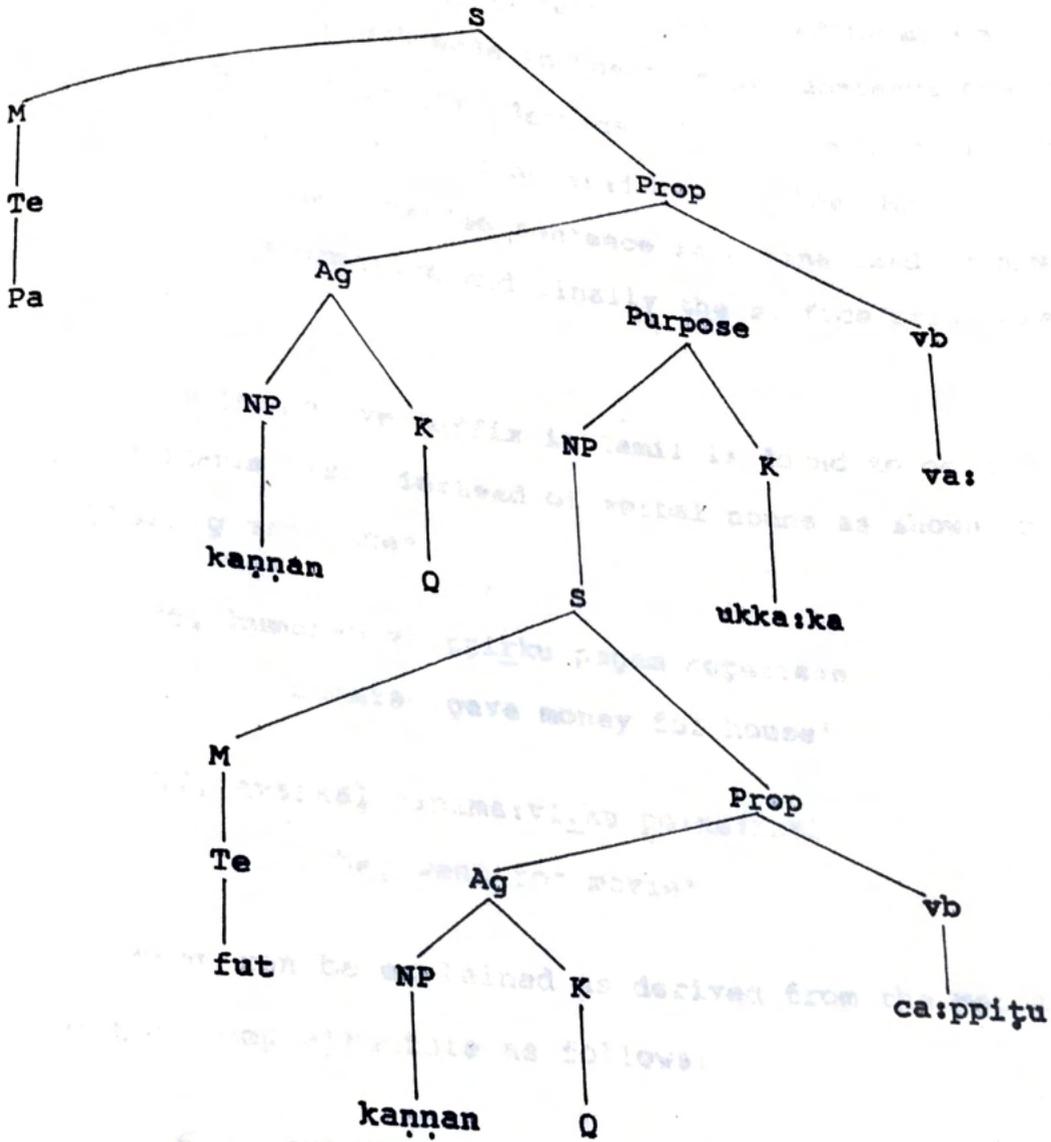
The noun phrases varave:ṛppatar\_ka:ka 'to receive' in the sentence (34) and ca:ppiṭuvatar\_ka:ka 'to eat' in the sentence (35) which are + abstract nouns, are in Purpose case relationship with the respective verbs ka:ttiru 'wait' and va: 'come'. The deep structure of the above sentences is as follows.

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1. McCoy (1969:41) considers that embedded sentences can be dominated by the Causative case and Purpose case.



panni rayil nilaiyattil [ panni qanavarai varave:ru ] ka:ttiru.



kannan [kannan ca:ppiṭu] vanta:n

It is to be noted here that the Purpose NP in the above structures is a sentence embedded to the node Purpose. In other words, the Purpose case is dominated by an embedded sentence. The Agent node in the embedded sentence and in the matrix sentence are identical, hence the Agent NP in the embedded sentence is deleted by identical NP transformation. The verb in the embedded sentence is nominalized by nominalization transformation and finally the surface structure is obtained.

The purposive suffix in Tamil is found to occur with other nouns also, instead of verbal nouns as shown in the following sentences.

36. kumaran vi:ṭṭiṛku paṇam koṭutta:n

'Kumaran gave money for house'

37. avarkaḷ cinima:viṛku po:na:rkaḷ

'They went for movie'

But they can be explained as derived from the verbal noun in the deep structure as follows:

36.a. kumaran vi:ṭu kaṭṭuvataṅku paṇam koṭutta:n

'Kumaran gave money to build the house'

37.a. avarkaḷ cinima: pa:rppataṅku po:na:rkaḷ

'They went to witness a movie'

The verbs in the above sentences, viz., kaṭṭu 'build' and pa:r 'see' respectively are recovered through the shared knowledge of the speaker hearer.

Besides this, there are also purposive phrases with verbal derivatives as in the sentence avar ulavukku paṇam koṭutta:r 'He gave money for ploughing' which can also be defined either with the verbal noun as avar uluvata<sub>r</sub>kk<sub>u</sub> paṇam koṭutta:r or with infinitive as avar ula paṇam koṭutta:r.

### 3.11.1 Syntactic tests

The following are the syntactic tests used to identify the deep case Purpose.

#### 3.11.1.1 Infinitivization test

Since Purpose is one of the functions of the infinitives all the purpose phrases can be converted into the corresponding infinitive forms. The sentences (34) and (35) can be interpreted as follows:

34.a. ponni kaṇavarai varave:rkka rayil nilayattil  
ka:ttirunta:l

'Ponni was waiting in the railway station to receive her husband'

35.a. kaṇṇan ca:ppiṭa vanta:n

'Kannan came for eating'

The Purpose phrases are the answers for the question e:n? 'why?'. Sentences (34) and (35) can be questioned as follows:

34.b. ponni e:n ra<sub>y</sub>il nilayattil ka:ttirunta:l?  
'Why did ponni wait in the railway station?'

35.b. kannan e:n vanta:n?  
'Why did kannan come?'

3.12 Cause<sup>1</sup>

Cause is the inducement or the motive of an event. McCoy (1971:116) defines this case as "the case that expresses the relationship existing between the proposition and those arguments which, without being its performers, are considered responsible for its coming about".

1. Cause is distinguished from causative which implies a double process, i.e., x caused y to cause z (McCoy, 1969:116). Lakshmi Bai (1973:17) names the Cause case as direct cause and causative as indirect cause. Since causative is a syntactic process which undergo morphophonemic changes in the verb, and it implies double causes, causative has not been dealt with here. Only the former case, i.e., the direct cause has been dealt with here.

Cause case has the lexical features - animate and + abstract. Like Purpose, Cause also occurs only with verbal nouns. It has the case features + cause and + source as this case is the Cause and source for producing an effect. Nilsen (1972) treats the term 'cause' as a case as well as a feature.

Like Purpose, Cause case is also dominated by an embedded sentence in the deep structure.

Consider the following sentences.

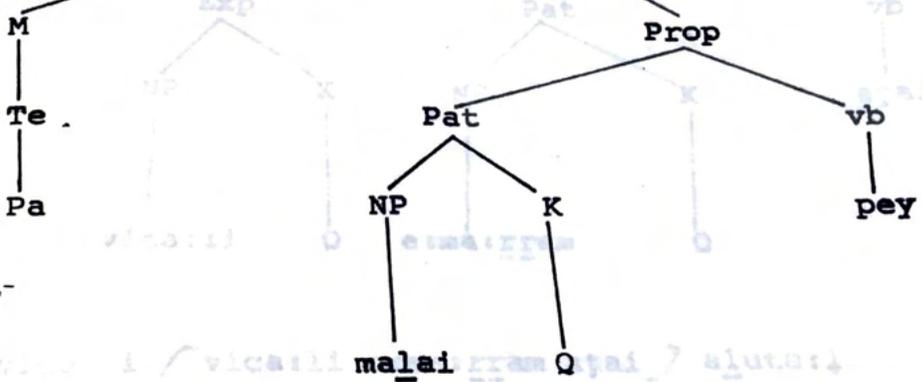
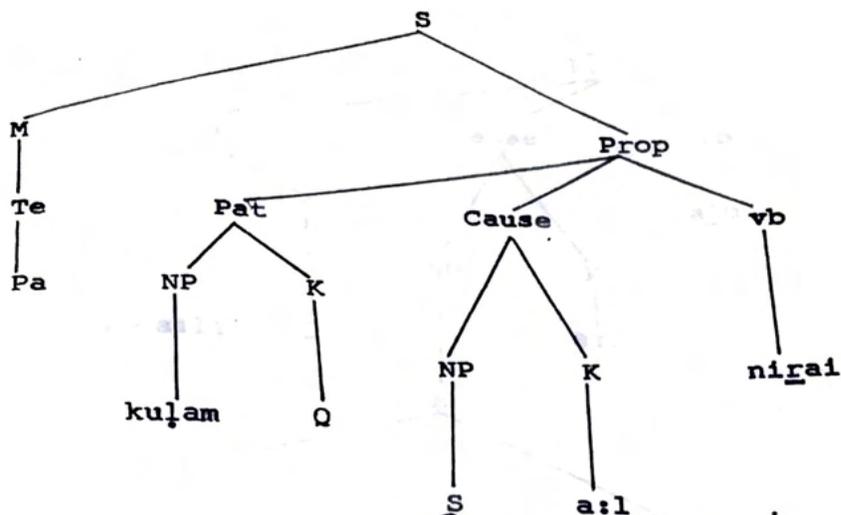
38. malaiya:l kuḷam niṛaintatu  
'The pond was filled up due to rain'

39. e:ma:rratta:l vica:li aḷuta:l  
'Visali wept because of deception'

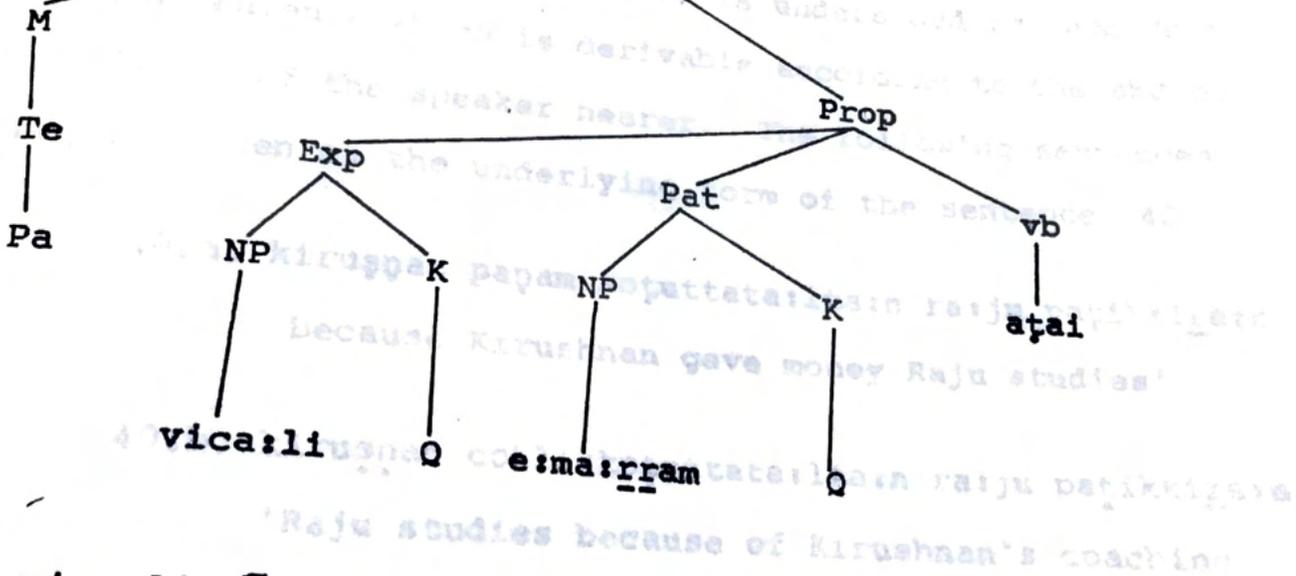
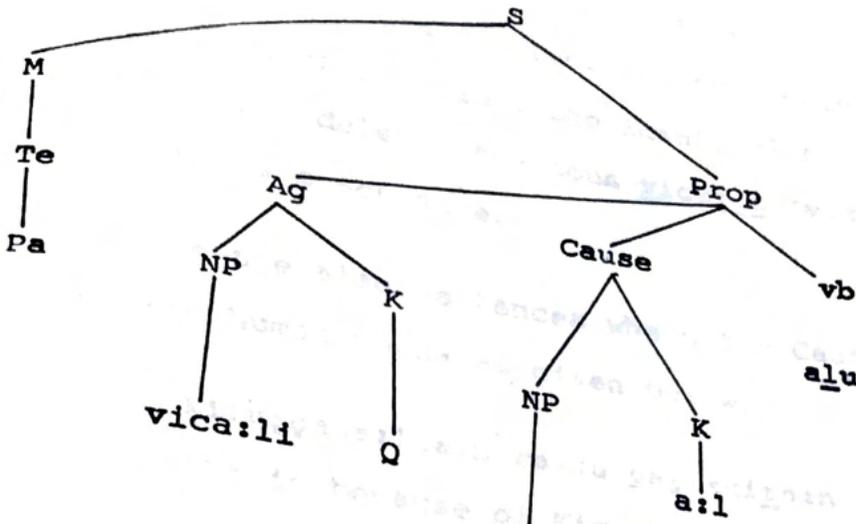
In the sentence (38) the instrumental phrase malaiya:l 'due to rain' and in the sentence (39) the phrase e:ma:rratta:l 'because of deception' are having the underlying form malai peytata:l 'because it rained' and e:ma:rram aṭaintata:l 'because (she) got deceived' respectively. These phrases indicate the events that precede another event. That is, in the sentence (38) the event kuḷam niṛaital 'the pond's filling' and in the sentence (39) the event visa:li aḷutal 'visa:li's weeping' respectively are the effects of the causes noted above.

The deep structures of the sentences (38) and (39) are as follows:

[38]



kulaṃ [malai pey] nirai



vica:li [ vica:li e:ma:r:ram a:ai ] aluta:l

Because Kirushnan gave money Raju studies

Raju studies because of Kirushnan's coaching

In the sentences (38) and (39) the nouns, viz., malai 'rain' and e:ma:r<sub>ra</sub>m 'deception' imply the respective actions, viz., pey 'rain' and a<sub>ra</sub>jai 'got' respectively. Hence these verbs are deleted. In the sentence (39) besides the verb deletion, the identical NP deletion transformation deletes the noun vica:li 'visali' in the subordinate sentence.

There are also sentences where the Cause case suffix occur with human nouns as given below.

40. kiruṣṇana:lta:n ra:ju paṭikkira:n

'It is because of Kirushnan Raju studies'

The instrumental phrase in (40) is understood to have derived from a sentence which is derivable according to the shared knowledge of the speaker hearer. The following sentences may be taken as the underlying form of the sentence (40).

40.a. kiruṣṇan paṇam koṭuttata:lta:n ra:ju paṭikkira:n

'Because Kirushnan gave money Raju studies'

40.b. kiruṣṇan collikkoṭuttata:lta:n ra:ju paṭikkira:n

'Raju studies because of Kirushnan's coaching'

Note that the Cause case suffix here occurs with the verbal noun which is + abstract, in the deep structure.

The Cause case suffix a:l can be substituted by the post position ka:raṇama:ka 'because of'. Sentences (38) and (39) can be interpreted as follows:

38.a. malai ka:raṇama:ka kuḷam niṛaintatu  
'It is because of rain the pond was filled up'

39.a. e:ma:rṛam ka:raṇama:ka vica:li aluṭa:l  
'It is because of deception visali wept'.

3.12.2 Co-occurrence

Since all the actions are carried out because of a cause, and since the Cause case can be inserted with all the sentences, it is impossible to give a structure for the co-occurring cases for the Cause case.

Lexical features of deep cases

	Animate	Human	Non-human	Inanimate	Concrete	Abstract
Agent	+					
Patient		+	+			
Instrument				+	+	+
Experiencer	+			+	+	
Location		+	+	+	+	
Source	+	+	+	+	+	
Goal		+	+	+	+	
Purpose						+
Cause						+

Case features of deep cases

	Contro- ller	Contro- lled	Cause	Effect	Source	Goal
Agent	+					
Patient			+		+	
Instrument				+		+
Experiencer		+	+	+	+	+
Location					+	+
Source					+	+
Goal					+	
Purpose			+			+
Cause			+		+	

## Surface realization of deep cases

	Zero	ai	a:l	kku	kka:ka	il	itam	ili- runtu	ita- miru- ntu	u'aiya	atu	o:tu	u'an
Agent	+			+						+		+	+
Patient	+		+							+		+	+
Instrument	+			+			+						
Experiencer	+				+								
Location					+		+						
Source							+		+				+
Goal	+					+							
Purpose										+			
Cause											+		

**CHAPTER IV**

Surface Case

## CHAPTER IV

### SURFACE CASE

#### 4.1 Definition

The term case is referred to as case form and case relation. When it denotes the case form it is considered as surface case and when it denotes the case relation it is considered as deep case. Surface case is a grammatical category<sup>1</sup> while deep case is a semantic function. The definitions given for the case concentrate both on case form and case function. Lyons (1968:289) after explaining the etymological meaning of case says that, "the term 'case' is derived from the Latin word 'Casus' which means falling or deviation, which explains as the variation in the form of lexeme (noun) which is an upright form, according to the syntax of the language". For instance, when the case suffix -ai is added to the noun avan 'he' the accusative form avanai 'tree-acc' is obtained. The form avan is the upright form and the form avanai is a deviant form. Similarly all the casual forms are considered as deviated from the

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1. The other grammatical categories are person, tense, mood, gender and number (Lyons, 1968:270).

upright form of the noun. The Tamil term ve:rrumai 'case' is also a general term which refers to both the form and function. Agesthialingom (1977) defines case as "the relationship between noun and verb in a sentence and the case suffixes signal such relationship" (see 1.4.2.1).

#### 4.2 Means of representation

Surface case is represented in languages by various means such as inflexional affixes, particles or word order (Fillmore, 1968:27). Hockett (1959:209) uses the term markers for particles. According to him, the markers are separate words while inflexional affixes are bound forms. Surface case in Tamil is represented by suffixes and post positions.

##### 4.2.1 Suffixes

Suffixes occur with noun without the potential pause and are bound in nature. With this criterion the following are considered as case suffixes in Tamil. -ai, -ai:l, -kku, -kka:ka, -atu, -uṭaiya, -il, -iṭam, -o:ṭu, -uṭan, -iliruntu, and -iṭamiruntu. Besides these suffixes, the zero suffix is set up hypothetically to denote the surface cases accusative and genitive. The surface case, nominative is always unmarked.

when these suffixes are added to the nouns, some of the nouns take inflexional increments and glide while others do not. For instance, the nouns ending with -am take the inflexional increment -tt- as given below.

maram + tt + ai → mara-tt-ai 'tree-acc'  
 'tree'  
 cuntaram + tt + a:l → cuntara-tt-a:l  
 'Sundaram' 'Because of Sundaram'  
 ma:ṅikkam+tt+iṭam → ma:ṅikka-tt-iṭam  
 'Manickam' 'with Manickam'

The neuter singular demonstrative pronouns atu 'that', and itu 'this' take the increment -an before the instrumental suffix -a:l obligatorily and optionally before the remaining case suffixes.

atu + an + ai → at-an-ai/atai  
 'that' 'that-acc'  
 atu + an + a:l → at-an-a:l  
 'that' 'by that'  
 iṭu + an + kku → iṭ-an-kku iṭarku/iṭukku  
 'this' 'to this'

The indefinite pronoun ella:m 'all', pala 'many', cila 'a few' and neuter demonstrative pronouns avai 'those', ivai 'these' take the increment -arr- and the glide -v- before case suffixes.

ella:m 'all'	+ ai	→	ella:v-arr-ai 'all-acc'
pala 'many'	+ a:l	→	pala -v- arr -a:l 'by many'
cila 'few'	+ kku	→	cila -v- arr -ukku 'for few'

The apical consonants r and ṭ are doubled obligatorily in the noun with the form  $\bar{c}\bar{v}cu$  and optionally in the noun with the form  $cvcvcu$ .

vi:ṭu 'house'	+ ai	→	vi:-ṭṭ-ai 'house-acc'
ka:ṭu 'forest'	+ a:l	→	ka:ṭṭa:l 'by forest'
aru 'river'	+ il	→	a:rril 'in river'
kiṇaru 'well'	+ kku	→	kiṇarrukku/kiṇarukku 'to well'

The personal pronouns like na:n 'I', ni: 'you' take the oblique form when occur with the case suffixes. The pronouns and the corresponding oblique forms are as follows:

na:n 'I' → en- 'my'

na:m 'We' → em- 'our'

na:ṅkal 'we' → eṅkal- 'our'

- ni: 'you' → un- 'your'  
 tain 'reflexive' → tan- 'his'  
 taim 'reflexive' → tam- 'their'  
 ta:ñkaḷ 'reflexive-pl' → tañkaḷ- 'their'

The following is the list of surface cases and their suffixes in Modern Tamil.

<u>Case</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>
Nominative	- unmarked
Accusative	- -ai, Zero
Instrumental	- -ai
Dative	- -kku
Purposive	- -kkaika
Genitive	- -atu, -uṭaiya, -a, zero
Sociative	- -oṭu, -uṭan
Locative	- -il, -iṭam
Ablative	- -iliruntu, -iṭamiruntu

#### 4.2.2 Post positions

Post positions are the particles that occur freely without any inflexion. Most of the Tamil works<sup>1</sup> consider

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1. Arden (1954:125), Agesthalingom and S.V. Shanmugam (1970:26), and Kothandaraman, (1980:96).

post positions as the morphemes of diverse functions and privileges of occurrence. Agesthialingom and Shanmugam (1970:216) define post positions as those which can not take either case or tense suffixes, but they can occur independently or occur with noun or verbs as modifiers. Eventhough certain particles take case suffixes like me:lukku 'on' ki:lukku 'under' etc., they are not considered as casual forms as there is no meaning difference between the form with case suffix and without case suffix. Balasubramanian (1973:577) defines this type of particles as defective nominal bases. He (ibid.:574) divides the post positions into two types, viz., bound particles and free particles on the basis of privileges of occurrence. According to him, the post positions po:l 'comparative' parri 'topical' etc., are bound particles, as they always require the accusative case suffix -ai whereas the post positions me:l 'on', ki:l 'below' etc., are considered as free particles as they take case suffixes rarely. The occurrence of case suffixes may be optional in certain cases and obligatory in certain other cases. The post positions me:l, ki:l etc., which are locative post positions occur either after genitive suffix zero as in me:cai me:l 'on the table' or after dative suffix -kku as in

me:caikku me:l 'above the table'. When they occur after genitive suffix it denotes the meaning inherent location and with dative suffix it denotes the meaning relative location (see 12.5). In Tamil the post positions occurring after the accusative suffix are as follows:

parri	'topical'
po:la	'equative'
ma:tiri	'equative'
viṭa	'comparative'
no:kki	'relative direction'
cu:lntu	'surround'
koṇṭu	'with'
tavira	'exceptive'
ka:tṭilum	'comparative'

The post positions that occur either after genitive suffix or dative suffix are as follows:

me:l	locative superior
ki:l	locative inferior
mun	locative anterior
pin	locative posterior
aṭiyil	locative inferior
naṭuvil	locative middle
uḷḷe:	locative interior
veḷiyil	locative exterior

Besides the above two classes, the post positions valiya:ka 'through' and mu:lam 'through' which are means post positions occur after nominative NP which is unmarked.

The present work goes from form to function. Hence the nine surface cases noted above (4.2.1) have been discussed in the Chapters V to XIII.

Nominative Case

CHAPTER V

Nominative Case

## CHAPTER V

### NOMINATIVE CASE

#### 5.1 Suffix

The surface case nominative is unmarked in Tamil<sup>1</sup>. It is the grammatical subject of the sentence. The verbs which are inflected for person, number and gender should agree with the person, number and gender of the nominative noun. This concord which is completely a surface level phenomenon does not have any correlation with the deep case or semantic function that the nominative nouns show. In the following sentences the nominative nouns occur as subject of the sentence.

1. ko:pa:l ciritta:n  
'Gopal laughed'
2. celvi pallikku o:ṭina:l  
'Selvi ran to the school'
3. avarkaḷ na:lai varuva:rkaḷ  
'They will come tomorrow'

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1. The traditional Tamil grammar call this case as eḷuva:y ve:rṛumai and mutal ve:rṛumai 'first case'.

4. na:y kuraittatu  
'The dog barked'
5. kutiraikal o:ṭina  
'Horses ran'
6. na:n vante:n  
'I came'
7. ca:vi katavait tirantatu  
'The key opened the door'
8. avan ca:viya:l katavait tiranta:n  
'He opened the door with the key'

In the above sentences, the suffixes with the finite verbs, viz., -a:n, -a:l, -a:rka:l, -atu, -ana and -e:n which are the personal terminations have the person, number and gender concord relationship with the corresponding nominative nouns. The concord relationships are third person masculine singular (1,8), third person feminine singular (2), third person human plural (3), neuter singular (4,7), neuter plural (5) and first person singular (6) respectively. Here, in the sentences (1) to (6) and in (8) the nominative nouns are grammatical as well as logical subjects. But in the sentence (7) the nominative noun is only a grammatical subject, because the verb tira 'open' must have an Agent, i.e., a human noun

as its subject as in the sentence (8). Yet the verb tira in (7) inflects for the grammatical subject which is a neuter singular noun. This shows that the verbs inflect for the person, number and gender agree only with the grammatical subject and not with the logical subject.

## 5.2 Underlying deep cases

If the nominative noun is grammatical as well as logical subjects, the sentence is considered as a simple sentence. If the nominative noun is only a grammatical subject, the sentence is considered as belonging to a type of derived sentence. Derived sentence is the sentence which is derived from the underlying structure through subjectivization transformation.

Examination of the nominative nouns shows that they have the underlying deep cases Agent, Patient, Experiencer, Goal, Cause and Instrumental. It is to be noted here that the Agent and Experiencer are realized in the nominative when the sentence is a simple sentence. Patient is realized as subject (nominative) both in a simple and derived sentences. The deep cases Cause, Goal and Instrumental are realized in the nominative form only when the sentence is a derived sentence.

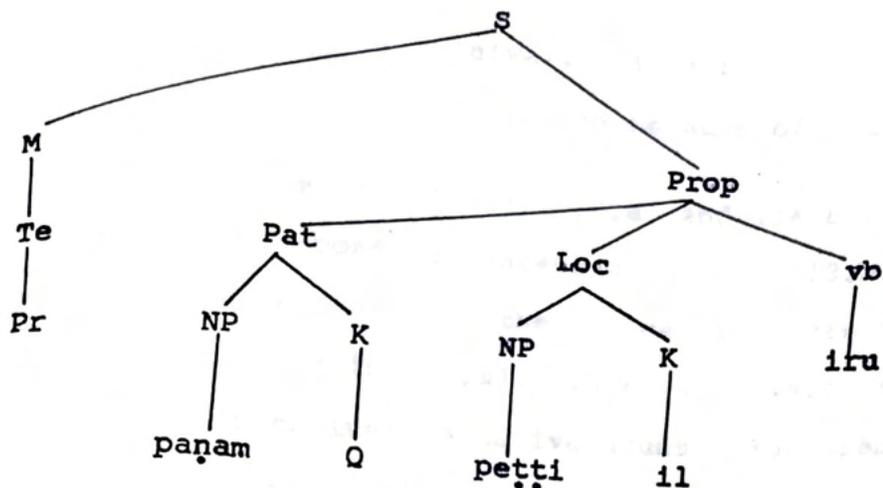
9. avaḷ ya:ruṭano: pe:ciḱ koṅṭirunta:ḷ  
'She was speaking with somebody'

10. cine:kalata: caṛru yo:citta:ḷ  
'Sinekalatha thought for a while'

11. paṇam peṭṭiyil irukkiratu  
'Money is in the box'

In the sentence (9) the verb pe:cu 'speak' which is an active verb requires human noun as its logical subject. Similarly, in the sentence (10), the verb yo:ci 'think' which is a psychological verb, also requires a human noun as its logical subject and in the sentence (11) the existential verb iru 'be' requires the logical subject which is + animate and + concrete noun. All the nominative nouns in the sentences (9), (10) and (11) are identical with the nature of logical subjects stated here. Hence these sentences are considered as simple sentences having one to one correspondence with the deep structure and the subjects in the surface structure. The nominative nouns here have the deep case relations Agent, Experiencer and Patient respectively. Except the personal endings and the tense suffixes joining rule, no other transformations take place during the derivation of this kind of surface structures from their corresponding deep structures. The deep structure of the sentence (11) is as follows:

[11\_7]



Consider the following pairs of sentences,

12.a. ra:mu kannana:l kollappaṭṭa:n

'Ramu was killed by Kannan'

b. kannan ra:muvai konṛa:n

'Kannan killed Ramu'

13.a. katti viralai veṭṭiyatu

'The knife cut the finger'

b. avan kattiya:l viralai veṭṭina:n

'He cut the finger with the knife'

14.a. malai payirkaḷai alittatu  
 'Rain destroyed the crops'

b. payirkaḷ malaiya:l alintana  
 'The crops destroyed because of rain'

Here, the sentences (12.a), (13.a) and (14.a), are derived from the corresponding sentences (12.b), (13.b) and (14.b) because of the fact that the logical subjects of the respective verbs in (12.a), (13.a) and (14.a) are not identical with the respective nominative nouns. For example, the verb kollappaṭu 'being killed' in (12.a) is a passive verb which must be derived from the corresponding active form of the verb kol 'kill' as in the sentence (12.b). In the sentence (13.a) the verb veṭṭu 'cut' requires human noun as its logical subject, but the noun katti 'knife' in (13.a) is a neuter noun, hence sentence like (13.b) must be the underlying form of this sentence. Similarly, the verb ali 'destroy' in the sentence (14.a) as a transitive verb requires only animate noun as its subject, but here the abstract noun malai 'rain' occurs as subject. Hence, the sentence like (14.b) must be the underlying form for the sentences like (14.a). The nominative nouns in the sentences (12.a), (13.a) and (14.a) have the deep case relations Patient, Instrument and Cause respectively. The environments in which these transformations take place will be discussed in the sec.5.3.

The deep case Agent is realized in the surface nominative case when the predicate is an active verb and when the noun has the lexical features + animate, + human, + intent and + force. The Agent has the case features + controller, + cause and + source. Further, all the sentences with Agent undergo imperative transformation and take the adverb ve:ṇṭumenre: 'voluntarily'.

15. vaḷḷi rayiluṭan oṣṭina:ḷ  
'Valli ran along with the train'
16. kalya:para:man marutamuttuvuṭan caṇṭai po:ṭṭa:n  
'Kalyanaraman fought with Maruthamuthu'
17. ra:man kiruṣṇanai taṭṭiya:l aṭṭitta:n  
'Raman beat Kirushnan with a stick'
18. kuraṅkukaḷ maram viṭṭu maram pa:yntana  
'Monkeys jumped from tree to tree'

The underlined noun phrases which are nominative in the surface level have Agent relation in the deep level. The verb in these sentences are action verbs. Besides this, the NPs vaḷḷi 'Valli' in the sentence (15), kalya:para:man 'Kalyanaraman' in the sentence (16) are + animate, + human

and in the sentence (18) the NP kurañkukaḷ 'monkeys' is + animate, - human. Further, all these NPs have the features + force and + intent and have the case features + controller, + cause and + source.

### 5.2.2 Patient

Unaffected Patient and Affected Patient are realized in the nominative case. Unaffected Patient is understood in the nominative case when the verb is either the existential verb iru 'be' or verbs of positional change. Affected patient is understood when the verb is the passive form of the impact verbs (verb of destruction).

19. na:n ka:laiyil avaro:tu irunte:n

'I was with him in the morning'

20. paṇam peṭṭiyil irukkira:tu

'Money is in the box'

21. ponni ala:ka:ka irukkira:ḷ

'Ponni is beautiful'

22. antap pa:ra:vai karuppa:ka irukkira:tu

'That bird is black'

23. pa:ṭṭilkaḷ kanna:ṭiyaruke: aṭukkappaṭṭiruntana

'The bottles were piled up near the mirror'

24. ra:vaṇan ra:mana:l kollappaṭṭa:n  
'Ravana was killed by Raman'

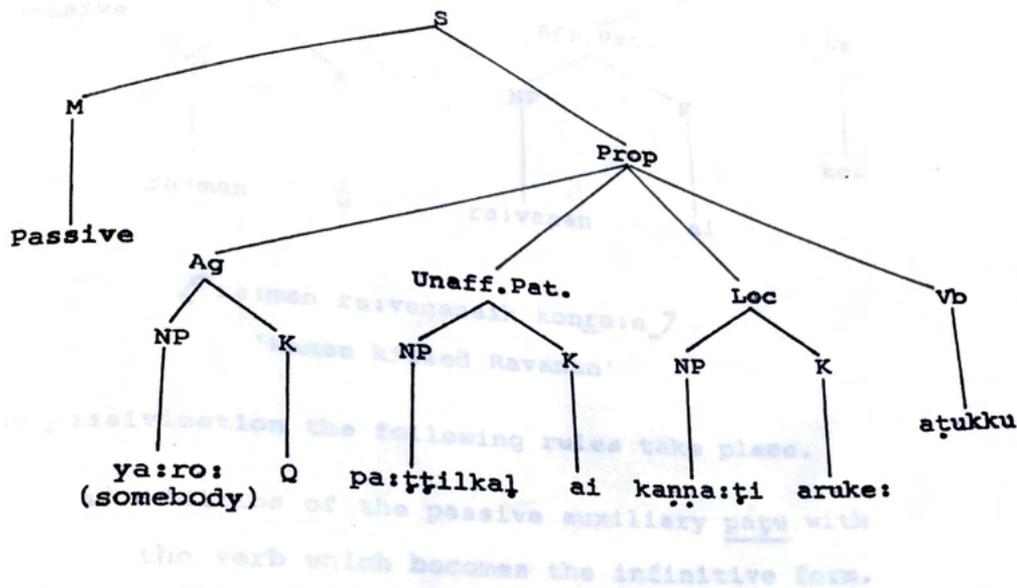
25. katavu tirantatu  
'The door opened'

26. pa:nai uṭaintatu  
'The pot is broken'

The underlined phrases which are in nominative in surface level have Unaffected Patient relation (Ss. 19 to 23 and 25) and Affected Patient relation (Ss. 24 and 26) in the deep level. That is, these NPs specify what it is in the state and what got changed. The verbs are existential verbs (Ss. 19 and 20), predicative verb (Ss. 21 and 22), passive verb (Ss. 23 and 24) and intransitive impact (destruction) verb (Ss. 24 and 26). The nouns have the lexical features + animate, + human (Ss. 19, 21 and 24); + animate, - human (S. 22); - animate, + concrete (Ss. 20, 23, 25 and 26). Further, these NPs have the case features + effect and + goal, since they are the objects being described and being acted upon. The sentences (19) to (22) are simple sentences and the respective nominative nouns are grammatical as well as logical subjects. In the sentences (23) and (24), the verbs are passive verbs and hence they are derived from the respective deep structure through passive transformation.

The deep structures of the sentences (23) and (24) are as follows:

[23\_]

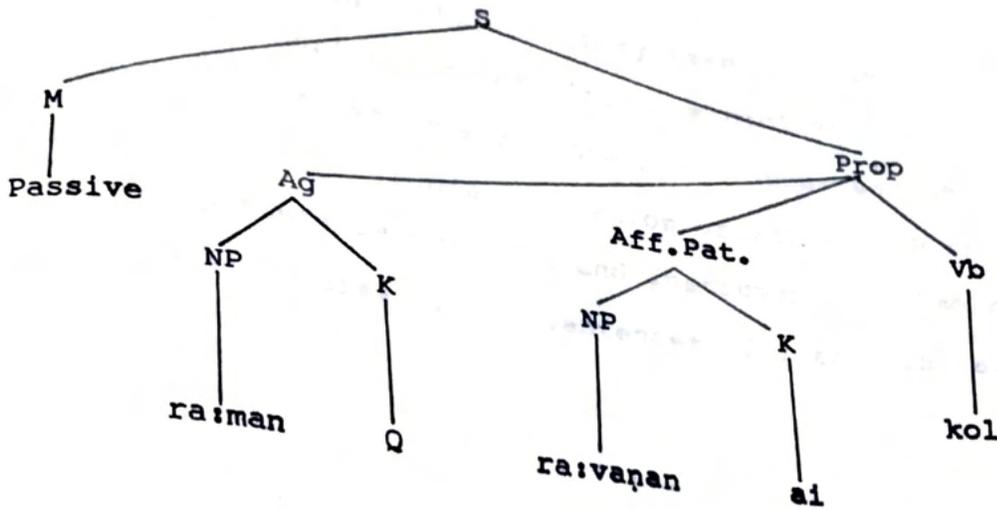


[ya:ro: pa:ttilkaḷai kaṇṇa:tiaruke: aḷukkiyirunta:rkaḷ]

'Somebody had piled up the bottles near the mirror'

Addition of the instrumental suffix ai with the Agent.

the above transformations the surface passive sentence obtained.



[ra:man ra:vaṇanaik konra:n\_]  
 'Raman killed Ravana'

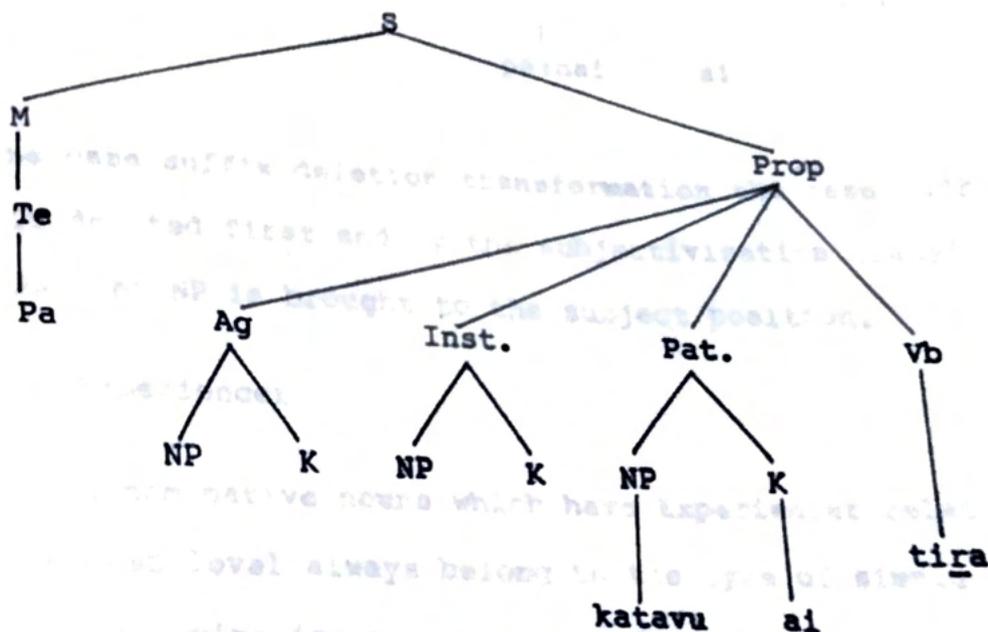
By passivization the following rules take place.

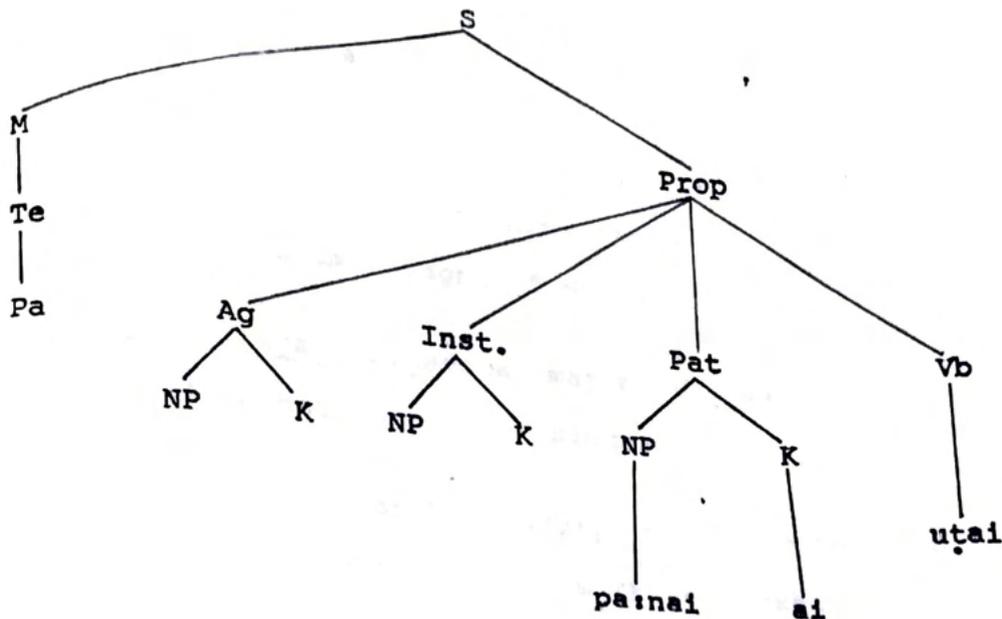
- i) Addition of the passive auxiliary paṭu with the verb which becomes the infinitive form.
- ii) Movement of the Patient to the subject position and correspondingly the deletion of the case suffix ai with the Patient.
- iii) Addition of the instrumental suffix -ai with the Agent.

After the above transformations the surface passive sentence is obtained.

The sentences (25) and (26) are obtained through subjectivization, since the verbs tira 'open' and utai 'break' are active verbs, but they take the inanimate NPs katavu 'door' and pasnai 'pot' respectively as their subjects. These verbs must have human nouns as their logical subjects. Subjectivization of Patient NP takes place when there is no Agent and Instrument (Fillmore, 1968). The deep structures of the sentences (25) and (26) are as follows:

[25]





By the case suffix deletion transformation the case suffix -ai is deleted first and by the subjectivization transformation the Patient NP is brought to the subject position.

### 5.2.3 Experiencer

The nominative nouns which have Experiencer relationship in the deep level always belong to the type of simple sentence, i.e., the nominative nouns in this type of sentences are always grammatical as well as logical subject. The verbs in this type of sentences are always either verbs of intellection like

cinti 'think', ninai 'think' or verbs of emotion like  
makil 'be happy', varuntu 'be sad' or verb of perception  
ugar 'feel'.

27. ko:pa:l etaiyo: cintittuk koṭṭirunta:n  
 'Gopal was thinking about something'
28. cuntaram mi:na:ṣvai ninaitta:n  
 'Sundaram thought of Meena'
29. a:ciriyar ma:ṇavanai maṇantuviṭṭa:r  
 'Teacher forgot the student'
30. mi:na:ṭci tan kaṇavarō:ṭu makilcciyā:ka irukkira:ḷ  
 'Meenakshi is happy with her husband'
31. kamala: mikavum ko:pamaṭainta:ḷ  
 'Kamala became very angry'
32. vaḷḷi mikavum varuntina:ḷ  
 'Valli felt very sad'
33. na:n vayirril valiyai unarnte:n  
 'I felt pain in stomach'

In the above sentences the nominative nouns are in Experiencer relationship with the respective verbs which are verbs of intellection (in Ss. 26, 27 and 28), verbs of emotion (in Ss. 29, 30 and 31), and verb of perception (in S. 32). The

verbs like paci 'hunger', vali 'pain' etc., which belong to the type of perception verbs do not take the nominative case<sup>1</sup>. The nominative nouns here are animate nouns which are mentally, emotionally and sensually involved in the state identified by the verb. Further these sentences do not answer the question enna naṭantatu? and enna aṣyirru? 'What happened?'

### 5.3 Subjectivization

The deep cases Patient, Instrumental (Means and Tool), Cause and Goal are realized in the surface nominative case through subjectivization<sup>2</sup>. Subjectivization takes place due to the following two pragmatic reasons, viz., 1) focus of attention, 2) expression of accidentality.

1. The verb of perception upar 'feel' is a hypernym. The other perception verbs such as vali 'pain', paci 'hunger' etc., which are hyponymous do not take the nominative case, i.e., only the verb upar with the forms like valiyai upar 'feel pain', paciyai upar 'feel hunger' etc., take the nominative surface case. The verbs vali 'pain', paci 'hunger' etc., take dative subject (see sec. 8.2.3).
2. Subjectivization includes passivization also, as described in the sec. 5.2.2.

### 5.3.1 Focus of attention

Bringing one particular constituent of a sentence into some kind of focus is called focus of attention. Fillmore (1977:74) describes this concept as perspective of orientation. According to him, the parts of a message is divided into those that are in perspective and those that are out of perspective. The part, that are in perspective, otherwise called focus of attention, is brought to subject position. This process is called subjectivization. The deep cases Patient, Instrumental, Cause and Goal can be brought to subject position due to focus of attention.

#### 5.3.1.1 Patient

Besides the passivization as noted in the sec. 5.2.2, in the following sentences, the deep case Patient is brought to subject position due to focus of attention.

34. ca:ppa:tu oru maṇikku vantuviṭum  
'The food will come at one O' clock'
35. maṇi pattu maṇikku aṭikkum  
'The bell will strike at ten O' clock'
36. katavu tirantatu  
'The door opened'

In all the above sentences it is not important who did the action, but what is important to the speaker/hearer is the thing being acted upon. Hence, the Patient case in the deep structure has been brought to the subject position through subjectivization transformation. The underlying structures of the above sentences are as follows:

- 34.a. ya:ro: ca:ppa:ṭṭai oru maṭikku koṭṭu  
vantuviṭṭuva:rkaḷ  
'Somebody will bring the food at one O' clock'
- 35.a. ya:ro: pattu maṭikku maṭiyai aṭippa:rkaḷ  
'Somebody will strike bell at ten O' clock'
- 36.a. ya:ro: katavai tiranta:rkaḷ  
'Somebody opened the door'

#### 5.3.1.2 Cause

In the following sentences the surface nominative cases have the deep case relation Cause. They are also brought to subject position through subjectivization transformation due to focus of attention.

37. puyal na:kappaṭṭinattai alittatu  
'The cyclone destroyed Nagappattinam'
38. malai payirkaḷai alittatu  
'The rain destroyed the crops'

39. ke:ncar kuma:rai konratu

'Cancer killed Kumar'

In the above sentences it is not important which is acted upon (Patient), but what is important is the Cause of the action. The underlined structure of the above sentences are as follows:

37.a. na:kappattinam puyala:l alintatu

'Nagappattinam was destroyed because of the cyclone'

38.a. payirkaḷ malaiya:l alintana

'The crops destroyed because of the rain'

39.a. kuma:r ke:ncara:l iranta:n

'Kumar died because of cancer'

#### 5.3.1.3 Means

The deep Means case which is one of the types of Instrumental case can also be subjectivized for focus of attention as noted below.

40. ka:r po:k ro:ṭṭai no:kki cenratu

'The car went towards the Pok Road'

41. caikkil ve:kama:ka vantatu  
'The cycle came fastly'

Here, the nominative nouns have Means case relationship in their deep structure which is given as follows:

40.a. ya:ro: { ka:ril  
ka:r mu:lam } po:k ro:ttai no:kki cenranar  
'Somebody went towards Pok Road by a car'

41.a. ya:ro: { caikkilil  
caikkil mu:lam } ve:kama:ka vanta:rkaḷ  
'Somebody came fast in a cycle'

The substitution of the post position mu:lam 'through' with the locative suffix il indicates that the above noun phrases (ka:r 'car' and caikkil 'cycle') are in Means case relationship with the respective verbs.

#### 5.3.1.4 Goal

In the following sentences the nominative nouns have the relation Goal in the deep level. They are subjectivized due to focus of attention.

42. cennai vantuvittatu

'Madras has arrived'

43. kalkatta: vantuvittatu

'Calcutta has arrived'

The underlined structure of these sentences are as follows:

42.a. (na:m) cennaikku vantuviṭṭo:m  
'(We) have arrived at Madras'

43.a. (na:m) kalkatta:vukku vantuviṭṭo:m  
'(We) have arrived at Calcutta'

The dative phrases cennaikku 'to Madras' and kalkatta:vukku 'to Calcutta' which are in Goal case indicate the place towards which particular movement is carried out.

### 5.3.2 Expression of accidentality

Besides the focus of attention, subjectivization is also carried out when the action takes place accidentally.

44.a. maṇi ve:ṇṭumenṅe: kattiya:l viralai veṭṭina:n  
'Mani purposely cut the finger with the knife'

44.b. katti viralai veṭṭiyatu  
'Knife cut the finger'

45.a. ce:kar akasma:tta:ka kattiya:l viralai veṭṭiviṭṭa:n  
'Sekar got cut his finger accidentally with a knife'

45.b. katti viralai veṭṭiviṭṭatu  
'Knife cut the finger (accidentally)'

Sentence (44.a) defines that the action is carried out by the Agent voluntarily and intentionally while sentence (45.a) defines that the action takes place involuntarily, unintentionally and accidentally. (44.b) and (45.b) are the two kinds of the subjectivized sentences derived from (44.a) and (45.a) respectively. What makes the difference is the presence of the auxiliary verb viṭu with the main verb veṭṭu 'cut' in (45.a) and (45.b) respectively. In (44.b) the instrumental NP is subjectivized due to focus of attention while in (45.b) the deciding factor is accidentality. Sentence (45.b) cannot be derived from (45.a). The following sentences also have the feature accidentality.

46. pa:nai uṭaintuviṭṭatu  
'The pot broke (accidentally)'
47. muḷ kuttiviṭṭatu  
'The throne pierced (accidentally)'
48. katavu iṭittuviṭṭatu  
'The door hit (accidentally)'

It is to be noted here that all these sentences (46, 47 and 48) have their counterparts which are derived due to focus of attention, as follows:

49. pa:nai uṭaintatu  
'The pot broken'

50. muḷ kuttiyatu  
'The throne pierced'

51. katavu iṭittatu  
'The door hit'

These sentences (49, 50 and 51) are derived from the source sentences which are carried out voluntarily. Further, in the sentences (46), (47) and (48) the verbs take the adverb akasma:tta:ka 'accidentally' while the sentences (49), (50) and (51) do not take.

46.a. pa:nai akasma:tta:ka uṭaintuviṭṭatu  
'The pot broke accidentally'

47.a. muḷ akasma:tta:ka kuttiviṭṭatu  
'The throne pierced accidentally'

48.a. katavu akasma:tta:ka iṭittuviṭṭatu  
'The door hit accidentally'

49.a. \*pa:nai akasmattaska uṭaintatu

50.a. \*muḷ akasma:tta:ka kuttiyatu

51.a. \*katavu akasma:tta:ka iṭittatu

But there are also Instrumental nouns which are subjectivized only by the focus of attention and not by the feature accidentality as given below.

52.a. pe:na: elutiyatu

'The pen wrote'

52.b. \*pe:na: elutiviṭṭatu

'The pen wrote accidentally'

53.a. ca:vi katavai: tirantatu

'The key opened the door'

53.b. \*ca:vi katavai tirantuviṭṭatu

'The key opened the door accidentally'

From the above illustrations, it is understood that the surface nominative case which is the grammatical subject of the sentence is the exponent of the deep cases Agent, Patient, Experiencer, Cause, Goal and Instrumental. The deep cases Patient, Cause, Goal and Instrumental are realized in the nominative case when the sentence is derived out of subjectivization transformation. The subjectivization takes place in special conditions like focus of attention and expression of accidentality.

Accusative Case

## CHAPTER VI

### ACCUSATIVE CASE

#### 6.1 Suffixes

The surface case accusative<sup>1</sup> is the object of transitive verbs. It is marked by the suffixes -ai and zero which are in complementary distribution. The suffix -ai occurs with specific and definite nouns and the zero suffix occurs with non-specific and generic nouns. For example, consider the sentences,

1. na:n oru puttakattai paṭitte:n  
'I read one book'

2. na:n oru puttakam paṭitte:n  
'I read a book'

The accusative suffix -ai in the noun phrase oru puttakattai 'a book-acc' in the sentence (1) indicates that the noun phrase oru puttakam is specific and definite while in the sentence (2) the zero suffix indicates that the noun puttakam 'book' is generic and indefinite. The word oru 'one' in

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1. Tamil grammars define this case as ceyappatu porul ve:rrumai 'object case', ai ve:rrumai 'ai case' and iraṇṭa:m ve:rrumai 'second case'.

the sentence (1) functions as numeral adjective while in the sentence (2) it functions as indefinite adjective. This can be illustrated from the following example which is an interpretation of the sentence (1) but not (2).

3. na:n oru puttakattai maṭṭum paṭikkavillai pala  
puttakakkal paṭitte:n

'I did not read one book but many books'

Similarly sentence (3.a) is an interpretation of the sentence (2) but not (1).

3.a. na:n e:to: oru puttakam paṭitte:n  
atan peyarku:ṭa ninaivilillai

'I read some book; the name of which  
is not in (my) memory'

The proper noun in the sentences (4) and (5), the head noun of the genitive constructions in the sentences (6) and (7) and the head noun of the relative clause constructions in the sentences (8) and (9) are always specific in nature and hence they take the accusative suffix -ai obligatorily.

4. kaṇṇan ci:ta:vai pa:rkka po:na:n

'Kannan went to see Sita'

but not,

4.a. \*kaṇṇan cita: pa:rkka po:na:n

5. po:li:ca:r kiruṣṣanai kaitu ceyta:rkaḷ  
 'The police arrested Krishnan'

but not,

5.a. \*po:li:ca:r kiruṣṣan kaitu ceyta:rkaḷ

6. ma:ṇavan tan iṭattai periyavarukku tanta:n  
 'The student gave his seat to the old man'

but not,

6.a. \*ma:ṇavan tan iṭam periyavarukku tanta:n

7. avarkaḷ kiruṣṣanuṭaiya vi:ṭṭai pa:rtta:rkaḷ  
 'They saw Kirushnan's house'

but not,

7.a. \*avarkaḷ kiruṣṣanuṭaiya vi:ṭu pa:rtta:rkaḷ

8. ra:ṇi conna cor<sub>u</sub>kaḷai ninaittukkoṇṭe:n

'(I) remembered the words Rani said'

but not,

8.a. \*ra:ṇi conna cor<sub>u</sub>kaḷ ninaittukkoṇṭe:n

9. na:ṅkaḷ vacitta vi:ṭṭai iṭittuviṭta:rkaḷ

'(They) destroyed the house were we lived'

but not,

9.a. \*na:ŋkaḷ vacitta vi:ṣu iṭittu viṭṭa:rkāḷ

Therefore, the distribution of the two allomorphs -ai and zero can be described as follows: the suffix -ai occurs with the object nouns which are definite-specific nouns and the suffix zero occurs elsewhere.

The traditional view that the suffix -ai is obligatory with animate nouns and is optional with neuter nouns is found unacceptable as can be seen from the following examples.

10.a. ra:maca:mi tan makanukku oru peṇ pa:rtta:r  
'Ramasamy searched for a girl for his son'

10.b. ra:maca:mi tan makanukku oru peṇnai pa:rtta:r  
'Ramasamy saw a girl for his son'

The object noun phrase oru peṇ 'a girl' is a human noun and it occurs without the suffix -ai in the sentence (10.a) and in the sentence (10.b) it occurs with the accusative suffix -ai. The presence and absence of the suffix -ai in the above sentences make a difference of meaning in the verb pa:r. In the sentence (10.a) the absence of the suffix -ai makes the meaning of the verb pa:r as 'searching', while in the sentence (10.b) the presence of the suffix -ai makes the meaning of the verb pa:r as 'see', i.e., 'seeing a particular

girl'. Thus the suffix -ai gives a definite and specific sense to the object noun in the sentence (10.b) while the zero suffix gives an indefinite and generic sense to the object noun in the sentence (10.a), irrespective of the noun whether it is animate or neuter.

## 6.2 Deep cases

At the deep level the accusative NP has only the Patient case relationship<sup>1</sup>. As already pointed out, the Patient case is divided into four types, viz., i) Affected Patient, ii) Unaffected Patient, iii) Factitive and iv) Cognate Patient (sec. 3.5). All these four types are distinguished from each other by the lexical features of the nouns, and the type of verbs. All the Patients have the case features + effect and + goal (sec. 3.5).

### 6.2.1 Affected Patient

The deep case Affected Patient is understood when the verb is either the verbs of destruction like uṭai 'break' kili 'tore', iṭi 'crumble' or the process verbs like

1. However, the suffix -ai when occurs with post positions, the accusative nouns have different case relations viz., Agent, and Experiencer. It is pointed out that the post positional phrases are elliptical in nature (6.3).

vaḷar 'grow', ka:y 'dry', aluku 'rotten'. In the following examples the object nouns are in Affected Patient relationship with the respective verbs of destruction. The nouns have the lexical features + animate, + human and + concrete.

11. ra:mu pa:naiyai uṭaitta:n  
'Ramu broke the pot'
12. paittiyam tupiyai kilittatu  
'The lunatic tore the clothes'
13. po:li:ca:r kuṭicaikaḷai iṭitta:rkaḷ  
'Police destroyed the huts'
14. kulantai pencilai murittatu  
'The child broke the pencil'
15. ra:man ra:vaṇanai kuttina:n  
'Raman stabbed Ravana'
16. avan ko:liyai arutta:n  
'He cut the chicken'

All the above sentences answer the questions avan atai/avanai enna ceyta:n? 'What did he do to that/him' and avanukku/atarku enna a:yirru? 'What happened to that/him?'. In the following sentences the object nouns are in Affected Patient case since the verbs are process verbs.

17. na:ñkaḷ oru ceṭi vaḷarkkiro:m  
'We grow a plant'
18. kaṇṇan tuniyai veyilil ularttinai:n  
'Kannan dried the clothes in the sunshine'
19. ve:laia:ṭkaḷ nellai avitta:rkaḷ  
'The servants boiled the paddy'
20. camaiyalka:ran taṇṇi:rai kotikka vaitta:n  
'The cook boiled the water'
21. kala: oru na:y vaḷartta:ḷ  
'Kala brought up a dog'

All the Affected Patients in the above sentences (11 to 21) can be subjectivized with the corresponding intransitive verbs as follows:

- 11.a. pa:nai uṭaintatu  
'The pot broke'
- 12.a. caṭṭai kiḷintatu  
'The shirt torned'
- 13.a. kuṭicaikaḷ iṭintana  
'The huts crumbled'

- 14.a. pencil murintatu  
'The pencil broke'
- 15.a. ra:vaṇan kuttuppaṭṭa:n  
'Ravana was stabbed'
- 16.a. ko:li arupaṭṭatu  
'Chicken was cut'
- 17.a. ceṭi vaḷarntatu  
'The plant grew'
- 18.a. tuṭi ularntatu  
'The clothes dried'
- 19.a. nel avintatu  
'The paddy boiled'
- 20.a. tappi:r kotittatu  
'Water boiled'
- 21.a. na:y vaḷarntatu  
'The dog brought up'

### 6.2.2 Unaffected Patient

Unaffected Patient is the object noun which do not undergo any change in its physical structure, by the action stated by the verb. The dynamic action verbs like pa:r 'see',

ka:ṭṭu 'show'; the impact verbs (verbs of positional change) like tira 'open', irai 'spread'; the psychological verbs like teri 'know', puri 'understand'; the communication verbs like ke:ḷ 'ask', col 'say'; and the transfer verbs like koṭu 'give', va:ḥku 'get', occur with the objects which are Unaffected Patients. The Unaffected Patients have the lexical features + animate, + human and + concrete.

22. kaṇṇan tan manaiyiyai pa:rtta:n  
'Kannan saw his wife'
23. avarkaḷ eṅkaḷukku ko:vilai ka:ṭṭina:rkaḷ  
'They showed us the temple'
24. kuma:r ra:muviṭam paṇam ke:ṭṭa:n  
'Kumar asked Ramu money'
25. amaiccar e:laikaḷukku tuṇi koṭutta:r  
'The minister gave clothes to the poor'
26. pa:lka:ran oru ma:ṭu va:ḥkina:n  
'The milk vendor bought a cow'
27. enakku perro:rkaḷai teriya:tu  
'I do not know my parents'
28. ma:ṇavarkaḷ a:ciriyarai purintukoṇṭa:rkaḷ  
'Students understood the teacher'

In the above sentences the Unaffected Patients tan manaivi 'his wife' (S. 22), per\_rorkaḷ 'parents' (S. 27), and a:ciriyar 'teacher' (S. 28) are + human; oru maṣṭu 'one ox' (S. 26) is + animate, - human; and ko:vil 'temple' (S. 23), paṇam 'money' (S. 24), tup\_i 'clothe' (S. 25) are - animate. Unlike the Affected Patients, the Unaffected Patients do not undergo subjectivization.

### 6.2.3 Factitive

The objects resulting from the action identified by the verbs are called Affected Patients or factitive (sec. 3.5.3). The verbs of creation like cey 'make', kaṭṭu 'build', ney 'weave' take the factitive patients.

29. avan kaḷimaṇṇa:l oru vi:ṭu kaṭṭina:s  
'He build a house with clay'

30. intiya: paṭṭunu:lil puṭavaikaḷ urpatticeykiratu.  
'India produces sarries with silk yarn'

31. intiya: ure:niyattil veṭi kuṭṭukaḷ ceykiratu  
'India makes bombs with Uranium'

32. na:ṅkaḷ parutti nu:lil a:ṭaikaḷ neykiṛo:s  
'We weave clothes with cotton'

The lexical feature of the Factitive Patients is always - animate, + concrete. Further, Factitive Patients always co-occur with the deep case Material Instrumental as found in the sentences (29 to 32) where the instrumental phrase kalimanna:l 'with clay' (29), and the locative phrases viz., paṭṭu nu:lil 'with silk yarn' (30); ure:niyattil 'with Uraninum' (31) and parutti nu:lil 'with cotton' (32) are in Material Patient relationship.

#### 6.2.3.1 Compound noun formation

The Material Instrumental NPs and the Factitive NPs have the property of forming compound noun as follows:

- 29.a. kaḷimaṇ vi:ṭu  
'Clay house'
- 30.a. paṭṭup puṭavai  
'Silk saree'
- 31.a. ure:niya veṭi kuṇṭu  
'Uranium bomb'
- 32.a. parutti a:ṭai  
'Cotton clothe'

The objects that belong to the particular description of the action are called Cognate Patients. In other words, the verbs describe certain actions which by their nature implies the co-existence of a certain nominal concepts (see 3.5.4). The action verbs like va: 'come', aṭi 'beat' alai 'call', alu 'weep' which belong to movement verbs, communication verbs and dynamic verbs respectively and the experiencer oriented verbs like ke:ḷ 'hear', raci 'enjoy' take the Cognate Patients.

The lexical feature of the Cognate Patients is always - concrete.

33. amaiccar avarkaḷuṭaiya alaippai e:rrukkoṭa:r  
'The minister accepted their invitation'
34. vaḷavan naṭiḷkaiyin naṭaiyai racitta:n  
'Valavan enjoyed the walking style of the actress'
35. a:ciriyar ma:ṇavanai oru aṭi aṭitta:r  
'The teacher beated the student'
36. makkaḷ karuna:nitiyin pe:ccai a:rvama:ka ke:ṭṭanar  
'People listened to Karunanithi's speech eagerly'

The Cognate Patients in these sentences imply the corresponding action as follows. alaippu 'invitation' (33) implies alaitta:rkaḷ 'invited', naṭai 'walk' (34) implies naṭanta:l 'walked', aṭi 'beating' (35) implies aṭitta:r 'beated' and pe:ccu 'talk' (36) implies pe:cina:r 'talked'. Thus, the Cognate Patient NPs are derived from a simple sentence in the deep structure.

### 6.3 Post positions

The post positions viṭa 'than', po:la 'like', tavira 'except', parri 'about' and no:kki 'towards' are always co-occur with the accusative noun phrase. These post positional phrases mean the concepts, viz., comparative, equative, exceptive, topical and directional respectively. The difference between the accusative NPs and these, is that the former are the objects of the sentence while the latter are not the objects. This can be noticed from the following sentences with intransitive verbs.

37. ra:man kirusṇanai viṭa nanra:ka iruppa:n

'Raman looks smarter than Kirushnan'

38. avan ra:juvai po:la o:ṭukira:n

'He runs like Raju'

39. avarkaḷ koṣyilai noḥki naṭantanar

'They walked towards the temple'

40. kiruṣṣanai tavira elloḥrum vantiruntanar

'All except Kirushnan came'

The verbs iru 'be' (S.37), oṣṭu 'run' (S.38), naṭa 'walk' (S.39) and vaḥ 'come' (S.40) are intransitive verbs. The suffix -ai and the corresponding post positions here form a complex construction and show the respective syntactic functions as follows.

ai viṭa	-	comparative
ai poḷa	-	equative
ai paṛri	-	topical
ai tavira	-	exceptive
ai noḥki	-	directional

The post positions viṭa, poḷa and tavira are the infinitive form of the verbs viṭu 'leave', poḷ 'be similar' and tavir 'abandon' respectively and the post positions paṛri and noḥki are the verbal participle form of the verbs paṛru 'hold' and noḥku 'see' respectively. However, all of these verbs have

lost their original meaning when occur as post position<sup>1</sup>.  
The sentences with the above post positions are the instances of complex construction derived from different source sentences as discussed below.

### 6.3.1 Comparative

Comparative sentences are a kind of S-recursive process in which a matrix and subordinate sentences are present. Lyle (1974:55) gives the following generalized formulae to describe the comparative and equative sentences.

- |         |   |          |
|---------|---|----------|
| a. VP   | → | VP + S   |
| b. AdjP | → | AdjP + S |
| c. AdvP | → | AdvP + S |

According to him, these structures are as common and natural as NP relatives which have the structure NP → NP + S. Among these three types of structure the comparative constructions have only the structures (b) and (c). That is, only the adjectival phrases and adverbial phrases can be compared. In the sentence (41) the adjective nalla 'good' is compared while in the sentence (42) the adverb ve:kama:ka 'fastly' is compared.

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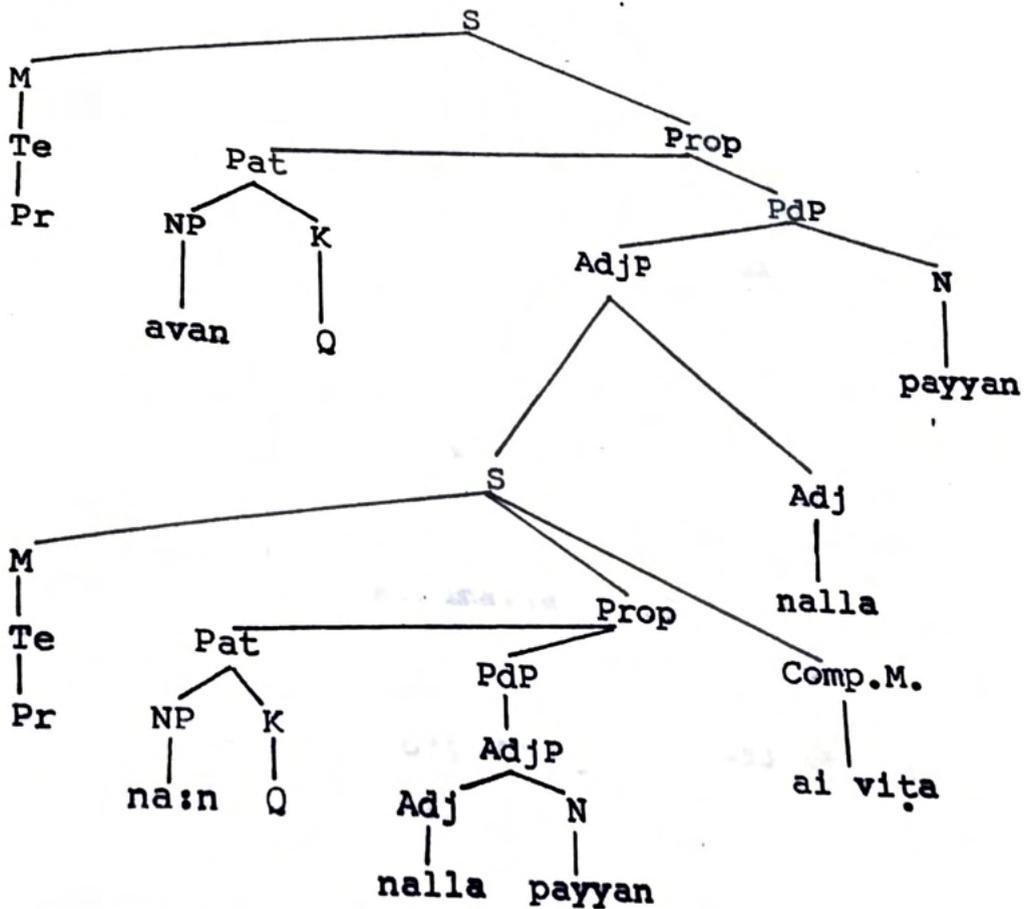
1. This is generally called as grammaticalization, i.e., these items by losing their lexical meaning become grammatical suffix or post position.

41. avan ennai viṭa nalla payyan  
 'He is better than me'

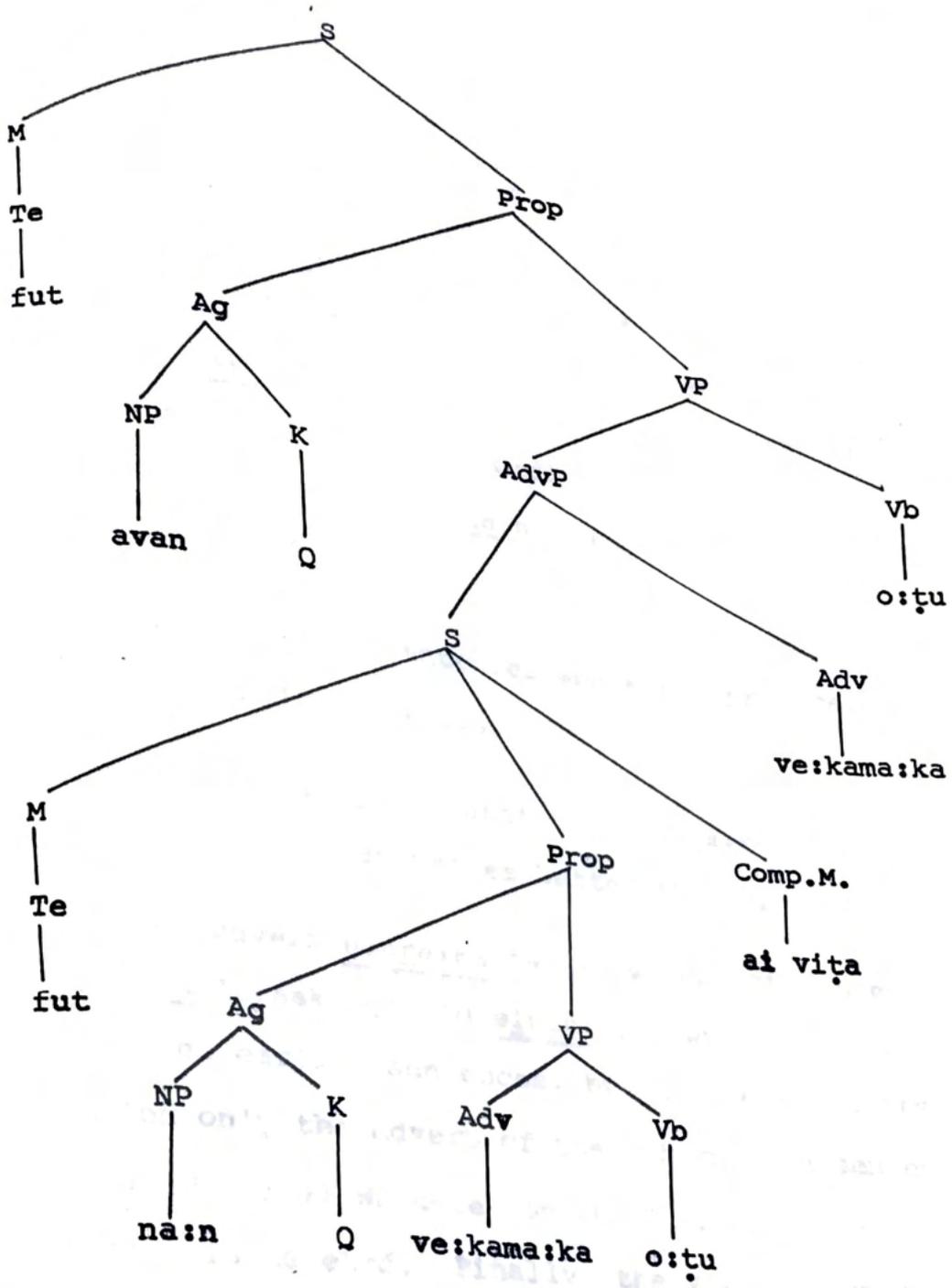
42. avan ennai viṭa ve:kama:ka oṭuvai:n  
 'He runs faster than me'

In the sentence (41) the adjective nalla 'good' is compared while in the sentence (42) the adverb ve:kama:ka 'fastly' is compared. In other words, the adjective and adverb in the main clause of these sentences are attributed by the comparative phrase. The comparative phrases are derived from an underlying sentence which is subordinate to the main clause.

[41\_]



avan [na:n nalla payyan] nalla payyan



avan [na:n ve:kama:ka o:tuve:n] ve:kama:ka o:tuva:n

Note that in the sentence (41) the adjective phrase consists of a sentence and adjective and in the sentence (42) the adverbial phrase consists of a sentence and an adverb. The transformations that take place are identical predicate deletion and comparative marker joining rule. By identical predicate deletion the predicate phrase of the subordinate sentences (nalla payyan 'good boy' (41) and ve:kama:ka o:tu 'run fastly' (40)) are deleted. Subsequently, the comparative marker ai viṭa is added with the NP, deleting the case marker of the deep case in the subordinate sentences (en is the oblique form of the noun nai:n and hence ennai viṭa is obtained in the surface structure).

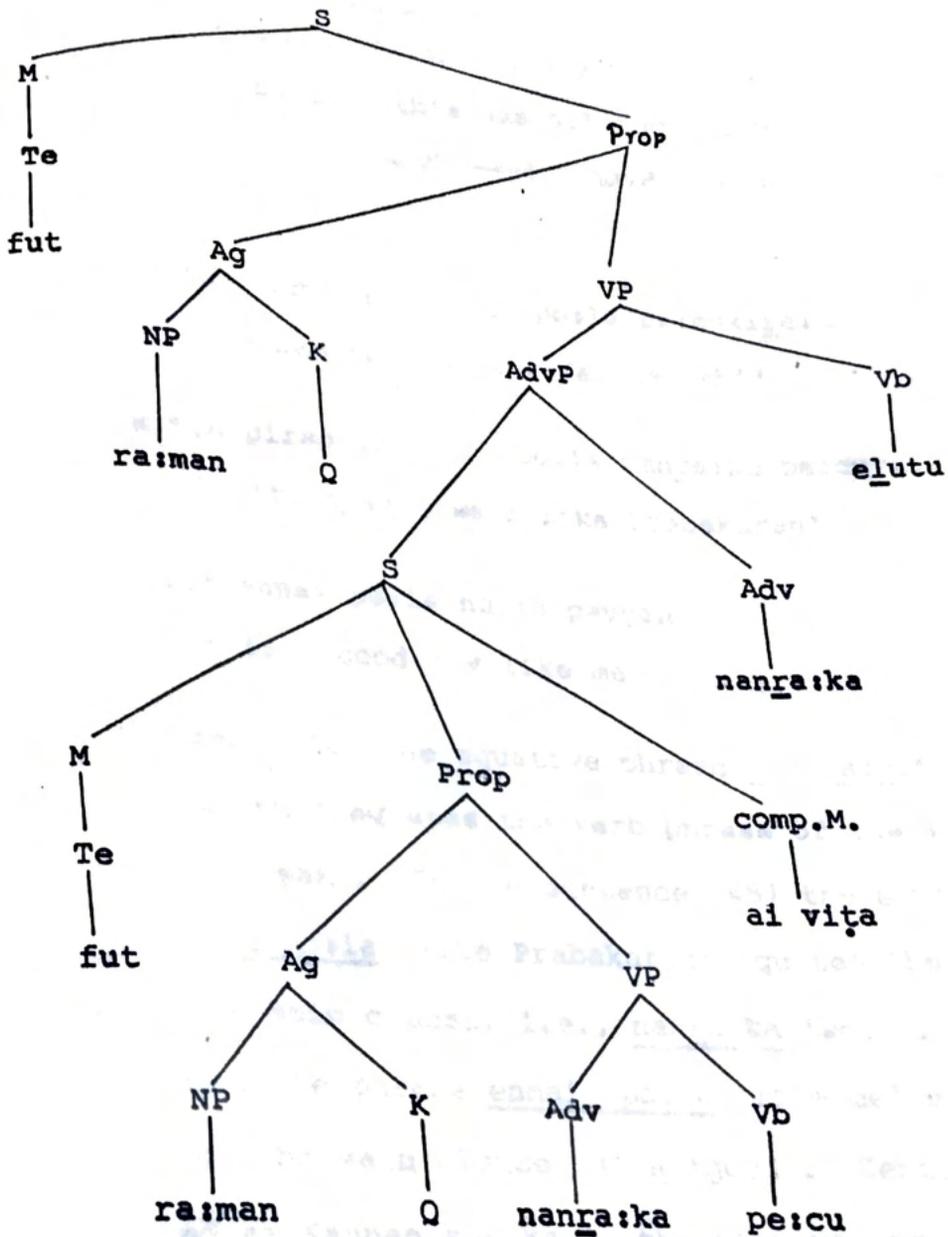
There are also sentences where two predicates with a common adverb is compared.

43. ra:man pe:cuvatai viṭa nanra:ka elutuva:n  
'Raman writes better than speaking'

Here, the adverb nanra:ka 'well' which attributes the predicates pe:cuvatu 'speaking' and elutuvatu 'writing', is compared.

Unlike the earlier sentences, by the identical predicate deletion only the adverb of the subordinate sentence is deleted and by identical NP deletion the Agent NP in the subordinate sentence is deleted. Finally, the verb is nominalized and the comparative marker is added. The deep structure of this sentence is as follows:

[43\_7]



ra:man [ra:man nanra:ka pe:cuva:n] nanra:ka elutuva:n

The post position po:la 'like' is used to equate two entities which are similar in one way or other. Unlike the comparative expressions, this has all the three structures, viz., VP → VP + S, AdvP → AdvP + S and AdjP → AdjP + S.

44. kappan karuna:nit<sub>i</sub>yai po:la pe:cukira:n  
'Kannan speaks like Karunanithi'

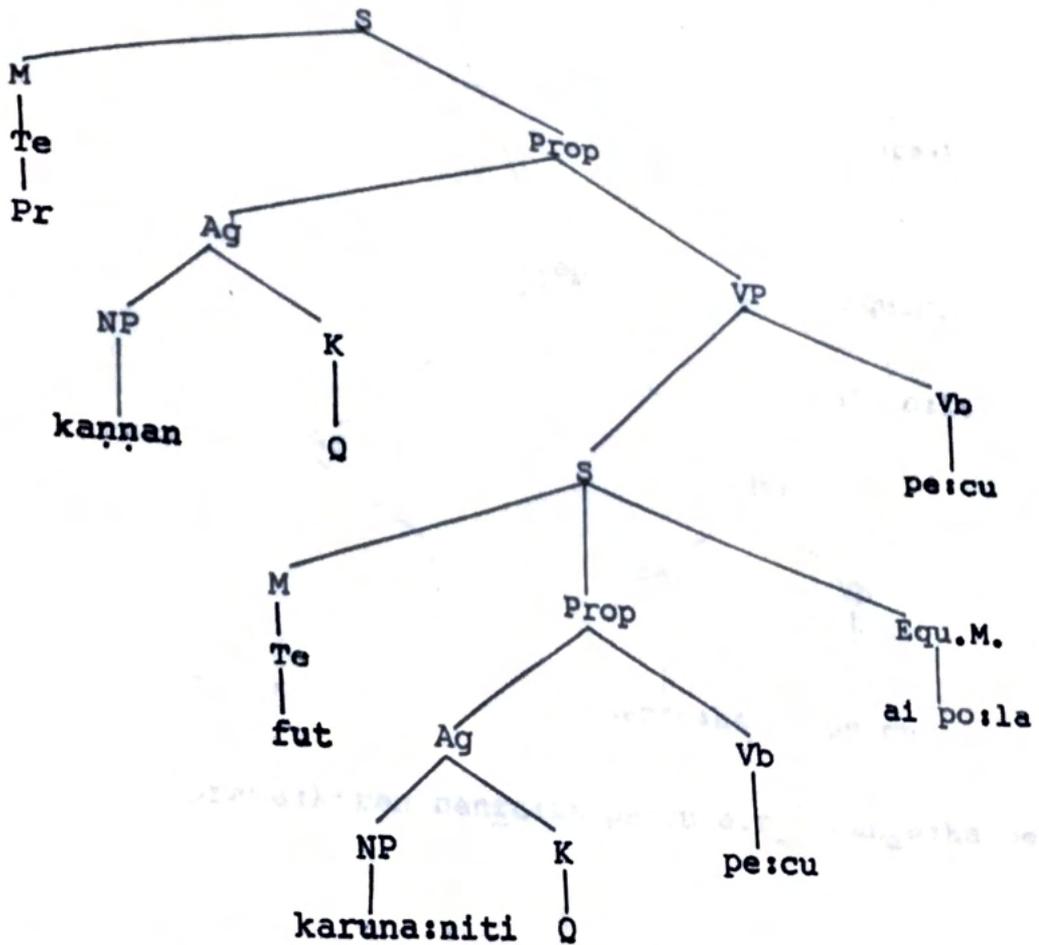
45. kiṭṭu pirapa:karanai po:la nanra:ka pe:cuva:n  
'Kittu speaks well like Prabakaran'

46. avan ennai po:la nalla payyan  
'He is a good boy like me'

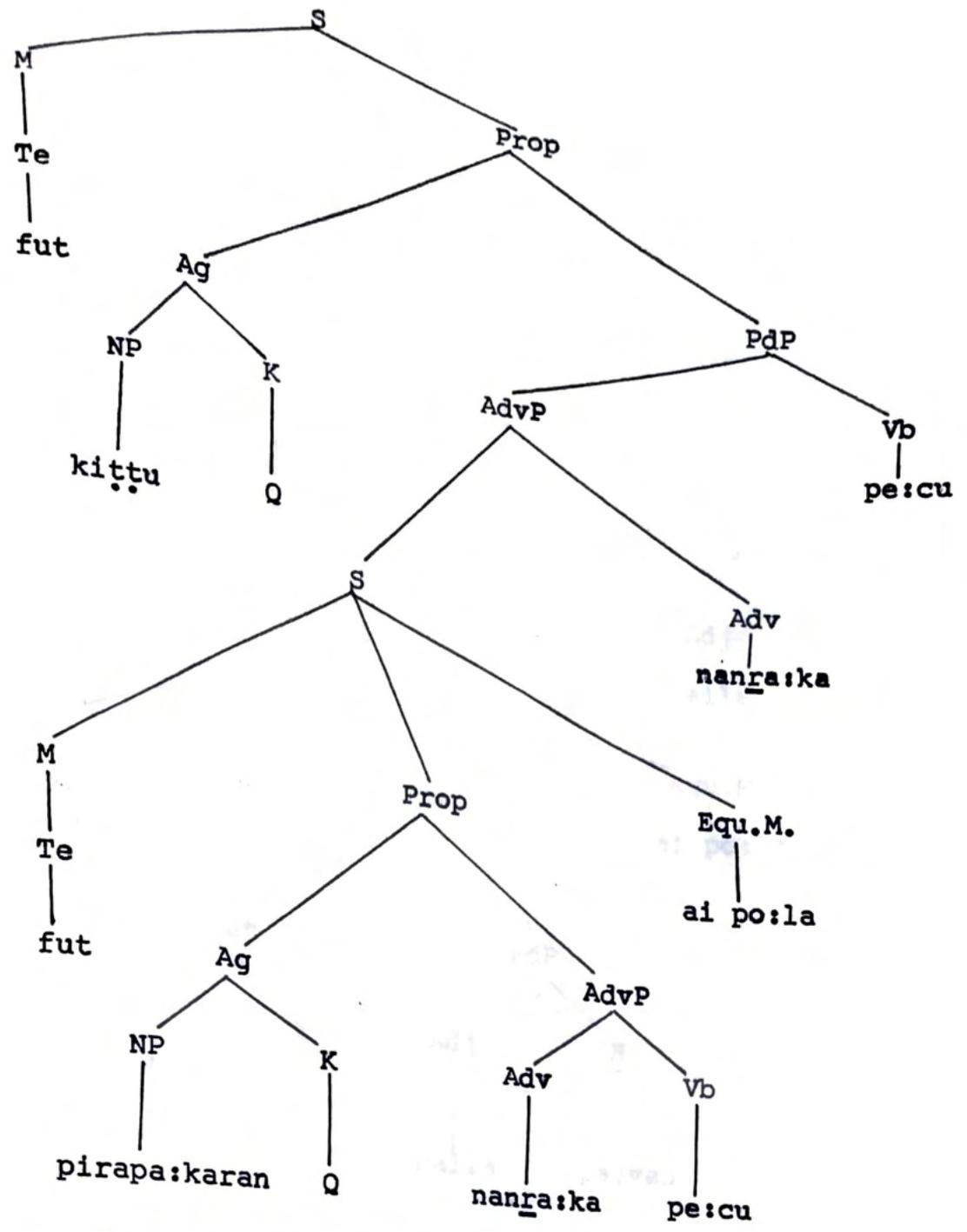
In the sentence (44) the equative phrase karuna:nit<sub>i</sub>yai po:la 'like Karunanithi' equates the verb phrase of the main clause, i.e., pe:cu 'speak'. In the sentence (45) the equative phrase pirapa:karanai po:la 'like Prabakaran' equates the adverbial phrase of the main clause, i.e., nanra:ka 'well'. In sentence (46) the equative phrase ennai po:la 'like me' equates the adjective of the main clause nalla 'good'. Sentence (44) is interpreted as Kannan speaks in the same way as Karunanithi speaks, i.e., the action is considered as mimicry. It is

to be noted here that the adverb nanra:ka 'well' does not occur in this type of sentences. Further, the sentence (44) can also refer to the equative meaning equating the adverb nanra:ka 'well' provided the noun karuna:niti 'Karunanithi' is understood as a good orator by the speaker-hearer. The sentence (45) describes that Kittu speaks appreciably like Prabakaran. The deep structures of the above sentences are given below. Like the comparative constructions the equative sentences are also derived from the deep structures after identical predicate deletion and equative marker joining rule.

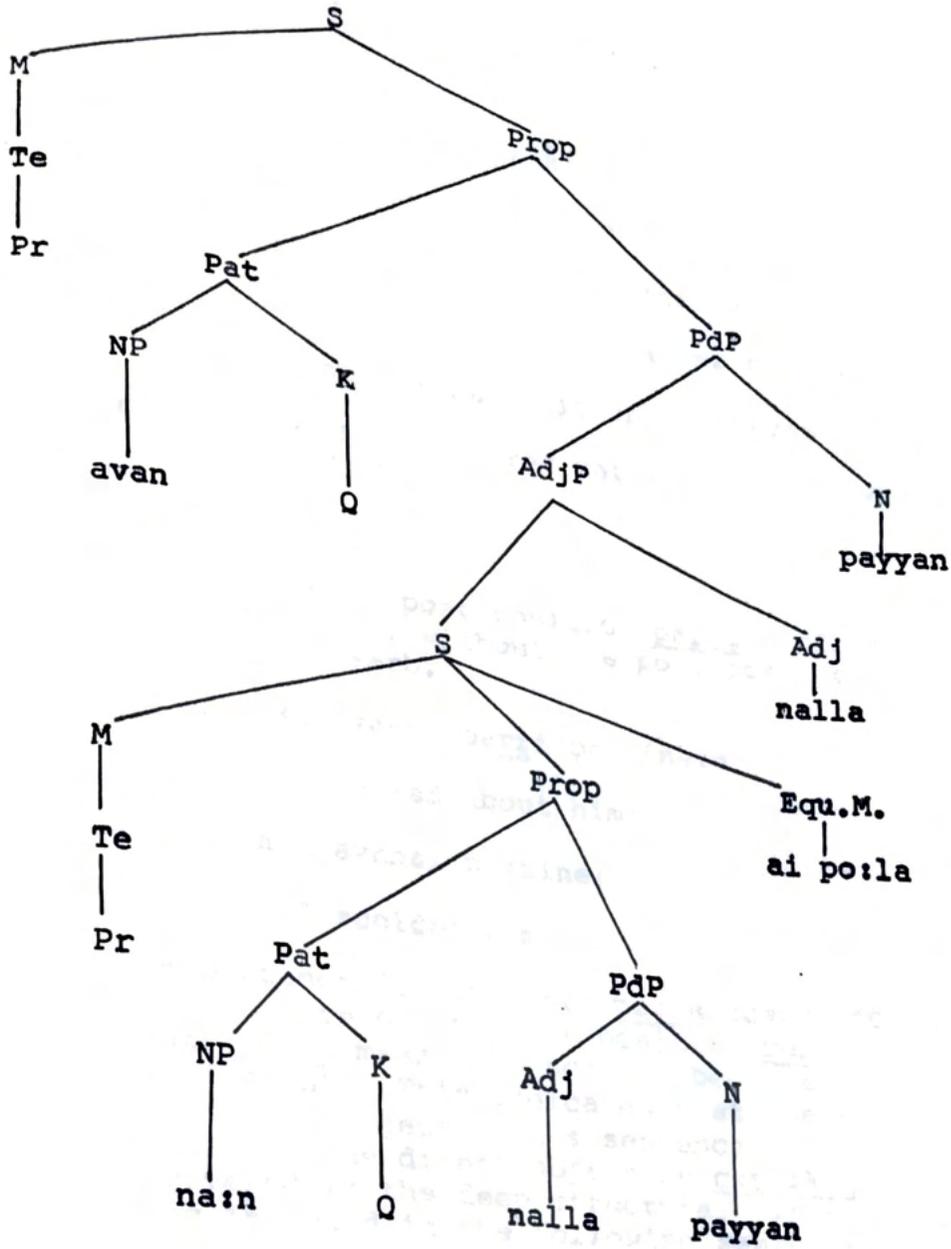
[44]



kannaṅ [karuna:niti pe:cuva:r] pe:cukira:n



kittu [prapa:karan nanra:ka pe:cuva:r] nanra:ka pe:cuva:n



avan [na:n nalla payyan] nalla payyan

The post position parri 'regarding' identifies the topic of the predicate which is either verb of communication like ku:ru 'tell', pe:cu 'speak', pa:ti 'read' or psychological verb like teri 'know', puri 'understand'. Unlike the comparative and equative post positional constructions the sentences with this post positions are not the instances of complex constructions. However, these post positional phrases are expanded as to:tarpa:na ceytika:l 'related matters' as follows<sup>1</sup>:

1. The sentence with post position parri differs from the other types, i.e., without the post position in the meaning of the verb.

1. na:n avanai parri pe:cine:n

'I talked about him'

2. na:n avanai pe:cine:n

'I scolded him'

In the sentence (1) the verb pe:cu means 'to talk' because of the presence of the post position parri. While in (2) the verb pe:cu means 'to scold', because the post position is not present. This indicates that the noun avan 'he' is the direct object in the sentence (2) whereas in the sentence (1) the direct object is ceytika:l 'message' which is recovered in the deep structure. This difference in meaning is found in the following sentences also.

3. ma:navarka:l tirukkura:lai parri pa:titta:rka:l

'Students learned about Tirukkural'

4. ma:navarka:l tirukkura:lai pa:titta:rka:l

'Students read Tirukkural'

Thus, avanai parri is understood as avan parriya ceytika:lai and tirukkura:lai parri as tirukkura:l parriya ceytika:lai.

47. appa: tirumaṇattai parri conna:r  
'Father told about the marriage'
- 47.a. appa: tirumaṇam toṭarpa:na ceytikaḷai conna:r
48. ra:ji:v intiya:vai parri ku:rina:r  
'Rajiv told about India'
- 48.a. ra:ji:v intiya: toṭarpa:na ceytikaḷai ku:rina:r
49. ta:y kuḷantaikaḷai parri yo:citta:ḷ  
'Mother thought about children'
- 49.a. ta:y kuḷantaikaḷ toṭarpa:na ceytikaḷai yo:citta:ḷ
50. enakku ra:juvai parri teriyum  
'I know about Raju'
- 50.a. enakku ra:ju toṭarpa:na ceytikaḷ teriyum

In the sentences (47) and (48) the verbs col 'say' 'ku:ru' 'speak' are communication verbs while in the sentences (49) and (50) the verbs yo:ci 'think' and teri 'know' are psychological verbs.

The phrase toṭarpa:na ceytikaḷ 'related matters' is recovered in the deep structure from the following inferences. The word parri is derived from the verb parru which means 'to hold', i.e., to hold an object or to hold a matter to be discussed with. Further, the word ceytikaḷ 'message' and the communication verbs are related in the sense that they have the object-verb relationship, i.e., communication always implies a message.

#### 6.3.4 Exceptive

The post position tavira 'except' is used to denote the noun which is isolated from the other nouns for not having performed an action.

51. ra:manai tavira ello:rum tirumaṇattirku  
vantiruntanar

'All except Raman came for the marriage'

The noun phrase ra:manai tavira 'except Raman' denotes that ra:man 'Raman' is isolated from others (ello:rum 'all') for not having come for the marriage.

This post position is also used to include the noun which performs the action among others. Here, the meaning 'in addition to' is identified<sup>1</sup>.

52. kappanai tavira ra:man vi:la:vi:ku vantirunta:n  
'In addition to Kannan Raman came to the function'

53. ennai tavira pattu pe:r vi:laiya:ti:na:rkaḷ  
'In addition to me ten persons played the game'

Thus, this post position when occurs with pronoun of totality ello:rum 'all' gives the exceptive meaning and when occurs without this pronoun, gives the inclusive meaning. This post positional phrase, like comparative and equative occurs with action verbs and state verbs as noted below.

#### Agent

54. kuma:rai tavira ello:rum o:ti:na:rkaḷ  
'All except Kumar ran'

55. kannakiyai tavira ello:rum pa:tuva:rkaḷ  
'All except Kannaki will sing'

---

1. The meaning 'in addition to' is also expressed by the sociative suffix o:tu (see 11.2.1.2).

56. raviyai tavira pattu pe:r vi:tt̃il irukkin<sub>ra</sub>nar  
'Apart from Ravi ten people are in the house'
57. ennai tavira ello:rum uyarama:ka irukkin<sub>ra</sub>nar  
'All except me are tall'

Experiencer

58. cita:vai tavira na:lu pe:rukku ce:ti teriyum  
'Four people apart from Sita know the news'
59. ennai tavira vi:tt̃il ello:rukkum vayi:ru valikkiratu  
'All except me in the house have stomach ache'

6.3.5 Directional

The post position no:kki 'towards' is used to denote the meaning 'the place towards which a movement is performed'. In this respect, this post positional phrase has the deep Goal case relationship with the verb. Like the Goal phrases with the dative suffix (see 8.2.1.2), this type of phrases also take only the movement verbs as their predicates.

60. avarkaḷ ko:yilai no:kki cen<sub>ra</sub>:rkaḷ  
'They went towards the temple'

61. avan ci:ta:vai no:kki vanta:n  
'He came towards Sita'

In the sentence (60), the phrase ko:yilai no:kki 'towards the temple' denotes that the noun ko:yil 'temple' is the place towards which the movement is carried out. In the sentence (61), the phrase ci:ta:vai no:kki 'towards Sita', refers to the place where Sita is located, towards which the movement is carried out. In the sentence (60), the post position can be substituted by the dative suffix -kku while in the sentence (61), the substitution is by the locative suffix -iṭam as shown below.

60.a. avarkaḷ ko:yilukku cenra:rkaḷ  
'They went to temple'

61.a. avan ci:ta:viṭam vanta:n  
'He came to Sita'

However, the sentences (60) and (61) differ in their meanings from (60.a) and (61.a) respectively as discussed below. The sentences (60.a) and (61.a) denote the completion of the action while the sentences (60) and (61) denote that the action is continuing and the possibility of reaching the Goal is not shown. This can be noticed from the evidence that the sentences (62) and (63) can be interpreted from the sentences (60) and (61), but not from the sentences (60.a) and (61.a) respectively.

62. avarkaḷ ko:yilal no:kki cenra:rkaḷ  
a:na:l ko:yilukku cellavillal

'They went towards the temple, but  
did not reach the temple'

63. avan ci:ta:vai no:kki vanta:n  
a:na:l ci:taviṭam varavillal

'He came towards Sita, but did  
not come unto Sita'

The following can be summarized from the foregoing discussions. The surface accusative case which is the object of a sentence is the exponent of the deep case Patient. The different types of Patient are Affected Patient, Unaffected Patient, Factitive Patient and Cognate Patient. The post positions, viz., viṭa 'than', po:la 'like', tavira 'except', parri 'about' and no:kki 'towards' always occur after the accusative case suffix -ai. The post positional NPs have different deep cases viz., Agent, Patient, Experiencer and Goal, besides the meaning shown by the post positions. Further, the comparative construction shown by the post position viṭa, and the equative constructions shown by the post position po:la are the instances of complex constructions

CHAPTER VII

Instrumental Case

CHAPTER VII  
INSTRUMENTAL CASE

7.1 Suffix

The surface instrumental case is marked by the suffix -a:l<sup>1</sup>. The noun phrases with the suffix -a:l constitute the surface instrumental case. Besides the suffix -a:l, the post position koṭṭu is also used to denote the instrumental case.

7.2 Deep cases

In the following sentences the -a:l phrases belong to the surface instrumental case, but have different deep cases, viz., Instrumental, Cause, Agent and Patient.

1. ra:masa:mi ko:ṭa:riya:l marattai veṭṭina:n  
'Ramasami cut the tree with axe'

2. kala: kaiya:l tampiyai aṭitta:l  
'Kala beated her brother with her hand'

---

1. Tolkappiyam refers this case by its primary function as karuvi ve:rrumai 'instrumental case' and also as mu:nra:m ve:rrumai 'third case'.

3. kuyavan maṇṇa:l pa:nai ceṭta:n  
'The pot maker made the pot with clay'
4. puyala:l u:r alintatu  
'The village was destroyed because of cyclone'
5. raku tolai kanna:ṭiya:l va:nattai pa:rtta:n  
'Regu saw the sky through the telescope'
6. ra:mana:l kirusṇan aṭikkappaṭṭa:n  
'Kirushnan was beaten by Rama'
7. cuntara:l pa:rkka muṭintatu  
'Sundar was able to see'

In the sentence (1) the NP ko:ṭa:riya:l 'with axe' is in Tool-Instrumental case; in (S. 2) the NP kaiya:l 'with hand' is in Body-part Instrumental case; in (S.3) the NP maṇṇa:l 'with clay' is in Material Instrumental case; in (S.4) the NP puyala:l 'by cyclone' is in Cause case; in (S.5) the NP tolai kanna:ṭiya:l 'through the telescope' is in Means case; in (S.6) the NP ra:mana:l 'by Raman' is in Agent case and in (S.7) the NP cuntara:l 'by sundar' is in Patient case. These differences which are due to nature of verbs and type of nouns are identified by different syntactic and semantic tests.

### 7.2.1 Deep Instrumental case

The deep Instrumental case according to Fillmore (1968) is the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action identified by the verb. As already noted (3.6) four types of deep Instrumental cases are distinguished on the basis of co-occurrence and syntactic tests. They are Tool-Instrumental, Material Instrumental, Body-part Instrumental and Means.

All these four Instrumental cases have the case features + controlled, + cause, + effect, + source and + goal (Nilsen 1972:37) and have the lexical features - animate, + concrete, i.e., only the inanimate concrete nouns can occur as deep Instrumental case.

#### 7.2.1.1 Tool-Instrumental case

Tool-Instrumental case refers to the tool with which the action is carried out. The verbs in this type of construction are the verbs of impact like veṭṭu 'cut', aṭi 'beat', tuṭai 'clean', naṟukku 'cut', taḷḷu 'push' (2.3.4.1.3). In the following sentences the -a:ḷ phrases are in Tool-Instrumental case.

8. a:ciriyar ma:ṣavanai taṭiya:l aṭitta:r  
'Teacher beat the student with a stick'
9. ko:ṭce: ka:ntiyai tuppa:kkiya:l cuṭṭa:n  
'Kotche gunned down Gandhi'
10. ve:laikka:ran ru:mai viḷakkuma:ra:l perukkina:n  
'Servant cleaned the room with a broom stick'
11. ravi mukattai tuṇṭa:l tuṭaitta:n  
'Ravi cleaned his face with a towel'
12. payyankaḷ kuraṅkai kalla:l aṭittanar  
'The boys beat the monkey with stones'
13. vaṇṭiyo:ṭṭi ma:ṭṭai ca:ṭṭaiya:l aṭitta:n  
'The cart driver beat the bullock with a whip'

The Instrumental phrases here denote the tool with which the respective action is carried out. The accusative NPs in all these sentences are in Affected Patient relationship with the respective impact verbs. In the following sentences also the instrumental NPs are in Tool-Instrumental case, but the co-occurring accusative NPs are Unaffected Patients, since the verbs do not affect the physical structure of the object.

14. ma:ṇavarkaḷ pe:na:va:l pa:ṣṭattai eḷutina:rkaḷ  
'Students wrote the lesson with pen'

15. kalpana: kucchiya:l katavai taḷḷina:ḷ  
'Kalpana pushed the door with a stick'

7.2.1.1.1 Syntactic tests

7.2.1.1.1.1 Substitution test

In all the Tool-Instrumental NPs the suffix -a:l can be substituted by the verbal participle payanpaṭutti 'using' and the post position koṇṭu 'with' as follows:

8.a. a:ciriyar taṭiyai payanpaṭutti ma:ṇavarkaḷai  
aṭitta:r

'The teacher used a stick to beat the students'

8.b. a:ciriyar taṭiyai koṇṭu ma:ṇavarkaḷai aṭitta:r

'The teacher beat the students with a stick'

9.a. koṭṭe: ka:ntiyai tuppa:kkiyai payanpaṭutti  
cuṭṭa:n

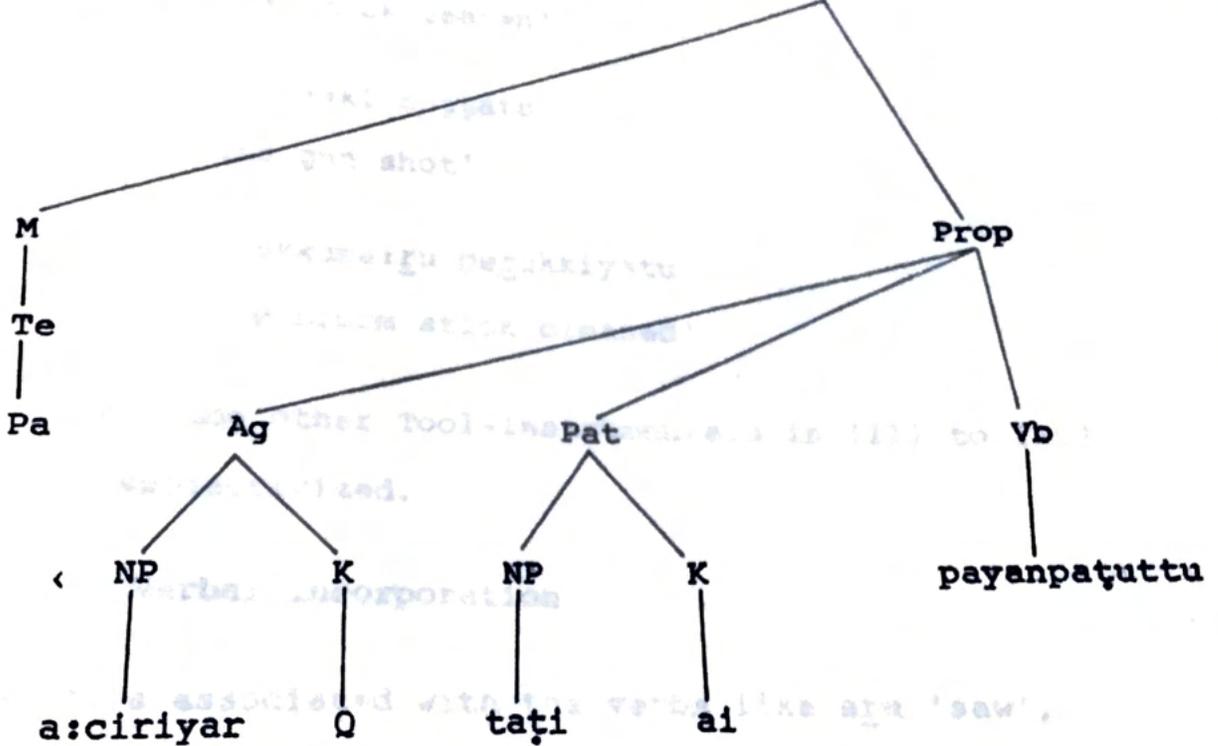
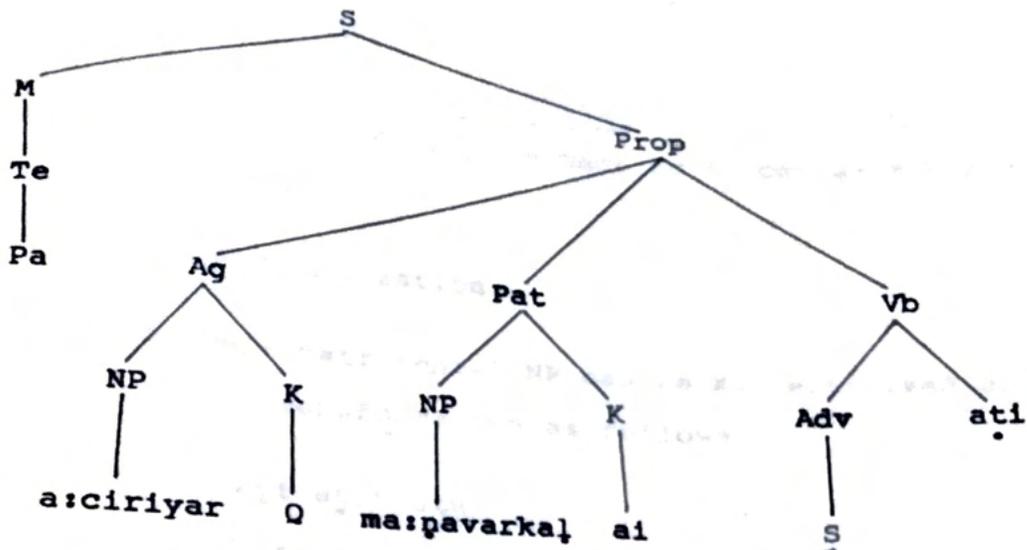
'Kotche gunned down Gandhi using a gun'

9.b. koṭṭe: ka:ntiyai tuppa:kkiyai koṇṭu cuṭṭa:n<sup>1</sup>

'Kotche gunned down Gandhi with a gun'

In (S.8.a) the suffix -a:l has been substituted by the verbal participle payanpaṭutti 'using'. Hence the sentence becomes a complex sentence having the matrix sentence a:ciriyar ma:ṇavarkaḷai aṭitta:r 'The teacher beat the students' and the subordinate sentence a:ciriyar taṭiyai payanpaṭuttina:r 'The teacher used the stick'. The deep structure of the sentence (8.a) is as follows:

1. Fillmore (1970) however, distinguishes these two types of sentences as illustrated below: 'Although 'use' and 'with' expressions both entail the feature //Cause//, 'use' entails an additional feature //intent// that 'with' does not entail. If a person says, 'John squashed the eggs with his boots', the listener does not know whether John did it deliberately or unintentionally; however, if a person says 'John used his boots to squash the eggs', the listener knows that the squashing was intentional'. But in Tamil the accidental action is expressed by the auxiliary verb viṭu as in the sentence ra:man muṭṭaikalai ka:la:l mitittu viṭṭa:n 'Raman squashed the eggs unintentionally'. Correspondingly the verb without the auxiliary verb viṭu always implies the intentional action as in the sentence ra:man muṭṭaikalai ka:la:l mititta:n 'Raman squashed the eggs intentionally'. Thus the ambiguity in meaning as seen in English is not found in Tamil. However, the auxiliary verb viṭu in such a type of sentences distinguishes two meanings.



a:ciriyar ma:pavarkaļai [a:ciriyar taṭiyai payanpaṭuttu] aṭi

From the above structure it is clear that the instrumental NP taṭiya:l 'with stick' in (S.8) has been made as Patient by substituting the verb payanpaṭuttu 'use'. Similarly, the sentences (9) to (15) can be made as a complex sentence in the same manner.

#### 7.2.1.1.1.2 Subjectivization

All the Tool-Instrumental NP can be subjectivized using subjectivization transformation as follows:

8.c. taṭi aṭittatu  
'The stick beaten'

9.c. tuppa:kki cuṭṭatu  
'The gun shot'

10.a. viḷakkuma:ru perukkiyatu  
'The broom stick cleaned'

Similarly, all the other Tool-Instrumentals in (11) to (15) can also be subjectivized.

#### 7.2.1.1.1.3 Verbal incorporation

The tools associated with the verbs like aru 'saw', veṭṭu 'cut', cuṭu 'shoot', perukku 'clean' are always understood, since these verbs incorporate the respective

tools. Tool-Instrumental NPs in these sentences need not be expressed overtly. However, the verbs like aṭi 'beat', tuṭai 'rub' do not incorporate the tools because of the fact that the actions denoted by these verbs can be carried out by different types of tools. But in the former type of verbs the action is carried out only with specific tools. So, the sentences with the former type of verbs can occur without the Tool-Instrumental NPs and are understood. The sentences (9) and (10) can be written as follows:

9.d. ko:ṭce: ka:ntiyai cuṭṭa:n  
'Kotche gunned down Gandhi'

10.b. avan ru:mai perukkina:n  
'He cleaned the room'

#### 7.2.1.2 Material Instrumental case

Material Instrumental case denotes the material used to construct an object (3.6.2). The verbs in this type of sentences are always verbs of creation like cey 'make', kaṭṭu 'build', ney 'weave' (2.3.4.1.3.1).

16. taccan maratta:l na:rka:li ceyta:n  
'The carpenter made a chair with wood'

17. e:laikaḷ kaḷimappa:l vi:ṭu kaṭṭukira:rkaḷ  
'The poor people build their houses with clay'

18. amma: ko:tumaiya:l to:cai ceyta:l  
'Mother cooked thosai with maize'

19. ka:nti paruttinu:la:l a:ṭai neyta:r  
'Gandhi weaved the clothes with cotton'

The instrumental phrases in the above sentences have deep Material Instrumental case, since these NPs denote the materials using which the corresponding objects are created. The accusative NPs that co-occur with this type of instrumental NPs are always in deep Factitive case (6.2.3).

7.2.1.2.1 Syntactic tests

7.2.1.2.1.1 Substitution test

Like the Tool-Instrumental case, the suffix -ai:l with the Material Instrumental case can also be substituted by the verbal participle payanpaṭutti 'using' and by the post position koṇṭu as follows:

16.a. taccan marattai payanpaṭutti na:rka:li ceyta:n  
'The carpenter made a chair using wood'

16.b. taccan marattaikkoṇṭu na:rka:li ceyta:n  
'The carpenter made a chair with wood'

### 7.2.1.2.1.2 Compound noun formation

The Material Instrumental NP and the co-occurring Factitive NP can be made as a compound noun as follows:

16.c. mara na:rkali  
'Wooden chair'

17.a. kaḷimaḷ viṣṭu  
'Clay house'

18.a. ko:tumai to:cai  
'Maize thosai'

19.a. paruttinu:l a:ṭai  
'Cotton dress'

Unlike the Tool-Instrumental case, Material Instrumental case NP doesnot undergo subjectivization transformation.

### 7.2.1.3 Body-part Instrumental

The instrumental suffix -ai when occurs with animate body parts like kai 'hand', ka:l 'leg', kaṇ 'eye', the Body-part Instrumental is understood.

20. avan kaṇṇa:l pa:rtta:n

'He saw with his eyes'

21. kalutai ka:la:l utaittatu  
'Donkey kicked with (its) legs'

22. aval ka:ta:l pa:t̪tu ke:t̪ta:l  
'She heard the song with her ears'

7.2.1.3.1 Syntactic tests

7.2.1.3.1.1 Verbal incorporation test

The instrumental NPs in this type of sentences are redundant, because these verbs incorporate the respective Body-part Instrumental. Hence, the deletion of the instrumental NPs in this type of sentences do not affect the meaning of the sentence.

20.a. avan pa:rtta:n  
'He saw'

21.a. kalutai utaittatu

'The donkey kicked'

22.a. aval pa:t̪tu ke:t̪ta:l

'She heard the song'

7.2.1.3.1.2 Subjectivization

Like Tool-Instrumental case, Body-part Instrumental case also undergoes subjectivization. But this takes place only in the contexts like focus of attention and emphasis.

20.b. avan kaṇ pa:rttatu  
'His eye saw'

21.b. kalutaiyin ka:l utaittatu  
'Donkey's leg kicked'

22.b. avaḷ ka:tu pa:ṭṭu ke:ṭṭatu  
'Her ears heard the song'

Unlike the earlier type of subjectivization, here the subject is always a genitive NP, since the body parts are inalienable in nature and are always referring to the possessor noun.

#### 7.2.1.4 Means

Means case indicate the object through which or with the aid of which the action is carried out. In the following sentences the surface instrumental case NPs have the deep Means case.

23. viñña:ni teleşko:ppa:l cantiranai pa:rtta:r  
'The scientist saw the moon through the telescope'

24. avan pu:tak kaṇṇaṭiya:l cavaṭikalai paṭitta:n  
'He read the palm leaf manuscripts through the lens'

The noun phrases, viz., telesko:ppa:l 'through the telescope' and pu:tak kaṇṇa:ṭiya:l 'through the lens' here indicate the means through which the action of seeing is carried out.

7.2.1.4.1 Syntactic test

7.2.1.4.1.1 Substitution

The Means NPs can be substituted by the post position mu:lam 'through' as follows:

23.a. viñña:ni telesko:p mu:lam cantiranai pa:rtta:r  
'The scientist saw the moon through the telescope'

24.a. avan putakkaṇṇa:ṭi mu:lam cuvaṭikaḷai paṭitta:n  
'He read the palm leaf manuscripts through the lens'

Further, the suffix -a:l can also be substituted by the post position koṇṭu and by the verbal participle payanpaṭutti 'using' as in the case of Tool-Instrumental and Material Instrumental.

23.b. viñña:ni telesko:ppai koṇṭu/payanpaṭutti  
cantiranai pa:rtta:r

'The scientist saw the moon with/using a telescope'

24.b. avan putakkaṇṇa:ṭiyai koṇṭu/payanpaṭutti  
cuvaṭikaḷai paṭitta:n

'He read the palm leaf manuscripts with/using the lens'

Cause is the inducement or the motive of an event. This case expresses the relationship existing between the proposition and those arguments which, without being its performers, are considered responsible for its coming about (McCoy, 1969:116).

Cause case has the lexical features - animate, + abstract and the case features + cause, + source. Cause is a complex case that always occurs in an embedded sentence (3.12).

25. puyala:l maram ca:yntatu  
'The tree fell down because of the cyclone'

26. malaiya:l payirkaḷ nanra:ka viḷaintana  
'The plants grew well because of rain'

27. ema:rratta:l vica:li aluta:l  
'Vicali wept because of deception'

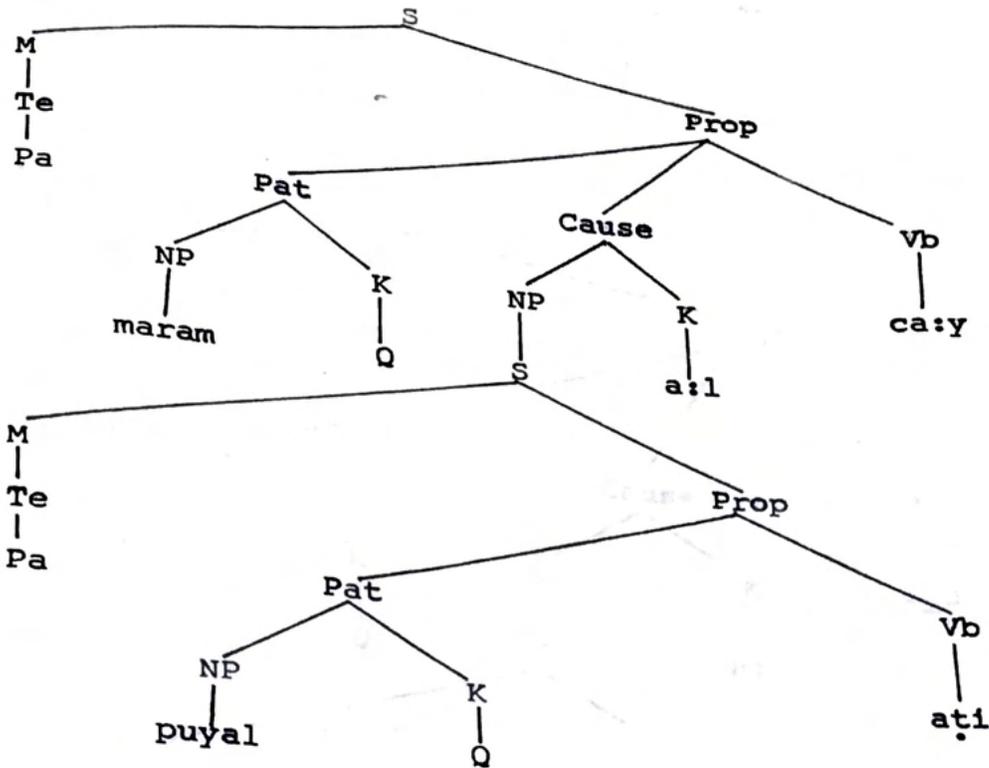
28. makilcciya:l kaṇṇakikku uḷal paruttatu  
'Kannaki became fat because of happiness'.

The instrumental NPs, viz., puyala:l 'because of cyclone', malaiya:l 'because of rain', ema:rratta:l 'because of deception' and makilcciya:l 'because of happiness' indicate the cause of

the respective events, viz., maram caiyntatu 'the tree fell down', payirkaḷ vaḷarntana 'The plant grew well', vicaḷi alutaḷ 'Visali wept' and kannakikku uḷal paruttatu 'Kannaki became fat'. Further, in the underlying structures the above sentences are complex in nature, because the Cause case always incorporates the verb. For instance, puyal 'cyclone' incorporates a verb ati 'blow', malai 'rain' incorporates the verb pey 'to rain', emaḷḷam 'deception' and makilcci 'happy' incorporate the verb aḷai 'get' respectively. Thus the above sentences have the following underlying structures.

- 25.a. puyal aḷittataḷ maram caiyntatu  
 'The tree fell down because of cyclone'
- 26.a. malai peytataḷ payirkaḷ nankaḷka viḷaintana  
 'The plants grew well because of rain'
- 27.a. vicaḷi emaḷḷam aḷaintataḷ alutaḷ  
 'Visali wept because of her deception'
- 28.a. makilcci aḷaintataḷ kannakikku uḷal paruttatu  
 'Kannaki became fat because of happiness'

The deep structure of the sentences (25) and (27) are as follows:

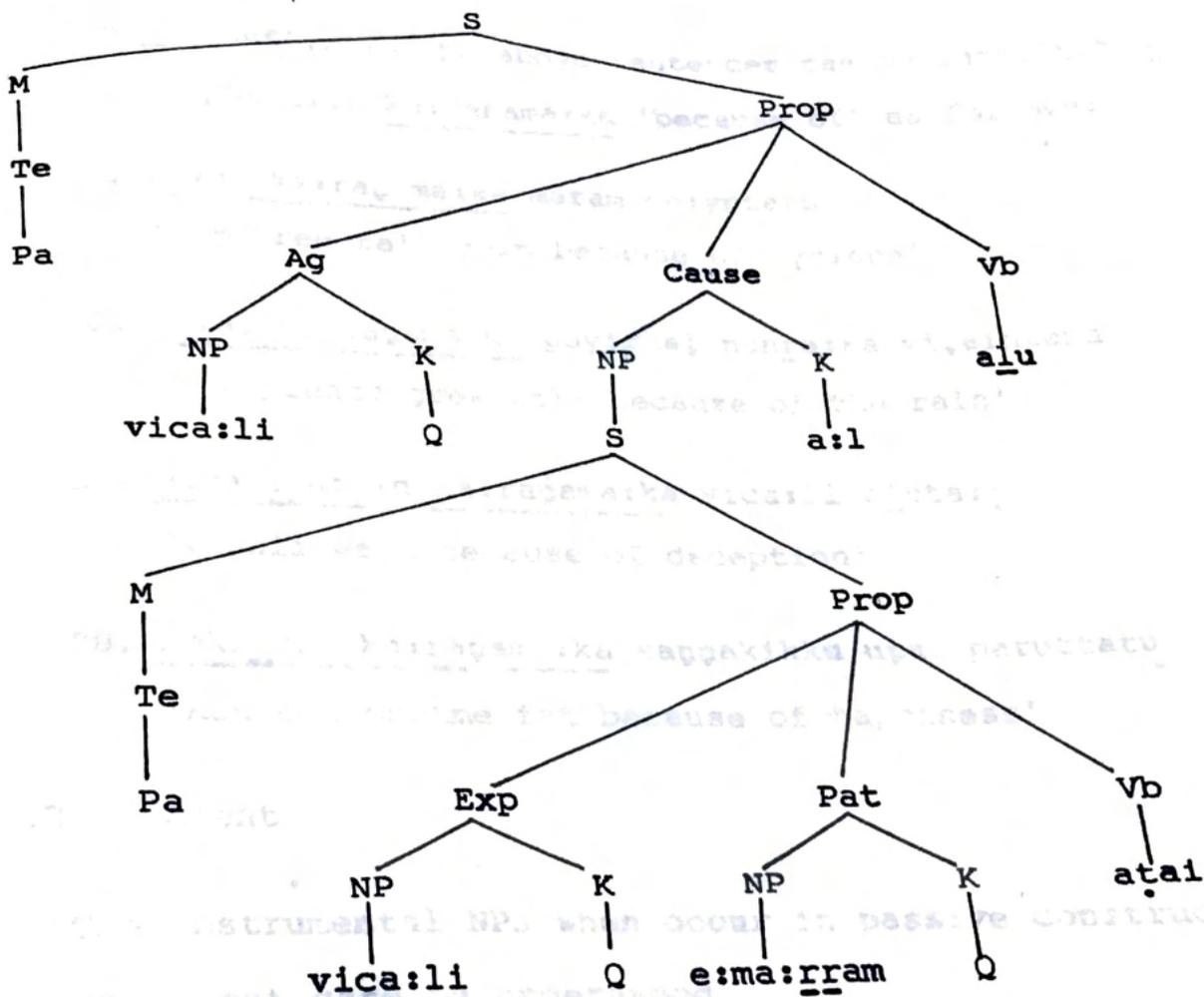


maram [puyal a:ti] ca:yntatu

From the above structure it is clear that the noun puyal 'cyclone' is in Patient case in the underlying structure. The instrumental NP puyala:l 'because of rain' is obtained after the nominalization transformation of the verb a:ti 'blow' and noun incorporation. After the nominalization transformation, the intermediate structure 'maram puyal a:titata:l ca:yntatu' is obtained. Later by

noun incorporation the verb is incorporated in the noun puyal 'cyclone' and finally the surface sentence (25) is obtained.

[27]



vica:li [vica:li e:ma:rram a:1] a:1u

Unlike the structure (25), here the identical NP deletion transformation deletes the Experiencer node in the subordinate sentence before the nominalization and noun incorporation transformation.

#### 7.2.2.1 Substitution

The a:l suffix in the above sentences can be substituted by the post position ka:raṇama:ka 'because of' as follows:

25. puyal ka:raṇama:ka maram ca:yntatu  
'The tree fell down because of cyclone'
26. malai ka:raṇama:ka payirkaḷ nanra:ka viḷaintana  
'The plants grew well because of the rain'
27. e:ma:rrattin ka:raṇama:ka vica:li aluta:ḷ  
'Visali wept because of deception'
28. makilcci ka:raṇama:ka kappakikku uḷal paruttatu  
'Kannaki became fat because of happiness'

#### 7.2.3. Agent

The instrumental NPs when occur in passive construction, the deep Agent case is understood.

29. ra:mana:l ra:vaṇan kollappaṭṭa:n  
'Ravanān was killed by Raman'

30. avan enna:l aṭikkappaṭṭa:n  
'He was beaten by me'

31. ve:laia:ṭkaḷa:l kaṭṭiṭam iṭikkappaṭṭatu  
'The building was demolished by the servants'

The instrumental NPs, viz., ra:mana:l 'by Raman', enna:l 'by me', ve:laia:ṭkaḷa:l 'by servants' in the above sentences are in deep Agent case. In these sentences, the instrumental NPs have the nominative realization in their corresponding active forms as follows:

29.a. ra:man ra:vaṇanai konṛa:n  
'Raman killed Ravanān'

30.a. na:n avanai aṭitte:n  
'I beated him'

31.a. ve:laia:ṭkaḷ kaṭṭiṭattai iṭitta:rkaḷ  
'The servants demolished the building'

#### 7.2.4. Patient

The deep case Patient is realized in the surface instrumental case when the verb occurs with the modal

verb muṭi which shows the capability of the noun. The noun in this type of sentences is always + animate, + human.

32. avana:l o:ṭamuṭiyum

'He can run'

33. avala:l pa:ṭa muṭiyum

'She can sing'

34. ya:naiya:l paṭukkamuṭiyum

'Elephant can lie down'

35. enna:l purintu\_koḷlamuṭiyum

'I can understand'

In the above sentences, the finite verbs with the modal verb muṭi describe the capability of the respective animate nouns. In spite of the fact that the verbs in the above sentences are action verbs (32 to 34) and psychological verb (35) the animate nouns can not be taken as either Agent or Experiencer, because these verbs do not indicate the action in a time. Further, these sentences are not the answers for the question avan enna ceyta:n? 'What did he do?' (which is a test to identify the Agent case). The verbs in this type of sentences describe the state of animate beings with respect to their capability in performing the action. Further, these sentences can be

paraphrased with the sentences with the verbs having the future tense marker denoting the habitual aspect as follows:

32.a. avan oṭuvaiṉ  
'He can run'

33.a. avaḷ paṭṭuvalḷ  
'She can sing'

34.a. yaṉnai paṭukkum  
'The elephant can lie down'

35.a. naṉ purintukoḷveṉ  
'I can understand'

It is to be noted here that in the sentences (32) to (37) there is no NP that has the concord relationship with the respective verbs. Kothandaraman (1972) suggests that this type of sentences are subjectless sentences in Tamil.

From the above illustrations it is clear that the surface instrumental case is the exponent of the deep cases Instrumental, Cause, Agent and Patient.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Dative Case

## CHAPTER VIII

### DATIVE CASE

#### 8.1 Dative

The word dative is derived from the Latin word 'dativus' meaning 'giving'<sup>1</sup>. Tolkappiyar refers to the meaning of this case by the phrase epporuḷa:yinum koḷḷumatuve: (Tol.75) which is translated as referring to 'recipient whatever the substance it may be'.

#### 8.2 Suffix and deep cases

The dative case in Modern Tamil is marked by the suffix -kku and it is found that this case is the exponent of the deep cases Goal, Experiencer and Purpose and the case meanings distributive, limitative, relative location, relative relation, comparative, time and benefactive possession. Present chapter accounts for these deep cases and the case meanings in detail.

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1. In Tamil traditional grammars this case is referred to as 'fourth case' and koḷai verrumai 'case of giving'.

The surface dative is used to denote the deep case Goal. Depending upon the nature of the verb and the noun, the Goal case is divided into Benefactive Goal and Directional Goal.

## 8.2.1.1 Benefactive Goal

The Benefactive Goal is identified when the verb of the sentence is either the transfer acquisition verbs like koṭu 'give', valaṅku 'give', paricaḷi 'present' or the intelligible communication verbs like col 'say', arivurai ku:ru 'advise', and when the noun taking the dative suffix has the lexical features + animate and ± human.

1. amaiccar e:laikaḷukku tuṅikaḷ koṭutta:r  
'The Minister gave clothes to the poor'
2. talaimai a:ciriyar ma:ṅavarkaḷukku paricukaḷai  
valaṅkina:r  
'The Head Master presented the prizes to the students'
3. makkaḷ talaivarukku toṅṅarkaḷiṅṅam niti aḷittanar  
'People gave money to the party workers for the leader'
4. intiyarkaḷ cilo:n makkaḷukku aracu:ḷiyarkaḷiṅṅam  
paṅamum poruḷum koṭutta:rkaḷ  
'Indians gave money and goods to Government servants for Ceylon people'

5. payyan kurañkukku va:laippalam koçuttai:n  
'The boy gave a banana to Monkey'
6. a:ciriyar ma:ñavarkaḷukku arivurai ku:rina:r  
'Teacher advised the students'
7. tantai makanukku pa:ṭam collikkoçutta:r  
'Father taught lesson to his son'

In the above sentences, the verbs are transfer conveyance verbs (1 to 5) and communication verbs (6 and 7) and the nouns are + human (1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7) and - human, + animate (5). In the sentences (1) and (2) the dative phrases are the direct recipient and the benefactor of the object transferred and in (S.3) and (S.4) the dative phrases are the indirect recipient. The direct recipient in these sentences are the locative phrases, viz., toṭṭarkaḷiṭam 'to the party workers' and aracu u:liyarkaḷiṭam 'to the Government servants' respectively. These phrases are called Non-Benefactive Goal. For details about Non-Benefactive Goal see 12.4.3.2 . The sentences (1) and (2) are understood as follows:

1.a. amaiccar e:laikaḷukku e:laikaḷiṭam tuṭikaḷ  
koçutta:r

'The Minister gave clothes to poor for poor'

2.a. talaimai a:ciriyar maṣṣavarkaḷukku  
maṣṣavarkaḷiṭam paricukaḷ valankina:ṛ

'The Head Master presented the prizes  
to the students for the students'

From these illustrations it is inferred that the direct recipient of the action which is denoted by the locative suffix -iṭam and the benefactor, i.e., the indirect recipient of the action which is denoted by the dative suffix -kku are one and the same. Hence, in the surface structure the locative phrase is deleted. This process of fusion of one case with the other can be referred to as case fusion (Vasu, 1987). The recipient of the action, i.e., Non-Benefactive Goal which is marked by the locative suffix -iṭam and the benefactor of the action which is marked by the dative suffix -kku are fused and realized in the dative form. In other words, in the sentences (1) and (2) the dative phrases have the case relations Benefactive Goal and Non-Benefactive Goal. But in the sentences (3) and (4) the Benefactive Goal and Non-Benefactive Goal are two different NPs, and hence the dative phrase and locative phrase are present in the surface structure itself. In the sentences (3) and (4) the locative phrases, viz., toṭṭarkaḷiṭam 'to the party workers' and aracu u:ḷiyarkaḷiṭam 'to the Government servants' respectively indicate the direct

recipient of the object transferred and are being the Non-Benefactive Goals. The dative NPs, viz., talaivarukku 'for the leader' and cilo:n makkaḷukku 'for Ceylon people' respectively are the indirect recipient of the object and are being the Benefactive Goal of the action denoted by the verb.

In the sentences (6) and (7) the verbs arivuraiku:ru 'advise' and collikkoṭu 'teach' respectively are communication verbs. The dative NPs, viz., maṣṣavarkaḷukku 'to the students' and makanukku 'to (his) son' respectively are the direct recipient as well as the benefactor of the action. There can be no instances of indirect recipients when it is a communication verb. In the sentences with the transfer verbs the nature of object is concrete, hence there are two recipients, viz., direct and indirect recipients. But in communication verb the object is abstract, hence there is no indirect recipients, and the benefactor is always the direct recipient.

#### 8.2.1.1.1 Syntactic tests

The sentences with the Benefactive Goals always take the verbs which can be reversed and these two verbs are said to have reversible relation. For example, the verb

koṭu 'give' has the reverse relation with va:ṅku 'get'; collikkoṭu 'teach' has the reverse relation with karrukkoḷ 'learn' and so on. "Each of these verbs emphasizes the contribution to the event of one of the participants" (Fillmore, 1969:117), i.e., the verbs koṭu and collikkoṭu emphasizes the participation as Agent while the verbs va:ṅku and karrukkoḷ respectively emphasizes the participation as Source. Because of this, the Benefactive Goal becomes Agent of the corresponding reverse verb. This can be seen from the fact that the former pairs of verbs take the deep cases Agent, Patient and Goal as in the sentences (1) to (7). Correspondingly, these sentences have paraphrase relationship with the reverse sentences which take Agent, Source and Patient. That is the Goal (of Ss.1 to 7) becomes Agent (in Ss.1.a to 7.a) and Agent (of Ss.1 to 7) becomes Source (in Ss.1.a to 7.a) as follows:

1.a. e:laikaḷ amaiccaritaṃiruntu tuṅikaḷ va:ṅkina:rkaḷ

'The poor people got clothes from the Minister'

2.a. ma:ṇavarkaḷ talaimai a:ciriyaritaṃiruntu

paricukaḷai va:ṅkina:rkaḷ

'Students got the prizes from the Head Master'

- 3.a. talaivar makkaḷiṭamiruntu niti va:ḥkina:r  
'The leader got money (through the party workers) from the people'
- 4.a. cilo:n makkaḷ intiyarkaḷiṭamiruntu paṇamum poruḷum va:ḥkina:rkaḷ  
'Ceylon people got money and goods (through the Government servants) from Indians'
- 5.a. kurahku payyaniṭamiruntu va:lai<sub>ppa</sub>lattaḷ va:ḥkiyatu  
'The monkey got the banana from the boy'
- 6.a. ma:ṇavarkaḷ a:ciriyariṭamiruntu ari<sub>vura</sub>i perra<sub>na</sub>r  
'Students got advice from the teacher'
- 7.a. makan tantaiyiṭamiruntu pa:ṭam ke:ṭṭukkoṭa:n  
'The son learned lessons from his father'

Further, the sentences with Benefactive Goal NPs have paraphrase relationship with sentences with the verb kiṭai 'get', consequently the Patient NPs in the source sentences (1 to 7) are subjectivized here.

- 1.b. e:laikalukku amaiccarit<sup>amiruntu</sup> tupika  
 ki<sup>taittana</sup>  
 'Poor people got clothes from the Minister'
- 2.b. ma:pavarkalukku talaimai a:ciriyarit<sup>amiruntu</sup>  
paricuka ki<sup>taittana</sup>  
 'Students got prizes from the Head Master'
- 3.b. talaivarukku makkalit<sup>amiruntu</sup> niti ki<sup>taittatu</sup>  
 'The leader got money from the people'
- 4.b. cilo:n makkalukku intiyarkalit<sup>amiruntu</sup> panamum  
poruum ki<sup>taittana</sup>  
 'Ceylon people got money and goods from Indians'
- 5.b. kurankukku va:laippalam ki<sup>taittatu</sup>  
 'The monkey got the banana'
- 6.b. ma:pavarkalukku a:ciriyarit<sup>amiruntu</sup> arivurai  
 ki<sup>taittatu</sup>  
 'Students got advice from the teacher'
- 7.b. makanukku tantaiyi<sup>amiruntu</sup> pa:tam ki<sup>taittatu</sup>  
 'Son got lesson from (his) father'

Sentences (1.a) to (7.a) are different from (1.b) to (7.b). That is, in the latter type of sentences the Patient becomes the subject while in the former the Goal becomes the subject.

### 8.2.1.2 Directional Goal

The deep Directional Goal case relation, take the movement verbs like po: 'go', va: 'come' and the noun has the lexical features - animate and + concrete. The Directional Goal denotes the place towards which the Agent moves.

8. ra:ji:vka:nti ṭilliyiliruntu peṅkaḷu:rukku  
vanta:r

'Rajiv Gandhi came to Bangalore from Delhi'

9. jeyavarttana cilo:niliruntu ṭillikku cenra:r

'Jeyavarthana went to Delhi from Ceylon'

10. na:ṅkaḷ paḷḷikku:ṭattirku po:no:m

'We went to school'

11. aṅṅaḷ vi:ṭṭirku vanta:ḷ<sup>1</sup>

'She came to house'

The dative phrases in the above sentences indicate the place towards which the Agent moves. The case frame of the verbs in this type of sentences is Agent, Source and Goal. The Means case occurs optionally. The Source case may be deleted according to the context of the utterance.

The dative suffix -kku is optional, if the noun is a proper place name as in the sentences (8.b) and (9.b).

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1. The verbs po: 'go' and va: 'come' are diectically interchangeable, i.e., according to the change of context, the verb po: 'go' can be interchanged by the verb va: 'come' and vice versa. For example, the sentences (8) and (9) can be interpreted as follows:

8.a. ra:ji:vka:nti ṭilliyiliruntu peṅkaḷu:rukku  
po:na:r

'Rajiv Gandhi went to Bangalore'

9.a. jeyavartana cilo:niliruntu ṭillikku vanta:r

'Jeyavarthana came to Delhi from Ceylon'

Sentence (8) is used by the speaker who is a native of Bangalore while the sentence (8.a) is used by the speaker who is a non-native of Bangalore. Similarly, in the sentences (9) and (9.a) the difference is understandable by the diectic nature of speaker-hearer.

8.b. ra:ji:vka:nti ṭilliyiliruntu peṅkaḷu:r  
vanta:r

'Rajiv Gandhi came to Bangalore from Delhi'

9.b. jeyavarttana cilo:niliruntu ṭilli cenra:r

'Jeyavarthana went to Delhi from Ceylon'

Further, all the Directional Goal NPs can become the object of the verb aṭai 'reach' as follows:

8.c. ra:ji:vka:nti ṭilliyiliruntu peṅkaḷu:rai  
aṭainta:r

'Rajiv Gandhi reached Bangalore from Delhi'

9.c. jeyavarttana cilo:niliruntu ṭilliyai aṭainta:r

'Jeyavarthana reached Delhi from Ceylon'

10.c. na:ṅkaḷ pallikkutattai aṭainto:m

'We reached the school'

11.c. avaḷ vi:tṭtai aṭainta:ḷ

'She reached the house'

As discussed earlier (3.10.2), the Directional Goal can become head noun of the relative clause aṭainta iṭam 'the place reached' and is the answer for the question enta iṭattai aṭainta:r? 'Where did he reach?' as follows:

8.d. ra:ji:vka:nti ṭilliyiliruntu cenru  
aṭainta iṭam peṅkalu:r

'The place Rajiv Gandhi reached from  
 Delhi is Bangalore'

9.d. jeyavarttana cilo:niliruntu cenru  
aṭainta iṭam ṭilli

'The place Jeyavarthana reached from  
 Ceylon is Delhi'

### 8.2.2 Purpose

Purpose case denotes the purpose or the intention of the Agent to do the action or anticipation of a circumstance (for details see 9.2.1). Purpose NP which is always a verbal noun occurs with all types of action verbs. The lexical feature of this case is - animate, - concrete.

12. avan ca:ppiṭuvatarku vanta:n

'He came for eating'

13. paḷḷikku:ṭattai e:laikaḷ taṅkuvatarku  
tira<sub>r</sub>ntu vaittirunta:rkaḷ

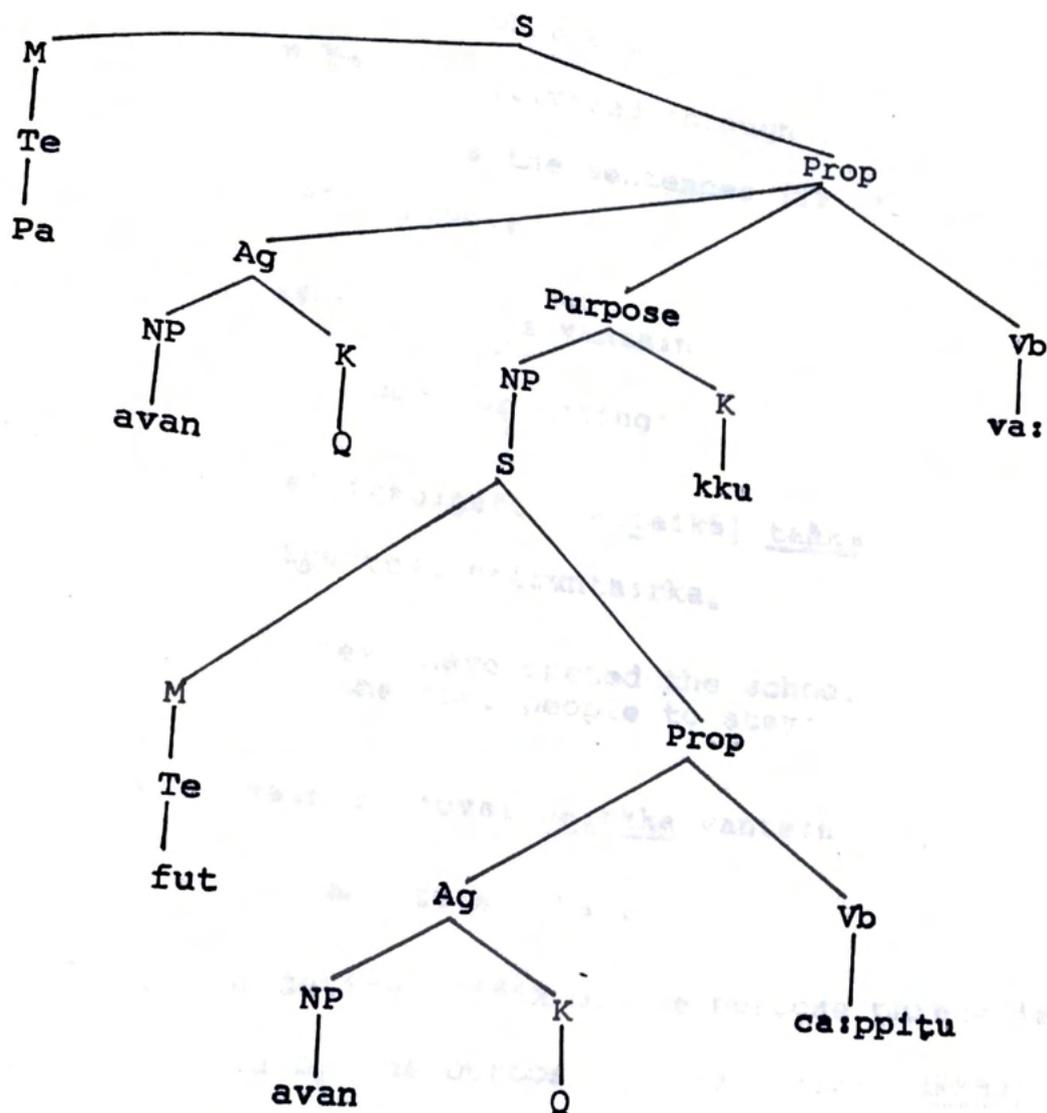
'(They) opened the school for the poor  
 people to stay'

14. na:n ra:juvai pa:rppatarku vante:n

'I came to see Raju'

The dative noun phrases in the above sentences have the deep Purpose case relationship with the respective verbs. This type of dative sentences are derived from a complex sentence where the purpose NP is derived from the subordinate sentence. The underlined structure of the sentence (12) is as follows:

[12]



avan [avan ca:ppiṭu] vanta:n

The surface structure is obtained after the nominalization transformation of the verb in the subordinate sentence and the identical NP deletion. Thus in the above structure the verb ca:ppiṭu 'eat' becomes the verbal noun, i.e., ca:ppiṭuvatu 'eating' and the noun avan 'he' in the subordinate sentence is deleted by the identical NP deletion transformation.

#### 8.2.2.1 Syntactic tests

The dative noun phrase which show the purpose case relation can be infinitivized through infinitivization transformation. Thus, the sentences (12) to (14) can be interpreted as follows:

12.a. avan ca:ppiṭa vanta:n  
'He came for eating'

13.a. paḷḷikku:ṭattai e:laikaḷ taṅka  
tiraṅtuvatittiraṅta:rkaḷ

'(They) have opened the school  
for the poor people to stay'

14.a. na:n ra:juvai pa:rkka vante:n

'I came to see Raju'

Further, the dative suffix of the purpose phrase is substitutable by the purposive case marker ukka:ka as follows:

12.b. avan ca:ppiṭuvataṛka:ka vanta:n  
'He came for eating'

13.b. paḷḷikku:ṭattai e:ḷaikaḷ taṅkuvataṛka:ka  
tiṛantuvaitta:rkaḷ

'(They) have opened the school for the  
poor people to stay'

14.b. na:n ra:juvai pa:rppataṛka:ka vanta:n  
'I came to see Raju'

There are purposive phrases with the lexical features  
- animate, + concrete. But these phrases have underlined  
structures with verbal noun plus the dative suffix. The  
verb is recovered in the deep structure through the context  
and shared knowledge of the speaker-hearer. For example,  
sentence (15) is interpreted differently as (15.a) and (15.b)  
according to the context.

15. avan vi:ṭṭukku paṇam koṭutta:n

'He gave money for the house'

15.a. avan vi:ṭu kaṭṭuvataṛku paṇam koṭutta:n

'He gave money for building the house'

15.b. avan vi:ṭu va:ṅkuvataṛku paṇam koṭutta:n

'He gave money to buy a house'

The verbs kaṭṭu 'build' and va:ḥku 'buy' in (15.a) and (15.b) respectively are obtainable through the lexical semantic features of the noun vi:ṭu 'house' as + creative and + saleable. Further, the noun vi:ṭu in the sentence (15) is in surface dative case, but in the underlying structure it has the deep Patient case relationship. Similarly, there are sentences where the dative phrases have the deep case relation Location as in the sentence (16).

16. sure:ṣ sku:lukku paṇam koṭutta:n  
'Suresh gave money for the school'

16.a. sure:ṣ sku:lil paṭippataṅku paṇam koṭutta:n  
'Suresh gave money to study in the school'

Locative phrase is followed by the verb which is derived from the lexical semantic feature of the noun sku:l 'school'.

### 8.2.3 Experiencer

The surface dative has the deep case Experiencer relationship when occurs with perception verbs and psychological verbs. The lexical feature of this type of dative phrase is + animate, + human. The Experiencer case denotes the animate beings which are mentally disposed of something denoted by the verb (3.7).

17. enakku ka:lil valikkiratu  
'I feel pain in the leg'
18. enakku kuḷirkiratu  
'I feel shivering'
19. ra:manukku kiruṣṣanai teriyum  
'Raman knows Kirushnan'
20. ca:mikku katai purintatu  
'Samy understood the story'

In the sentences (17) and (18) the verbs, viz., vali 'be pain' and kuḷir 'be shiver' are verbs of perception while in (19) and (20) the verbs, viz., teri 'know' and puri 'understand' are psychological verbs.

#### 8.2.3.1 Syntactic tests

The perception verbs which indicate an involuntary process can be substituted by the verb uṇar 'feel' which is a hypernym of the perception verbs, viz., paci 'be hunger', vali 'be pain', cuvai 'taste' etc. The sentences (17) and (18) have paraphrase relationship with (17.a) and (18.a).

- 17.a. na:n ka:lil valiyai uṇarkire:n  
'I feel pain in the leg'

- 18.a. na:n kuḷirai uḡarkire:n  
'I feel shivering'

It is to be noted here that the dative NP in the sentences (17) and (18) become nominative as in (17.a) and (18.a) while taking the hypernym uḡar. Correspondingly, the verbs which are hyponyms occur as Patients.

The psychological verbs which indicate voluntary process can become an action verb when it occurs with the auxiliary verb koḷ. Thus the verbs teri 'know' and puri 'understand' in the sentences (19) and (20) can be written as terintu koḷ 'be known' and purintu koḷ 'be understood'. Correspondingly, the dative phrases become nominative phrase as in (19.a) and (20.a).

- 19.a. ra:man kiruṣṇanai terintukoṭa:n  
'Raman knew Kirushnan'

- 20.a. ca:mi kataiyai purintukoṭa:n  
'Samy understood the story'

It is to be noted here that the verbs teri and puri do not show an effort on the part of the Experiencer. But the verbs terintukoḷ and purintukoḷ show some effort on the part of the animate being. Former set of verbs indicates the state

of the animate being while the latter set of verbs indicates the action involved so as to attain the state noted by the former set.

Further, these Experiencer NPs are not the answer for the question enna a:yirru? 'What happened?'.

### 8.3 Case meanings

Besides the above deep cases, the dative suffix in Tamil is used to show the following case meanings.

#### 8.3.1 Distributive

Distributive phrase shows the ratio of the participation of the adjoined noun in the action denoted by the verb. This phrase is found to occur invariably with all types of verbs and has the structure as follows:

dative NP + Numeral adjective + NP + Vb

The NP that is attributed by the numeral adjective can be in any case relationship like Agent, Patient, Location and so on. Similarly, the dative NP in the underlying structure has different case relationships.

21. a:ɭukku oru puttakam paɭitta:rkaɭ

'Each one studied one book'

22. na:n a:ḷukku irañtu ru:pa:y koṭutte:n  
'I gave each (one of them) two rupees'
23. na:m vi:ṭṭukku oru maram vaḷarppo:m  
'We will grow one tree in each house'
24. u:rukku oruvar vantirunta:rkaḷ  
'One from each village had come'
25. araca:ṅkam ma:vaṭṭattirku mu:nru iṭattil  
ma:tirippaḷḷikaḷ tuvakkīyatu  
'The Government started three model schools  
in each district'

The dative phrases, viz., a:ḷ 'person', vi:ṭu 'house', u:r 'village', ma:vaṭṭam 'district' in the above sentences are always non-specific. Further, the dative phrases here have different case relationships, viz., Agent (S.21), Goal (S.22), Location (Ss.23 and 25) and Source (S.24). This is noticed from the following paraphrase sentences with the distributive marker ovvoru...um 'each'.

- 21.a. ovvoru a:ḷum oru puttakam paṭittai:rkaḷ  
'Each one studied a book'
- 22.a. na:n ovvoru a:ḷukkum irañtu ru:pa:y koṭutte:n  
'I gave two rupees each to each one of them'

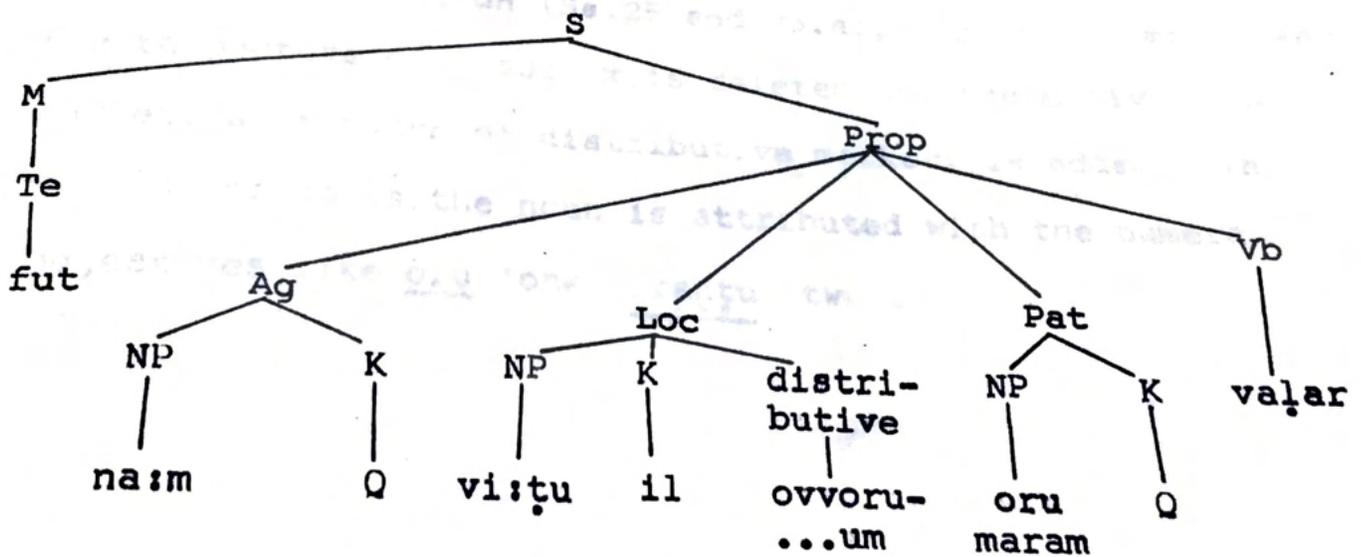
23.a. na:m ovvoru vi:ṭṭilum oru maram vaḷarppo:m  
'We will grow one tree in each house'

24.a. ovvoru u:riliruntum oruvar vantirunta:rkal  
'One from each village had come'

25.a. araca:ṅkam ovvoru ma:vaṭṭattilum mu:nru  
iṭattil ma:tirippaḷḷi tuvakkīyatu  
'The Government started three model schools  
in three places in each district'

In the deep structure the distributive marker ovvoru...um 'each' occurs with the deep case that describes the noun being distributed. The deep structure of the sentence (23.a) is given as follows:

[23.a.]



By the distributive marker joining rule, the following intermediate structure is obtained.

na:m ovvoru vi:ṭṭilum oru maram vaḷarppo:m

Later, by the case marker deletion rule the locative suffix -il with the noun vi:ṭu 'house' is deleted; by the dative marker substitution rule the distributive marker ovvoru...um 'each' is substituted by the dative suffix -kku and the surface structure (23) is obtained finally.

Thus from the above illustrations it is clear that the distributive phrase consists of two NPs with different case relationships as follows. Agent and Patient (Ss.21 and 21.a); Goal and Patient (Ss.22 and 22.a); Location and Patient (Ss.23 and 23.a); Source and Agent (Ss.24 and 24.a) and Location and Location (Ss.25 and 25.a). In the former cases, the respective case suffix is deleted and the dative case marker, as a token of distributive marker, is added. In the latter cases, the noun is attributed with the numeral adjectives like oru 'one' iranṭu 'two'.

## 8.3.2 Limitative

When the dative suffix -kku occurs with the nouns of measure, it gives the meaning limitative. That is, the dative phrase limits the patient noun which can be either subject or object of the sentence.

26. avarkaḷ talaivarukku a:ḷuyarattirku ma:lai  
aṇivittanar

'They garlanded their leader with a garland  
of the height of the leader'

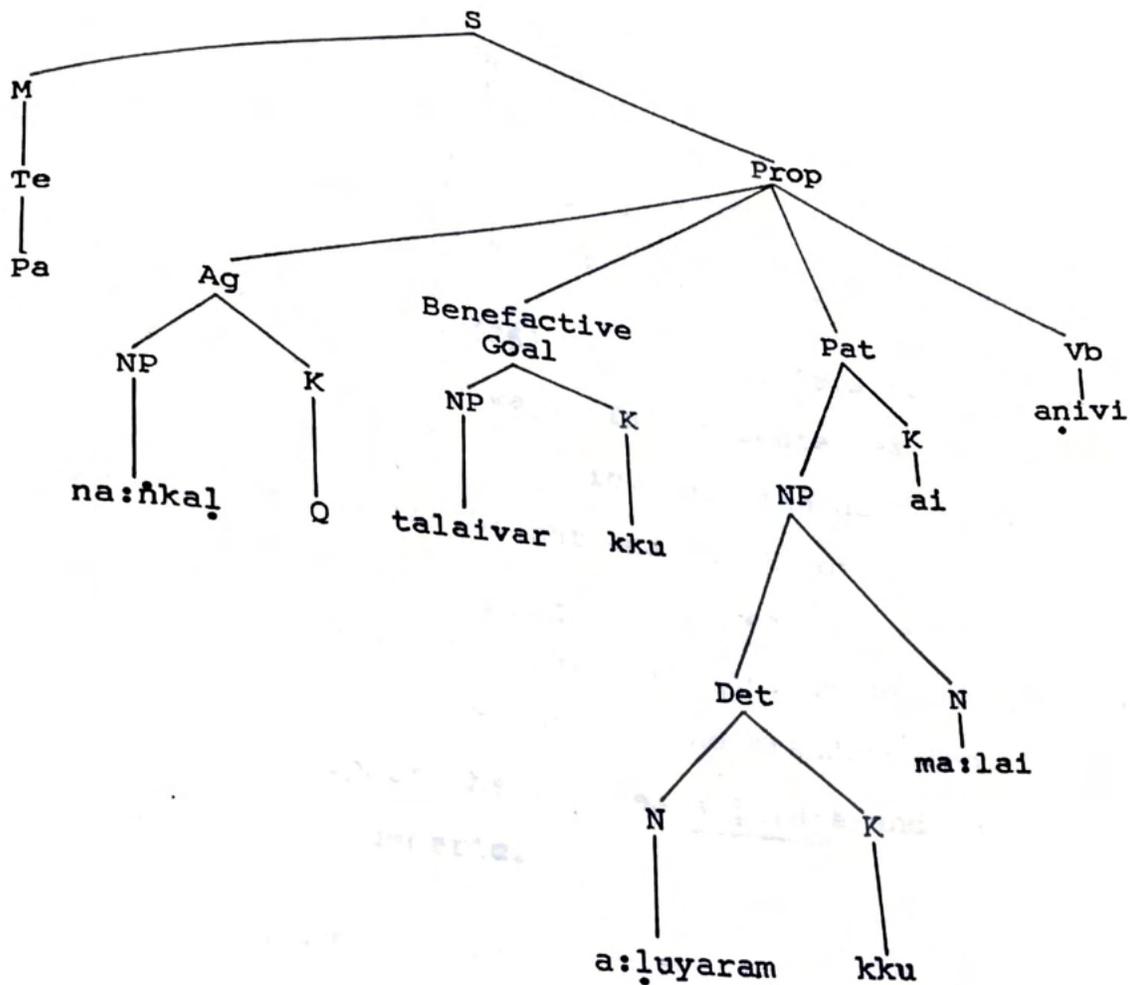
27. ko:pi kaṭṭil ni:ḷattirku tuṇi va:ṅkina:n

'Gopi bought a cloth of the length of the cot'

28. oru aṭi ni:ḷattirku me:jai irukkiratu

'The table is of one foot length'

Here, the dative phrases a:ḷuyarattirku 'height of a man' kaṭṭil ni:ḷattirku 'length of a cot' and oru aṭi ni:ḷattirku 'one foot length', limit the dimension of the Patient, viz., ma:lai 'garland', and tuṇi 'clothe' and me:jai 'table' respectively. The deep structure of the sentence (26) is as follows.



na:ñkaḷ talaivarukku [a:ḷuyarattukku ma:lai] aṇivitto:m

Note that the limitative phrase here occurs as the determiner of the following noun ma:lai 'garland'.

The limitative phrases have paraphrase relationship with the corresponding sentences with nominal adjectives a:ḷuyara and kaṭṭilni:la as follows:

26.a. avarkaḷ talaivarukku a:ḷuyara ma:lai  
aṇivittanar

'They garlanded their leader with a  
garland of the height of a man'

27.a. ko:pi kaṭṭilni:ḷa tupi va:ṅkina:n

'Gopi bought a cloth of a length of a cot'

However, the sentences (26) and (27) differs from (26.a) and (27.a) in the following way: In the sentences (26) and (27) the dative phrases are specific, i.e., the dative NPs here are interpreted as the height and length of the noun adjoined (talaivar 'leader' and kaṭṭil 'cot' respectively). But in the sentences (26.a) and (27.a) the height and length are the standard height of a man and the standard length of a cot. In this respect, the phrases a:ḷuyara and kaṭṭilni:ḷa are considered as generic.

### 8.3.3 Comparative Dative

Two persons can be compared using the dative suffix -kku as follows:

28. ra:manukku kiruṣṇan nallavan

'Kirushnan is good compared to Raman'

29. ci:ta:vukku kaṇṇaki civappu

'Kannaki is fair compared to Sita'

In the above sentences, the dative phrases, viz., ra:manukku 'to Raman' and ci:ta:vukku 'to Sita' are compared with that of the corresponding nominative nouns, viz., kiruṣṣan 'Kirushnan' and kaṇṇaki 'Kannaki' respectively. The dative suffix in this type of sentences can be substituted by the post positional phrase ai viṭa as follows:

30. ra:manai viṭa kiruṣṣan nallavan

'Kirushnan is better than Raman'

31. ci:ta:vai viṭa kaṇṇaki civappu

'Kannaki is more fair than Sita'

However, in the sentences (28) and (29) the two nouns originally do not have the positive quality. The qualities shown in these sentences are referred to only in terms of another person. That is, the comparative sentences with the dative suffix refer to a quality which is relatively appreciable. This can be seen from the following interpretations of the sentences (28) and (29).

28.a. ra:manum kiruṣṣanum keṭṭavarkaḷ a:na:l  
 ra:manai no:kka kiruṣṣan nallavan

'Raman and Kirushnan are bad but Kirushnan  
 is good compared to Raman'

29.a. ci:ta:vum kaṇṇakiyum kaṛuppu a:na:l  
 ci:ta:vai no:kka kaṇṇaki civappu

'Sita and Kannaki are black (unfair)  
 but Kannaki is fair compared to Sita'

But in the sentences (30) and (31) both the nouns have the  
 positive quality. Thus the following sentences are the  
 interpretations of the sentences (30) and (31).

30.a. ra:manum kiruṣṣanum nallavarkaḷ a:na:l  
 ra:manai viṭa kiruṣṣan nallavan

'Raman and Kirushnan are good but Kirushnan  
 is better compared to Raman'

31.a. ci:ta:vum kaṇṇakiyum civappu a:na:l  
 ci:ta:vai viṭa kaṇṇaki civappu

'Sita and Kannaki are fair but Kannaki  
 is more fair than Sita'

#### 8.3.4 Relative dative

The dative suffix can be used to describe an animate  
 being in terms of kinship relation; or an inanimate object  
 in terms of location.

32. marutamuttu kalyaṅṅaraṁmanukku appaṅ  
 'Maruthamuthu is father of Kalyanaraman'

33. kamalaṅ raṅtaikku taṅkai  
 'Kamala is the younger sister of Ratai'

34. viciri kaṅṅṅilukku meṅṅ irukkiṅṅatu  
 'The fan is above the table'

35. puttakam meṅṅjaikku kiṅṅ irukkiṅṅatu  
 'The book is under the table'

In the sentences (32) and (33) the nominative nouns, viz., marutamuttu 'Maruthamuthu' and kamalaṅ 'Kamala' are described in terms of kinship relation relative to the respective dative nouns. Similarly, in the sentences (34) and (35) the inanimate objects, viz., viciri 'fan' and puttakam 'book' are described in terms of location relative to the respective dative nouns, viz., kaṅṅṅil 'cot' and meṅṅjai 'table'.

### 8.3.5 Benefactive possession

Dative phrases when occur with existential verb iru 'be' gives the meaning of benefactive possession, i.e., the dative phrases in this type of constructions denote the animate being benefitted by the object possessed. Lyons (1969) notes

that "a common feature found across languages is that dative and locative sentences with existential verbs denote the possessive meaning". Asher (1982:91) also defines this type of possession as existential type of possession.

36. enakku paṇam irukkīratu

'I have money'

37. murukanukku caikkil irukkīratu

'Murugan has a cycle'

38. ci:ta:vukku puttakam irukkīratu

'Sita has a book'

The dative phrases here denote the persons benefitted by the objects, viz., paṇam 'money', caikkil 'cycle' and puttakam 'book' respectively. The dative phrases and the corresponding objects can be genitivized as follows:

36.a. ennuṭaiya paṇam

'My money'

37.a. murukanuṭaiya caikkil

'Murugan's cycle'

38.a. ci:ta:vuṭaiya puttakam

'Sita's book'

The meaning benefactive possession may be related to the deep case Benefactive Goal as the benefactive possession NP denotes the person to whom the benefit of the object possessed goes. However, these dative phrases do not undergo the tests shown for Benefactive Goal, since the verb here is existential verb.

### 8.3.6 Temporal

The temporal meaning is expressed by the dative suffix -kku, locative suffix -il, ablative suffix -iliruntu and the locative post positions mun, pin and varai. The meanings shown by the dative suffix -kku is discussed here. The meanings shown by the remaining suffixes and the post positions are discussed in (12.3.4.1) and (13.2.2). Different dimensions of the temporal meanings are distinguished due to the nature of nouns, but not due to the case suffixes (Bennett, 1975:114). Hence it is important to classify the time nouns before one attempts to find the various meanings.

Leech (1970:113) distinguishes two types of time nouns, viz., calenderical and non-calenderical nouns. According to him, a calenderical unit of time is the one which not only has a particular length but also begins and ends at a particular point in time. Thursday, August etc., are the examples of

this type. Non-calenderical time expressions designate periods of time with no fixed starting point. Six weeks, a fortnight etc., are the examples of this type. According to this view, the calenderical nouns in Tamil can be classified as follows:

in <u>r</u> u	'today'
ne: <u>r</u> ru	'yesterday'
na: <u>l</u> ai	'tomorrow'
ti <u>ñ</u> kal	'monday'
cevva: <u>y</u>	'tuesday'
cittirai	'first month of Tamil calender'
vaika: <u>ci</u>	'second month of Tamil calender'
pirapava	'name of a Tamil year'

The nouns va:ram 'week', ma:tam 'month' and varuṣam 'year' function as calenderical nouns when occurs with the definite demonstrative pronouns like inta 'this', aṭutta 'next' as in inta va:ram 'this week' aṭutta ma:tam 'next month' and so on.

The non-calenderical nouns are,

nimiṣam 'minute'

maṇi 'hour'

na:l	'day'
va:ram	'week'
ma:tam	'month'
varuṣam	'year'

The dative suffix -kku when occurs with the calenderical nouns ne:rrru 'yesterday', inru 'today', na:lai 'tomorrow' and the nouns showing a specific time like eṭṭu maṇikku 'at eight O'clock', a:ru maṇikku 'at six O'clock' shows the space of time at which something is done or take place.

39. kuma:r eṭṭu maṇikku varuva:n

'Kumar will come at eight O'clock'

40. avan tan makanai na:laikku anuppiviṭuva:r

'He will send his son tomorrow'

The dative suffix -kku when occurs with the calenderical nouns na:l 'day' and maṇi 'hour' preceded by the numeral adjectives, shows the length of time within which number of times the action takes place.

41. oru na:lukku reṇṭumurai tantai kaṭaikku celva:r

'Father used to go to shop twice a day'

42. ra:ṇi oru maṇikku oru murai po:n ceyva:l

'Rani used to ring up once in every hour'

The dative suffix when occurs with the non-calenderical nouns nimiṭam 'minute', ma:tam 'month', va:ram 'week' etc., preceded by the numeral adjectives, shows the duration of time for an action.

43. oru nimiṭattirku mavunam

'Silence for a minute'

44. a:ṛu ma:tattirku rayilkaḷ oṣṭum

'The trains will run for six months'

Thus, from the above illustrations, it can be seen that the surface dative phrase in Tamil is the exponent of the deep cases Goal, Experiencer, Purpose and the case meanings distributive, limitative, relative dative, benefactive possession, comparative dative and temporal.

Purposive Case

## CHAPTER IX

### Purposive Case

## CHAPTER IX

### PURPOSIVE CASE

#### 9.1 Case marker

The surface purposive case is marked by the suffix -kka:ka. This suffix has the allomorphs -ukka:ka, -kka:ka and -akka:ka. The suffix -ukka:ka occurs with consonant ending nouns other than personal pronouns as in makanukka:ka 'for son' and with nouns ending with long vowels as in amma:vukka:ka 'for mother'; the suffix -kka:ka occurs with nouns ending with short vowels as in tampikka:ka 'for brother' and the suffix -akka:ka occurs with reflexive pronouns and oblique form of the pronouns as in tanakka:ka 'for him', unakka:ka 'for you' and so on. In Tamil it is referred to as no:kka ve:rrumai (Agesthialingom, 1979).

#### 9.2 Deep cases

The purposive phrases in Tamil are found to have the underlying deep case Purpose.

##### 9.2.1 Purpose

The deep case Purpose is defined as the anticipation of a circumstance (McCoy, 1969:122). The anticipation of

the circumstance includes an event to be carried out, an object to be obtained, an animate noun be benefitted, an institution or a person is represented. As already noted (3.11) this case always has the form verbal noun plus the case suffix. However, it is also realized with non-verbal nouns, but in those instances the respective verb is recovered in the deep structure.

1. cokkana:tan vilā:vai toṭaṅkivaippataṅka:ka vanta:r  
'Chokkanathan came to inaugurate the function'
2. avan paṇattukka:ka ve:laiceykirā:n  
'He works for money'
3. kiruṣṇan ci:ta:vukka:ka oru puttakam va:ṅkina:n  
'Kirusnhan bought a book for Sita'
4. kava:ṣkar intiya:virka:ka viḷaiya:ṭukira:r  
'Gavaskar plays for India'.

In the sentence (1) the event vilā:vai toṭaṅkivaippataṅka:ka 'to inaugurate the function' is the anticipation of the action vanta:n 'come' carried out by Agent cokkana:tan 'Chokkanathan'. The purposive suffix in this type of sentences can be substituted by the phrase no:kkattuṭan 'for the purpose of' as follows:

1.a. cōkkana:tan vilavai toṭaṅki vaikkum  
no:kkattuṅṅan vanta:r

'Chokkanathan came with the purpose  
of inaugurating the function'

In the sentence (2) the anticipation of the action  
ve:laicey 'work' carried out by the Agent avan 'he' is an  
object paṅam 'money'. The event that is carried out in  
anticipation with this object is ve:laiceykirā:n 'works (He)'.  
The purposive phrases in this type of sentences have the  
underlying form peruvataṅka:ka 'to get' as follows:

2.a. avan paṅam peruvataṅka:ka kaṣṭappaṭukirā:n  
'He suffers for getting money'

In the sentence (3) the anticipation of the action  
va:nku 'buy' carried out by the Agent kiruṅṅan 'Kirushnan'  
is the human noun ci:ta: 'Sita' be benefitted. This type  
of purposive phrases can be called as benefactive purpose.  
The purposive phrases in this type of sentences have the  
underlying form payan peruvataṅka:ka 'to benefit' as  
follows:

3.a. ci:ta: payanperuvataṅka:ka kiruṅṅan oru  
puttakam va:ṅkina:n

'Kirushnan bought a book for the benefit  
of Sita'

In the sentence (4) the anticipation of the action viḷaiya:ṭu carried out by the Agent kava:skar 'Gavaskar' is to represent intiya: 'India'. The purposive phrase in this type of sentences have the underlying form piratinitipaṭuttuvatarka:ka 'to represent' as follows:

4.a. ka:vaṣkar intiya:vai piratinitippaṭuttuvatarka:ka  
viḷaiya:ṭukira:r

'Gavaskar plays to represent India'

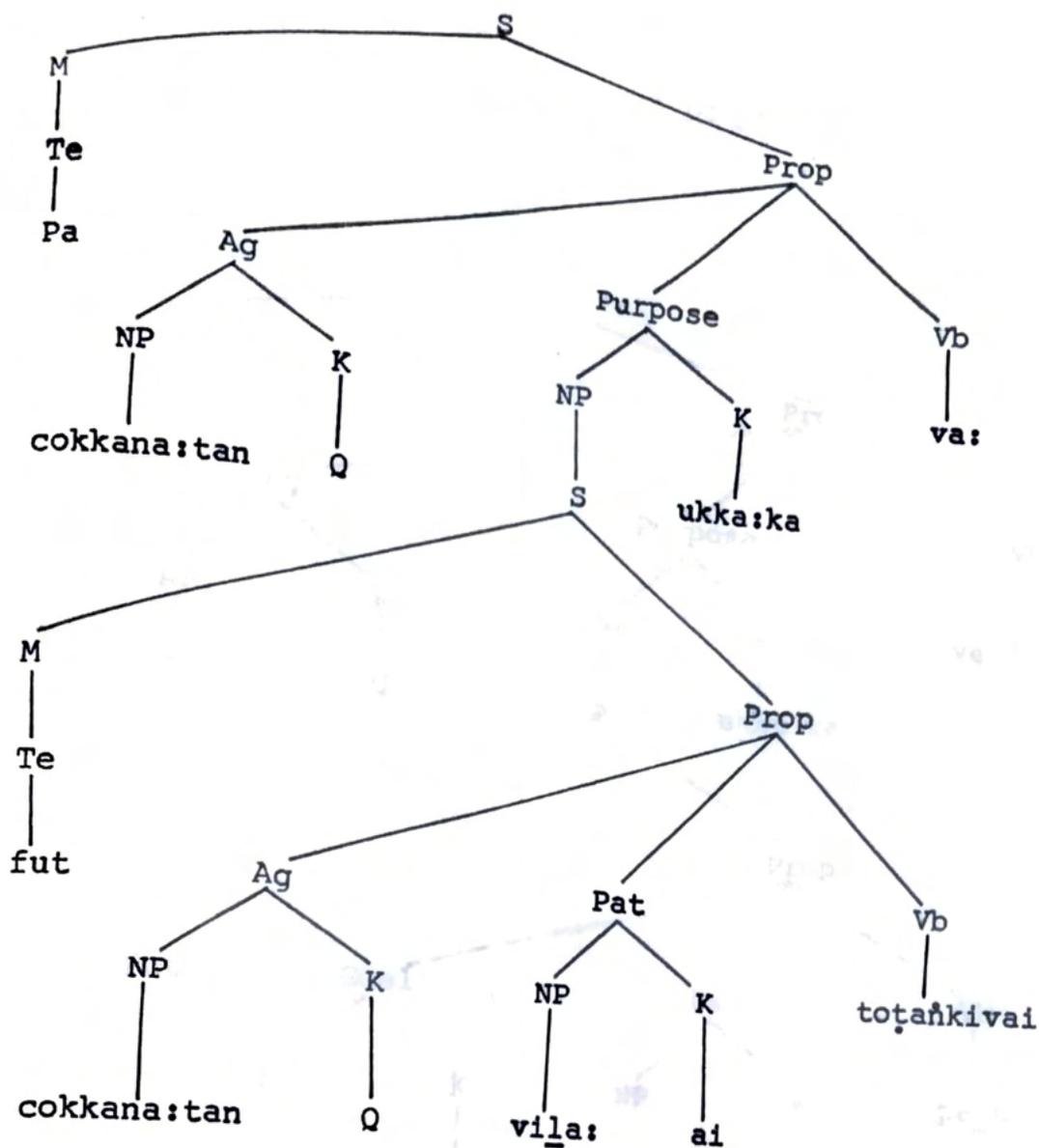
Further, the purposive suffix in this type of sentences can be substituted by the phrase ca:rpa:ka 'on behalf of' as follows:

4.b. kava:skar intiya:vin ca:rpa:ka viḷaiya:ṭukira:r  
'Gavaskar plays on behalf of India'

From these illustrations it is clear that the sentences (1) to (4) are complex sentences consist of two events. One of the events, i.e., the purposive phrase denotes the anticipation of a circumstance. In the deep structure of these sentences, the purpose phrase occurs in the subordinate sentence with future tense in the modality component. Since the anticipation always implies the future event purpose phrase always occur with the future tense suffix in the verbal noun. If the verbal noun of the purposive phrase

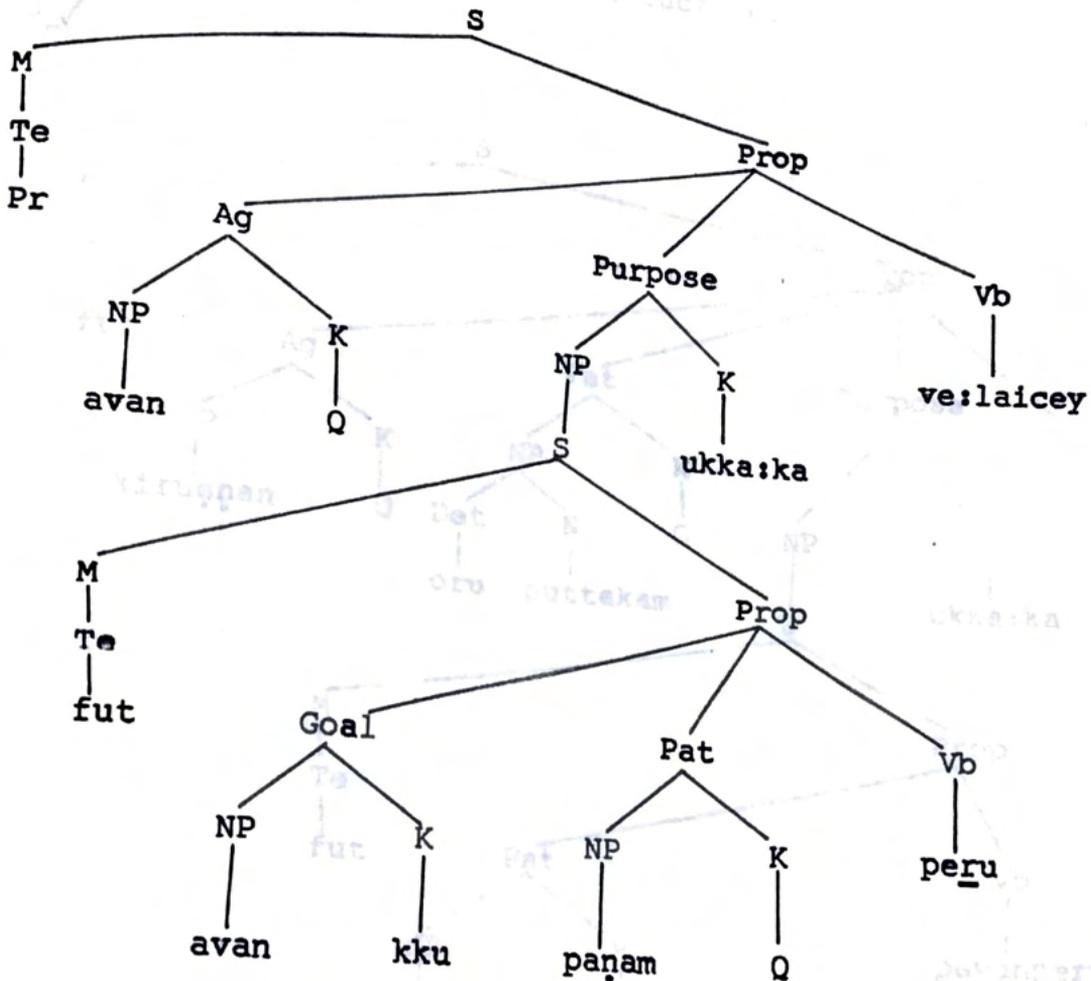
occurs with other tense suffixes, it does not show the deep case Purpose. The deep structures and the transformations involved are as follows:

[1]



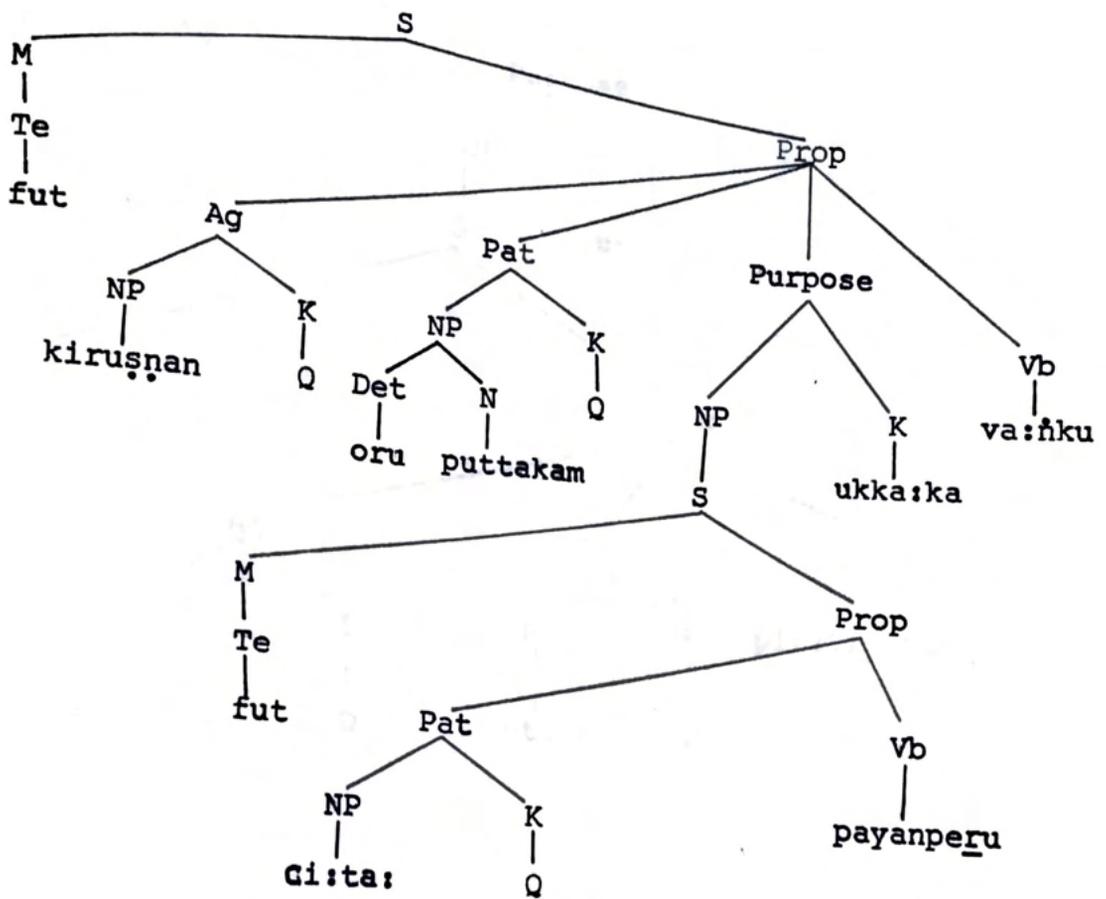
By identical NP deletion transformation the Agent NP cokkana:tan 'Chokkanathan' in the subordinate sentence is deleted. By nominalization transformation the verb in the subordinate sentence toṭaṅkivai 'inaugurate' becomes a verbal noun toṭaṅkivaippatu 'inaugurating' and finally the toṭaṅkivaippatarka:ka 'to inaugurate' is obtained with the addition of the purposive marker.

[2]



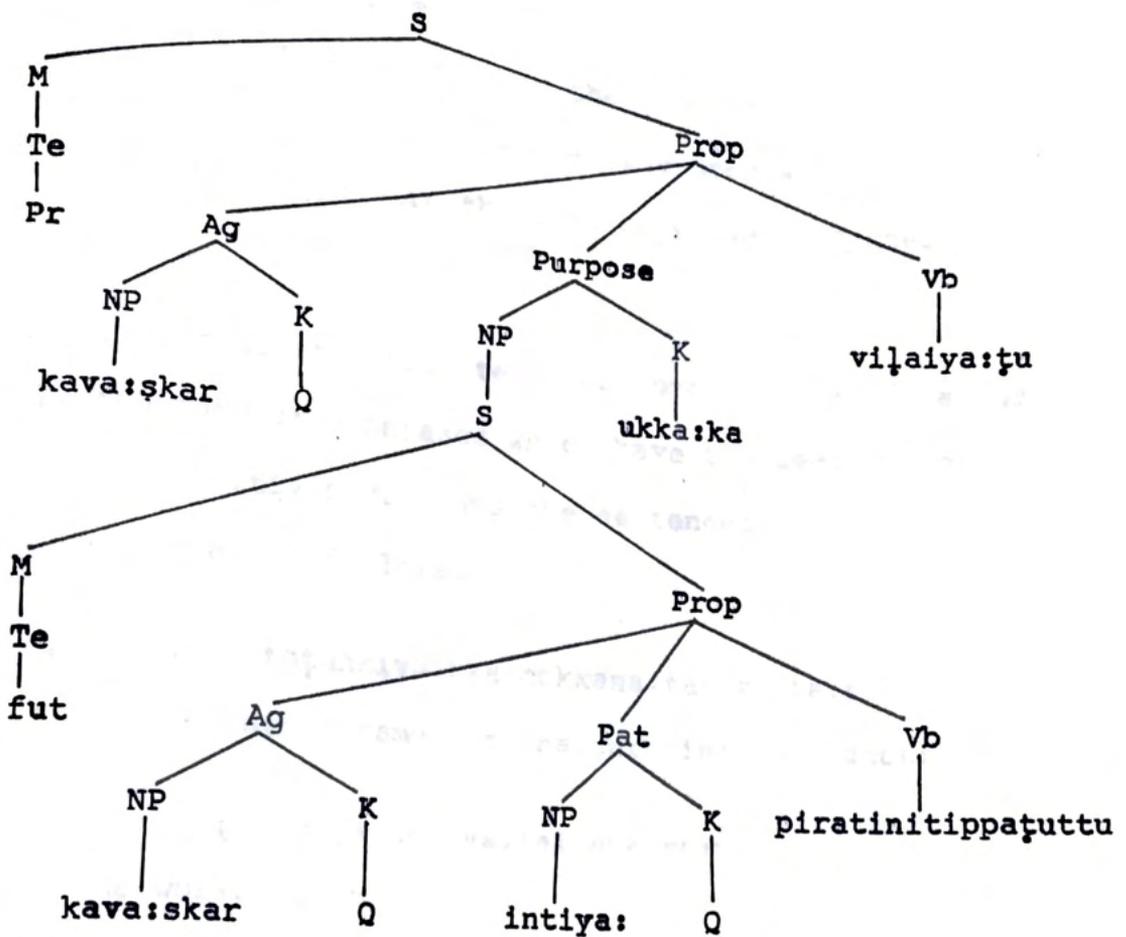
The transformations that take place in this type of sentences are different from the previous sentence. Here, the verb in the subordinate sentence is always peru 'get' and the Agentive noun in the matrix sentence occurs in the subordinate sentence as Goal of the verb peru. Hence by identical NP deletion transformation the Goal NP avan and the dative suffix -kku are deleted. The verb kiṭai 'get' is deleted as it is understood. That is the NP paṇattukkaṣka always implies paṇam peruvaṭarkṣa:ka 'to get money'. Thus the purposive NPs in this type of sentences are in Patient case in the deep structure.

[3]



Unlike the structures (1) and (2), the identical NP deletion transformation does not take place here since there is no identical NP. Like the structure (2) the verb in the subordinate sentence payanperu 'benefit' is deleted as it is understood by the context and the Patient NP ci:ta: 'Sita' occurs with the purposive marker -ukka:ka.

[4\_]



Like the sentences (1) and (2), the Agent NP in the subordinate sentence is deleted by identical NP deletion transformation and the verb piratinitippaṭuttu 'represent' is deleted as it is understood. Finally, the Patient NP intiya: 'India' in the subordinate sentence occurs with the purposive marker -ukka:ka.

The lexical features of the Purpose case is - concrete, + abstract, i.e., only the verbal nouns take the Purpose case. The relational case features of this case according to McCoy are + source and + cause. Further, the verb of the main clause is always an action verb. Hence the sentences with the purposive phrase always have the deep case Agent as their subject.

Besides the substitution tests as noted earlier (1.a and 4.a), all the purposive phrases which have the deep Purpose case can be infinitivized. Thus the sentences (1) and (2) can be interpreted as follows:

1.b. viḷa:vai toṭaṅkivaikka cokkana:tan vanta:r  
'Chokkanathan came for inaugurating the function'

2.b. avan paṅam kiṭaikka ve:laiceykiṛa:n  
'He works for money'

Further, all the purposive phrases with the deep case purpose are the answer for the question e:n? 'Why?'.

Besides the above instances, the purposive suffix is also found to occur with verbal nouns with the past tense suffix as follows:

5. avaḷ ve:kama:ka kattiyataṅka:ka veṅkattutaṅ  
ciritta:l

'She smiled with shy because of her screaming'

6. vacanti nanṛa:ka pa:ṅiyataṅka:ka mutal  
parical peṛra:l

'Vasanthi got the first prize because she sung well'

7. appa: aṅittataṅka:ka aluta:n arun

'Arun was weeping because his father beated him'

The purposive phrases here do not have the Purpose case relation with the respective verbs as the suffix here neither can be substituted by the phrase no:kkattutaṅ 'for the purpose' nor can be infinitivized. But the purposive phrase have resemblance of meaning with the corresponding Cause phrase with the suffix a:l as follows:

5.a. avaḷ ve:kama:ka kattiyata:l veṭkattuṭan  
ciritta:l

'She smiled with shy because of her screaming'

6.a. vacanti nanra:ka pa:ṭiyata:l mutal paricai  
perra:l

'Vasanthi got the first prize because she  
sung well'

7.a. appa: aṭittata:l aluta:n aruṇ

'Arun was weeping because his father beated him'

These two pairs of sentences can not be taken as identical in all respects. The difference of meaning between these sentences and the exact function of the purposive phrases in the sentences of the type (S.5), (S.6) and (S.7) are not identifiable.

The surface purposive case, thus, is the exponent of the deep case Purpose and it is understood that the purposive sentences are complex in nature. The purposive phrase which is constituted by verbal noun plus the purposive suffix is obtained after the nominalization transformation of the verb in the subordinate sentence.

Genitive Case

## CHAPTER X

### GENITIVE CASE

#### 10.1 Suffixes

In Modern Tamil the genitive case is marked by the suffixes -uṭaiya, -atu, -a and zero. The suffix -uṭaiya is derived from the verbal base -uṭai 'possess' which is called as appellative verb by Caldwell (1910:480) and tenseless verb by Balasubramanian (1978). The form uṭaiya is the relative participle form of the verb uṭai. The suffix -atu which is used only in literary language occurs mostly with the personal pronouns. The suffix zero is in free variation with the above two suffixes. However, the forms with the suffixes -uṭaiya and -atu have emphasis on possession. The suffix -a occurs only with the time nouns ne:rru 'yesterday', inru 'today', na:ḷai 'tomorrow', va:ram 'week', ma:itam 'month' and varuṣam 'year' as in the examples inraiya ceyti 'today's news', inta ma:tattiya pattirikkai 'this month's magazine' and so on.

#### 10.2 Genitive noun phrase

Genitive noun phrase is a complex construction derived from an underlying sentence. Caldwell (ibid) opines that the

suffix -uṭaiya is a relative participle of an appellative verb used adjectively. According to him, the genitive phrase kaṇṇanuṭaiya paṇam 'Kannan's money' is derived from the sentence kaṇṇan paṇam uṭaiyan 'Kannan has money' and the verb uṭaiyan is called appellative verb.

Fillmore (1968:61) and Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968:231) also point out that genitive constructions originate as relative clauses, i.e., the deep structure of the genitive constructions generate relative clause. For example, the genitive phrase avanuṭaiya vi:ṭu 'his house' in the sentence.

1. na:n avanuṭaiya vi:ṭukku po:ne:n  
'I went to his house'

is paraphrasable with the following relative clause constructions.

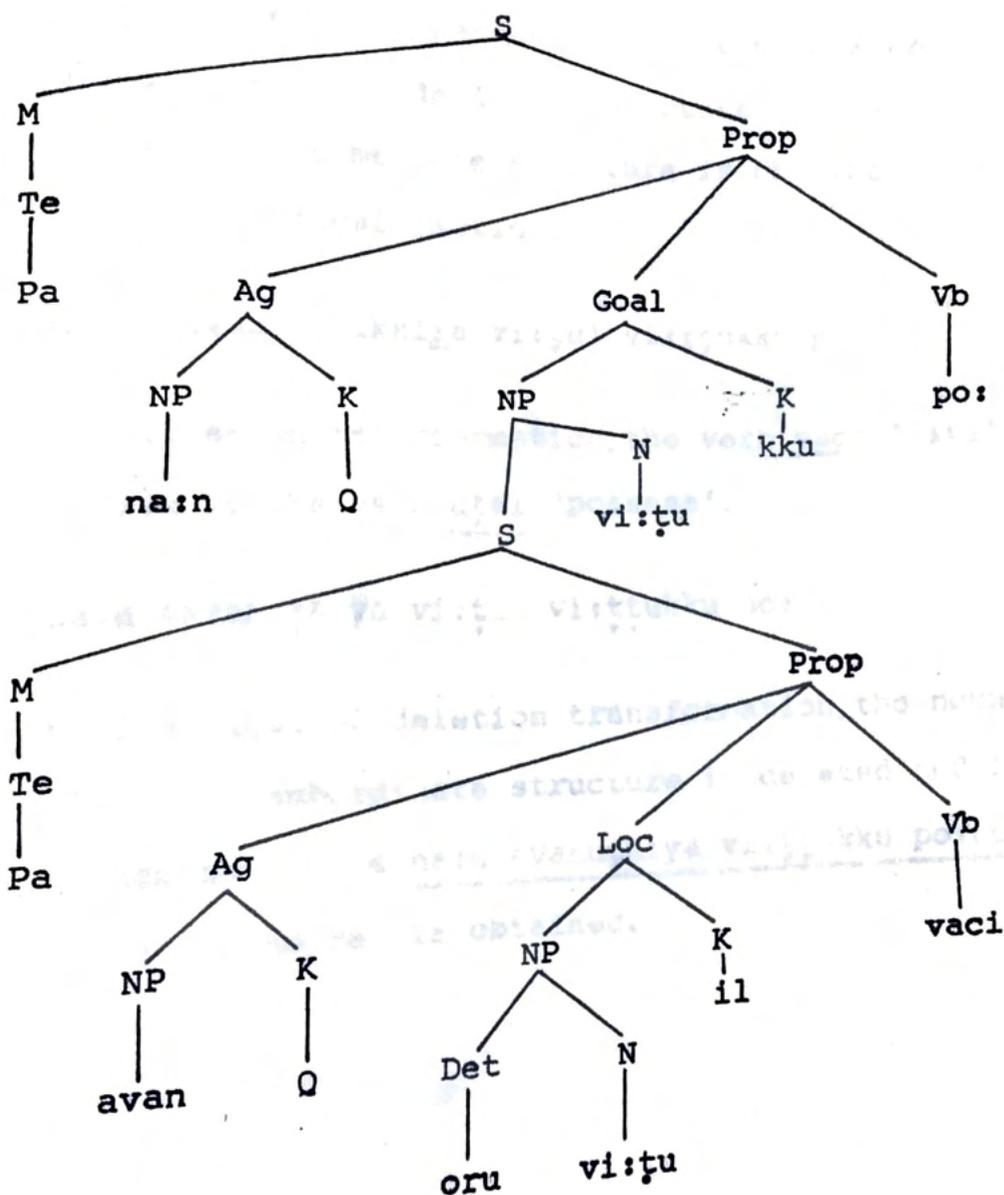
- 1.a. avan vacikkum vi:ṭu  
'The house where he lives'
- 1.b. avan va:ṅkiya vi:ṭu  
'The house which he bought'

One of the meanings of the above sentences is understood by the genitive phrase according to the shared knowledge of the speaker hearer. Further, the surface genitive phrase is obtained from the deep structure after the following transformations.

- a) Relativization
- b) Neutralization transformation
- c) Identical NP deletion transformation.

The deep structure of the sentence (1) is as follows:

[1]



The above deep structure generates the relative clause (1.a). The transformations which take place to obtain the surface genitive phrase is as follows:

nain (avan oru viṣṭṭil vaci) viṣṭṭukku poi

By relativization transformation the case suffix -il in the subordinate structure is deleted and the verb in the subordinate structure is marked with the relative clause marker -a. After this, permutation of the relative participle and deletion of the indefinite adjective oru take place. The following intermediate structure is obtained after the relativization transformation.

nain (avan vacikkira viṣṭu) viṣṭṭukku poi

By neutralization transformation, the verb vaci 'live' is neutralized by the verb uṭai 'possess'.

nain (avanuṭaiya viṣṭu) viṣṭṭukku poi

Then by identical NP deletion transformation, the noun viṣṭu 'house' in the subordinate structure is deleted and finally the surface structure nain avanuṭaiya viṣṭṭukku poi:nain 'I went to his house' is obtained.

From the above illustrations it is clear that the possessed noun and the possessor noun have the deep case relations Agent and Location respectively. The other deep cases, the genitive phrases show, are Instrumental, patient, and Goal (Shanmugam, 1976:69). The syntactically relevant surface genitive phrase consists of a possessor noun, i.e., the noun with the suffix -uṭaiya and a possessed noun, i.e., the noun without the suffix. The relationship between these two nouns is a kind of association (Lyons 1977:473). According to Lyons, "a phrase like X's Y means no more than the 'Y' that is associated with 'X'; and the kind of associations holding between 'Y' and 'X' is frequently one of spatial proximity or attachment". Various associations the genitive phrase has are as follows:

- i) owner-owned, ii) temporary possessor-possessed<sup>1</sup>,
- iii) institution-membership, iv) kinship, v) inherent location, vi) actor-action and vii) part-whole relation.

### 10.3 Alienable and inalienable possessions

The genitive phrases with the above associations can be divided into two types according to the nature of the

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1. The terms possessor and possessed in this context refer to the animate being that holds an object (10.3.1.2). These terms, used for the noun with the suffix uṭaiya and without the suffix, as noted earlier, refer to the grammatical forms.

possessor and possessed noun. They are alienable and inalienable possession. The associations, viz., ownership, temporary possession, and institution-membership belong to the type of alienable possession and the remaining belong to the type of inalienable possessions. If the noun that is possessed is separable from the noun that possesses, it can be said as alienable possession. The nouns like pe:na: 'pen', vi:tu 'house' etc., in the genitive phrases like avanuṭaiya pe:na: 'his pen' and avaluṭaiya vi:tu 'her house' belong to the type of alienable possession. The noun that possesses and the noun that is possessed here are separable. This type of phrases have the locative and dative cases in the deep structure as follows<sup>1</sup>. avanuṭam oru pe:na: irukkiratu/avanukku oru pe:na: irukkiratu 'He has a pen'; avaluṭam oru vi:tu irukkiratu/avalukku oru vi:tu irukkiratu 'She possessed a house'. If the noun that is possessed can not be separated from the noun that possesses or having the genetic relation with the noun that possesses, it can be called as inalienable possession. Fillmore (1968:61)

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1. The dative expressions indicate the permanent possession while the locative expressions indicate the temporary possession. The alienable possessions can be permanent as well as temporary in nature.

describes that inalienable possession noun expresses the concepts that are inherently relational. The nouns like pakkam 'side', makan 'son' etc., in the genitive phrases vi:ttin pakkam 'side of the house', avanuṭaiya makan 'his son' etc., belong to the type of inalienable possession. Unlike the alienable possession the inalienable possessive NPs have only dative construction in the deep structure<sup>1</sup>. Thus the above phrases have the deep structures as follows: vi:ttukku pakkam irukkiratu/\*vi:ttitam pakkam irukkiratu 'The house has a side', avanukku makan irukkiran/\*avanitam makan irukkira:n 'He has a son'.

### 10.3.1 Alienable possessions

#### 10.3.1.1 Owner-owned relationship

Any object that is permanently owned by the possessor can be expressed by the genitive phrase. The possessor noun in this type is in the Benefactive possession relationship and the possessed noun is in the Unaffected Patient relationship in the deep structure. This particular type belongs to alienable possession, because the possessed noun and the possessor noun are two separate entities and do not have any inherent relationship between them.

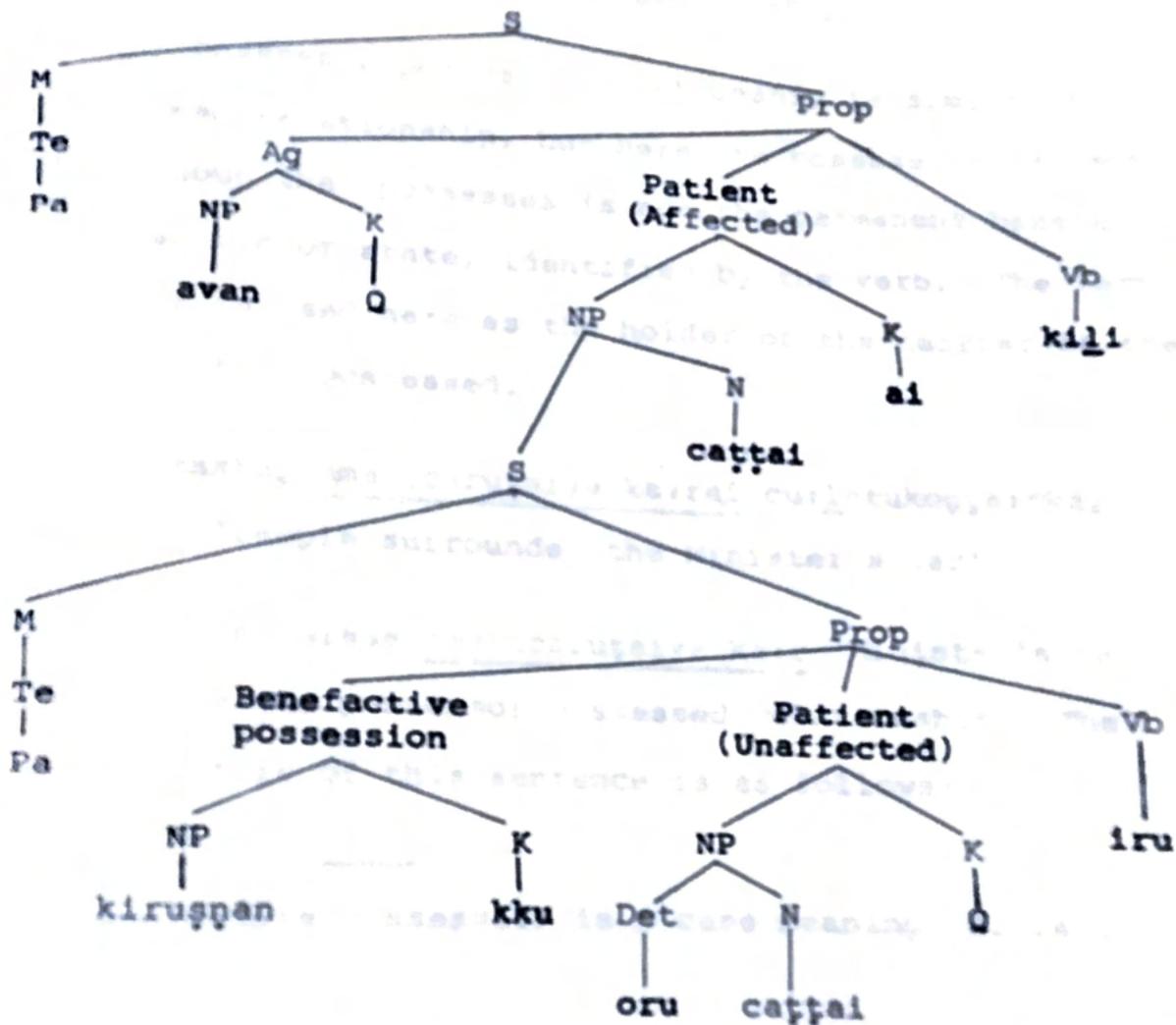
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1. The inalienable possessions are inseparable, and hence they are always permanent possessions.

2. avan kiruṣṣanuṭaiya caṭṭaiyai kilittain  
'He tore Kirushnan's shirt'

The genitive phrase kiruṣṣanuṭaiya caṭṭai 'Kirushnan's shirt' is in owner-owned relationship. The uṭaiya phrase is in ownership association with the noun caṭṭai 'shirt'. The deep structure of this sentence is as follows:

[2]



avan /kiruṣṣanukku oru caṭṭai iru/ caṭṭaiyai kilittain

The sentence kiruṣṣanukku oru caṭṭai irukkiratu 'Kirushnan has a shirt' is the subordinate sentence which functions as a determiner (adjective) of the Patient NP caṭṭai 'shirt' in the matrix sentence. From the above deep structure it can be noted that the genitive nouns in the deep structure have the case meaning benefactive possession<sup>1</sup> and the deep case Unaffected Patient.

#### 10.3.1.2 Possessor-possessed relationship

The possessor possessed relationship is similar to owner-owned relationship, but here the possession is temporary and the noun that possesses is not the permanent benefactor of the action or state, identified by the verb. The term possessor is used here as the holder or the carrier of the object that is possessed.

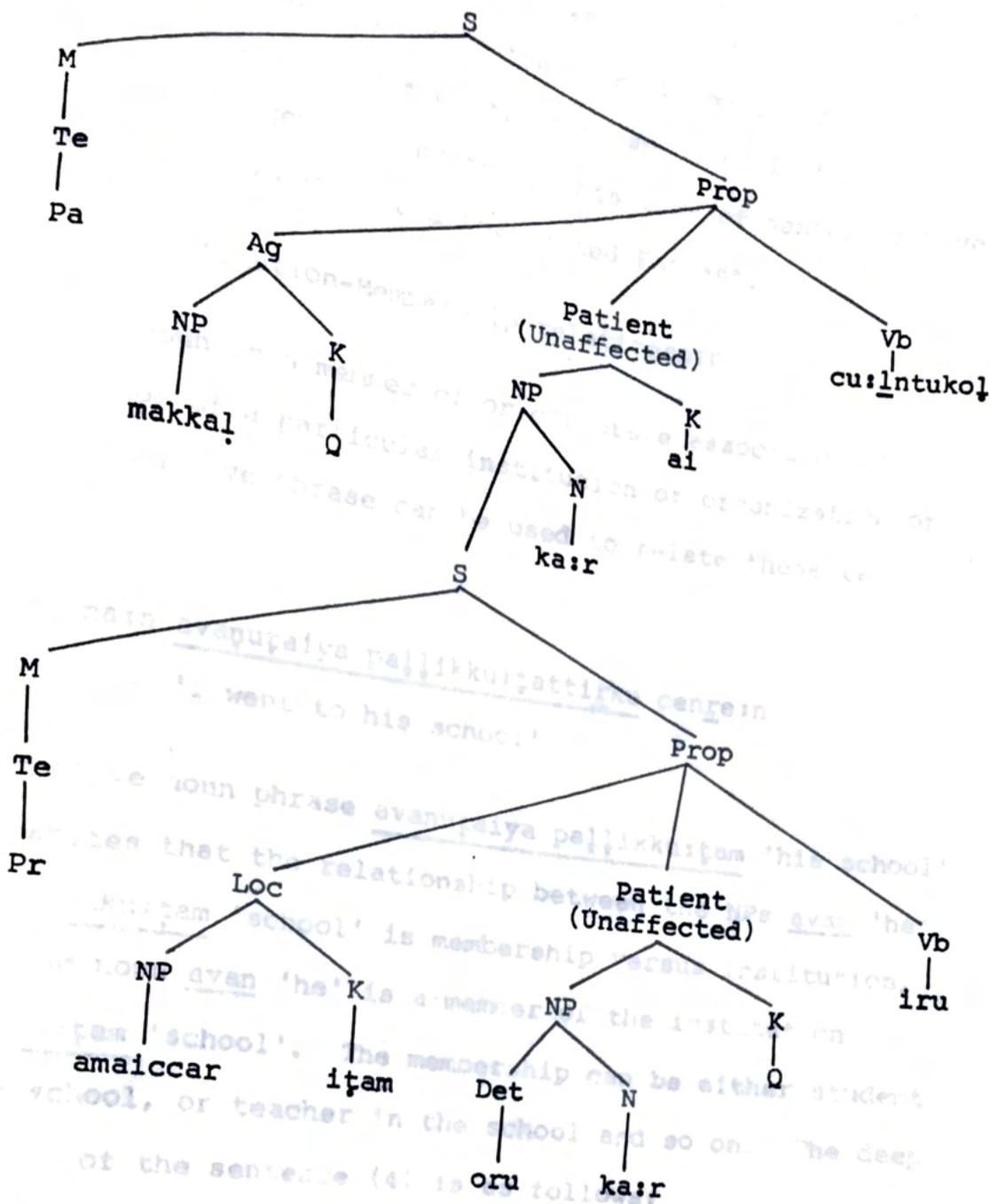
3. makkaḷ amaiccaruṭaiya ka:rai cu:ntukoṭṭa:rkaḷ

'People surrounded the Minister's car'

The genitive phrase amaiccaruṭaiya ka:r 'Minister's car' here denote the possessor-possessed relationship. The deep structure of this sentence is as follows:

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1. Benefactive possession is a case meaning (8.3.4).



makkaḷ [ amaiccar iṭam oru ka:r iru ] ka:rai cu:ntukoḷ

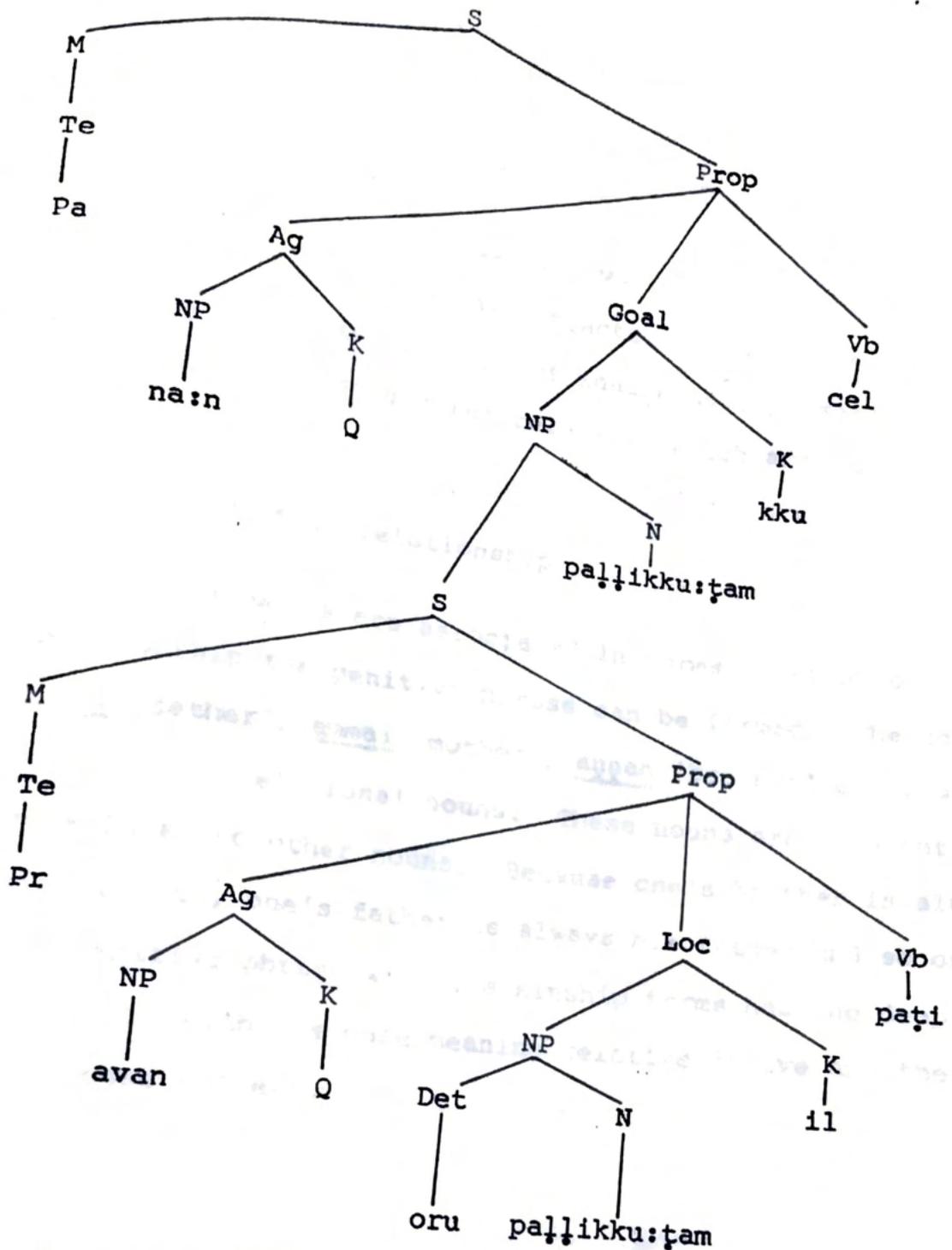
The sentence amaiccaritam oru ka:r irukkiratu 'The Minister has a car' is the subordinate sentence and it functions as an adjective of the noun ka:r 'car' in the matrix sentence. The transformations are similar to those noted in the earlier sentences. The genitive nouns in this type of sentences have the deep cases Location and Unaffected Patient.

#### 10.3.1.3 Institution-Membership relationship

If a noun is a member of or corporate associator of or participator of a particular institution or organization or a group, genitive phrase can be used to relate these two nouns.

4. na:n avanuṭaiya paḷḷikku:ṭattirku cenre:n  
'I went to his school'

The genitive noun phrase avanuṭaiya paḷḷikku:ṭam 'his school' here denotes that the relationship between the NPs avan 'he' and paḷḷikku:ṭam 'school' is membership versus institution, i.e., the noun avan 'he' is a member of the institution paḷḷikku:ṭam 'school'. The membership can be either student in the school, or teacher in the school and so on. The deep structure of the sentence (4) is as follows:



na:n [avan oru pallicku:ttattil pa:ti] pallicku:ttattirku  
 cenre:n

Thus the possessor NP avan 'he' in (4) is in Agent relationship and the NP pallikku:ṭam 'school' is in Location relationship with the verb paṭi 'read' which is posited in the deep structure.

### 10.3.2 Inalienable possession

The kinship relation, part-whole relation, creator-created relation, physical characteristics and actor-action relation belong to the type of inalienable possession. These relationships indicate the relations which are inherently relational.

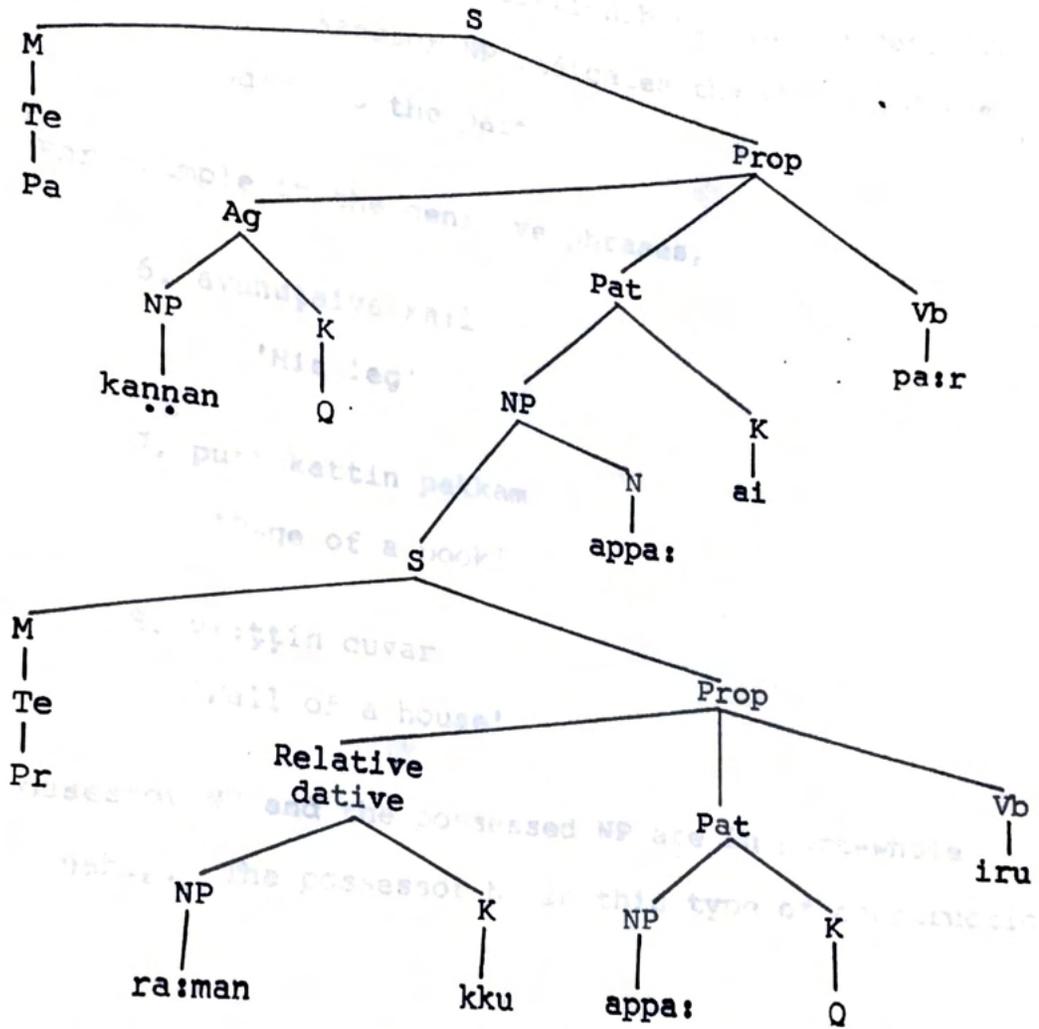
#### 10.3.2.1 Kinship relationship

If two nouns are associated in terms of kinship relationship the genitive phrase can be formed. The nouns appa: 'father', amma: 'mother', annan 'brother' etc., are the kinship relational nouns. These nouns are inherently relational to other nouns. Because one's brother is always his brother, one's father is always his father and so on. The genitive phrase with the kinship terms has the deep structure with the case meaning relative dative and the deep case Patient.

5. kappan ra:manuṭaiya appa:vai pa:rtta:n  
 'Kannan saw Raman's father'

The relationship between the nouns ra:man 'Raman' and appa: 'father' in the genitive phrase ra:manuṭaiya appa: 'Raman's father' is in kinship relationship. The deep structure of this sentence is as follows:

[ 5 ]



kannan [ ra:manukku appa: iru ] appa:vai pa:rtta:n

### 10.3.2.2 Part-whole relationship

Nouns that indicate the relationship between the part and whole of an object is referred to as part-whole relationship. This relationship is inalienable, because the part is referred to only in relation to another noun representing the whole. For example, the body part nouns like kai 'hand', ka:l 'leg'; page of a book; door of a house etc., have part-whole relationship. In the genitive construction the possessor NP indicates the whole and the possessed NP indicates the part.

For example in the genitive phrases,

6. avanuṭaiya ka:l  
'His leg'

7. puttakattin pakkam  
'Page of a book'

8. vi:ṭṭin cuvar  
'Wall of a house'

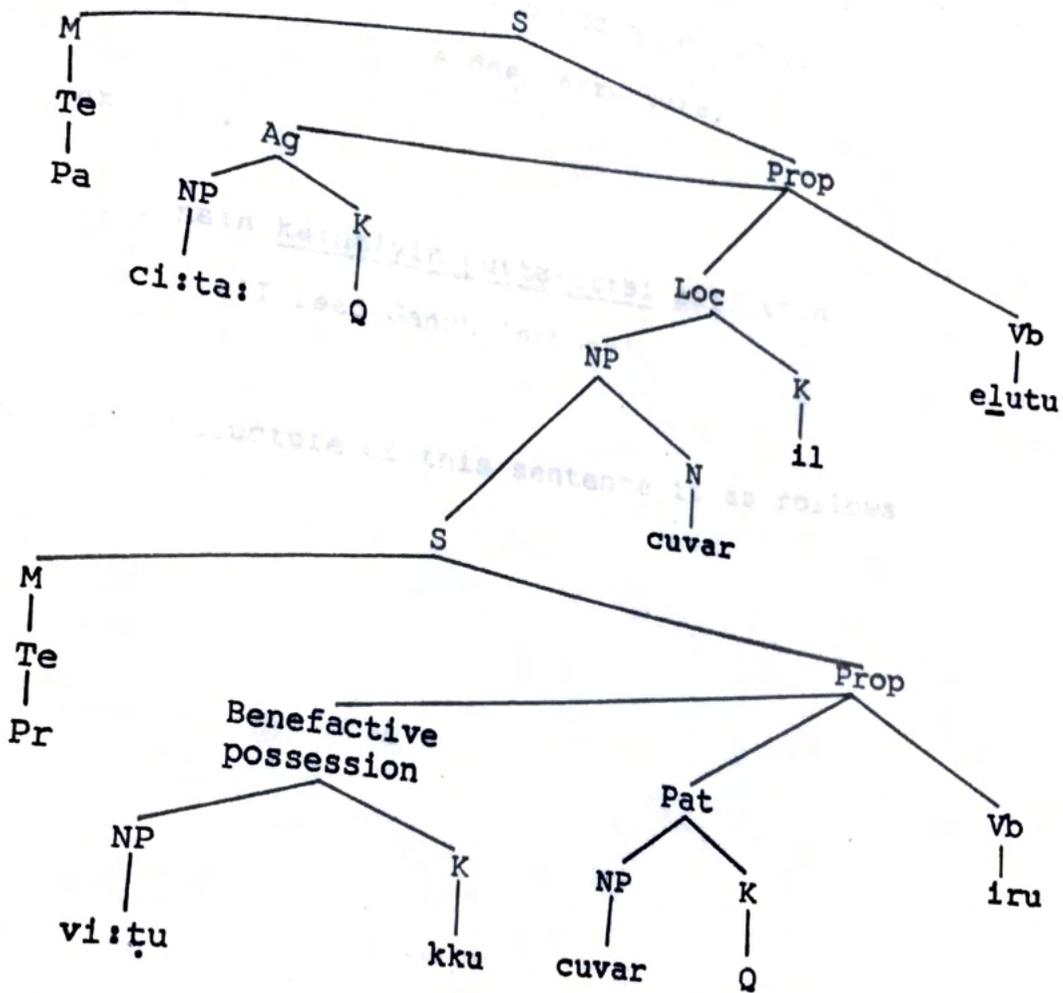
the possessor NP and the possessed NP are in part-whole relationship. The possessor NP in this type of constructions

has the case meaning benefactive possession and the possessed NP has the deep case Patient as in the following sentence.

9. ci:ta: vi:ṭṭinuṭaiya cuvaril elutina:ḷ  
 'Sita wrote on the wall of the house'

The deep structure of this sentences is as follows:

[9]



ci:ta: [vi:ṭṭukku cuvar iru] katavil elutina:ḷ

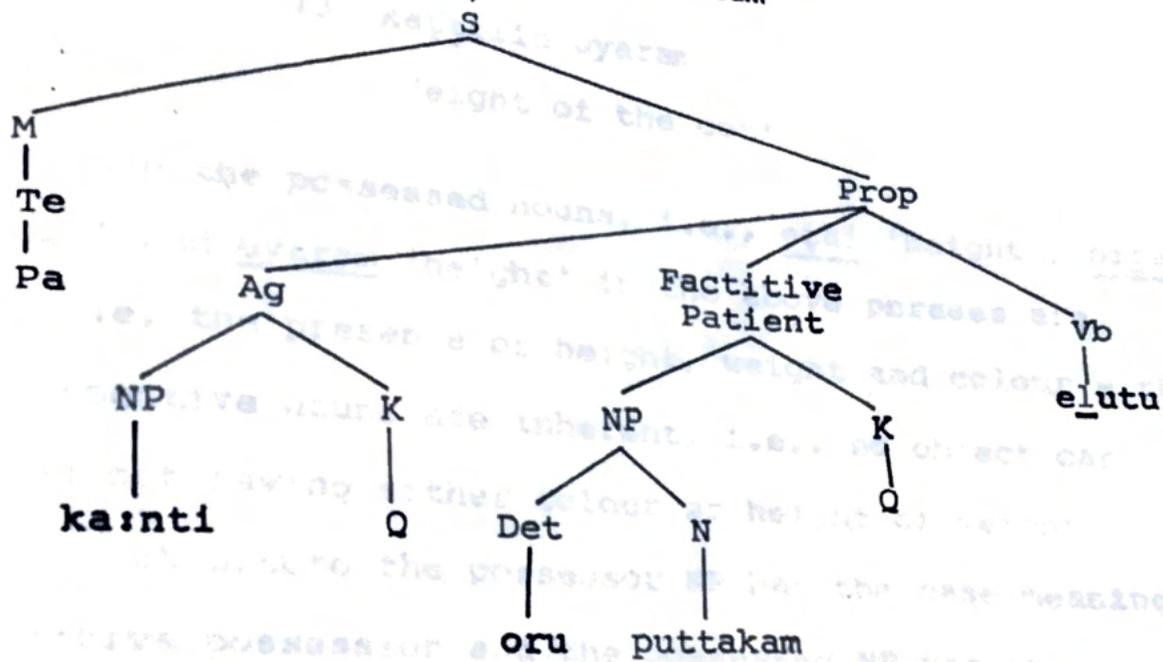
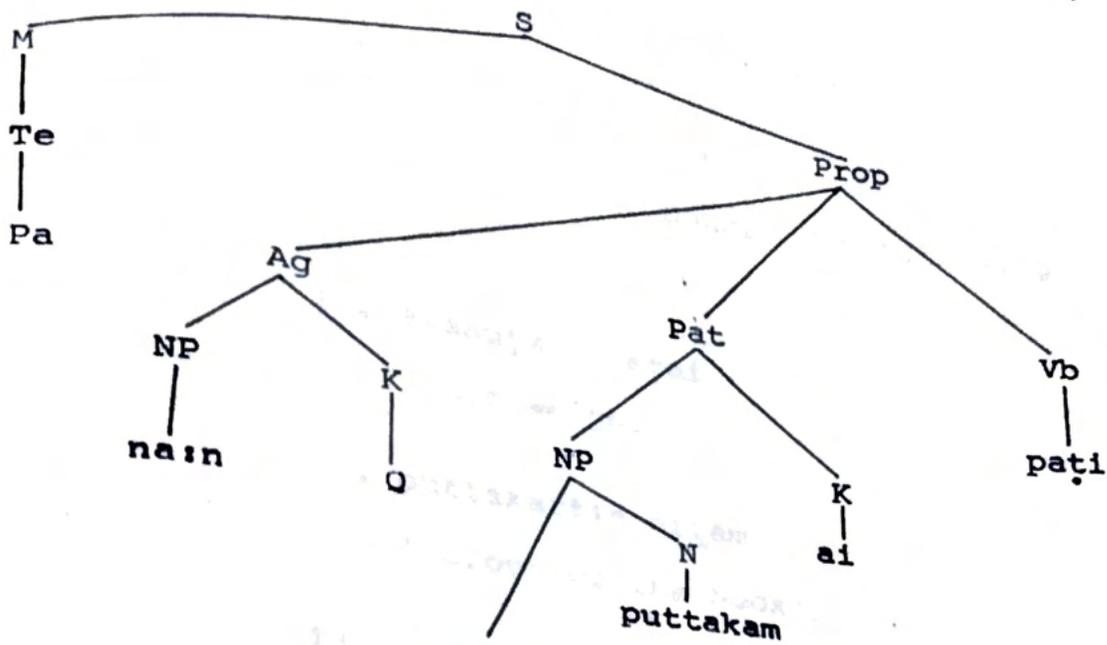
### 10.3.2.3 Creator-created relationship

If an object is created by a person, the creator and the created object can be represented by the genitive phrase. The author of a book, the manufacturer of a product, the constructor of a building or a house etc., belong to this type. The verbs recovered in this type of deep structures are always verbs of creation like elutu 'write', kaṭṭu 'build'. The possessor NP in this type of construction is in Agent relation and the possessed NP is in Factitive Patient relation in the deep structure.

For example,

10. na:n ka:ntiyin puttakattai paṭitte:n  
'I read Gandhi's book'

The deep structure of this sentence is as follows:



na:n [ka:nti oru puttakam elutu] puttakattai pa:ttitein

### 10.3.2.4 Physical characteristics

The physical characteristics like uyaram 'height', eṭai 'weight', niram 'colour' which are expressed in genitive construction are always in inalienable possession relationship with the possessor noun. The following are the examples.

11. avanuṭaiya eṭai

'His weight'

12. puttakattin niram

'Colour of the book'

13. kaṭṭilin uyaram

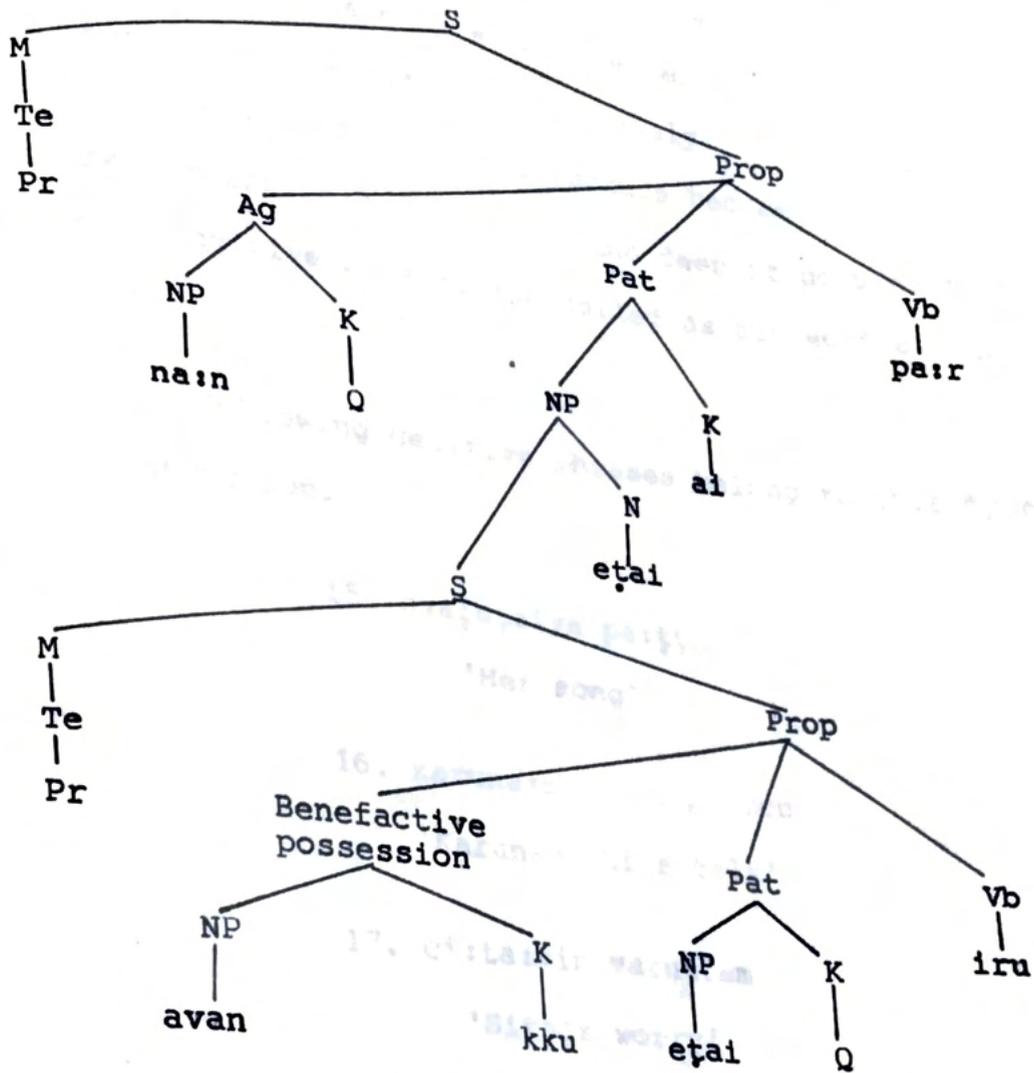
'Height of the cot'

Eventhough the possessed nouns, i.e., eṭai 'height', niram 'colour' and uyaram 'height' in the above phrases are changeable, the presence of height, weight and colour with the respective nouns are inherent, i.e., no object can be said as not having either colour or height or weight. In the deep structure the possessor NP has the case meaning Benefactive possession and the possessed NP has the Unaffected Patient relationship with the verb iru 'be'.  
For example,

14. na:n avanuṭaiya eṭaiyai pa:rtte:n  
 'I saw his weight'

The deep structure of this sentence is as follows:

[14]



na:n [avanukku eṭai iru] eṭaiyai pa:rtte:n

### 10.3.2.5 Actor-action relationship

The actor and his action can be referred to by the genitive phrase. Quirk et.al (1972:193) refer this kind of possession as subjective genitive. According to them, the genitive phrases 'the boy's application' and 'my departure' have the deep structure relations as 'the boy applied' and 'I departed' respectively. Since the genitive noun phrase in the surface structure becomes the subject of the corresponding action in the deep structure, this type of genitive phrases are called as subjective genitive by them.

The following genitive phrases belong to this type of construction.

15. avaluṭaiya pa:ṭṭu

'Her song'

16. karuna:nitiyin pe:ccu

'Karunanithi's talk'

17. ci:ta:vin varuttam

'Sita's worry'

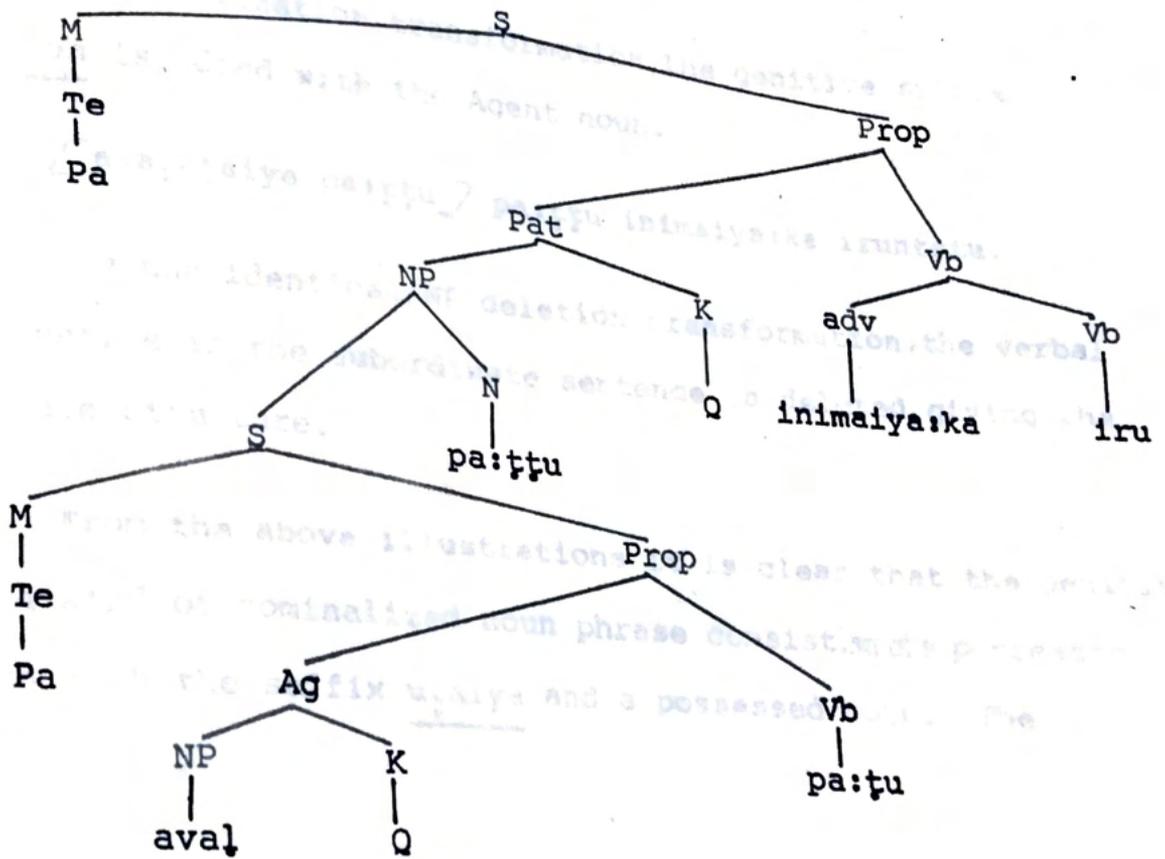
18. kamala:vin ko:pam

'Kamala's angry'

In the above constructions the possessed NPs, viz., pa:ttu 'song', pe:ccu 'talk', varuttam 'worry' and ko:pam 'angry' are derived from the corresponding verbs pa:tu 'sing', pe:cu 'speak', varuttappa:tu 'be shy' and ko:pappa:tu 'be angry' respectively. In (S.15) and (S.16) the possessor nouns are in Agent case as the verbs are action verbs and in (S.17) and (S.18) the possessor nouns are in Experiencer case as the verbs are psychological verbs. Consider the following sentence.

19. ava:tu:aiya pa:ttu inimaiya:ka iruntatu  
 'Her song was pleasing'

[19]



[ava:tu:aiya pa:ttu] pa:ttu inimaiya:ka iruntatu

Unlike the earlier sentences, this type of sentences are derived differently by different transformations. The transformations taking place in this type of sentences are as follows:

- i) Nominalization
- ii) Genitivization
- iii) Identical NP deletion

By nominalization, the verb of the subordinate sentence is nominalized giving the following intermediate structure.

[avaḷ pa:ṭṭu\_] pa:ṭṭu inimaiya:ka iruntatu.

By the genitivization transformation, the genitive suffix -uṭaiya is added with the Agent noun.

[avaḷuṭaiya pa:ṭṭu\_] pa:ṭṭu inimaiya:ka iruntatu.

Then, by the identical NP deletion transformation, the verbal derivative in the subordinate sentence is deleted giving the surface structure.

From the above illustrations it is clear that the genitive is a kind of nominalized noun phrase consisting of a possessor noun with the suffix uṭaiya and a possessed noun. The

possessor nouns have the deep case relations Agent, Patient, Location and Experiencer and the case meanings benefactive possession and relative dative. The possessed NPs in the deep structure have the deep case relations Location, Unaffected Patient and Factitive Patient. Further, the genitive NP in a sentence is found to function as an adjective.

Genitive Case

CHAPTER XI

Sociative Case

CHAPTER XI.  
SOCIATIVE CASE

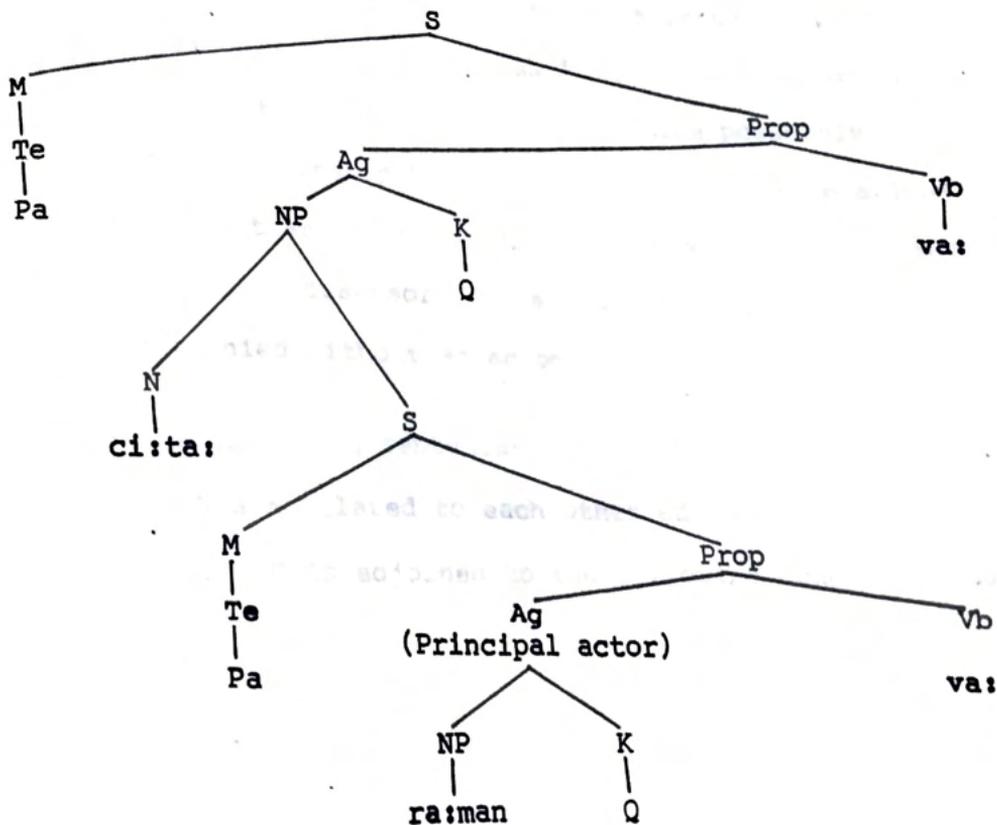
11.1 Suffixes

The surface sociative case is marked by the suffixes -o:tu, -uṭan and the post position ku:ṭa. The suffix -uṭan is used only in the literary language while the suffix -o:tu and the post position ku:ṭa are used both in the literary and spoken languages. These suffixes and post position occur freevariently with all types of nouns.

11.2 Deep structure

Two types of sociative sentences can be distinguished. They are adnominal sociatives and adverbial sociatives. The adnominal sociative noun phrase always precedes another NP and has deep case relationship with the verb which is identical with the finite verb of the sentence. The adverbial sociative noun phrase always precedes a verb and does not have any deep case relationship, but has the meaning which modifies the verb (11.2.2). The adnominal sociative sentence which belongs to the type of simple sentence in the surface structure, is complex in nature in the deep structure. That is, in the

deep structure the sociative noun is in the subordinate sentence. This is because of the fact that the sociative noun phrase functions as adnominal and has relationship with the verb which is identical with the main sentence. For example, in the sentence ci:ta: ra:mano:tu vanta:| 'Sita came with Raman', the main sentence is ci:ta: vanta:| 'Sita came' and the subordinate sentence is ra:man vanta:| 'Raman came'. Eventhough the deep case relation of the two NPs in the sociative sentences are similar (Agent here), the role of the subordinate noun (sociative) is different from the matrix noun. That is, the sociative NPs function as principal actor, additive, non-initiator and accompanier. The deep structure of the above sentence is as follows:



It is to be noted here that in the sociative constructions the verbs in the matrix and in the subordinate sentences are always identical. The transformations involved to derive surface sociative sentences are as follows: By identical verb deletion transformation the verb of the subordinate sentence is deleted. Then by the sociative suffix substitution transformation, the sociative suffix replaces the case suffix of the subordinate NP.

#### 11.2.1 Adnominal

As already noted the sociative NP when used as adnominal has the same deep case relation with that of the noun adjoined. However, the two NPs are different in terms of principal versus subordinate actor of the action; additive versus unusual participator; non-initiator versus initiator and accompanier versus accompanied. Further, sociative like possessive, expresses a relationship between two nouns and is relational in nature. Just as it is impossible to have a thing possessed without having a possessor, it is also impossible to have a thing accompanied without an accompanier (Nilsen, 1973:49).

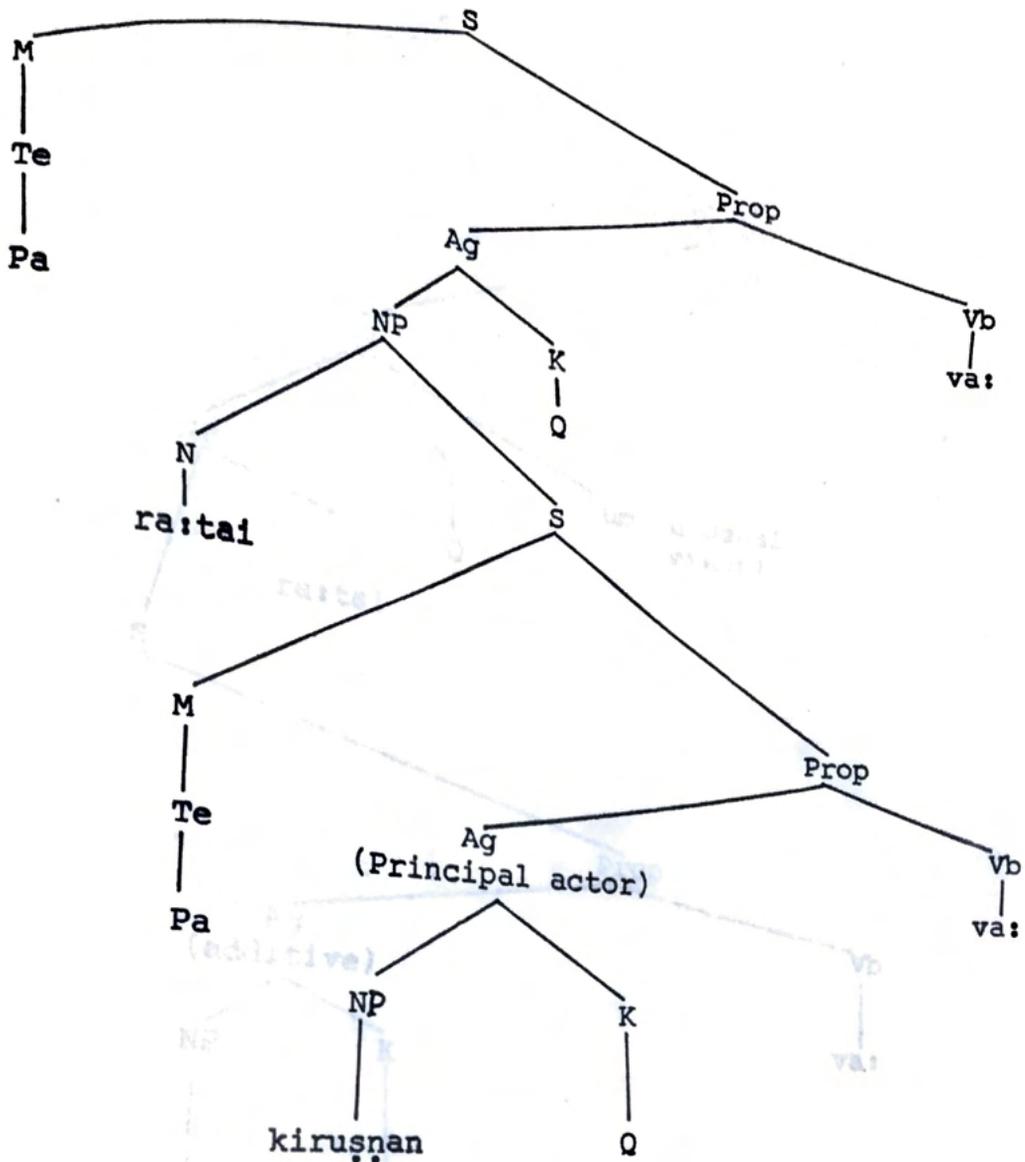
In the following sentences, the sociative NP and the following NP are related to each other adnominally, i.e., the sociative NP is adjoined to the following noun. Further,

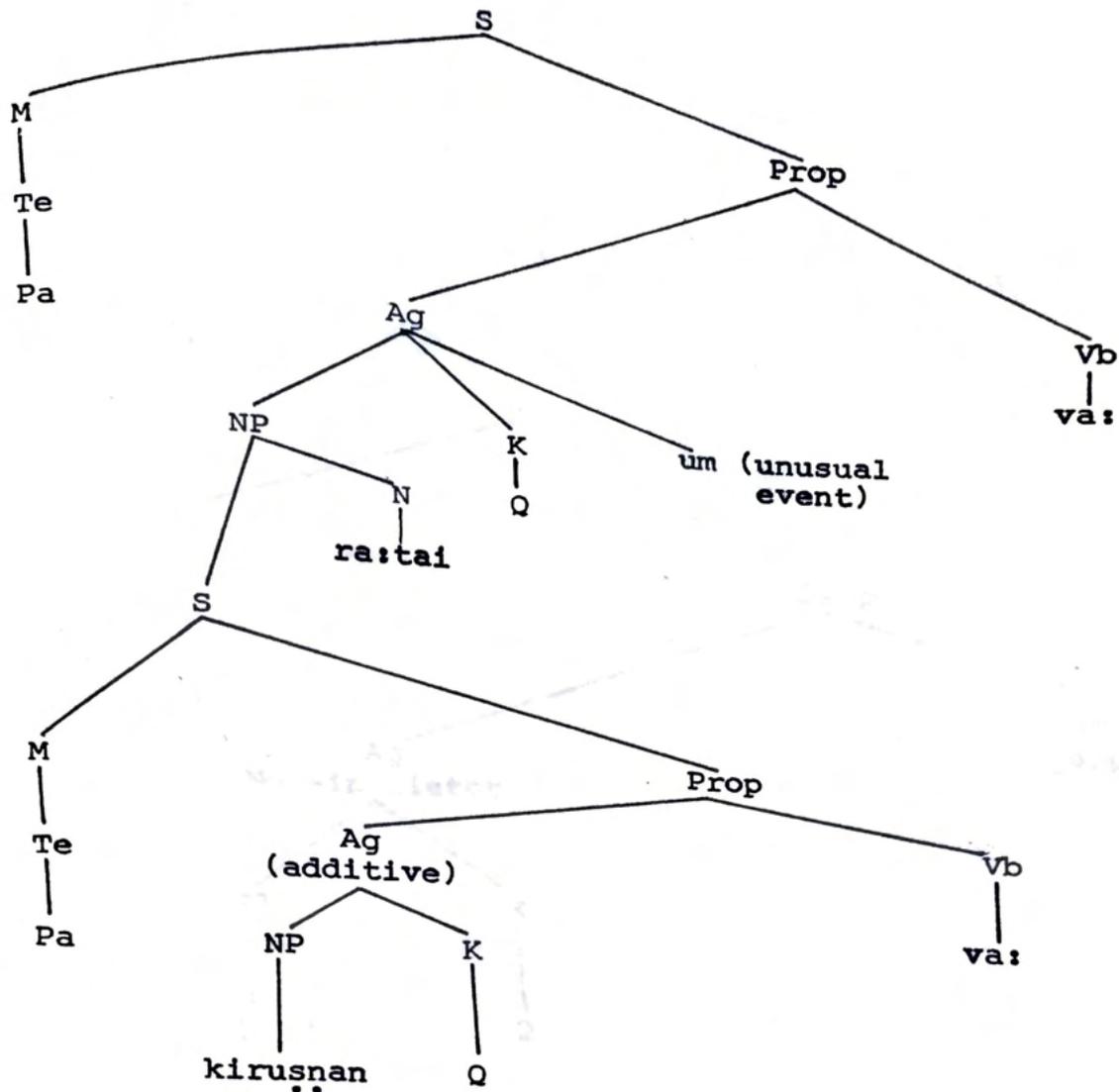
all the sentences with adnominal construction are identical syntactically, but denote different meanings.

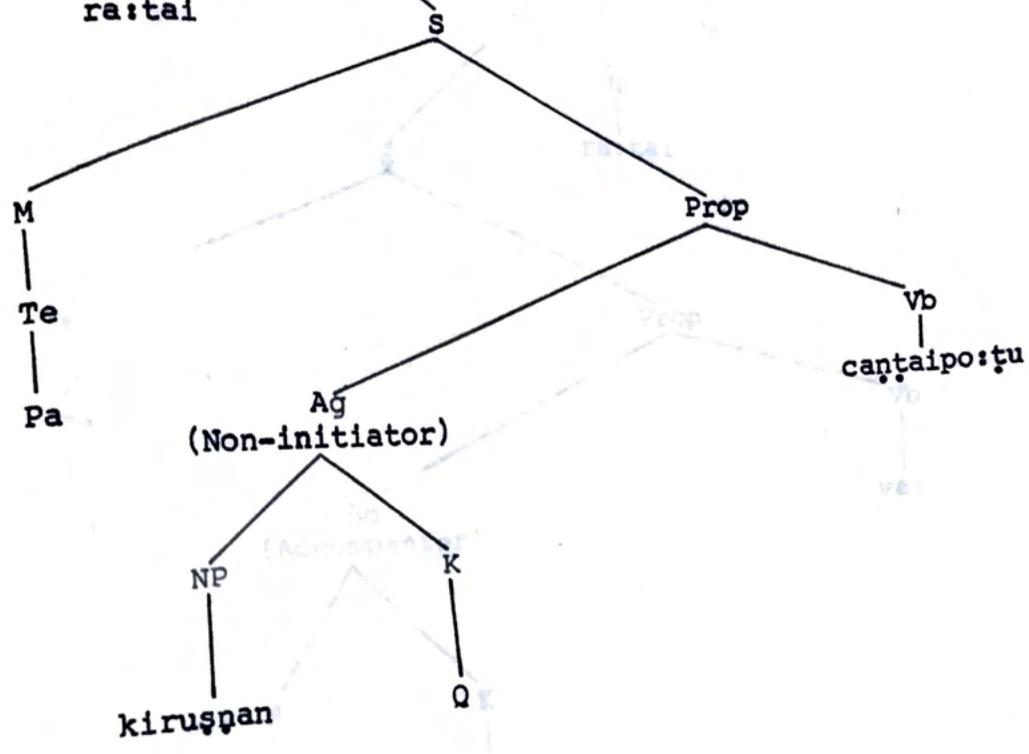
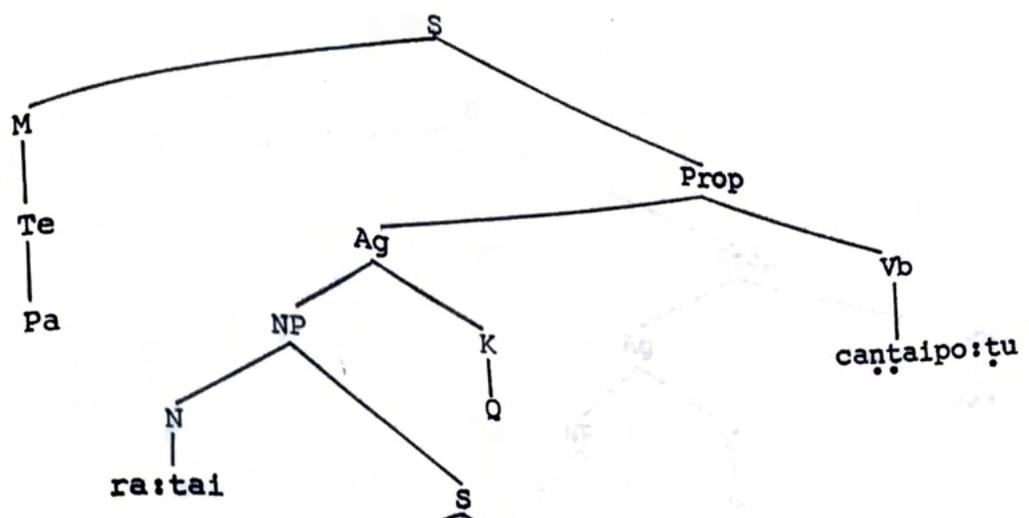
1. kiruṣṇano:ṭu ra:taɪ vanta:ɭ  
'Radhai came with Kirushnan'
2. kiruṣṇano:ṭu ra:taiyum vanta:ɭ  
'Radhai also came in addition to Kirushnan'
3. kiruṣṇano:ṭu ra:taɪ caṭṭaipo:ṭṭa:ɭ  
'Radhai fought with Kirushnan'
4. ra:taɪ kulantaikaḷo:ṭu vanta:ɭ  
'Radhai came along with children'

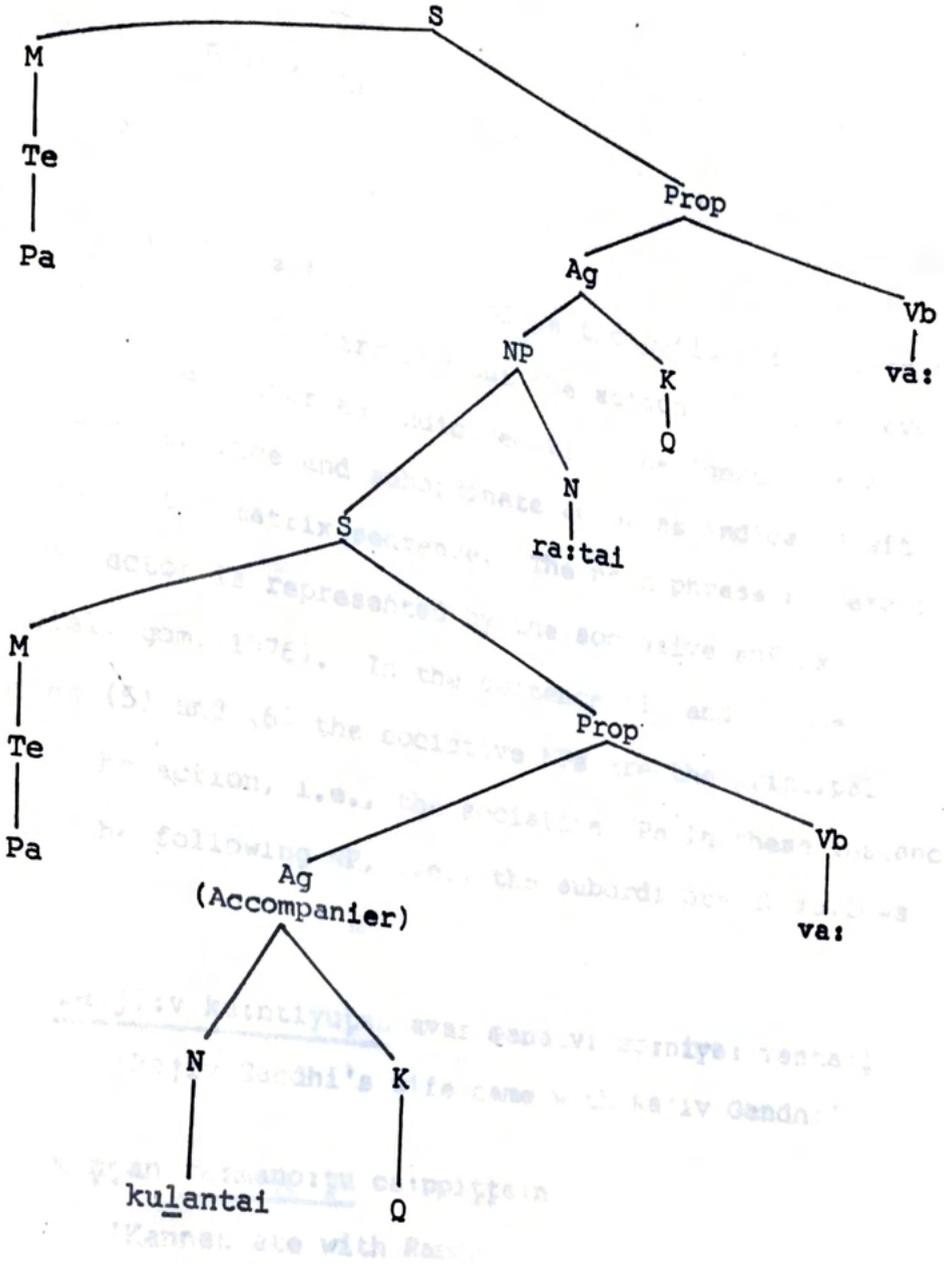
In all the above sentences the sociative NP and the nominative noun are in Agent case relation. But the sociative NPs have different meanings as follows: The sociative suffix -o:ṭu in the sentence (1) denotes the principal actor, in the sentence (2) it is glossed as 'in addition to' or 'besides', in the sentence (3) it denotes symmetrical <sup>and</sup> in the sentence (4) it is glossed as 'along with' (Annamalai, 1976:33-47). In the sentence (1) sociative NP kiruṣṇano:ṭu 'with Kirushnan' denotes that the noun kiruṣṇan 'Kirushnan' is the principal actor of the action and the noun ra:taɪ 'Radhai' is the subordinate actor. That is, Kirushnan leads and Radhai

accompanies (Fig.1). The relationship between the two NPs is referred to as principal actor (i.e., NP with the o:tu suffix) versus subordinate actor (i.e., the nominative NP). In the sentence (2) the sociative NP denotes the conjunctive meaning, i.e., 'in addition to' and the suffix -um with the following noun shows an unusual event (Fig.2). In the sentence (3), the verb is always an association verb showing the symmetric action, i.e., action denoted by the verb is carried out by both the participants equally. However, the sociative noun phrase denotes that the sociative noun (kirusnan) is not the initiator of the action and the noun ra:tai 'Radhai' is the initiator (Fig.3). In the sentence (4) the sociative suffix is glossed as 'along with' or 'together', i.e., the sociative NP and the NP without the suffix denote the accompanier and accompanied respectively. Further, the concept of the principal actor is not expressed in this sentence. The subordinate NP is always glossed with the meaning accompanier (see Fig.4). The deep structures of these sentences (1 to 4) are given below:









Thus from the above structures it is clear that the sociative noun phrases have the additional meaning, viz., principal actor, additive (in addition to), non-initiator and accompanier. The syntactical environments involved in differentiating these meanings are discussed below.

#### 11.2.1.1 Principal actor

Principality is the nature of participation of particular NP with another NP in carrying out the action. This is revealed by the principal actor as indicated with the Agent of the subordinate sentence and subordinate actor as indicated with the Agent of the matrix sentence. The noun phrase representing principal actor is represented by the sociative suffix (Agesthialingom, 1976). In the sentence (1) and in the sentences (5) and (6) the sociative NPs are the principal actor of the action, i.e., the sociative NPs in these instances lead and the following NP, i.e., the subordinate NP follows them.

5. ra:ji:v ka:ntiyuṭan avar manaivi so:niya: vanta:ḷ

'Rajiv Gandhi's wife came with Rajiv Gandhi'

6. kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ca:ppiṭṭa:n

'Kannan ate with Raman'

The verbs in this type of sentences are capable of taking the adverb ce:rntu 'together' (having joined) additionally, since the action is carried out simultaneously. Thus sentences (1), (5) and (6) have paraphrase relationship with the corresponding sentences (1.a), (5.a) and (6.a).

1.a. kiruṣṇano:ṭu rastai ce:rntu vanta:ḷ  
'Radhai came with Kirushnan'

5.a. ra:ji:v ka:ntiyuṭan avar manaivi so:niya:  
ce:rntu vanta:ḷ  
'Rajiv Gandhi's wife came with Rajiv Gandhi'

6.a. kaṇṇan ra:mano:ṭu ce:rntu ca:ppiṭṭa:n  
'Kannan ate with Raman'

Similarly, in the sentences (7), (8), (9), (10) and (11) also the sociative NPs denote the principal actor. In the sentences (7), (8) and (9) the sociative NPs and the following NPs have the deep Agent case with the respective action verbs (paṭi 'read', a:ṭu 'dance' and va: 'come'). In the sentence (10) the two NPs are in Experiencer case with the psychological verb (tu:nku 'sleep') and in the sentence (11) the NPs are in Patient case with existential verb (iru 'be').

7. ne:ru ka:ntiyo:ṣu paṭitta:r  
'Nehru studied with Gandhi'
8. ci:ta: kamala:vo:ṣu a:ṭina:l  
'Sita danced with Kamala'
9. avaruṭan oru na:y vantatu  
'A dog came with him'
10. kuḷantai ta:yuṭan tu:ṅkiyatu  
'The child slept with his mother'
11. ra:mu ko:piyo:ṣu irukkira:r  
'Ramu is with Gopi'

#### 11.2.1.2 Additive

The sociative phrase when occurs with the noun with the suffix -um, the sociative NP can be glossed as 'in addition to' or 'besides' (Annamalai, 1976:38). Thus the sociative phrase here has the conjunctive meaning. As noted earlier, the suffix -um denotes the unusual event, i.e., the action carried out by the noun with the suffix -um is an unusual participant of the action which is understood by the context and by the shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer. The noun phrases have different

deep case relations, viz., Agent (12), Experiencer (13), Benefactive-Goal (14) and Patient (15)<sup>1</sup>.

12. a:ciriyarka:lo:stu ma:pa:varka:lum tirumanattir:aku  
vantana:r

'In addition to the teachers, students also attended the marriage'

13. na:n cinima:vo:stu tra:ma:vum pa:rpe:n

'I see drama also in addition to cinema'

14. ama:iccar e:laika:lo:stu pa:pa:kka:rarka:lukkum  
pa:nam ko:ttu:ra:

'The Minister gave money to the rich people also in addition to the poor'

15. kurra:va:lika:lo:stu appa:vika:lum ci:raiyl  
iru:kin:ra:na:r

'In addition to the culprits, innocent people also are in the jail'

The events, viz., ma:pa:varka:l vantatu 'students attending' as in the sentence (12), tra:ma: pa:r:ttal 'seeing drama' as in the sentence (13), pa:pa:kka:rarka:lukku ko:ttal 'giving

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1. Unlike the earlier sentences, the action carried out by the Agents in this type of sentences may not be simultaneous, i.e., there is a possibility of carrying out the actions in different times.

(money to) rich people' as in the sentence (14) and 'appa:vikaḷ ciraiyil iruttal 'presence of innocent people in the jail' as in the sentence (15) are unusual events and hence the respective NPs take the suffix -um (cirappu ummai). Further, in this type of sentences the -o:tu phrases and the NP with the suffix -um can be paraphrased by the words maṭṭumalla:ma:l ... ku:ṭa<sup>1</sup> as follows:

12.a. a:ciriyarkaḷ maṭṭumalla:ma:l ma:pavarkaḷum  
ku:ṭa tirumaṇattirku vantaṇar

'In addition to teachers, students also attended the marriage'

13.a. na:n cinima: maṭṭumalla:ma:l ṭra:ma:vum  
ku:ṭa pa:rppe:n

'I see drama also, in addition to cinema'

### 11.2.1.3 Symmetrical

The term symmetrical denotes the mutual participation of the two NPs in carrying out the action. As noted earlier, the verbs in this type of constructions are always symmetric association verbs. This implies that in the absence of one,

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1. The word ku:ṭa here means 'also' and the movement verb va: 'come' has the meaning 'attend' in this type of constructions.

the action can not be carried out. However, the sociative NPs in this type of construction denote the non-initiator of the action and the nominative NP denotes the initiator of the action. In the sentence (3) and in the following sentences the verbs are verbs of association (2.3.2.4) and the sociative NP is non-initiator of the action, i.e., the sociative NPs is stationary and the other NP acts over this and then both the NPs involve in the action mutually.

16. kannan ci:ta:vo:ʃu pe:cinas:n<sup>1</sup>

'Kannan talked with Sita'

17. pa:lka:ran pa:luta:n ni:rai kalanta:n

'The milk vendor mixed water with milk'

18. la:ri maratto:ʃu mo:tiyatu

'The lorry collided with the tree'

In the sentences (3) and (16) the sociative NP and the other NP are having deep Agent case with the action verbs and in the sentences (17) and (18) the NPs have deep Patient case. This meaning can be expressed by the locative suffixes

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1. The communication verbs like pe:cu 'speak', uraiya:ʃu 'discuss' are symmetric in nature.

-iṭam (with human nouns) and -il (with inanimate nouns)  
as follows<sup>1</sup>:

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3.a. ra:ṭai kiruṣṣaniṭam caṭṭai po:ṭṭa:ḷ  
'Radhai fought with Kirushnan'

16.a. kaṇṇan ci:ta:viṭam pe:cina:s  
'Kannan talked to Sita'

17.a. pa:lka:ran pa:lil ni:rai kalanta:s  
'The milk vendor mixed water with milk'

18.a. la:ri marattil mo:tiyatu  
'The lorry collided with the tree'

#### 11.2.1.4 Accompanier

When an animate being is possessed with an inanimate object or other animate beings during the action carried out by the Agent; the relation between the two nouns can be termed as accompanier and accompanied. The accompanier is always expressed by sociative suffix. In the sentence (4)

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1. However, the locative phrases (iṭam phrases) with symmetric verbs have both one way and mutual participation of the action. But the o:ṭu phrases imply that the action is always mutual. For example, the communication verb pe:cu 'speak' with the locative phrase as in (16.a) has both the interpretations, viz., monologue and dialogue. But in (16) the sociative phrase implies only dialogue.

the sociative noun phrase kulantaikaḷoṣṭu 'with the children' denotes the accompanier and the nominative NP raṭtai 'Radhai' denotes the accompanied. It can be noted here that the sentences (1) and (4) have similar structure, but differ semantically. In the former type of sentences the sociative noun phrase denotes the principal actor of the action while in the latter the sociative phrase expresses simply the accompaniment. The following sentences also belong to the latter type.

19. naṭikai na:yuṭan vanta:ḷ  
'The actress came with the dog'
20. avar tan makanuṭan vanta:r  
'He came with his son'
21. sure:ṣ niraiya puttakaṅkaḷoṣṭu vanta:n  
'Suresh came with a lot of books'

In the sentences (4) and (20) the sociative NPs are human nouns, in the sentence (19) it is a non human noun and in (21) it is an inanimate noun. Further, in this type of sentences the sociative suffixes can be substituted by the

verb alaittuk koṭṭu 'taking' if the noun is an animate noun. If the noun is an inanimate noun, the verb eṭuttukkoṭṭu 'taking' can be substituted as follows:

4.a. ra:taɪ kuɻantaikaɻai alaittukkoṭṭu vanta:ɻ  
'Radhai came along with the children'

19.a. naṭikai na:yaɪ alaittukkoṭṭu vanta:ɻ  
'The actress came along with the dog'

20.a. avar tan makanai alaittukkoṭṭu vanta:r  
'He came along with his son'

21.a. sure:ṣ niṛaiya puttakaṅkaɻai eṭuttukkoṭṭu  
vanta:n

'Suresh came, taking a lot of books'

#### 11.2.2 Adverbial

Unlike the earlier type of sentences, there are sentences in which the sociative phrases do not have any deep case relationship, but have the meanings which modify the verb of the sentence. That is they have adverbial function and so they are all simple sentences. The two meanings, limitative and a manner are expressed by the sociative suffixes which have adverbial function.

The sociative noun phrases in the following sentences show the limit of the action denoted by the verb. The limit can be in terms of time, place, measure and action.

Time

24. te:rvukaḷ aintu maḷiyō:ṭu muṭikiraṇa  
'The examinations are over by five O'clock'

25. kirikkaṭ a:ṭṭam a:ru maḷiyō:ṭu muṭiyam  
'Cricket match will be over by six O'clock'

The sociative suffix-ō:ṭu in the above sentences shows the limit of the event in terms of time. Sentences (24) and (25) have their counterparts with the dative suffix as follows:

24.a. te:rvukaḷ aintu maḷikku muṭikiraṇa  
'Examinations end by five O'clock'

25.a. kirikkaṭ a:ṭṭam a:ru maḷikku muṭiyam  
'Cricket match ends by six O'clock'

The sociative suffix emphasizes the completion which is permanent, i.e., in (S.24) and (S.25) the events, viz., te:rvukaḷ 'examinations' and kirikkaṭ a:ṭṭam 'Cricket match'

end at the specified time and will not be continued further. The dative suffix denotes that the events end at the specified time for the particular day and the events may be started the next day.

Place

26. avarkaḷ taṅkaḷ payapaṭṭai cennaiyo:ṭu  
niṟuttikkoṭṭa:arkaḷ  
'They stopped their journey at Madras'

27. kanniya:kumariyo:ṭu rayil pa:ṭai muṭikiratu  
'The railway line ends at Kanniyakumari'

The sociative suffix -o:ṭu here always occurs with place nouns and can be substituted by the locative suffix -il, but with the difference as noted above.

26.a. avarkaḷ taṅkaḷ payapaṭṭai cennaiyil  
niṟuttikkoṭṭa:arkaḷ  
'They stopped their journey at Madras'

27.a. kanniya:kumariyil rayil pa:ṭai muṭikiratu  
'The Railway line ends at Kanniyakumari'

In the sentence (26) the sociative phrase denotes that the event payapaṭṭam 'journey' is over once for all. While in the

sentence (26.a) the locative phrase denotes that there is a possibility of continuing the journey. Similarly, in the sentence (27), the sociative phrase denotes that there is no train path after the place Kanniyakumari. While the locative phrase in the sentence (27.a) denotes that there is a possibility of continuing the train path some place beyond Kanniyakumari.

### Measure

When the sociative suffix occurs with the nouns like aṭi 'bottom', ve:r 'root', the limit in terms of measurement is observed.

28. marutamuttu marattai ve:ro:ṭu veṭṭina:n  
'Maruthamuthu uprooted the tree'

29. avarkaḷ vi:ṭṭai aṭiyo:ṭu takarttuviṭṭa:rkaḷ  
'They damaged the house completely'

Like the earlier type of sentences, here also the sociative phrases emphasize the completion.

### Action

When the sociative suffix occurs with verbal nouns, the suffix limits one particular action and implies that the remaining actions are not carried out.

30. avan iŋku vantato:ʃu cari  
'He has only just arrived here'
31. tavaɻaikaɻ ku:ccal po:ʃʃato:ʃu cari  
'There is nothing other than the Frog's cry'
32. amaiccar utavukire:n enrato:ʃu cari  
'The Minister's promise that he would help ended at his words'

The verbal nouns with the suffix -o:ʃu describes that only the respective actions are carried out and subsequently the other actions are not carried out. That is, in the sentence (30) the sociative phrase vantato:ʃu implies that he did not do any other action except his coming. In the sentence (31) the sociative phrase ku:ccal po:ʃʃato:ʃu implies that it did not rain (as the frog's cry always follows rain). Similarly, in the sentence (32) utavukire:n enrato:ʃu 'His promise that he would help' implies that he did not help.

#### 11.2.2.2 Manner

Another function the sociative NPs have is manner adverb. That is, the manner of an action can be shown by the sociative suffix. The nouns in this type are always abstract nouns like ko:pam 'angry', makilcci 'happiness' etc.

33. amaiccar mikavum ko:patto:tu pe:cina:r  
 'The Minister spoke angrily'

34. a:ciriyar paraparappu:an nulainta:r  
 'The teacher entered hurriedly'

It can be seen that the sociative suffix can be substituted with the adverbial marker a:ka as follows:

33.a. amaiccar mikavum ko:pama:ka pe:cina:r  
 'The Minister spoke angrily'

34.a. aciriyar paraparappa:ka nulainta:r  
 'The teacher entered hurriedly'

The discussions made so far reveal that the sociative sentences are treated as the instance of complex sentence as opposed to the view that this is an instance of compound sentence. Further, it is argued that the sociative phrases show the additional meanings, viz., principal actor, additive, symmetrical and accompanier, besides the deep cases Agent, Experiencer and Patient. Limitative and manner are the case meanings shown by the sociative phrases.

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Locative Case

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## CHAPTER XII

### LOCATIVE CASE

#### 12.1 Suffixes and post positions

The surface locative case<sup>1</sup> is marked by the suffixes -il, -iṭam and by the post positions me:l/me:le: 'on', ki:l/ki:le: 'under', uḷ/uḷle: 'inside', veḷiye:/veḷiyil 'outside', aruke:/arukil 'near', mun/munne:/munna:l 'in front of', pin/pinne:/pinna:l 'at the back', iṭaiye:/iṭaiyil 'between' and pakkattil 'near'<sup>2</sup>.

The suffix -il occurs with neuter nouns as in me:jaiyil 'in the table', kalkatta:vil 'in Calcutta'; with the plural human nouns in the sense of 'among' as in avarkaḷil cilarai enakku teriyum 'I know a few among them' and with non-human plural nouns in the same sense as in kuraṅkukaḷil pala vakai uṭṭu 'There are many species among monkeys'.

1. Tolkappiyam refers to this case as the case of place, time and verbal action and calls as e:la:m ve:rṛumai 'seventh case'.
2. The post positions me:l 'on' and ki:l 'under' lose their locative meanings, viz., locative superior and locative inferior respectively in the constructions like avan en me:l ko:pamaṭainta:n 'He got angry with me', avan en ki:l ve:lai ceykiṛa:n 'He works under me' etc.

The suffix -iṭam occurs with animate nouns as in tantaiyiṭam 'with father', na:yiṭam 'with the dog' and with the neuter nouns specifying an organized body or an institution representing people as in amerikka:viṭam 'with America', araca:ṅkattiṭam 'with the government and soon'. Since the locative has the grammatical as well as meaning of different locations, the componential analysis is attempted here.

## 12.2 Componential meanings<sup>1</sup> of the suffixes and post positions

The post positions have the same function as the suffixes. Bennett (1975:66) while referring to the English locative prepositions 'in', 'at' and 'on' describes that "many senses of 'at', 'on' and 'in' is the kind of analysis that implies that they have the same meaning and that the choice of one rather than another is determined by the nature of referent of the noun with which it occurs". Similarly, the suffixes and post positions in Tamil are semantically identical in the sense that both have the

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1. Componential meaning, according to Bennett (1975), is the intra linguistic semantic relationship shown partly by the prepositions and partly by the verbs.

primary semantic function, i.e., locative. Bennett (ibid:72) gives componential meaning for the various English prepositions as 'above-locative higher', around-locative surround' and so on. Following his observations componential meaning for the Tamil locative suffixes and post positions have been given as follows:

il	- simple location or static location
iṭam	- simple location or static location
uḷ/uḷḷe:	- locative interior
veḷiye:/veḷiyil	- locative exterior
me:l/me:le:	- locative superior
ki:l/ki:le:	- locative inferior
arukil/aruke:	- locative proximate
mun/munna:l/munne:	- locative anterior
pin/pinna:l/pinne:	- locative posterior
iṭaiyil	- locative central

The above observation shows that all these componential meanings are common in the sense that all denote a specific location.

### 12.3 The suffix -il

The locative phrase with the suffix -il is found to have different deep cases, viz., Location, Instrumental, Cause and the case meanings, viz., 'among' and 'time' as discussed below:

The deep case Location is the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb (see sec.3.8).

The locative suffix -il when occurs with the nouns denoting place names such as names of village, city, country etc., and other neuter nouns, the deep case Location is understood.

The verbs in this type of sentences can be either action verbs or state verbs.

1. na:ñkaḷ cennaiyil kuṭiyirukkiro:m

'We live in Madras'

2. piratama mantiri jeniva:vil irukkira:r

'The Prime Minister is in Geneva'

3. puttakam kaṭṭilil irukkiratu

'The book is on the cot'

4. ma:ṇavarkaḷ cuvarril elutina:rkaḷ

'The students wrote on the wall'

In the sentence (1) and (2), the NPs cennaiyil 'in Madras' and jeniva:vil 'in Geneva' are place names. In the sentence (1) the place denotes the location of the action kuṭiyiru 'live' while in the sentence (2) the place denotes the location of the state iru 'be'. In the sentences (3) and (4), the NPs kaṭṭilil 'on the cot' and cuvarril 'on the wall' which are - animate, + concrete nouns denoting the location of the state iru 'be' (3) and the location of the action elutu 'write' (4) respectively. In the sentences (3) and (4), the place meaning is derived as the respective nouns are non-place nouns while in the sentences (1) and (2), the place meaning is inherent in the lexical features of the respective nouns.

Besides the above type of construction, the locative suffix -il also occurs with the verbal nouns like pa:rttatu 'that which is seen', elutiyatu 'that which is written' etc., as follows:

5. avan elutiyatil oru tavaru iruntatu  
'There was a mistake in his writing'

6. kamala: pa:rttatil arttam iruntatu  
'There was a meaning in Kamala's looking'

The locative suffix -il in this type of constructions locate the objects (abstract) in the respective verbal actions. The main verbs in this type of sentences are always the existential verb iru 'be'. This type of locative phrases when occurring with non existential verbs give the meaning 'among' (see sec.12.3.4.2) and have the deep case Cause (see sec.12.3.3).

### 12.3.1.1 Syntactic tests

Bennett (1975) points out that the locative phrases denoting the deep case location can be substituted by the locative pronouns, viz., 'there' and 'here'. The corresponding Tamil forms are añke: 'there' and iñke: 'here'. Thus the sentence (1) can be interpreted as follows:

1.a. na:ñkaḷ añke: kuṭiyirukkiro:m

'We live there'

The locative phrases with the verbal nouns as in the sentences (5) and (6) answer the question etil? 'in which?'. Thus sentence (5) is the answer for the question (5.a).

5.a. etil oru tavaru iruntatu?

'In which there was a mistake?'

The locative suffix -il shows the deep Tool-Instrumental and Means case as illustrated below.

## 12.3.2.1 Tool-Instrumental

When the locative suffix -il occurs with the nouns of tools like tari 'loom', ammi 'grinding stone' the locative phrase has the deep Tool-Instrumental case. However, the participation of these tools with the Agent is different from the Tool-Instrumentals shown by the Instrumental case suffix a:l (7.2.1.1). In this type of sentences (with the suffix -il) the Tool-Instrumentals are not controlled by the Agent whereas in the former type the tools are controlled by the Agent. The locative phrases here originally denote the location, but implies the Tool-Instrumental meaning.

7. avan tariyil tuṇi neykira:n

'He weaves clothes in the loom'

8. avaḷ ammiyil miḷaka:y araitta:ḷ

'She grinded the chilly in the grinding stone'

9. kamala: ariva:ḷ manaiyil ka:ykariyai

narukkina:ḷ

'Kamala cut the vegetables in the house chisel'

In the above examples, the locative phrases, viz., tariyil 'in the loom', ammiyil 'in the house' and ariva:ɭ 'in the grinding stone' imply the Tool-Instrumental meaning, i.e., these nouns are the tools used to carry out the respective actions. Further, the instrumentals, here, are denoting a location wherein the respective actions are carried out.

#### 12.3.2.1.1 Syntactic test

The locative suffix -il in this type of sentences can be substituted by the instrumental post position koṅṅu preceded by the accusative suffix -ai, as follows:

7.a. avan tariyai koṅṅu tuṅi neyta:n

'He weaved the clothes with the loom'

8.a. avaɭ ammiyai koṅṅu miɭaka:yai araitta:ɭ

'She grinded the chilly with the grinding stone'

9.a. kamala: ariva:ɭmanaiyai koṅṅu ka:ykar<sub>i</sub>yai  
narukkina:ɭ

'Kamala cut the vegetables with the house chisel'.

#### 12.3.2.2 Means

The locative suffix -il when occurs with the nouns of transport, viz., caikkil 'cycle', pas 'bus', vima:nam 'aeroplane' etc., the deep Means case is identified. The

verbs in this type of constructions are always verbs of movements, viz., po: 'go', va: 'come' etc., In the following sentences, the locative phrases are in deep Means case, i.e., these NPs indicate the instrument through which the movement is carried out.

10. ra:ji:vka:nti vima:nattil kolumpu cenra:r  
'Rajiv Gandhi went to Colombo by plane'

11. na:nkaḷ tinamum rayilil kallu:ri celkiro:m  
'We go to the College daily by train'

12. tapa:lkaḷ rayilil varukinrana  
'The mails come by train'

#### 12.3.2.2.1 Syntactic test

The locative suffix which denote the deep Means case can be substituted by the post position mu:lam 'through'. Thus sentence (10) can be written as,

10.a. ra:ji:vka:nti vima:nam mu:lam kolumpu cenra:r  
'Rajiv Gandhi went to Colombo by plane'

Similarly, the locative suffix in the sentences (11) and (12) can also be substituted by the post position mu:lam 'through'.

The locative suffix -il when occurs with the verbal nouns like o:ṭiyatu 'running', pa:rttatu 'seeing' etc., and when the verbs are other than existential verbs, the deep case Cause is understood. Cause is the inducement or the motive of an event (3.12).

13. cinima: pa:rttatil avanukku kaṇ keṭṭuviṭṭatu  
'His eyesight became poor as he witnessed the movie often'

14. cure:ṣ ve:kama:ka o:ṭiyatil ka:lkaḷ vi:ṅkiviṭṭana  
'Suresh's legs swelled as he ran fast'

In the locative phrases, viz., pa:rttatil 'in the act of seeing', o:ṭiyatil 'in the act of running' the nouns are verbal nouns and they denote the cause for the events, viz., kaṇ keṭṭu 'damage of eyes' and ka:lkaḷ vi:ṅkutu 'swelling of the legs' respectively. There are also locative phrases with abstract nouns like ko:pam 'anger', makilcci 'happiness' etc., denoting the deep case Cause. But they are understood as having verbal nouns in the deep structure as follows:

15. ravi ko:pattil arivai ilanta:n  
'Ravi lost (his) sense because of anger'

16. avalukku makilcciyil uṭal paruttuviṭṭatu  
 'She became fat because of happiness'

Eventhough the locative suffix -il occurs in these examples with the abstract nouns, viz., ko:pam 'anger' and makilcci aṭaintatil 'fallen in anger' and makilcci aṭaintatil 'fallen in happiness' respectively.

### 12.3.3.1 Syntactic test

The locative suffix -il in this type of constructions can be substituted by the post position ka:raṇama:ka 'because of'.

Examples:

13.a. cinima: pa:rttatan ka:raṇama:ka cure:ṣin kaṇ  
 keṭṭuviṭṭatu

'Suresh's eyesight became poor because he witnessed the movie'

14.a. cure:ṣ ve:kama:ka o:ṭiyatan ka:raṇama:ka ka:lkaḷ  
 vi:ṅkiviṭṭana

'Suresh's legs were swelled because he ran fast'.

Besides the above test, the locative phrases in some of the constructions of this kind can be paraphrased with the respective verbal participles as the Cause is due to repetitive action.

13.b. cinima: pa:rttu pa:rttu avanukku kaṇ  
kettuviṭṭatu

'His eyesight became poor because he  
witnessed the movie often'.

#### 12.3.4 Case meanings

Besides the deep cases as noted above, the locative  
suffix -il is also used to represent various case meanings,  
viz., temporal meaning and the meaning 'among'.

##### 12.3.4.1 Temporal meaning

Different dimensions of the time are characterized by  
the suffix -il when it occurs with the temporal nouns. Bennett  
(1975:114) distinguishes four dimensions of time shown by the  
English preposition 'in' as follows: i) space of time in  
which something is done or takes place, ii) units of time  
of which only a part is occupied, iii) length of time occupied  
and iv) a space of time approximately within which something  
will occur. These four dimensions are shown in Tamil by  
the suffix -il as discussed below.

#### Space of time in which something is done or take place

The locative suffix in this type of sentences always  
occur with calenderical nouns<sup>1</sup> like janavari 'January',

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1. For the distinction of calenderical and non-calenderical  
nouns see sec.8.3.5.

maĩrē 'March' which are the names of month and the nouns like aṭṭa maĩtam 'next month', ṭina vaĩra 'last week'.

15. avan janavarĩyĩ iĩku varuvain

'He will come here in January'

16. aṭṭa maĩtattĩ enakku pariṭṭai maĩiyam

'My examinations will be over by next month'

Units of time of which only a part is occupied

In this type of sentences the locative phrase is always followed by another temporal noun phrase and the nouns in the locative phrase are always non-calenderical nouns. This meaning can be related to the meaning 'among' as shown in 12.3.4.2.

17. avan oru maĩtattĩ oru naṣi viratan iruppain

'He is on fast for a day in a month'

18. naĩkaṭ oru naṣĩlĩ pattu naṣi neṣam paṭṭikkusṭattĩ  
iruppain

'We used to be at school for about ten hours in a day'

The locative phrase and the following NP in the above sentences can be taken as giving the distributive meaning. This is evident from the following interpretations with the distributive marker ovvory 'each'.

17.a. avan ovvoru ma:ttattilum oru na:ɭ  
viratam iruppa:n

'He is on fast for a day every month'

18.a. na:ɳkaɭ ovvoru na:ɭum pattu maɳi ne:ram  
paɭɭikku:ɕattil iruppo:m

'We used to be at school for about ten  
hours everyday'

### Length of time occupied

The nature of nouns in this type of sentences is also non-calenderical and the locative phrase is always followed by the numeral adjectives like oru 'one', iraɳtu 'two' etc. Consider the following examples.

19. avaɭ puttakattai oru maɳi ne:rattil paɕittuviɕa:ɭ

'She completed reading the book in an hour'

20. na:n iraɳtu na:ɭil oru katai elutiviɕu:v:n

'I can write a story in two days'

A space of time approximately within which some thing will occur

The nature of nouns in this type of locative phrases are non-calenderical and the suffix -il can be substituted

by the post position ul. The space of time taken before occurrence of the action is only approximate. The following are the examples.

21. ci:ta: oru maṇi ne:rattil vantu viṭuva:ḷ  
'Sita will come in an hour'

22. ci:ta: oru maṇi ne:rattirkuḷ vantuviṭuva:ḷ  
'Sita will come within an hour'

23. ka:ma:la: oru va:rattil puṛappaṭṭuviṭuva:ḷ  
'Kamala will leave in a week'

24. ka:ma:la: oru va:rattukkuḷ puṛappaṭṭu viṭuva:ḷ  
'Kamala will leave within a week'

Time at which an action is carried out

Besides the above four instances, the temporal meaning is also shown by the locative suffix -il when occurring with the verbal derivatives with the derivative suffix kai. For example, in the following sentences,

25. tan kaṇavarai ninaikkaiyil avalukku uḷḷam  
pu:r<sup>u</sup>rittu po:yirru

'She became happy when she thought of her husband'

26. te:vara:jan pe:cukaiyil ra:jan avanai  
 urruppa:rtta:n

'Rajan stared at him when Devarajan was speaking'

The locative phrases, viz., ninaikkaiyil 'when thinking' and pe:cukaiyil 'when speaking' show that when these actions take place, simultaneously other actions, i.e., uḷlam 'became happy' and urru:rttal 'staring at' also take place respectively. In these sentences, the locative suffix -il can be substituted by the particle polutu 'at (that) time'. Following are the examples.

25.a. tan kapavarai ninaikkum polutu avalukku  
 uḷlam pu:rittu po:yirru

'She became happy when she thought of her husband'

26.a. te:vara:jan pe:cum polutu ra:jan avanai  
 urru pa:rtta:n

'Rajan stared at him when Devarajan was speaking'

#### 12.3.4.2 The meaning 'Among'

The suffix -il when occurs with the plural nouns, either animate or inanimate and followed by the pronouns like oru 'one', pala 'many', cila 'few' etc., the meaning 'among' is

identified. Here, part of the whole is involved in the action or state identified by the verb. In this type of sentences, the locative phrases have relationship with the following noun rather than with the verb, i.e., the locative phrases in this type of constructions have adnominal function.

27. avalu iruvaril oruvarai maṇantukoḷva:ḷ  
'She will marry one among the two'

28. roṭṭiyil pa:tiyai avalu na:ykku po:ṭṭa:ḷ  
'She gave half of the bread to the dog'

The locative phrases, viz., iruvaril 'among the two' and roṭṭiyil 'in the bread' in the above sentences denote the whole while the adjoined nouns, viz., oruvarai 'one person-acc' and pa:tiyai 'half-bread-acc' respectively denote the partitive.

Murthy (1977) points out two types of relationships in this type of constructions. They are, i) many-one relationship and ii) whole-part relationship. In the sentence (27) the NPs are in many-one relationship while in the sentence (28) the NPs are in part-whole relationship.

#### 12.4 The suffix -iṭam

The locative suffix -iṭam which occurs with human nouns is the exponent of the deep cases Location, Source and Goal.

When the suffix -iṭam occurs with human nouns and the nouns representing people, the deep case Location is identified. The verbs in this type of constructions are always existential verbs iru 'be' and uḷ 'be'.

29. avanīṭam pe:na: irukkīratu  
'He has a pen'

30. intiya:viṭam nīraiya paṇam uḷḷatu  
'India has huge amount of money'

In the examples given above, the locative phrases, viz., avanīṭam 'he-loc' and intiya:viṭam 'India-loc', have the deep case relation Location with the respective existential verbs iru 'be' and uḷ 'be'. That is, the above phrases indicate the location of the object nouns, viz., pe:na: 'pen' (29) and nīraiya paṇam 'huge amount of money'. The meaning of location implies the possession of the objects by the respective human nouns and institution representing the people<sup>1</sup>.

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1. This type of possession is also used as non-benefactive possession to denote the mere possession. If the suffix -iṭam is replaced by the suffix -kku benefactive possession is understood (for details see sec.8.3.5).

The locative phrase in this type of sentences and the corresponding object NPs can be made as genitive phrase as shown in the examples below.

29.a. avanuṭaiya pe:na:

'His pen'

30.a. intiya:vuṭaiya niraiya paṇam

'India's huge amount of money'

#### 12.4.2 Source

When the locative phrase with the suffix -iṭam occurs with the transfer - acquisition verbs like perrukkoḷ 'get', and the psychological verbs like terintukoḷ 'know', karrukkoḷ 'learn' the deep case Source is understood.

31. kamala: va:ṇiyiṭam paṇam pe:rrukkoṭa:ḷ

'Kamala got money from Vani'

32. arḥḥunan туруva:cariṭam vilvittaiyai  
karrrukkoṭa:n

'Archunan learned the art of bow from Thuruvasar'

The locative phrases, viz., va:ṇiyitam 'from Vaṇi' and турува:carīṭam 'from Thuruvasar' refer to the source of the object nouns, viz., paṇam 'money' and vilvittai 'art of bow' respectively.

#### 12.4.2.1 Syntactic test

The locative suffix -iṭam in this type of sentences can be substituted by the ablative suffix -iṭamiruntu as shown below.

31.a. kamala: va:ṇiyiṭamiruntu paṇam perrukkoṭṭa:ḷ  
'Kamala got money from Vani'

32.a. arččunan турува:carīṭamiruntu vilvittaiyai  
karṛukkoṭṭa:n

'Archunan learned the art of bow from Thuruvasar'

Further, this type of sentences have paraphrase relationship with the respective sentences with transfer-conveyance verbs like koṭu 'give', karṛukkoṭu 'teach' etc.

31.b. va:ṇi kamala:vukku paṇam koṭutta:ḷ

'Vani gave money to Kamala'

32.b. turuva:car arččunanukku vilvittaiyai

karṛukkoṭutta:r

'Thuruvasar taught the art of bow to Archunan'

It is to be noted here that the subjects of the sentences (31,32) become dative phrases in the sentences (31.b and 32.b) and the locative phrases (in 31 and 32) become subjects (in 31.b and 32.b). This is the characteristic feature of the transfer verbs.

#### 12.4.3 Goal

When the locative suffix -iṭam occurs with human nouns and the verbs are either the movement verbs like va: 'come', po: 'go' etc., or the transfer-conveyance verbs like koṭu 'give', valaṅku 'distribute' etc., or the communication verbs like col 'tell', arivi 'inform' etc., the locative phrase has the deep case relation Goal. If the verbs are movement verbs, the deep Directional Goal is understood. If they are either the transfer-conveyance verbs or communication verbs, the deep Non-Benefactive Goal is understood.

##### 12.4.3.1 Directional Goal

Directional Goal denotes the place towards which particular movement is carried out (For details see sec.8.2.1.2). In the following sentences, the locative phrase denotes the Directional Goal.

33. na:y enniṭam vantatu  
 'The dog came towards me'

34. na:ṅkaḷ avarkaḷiṭam po:no:m  
 'We went towards them'

#### 12.4.3.1.1 Syntactic test

The locative suffix -iṭam in this type of sentences can be substituted by the phrase irukkum iṭattirku 'the place where one is'. Consider the examples given below.

33.a. na:y na:n irukkum iṭattirku vantatu  
 'The dog came to the place where I was'

34.a. na:ṅkaḷ avarkaḷ irukkum iṭattirku po:no:m  
 'We went to the place where they were'

#### 12.4.3.2 Non-Benefactive Goal

Non-Benefactive Goal refers to the animate noun to whom an object is transferred or a message is conveyed. If the verb is a transfer-conveyance verb, the locative phrase indicates the person to whom an object is transferred. If the verb is a communication verb, the locative phrase indicates the person to whom the message is conveyed (8.2.1.1).

35. paḷḷi nitikku a:ciriyariṭam na:ṅkaḷ paṇam  
koṭutto:m  
'We gave money to the teacher for the school  
fund'
36. kiruṣṇan nu:lakariṭam puttakattai koṭutta:n  
'Kirushnan gave the book to the librarian'
37. amaiccar na:ṭṭin niti nilamaiyai niruparkaḷiṭam  
ku:rina:r  
'The Minister told the reporters about the  
financial condition of the country'
38. na:n avanīṭam ceytiyai conne:n  
'I told him the news'

In the sentences (35) and (36), the verb koṭu 'give' is a transfer-conveyance verb and hence in these sentences the locative phrases, viz., a:ciriyariṭam 'to the teacher' and nu:lakariṭam 'to the librarian' denote the person to whom the objects, viz., paṇam 'money' and puttakam 'book' respectively are transferred. In the sentences (37) and (38), the verbs, viz., ku:ru 'tell' and col 'say' respectively are communication verbs and hence in these sentences the locative phrases, viz., niruparkaḷiṭam 'to the reporters' and avanīṭam 'to him' respectively denote the persons to whom the messages, viz., nitinilamai 'financial' condition'

and ceyti 'news' respectively are conveyed. Thus in these sentences, the locative phrases refer to the Goal which represents the persons to whom the objects are transferred or the matter is conveyed.

#### 12.4.3.2.1 Syntactic test

The sentences (35) and (36) have paraphrase relationship with the corresponding sentences with transfer-acquisition verb perrukkoḷ 'get' as illustrated below:

35.a. paḷḷi nitikku a:ciriyar enkaḷiṭamiruntu paṇam  
perrukkoṭṭa:r

'The teacher got money from us for the school fund'

36.a. nu:lakar kiruṣṇaniṭamiruntu puttakattai  
perrukkoṭṭa:r

'The librarian got the book from Kirushnan'

It is to be noted that the locative phrase (Goal) in the sentences (35) and (36) becomes nominative (Agent) and the nominative (Agent) of the sentences (35) and (36) becomes ablative (Source) in the sentences (35.a) and (36.a).

Similarly, the sentences (37) and (38) have paraphrase relationship with the sentences having the verb ke:ḷ 'hear'. Consider the sentences below:

37.a. niruparkaḷ na:ṭṭin niti nilamaiyai amaiccar-  
iṭamiruntu ke:ṭṭa:arkaḷ

'The reporters heard about the financial  
condition of the country from the minister'

38.a. avan enniṭamiruntu ceṭṭiyai ke:ṭṭa:n

'He heard the news from me'

## 12.5 Post positions

As already noted (12.2), the locative post positions have different componential meanings with the basic function of denoting a place. These locative post positions in Modern Tamil occur either after genitive suffix 'zero' or after the dative suffix -kku.

### Examples:

kaṭṭilin-Ø-me:l 'on the cot'

kaṭṭil-ukku-me:l 'above the cot'

The post position when occurs after the genitive suffix, gives the meaning inherent location. When occurring after the dative suffix -kku, the meaning relative location is understood. That means, the inherent location is the part and parcel of the object concerned whereas the relative location is the location which is away from an object, but is expressed in relation to

the object concerned<sup>1</sup>. For example,

- 39. puṭṭakam kaṭṭilin me:1 irukkira:tu  
'The book is one the table'
- 40. viciri kaṭṭilukku me:1 culalkira:tu  
'The fan revolves above the cot'

In the sentence (39), the locative phrase kaṭṭilin me:1 'on the cot' refers to the inherent location, i.e., the right top of the cot while in the sentence (40), the locative phrase kaṭṭilukku me:1 'above the cot' refers to the relative location, i.e., the relative top of the cot. In both the sentences, the locative phrases have the deep case relation Location, i.e., these locative phrases indicate the place where the objects, viz., puṭṭakam 'book' and viciri 'fan' respectively are located. The locative post positions also show the deep Goal case when occurring with the movement verbs as shown below:

- 41. avan vi:ṭṭukku ve:1ye: vanta:n  
'He came out of the house'

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1. However, this distinction of meaning is not found with the post positions u:1 'inside', aruke: 'near', itaiyil 'between' and pakkattil 'near', as these post positions indicate only the place relative to an object and no object is having these locations inherently.

42. avarkaḷ ko:yilukku mun po:na:rkaḷ

'They went in front of the temple'

The locative post positions denote the place towards which the movement is carried out.

### 12.5.1 Time

The locative post positions me:l, mun and uḷ give the temporal meaning, viz., 'afterwards', 'before' and 'within' respectively when occurring with temporal nouns. The following illustrations show this.

43. me:ne:jar onpatu maṇikku me:l varuva:r

'The Manager will come after nine O'clock'

44. avan po:na ma:tattirku mun oru taṭavai vanta:n

'He came once before last month'

45. kamala: aintu maṇikkuḷ iṅku vantuviṭuva:ḷ

'Kamala will come here before five O'clock'

In the sentence (43) the locative post position me:l refers to the action which takes place after the specified time. In the sentence (44) the post position mun refers to the action which took place before the specified time and in the sentence (45) the post position uḷ refers to the action which takes place within the specified time.

From these analysis it is understood that the surface case locative in Modern Tamil is the exponent of the deep cases Location, Source, Goal, Instrumental, Cause and the case meanings, viz., 'among' and 'time'. The post positions occurring either after genitive suffix or dative suffix give two different meanings, viz., inherent location and relative location.

CHAPTER XIII

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Ablative Case

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## CHAPTER XIII

### ABLATIVE CASE

#### 13.1 Suffixes

The surface case ablative<sup>1</sup> is marked by the suffixes -iliruntu, -iruntu and iṭamiruntu. The suffix -iliruntu occurs with inanimate nouns; the suffix -iruntu occurs with locative post positions like me:l 'on', ki:l 'under' etc., and the suffix -iṭamiruntu occurs with animate nouns and with the nouns referring to a country like amerikka: 'America', intiya: 'India' and an organized body like araca:ḥkam 'government', nirva:kam 'management' etc.

#### -iliruntu

vi:ṭṭ -iliruntu 'from the house'

teruv-iliruntu 'from the street'

paṭukkaiy-iliruntu 'from the bed'

1. Tolkappiyam includes this case within comparative case (in ve:rṛumai 'in case') which refers to the meaning of comparison. It includes the verb ti:rtal 'leave' as one of the co-occurring verbs. Eventhough the ablative is different from the comparative case, it might have been included within the comparative case because of the fact that both are expressed by the suffix -in during his time. The commentator's example u:rin ti:rnta:n 'He left the village' refers to the ablative of motion. 'Nannul', the 13th Century Tamil grammar, includes this under the fifth case which includes ni:ḥkal 'ablative of motion' as one of the four major meanings.

-iṭamiruntu

- amma:v-iṭamiruntu 'from mother'
- avan-iṭamiruntu 'from him'
- na:y-iṭamiruntu 'from the dog'
- amerikka:v-iṭamiruntu 'from America'
- araca:ḥkatt-iṭamiruntu 'from the Government'

-iruntu

- me:l-iruntu 'from the top'
- ki:l-iruntu 'from the bottom'
- munna:l-iruntu 'from the front'

13.2 Deep cases

The surface ablative case has the deep case relation Source and the temporal meaning.

13.2.1 Source

Source expresses the place where an argument was previous to the action described by the verb (McCoy, 1969:148). The following generalizations can be made from the observations of McCoy. Source includes the concepts, viz., i) the starting point of a motion, ii) earlier location of a transferred object, iii) source of informations, iv) the initial point

in a measured extent expression, v) the first member of a group, vi) source for an object and the starting point in time span as temporal meaning.

### 13.2.1.1 The starting point of a motion

When a noun denoting a place occurs with the ablative suffix and if the verbs are movement verbs like po: 'go', va: 'come', the ablative phrase has the deep case Source which denotes the starting point of the motion.

1. avarkaḷ karuvu:riliruntu po:na:arkaḷ  
'They went from Karuvur'

2. ra:ji:vka:nti ṭilliyiliruntu vanta:r  
'Rajiv Gandhi came from Delhi'

In the above sentences, the verbs are movement verbs and hence the ablative phrases denote the starting point of the respective motions. The nouns in this type of sentences have the lexical features - animate and + concrete. The case feature of the Source case, according to Nilsen (1972) is + source.

#### 13.2.1.1.1 Syntactic test

The Source NPs in this type of sentences are the answer for the question eḱkiruntu purappaṭṭu vanta:n/po:na:n? 'From

where did he start to come/go?' Thus sentences (1) and (2) are the answers for the questions (1.a) and (2.a) respectively.

1.a. avarkaḷ eṅkiruntu purappaṭṭu po:na:arkaḷ  
'Where did they start to go?'

2.a. ra:ji:vka:nti eṅkiruntu purappaṭṭu vanta:r?  
'Where did he start to come?'

### Co-occurrence

The Source NPs always co-occur with the deep cases Agent and Goal and optionally Means case.

Agent + Source + Goal + (Means) + movement verbs as in the sentence,

3. ra:mu cennaiyiliruntu citamparattukku rayilil  
vanta:n

'Ramu came by train from Madras to Chidambaram'

The case frame of the movement verbs with the ablative phrase as one of the arguments is explained as above. However, there are sentences where the Goal and Means are not overtly expressed as in (1) and (2). This is due to the fact that the Goal NPs and the Means NPs are not significant to be specified in the particular speech context.

If the ablative NP is a + human noun and is co-occurring with the movement verbs, the ablative NP can be interpreted as referring to 'one's care'. Subsequently, the Goal NP is also a human noun and taking the locative suffix -iṭam as follows:

4. avar tannuṭaiya cinna makanīṭamiruntu<sup>1</sup> periya  
makanīṭam po:yviṭṭa:r

'He has gone under the care of his elder son  
from his younger son'

The ablative phrase cinna makanīṭamiruntu 'from younger son' denotes 'from the care of younger son'. Further, the ablative phrase in this type of sentences can be substituted with the phrase irukkum iṭattiliruntu 'from the place where one is' as shown below:

1. The lexical meaning of iruntu 'having been with' is partially preserved in this type of phrases. Sentence (4) can be interpreted as avan tannuṭaiya cinna makanīṭam irunta:r, piraku periya makanīṭam po:yviṭṭa:r 'He was with his younger son and latter he went to his elder son'. Here the meaning of iruntu 'having been' is preserved and is not grammaticalized. But in the phrase iṭamiruntu in the sentence (4) the meaning of iruntu is less grammaticalized and is in transition stage. But in the earlier examples (1 to 3) the lexical meaning of iruntu is not preserved and is fully grammaticalized. Further, in the sentence (4) the ablative suffix can also be substituted by poruppiliruntu 'from the care of' as avar tannuṭaiya cinna makanin poruppiliruntu periya makanīṭam po:yviṭṭa:r 'He has gone to his elder son from the care of his younger son'.

- 4.a. avar tannuṭaiya cinna makan irukkum iṭattiliruntu  
 periya makan irukkum iṭattirku po:vyviṭṭa:r  
 'He has gone to the place of his elder son from  
 the place of his younger son'

The ablative phrase with human nouns when co-occurs with neuter subject and the movement verb va: 'come', the meaning 'earlier location of a transferred object' is assigned to the ablative phrase (see 13.2.1.2). That is, the meaning of the verb va: in this type of sentences refers to the transfer of inanimate objects from one place to other. But in the earlier type of sentences, it refers to the movement of Agent NP.

5. appa:viṭamiruntu enakku oru kaṭitam vantatu  
 'I got a letter from my father'

The subject of this sentence oru kaṭitam 'a letter' which is a neuter noun, is a transferred object (from father to me).

When the ablative NP with - animate noun occurring with the dynamic action verbs like elu 'rise', vilu 'fall' etc., the ablative phrase denotes the starting point or earlier state. But this type of sentences do not occur with Means NP.

6. kiruṣṣan paṭukkaiyiliruntu elunta:n  
 'Kirushnan rose from the bed'

7. kumaran ma:ṭiyiliruntu kilē: vilunta:n  
'Kumaran fell down from upstairs'

Here, in the sentence (6) the noun paṭukkai 'bed' is the earlier location from where Kirushnan rose and in the sentence (7) the noun ma:ṭi 'upstair' is the earlier location from where Kumaran fell down.

13.2.1.2 Earlier location of the transferred object

When the ablative NP with + human noun occurs with the transfer-acquisition verbs like va:ṅku 'get', peru 'get' etc., the ablative phrase denotes the earlier location of the transferred object.

8. ra:man ci:ta:viṭamiruntu oru puttakam va:ṅkina:n  
'Raman got a book from Sita'

9. ko:pi tantaiyiṭamiruntu paṅattai perṛa:n  
'Gopi got money from his father'

In the above sentences, the ablative phrases, viz., ci:ta:viṭamiruntu 'from Sita' and tantaiyiṭamiruntu 'from father' refer to the earlier location, i.e., the earlier possessor of the respective objects, viz., puttakam 'book' and paṅam 'money'.

The sentences with this type of ablative phrases have paraphrase relationship with the sentences with the transfer-acquisition verbs like koṭu 'give', valaḥku 'present' etc., where the subject becomes the locative and the ablative NP becomes the subject in the corresponding sentence. Thus the sentences (8) and (9) have paraphrase relationship with (8.a) and (9.a) as given below:

8.a. ci:ta: ra:maniṭam oru puttakam koṭutta:ḷ  
'Sita gave a book to Raman'

9.a. tantai makaniṭam paṇattai koṭutta:r  
'Father gave money to his son'

This type of paraphrase is also possible with the psychological verbs like karrukkol 'learn' as follows:

10. avan a:ciriyariṭamiruntu pa:ṭam karrukkonta:n  
'He learnt lessons from the teacher'

10.a. a:ciriyar enakku pa:ṭam karrukkoṭutta:r  
'Teacher taught me lessons'

### Co-occurrence

The source NPs in this type of sentences always co-occur with Agent and Patient as follows:

Agent + Source + Patient + transfer-acquisition verbs.

The ablative phrase with + animate nouns occurring with the psychological verbs like terintukoḷ 'know', karrukoḷ 'learn' etc., denotes the Source as a person or an object for the informations denoted by the Patient nouns.

11. na:m a:ciriyariṭamiruntu pala unmaikaḷai terintukoḷkiro:m  
'We learn many truths from the teacher'

12. na:n pala ceytikaḷai anta kaṭaiyiliruntu terintukoṅṅe:n  
'I understood many news from that story'

13. nanriyarivai na:m na:yiṭamiruntu karukkollave:ṅṅum  
'We must learn faithfulness from the dog'

The ablative suffix -iliruntu in all these sentences denotes that the respective nouns are the sources for the respective information understood through the Patient NPs, viz., pala unmaikaḷai 'many truths', pala ceytikaḷai 'many news' and nanriyarivu 'faithfulness' respectively.

Sentences (10) and (11) eventhough have similar structure, they are different from each other as discussed below. In the

sentence (10) learning is done through teaching by the teacher while in the sentence (11) the learning is done through observing the 'teacher's life'.

13.2.1.4 The initial point in a measured extent expression

If the ablative noun is a place noun and occurs with existential verb iru 'be', it refers to the initial point of a measured extent expression.

14. cennaiyiliruntu citamparam 250 kilo: mi:ṭṭar  
tolaivil irukkiratu

'Chidambaram is in 250 kilo meters away from Madras'

15. vi:ṭṭiliruntu veku tolaivil a:pi:s irukkiratu  
'Office is far off from the house'

The ablative phrases, viz., cennaiyiliruntu 'from Madras' and vi:ṭṭiliruntu 'from the house' are the points of reference to measure the distance between the other place. It can be noted that the ablative phrases in the above sentences can be made as subject denoting the topic of the sentence and the corresponding subjects in these sentences become ablative phrase without changing the meaning. Consider the following sentences.

14.a. citamparattiliruntu cennai 250 kilo: mi:ṭṭar  
tolaivil irukkiratu

'Madras is 250 kilo meters away from Chidambaram'

15.a. a:pi:siliruntu vi:ṭu veku tolaivil irukkiratu

'House is far off from the office'

The difference between the sentences (14), (15) and (14.a) and (15.a) is that the subject which is topic of the sentence is interchanged. This is to be explained in terms of deictics of location.

#### 13.2.1.5 The first member of a group

In a group referring a superior to an inferior or vice versa (high to low or low to high), the first member of the group is expressed by the ablative suffix -iliruntu. The nouns in this type of phrases are + animate, + concrete. Further, in the hierarchical group the last member is represented by the post position varai 'upto' and is preceded by the pronoun of totality like ello:rum 'all-human', ella:m 'all-neuter' and the distributive pronoun ovvoru 'each'. The verbs in this type of sentences can be of any type.

16. kaleṭṭariliruntu piyu:n varai ello:rum

tirumaṇattir<sub>ku</sub> vanta:rkaḷ

'All, from collector to peon, came to the marriage'

17. ciñkattiliruntu eli varai ella: pira:ñikaḷum  
ka:ṭṭil va:lkinṛana

'All animals, from lion to rat, live in the forest'

18. kla:rkkiliruntu miñiṣṭar varai ovvoruvaraiyum  
enakku teriyum

'I know everybody from Clerk to Minister'

In the above cases, the ablative phrases refer to the first member of the group which constitute a group of members related to each other hierarchically. The hierarchy shown here is high to low as in the sentences (16) and (17) and low to high in the sentence (18).

#### 13.2.1.6 Source for an object

The ablative phrase when occurs with the verbs of creation like cey 'make', kaṭṭu 'build', denotes the source for an object. The objects refers to the Factitive Patient. See the following examples,

19. maññiliruntu pomma: ceykiṛa:rkaḷ

'(They) make toys out of clay'

20. ñilakkariyiliruntu minsa:ram taya:rikkira:rkaḷ

'(They) produce electricity from lignite'

21. karumpiliruntu carckkarai taya:rikkira:rkaḷ

'(They) manufacture sugar from cane'

The ablative phrases refer to the source for the respective objects, viz., pomma 'toy', minsa:ram 'electricity' and carkkarai 'sugar'.

### 13.2.1.6.1 Syntactic test

The Source NPs and the corresponding Patient NPs can be represented as a compound noun as shown in the following sentences.

19.a. maṇ pomma

'Clay toy'

20.a. nilakkari minsa:ram

'Thermal power'

21.a. karumpu carkkarai

'Cane sugar'

Eventhough the compound noun nilakkari minsa:ram is less acceptable, it can be used as opposed to atomic power and hydel power etc.

### 13.2.2 The starting point in time span

When the ablative suffix -iliruntu occurs with the time nouns like ka:lai 'morning', ma:lai 'evening' etc., it gives the sense of starting point in time span as follows:

22. avalu ka:laiyiliruntu pa:ṭikkōṭṭirukkira:ḷ  
'She has been singing since morning'

23. avan cenra ma:tattiliruntu paḷḷikku celkiran  
'He goes to school since last month'

24. avarkaḷ ka:lai aintu maḷiyiliruntu ma:lai  
varai unṇa:viratam irunta:rkaḷ  
'They under took fast since morning five  
o'clock upto evening'

The ablative phrases in the sentences (22) and (23), show the starting point in terms of time and the respective actions are in continuation as there is no NP referring to the end point. While in the sentence (24), the ablative phrase shows the starting time and the post positional phrase ma:lai varai 'upto evening' refers to the end point. Further, the ablative suffixes in these sentences can be substituted by the particle mutal 'from' as follows.

22.a. avalu ka:lai mutal pa:ṭikkōṭṭirukkira:ḷ  
'She has been singing since morning'

Similarly, in the sentences (23) and (24) also the suffix -iliruntu can be substituted by the particle mutal.

Besides the temporal nouns, the ablative suffix also gives the temporal meaning when occurring with verbal nouns as illustrated below:

25. kumar vantatiliruntu inru varai kulantai  
makilččiya:ka irukkira:n

'The child is happy untill to-day since the arrival of Kumar'

26. na:n ma:misa upavai uṅṅatiliruntu enaku  
vayiru valittukkoṅṅirukkiratu

'My stomach aching since I took the non-vegetarian food'

The ablative suffix -iliruntu shows the starting point in time span for the predicates, viz., makilččiya:ka irukkiratu '(the child) is happy' and vayiru valittukkoṅṅirukkiratu 'the stomach is acheing' respectively. The ablative phrase in this type of sentences can take the noun ne:ram 'at time' as shown below:

25.a. kumar vanta ne:rattiliruntu inru varai  
kulantai makilččiya:ka irukkiratu

'The child is happy untill to-day since (the time at which) Kumar arrived here'

26.a. na:n ma:misa unavai uṅṭa ne:rattiliruntu  
 vayiru valittukkoṅṭirukkīratu

'My stomach is aching since (the time at which) I took the non-vegetarian food'

From the foregoing discussions it can be said that the surface ablative case has the deep case relation, Source. Source is understood as the starting point of a motion, earlier location of the transferred object, source of information, the first member of a group and also as source for an object. The starting point in time span is also expressed by the ablative phrase.

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